

**TRANSFORMING PRODUCTION ROLES INTO
POLITICAL INCLUSION: A Comparative Study of
Hausa Women's Agency through Civil Society
Organizations in Kano, Nigeria and Tamale, Ghana**

by

ADRYAN R. WALLACE

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Transforming Production Roles into Political Inclusion:

A Comparative Study of Hausa Women's Agency

through Civil Society Organizations in Kano, Nigeria

and Tamale, Ghana

By ADRYAN R. WALLACE

Dissertation Director:

Barbara Callaway

During the last twenty years Muslim women in West Africa have become more involved in development (education, economic, health) work through the establishment of non-governmental (NGOs) and community based organizations (CBOs). In order to contribute to scholarship in these areas, I spent five months in Kano, Nigeria and five months in Tamale, Ghana conducting a comparative analysis of the ways in which Hausa women's organizations use their development work to advocate for more economic inclusion and mobilize around political and gender issues. The Hausa are the largest predominately Muslim, linguistic and ethnic group in West Africa, a majority in Kano a

Sharia state and a minority in Tamale. More specifically my work used ethnography, participant observation, semi-structured interviews, oral histories and statistical data on labor to answer two related questions, 1) how are Hausa Muslim women in different economic and social positions interacting with the state?, and 2) how do different types of work impact the relationships among Hausa women of different social status and how does this impact the politics of economic development? The work of indigenous African Muslim women's organizations is often absent from the literature creating an incomplete picture of the potential impact of women's organizations on the national development agenda.

Studying NGOs and CBOs is an effective way to explore the intersections of gender, economic participation, religion and nationalism, because Hausa women at all levels of society are supporting, providing or receiving services from these organizations. The activities of Hausa women's organizations illustrate the role of women as progenitors rather than as solely benefactors of economic development policies and provide mechanisms to place key issues on the political and legislative agenda. For older women, the importance of motherhood cut across social positions and makes the completion of child rearing the best predictor of economic activity outside the home. In Kano there are more direct relationships among NGOs and CBOs in contrast to Tamale, where these direct relationships are nearly non-existent. In Ghana, relationships between CBOs and pre-colonial political institutions is most pronounced in contrast to Kano where NGOs and CBOs interact with contemporary and pre-colonial institutions.

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INTRODUCTION

In this study I analyze the ways in which women as a marginalized group relate to and influence the normative political machinery of the state. I begin by arguing that processes of state formation produce a sense of national identity through the articulation of economic and social production requirements directed at different categories of citizens. Political institutions can create and reinforce specific social categories which in turn can impact the amount of influence different citizens have within state structures. This in turn mitigates their ability to have their interests represented and influences how resources are defined and distributed. Creating and reproducing the identity categories of citizens is essential to cultivating a broader sense of national identity around geographic boundaries. My focus is, however, on the way the women in two communities construct their identities and devise strategies of action that are optimal from their point of view. This leads me to studying the interrelationship between gender and political economy (economic and social production) in order to generate novel insights into how the production requirements of the nation and state impact the relationships among different social categories of citizens.

I am particularly interested in the role of Islam in the construction of women's agency. More specifically in this work I will analyze the ways in which different women chose to situate their organizational activities within Islamic frames. Additionally the strategies employed by women to expand the narrow roles outlined for them by the state are also evaluated in my work. The study of Islam and politics in West Africa provides critical insights into the complex interactions of religion, culture and nationalism (a collective sense of identity) (Suberu 2001, Shankar 2005, Adekunle 2002, Paden 2010).

Yet most studies on Islam and West Africa have a serious limitation: they fail to focus on gender as a key social category. Therefore, in order to amend this situation, I used gender as a theoretical frame and explored the interconnections of production and identity in a comparative study of local non-governmental (NGOs) and community based organizations (CBOs) of Hausa women in Kano, Nigeria and Tamale, Ghana. A series of empirical questions I ask include: (1) How are these interactions structured and what types of outcomes occur under specific sets of conditions?, (2) How do the contemporary economic activities of women relate to historical narratives about the role of Hausa women in production?, (3) How do women in different economic and social positions interact with the state?, and (4) How do social relationships among Hausa women of different social status affect their different types of work? In brief, I examine variation among different categories of women and inter/intra women's relationships with each other.

I conducted a comparative study of Hausa women living in two different cities in two different countries in West Africa: Kano, Nigeria and Tamale, Ghana. I examined their economic activities, social networks, their relationships to the state and their changing positions as citizens through historical research, ethnographic study and semi-structured interviews. In so doing, I hope to contribute to the literature on the interaction between structure and agency in the development of the state, and the interaction of religion, politics, and gender in the construction of national identity. In this effort, feminist Intersectionality theory and theories of politics and culture have provided the main framework for other, supplemental approaches. In the process of exploring these issues, I used the methods of ethnography, semi-structured interviews, statistical data on labor, and oral history.

Studying NGOs and CBOs is an effective way to explore the intersections of gender, economic participation, and religion because Hausa women at all levels of society are supporting, providing or receiving services from these organizations. This work does not assume that there are no tensions among women located in these positions or among groups. Instead I am exploring the ways that women's work can be read as a set of gendered economic, cultural, and social strategies developed in response to changing structural conditions. Additionally, the relationships among Hausa women's self-defined roles with the roles and duties ascribed to them that are consistent with Islamic perspectives articulated by social leaders and contemporary political institutions is analyzed. There is a need for more literature on how African women use their agency to interpret Islam to promote their own economic and political interests (Jamal 2007). Ayesha Imam argues that women chose to frame their struggle for equality in the context of being good mothers, wives, and Muslims (Imam 2003). My work expands the literature on Hausa women's economic activity and its impact on democratization more specifically. In the process, it also interrogates the normative theoretical assumptions of the static family labor supply framework and time allocation theory more broadly.

Using gender as a social category facilitates the understanding of the relationships between the individual and the community that is richer and more adequate than a picture obtained through class analysis alone or reliance solely on the categories of ethnicity or religion. Instead, it allows the researcher to analyze the interactions among different social categories. This analysis is particularly critical as it relates to Muslim women because of the tendency to: (1) homogenize Islamic beliefs and interpretations without respect to variation, (2) cast Muslim women as passive agents, (3) assume that the experiences of African Muslim women are represented by studies of women in the

Middle East or purely theoretical studies of Islam in Africa, and (4) fail to illustrate how different interpretations and approaches of Islam are incorporated or contextualized by women. By bringing gender in the analyst is reminded also of other factors such as lineage (with its gendered hierarchies), educational levels (with its gendered disparities) and the distinction between religious and secular domains (structured and experienced via gendered categories) can be incorporated and examined. Such (gendered) categorizations have an impact on the ability of citizens to relate to one another and the state, particularly through the creation of civil society organizations.

Understanding how women are negotiating the tensions generated by the existence of these social categorizations in their labor choices also provides new evidence for the study of the manner in which women deal with the “double edged” sword Adamu talks about (1999). She highlights the constant tension African Muslim women face between resisting more conservative forms of Islam and the hegemony of Western feminists (1999). The work of local African Muslim women’s organizations is not always included in the analysis of the impact of NGOs, CBOs, civil society, and on economic production. The majority of scholarship that does focus on gender and Islam in Africa tends to focus on how different communities of Muslim women interact in different states (Alidou 2005). In contrast my work analyzes the internal activities of one ethnolinguistic group, the Hausa, and compares them across national contexts, in northern Nigeria and northern Ghana.

There is yet another way to describe the main goal of my study: I am examining the impact of the types of work that Hausa women engage in on their self-defined roles as citizens *in response* to the roles and duties the state ascribes to them. More specifically this work expands upon the literature on Hausa women’s economic activity and provides

insights about the role of marginalized groups in nation building that are of interest to political scientists. Nationalism refers to the establishment of a collective sense of identity and acceptance of specific roles for certain categories of citizens (Anderson 1983). One important function of creating these state supported cultural frames in multi-ethnic and religious contexts is to cultivate a sense of inclusion and therefore political stability (Shankar 2005, Hyden 2006). This study analyzes how political institutions define identity categories and structure the relationships of identity categories among citizens. Additionally, the state plays a critical role in institutionalizing different constructions of nationalist discourses and analyzing the activities of civil society in these spaces can illustrate the ways individuals are using groups to contest and augment political narratives of social categories. Understanding pre-colonial processes of identity formation and its legacy on contemporary nationalist identities is critical. (Mustapha 2002)

The Hausa have experienced two political and economic restructurings prior to independence. The first occurred with the institution of Islam through the establishment of the Sokoto-Caliphate, Emirate system. During this period the pre-Islamic production roles of men and women shifted, women were removed from positions of political power. In the initial phases elite women were placed in seclusion internal to the home, and women that occupied the middle and lower echelons were permitted to continue to engage in trading activities. As the Emirate consolidation progressed women regardless of their social status were placed in *kulle* (seclusion) as a measure of adherence to Islam. Being perceived as adhering to Islamic principles as defined in this context was a key source of social and political capital. Therefore it can be argued that control over women's bodies, to include their physical, economic, social and political participation in

society became a symbol of cultural authenticity. During colonialism the fusion of cultural and religious identities were further cemented. The use of indirect rule by the British placed the Islamic political elite in a position of power by allowing them to act as a buffer between the local population and the colonial institutions. The emirs used these opportunities to use adherence to Islam as a marker of cultural and religious authenticity. The alternative paths of development for northern and southern Nigeria that occurred under colonialism reinforced the importance of regional identities. The north was considered the political and military center while the south functioned as the breadbasket with more access to formal education (Shankar 2005, Umar 2006). Primarily Islamic education was instituted in the north in large part because formal education was considered a tool of colonialism, which could undermine Islam (Shankar 2005, Umar 2006). After independence, federalism was adopted in an effort to allow some regional autonomy while operating under a national political system (Shankar 2005, Umar 2006). The goal was to eventually cultivate a national collective sense of identity. In contemporary Nigeria the layering of these two political and economic restructurings impact interactions among Hausa women. Using gender and political economy as frames helps us understand the ways that different Hausa women are positioned within state structures and the associated power dynamics during each of these critical periods.

The Hausa are the largest, predominately Muslim, linguistic and ethnic group in West Africa. Therefore, my work can expand upon scholarship on Islam in West Africa and within the region more broadly. Furthermore, the variety of Islamic frames that exist and are invoked by various actors, including the state, can be highlighted through my research. Nigeria and Ghana were selected because there are few comparative studies of the Hausa living in two different national states, both former British colonies (Cooper

1997, Coles and Mack 1991, Alidou 2005). Comparing women in Hausa societies where the Hausa are an ethnic and religious majority (Kano, Nigeria) to one where they are an ethnic and religious minority (Tamale, Ghana) allows me to explore the retention of cultural and religious affiliations across national boundaries. Nigeria is a presidential federal republic with three levels of government: federal, state, and local. In addition, Kano State functions under Sharia law, while Ghana is a constitutional republic and no level of government operates under Sharia law.

Interpretivist and feminist epistemological approaches were also utilized. The primary argument is that capturing two sets of relationships (between Hausa women and the state and within the sets of Hausa women) can provide key insights into the interaction of macro (historical and contemporary political discourses) and micro (individual agency through civil society organizations) systems on the expansion of gender categories that comprise the sense of collective national identity. Furthermore the ability of Hausa women through their organizations to expand into economic and political spaces and engage with political institutions through their development work is evaluated. This work also analyzes how political, economic and historical structures help shape and define social categories and how these categories are contested and accepted by different citizens.

In order to contribute to scholarship in these areas, I spent five months in Kano, Nigeria and five months in Tamale, Ghana, conducting a comparative analysis of the impact of Hausa women's organizations on the economic and social production roles of women. While the Hausa are the largest, predominately Muslim ethnolinguistic group in West Africa, very little has been written about the economic and political activities of women through their local civil society organizations and my work is designed to fill the

gap in the extant literature. Previous works on Hausa women's economic activity were produced prior to the broad scale adoption of development models (Enid Schindklout 1982, Barbara Callaway 1987). During the last twenty years Muslim women in West Africa have become more involved in development (education, economic, health) work through the establishment NGOs and CBOs (Ousseina Alidou 2005). Development agendas and programs often reflect the priorities of the nation and its political administration because collectively they identify substantive issues such as girl child education which require integrated reforms in economic, political, health, education and environmental spheres to adequately address the development issue.

The unique perspectives of African Muslim women are often thought to be covered by work that highlights the experiences of women in the Middle East or studies of Islam in Africa. My work expands also the literature on Hausa women's contemporary economic activity by interrogating the normative theoretical assumptions of economic models specifically the static family labor supply framework and time allocation theory (Becker 1965, Schultz 1991, 2002, Aromolaran 2008). Furthermore, my dissertation explores how women use their development work to advocate for more economic inclusion and mobilize around political and gender issues.

The complex and diverse relationships among Hausa women and the state, particularly under Sharia need to be analyzed in context. Mala Htun's work, *What it Means to Study Gender and the State* (2005), is important because it argues that the state is an extension of the gendered power relationships that exist in the nuclear family. Therefore the relationship between the gender construct of women as producers of citizens and capital simultaneously needs to be explored as an integrated national project. Gwendolyn Mikell outlines the different types of relationships between African women

and the state (1997). The works of Amina Mama and Ayesha Imam provide insights into how African Muslim women conceptualize their multiple identities and negotiate between what can at times be viewed as competing sets of interests with material, social and political consequences (1996, 2003). It also provides a context to understand the relationships of identity, interests, and the formation of organizations to attain outlined goals.

Using multiple methods to collect data can strengthen theory development. However, it is critical that theoretical and methodological choices are not conflated. Instead, the selection of methods should reflect the goals of a particular research agenda (Ostrom 2010). On the other hand, given that each method has limitations, carefully combining methodological approaches has the potential to enhance theory development (Ostrom 2010). I utilized a mixed methods approach to reconstruct the perspectives of individual women, their NGOs and CBOs, the policy frameworks employed by the state, and the construction of gender roles in historical memory and contemporary discourse in the media. These perspectives were then employed to deconstruct the interactions of women with each other and the political machinery of the state. Oral histories and reading the historical record, analyzed by Murray Last (1997) and Mary Bivins (2007), identified the critical periods and ways that Hausa women's interaction with the state was mapped onto social imaginations. The participant observation of NGO and CBO programs analyzed how women relate to other women. Interviews of Hausa women illustrated the varied perspectives of women in different social locations regarding their self-determined identities and those promoted by the state. Analysis of the depiction of women and politics, women and development and discussion of societal roles of women that occur in newspapers and radio programs provide snapshots of public discourse.

Finally, the statistical data and policy papers dealing with the structure of identity formation provided by the official institutions and the independent reports provided by the women were read against each other to identify tensions and paint a more complete picture of the creation of national identity from the perspectives of all actors: the state, civil society, and the citizens.

CHAPTER ONE: BLENDING

FEMINSIM, POLTICS OF CULTURE,

& POLITICAL ECONOMY

OVERVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Several major bodies of literature were important in framing the work. Feminist Intersectionality theory, political culture theory, historical studies and studies based in political economy provided insights into the interpretation of the data I collected through my historical research, participant observation, and semi-structured interviews.

This project attempts to expand upon theoretical understandings of the interaction between structure and agency in the development of the state, construction of national identity, and the incorporation of marginalized groups into the state. The focus on Hausa women in Nigeria and Ghana allows a cross section of several social categories to be analyzed and assesses the impact of “intersectional identities” on the political and economic relationships between the elite and the “ordinary” citizens. This is important to explore because it potentially can provide insights into the meanings of social categories and shifts in their significance.

By combining interpretivist feminist methods of analysis with interviews and other social science methods of data collection, the meaning and re-interpretation of social categories can be examined as they are institutionalized and then contested as a part of national political development. The implications for both political science and

economics are significant because this study can provide insights into key points of tension around not only the acquisition but the distribution of resources. This becomes critical as the study of marginalized groups and their normative relationships with the state are increasingly determinative of political stability and inclusion.

Much of the current research on nationalism in Africa leaves types of collective identities and social categorization other than ethnicity under-analyzed. In general, it does not include issues of gender and class and their impact on the relationships between agency and structure (Suberu 2001, Shankar 2005, Adekunle 2002). Studies of the formation of gender roles by the state as they relate to capital and social production have worked to bridge the knowledge about the political dimensions of identity (Fernandes 2003). This work serves to expand upon this research by analyzing gender and political economy in a new context and can thus provide key insights into variations in the experiences of members of marginal groups. Therefore the points at which macro (structure) and micro (agency) processes converge and impact the amount of democratic inclusion experienced by underrepresented groups can be explored. Collectively women as a group are often less politically and economically enfranchised than their male counterparts. Furthermore, while the state tends to treat women based on a single, normative, experience it is important to understand that women are positioned differently within the state and the range of locations they can occupy need to be analyzed. This is particularly important because their inclusion into or exclusion from membership in other social categories often accounts for internal differences among women.

Intersectionality, Hausa Feminisms and Political Community

Most recent comparative works on ethnonationalism acknowledge that nationalism is a social construction (Anderson 1983, Gellner 1983, Hechter 2000). In many African countries, the state and nation are not always synonymous. The concept of nationalism requires that the nation itself is identified and that the political community it constitutes can make claims on the state. Ali Mazuri separates the concept of “national consciousness” and a “sense of a shared national identity” and construes “nationalism” as “a more assertive or more defensive degree of that consciousness” (Mazuri 1980).

Arguably, the key issue to study in the field of African ethnic relations within and across country cases is the relationship between nationalism and colonial legacies. The majority of works on ethnic identity link its politicization to such legacies. While this is critical, I also think that it is important to have a model that captures the dynamic interactions among collective identities and different institutions during pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. Furthermore, the fact that individuals are able to negotiate political and economic spaces within all of these institutions in addition to the material resources attached to them makes it essential that we are able to capture the ways the citizens push back against externally constructed identities.

In *Standing in for the State: Black Nationalism and writing the Black Subject*, Lubiano and Glaude (2005) define nationalism “as the activation of a narrative of identity and interests.” Their definition poses two critical questions. First, we must question which voices are privileged in this narrative. Second, how are the identities of Hausa women defined and reproduced in the dominant discourses of Kano State, and Nigeria? The locations of Hausa women in different iterations of nationalist frameworks reflect

their relationships to political communities, which can include ethnic, religious, linguistic, and national groupings. The Hausa have both a pre-Islamic and a pre-colonial history that has produced several different concepts of ethnic and national identity that are usable today (Last 1997, Furniss 1996, Abdul 2002, Shankar 2005, Palmer 1928, Hunwick 1993). Contemporary conceptions of identity are layered upon the past constructs and in the case of the Hausa are quite complex as the individuals grouped under this ethnonym are situated in multi-ethnic states. Intersectional theory has much to contribute to unraveling the synthesis of multiple identities and interests, particularly as it relates to the “dynamic interaction between individuals and institutions” (Hancock 2007). Reconciling the role of institutions without eclipsing the experiences of individuals is a challenge that can be mediated by combining Intersectionality theory with an emphasis on the feminist perspectives developed by Hausa women.

One of the central focuses of feminism is the mediation of power relations between groups within the context of a state and instances where relationships and interactions occur beyond the boundaries of the state. Feminist theories often create frameworks to analyze the power differentials among women within and across state structures and the impact on the distribution and acquisition of resources. These mediations are critical to the success of mobilization around political issues because they occur within the context of a structured political system. Given that individuals and groups within political systems will be petitioning the state for remedies and/or resources, the subject positions of the individuals that comprise groups are important. The significance of specific combinations of identity categories vary depending on the national context. Given that feminism began as a political project, (Carroll ..., Zerilli 1993, Hakesworth 2006) the development of feminist theory has been shaped by our

growing understanding of difference both among and within groups (Mohanty 1988 & 1991, Scott 1986 & 1999, Collins 1989 & 2000, Spillers 1987 & 1996, Springer 2002, Tripp 2006). Conceptualizing the intersections of identities and their relationships to political community is critical. In order to analyze how membership in different social categories impacts the experiences that individuals and collective groups of individuals have with the political instruments of the state. Given that the creation of each category is a dynamic process through which the definitions of and membership criteria can be contested and redefined by citizens and state institutions it is important to understand how multiple social categories interact. Additionally the impact that the deployment of narratives associated with specific identities can have on access to and the allocation of resources also needs to be explored. Therefore Intersectionality developed as an entire literature within feminism to address the aforementioned issues and to analyze privilege by centering the diverse experiences of women.

Intersectionality gained prominence during the 1980s and the early 1990s through the work of critical race and legal studies (Crenshaw 1991 & 1989, King 1988). Much of Black feminist scholarship has centered upon the principle of Intersectionality, evaluating the intersections of race, sex, gender, ethnicity, class, nationality, and sexuality (Collins, 1989, Higginbotham 1992, Spillers 1987). The different combinations of categories in addition to how national context impacts how they are shaped, developed, and deployed must be given special consideration to avoid assuming that these processes are the same for all women in general and women of African descent specifically. McCall (2009) argues for the utility of the intra categorical perspective because it “interrogates the boundary-making and boundary-defining process itself, ...it acknowledges the stable and even durable relationships that social categories represent at any given point in time,

though it maintains a critical stance toward categories.”(17, 2009). This intra categorical approach is problematic because understanding community formation occurs by devaluing individual experiences. Therefore while it does deconstruct categories because the analysis at the individual level is not included the impact of material consequences is obscured. Furthermore, it fails to resolve the key tension between articulating the subject position of groups with respect to individual difference, and it does not provide a mechanism to analyze the impact of individual experience to that of the larger group. These interventions are critical as it is important to ensure that while utilizing the ability of intersectional frames to capture the dynamic interactions of identity and institutions, that variation in the experiences of women is not undertheorized.

While Intersectionality provides as useful frame, it is important that the experiences of Hausa women and their approaches to addressing gender issues remain central. Additionally the literature of Intersectionality should not marginalize the work of Hausa and African Muslim feminist scholars. African feminists have highlighted the dangers of assuming the construction of gender in Western contexts as a normative yardstick. In *Deconfounding Gender: Feminist Theorizing and Western Culture, a Comment on Hawkesworth's 'Confounding Gender'*, Oeronke Oyewumi (1998) challenges the universality of the “Western” feminist experience by questioning the validity of gender and an analytical category. She critiques Hakesworth and other “Western” feminists for assuming that gender is a central organizing principle in every society. She argues that in Yoruba culture, age (seniority), ancestry and other categories take precedence over gender. But one must be careful here. I agree with Bakare-Yusuf that Oyewumi masks the ways in which gender still serves as a subtext for the power dynamics in other social categories. Additionally, Oyewumi essentializes Yoruba culture

and codes the term “Western” as white even though there are feminist theories advanced by women of African descent that live in the West in addition to women from Asia, Latin America, Eastern Europe, and other parts of the world that have raised similar critiques. Though Oyewumi focuses on power constructs within Yoruba societies her critique of Hakesworth is part of a larger discourse from some African gender scholars which resists the imposition of western gender power dynamics onto a diverse range of African contexts. While I do not fully agree with Oyewumi’s argument that gender has little to no relevance in Yoruba society, I do think she articulates a critical point regarding the importance of not assuming that power is structured based on universal norms. Furthermore, I think that the power dynamics within specific social hierarchies also need to be very carefully contextualized within particular national spaces. Therefore, analyzing how gender norms are created, articulated and conceptualized from the perspectives of West African Muslim women can contribute to feminist scholarship on the reciprocal relationships among gender, political and economic power, social discourse, and religion. Mainstreaming the experiences of Hausa serves to further develop this literature and create more textured experiences of women’s agency in different national contexts.

The works of Adamu (1999) emphasize the significance African Muslim women place on defining their efforts to mobilize around gender issues that are distinct from those of their Western counterparts joining the efforts of other feminist scholars critiquing the hegemony of western feminism (Bulbeck 1998, Okeke 1996, Oyewumi 1997& 2003, Ogunidipe-Leslie 1994, Kalu 1996, Adamu 1999, Amadiume 2000). This provides an opportunity to study the impacts of national and religious identities through an Intersectional framework. Moreover, the dangers of having their frameworks appear

to be strongly influenced by external discourses include having the women involved in these projects labeled “inauthentic” and depicted as “puppets of the West” by political and social leaders in their respective countries. Additionally, the perception that many of the international feminist movements and development organizations are dominated by non-Muslim organizations and ideological frames underscores the importance African Muslim women place on their autonomy (Adamu 1999, Imam 1997 & 2000). The blending of Intersectionality frames with Hausa women’s approaches to addressing gender issues is important because it prevents scholars from overreliance on a single standard interpretation of religion, Islam, to explain the activities and programmatic choices of their organizations. Instead by using Intersectionality the other social categories that Hausa women have membership in can be analyzed which illustrate the types of privilege that exist among Hausa women and which in turn impact the decisions they make. Furthermore, the ways in which Hausa women are interpreting Islam and couching their development work using Islamic references also demonstrates their ability to resist more conservative and restrictive interpretations of Islam that have been articulated by some of their male counterparts. Therefore there are three benefits to incorporating Intersectional theory with Hausa approaches to gender, 1) it uses their experiences addressing inequalities within two different national contexts as the central point of theorizing, 2) the nuances among Hausa women’s relationships to Islam are captured, and 3) the differences internal to Hausa women are illustrated.

Lemu (2007) highlights the tensions women sometimes feel as a result of very narrow and restrictive interpretations of Islam deployed by international political institutions and featured in official narratives (Ibrahin and Salihu 2007). Her solution is for women to increase their knowledge of Islam and the associated rights afforded to

women in order to combat attempts to silence or restrict them using Islamic frames (Lemu 2007). Concerns regarding the economic interests of their respective states also impact their strategies to address gender issues. Additionally, the relationships among cultural and social capital and how retaining both of them can then translate into accessing fiscal capital and other state resources needs to be explored. More specifically the ways in which the policing of the boundaries around identity categories like “Muslim woman” are explicitly connected to particular observable behaviors suggest that demonstrating certain cultural competencies can also result in obtaining social capital. As this study explores Hausa women are able to use social capital to augment their interactions with various state institutions. The impact of their activities on the state or regional level development goals and their relationship to a broader national development agenda need to be analyzed. Therefore understanding the impacts of politics and culture on producing a collective sense of national identity is essential.

Political Culture and the Construction of Collective National Identities

Many scholars argue that while a sense of nationalism was critical for the success of independence struggles, many post-independence Sub-Saharan African states have experienced difficulties sustaining a sense of national identity (Bratton 1994, Hyden, 2006, Bratton and van de Walle 1997). *Imagined Communities* is a key work on nationalism, which argues that the concept of nationalism exists largely in the imaginations of citizens (Anderson 1983). The role of “print-capitalism” is essential in this process of imprinting affinity with fellow “co-nationals” because it is not possible for the members of the nation to have direct face to face interactions (Anderson 1983).

Therefore their shared interests and sense of collective identity are solidified through media representations that treat citizens collectively as one single group. The narratives connected to nationalist sentiments and identities are reproduced and articulated through various forms of printed literature, which are also distributed by the state (Anderson 1983). Hobsbawm (2012) posits that one measure of the validity of a nation is directly related to the existence of a “territorial state” or the desire to create one. The construction of national identity as a project does not have to be connected to a geographic boundary, for example in the cases of a global Islamic identity and in the US context the concept of Black Nationalism.

In order to move beyond the older approaches to the study of nationalism which either incorporates forms of national identity limited to ideological or territorial communal spaces, Kathy Glass proposes her concept of syncre-nationalism which consists of both a geographic and ideological sense of identity in an effort to move beyond Anderson’s over emphasis on written materials in cultural production and Hobsbawm’s inclusion of the desire to possess a geographically bounded nation-state as a necessary component of nationalism (Glass, 2006). Syncre-nationalism occurs when individuals maintain membership and forms of allegiance to multiple nations, where at least one nation is territorially bounded and at least one nation is not. In this context a nation can take the form of a geographical state or can be ideological (including based on religion, identity, and culture or combinations of these factors) however in both instances the nation impacts the distribution and allocation of political and economic resources. I argue that the concept of syncre-nationalism allows space to analyze the relationships among different identities and institutions within and across geographical boundaries. The application of syncre-nationalism to the Hausa experience helps capture the temporal

dimension of identity formation specifically as it relates to their membership in a global Islamic community.

The cultivation of a sense of national identity in Islamic societies particularly within the confines of the nation state is impacted by the interconnections of gender, economic production, ethnic diversity, and religious interpretations. Additionally, the acceptance and contestation of structured relationships between the individual and the group also influence the creation and signification of identity categories. Studying this process through identity formation among populations that are politically and economically more marginal, allows a broad range of combinations of social categories. There are several works that focus on feminist political economy, identity, and Islam in West Africa. However, few focus specifically on the interactions of Hausa women located at all levels of society (Alidou 2005, Cooper 1997, Mama 1996, Bivins 2007). My study builds upon this literature by applying Intersectionality theories to capture the shifts in the meanings of identity categories and their contemporary deployment particularly as they vary by national context.

The impact of not fully exploring diversity among Hausa women can mask the power relations that result in the construction of political space through the assumption of fixed and homogenous identity categories. Furthermore, the policing of identity boundaries culminates in a hierarchical structuring of social categories (Hall and Taylor, 1996, Alexander-Floyd, 2007). These boundaries are important because they illustrate the definitions and types of behaviors and activities deemed appropriate for Hausa women. The ways in which certain Hausa women choose to resist specific constructs and accept others illustrates the shifts in cultural and social capital that are also impacted by political and economic constraints. The fact that some women are in positions to more directly

shape and contest cultural norms while others are not is important to analyze, which includes what sets of criteria and conditions allow women to occupy different social spaces. The relative levels of privilege of Hausa women can be observed by analyzing their NGO and CBO work. Therefore by conducting a comparative study of Hausa women's organizations in Nigeria and Ghana, any variations in the mutually constitutive nature of all social categories can be evaluated. Thus I explored which political instruments are being used to produce and disseminate the definition of categories and the delineations among these groupings. Identity formation becomes central to defining how individuals conceptualize themselves and their relationships to other groups and politics. Conceptualizing identity as the synthesis of external and internal constructs provides a framework through which differences among Hausa women can be conceptualized without being essentialist or privileging certain experiences (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000). Instead, it reflects the ways in which status along different social dimensions interact with each other. For example, family lineage can in some contexts attribute greater status to an individual than the amount of formal education they might have. External constructs are provided by such institutions as pre-colonial Hausa political structures, Kano local state government, and the state level Nigerian government. By contrast, internal constructs come from women that self-identify as Hausa women. These internal constructs vary depending on the woman or group of women that articulate them. Bivins (2007), similarly to sociological institutionalists, argues that Hausa culture functions as an institution (Hall and Taylor, 1996). Cultural institutions can be understood broadly as behaviors that are perceived to validate specific sets of social norms. While I agree with Bivins, it is also critical to understand the role of agency in changing and challenging culture given its dynamic nature. In other words the

ways in which women are asserting their own definitions and interpretations of cultural frames need to be the central point of theorizing rather than assuming that cultural institutions are purely externally derived constructs that are imposed on citizens. There are important elements of resistance that need to be analyzed. Being able to identify actions that illustrate agency requires that the macro structures such as history are studied in order to obtain a longitudinal picture of women's reactions to and interactions with particular gender narratives.

Historical explanations are able to outline critical junctures that make political consolidations toward representative government and democracy episodic rather than linear (Mahoney 2001, Rueschemeyer 1992). It is important to view history as clusters of events and factors rather than as a linear process (Almond 1973, Pierson, Mahoney and Thelen 2009, Cappocchia and Ziblatt 2010). This project argues that the creation of social categories and how they relate to each other through identity formation should be analyzed as additional critical time junctures. This is especially critical for democratic consolidation and transition because they often change with the economic and political needs of the state. Htun's work, *What it Means to Study Gender and the State* (2005) is critical because it: 1) contests the construction of the family as private 2) argues that the state is an extension of the gendered power relationships that exist in the nuclear family and 3) it provides a map onto the political landscape. Htun's work is particularly important in the context of the Hausa because the relationship between Islam and political institutions emphasizes the goal of continuity in gender roles between what is often construed as public and private (domestic) space. In this context the nuclear family model is replaced by a more extensive familial network. Furthermore the explicit commitment to ensuring similar power dynamics within the family and state structures

suggests that interactions among religious, social and cultural discourses and political institutions impact gender power hierarchies. In the context of Kano, Nigeria which operates under Sharia law there is an explicit articulation of the importance of maintaining similar power dynamics in the domestic and political spheres. Additionally, the relationship between the gender construct of women as producers of citizens and capital simultaneously needs to be explored as an integrated national project. The three political, economic, and social restructurings that Hausa women experienced provide an opportunity to observe how the congruence between women's contributions to the state articulated through political, social and cultural institutions and women's own understandings of their roles during these critical historical periods.

The Hausa have both a pre-Islamic and a pre-colonial history which is articulated through historians and produces different concepts of ethnic and national identity. Furthermore, contemporary conceptions of identity are layered upon the past becoming even more complex as the Hausa migrated from Nigeria to Ghana and other neighboring countries. The critical roles of historical contexts in the establishment and consolidation of democracy in Europe illustrates how the legacies of these frames impact contemporary democratic institutions (Moore 1996, Thelen & Mahoney 2009, Rueschemeyer 1992). Taking these studies into consideration, it is critical to think about the ways in which the role of Islam and Hausa identities as cultural capitals played a foundational role in African historical political institutions and the formation of various nationalisms (Surbueru 2001, Mustapha 2002, Laitin 1986). This work argues that history provides key insights particularly as the Hausa migrated from Nigeria to northern Ghana, taking the historical memory of their own migration and the impact of political institutions across national borders. For example, in the cases I studied, though collectively

marginalized by the state machinery, Hausa women have used civil society as a means to organize and challenge the external construction of their roles in society outlined by political institutions.

The literature on civil society in political science is extensive and full of debates regarding its definition, characteristics, and contributions (Habermas 1992, Gellner 1994, Frazer 1992, Kubik and Aronoff 2011). One way of thinking about it is that civil society is a contested space (Haberson 1994). Civil society groups can have different types of associations, relationships to existing political institutions, and connections to pre-colonial forms of social and economic associations, no single model of these connections can be assumed. Aronoff and Kubik define the “ideal type,” “Western” civil society as voluntary membership in a secondary group, but observe that other types of civil society also exists in other parts of the world. By contrast to the ideal type of “Western-like” civil society a secondary society exists that “may include both a modern NGO and a (semi) clandestine patron-client network” (Aronoff and Kubik 2011). Additional key criteria for civil society are that the organizational structures that govern the group are democratic and that they are transparent to members of the group (Kubik and Aronoff 2011). In the case of the Hausa there are specific structural components of women’s organizations that have remained and transformed under colonialism and post-independence. Using this construction expands the types of organizations that can be considered part of civil society. Furthermore, their conceptualization provides tools to assess organizations outside of the West, which historically have had context-specific organizational structures and specific, different from the Western context, relationships to political institutions. Blending Black feminist epistemology, which centers the experiences of women of African descent and illustrates their perspectives in order to

begin developing theory with a broader concept of civil society creates a more complete picture of the contributions of Hausa women's NGOs and CBOs.

Identifying civil society in the Muslim world can be complicated when attempting to conceptualize it in relation to the construction of public and private spaces (Yom 2005, Norton 2001). I would argue that in the context of Islamic political institutions there are deliberate attempts to undermine the distinction between explicitly public and private spaces. In this context, power and influence are attained when activities are successfully couched within Islamic frames and interpretations of Islam, to include the hadiths and Sharia. Therefore I argue that the ability of Hausa women to frame their NGO and CBO programs within the context of Islam is an expression of agency. Furthermore it illustrates how competing ideas of gender roles within Islam are being engaged through the interactions of structure and agency. For example, the rhetoric of the state, cultural and religious institutions highlight that part of fulfilling the role of a Muslim woman is creating a healthy environment for the family. Hausa women in turn have taken this element and expanded it to argue that in order to contribute to the well being of the family Muslim women must be educated, both formal and Islamic education, which in turn can also make women economic resources for their families (Imam 1997).

The power relationships among women who lobby state institutions for resources for their organizations as well as women who design and implement the programs and women who receive goods and services from these groups were observed through NGOs and CBOs. Many of the differences among Hausa women are evident through the framing and strategies developed to advance their respective struggles for equality as partners with the state. This work explores under what conditions cross sections of Hausa women work together on programming to include how and when the organizations

choose to work together or separately. Being able to evaluate these instances in the context of Islam provides additional insights into the role of civil society in Islamic states.

The activities of their organizations illustrate the role of women as progenitors rather than as benefactors of economic development and provide mechanisms to place key issues on the political and legislative agenda. The importance of motherhood cut across social positions making completion of child rearing the best predictor of economic activity outside the home. In Kano there are more direct relationships among NGO and CBOs in contrast to in Tamale, where these direct relationships with Muslim women's NGOs are non-existent. In terms of political space, organizations in Kano are focused more on highlighting concerns that face women and championing legislation that can augment them. These activities are undertaken primarily by groups that identify as Islamic or focus on vulnerable populations. Organizations created around development issues are focused on women being able to access their rights to development through addressing access and distribution of quality of services and resources.

Creating CBOs as self-sufficient units is also a priority. In Tamale, CBOs refrain from engagement with contemporary political institutions and the largest NGO for Muslim women informs women about relevant legislation rather than trying to directly shape or impact it through lobbying. In Ghana, relationships often span post to pre-colonial leadership whereas in Kano the connection between contemporary political structures and organizations is more pronounced. The differences among NGOs and CBOs in Kano and Tamale are also reflective of the economic and social production roles ascribed for Hausa women by the localized political systems in Nigeria and Ghana respectively.

Political Economy of Identity

In *Women's Studies and Studies of African Women During the 1990s*, Amina Mama writes that economics tends to be built upon “masculinist distinctions” between the formal and informal economy and the biological rather than social reproduction (1996). The work of Mama highlights the ways in which traditional approaches to economics erase the work of African women and underestimate their contributions to economic stability. Women often work at the intersections of these illusory delineations between formal and informal economic spaces. Furthermore in macroeconomic analysis the labor that women contribute inside of domestic space is considered “maternal altruism” and therefore not measured as a contribution or essential to the operations of labor market in other spheres.

African women's labor invalidates the formal and informal dichotomy, because in many ways the income-generating activities are seamless extensions of their domestic labor. This fact alone should be sufficient to initiate a critique of the public and private binary. Furthermore, the nuclear depiction of kinship networks is dismantled by the extensive trade networks which are a unique blend of extended family and social networks. These trade networks are a key site of financial transactions and are also a source for capital that women can access when engaged in trading in the market. In my work I contextualize Mama's critiques within the experiences of Hausa women in Kano and Tamale in an effort to assess their impact and suggest new theoretical directions for the ways we conceptualize labor and decision making frames for labor market participation.

The important role of religious and political institutions on the economy can be as critical as fiscal institutions and technological advances that increase labor force production (Polanyi 1957). I would argue further that in addition to religion and government the systemic impact of cultural, gender and political systems on economic production needs to be analyzed. The interactive effects of these complex factors also need to be evaluated.

The impact of the macro structure of the state on the micro processes of agency through labor makes this a central piece for political economy. There are several foundational works that attempt to expand theories that explain the connections among the preferences of groups, economic policy decisions, and democracy all of which can be mediated by the state and political institutions (Haggard and Kaufman 1995, Acemoglu and Robinson 2001). In order to understand contemporary and historical interconnections historical production relationships between Hausa women and the state need to be outlined as they play a critical role for the present day framework.

There are two canonical works on Hausa women's roles in Kano conducted during the 1970s and 1980s that focused on women in seclusion. First, Enid Schildkrout explained how Hausa women in seclusion (confined to the home compound) in the Old Kano city utilized their extensive economic and social networks to participate in the economy to trade and provide financial security for their daughters (Schildkrout 1976). Second, building on the work of Schildkrout, Barbara Callaway captured the impact of shifts in the economic agenda of Nigeria at the end of the 1970s. Callaway outlines the shifts in women's insular economic networks as access to education and professional training increased (Callaway 1988).

The work of both scholars highlights the importance of my research which analyzes the work of women beyond the seclusion and non-seclusion divide and instead focuses on women's relationships to each other. Furthermore, the shift to focusing on development (economic, education, and health) works through forming women's organizations as a response to new production roles for women, culminating in new forms of labor and social categories that have not been fully analyzed.

Brubaker and Cooper conceptualize the formation of collective identity as a dynamic and protracted struggle against internal identification and external categorization (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). They argue that collective identities are therefore not pre-established and are instead constructed and deconstructed under specific sets of conditions. Economic restructuring alters the relationships of cultural scripts to social categories. Defining membership in these identity groups is a political project. Therefore it is critical that the intersections of political economy and identity utilize qualitative and interpretive methods to capture three levels of interactions: 1) the individual to the groups of membership, 2) groups to each other, and 3) groups to institutional structures. The global economic crisis has highlighted the importance of developing tools that capture the mechanisms responsible for creating social categories and mediating power relations among groups within the state.

The work of political economists plays a central role in studying the impact of two central structures, political institutions and the economic machinery (policy, frames, budgetary allocations, distribution of resources based on state priorities) on democracy. French sociologist and cultural theorists Jean Baudrillard critiques the normative definition of value in political economy and instead posits that there are distinctions between economic and the signification values, though they are greatly reduced in more

modern societies (Baudrillard 1981). Consumption becomes institutionalized and culture becomes a constraint. His distinction is important, however the relationships among the consumption needs of the individual, groups and the state are a dynamic interaction between the economic and signification values.

As power shifts through economic and political restructuring tapping into nationalist narratives is often a strategy used to motivate citizens. Though these acts may be symbolic initially, they have a clear material value through the labor of citizens toward national political, economic, and social projects. Gender constructs and identity formation help shape the relationships between the state and citizens. Therefore, we need to conceptualize identity as a political project that structures the relationships of citizens to the state, citizens among themselves and their role as producers. Fernandes argues that an attempt to reduce representation to a homogenous unit is a political project because identities and social categories are diverse (Fernandes 1997).

Many feminist economists working on Africa argue that economics tend to built upon masculinist distinctions between the formal and informal economy and on biological rather than social reproduction (Mama 2001). There is also a rich body of literature of feminist political economy that will be engaged in this work. Much of the work of feminist economists focus on challenging the normative economic statistics categories, addressing the ways in which women's work get erased, and capturing different sets of data to create a more complete picture of their financial contributions and involvement in labor markets. The emphasis on economic location can also privilege class over other types of cleavages and demographic factors. Gender as a social category can facilitate transitions beyond singular class analysis or reliance on ethnicity or religion and instead include other factors such as lineage and educational levels on the ability of

citizens to relate to one another and the state which will be explored in the proposed project. Certain events can impact cultural categories that impact and structure interactions between citizens (Sewell 1996 & 1999).

Understanding how specific social categories are politicized, have material consequences, and occupy specific spaces in our social imaginings is critical to understanding how power is created, maintained and reproduced. This is particularly important for analyzing differences within groups. This work on Hausa women in two national contexts provides an opportunity to address the temporal dimensions of social categories and cultural institutions. The impact of the macro structure of the state on the micro processes of agency through labor makes this a central piece for political economy. There are several foundational works that attempt to expand upon literature that focused on the relationships between identity and democracy, more specifically structure and agency interactions that explain the connections among the preferences of groups, economic policy decisions, and democracy all of which can be mediated by the state and political institutions (Haggard and Kaufman 1995).

Conclusion

The ability of Hausa women to create economic and political space for themselves is explored in the next six chapters. Chapter Two includes a detailed description of the methods utilized in this study. Chapter Three outlines my theoretical framework which includes Intersectionality and Hausa feminism, political culture and nationalism, and political economy. In order to understand contemporary interconnections between women's economic production and their identity within the state, it is necessary to also understand historical production relationships as they play a critical role in the present

day framework which is explored in Chapter Four. The specific sectors of the economy that Hausa women's organizations are operating in are articulated in Chapter Five. The strategies of gender mobilization and their engagement of political systems are analyzed in Chapter Six. In each empirical Chapter, Chapters Four through Six, the discourses around gender, specifically women in politics, women in development, and women's societal roles) depicted in social media. In Kano newspapers were a key space for public discourse and in Tamale radio programs were utilized. The conclusions I reached are outlined in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODS

While working on this study I encountered two serious methodological obstacles. The first was related to the researcher's ability to obtain *any* data, the second – to collect reliable large-N data sets. More specifically, data collection was marred by the existence of very few accurate quantitative measures, practical complications associated with collecting information, unstandardized measures of political behavior making comparisons across cases difficult, and in some cases the complete absence of large-N studies. Such problems are not unrecognized in the literature. The logistical data constraints on research projects focused on “informal institutions, subnational organizations, and non-elite populations”, are explored in *Working Together: Collective Action, the Commons and Multiple Methods in Practice* (Ostrom, Janssen, Poteete 2010). My main tool was ethnography that is intensive fieldwork that provided me with the contextual knowledge that was used to illustrate the varied perspectives of Hausa women which are often not explored and which helped augment the previously outlined challenges to collecting data.

There are two key benefits of using mixed methodological approaches. First they enhance theory development and second the debates associated with applying multiple methods to a research agenda require scholars to discuss the limitations and benefits of utilizing specific methodological tools (Ostrom, Janssen, Poteete 2010). Analyzing the practical challenges and contributions of applying mixed methods has increased the visibility of qualitative approaches. In order to maximize the benefits of combining methods it is essential to also establish coherence among theoretical arguments, and ontological and epistemological assumptions (Hall 2003, Brady and Collier 2004).

In my study utilizing interpretivist ethnographic methods creates a very textured picture of the dynamics and interactions among women and between women and the state. However, being able to broadly generalize about groups of Muslim women outside of these contexts is limited in some ways. Ethnography and semi-structured interviews provide a comprehensive depiction of the local dynamics. The same amount of specificity would need to be applied in other contexts to compare knowledge. There are two ways that I was able to address these limitations by combining them with other methods. First by conducting a comparative study of two cases of Hausa women's in two different national contexts the ways in which women activities and their interactions with different actors varied and remained similar was explored. This in turn strengthened the ability to generate knowledge that is contextually relevant to a larger body of cases. Statistical data often provides a one-dimensional picture of work that is captured and prioritized by the state, which leaves other types of mobilization and economic engagement less visible. By centering the experiences of Hausa women I was able to utilize their perspectives to speak back to the statistical data on labor and policy prescriptions for development and women generated by the state. These two methods provided empirical data about women's economic and political activities and revealed gaps present in quantitative data. Furthermore the agency of Hausa women is showcased including the ways they define development, how they situate their work within the context of Islam, and their mobilization strategies around gender which at times includes engaging political structures. Oral histories allowed participants to identify key periods during which women contributed to societal development. These histories helped illuminate the processes by which shifts in the roles of women changed over temporal and geographic contexts. Understanding these shifts provides insights into the ways in

which gender and production roles are linked to and vary based on the development goals of the state.

My research question is: how does the micro level agency of Hausa women interact with complex sets of larger structural factors? The methods I utilized were selected because they captured the types of data required to answer my research question. Kubik identifies five types of ethnography, “positivistic, interpretive, and postmodern (including multi-sited), global, and para-ethnography.” (Aronoff and Kubik 2011, 93) I used interpretivist ethnography (Aronoff and Kubik 2011) to capture the diversity of Hausa women’s experiences both within and across cases. Interpretivist ethnography is particularly useful

“In reference to power, the central object of interest for both political scientists and political anthropologists, both positivistic and interpretive ethnographies are indispensable for studying: (a) overlooked (informal dimensions of) power (Abeles 2004), (b) hidden (faces of) power (Lukes 1974, Gaventa 1980), (c) inaccessible (mechanisms of) power, for example in early stages of protest mobilization (Bayard de Volo & Schatz 2004:269), (d) ostensibly inconspicuous resistance to power (Scott 1990), (e) ambiguous (effects of) power exercise (Wedeen 1999), and (f) cultural construction of agents and subjects of power (Mahmood 2005). Additionally, interpretive ethnography is crucial for exposing the relations between power and meaning in concrete situations. In other words it is a powerful approach for studying the relationship between political and semiotic practices. Its significance for political analysis has become clearer as a growing number of political scientists—particularly in comparative politics—work within a constructivist paradigm and design their research programs around such principles as: (1) ontological realism,³² (2) constructivism/interpretivism, and (3) micro-focus on “small scale” mechanisms.” (Aronoff and Kubik 2011, 92-93)

Additionally, the reliability of the quantitative data that is available in Nigeria and Ghana makes having pictures of the microprocesses on the ground essential to creating a complete picture of Hausa women’s political and economic activities. Furthermore, the mutually constitutive relationship of religious, cultural and political institutions and agency, articulated through different types of women’s organizations, is best studied via ethnographic fieldwork. As Ostrom et.al (2010) argue “Data compiled by national and international agencies do not address many issues at the subnational level and are often blind to both informal institutions and non-elite actors...Reliable and comprehensive data

sources often do not exist for nongovernmental organizations, informal institutions, or collective action. In part, the lack of readily available data on informal institutions, subnational phenomena, non-elite actors, and other similar topics reflects the difficulty of data collection. Informality and non-elite status imply a need for local knowledge and trust. In the absence of trust, local actors may hesitate to provide accurate information about themselves, their practices, or other informal institutions” (Ostrom, Janssen, Poteete 2010, 17).

One clear example of such interactions include the ways that NGOs intervene with local political leaders to ensure that women from CBOs are included in key decision making processes about access to health facilities. For example the Grassroots Health Organization of Nigeria (GHON) undertook a project geared toward providing Kano state government with feedback about how well communities are able to access health facilities and medications. During a preliminary program meeting with village political and community leaders, GHON insisted that women from the community represent their own interests. This was in direct contrast to the local political leadership who stated that the men could represent the interests of women. The intervention by GHON challenged the idea that women did not need to be integrated into decision-making processes within that particular community. By securing the location of women in that space it also provided a mechanism for the women of the community to provide direct feedback to their own village head in addition to the officials in the health ministry in the local government area. It is important to note that there are questions about which women were selected by the community leadership to participate. Additionally, when NGOs are in this position it is also possible that they may not take this type of action which can

further marginalize women however through my observations GHON consistently made these choices.

Exploring these types of interactions highlights the ways in which women resist, accept, and at times promote various components of the agenda of the state. While part of the goal of the project was giving information to the state about their goods and service delivery, it also created a space to confront perceptions that women should not play leadership roles in these instances. Furthermore GHON also underscored during the meetings with women that these community development groups can be used to mobilize around other issues long after GHON's program was completed. The activities of GHON have both political and economic implications because this type of development program work is not reflected on the labor data or roles of women articulated in policy making frames of the state government in Kano, Nigeria.

There are several gaps in statistical representations of the economic and political contributions of Hausa women. Ostrom et.al highlight the ability of multiple methods to address limitations in data.

“There are many important topics for which broadly comparative data are scarce, difficult to access, or of dubious quality. Liberman, however, does not address these challenges. Even if data availability is not a problem, the value of a multimethod approach requires sufficient command of multiple methods. Yet considerable investment is required to gain competency in any methodology, and the benefits of methodological specialization are substantial...We are particularly concerned with research on topics for which data are scarce, difficult to collect, and not readily comparable. These conditions affect research on a wide variety of topics, including those concerned with informal institutions, subnational organizations, and nonelite populations. We focus on collective action for the action for the management of natural resources, an area of research in which all of these conditions apply. For such topics, data for large-N analysis are neither available nor readily accessible, and field research is unavoidable. Researchers often need considerable contextual knowledge even to recognize the phenomena of interest. The need to conduct intensive fieldwork limits the potential for collecting enough data to support broadly comparative analysis.” (Ostrom, Janssen, Poteete 2010, 5)

While in the field I opted to maximize rich descriptions of the activities and perspectives of a representative cross section of NGOs and Hausa women. I attempted to

address the challenge of directly connecting data collected in the field to my research agenda, underscored by Ostrom et. Al (2010), by specifically associating each method with a research question. Additionally, I collected different types of data in order to create a more complete picture.

In this study I attempt to use methods that capture the impact of interactions between structure and agency on the development of identity constructs that are critical to understanding the links between political mobilization and economic activity. I explore the multiple layers of meaning by utilizing a mixed-methods approach that includes: ethnography, semi-structured interviews, statistical data on labor, policy briefs and white papers, and oral histories. Such a multi-method approach allows me to capture the experiences of diverse groups of African women as political, social and economic actors while avoiding essentializing their perspectives. These variations are revealed in my analysis of the conditions that drive specific modes of production for Hausa women. Additionally, my exploration of these dynamics helps me to examine the impact of production roles on the complicated relationships between women and their communities.

Interpretive Ethnography and Semi-Structured Interviews

Ethnography through participant observation is one of the most effective ways to capture the micro processes. The macro processes can be represented through the use of quantitative databases about women's labor from state and NGO and CBO databases. The relationships between the types of work that the state encourages women to engage in through specific policies will be reflected in statistical studies. Interviews of Hausa women help illustrate the women's perspectives of the interactions of structure and

agency. The social position of each woman impacts her role within the women's organization. Essentially there are three positions that can be occupied, provides resources for programming, designs and implements programs, receives services and participates in programs. Furthermore, the impact of the types of work that Hausa women engage in on their self-defined roles as citizens in response to the roles and duties the state ascribes to them can be analyzed across professional sectors because the programs that organizations are engaged in include education, health and income-generating activities the dominant industries.

Studying NGOs and CBOS is the best way to explore the intersections of gender, economic participation, and nationalism because Hausa women at all levels of society are providing, supporting or receiving services from these organizations. Through ethnography and semi-structured interviews I was able to analyze the types of relationships between women and political institutions (contemporary and pre-colonial) I captured shifts in the flexibility of the roles of women and men in the family and society. Second, in addition to exploring new sectors of the economy women participate in, my work depicts how women reinterpret and alter their more normative production activities.

There are three critical actors in the formation of national identity: the state, non-governmental and community based organizations (civil society), and citizens with varying levels of power. Therefore, in order to capture the perspectives of each actor an interpretive approach, I will blend Black feminist epistemology, which focuses makes the experiences of women of African descent the central point of theorizing, compares women of African descent to other women of African descent and explores how meanings are produced and what their political and material consequences are, with

interpretivist ethnographic methods (Collins 1989 & 2000, Sewell 1999, Norton 2004, Alexander-Floyd 2007 & 2008, Jordan-Zachary 2007, Kubik 2009, Cooghan-Gehr 2011).

Studies utilizing ethnographic methods contribute much to reconciling the interpretations of power understood by scholars and research participants. This work situates itself within critical discussions among political scientists about the benefits of ethnography for political scientists (Schatz 2009, Kubik 2009, Wood, 2009, Aronoff and Kubik 2012). The recent volume Political Ethnography edited by Edward Schatz poses several key issues about the benefits of ethnography for political scientists as a means to provide more insight into dynamics at the micro level and their impact on the macro. The application of ethnography in political science has two central characteristics: first, it utilizes some form of participant observation and second, it relies on in-depth immersion in a specific context to provide insights into the dimensions of meaning making (Schatz 2009). Cedric Jourde applies political ethnography in his work *The Ethnographic Sensibility: Overlooked Authoritarian Dynamics and Islamic Ambivalences in West Africa* to identify “unidentified political objects” a term coined by Martin (Jourde 2009). Jourde’s work is particularly relevant for my project that employs ethnographic techniques to analyze the mechanisms that construct gendered identity categories among the Hausa because it explores the political implications of development and economic activities which previously have not been defined as political engagements in this context.

Analyzing how women relate to other women was explored through participant observation. I outlined the types of institutional support relationships (financial or social) into six categories, 1) international, 2) national-level, 3) regional or state –level, 4) local-level, 5) pre-colonial political institutions, 6) no interaction or affiliation. The role of

identity in the mobilization strategies of different organizations to include explicit reference to Islam, gender, vulnerable populations or a programmatic focus on development issues were captured. Furthermore the goals of respective Hausa women's organizations which can include an emphasis on strategic goals (broad policy changes, empowerment of women and expanding the normative roles of women), practical goals (access to water, health, housing), or combinations of the two were outlined. In addition, the level of association among NGOs and CBOs at each research site and across research sites was also analyzed.

The participant observation of NGO and CBO programs and the interviews of Hausa women will illustrate the perspectives of women at all societal levels regarding their self-determined identities and those promoted by the state. Therefore the data obtained about the structure of identity formation created by the institutions and the agency provided by the women will be read against each other to identify tensions and depict a holistic mechanism capable of creating national identity from the perspectives of all actors, the state, civil society and the citizens (at all levels) (Leech 2002). I observed the programs that are conducted by the Grassroots Health Organization of Nigeria (GHON) and meetings with their NGO and CBO networks. GHON officials, volunteers, and clients were interviewed to outline their interactions with each other. Observing GHON, given the breadth of its development work and the different women that meet through the organization, revealed levels of privilege among Hausa women. I also observed other women's organizations to include the Voice of Widows Orphans and Vulnerable Children (VOWAN), Women Development Network (WODEN), Muslim Sisters Organization (MSO), Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria (FOMWAN), and several CBOs from trading cooperatives, health cooperatives and

development associations. The process in Kano was repeated in Tamale, where they use primarily community based groups.

In Ghana, I observed meetings of the Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Ghana (FOMWAG) and CBOs meetings with the Elders and Youth CBO groups. The majority of models of women's cooperative behavior focus on agriculture (Aromorolan 2008). The limitations of cooperative behavior models among women that are centered upon agricultural production are outlined by the participant observation of the NGOs and their relationships to CBOs in addition to the ways they operate independently. Meetings with staff and documents produced by members of the Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Women's Affairs, and the Ministry of Social Work were also sources of data which outlined the perspectives of the state including their development priorities. Snowball sampling was used to obtain participants for the semi-structured interviews as they reflected different combinations of the social status variables outlined above (Goodman 1961).

It is important to note that my work began with understanding the varied perspectives of Hausa women. The quantitative data was analyzed last. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with thirty two women in Kano and Tamale respectively to understand the relationship between the economic activities of Hausa women and the state. There were six interviews conducted with men in the two research sites, resulting in a total of seventy interviews. The moments of critical intervention of Hausa women in the state were captured through interviews and reading the historical record to identify the periods and activities that resonate with women and are reflected in their imaginations of the state. The women interviewed included professional women, NGO and CBO officials at multiple levels, market women engaged in trade, and traditional birth

attendants. These semi-structured interviews of women between the ages of twenty and eighty were conducted in individual homes, offices, and the marketplace. The interviews were structured to provide research participants with an opportunity to articulate their perspectives on the political and economic phenomena being studied.

More specifically, the key variables analyzed included: age, type of organization (non-governmental, community based organization), marital status, number of children total-living-in home outside of the home, family background, formal education, and Quranic education. Additionally, semi complex variables like: how an organization identifies itself (women or gender in title), employees/co-workers/colleagues, members of/affiliated with other organizations or networks, other types of work aside from NGO or CBO, interpretations of the role of women in Islam, reasons for founding the organization, connection to contemporary or pre-colonial leadership, sources of funding, registration-national and state level were also included. The information also served to create detailed organizational profiles. The order of interviews was also important to note. I began by interviewing women that were clients of the organizations and then moved on the women that conducted programs and the leaders of selected organizations.

Semi-structured interviews of Hausa women illustrated the perspectives of women in different social locations and helped me to identify complex patterns of interaction between their self-determined identities and those promoted by the state. Therefore the statistical data and policy papers obtained about the structure of identity formation provided by the institutions and the agency provided by the women were read against each other to identify tensions and paint a more complete picture of the creation of national identity from the perspectives of all actors, the state, civil society and the citizens.

Oral Histories

The moments of critical intervention of Hausa women in the state were captured through oral histories and reading the historical record to identify the periods and activities that resonate with women and are reflected in their imaginations of the state. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with women and men in Kano and Tamale to understand the relationship between the economic activities of Hausa women and the state. The participant observation of NGO and CBO programs analyzed how women relate to other women.

I rely on the work of Lisa Wedeen and other interpretivist and feminist scholars to understand the ways in which power is produced, reproduced and distributed through symbols of political culture and historical memory, specifically in the context of Islam (2002). Identifying the combinations of individuals and institutions with the power to define and structure gender roles and associated political and economic behavior are also uncovered. At least three critical political and economic reorganizations occurred during the history of the Hausa which impacted the formation of national identity among the Hausa in general and more specifically in Kano and Tamale. Therefore, in order to capture the perspectives of individual citizens, collective groups of citizens, and political institutions, an interpretive approach which focuses on how meanings are produced and their political and material consequences was used (Norton 2004, Sewell 1999, Kubik 2009).

The pre-colonial production roles of women in Hausaland were captured through oral histories. I constructed two oral histories in each research site to supplement the

written accounts of the founding of Hausaland and Kano, Nigeria. Each oral history consisted of two interviews with each participant over a two week period. The individuals selected for the interviews were from different levels of society, as their social location was likely shape their narrative. The oral interviews reflected the approach of Bivins critical work Telling stories, Making Histories: women, words and Islam in nineteenth-century Hausaland and the Sokoto-Caliphate (Bivins 2007). The oral histories sought to illustrate how the work and activities of Hausa women were remembered in the imaginations of the participants. The key element was to outline the historical periods when the greatest contributions of women were understood or highlighted and remembered.

Addressing Power Dynamics in Research

I attempted to maintain a high level of reflexivity about the power dynamics among myself and the research participants in the tradition of feminist scholars engaged in field work (Kleinman 2007, Nager and Giger 2007). More specifically I discussed issues of reciprocity and clearly articulated why I chose to undertake my research study. Any concerns that participants had about participating in my research were discussed and addressed if possible. I also talked about ways in which I could make my work accessible to communities at my research sites, which was one of the things they were interested in having occur. I also made it clear that I was making a long-term investment in producing scholarship on these issues particularly in these two research sites. The ability to construct a narrative is powerful and therefore I also used my multi-methods approach to think about the power differentials that existed in the types of data I

collected. Attending workshops, participating in conferences and being an active part of the academic community also provided a forum to address and reveal my own biases.

Case Selection

Nigeria is a presidential federal republic in which three levels of government function, federal, state, and local. Kano State also functions as a Muslim state operating under Sharia and an underlying traditional political system remains active. Ghana, in contrast, is a constitutional democracy. In Ghana there are federal, regional, and local governments of which traditional political structures play a critical role. In Tamale in northern Ghana non-local peoples traditionally lived in designated areas called Zongos. The Hausa in Tamale have their own community structure within the Zongo. Both Kano and Tamale are located in the northern region of their states and have similar infrastructure obstacles, resulting in citizens relying, to varying degrees, on both contemporary and traditional political systems to access the necessary economic and social resources. In Kano the Hausa are the ethnic majority and in Tamale they are an ethnic minority, providing a great contrast to determine the relative impacts of gender constructs on economic and social production on national identity.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORY

Introduction

Studying civil society organizations is an effective way to explore the dynamic interplay of gender constructs, economic participation, and religion. I choose to focus on Hausa women because at all levels of society they are supporting, providing or receiving services from the organizations belonging to civil society. My primary focus in this study is to highlight the role of Hausa women's NGOs and CBOs, in creating economic and political structures to address their own development agendas. I explore the ways in which *specific forms* of women's work become counter-hegemonic strategies which produce different narrative as women respond – economically and socially – to shifts in structural conditions. I recognize that there are differences among women located in different social strata and different locations. In each social and/or geographical location there are different combinations of Hausa women's self-defined roles (embedded in specific articulations of local cultures) and the roles and duties attributed to them that are reflective of the Islamic perspectives articulated by social leaders and contemporary political institutions. When their agency is institutionalized via the formation of several organizations such hybrids become quite complex because the women and the organizations need to interact with different sets of political actors. It is therefore challenging to grasp how African women use their agency to interpret Islam to advance their own economic and political interests without extensive analysis of their activities (Jamal 2007).

There are three bodies of literature utilized to frame this work and disentangle the multi-layered interactions. I use:(1) feminist theory, specifically a theory of

Intersectionality and African Muslim feminisms, to conceptualize identity formation; (2) studies of politics and culture to understand how the nation state forms a sense of collective identity, more specifically how identity and political institutions interact; and, finally, (3) political economy to analyze how the types of production requirements for women articulated by the state relate to national economic and political projects.

Production requirements are the contributions that women collectively as a group are expected to contribute to the construction, maintenance of the state. These contributions can be 1) economic specifically labor that enhances the fiscal revenue of the state, 2) socio-cultural , exhibiting observable behaviors that symbolically relate to the roles (economic, biological and socio-cultural) of women within the national context, 3) biological which refers to the creation of new citizens through maternal labor. These three areas collectively become important to the political stability of the state and also serve as a measure of the strength of the state.

Intersectionality theory provides a frame to analyze the diverse perspectives and identities of Hausa women while also highlighting any shared structural obstacles they might face. Ayesha Imam argues that women chose to frame their struggle for equality in the context of being good mothers, wives, and Muslims serving as the moral vanguard of their respective communities (Imam 2003). Theorizing from the perspectives of individuals as key agents allows studying the construction of identity formation from the bottom up rather than top down. It is critical to understand how Muslim women are conceptualizing their roles in society and the institutional relationships between public and private spaces, which are not understood or depicted as explicitly distinct. The goal is not to create a static template for the formation of identity but rather to develop a theory that captures and analyzes the processes surrounding specific interactions of social

categories. The primary contribution of Intersectionality is that it provides a theoretical framework to analyze how women conceptualize their multiple identities and negotiate between what can at times be viewed as competing sets of interests with material, social and political consequences. It also provides a frame to understand the relationships of identity, interests, and the formation of organizations to attain outlined goals.

For example, while studying the formation of groups outside of political institutions the researcher can shed light on the tensions between reformist and progressive women's movements and deal with the critique that practical goals are attained at the expense of policy and more fundamental critiques of power (Weldon 2011, Gunnarsson 2011, Ibrahim, Salihu 2007). Such tensions are visible in the debates between Black feminists, to include Intersectionality and post-structuralist approaches to women's mobilization (Coogan-Gehr 2011, Crenshaw 1989, Higginbotham 1992). In particular, the critique that seeking redress from the state through different social categories risks reifying the very essentialist identity categories being deconstructed is examined through the experiences of Hausa women. The work of Alexander-Floyd on Black feminism, particularly Black feminist epistemology, and gender and Black Nationalism is critical for my work because it explores the relationship between women the state and the challenges associated with creating political communities outside of normative political institutions while simultaneously bringing claims before the state.

Highlighting the feminist traditions of Hausa women specifically and African Muslim women more broadly ensures that their theoretical contributions are not eclipsed by western feminist scholarship (Mama 1996, Imam 1997, Adamu 1999, Yusuf 2007 and 2010, Kabir 2010, Ibrahim 2007, Salihu 2007, and Alidou 2005). My work engages in conversation with the work of Crenshaw (1991, 1989, 2010), Springer (2002), Hancock

(2007), Spillers (1987, 1996), and Coogan-Gehr (2011). I rely on the work of Gwendolyn Mikell (1995, 1997) on African feminisms that explores the interchanges between women and the state in a variety of contexts, thereby expanding feminist theories about the myriad of positions women can occupy. Barbara Callaway's research produced a keystone work that explored the experiences of Hausa women in Kano, and read together with this project provides a longitudinal study of their economic, social, and political experiences (1987). Understanding changes in the interactions of women and contemporary political institutions illustrates shifts in meanings and associated gender roles. Given that much of the simplification of social categories is often the result of policy frameworks instituted by the state it is necessary to understand how individuals use their agency to challenge these external constructions by state, social, and cultural institutions. To understand the extent to which these tools of the state are reflected in the structure of women's organizations requires that the interplay of culture and political institutions is fully explored.

In order to understand the interactions of politics and culture and the process through which states establish a sense of collective identity, the concept of national identity needs to be examined. The conceptualizations of nationalism that I will draw upon come from the work of Mazuri (1980), Suberu (2001), Glass (2006), and Lomeier (1997), because they argue that the idea of a nation can exist without or beyond geographic boundaries. In addition, I also expand beyond Anderson's (1983) emphasis on the power of nationalism articulated through printed text and instead also focus on how pronounced historical memories have equal levels of resonance and impact.

The ability to forge a collective sense of community and access political institutions that legitimize and provide access to and distribution of resources to its

members is analyzed. In the case of Hausa women, social capital is typically earned not only through individual achievements, but more importantly through the ability to exhibit socially accepted norms associated with being a proper “Muslim woman.” External adherence to different indicators including what is considered Islamic behavior also provides some space to engage in work through their organizations. Utilizing literature which explores the emic versus etic concepts (Berry 1979 & 1999) of political culture provide additional tools to explain Hausa women’s negotiation of cultural norms around varied individual and collective women’s interests. Finally, a brief overview of the formation of the Nigerian and Ghanaian state with an emphasis on the role of identity in state formation strategies is provided. Analyzing the historical context illustrates variations in the choices of Hausa women’s organizations to engage contemporary or pre-colonial political institutions.

The contested space of civil society becomes further complicated within the context of Islam. In Kano, civil society functions under Sharia law and in Tamale, though not under Sharia law, the community is operating in an Islamic social and political context. The interconnections of public and private spaces among the Hausa accords additional significance to women’s civil society organizations because the success of their strategies also impact gender roles within the home. This in part explains the importance Hausa women place on defining development and their approaches to addressing gender inequality on their own terms. Being perceived as anti-Islamic or unduly influenced by western feminists result in increased resistance to their activities. The primary concern and preoccupation with the state and cultural and religious leaders is that women are going to abandon their roles in domestic life in pursuit of asserting political dominance over men. The blurring of state (public-political) and society

(private-domestic) is therefore accompanied by very specific articulations of appropriate gender roles outlined by macro structures. Therefore studying the ways that Hausa women are negotiating these boundaries also provides additional insights into the role of civil society in altering the topographical changes of the institutional landscape. The attempts to maintain continuity between gendered power dynamics within the home and the state mean that women's activities through NGOs and CBOs have direct implications for altering domestic relationships. In other words a woman vying for executive office for example is interpreted as an effort for women to unseat the husband as the assumed head of household and replace him with his wife. The implications are even more direct because according to many participants according to Islam women are encouraged to be politically active, including voting and running for national assembly however executive offices are slated for male leadership. The historical memory where the introduction of Islam also coincides with the removal of women from executive political office also highlights that women's role in an executive position as head of state is connected with being "un-Islamic". In addition to their own political and economic history, the broader and overarching global Islamic community to which Hausa women belong also impacts their interactions with national frames and corresponding rhetoric and discourses.

The ways in which the production requirements of different citizens reflect the relationships between identity and politics is adeptly captured through the work of several political economists. Kaufman and Haggard (1995) and other scholars analyze the intersections of identity and interests on democracy transitions (Ong 1987 & 2006). By foregrounding gender in theories of political economy Fernandes (1997) and other scholars expand this literature by accounting for the dynamic interactions of social categories and the role of agency in resisting and accepting the normative production

roles. Building on these traditions I push their work further by using the activity of Hausa women's organizations to conceptualize and accommodate broader models of family structures in addition to different strategies women employ to articulate their interests and that impact decision making. There are also two specific economic theories that I challenge: time allocation theory and the static family labor model. As these two models are built upon basic assumptions of economic theory in general and approaches to political economy specifically. By deconstructing the level of rigidity in these two models I illustrate the multiple ways women actively engage economic and social sectors which challenge the way difference gets produced and articulated by the state.

Intersectionality and Hausa Feminist Theory

Feminist scholarship in political science has contributed much to theorizing the types of political engagement by women (Carroll 1993 & 2001, Callaway 1994, Fernandes 1997 & 2004, Tolleson-Rinehart and Carroll 2006, Alexander-Floyd 2007, Dhamoon 2011). More specifically the work of Ali Tripp (2003 2004, 2006, 2007), Alice Kang (2008, 2012), and Josephine Ahikire (2007, 2008) have done extensive work on women and representation in Africa, mobilization of women in northern Africa and African feminism respectively. In *Feminist Challenges to Political Science*, Sue Carroll and Linda Zerilli (1993) outline the key theoretical and methodological contributions that the field of women and politics makes to political science. The three central functions of scholarship in women and politics include: (1) critiquing political theory for designating women as apolitical, (2) increasing the visibility of women as political actors, and finally (3) critiquing the traditional political framings and definitions for being incapable of

conceptualizing gender dynamics and women as political actors (Carroll and Zerilli 1993). My study contributes to scholarship in each of these areas and further develops literature on intersectionality, African Muslim feminisms, and gender, identity and women's interactions with the state. In the next sections I will place African American feminist literature in conversation with Hausa feminism scholars to locate points of continuity in terms of how they relate to the state and petition it for recourse.

Intersectionality Theory

The concept of Intersectionality gained prominence during the 1980s and the early 1990s through the work of critical race and legal studies. Much of Black feminist scholarship has centered upon the principle of Intersectionality, evaluating the intersections of race, sex, gender, ethnicity, class, nationality, and sexuality (Collins, 1989, Higginbotham 1992, Spillers 1987). These scholars argue that special consideration must be given to different combinations of these identity categories and the way in which national context impacts how they are shaped, developed, and deployed. This should be done to avoid assuming that the processes via which these categories generate actual identities on the ground are the same for all women in general and women of African descent specifically.

Dhamoon (2011) highlights the benefits of Intersectionality for political science when she argues that it “adds an understanding of processes and systems because it provides a multidimensional analysis of how power operates and its effects on different levels of political life” (2011, 233). In an effort to avoid the dangers of essentialism and the potential risk of reinforcing the categories we want to critique she proposes focusing on analyzing “the processes and systems that constitute, govern and counter difference”

to illustrate different subjectivities through political institutions (Dhamoon 2011). I think it is important to account for varied perspectives. However, the import role of agency that subjects exercise must also be evaluated. Additionally, based on the location of a subject within social and political institutions can also serve to strengthen their ability to shape discourses around specific identity groups also needs to be examined. Each of these considerations I try to address in this study.

While Dhamoon (2011) does acknowledge the origins of the concept of Intersectionality in the work of Crenshaw and others, she does not reference Black feminist theoretical approaches, which serve to address the limitations of Intersectionality she is concerned with, namely essentialism. Black feminist epistemological approaches make women's vernacular categories the center of theorizing. Thus, in their perspectives, concepts developed and employed by the studied women participants themselves are the foundation rather than periphery of what is being analyzed. Second, by examining individual experiences of the members of particular groups of women of African descent a danger of homogenizing their perspectives under an "imported" conceptual agenda is mitigated. Their experiences are validated as important subjects of research without "judging" their experiences by the standards provided by the study of normative groups that have been naturalized as "proper" political actors in the literature. Such considerations allow me to create analytical tools to depict the dynamic changes between structure, agency and identity using ethnography (see also Coogan-Gehr 2011).

I would further argue that in cases where women are creating their own political spaces and also engage the state, Intersectionality illustrates the ways in which mobilization around specific combinations of identity categories can also be radical. Because political structures often over simplify social categories and groups when

devising policy prescriptions, therefore by asserting more complex models of identity women are able to push back against state generated homogenous constructions of their identities. When this occurs women are validating their rights as citizens to have their needs addressed on their own more nuanced and localized terms. This happens, for example, in cases when a group of women that are marginalized in their relationship to the state assert their claims and thereby explode narrow frames of identity constructs imposed on them and as a result repositions its location in political institutions.

Some of the parallels between research interests and women's strategies of mobilization among African American women and women in the "global south" can be carefully drawn. Cooghan-Gehr (2011) illustrates points of continuity among the research interests of Black feminists and women in the global south in the work she initially established in the 1970s. Rather than focus on how capitalism and development negatively impacted economic and politically marginal groups, particularly women of color, scholars in the west emphasized their own research on women and development in "global south" countries (Cooghan-Gehr, 2011). Development issues were defined as housing education, health care, and poverty in the global south which were tantamount to social issues in the west. (Cooghan-Gehr, 2011) The particular debates in feminist scholarship around liberal feminist approaches and critiques waged by Black feminists and other women of color in the United States and feminists in the "global south" have further sharpened the analytical tools capable of capturing and placing the diverse experiences of women at the center of research enterprises thereby contributing to knowledge in respective fields and across disciplines. Therefore, contextualizing women and politics literature within the experiences of Hausa feminisms and Black feminist theory to include Intersectionality provides a comprehensive framework to analyze the

economic and political work of Hausa women. I am not arguing that the relationships of African American and Hausa women to the normative political machinery in their respective countries are identical. Rather I am drawing on the traditions of Black feminist scholarship to include Intersectionality to illustrate the perspectives of Hausa women by making them the center of theorizing and comparing their experiences across national contexts.

Adamu and Imam posit that Hausa women in particular and African Muslim women more broadly understand their own work within an Islamic frame. More specifically, they engage cultural norms that place a strong emphasis on motherhood and the role of women within the family (2007, 1999). But while many Hausa women are grounding the programs and strategies of their organizations in Islam, the variety of ways in which being Muslim is understood and applied must be examined. By using the concept of Intersectionality and Black feminist theory I attempt to unpack how women are interpreting their roles within Islam and how their interpretations connect with duties outlined for them by the state. These relationships are important because of the way religion and political institutions are intertwined. Furthermore, inspired by Adamu (1999) and Imam (1997 & 2003), I analyze the impact of individual experiences in relation to that of the larger group. By capturing snapshots of points of congruence and coalition formation I am able to provide a more textured model of women's experiences and strategies. The activities of these organizations also provide insight into the interplay of identities, interests and substantive representation of those interests to different sets of political actors.

Weldon (2011) argues that shared identity does not mean shared interests. She also recognizes that creating a universal position ignores the experiences of women of

color (Weldon 2011). Instead she argues that a conceptualization of women's perspectives as articulated by Iris Young (1994) allows for "an account of the social category "women" that encompasses "both the impressive political solidarity of women and the deep conflicts of interest among women" (Weldon 2011, 443). Discussions that ensue within organizations are an expression of the diversity in the perspectives of members and therefore initiate a democratic process. Yet her frame fails to account for the variation she argues is required, because there are women who function as gatekeepers that further determine which women have visibility and which women are invisible. The work described here posits that membership in a particular identity category does not mean all women in this category have identical interests. Weldon's use of identity seems to be overly simplistic (2011). She misses, for example, the fact that there are critical moments when the way that the state oversimplifies different gendered identity categories structures some relationships in ways that impact the members of target populations of top-down policies. Moreover, the key question is not if members are impacted but rather in what ways, how are they different from other women, and are there points when various consequences are offset by employing alternative engagements? The moments when there are greater similarities among individual members of groups illustrate pivotal moments when state and society production requirements can coalesce.

The concerns raised by Weldon's work (2011) can be alleviated by using a frame that outlines the differences in experiences of women based on their interaction with the state and the normative role for women the state envisions when creating policy and discourse about gender. She argues that identity and ideas are reflected in preferences but that preferences do not represent the interests of women (Weldon 2011). I think that

the decision to form groups and engage in collective action around a particular issues or set of issues should be viewed as women resisting policy frames utilized by the state. These frames are considered too simplistic and not reflective of the diverse needs and priorities of women. Therefore by creating organizations which either address the limitations of policy directly to the state or choose to work independently of the state they are actively resisting normative models of gender roles.

The practical applications of feminist theory are outlined by Charlotte Bunch (1983 & 1995). Bunch argues that feminist practice provides a roadmap to theory given that theoretical frameworks are the context for our actions (1983 & 1995). A critical component of feminist mobilization strategies on the ground are the conditions under which women chose to form coalitions and partner with other women and the moments when they elect not to do so. Cole (2008) adds that the interests are a better predictor of coalition building than identities, although interest agendas are also impacted by social location. Furthermore, intra group differences are critical for understanding power relationships in addition to the ways in which coalitions are formed and are successful and also when they fail. Understanding power among groups is explained to an extent through power within groups, because 1) it outlines the amount of resistance to external identities being placed upon them, and 2) the different elements of identity depict the types of resources, financial, political, etc. that members of a group have access to which shape their experiences with “non-group members” (Cole 2008).

One of the critical findings of Cole (2008) is that the terms of a coalition often illuminate and restructure societal power dynamics. It is critical to note that the idea of privilege and the power dynamics are specific to events and context, and it is from those configurations that we can begin to think about how power coalesces more broadly in

society. Hausa women demonstrate how women engage the constructs of coalition and then explode them through challenging their role in development.

Wendy Smooth's recent work outlines the issues associated with how women in political systems substantively represent different groups of women (2011). Although her work focused primarily on political officials there are still important implications for Hausa women in civil society organizations. Women organizations are often not effective in representing women's interests because of funding limitations and oversimplification of the nature of the interests at stake. She goes further to underscore the need to develop more scholarship on the multiple ways that difference should be analyzed, with Intersectionality creating a critical foundation toward that end. "These theoretical developments enable scholars to grapple with the extent to which power relationships between socially constructed categories are fluid and unstable." (Smooth 2011, 439).

Smooth's (2011) argument is important to unpack given that the strategies of Hausa women's NGO organizations blend practical experience with policy requirements their programming. The CBOs focus on practical approaches while being given tools by some NGOs to mobilize in their localized spheres to become vocal about other dimensions of inequality that impact their quality of life on a daily basis. The construction of civil society as a zero sum game of either practical or policy focuses are critiqued by Hausa women scholars. Their body of work suggests that it is possible to blend these components and that the delineations drawn may be the result of relying on state simplified frames. Additionally in this context advancing your agenda through the social category is itself a politically radical act. Furthermore the predominant approach of the state is to use simple dimensions of social groupings. Hausa women's

organizations are pushing back, in conversation with the state and thereby expand the conceptions of Hausa women toward a more complex set of archetypes. The goal of these Hausa women and the significance of their work highlights mechanisms for open feedback to the state about shifts in these categories and the needs of different women in different social spaces. The process is a dynamic one. A simple list of typologies of Hausa women does not provide the state with the information it needs in order to develop policies that positively impact women's needs. It is important to understand the ways in which women interact with the state in a policy context.

Ange-Marie Hancock (2007) attempts to apply Intersectionality theory to empirical research using more positivist strategies to test the pragmatic applications of Intersectionality. She outlines three positivist approaches to conceptualizing differences and identity intersections in political science: the unitary approach, the multiple approach and the Intersectional approach. The unitary approach is a static interpretation of identity where the individual is stagnant and one category of membership is ranked as primary (Hancock 2007). Multiple approaches give all categories equal weight and concedes that they mutually construct one another but the individual and institutions have little interaction. The intersectional method assumes a “dynamic interaction between individual and institutional factors” and uses multiple methods to identify necessary and sufficient conditions for specific political behaviors and outcomes based on membership in social categories (Hancock 2007).

While work with an Intersectionality frame can suggest the types of empirical data we need to capture, it can be problematic if identities are treated as static points of convergence and therefore privilege the experiences of some individuals in these intersections over others. In this approach it is difficult to interrogate the validity of

social categories because the interaction is suspended. Hancock's work does highlight the requirement for feminist theorists to explore tangible solutions to remedy the negative consequences of essentialist conceptions of Black women and other groups (2007). My work will use the economic and political experiences of Hausa women and their feminist frames to analyze the impact of institutions which will illustrate the differential effects of policy frames on women.

Hausa Feminisms

Understanding how women are negotiating these tensions in their labor and mobilization choices and strategies, levels of institutionalization and affiliation provides direct evidence of women negotiating the “double edged” sword Adamu references (1999). Adamu highlights the constant tension African Muslim women experience as they are exposed simultaneously to more conservative forms of Islam (that they often resist) and the hegemony of Western feminists (1999). The work of local African Muslim women’s organizations are not always included in the analysis of the impact of NGOs, CBOs, civil society, and on economic production. Scholarship on gender and Islam in Africa tends to focus on how different communities of Muslim women interact in different states (Alidou 2005). The impact of identity on interests, mobilization, and coalition formation varies between time and place for Hausa women. The conditions that give rise to these processes can be effectively analyzed using Intersectionality theory.

There are important lessons about local feminist approaches that can be learned from studying the history of women’s mobilization among the Hausa in Kano. Such histories provide details that are largely absent from much of the literature on the

women's movements, which does not focus enough on the work of Muslim women in Northern Nigeria (Ibrahim 2007, Salihu 2007, Yusuf 2007, 2010). Historically the women's movement in Nigeria was more cohesive at one point and then took divergent paths in the northern and southern parts of the country (Ibrahim 2007, Adamu 1999, Ojewusi 1996). For example, according to Speaking for Nigerian Women: A History of the National Council of Women's Societies by Sola Ojewusi, (1996) there were several pivotal moments in the northern Nigerian women's movement. In 1964, the first Nigerian women's group was Jamiy'yar Matan Arewa (Northern Women's Association). Male officials in Northern Nigeria were critical of mobilizing Muslim women and claimed that women's organizations were "Christian institutions." (Ojewusi 1996) But the leader of Nigeria's Muslims, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sarkuna of Sokoto, gave the leader of this organization support because the women made it clear that they were not interested in politics (Ojewusi 1996). Yoruba and top elite Hausa women were members of this organization (Ojewusi 1996). During this period the majority of Hausa women were in seclusion and therefore those involved in trade did so from their home compounds (Ojewusi 1996, Bivins 2007). It is however important to note that most Yoruba women who able to trade in the markets were likely Christian (Ojewusi 1996). Ayo Bello, a female Chief, had the markets in Kaduna surveyed, and found out that in the north most members were Christian including other entrepreneurs such as Mrs. Zakari, Mrs. Dikko, Mrs. Shehu (Ojewusi 1996). A Yoruba woman Chief Ayo Bello served as the first Nigerian president (Ojewusi 1996). In 1958, the Sarkuna endorsed the NCWS and encouraged women to join because it was not contrary to Islam (Ojewusi 1996). It had a Christian past, but that was not considered relevant and therefore in effect did not matter. Given the limited amounts of trust among some non-elite women tensions began

to surface in the market. The majority of these points of contention existed among Yoruba women because the majority of Hausa women involved in trading did so inside the home because they were in seclusion. Additionally there were some attempts to provide alternative and informal forms of representation so that women could have representation in the formal government structures, according to Hajiya Bilkisu Yusuf (Ojewusi 1996,148, Yusuf 2007 & 2010). These attempts were not particularly targeted toward Hausa women. This history is important because it highlights that among the Hausa only the very elite women were initially part of larger women's groups like NCWS (Kabir 2010). This separation of elite Hausa women from women in middle and lower social strata indicate that there was not a historical pattern of cooperation and mobilization around gender issues among Hausa women specifically through women's organizations. Therefore the contemporary relationships among Hausa women's NGOs and CBOs in Kano and the lack of these connections in Tamale should be read against this backdrop. In Kano the shifts in cooperation were the direct result of political and economic shifts that restructured women's interactions so that they were more frequent. This is particularly the case as it relates to development work, where practical issues such as access to education, water, capital for trading, health, human rights issues and political participation cut across social status.

The larger perspectives of women in the North toward government consisted of working with government and political institutions to make them more responsive to the diverse needs of women and to expand and restructure as required to create space to accommodate them. The tensions between women that were members of the elite, highly educated and women that were part of royal families, and women that were engaged more prominently in trade or agriculture occurred because of a lack of trust of the former

to accurately represent the interests of the latter. Additionally they were suspicious of the motives behind people wanting to collect information about their activities which were thought to also include creating a more comprehensive tax collection mechanism or regulation.

Synthesis of Intersectionality and Hausa feminisms

Gwendolyn Mikell's body of work on African feminisms illustrates the clear focus on attaining their basic needs rather than the broader economic and political challenges faced by their respective countries (1995 & 1997). More specifically they are "grappling with how to affirm their own identities while transforming societal notions of gender and familial roles." (Mikell 1997,1). Mikell further highlights the same tension echoed by Adamu (1999), that African women want to emphasize that their mobilization efforts are internally rather than externally driven. The development obstacles the state is facing coupled with gender issues occupy the concerns of women in African countries (Mikell 1997). The ability of women to navigate the concerns of the state and defining their agendas on their own terms while distinguishing themselves from mainstream Western feminist movements can be aided using feminist theories by women of color in the US.

Integrating Intersectionality theory with the work of Hausa feminists and the work of other African and Muslim feminists helps to develop a novel analytical framework to conceptualize identity. This body of work captures variance in the differing types of social categories and their associated meanings within different national contexts. Identity is critical in this instance as Mikell argues because of the precarious position of

Hausa women (1997). This synthesis develops theories capable of accounting for difference among women and their economic and political implications of their various social locations. The deliberate positioning of Hausa women's civil society organizations in relationship to the state expands theoretical understandings of the functions of civic groupings, which are often trying to make sure that resources are delivered appropriately. The types of challenges made to the state by women's civic groups are specific in terms of receiving equal protections of their interests broaden the frames through which gender issues are addressed. Furthermore, the definitions of development advanced reflect the priorities of different women including points when they converge.

Intersectional theory has much to contribute to unraveling the synthesis of multiple identities and interests, particularly as it relates to individuals and institutional mechanisms (Hancock 2007). Reconciling the role of institutions without eclipsing the experiences of individuals is a challenge that can be mediated by combining Intersectionality theory with feminist perspectives of Hausa women. Hausa feminisms are defined as the ways in which scholars and development practitioners are addressing issues of gender inequality mediated through Islamic frames. The ways in which Hausa women address their interests with respect to social location, Islamic education, and national context are reflected in their feminist approaches. Finally the extent to which they frame their struggles in ways that resist western hegemony against the global south and Islam are illustrated in their feminist perspectives.

Political Culture and the Construction of Collective National Identities

The study of Islam and politics in West Africa provides critical insights into the complex interactions of religion, culture, and nationalism (a collective sense of identity) (Suberu 2001, Adekunle 2002, Shankar 2005, Osadolor and Otoide 2005). Much of this research does not focus on gender as a key social category. I begin by arguing that the state produces identities through the articulation of economic and social production requirements directed at different categories of different citizens. This, in turn, impacts the ability of the state functionaries to establish a sense of national identity. This work is important, particularly in the presence of other forms of collective identities that have formed around religion, ethno-linguistic and regional categories. Creating and reproducing the identity categories of citizens is essential to cultivating a broader sense of national identity around geographic boundaries (Anderson 1983).

I do argue, however, that gender needs to be explicitly theorized in any work on collective identity. In particular, the relationship between the gender constructs of women as specific citizens and producers of capital needs to be explored as an *integrated* in the studies of national projects. In order to analyze the complexities in the ways in which women resist or augment their societal roles, the more interpretive conceptualization of political culture (that makes a clear distinction between etic and emic conceptualizations) is employed in this work in contrast to more positivist approaches (Kubik 2009 & 2009). I am interested in the ways that citizens subvert the cultural meta-narratives of the state. These activities are difficult to capture without utilizing ethnographic methods coupled with an interpretivist epistemological perspective (Aronoff and Kubik 2012).

The current positivist approach to politics and culture is based on the work of Wildavsky and Douglas. Essentially Wildavsky “defines culture as shared values legitimating social practices” (Laitin and Wildavsky 1988, 589) Furthermore he writes

“My cultural theory of why preferences come from institutions is but one of the recent entries...To speak of a Yoruba or a U.S. or a neo-Confucian “culture”-as if all members shared the same values and legitimated the same set of social relations-denies the possibility of conflict within such a group, as Laitin mistakenly accuses me of doing. Adherents of cultures learn their identity by knowing not only what they are for but also what they are against. It is cultural conflict that gives meaning to cultural identification. Where Laitin states in his first thesis “that culture does not instill concern to be debated,” I might agree that his definition was useful if it referred to a debate among rival cultures within a county or group rather than to debate within a single “culture” identified with a single group. For in my terms his formulation would have to mean that adherents of a single culture (say, hierarchy) are at least as far apart from each other as they are from adherents to individualism or egalitarianism or fatalism. Conceiving of countries or groups as compounds of cultures avoids this difficulty.” (Laitin and Wildavsky 1985, 593).

I agree with Laitin’s critiques of Wildavsky’s cultural theory. Laitin contends that “Culture is Janus-faced: people are both guided by the symbols of their culture and instrumental in using culture to gain wealth and power” (1986). His work on the Yoruba illustrated how specific cultural elements, including some levels of secrecy “provided both a constraint and an opportunity.” (Laitin 1986, 195). Laitin utilized extensive ethnographic research to discern an “understanding of what goals were worth pursuing and what they really wanted. But I also pressed them on their political strategies, assuming they wanted wealth and power.” (Laitin 1986, 185). He concluded that “Yorubas could see themselves primarily in terms of their association with an ancestral city or in terms of their association with a world religion...Political entrepreneurs then exploited the powerful and available symbols of ancestral city identification to organize political action seeking to enhance their group’s wealth and power.” (Laitin and Wildavsky 1988, 591) Through this methodological approach to studying culture he was able to create a more textured picture of cultural dynamics and their interactions with religion and political aims. Additionally by embedding himself within the community and being transparent about his research aims, Laitin was able to establish the levels of

trust required to obtain information because he was able to access informal processes of interactions in the community (1986). Laitin offers three theories that should structure studies of political culture, “1) Culture instills not values to be upheld but rather points of concern to be debated., 2) Culture is Janus-faced: people are both guided by the symbols of their culture and instrumental in using culture to gain wealth and power., 3) Culture traffics in symbols, and symbols must be interpreted in full ethnographic context.” (Laitin and Wildavsky 1988, 589)

The instrumentalist dimension of culture particularly how different cultural frames can be used by individuals to attain their own political aims is critical to understanding how different cultural norms are created and reinforced. Additionally it allows agency and the dynamic interactions between citizens and political institutions to be analyzed. It is not possible to capture these dimensions of cultural formation through survey work, similar to the methods used by Wildavsky. Additionally Wildavsky’s primary argument in *The Foundations of Cultural Theory* co-authored with Michael Thompson, that “In chapter one, ‘The Problem of the First Week’, Thompson and I lay our social cards on the table: in the beginning, we say, were cultures (1990). There are no isolated individuals because they would be unknown and unknowable outside a group context. Self-dealing is not a curse, not a context. The cultures with which we are concerned have always existed.” (Laitin and Wildavsky 1988, 595) Treating culture as a priori is not analytically useful because it fails to interrogate the processes through which cultural norms are defined, how groups of actors are involved in the process, and how cultural norms and precepts change. These are the most interesting dimensions of culture and are capable of providing the greatest insight into the relationships between politics and culture. Over twenty years after the piece *Political Culture and Political Preferences*

(1988), which featured an exchange between Wildavsky and Laitin on the study of political culture in political science, several political scientists have continued to build upon Wildavsky's cultural theory with in a positivist direction.

The dominant positivist approach to the study of culture in political science is problematic in three ways: (1) the postulate of the existence of universal and static cultural categories limits the depth of our understanding, (2) the overreliance on ethnicity or religion as explanations for political behavior is too narrow, and (3) measures of political activity that capture the contribution of women are not applied consistently across various national contexts (Verweij, Nowacki, and Shenghua 2011).

Take for example the recent study entitled "How to Test Cultural Theory: Suggestions for Future Research" (Verweij, Nowacki, Shenghua 2011). The authors attempt to reassert the important contributions of cultural theory. They identify nine hypotheses which they argue constitute the core of cultural theory. Essentially, two components encompass social life, collective activity and the extent to which the social locations of individuals are structured in a hierarchy. The more rigid the hierarchy the less likely individuals are to engage in collective actions. Therefore, culture is treated as an impermeable exogenous construct rather than a context that is co-shaped through the agency citizens' exercise (Verweij, Nowacki, Shenghua 2011).

Such approaches have several conceptual limitations. First, the demarcation between collective and individual actions assumes a construction of the individual that sharply distinguishes the individual from the community. This understanding of the relationship between individuals and the larger collectives to which they also belong does not reflect the dynamic interaction of the two. Second, such approaches tend to underplay the fact that there are multiple social categories of membership and multiple

ways in which people interact with various institutions. For example, individuals may interpret the impact of individual actions on collective goals or understand collective responsibility strategically, on the basis of specific conditions and issues. Furthermore, their social location will augment their connection to both political and social institutions.

The second limitation is centered on labeling the collective dimensions of culture as a “cultural bias”, which appears to have a more negative connotation. Cultural bias ignores the ways in which culture can be a dynamic tool or resource that is mutually constituted by individual agency and political and social structures. There are behaviors that are more likely to produce particular outcomes in different cultural contexts. Thus, culture is constantly being reinterpreted and configured. Norms change and thus a change in social mores are often preceded by shifts in structural conditions.

Third, the conceptual scope of culture theory is too narrow. The authors study perceptions of “time, space, nature, human nature, justice, risk, blame, leadership, and governance” as key elements of culture; gender however is not included (Verweij, Nowacki, Shenghua 2011, 746). This omission results in masking power relationships, in addition to overlooking a critical social category that impacts and shapes the construction of social roles and other social categories. We know from many studies that gender constructs serve to frame orientations and preferences, and underpin the cultural (or ideological) foundations of institutions. Moreover, culture theory as elaborated by Verweij, Nowacki, and Shenghua (2011) ignores the impact of gender constructs in disciplining economic, social and political behaviors in addition to augmenting memberships in other communities and social categories.

The authors outline the constraints of case studies and offer approaches to remedy them. The limitations of intensive case studies, based on long periods of field work, are

that having a small n undermines the generalizability of knowledge to other cases (Verweij, Nowacki, Shenghua 2011). Additionally, they argue that case studies are also more susceptible to researcher bias. The large N quantitative studies have been used to “predict people’s policy preferences, risk attitudes, or political views from their cultural bias.” (Verweij, Nowacki, Shenghua 2011). Being able to identify correlations is considered a contribution to understanding the impact of culture and political behavior and attitudes and culture is treated more as a constraint rather than a resource.

The primary criticism with large N studies is that they cannot always explain the amount of variance because they make expansive claims. Additionally it is difficult for cultural theory to account for issues such as fatalism and the multiple presentations of themselves often depicted by research participants (Verweij, Nowacki, Shenghua 2011). The concept of future generations is often utilized in survey research to assess how much individual people prefer hierarchy which the authors concede is relative to specific environmental contingencies. The hypotheses which get tested significantly less with these survey methods include all of the areas of culture that are dynamic, for example the relationships among individual actions and the ways in which cultural practices get institutionalized (Verweij, Nowacki, Shenghua 2011). The authors suggest a number of ways to address these limitations including the creation of nested case studies, using survey data and case studies, simulation, interactive experiments and social neuroscience.

The new methodological approaches suggested fail to capture the dynamic elements of culture for which they claim additional research is required. This is because they are still subject to the restrictions of exclusively positivist approaches. It is a clear example of how epistemological orientations can drive the problems we are interested in solving and the types of data we collect as well as the method utilized to collect them.

The absence of interpretivist methods is glaring given the importance of understanding how cultural rules are constituted, constantly changing, being refined and impacted by people's perceptions about them. Additionally, feminist methods have been addressing these issues and tensions and creating new methods to capture the interactions of gender, culture, ethnicity and nationalist framings. Research on gender and the state should be accompanied by studies of women and civil society to determine if and to what extent the logic of the state governs activities outside of its institutions.

I would argue that understanding the ways in which specific discourses in public spaces and historical memory confers legitimacy and hegemony of certain normative displays of culture can also reflect gender norms. The engagement of these deployments of culture either to reinforce or challenge them illustrates elements of collective identity and dissent (Aronoff and Kubik 2011). Furthermore, it is important to note that there are times when verbal or public acts to reinforce a particular cultural norm can actually provide space to engage in activities that subvert that particular cultural norm. The space in which critiques can occur is created by reductions in the scrutiny of other activities. In other words if the primary metric used to determine if cultural or religious norms are being maintained is visibly articulated by citizens while they are engaged in economic activities and advocating for the placement of issues on the policy agenda, then it is possible that not publicly challenging specific cultural norms has some strategic benefit. This phenomenon is likely to occur in certain Islamic contexts because there is a concerted effort to ensure that Islamic approaches are mainstreamed in all sectors of life not compartmentalized. The role and activities of women is often a primary indicator utilized to determine if Islam has been fully integrated. Therefore specific emphasis is placed on the family unit serving as a model for gendered power dynamics within

political institutions as well. Additionally not only is a clear delineation between public and private spheres not clearly discerned it is actively fought against because it represents a lack of adherence Islamic principles.

Determining what constitutes civil society and classifying organizations as a part of it in the Muslim world can be complex because the delineation between the state and society is not made in Islam, although it is not a perfect distinction in non-Muslim countries either (Mikell 1997, Norton 2001, Yom 2005). Yom's work illustrates how the structure of Arab society changes the boundary between public and private relationships. The definition of civil society itself is altered as well because in the context of the Middle East it includes religious groups (Yom 2005). If civil society is able to assume state functions, what happens to the state? Is it possible this process decreases democracy because people get reinforcement from civil society instead and allow the state to engage in undemocratic practices? Additionally increasingly organizations will increase state entrenchment with alternative forms of groups and “tribal councils” (Yom 2005). In this context, power and influence are executed through the interpretations of Islam to include the hadiths and Sharia law, rather than a demarcation between the public and the private. A hadith is a collection of scholarly works produced within Islamic school to provide conceptual tools to interpret and understand the Quran in matters of jurisprudence and historical perspective. (Guillaume 2003) Therefore, being able to categorize Hausa women’s framings of programs implemented by their organizations within the context of Islam can also be viewed as an expression of agency. For example, many women espouse the importance of having both Islamic and secular education and providing some financial resources to your family as part of their roles as Muslim women (Imam 1997, Kabir 2010, Yusuf 2007). In many cases their activities and development priorities

center upon access to education for women and girls in addition to securing income generating activities for women.

Much of the literature on civil society focuses either on the contributions these groups make to democratic and social change compared. Skeptics perceive them as incapacitated actors unable to supplant the economic and social development role of the state in promoting democratic values. Mohammed (2010) Liebenbeg (1997) and Kaviraj (2001), Khilnani (2001) posit that there is no delineation between state and society in Islam and Seligman (1992, 2002) defines civil society as all social engagements beyond the state. Ekeh outlines three characteristics, 1) private and public, 2) the state takes too much of the public space under authoritarian regimes, sharing power between both spheres, and 3) anytime civil society is directly competing with the state over public spaces it results in an increase in the engagement of citizens through civic organizations capable of successfully promoting freedom and democracy (1992). Finally, according to Bratton, civil society is the “sphere of social interaction between the autonomous organizations of citizens and the state” (1989, 409). Each of these theorists focus on the way that civil society mediates the relationship between state and society rather than on more fundamental questions of what constitutes societal spaces to begin with and what happens when there conflicts among inhabitants of these spaces.

In fact, civil society is created in heavily contested spaces where different values and preferences coexist as Haberson (1994) argues. Competition occurring not only between parts of society and the state, but also among and between different organizations is also important to explore. Diamond (1993, 1997) focuses on their ability to impact the public sector, which can vary because as Tester (1992) points out, civil society is a “social bond between members of a society conditioned by cultural norms”

(1992, Mohammed 2010, 7). Huntington (1991, 2006) underscores the significance of “autonomy” and “adaptability” linking the capacity of civil society to strengthen democracy and is based on its ability to meet these two conditions. Independence from international donors which would comprise domestic sovereignty and autonomy from domestic political institutions and finally focusing on the concerns of the masses rather than the elite are the key elements to successes of civil society. Keane (1998) highlighted the relationship between international organizations and imperialism.

There are several feminist works on the negative impacts of connecting women’s organizations to international donors. Keating, Rasmussen and Rishi (2010) disrupt the narrative touting the benefits of microcredit for women. The logic is that microcredit results in women’s empowerment and therefore their political and economic power also increases greatly. There are two problems with these models. First, they assume the transformation of wealth from pre-colonial social structures into new capitalist economic structures. They argue that this occurs once neoliberal economic methods of measuring and distributing resources are adopted (Keating, Rasmussen, and Rishi 2010). This adoption often took place post-independence. Second, they assume that women are integrated into the global capitalist system on an unequal footing. But they are not because there are some microcredit schemes which if administered by local organizations from domestic funding sources do not use the same micro credit model that is popular in international development circles. There are also instances where women’s organizations provide other types of business development trainings in order to reduce their participation in microcredit lending practices. Moreover, in Islamic societies, the potential or actual incorporation of women in “Western” economic structures results often in an increase of religious fundamentalism as a means to resist such economic and

social restructurings construed as rooted in the West (Keating, Rasmussen, and Rishi 2010).

Development aid acquired from the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, or USAID and other groups is also under the control of the state and therefore in many cases the implementation of programs sourced with these funds can function as a type of global governance because the constraints imposed by donors have the potential to be extended to women on the ground if women's organizations are unreflexively conducting programming (Campbell and Teghtsoonian 2010). In addition to governing women's organizations, international aid frameworks such as the Paris Declaration in 2006 initially wanted to focus on increasing the relationships between donor and recipient countries (Campbell and Teghtsoonian 2010). NGOs balked at this agenda and measures were taken to address some of these issues. Each piece highlights important areas of development that are often uncritically accepted. While it is important to think about the implications of many of these development schemes it is also essential that women's agency is not overlooked. Securing multiple methods of funding is a strategy that can help minimize the intrusion of external methods of control and accountability. Additionally many Hausa women engaged in this work and in feminist scholarship defend their activities against concerns that they are being used by international donors to inculcate western values and undermine Islam (Adamu 2007).

In Nigeria, contemporary civil society organizations, referred to as third generation NGOs, emphasize human rights (Mohammed 2010). These groups were formed after independence in 1960 to serve as centralized space to leverage critiques of the IMF and World Bank approaches to economic restructuring that occurred in the 1980s called structural adjustment programs (SAPs) (Mohammed 2010). Even with the

advent of these organizations to combat authoritarian leaders and un-inclusive governance practices, democracy has not resulted in equal human rights for all people (Mohammed 2010). Mohammed's intervention in this discussion of civil society is critical to my research. He shows that the foundations of today's civil society can be found in pre-colonial times (2010). Economic and other cooperatives, professional labor guilds, and institutions connected to religious practices are examples of organizations with such roots (Mohammed 2010). Their impact on social and economic production is important because the Hausa did not completely distinguish the work of their organizations from the greater goals of strengthening the nation state (Mohammed 2010). This is the case of the aikin gayya (work) groups that were also professional associations (Mohammed 2010). The overarching goal was to address the requirements of the masses (Mohammed 2010).

There was no clear separation between these groups and politics, which is consistent with Vaughn's premise (1995) that these organizations should be closely linked to the grassroots as well as to state institutions. This means that the cultural context and orientation are central to the amount of political involvement in the public sphere. The pre-colonial civil society organizations reconfigured themselves under the colonial system as work or professional groups (Agbon 1985). While it was far from perfect, during the pre-colonial era, there was a more reciprocal relationship between organizations and institutions of the pre-colonial Hausa State, and that relationship was reversed during colonialism. The imposition of the colonial system by the British further entrenched the political position of the Emirate system which placed them in the position of cultural and religious gatekeepers. Repression through state sanctioned and perpetuated violence was a common strategy used by the colonial state (Mohammed

2010). Post-independence professional groups primarily focused on their own economic and professional interests rather than on the requirements of democratic inclusion (Mohammed 2010). According to Dudley (1982), the majority of these associations did not have their own sources of income and were therefore weakened because of their dependence on the state for financial resources. Military regimes also directly constrained civil organizations from 1983-1998 in effect causing their elimination (Mohammed 2010). Hence, civil society blossoms because among the most recently emerged groups post-independence are human rights and professional groups, and women's and minority rights organizations which then work with trade unions, student unions and cultural and religious groups to fight to enhance inclusion.

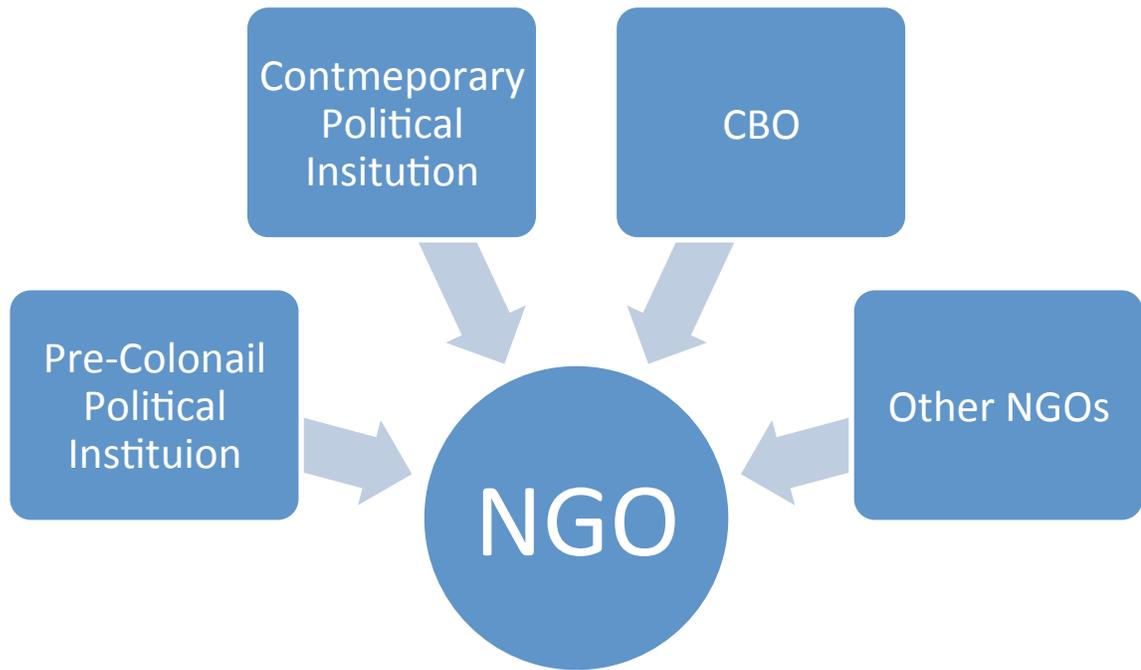
Howard (2002) argues that using democratic regime change as a metric of a strong civil society is a bad definition. Instead, the ability of civil society organizations to provide resources to citizens individually is a better indicator (Howard 1995). He also raises a key question: is it possible to have a democratic society without other social institutions and an authoritarian or undemocratic government if the state is ineffective? Therefore Howard (2002) posits that change is marked by an increase in financial resources and civil society organizations. Howard (2002) raises an important point about the measurement of successful civil society groups. The distribution of resources is a central element of power that full democratic inclusion would seek to redress.

Kubik (2006) argues that civil society can provide a discourse and type of social organization outside of the west and it is not necessarily disruptive. It is also possible for civil society to be pro or anti-democratic and they are voluntary rather than compulsory. The distinction between "public domain" and "private arenas" that accompany different typologies of civil society organizations is important (Kubik 2006). Furthermore my

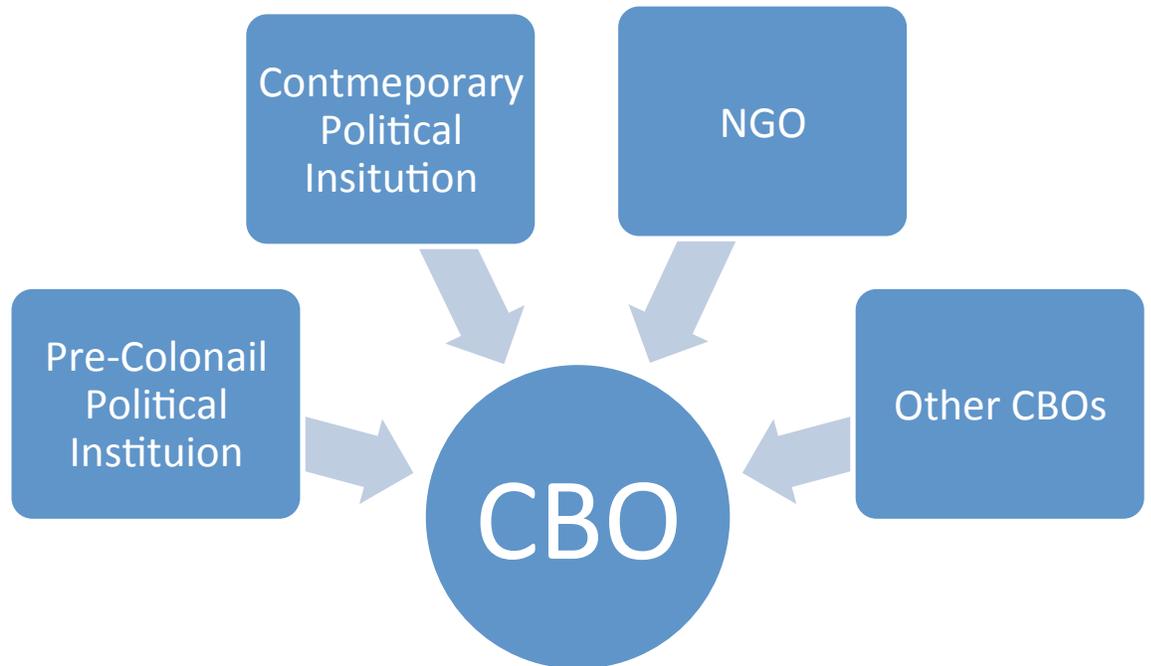
study illustrates that the blending of discourse and social organization is a strategy employed by these organizations to advance practical concerns in an effort to also radicalize cultural and nationalist gender discourses. Additionally in the case of the Hausa, Islam functions as a central and overarching sense of collective identity (Mohammed 2010, Abdul-Ismaïl 2004, Paden 2005). Historically labeling an individual, political movement, or behavior as “unIslamic” can be an effective disciplining tool because of the value and social reinforces allocated to individuals perceived to practice Islam “properly”. The interplay of ethnicity, culture and religion make them difficult to distinguish and therefore marking an individual or an action as “unIslamic” is a depiction of power dynamics rather than cultural or ethnolinguistic boundaries (Cooper 1997). My argument is similar to Schaffer’s (1998) argument that democracy should be conceptualized as a method of decision making. My study begins with individuals and groups rather than political institutions.

Bermeo (1997) indicates that the most important element of civil society organizations is the connections to other institutions. My study pushes this discussion further to argue that it is essential to understand how different civil society organizations relate to each other as well as to the state. My study examines the multiple forms of connections that Hausa women’s NGOs and CBOs have with each other and in addition explores their relationships to contemporary and pre-colonial political institutions. There are three levels of analysis, NGO and CBO connections to political institutions (pre-colonial, contemporary federal level, contemporary state level, contemporary LGA) and NGO and CBO direct relationships to other women’s organizations and finally NGO and CBO connections to masses of women. The structure of this dynamic is captured in Figures 1 & 2 below.

Figure 1 NGO Affiliations



Figurer 2 CBO Affiliations



In addition to the institutional relationships it is also important to note the ability of women to have sources of funding that are distinct from resources obtained from international donors. The NGOs I observed use a combination of funds from some international donor partners, domestic donors, some government office programs, membership dues, funds the women generate themselves from their own families and social networks. The role of Hausa women's organizations in using development frames to also venture into other economic sectors not previously envisioned by the state requires that the economic and social functions of women's labor be fully explored.

Political Economy

Studies of the formation of gender roles by the state as they relate to capital and social production have worked to bridge the knowledge about the political dimensions of identity (Fernandes, 2003, Ong 2006). This work serves to expand upon this research by analyzing gender and political economy in this context and can provide key insights into differences within marginal groups and therefore the congruent points of macro and micro process on democracy for two reasons. First, women at large are often less politically and economically enfranchised than their male counterparts, and second it provides an opportunity to study diversity within a group because women are positioned differently before the state based on their inclusion in other social categories.

There have been several pivotal works that critique the gender bias in economic theories (Mama 1996, Aelbelda 1997, Aerni and Bartlet and Lewis and Shackelford 1999, Etim and James 1999, Naples 1997, May 2002). Much of this work directly challenges the foundational assumption that all agents are free actors and make choices based on individual frames (May 2002). The labor models employed by the state often assume that care and other activities where women are overrepresented are part of domestic duties and therefore do not attempt to include their economic contribution in state generated labor statistics or reports (Duggan and Wagstaff 1995, Hopkins and Duggan 2011). In the case of women in African countries this problem is further compounded by the distinctions made between labor market activities in the formal and informal economies (Mama 1996). These distinctions allow women's work and contributions to either slip through the analytical cracks or the work that is visible and

related to the domestic space is not counted as labor. These constructions are detrimental to illustrating women's economic activity because much of the trading activities are done within sectors that are not explicitly governed by the state (Mama 1996).

In addition to feminist economists who work on challenging economic theories and framing of labor, there are statisticians whose work centers upon utilizing statistics to depict gender disparities in all sectors of market activities (Ruspini 2001, Bruegel 2000, Murgatroyd 2000). Gender statistics focuses on improved methods to disaggregate data based on gender, conduct research on issues that disproportionately impact women, and finally to devise tools capable of illustrating differential policy impacts on men and women (Murgatroyd 2000). While these efforts have much to contribute and even focus on the use of qualitative data, their goal is to augment existing frames without questioning their foundational assumptions or the political projects in which they are utilized. This difference in goals has also been a point of contention among gender scholars and statisticians (Bruegel 2000).

Through expanding the literature on Hausa women's economic activity my work also questions the foundations of specific economic frameworks that seek to explain women's labor choices and how they conceptualize their production priorities. It also interrogates two normative theoretical assumptions upon which much of the conceptualizations of gender and labor rest. These two frameworks are the static family labor supply framework and time allocation theory more broadly (Becker 1965, Willis 1973, Plattner 1989). While much of economic theory is based on preferences and decision making of individual actors, the normative frames that are utilized for analysis often remain unchanged regardless of the national context in which economic studies are conducted (Plattner 1989). Aronoff and Kubik argue that the creation of cultural

narratives to understand the protocols governing new economic realities, to include property, labor, supply chains, and income, influence economic policy reforms and reduce the effectiveness of methods to measure microeconomic shifts (2011).

Additionally they argue that formalist economic frames fail to capture the varied strategies employed in post-communist communities. I think that these factors parallel the case of Hausa women to include the two periods of economic and political restructuring (Institutionalized Islam and British colonialism) prior to independence and their responses to recent economic constraints and development paradigms introduced over the past two decades. My work provides a construct for the perspectives of Hausa women. Furthermore the mechanisms developed to capture and illustrate their perspectives are portable and can be used for actors in a range of different contexts.

Conclusion

Hausa women assert their own feminist paradigms as distinct from their non-Muslim sisters in southern Nigeria and liberal western feminist approaches. This distinction encompasses more than the desire to avoid being labeled or constructed as a puppet of the west or external powers and instead is centered upon utilizing their agency to frame political struggles around issues of gender inequality on their own terms. The distinction between reformist and radical approaches is invalidated in this context because the distinctions between public and private spaces are not maintained. Changes in domestic spheres can also serve to create increase the visibility of Hausa women in political discourses because of the deliberate effort to maintain continuity in all spheres of human interaction. Therefore, it is strategic for these women to engage in different types of work while being careful to appear to maintain harmony internal to their

respective homes. Consequently, Hausa women's organizations strive to clearly link their efforts to address gender issues within local Hausa and Islamic cultural contexts. By doing so it allows women to accumulate the social capital required to successfully execute programming. These strategies illustrate that there are more complex ways that women are politically active and expressing dissent beyond protesting and other forms of resistance that are traditionally studied. Acquisition of this social capital can lead to greater financial independence, by reducing their reliance on predominantly foreign western donors which allows women's organizations more control over programming and reduces exclusive dependence on external sources of funding.

Furthermore, I argue that the very act of asserting the right to set policy agenda and in the terms of social discourse as a legitimate actor serves two broader political functions. First, it has the potential to articulate and institutionalize the range of self-defined constructs of Hausa women and legitimate their production roles. Second, it initiates a sustainable cultural change by altering the discourses and position of women in social and political imaginations. These twin goals contribute to feminist debates on the most effective ways to attain substantive rather than symbolic representation. The decisions of many women to focus on working outside of institutional political constraints and at times to provide feedback mechanisms to the government about the allocation and distribution of resources instead of concentrating their efforts exclusively to lobbying to explicitly occupy space within contemporary political institutions are strategic. The tensions arise however when the voices of the leaders of these organizations are thought to represent the needs of all women or disenfranchised groups which are potentially adversarial to the goals of substantive representation and comprehensive fundamental policy shifts.

Civil society is a contested space as argued by Haberson (1994) and furthermore its role varies along gendered lines. As Mikell (1997) points out there have been attempts by the state to co-opt and control women's organizations to further the goals of the state. In some cases this legacy is part of the reason that women's groups formed and functioned with little interference from state apparatus, particularly after the end of authoritarian regimes in Nigeria. New groups formed and in some instances were headed by the wives of political leaders (Ojewusi 1996, Mikell 1997). These groups experienced the greatest amount of freedom during military rule because they were often very in concert with state interests. While this may have initially been the case, the organizations in this study provide evidence of women being able to use their social and shared financial capital to advance other sets of economic and political interests that exceed the imagination of what the state envisioned, while not completely alienating themselves from political institutions.

Mikell (1997) also depicts the instances when African states manipulate gender constructs and women's groups for their own benefit. Women are often the site upon which claims of cultural authenticity, political legitimacy and sovereignty of the nation state rest and battles are waged. Hausa women have become more adept at mitigating the negative impacts of these conditions and have instead used their positions to retain autonomy from Western influence. This is politically advantageous as they are able to argue with the government officials that they are addressing and interpreting gender issues in ways that are culturally consistent with domestic traditions and therefore a better alternative than the approach of western feminists. These women are linking the world of women Callaway (1987) referenced to other worlds and strategically negotiating among several different spaces to advance their own range of goals.

The complex relationship among Hausa women and political institutions are structured differently in a model derived from Western experiences, in which distinctions are made between the formal and informal economy and formal and informal institutions. My argument is that a concerted effort exists to ensure that the gender roles enshrined in the household are maintained in spheres outside of the household. There are three environments conceptualized in an Islamic context that govern human behavior and interactions: (1) the family, (2) the community, and (3) the country. Each of these three systems is governed by Islamic principles, the goal being continuity among them. These three systems in turn regulate the economic, political and social and cultural spaces.

Gender roles specifically exerting control over women's location and activities is utilized as the metric to determine if continuity among the three systems has been achieved. There is a deliberate effort to eliminate any distinction between formal and informal institutions because separation is perceived as undermining Islam. I would argue that Hausa women's NGO and CBO work becomes important because any shifts in women's roles in political spheres has direct implications for women's roles internal to the home because of the priority placed on maintaining the same gender relationships in each. In other words encouraging women to vie for executive office, head of state, is perceived as an attempt to challenge the position of men as heads of the family. These local Hausa women's organizations and their programs are able to function as both symbolic and explicit tangible agents of change.

Beyond the critiques of Mama (1996) and other feminist economists that challenge distinctions between formal and informal economy, the economic contributions of Hausa women's organizations suggest that drawing a distinction between strategic, practical, and combinations of the two are distinctions that reflect the empirical reality.

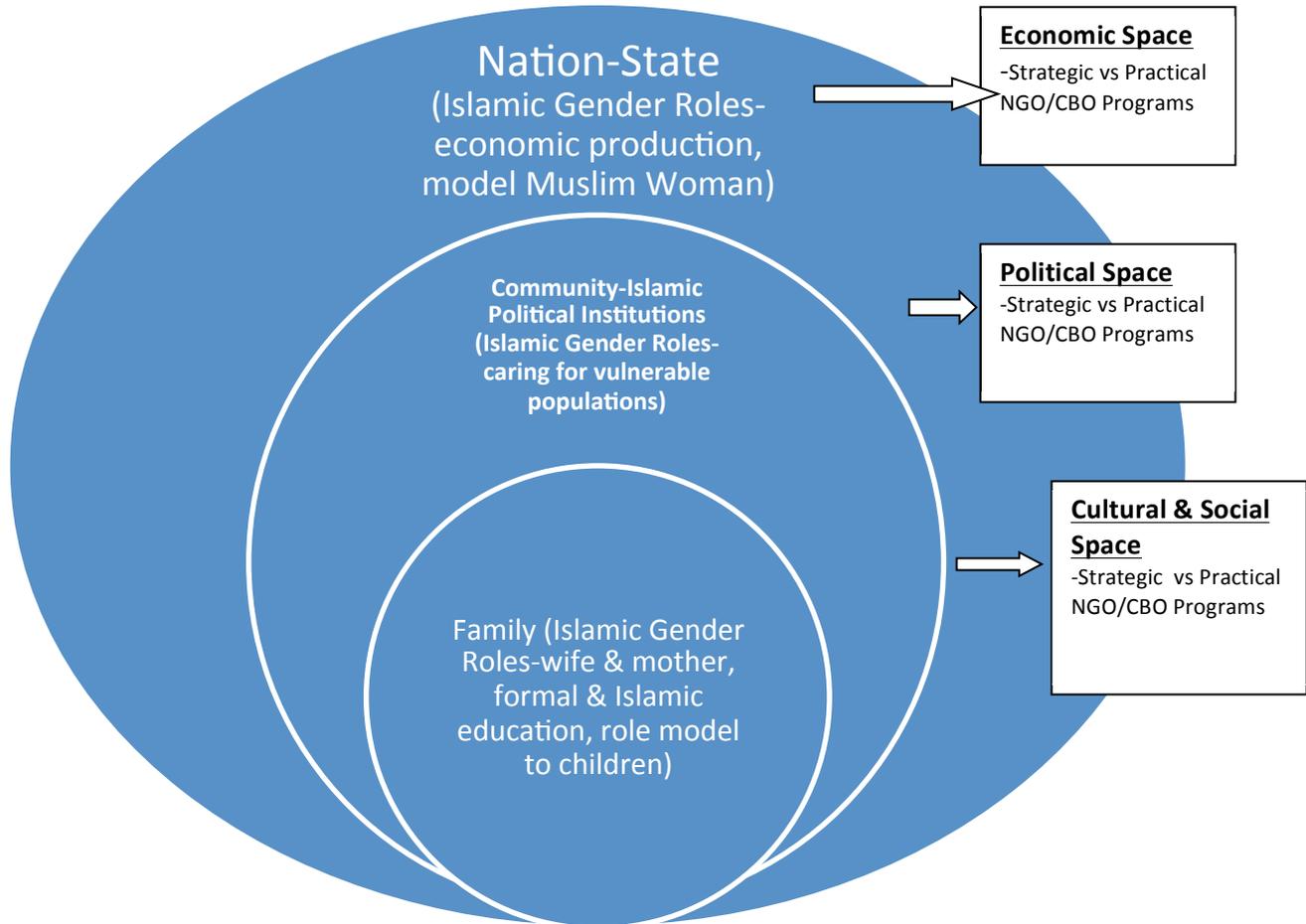
Defining the distinction between the formal and informal economy based on the ability of the state to regulate the economic activity does not provide the types of analytical frames that are useful. First, although many of the women that are engaged in small and medium scale trading are thought to be part of the informal economy, there are some CBO trading groups which have been formalized through registering with local government institutions. The reasons for electing to register are complex however they often relate to the amount of fiscal ability of the organization to meet the registration fees, financial audits, office space and other requirements at the federal, state, and local government levels. Additionally in cases where the CBOs may not have registered with any government institutions their activities may be monitored and recorded by an NGO to which they are connected. Depending on the type of programming of that NGO and their sources of funding, the state may or may not have access to data on women trading that are affiliated with the NGO. Second, there are several forms of economic activity that women's groups are engaged in, beyond microcredit that is a very specific form of neoliberal economic engagement. The training of access to health facilities, water, trainings of traditional birth attendants, and other economic contributions can benefit women that are part of both the formal and informal economy.

The development work itself to an extent and depending on the levels of registration the NGO has engaged also formalizes some elements of their development programs. Again the ability of these groups to engage markets that are regulated by the state and that are less regulated by political institutions illustrates the limitations of using formal and informal economy to measure the contributions of women's groups. Furthermore, the same development project can function to an extent in both sectors simultaneously. The location in a particular sector therefore is also related to the specific

women involved in the project and cannot be determined based solely on the social or economic location of women. I think using the distinction between strategic versus practical needs illustrates the interactions among NGOs and CBOs in addition to state institutions. It can also address the limitations of conceptualizing institutions as formal and informal by analyzing how continuity in the regulation of the family, community and country are applied to economic, political, and social spaces. The interrelationships among these groups must be analyzed in order to understand the context of economic and political behavior.

Furthermore the relationships among formal and informal institutions and formal and informal sectors of the economy would need to be examined. There are six potential types of relationships 1) formal institutions and the formal economy, 2) formal institutions and informal institutions, 3) informal institutions and informal economy, 4) formal economy and informal economy, 5) formal institutions and informal economy, and 6) informal institutions and formal economy that can occur. The interactions of NGOs and CBOs and the collective activities among them illustrate how these six combinations occur and function. Using a frame which 1) conceptualizes institutions as family, community and national systems utilizing Islamic gender norms in each context, and 2) analyzing the economic activity of organizations through strategic or practical frames fully captures the complex interactions of Hausa women's organizations economic and political activity and reflects the perspectives of Hausa women. The figure below depicts this framework.

Figure 3 Integration of Islamic Gender Frames in Family, Community and National Systems



CHAPTER FOUR: HISTORICAL DEPLOYMENT OF WOMEN'S PRODUCTIVE ROLES

Introduction

The relationships of individuals to the larger marginal groups to which they belong are further shaped by the location of the elite members of these groups within existing political institutions. This is particularly critical when thinking about the ways in which the political and economic mobility of these individuals both occupies and challenges narrow constructions of particular social categories deployed in nationalist narratives. Prior to analyzing the contemporary dynamics of identity, economic and social production, and institutional disciplining of Hausa women it is imperative that the historical shifts in the meanings of the social category woman are understood. Therefore, in this chapter the fluid changes in the roles of Hausa women based on their social location from the pre-Islamic, Islamic, colonial and post-colonial periods are traced. Analyzing the historical context outlines the ways contemporary Hausa women have been responding to the production requirements of the state. More specifically the impact of these state requirements on the categories of Hausa women illustrate how the state creates and reinforces identity categories. The way that these economic and political restructurings have impacted Hausa women's relationships to each other is analyzed because it highlights internal differences among categories of women. Furthermore it

explores how the state differentiates between citizens and in turn reproduces social categories. This chapter provides a framework to analyze how macro structures impact shifts in the meanings of different social categories. The historical overview is specifically focused on the relationship between the national requirements of the state and the economic and social activities of women.

Contemporary discussions of the Hausa need to begin with Hausaland in northern Nigeria because that is the origin of the Hausa as a population. Therefore Nigeria is the focus of the historical analysis. During the oral histories the migration of the Hausa to northern Ghana, specifically Tamale, will be discussed to analyze the ways in which different women's organizations in different geographic locations reflect historical labor roles of Hausa women and their relation to the public sector and to the state.

This work seeks to contribute to Intersectional theory by analyzing the ways in which Hausa women in Kano, Nigeria in three pivotal historical contexts are contesting and accepting different conceptions of "womanhood". The critical interventions analyzed include: 1) the consolidation of African Muslims in the second Fulani Sokoto Caliphate 1806-1900 which established the Emirate political systems, 2) British colonial period (1902-1960) and 3) post-independence federalism.

There are two goals in this chapter. First, to better understand the role of marginal groups in establishing a sense of collective national identity and second, to understand the imprints of these historical relationships during the pre-Sokoto and pre-colonial periods on contemporary conceptions of gender are explored. Given that the significance of specific combinations of identity categories varies by national context, it is critical that expanding the understanding of difference both among and within groups

is important for two reasons. First, the state shapes the definitions and relationships between different social categories. Second, there are historical power dynamics that influence the interactions among these categories. How the members of these groups in different social locations interact explores the meanings of social categories and provides a metric for measuring the inclusion of such groups within the normative political machinery. The oral histories are used to establish how historical memory impacts contemporary narratives regarding women's roles in society. Emphasis was placed on understanding the stories referenced by women to illustrate the influence of women on society.

The State in Historical Perspective

Bourdieu cautions against the dangers of producing scholarship on the state that is both driven and limited by "a thought of the state." (1989). He asserts that a primary function of the state is to create and impose cognitive schemas and frameworks which then overly different social phenomena (Bourdieu 1989). Education is utilized in this process of disciplining the way in which the state is imagined by citizens and academics studying the state (Bourdieu 1989). Bernhard (1918) takes a more dire view of the role of education in producing citizens that are in service to the aims of the state almost exclusively. In this way the structure of the system of formal education allows the state to occupy space and shape reality as constructed in the mental frameworks of its subjects education also has the potential to disrupt these narratives of the state because citizens participate in the writing of these political, cultural and social scripts (Bernhard 1918).

In this sense historical memory becomes essential to the sustainability of the state because “it is in the realm of symbolic production that the grip of the state is felt most powerfully” by the citizens (Bourdieu 1989). According to Bourdieu (1989) the bureaucrats and political actors in turn produce “social problems”. History “uncovers all the unconscious ties to the social world that the social sciences owe to the history which has produced them.” (Bourdieu 1989). The state injects itself into social and mental structures and naturalizes its institutionalization. The solution Bourdieu proposes is to unravel our initial naturalized logic of the state and instead rethink the conflicts and incongruence between our conceptions of the state. Culture is critical because it unifies the state and its key components generating a “legitimate national culture” that is imposed, inculcated and disseminated in education through history resulting in a “national self-image”. (Bourdieu 1989). Given that the state is “the culmination of a process of concentration of different species of capital, economic, cultural and informational...” (Bourdieu 1989, 57) it is essential that these different historical narratives of the state are also read against the social imaginings of women’s roles which is captured during the oral interviews.

The article below is an example of the ways in which historical memories of the political history and security of Hausaland are enshrined in dominant narratives. This piece specifically focuses on the historical memory of the Ahmadu Bello Movement. There are two issues that are critical to mention. First, there was no mention of the roles of women in politics to include no mention of the wives of political figures. Second, the history of the Kano monarchy of Daura specifically omitting any memory of the pre-Islamic political engagement of Hausa women and instead emphasizes the post Islamic role of Babagunda. The role of the female members of the royal family to include the

eldest daughter of the Emir being appointed as a moral conscious of the Emir is also absent from this rendition.

Appendix 1

By studying the historical experiences of Hausa women, the most violent forms of the state's force, both physical and symbolic, are highlighted. We can trace how economic, political, and social restructurings are paired with discourses and symbols that are used to relocate different categories of Hausa women. The purpose of this chapter is to understand where women reside in the historical memories of individuals and more importantly which moments are referenced to justify and cloak current gender perspectives. The historical works selected for this chapter are studies that insert the voices of women to provide a more comprehensive historical account.

Historical Relationships of Hausa Women

Pre-Islamic: Religious Institutions

Muslim Hausa Women in Nigeria is the most comprehensive study of the political and economic activities of Hausa women in Nigeria (Callaway 1987). This work chronicles the shifts in the roles of women prior to the introduction of Islam to post independence. Pre-Islamic religious practices were of central importance to the political system and the political power of royal Hausa women. The rites carried out by religious leaders were seen as imperative to the smooth functioning and economic prosperity of the state through extensive trade networks (Callaway 1987). The fact that women dominated

this pre-Islamic realm of religion and maintained positions of power in the pre-Islamic Hausa states made then primary figures of the state. When herbalists, magicians, or new converts came into the state it was mandatory they visit with the magajiya or queen (Callaway 1987). The magajiya's final duty was conducting the elections of the new magajiya. Women's roles during this period were political, religious and economic in terms of their involvement in trade (Callaway 1987). The categories of Hausa women consisted of royal women, women in the merchant class, and rural women engaged in agricultural production and manual labor.

In addition to the political presence of women within the state structure there were also female rulers. The legend of Queen Amina who reigned in Zaria in 1517 after her father died is an example of these types of rulers. She had already taken the title of magajiya and was given forty slaves (Callaway 1987). Queen Amina expanded her empire on the battlefield, south and west all the way to the Niger River (Callaway 1987). She was the first Hausa ruler to use eunuchs and every town including the men of Kano paid her tribute (Callaway 1987). She is known as one of the most influential and capable leaders in the history of Hausa states (Callaway 1987). There are songs about her that are sung in Nigeria today with phrases such as "as capable as a man". While Kano state history does have records of being ruled by a Hausa Queen, there are also records which cite the existence of female political activity of royal women other than the Queen herself in Kano state (Callaway 1987).

The ruling class and royal families were reproduced through women's marriages. The family itself shaped the structure of the compounds in Hausaland (Callaway 1987). Marriage resulted in new women and children entering into the older families which increased family ties to the villages (Callaway 1987). Daughters became increasingly

important because they expanded family relationships and links to outsiders (Callaway 1987). The later silence and absence of Hausa women from the public record and public life is partly the result of the connection between sex and childbirth (Callaway 1987). Bivins sought to recover women's voices through their work via "daily discourse" which she argues results in the creation of "history and knowledge". (Bivins 2007). There is little extensive data regarding the dynamics of Hausa women internal to families with the exception of age playing a critical factor in lineage hierarchies.

Economic production in Hausaland was not exemplified in explicit gendered terms (Olaniyi 2002). Leo Africanus, the North African Scholar, in 1556 places an emphasis on trade. Slave labor was a central component of the production of goods in the extensive trade networks of this area. There is limited scholarship on gender and enslavement by economic historians (Olaniyi 2002). Non-elite Hausa women are primarily cast in the historical narrative as domestic slaves and concubines, and producers of textiles and crafts (Bivins 2007). The internal hierarchy among elite women in the home compound was determined largely by their positions within the Bori religion and their family lineage (Bivins 2007).

The emerging dominance of Islam in the 19th century culminated in the production of a historical narrative which reflected the ways in which the ecological impacts and the global economy changed Hausa pre-colonial social relations, particularly the position of women (Callaway 1987, Olaniyi 2002). After the introduction of Islam the most well known myth of origin of the seven original Hausa states, is the Bayajidda legend of the Queen Daura. Upon the death of her father Daura took the people to a new territory called Kusugu near a well and they settled there (Callaway 1987). The well had a snake that guarded it and the people were only allowed to use it on Friday. Eventually

a male traveler named Yazidu went to Kusugu where Daura and her people resided and he beheaded the snake that guarded the well (Callaway 1987). After she heard what occurred, Daura immediately went in search of the slayer of the snake. When she and Yazidu met they fell in love and married (Callaway 1987). Initially Daura believes that she cannot have children, so she gives Yazidu an enslaved woman to give him a son. Later Daura had a son named Bawo who married and had six sons (Callaway 1987). Bawo and his children are credited with the founding of the seven Hausa states (Callaway 1987).

The legend of Bayajidda foreshadows the changing gender roles in Hausa society (Callaway 1987). The fact that Bawo had all sons and that his grandfather had all daughters could have been suggesting the shift in Hausa society from a matrilineal society to a patrilineal one (Callaway 1987). Additionally the beheading of the snake is also significant because the snake was historically always female and the killing of the snake may have represented the loss of pre-Islamic religious institutions where women dominated and the adoption of Islam which was practiced in its very conservative form (Callaway 1987).

After the invasion by the Fulani and the establishment of the Sokoto-Caliphate many historians cast this gendered shift in the founding myth as being consistent with the marriage of the literature between Muslim Fulani and Hausa pre-Muslim traditions. The political motivation behind perpetuating this myth in the early 1900s for Kano Hausa Muslims in Nigeria was to establish themselves as the legitimate ruling class (Callaway 1987). It is important to remember that Islam initially reached the Fulani elite and they invaded Hausaland and Kano. Kano became reconfigured in the historical narrative as part of the “untamed” and “uncivilized” non-Muslim frontier, incorporated into the

Fulani caliphate, and the Daura legend and the subsequent marriage represents the domestication and limiting of female power (Callaway 1987). This transition demonstrates a religious transition with political implications for gender relations (Callaway 1987). The primary roles of women focused on social and familial production through exhibiting behaviors of what were considered devout and proper Muslim women were based on very narrow and conservative interpretations of Islam.

Islam: Fulani Invasion and the Sokoto-Caliphate

The establishment of the Fulani Sokoto-Caliphate resulted most notably in the seclusion of royal women and resulted in the drastic mitigation of their political power (Callaway 1987). When Islam was initially established in Kano it flourished alongside the Bori religion, so women still retained some economic and political power, although it was diminished. Callaway (1987) highlights the decrease in the autonomy of Hausa women in the public sphere as the presence of Islam increased allowing the state to regulate the private sphere. The situation was compounded under colonialism. The key role of women was transformed into social and religious production consistent with the cultural institutional norms of the Sokoto-Caliphate (Callaway 1987). Marriage became central to sustaining royal families as truly Islamic and therefore politically powerful.

A Muslim trader from Mali first introduced Islam to Kano in 1150. Then in 1350 Yusa, the fifth king of Kano, accepted forty Muslim missionaries and forced the people to pray five times a day (Callaway 1987). The most significant social changes for women however began in 1463 when Mohammad Rumfa came to Kano. He established huge trade networks and brought in missionaries from Medina into Kano (Callaway 1987).

The Kurmi market, which he established, is still present in Nigeria today. Rumfa also mandated that all first-born females be brought to him for their first sexual experience and he instituted the practice of seclusion for women including his 1000 concubines (Callaway 1987). By the end of his term Islam had a solid foundation in Kano (Callaway 1987).

During the 16th century when more Fulani traders came to Kano they intermarried with the Hausa (Callaway 1987). Shehu, an avid Islamic reformer, had a vision that he was supposed to purify the Hausa for Islam (Callaway 1987). One of the first abominations that he chose to rid the states of the political positions of women, which he believed were anti-Islamic. This coincided with his strong desire to eradicate the any religious practices that were an echo of the Hausa before occupation because they were labeled pagan (Callaway 1987, Cooper 1997). They were also a symbol of women's political power. The continued existence of Bori alongside Islam as a synthesis of practices illustrates the difficulty of permanently erasing the previous religious practices completely from the new political landscape (Cooper 1997). Prior to Shehu's reign women, especially common women, were being used as sexual release for men and many were placed into slavery. The Shehu abhorred these practices and believed that women should be protected as outlined in the Qur'an (Cooper 1997).

While he did not believe that women had any need to participate in any public sphere of society, he did believe that women should at least be literate in Arabic and he took the necessary steps to ensure that elite Hausa women became literate (Callaway 1987). The autonomy of Hausa women in the public sphere decreased as the presence of Islam increased allowing the state to regulate the private sphere and the situation was compounded under colonialism. Literacy in Arabic was a new change for Hausa women

although it was limited to the elite. The chasm between women in the market and agriculture and elite women deepened once elite women were secluded (Callaway 1987). Seclusion thus became a status symbol and this had clear class implications because only extremely wealthy households could sustain themselves without the external labor of women. Therefore the most socioeconomically advantaged also retained political influence by adhering to the most restrictive interpretations of Islam. (Callaway 1987) The implications for women from families that could not afford to keep them in seclusion are significant because the stigma for being “un-Islamic” is akin to being uncivilized and therefore political and socially disenfranchised. Being located outside of the normative political machinery has additional consequences because it decreased the diversity in Islamic interpretations rendering less gendered readings of Islam marginal.

Shankar (2005) analyzes the Kano Chronicle and John Hunwick’s and Lovejoy’s (1993) analysis of it. Shankar argues that religious diversity existed which was used to consolidate political power. Political conflict with the Jukun, likely an Igbo sub group, weakened Kano and likely served as the impetus for the creation of the Kano Chronicle whose author or authors are unknown. The focus is on “the politics of cultural incorporation” because Kano is the most heterogeneous state in Hausaland. It is comprised of different chiefdoms unlike Katsina and other Hausa states, and therefore always lacked a “national unity” (Shankar 2005). In Kano there is a constant relationship between Islam and “paganism”, other local religions and Bori, the traditional religion dominated by women (Shankar 2005). “This religious contrast symbolized the relations between rural and urban, secular and religious, and Hausa and non-Hausa that were often more complicated than dualistic representations.” (Shankar 2005, 285). Hausaland in the 15th century was located between two empires, Borno and Songhay, and therefore needed

to become politically creative and self-sufficient. M.G Smith (1983) and Murray Last (1997) are more critical of the Kano Chronicle as a depiction of the consolidation of political power through the construction of historical memory explicitly enshrined in written text. Additionally the written text is juxtaposed with oral historical traditions and has impacted in some ways the erasure of Hausa women's political leadership prior to the consolidation of the Emirate system (Smith 1983, Last 1997). My study suggests that it is likely that Kano's location between two other Islamic empires contributed to its positioning and subsequent of treatment of women as a source of pride in the Islamic north, and this contributed to a sense of nation building and national unity. It is important to understand the ways in which this project of consolidating Hausaland as a coherent political unit augmented and regulated the physical spaces that different women could occupy internal to its borders.

Nast outlined the cultural geography of Kano as it related to gendered power dynamics among Hausa women (1996). She clearly illustrated the power of hierarchy among Hausa women. Royal wives' bodies were physically reproducing the state. The marriages of royal women contributed to state expansion (Nast 1996). The centrality of the paternal lineage of children in the structure of state power resulted in the seclusion of women in the private spaces of the household in order to insure fidelity (Nast 1996). As the state expanded, seclusion became a standard practice. The line of succession was produced through heterosexual patriarchy. Men were visible in public spaces more specifically through war and expansion (Nast 1996). Concubines were also central components of reproducing the state via alliances with other polities. Additionally their children in theory could become the next rulers (Nast 1996). However this was highly unlikely given the prominent role of royal wives in determining succession. Concubines

also had fewer restrictions than royal wives in some areas. Non concubine slave women were engaged in agricultural production and as labor surrogates for the royal women because their biological reproduction was not central to the state or the future line of kings (Nast 1996). By illustrating the interconnected relationship of social location to social and economic production Nast's work severely critiques the delineation between discourse and non-discursive or material components (Nast 1996).

She cites the following three texts as key to understanding the history of Kano: first the oral tradition and song of Bagauda (Palmer 1908), second the Kano Chronicle, third Kano ta Dabo Cigor (Sudanese memoirs) (Palmer, 1928). In the Maguzawa, or non-Muslim areas, women were not secluded. They worked on the private fields of their families and also engaged in spinning, weaving, beer brewing, addressing the work requirements of secluded women including supplementing their labor, and making labor intense crafts for royal wives and concubines (Nast 1996). They were also involved in the local markets. The pre-teen women engaged in farming and their Muslim counterparts worked as middle links for the honeycomb trade (Nast 1996). Muslim women did not have freedom in terms of "sexuality bodily gestures and daily movements" (Nast 1996).

Maguzawa women had greater instances of divorce than Muslim women and the men tended to marry fewer wives (Nast 1996). The Magzuwa women were also important for the practice of Bori. Rumfa created a class of enslaved bureaucrats for example the eunuchs were treasurers (Nast 1996). Female bodies became private and male bodies were considered more public making both female and male bodies surrogates for institutions (Nast 1996). The state did not view enslaved women as women, thus allowing them to work outside the home and this was reflective of their non-existent

involvement in reproducing the state (Nast 1996). Nast further mapped these social, political, and economic positioning of women directly onto the physical layout of the palace and the land.

The different nationalist stories reflect gender economic status, class, knowledge production, before colonialism and after colonialism. The tensions between local knowledge and cooptation by political elite are inculcated within these different myths and reflect the stages of “establishing an imagined national Hausa community.” (Nast 1996) Colonialism further institutionalized women’s political, economic and social positions through the regulations of courtship, marriage, family relations, and the production of Islamic scholarship because the status of Imams was elevated. Non-elite Hausa women became further removed from the normative political system under colonialism.

Colonialism: British

In Hausa Women in the Twentieth Century Catherine Coles and Beverly Mack argued that during colonialism the colonial state provided political support to Islamic leaders, to include the practice of wife seclusion in turn expediting the conflation of religion and politics and consequently the regulation of public and private life (1991). The introduction of colonialism and the British legacy of indirect rule placed Islam in a new position of prominence (Coles and Mack 1991). The British established the Native Authority. The political elite began to identify strict adherence to Islam with the resistance of the political, religious, and cultural hegemony of the British (Coles and

Mack 1991). While Islam was adopted voluntarily in Hausaland and initially had a slow transformative effect on the entire society, during colonialism it functioned as an instrument that could be exploited by the colonial state and simultaneously became touted as a site of cultural authenticity and resistance (Coles and Mack 1991). The Muslim clerics employed by the state and tasked with traversing the entire protectorate also proselytized to the masses of non-Muslims in the rural areas (Coles and Mack 1991). In an effort to resist the economic imposition of taxation the rural populations began to practice a form of kulle (wife seclusion) with one distinctive difference from the elite (Coles and Mack 1991). Women were to remain located inside the compound unless they were engaged in “lawful” activity (Coles and Mack 1991). Lawful activity was defined as income-generating activities such as the production of kola nuts, cotton, and other raw materials upon which the colonial state depended (Coles and Mack 1991).

The British used the Islamic institutions to implement colonial policy and ensure that they had control over Kano (Coles and Mack 1991). The Victorian ideals of femininity made the seclusion of women in all of its forms more palatable, and served to posit the Hausa as an exoticized other with little need of British intervention into their private lives (Coles and Mack 1991). There were several different types of seclusion (kulle). Furthermore the colonial state provided political support to Islamic leaders in turn expediting the conflation of religion and politics and consequently the regulation of public and private life (Coles and Mack 1991). Key shifts can be marked here regarding nation and meaning and the structural conditions of Hausa. Prior to the arrival of the British, the seclusion of women applied only to royal women.

Nigeria was established as a unified country when the protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria were amalgamated under British authority in 1914 (Suberu 2001).

A federation comprised of three regions was created in 1954 when Southern Nigeria was divided into two regions. And the Lyttelton Constitution imposed (Suberu 2001). The federal government adjudicated issues between the three regions and rendered other external policy decisions. Internal policy and administration was conducted by the region (Suberu 2001). The impetus for the formation of a federation was the ethnic and linguistic diversity, variation in the legacy of colonialism on modernization and the promise of regional autonomy for the next generation of post-independence political leaders (Suberu 2001). The three major ethnic groups were the Hausa-Fulani, the Yoruba and the Igbo. Federalism became a natural structural solution to encompass the ethnic and geo-political configurations in the “British created Nigeria” which “was and remains “one of the most ethnically diverse countries in the world” (Suberu 2001). These increased tensions required how forms of nationalism without traditional state structures that pre-dated colonialism.

The road to federalism in contemporary Nigeria began under colonialism which is critical because federalism meant two things 1) independent federal state established 2) local states engrained inter-regional differences with ethnic and religious overlays depending on context (Suberu 2001). Atul Kohli (2004) argues that to an extent, the efforts toward decentralization reflect the previous structure of the colonial system. Each region under colonialism maintained regional differences that were further compounded by the fact that the state did not attempt to create a centralized system of taxation (Kohli 2004). The British believed that a decentralized system could help secure financial assets and alleviate diplomatic pressures. The South was economically solvent and ideally would offset the economic shortfalls of the North (Kohli 2004). Indirect rule, insulation of the Northern emirates, and “administrative regionalism” created a deadly triad whose

legacy impacts Nigerian federalism today (Suberu 2001, 23). Given the required financial investment and the potential to foster resistance, the British were not interested in creating a cadre of educated elite to administer the Nigerian state. Applying their lessons from India they opted to run Nigeria “on the cheap” (Kohli 2004). The system of indirect rule allowed them to incorporate willing local political leaders to administer their institutions when necessary.

During colonialism divergent groups were also solidified. Mustapha (2002) critiques the narratives produced in the 1960s by “nationalist historiography” which argues that the emergence of the contemporary Nigeria states was a natural political evolution. Additionally the structure of the emirates in the Sokoto-Caliphate, and the various political configurations of Oyo, the Yoruba and the Igbo suggest that these entities were autonomous self-sufficient units that did not specifically need to form a single state (Mustapha 2002). This is precisely why regional nationalisms largely based on ethnolinguistic groups such as the Hausa remained pervasive.

The British colonial system institutionalized distinctions between Northern and Southern Nigeria in terms of their administration. During 1900 the northern protectorate was established and a Southern protectorate was formed in 1914 (Mustapha 2002). A new division occurred in 1939 when the Southern protectorate became the Western and Eastern provinces (Mustapha 2002). The result was the fusion of an overarching economic sphere creating a “unitarist, as opposed to a federalist Nigeria” (Mustapha 2002, 158). The regional, geographical and historical differences exacerbated the difficulties with integration. The colonial administration in response emphasized regional differences to extract resources causing “uneven development” (Mustapha 2002, 158). Any economic benefits of this new model were quickly overshadowed and by the

negative political and social implications of the policies. Women and other social categories are critical in determining access to material, political and social resources.

By 1912 Northern and Southern Nigeria appeared as though they were developing as two distinct countries. Northerners comprised the majority of the military and consequently dominated the political arena once the country began to move toward independence (Mustapha 2002). The social implications of the binary administrative system were exacerbated by the chasm between north and south. Because missionaries were allowed to introduce western education to the south but were prohibited from working in the north, southerners acquired higher levels of education and literacy rates (Mustapha 2002). As independence approached, regionalism underscored ethnicity and ethnicity became synonymous with the actual political parties and their agendas (Mustapha 2002). The nationalist movements tried to consolidate their power regionally then nationally. Constructs of gender and the underlying importance of social, cultural, religious divisions were firmly entrenched.

In 1958 the Willink Commission of "Inquiry into the Fears of Minorities and the Means for Allaying Them" was published and ethnic minorities began to push for the creation of additional states (Mustapha 2002). Their demands were delayed in order to attain independence in 1960. Two of the three regions overwhelmingly accepted this colonial model of federalism, the North and the West (Mustapha 2002). Both the Hausa-Fulani of the Northern Region and the Yoruba of the Western Region believed a federal state preserved their relative power vis-a-vis the power of the Igbo of the Eastern Region (Mustapha 2002). The Hausa-Fulani clearly had established a new identity compared to other mini-intrastate rivalries with other regions/groups.

Post-Independence: Federalism

Federalism in Nigeria illustrates the importance of understanding the mutually constitutive nature of state and society outlined in the work of Migdal (2001). Mustapha (2002) identifies two factors that are at the heart of the structure of federalism, “multiethnic nature of the pre-colonial state and the accommodation of difference” (Mustapha 2002). He does not suggest a balance of power that would accommodate ethnic diversity through inclusion. Instead Mustapha analyzes the ways in which the state is established “the organization of domination and resistance, and the general ways in which the state has sought to establish its control, hegemony, legitimacy, autonomy, and basis of revenue” (Mustapha 2002, 154).

The regional divisions that existed under colonialism reinforced the need to secure economic self-sufficiency at the local state level. In the 1950s Nigeria was attempting to attain independence and needed to establish independent political parties. The Northern Peoples’ Congress, the most conservative Muslim political party in the North, did not want women to vote or participate unlike its opposing party, the Northern Elements Progressive Union (Mustapha 2002). Nearly twenty years after independence, in 1979, the Nigerian constitution was amended to extend the right to vote to women in the Islamic North. That year, NEPU won the state elections in Kano because of the women’s votes (Mustapha 2002). During these years, even elite Hausa women had limited access to formal or western education and began in some cases to advocate for changes in the status of women more broadly (Huston 1997). Women began to use their new political visibility to expand their roles in economic production. They began to critique their seclusion and the limitation of their economic activities to the home

Furthermore women leaders utilized their roles as mothers and teachers of societal norms to argue for more access to education and economic opportunities and participation in society. While framing political agendas in the context of Islamic norms can be problematic, tapping into nationalist narratives to expand and redefine women's roles is a strategy that opened new opportunities. The oral histories reported below reflect how women's use of historical references to enshrine and enhance their current activities is an expression of agency. Through their use of the historical narrative, women began to contest discourses that exclude or are restrictive toward them.

Historical Constructs and Contemporary Oral Histories

During the past two decades Hausa women in Nigeria have become involved in development work, defined as gender equality, education, income-generating activities, and health programs. The World Bank and other international development agencies after the 1980s pushed for Nigeria to diversify its economy. This effort became a national project (Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, World Bank 2002). The subsequent focus on gender equality as a part of the diversity effort at times obscured the different power relationships between women within the state. Therefore, understanding how the labor of some Hausa women has moved into development as a new economic sector is critical to understanding how they are impacting national development agendas. The interests of different women are being represented in a variety of ways within the development agenda. Insight into the types of women's work during different historical periods allows us to put the way Hausa women elect to situate their work and their societal roles into context.

The Kano oral histories collected include those of the palace historian of Daura, women heading different types of non-governmental organizations, and members of community based groups. The key was to better understand the sectors of the society and key points where women enter the scene and make an impact coupled with the history of women's mobilization and organizing. The founding of Hausaland was a less significant event to highlight the additional roles of women than other critical moments.

Kano, Nigeria

Haj. Atine's organization, Voices of Widows, Divorcees, & Orphans Association of Nigeria (VOWAN), is a membership organization focused primarily on protecting the rights of vulnerable populations including widows, divorcees and orphans. The work that she has chosen to undertake is couched not in the context of the role of Hausa women's roles historically but rather in the teachings of Islam and the example of a wife of the Prophet to foreground her work and activities. More specifically, she states that people working on increasing the profile of Islam and working to increase the status of women after "Understanding that everyone has their own knowledge about life, Allah is a witness to what I am saying. I and those who are listening to me are hearing the history of women since the time of the prophet. The help that women gave during that time in the battlefield were things that helped human development and progress because they were standing for the religion of God. I used to pray that I was born during that time. So that I too can give my services to the people at that time through the battlefield during the jihad so that the religion would rise up. As I used to say, those things have already passed. God what are you going to give us now? God will witness that we should do good things for him. God knows that it was my time and that I will be praying to God." (VOWAN

office November 11, 2010) It becomes clear that two things are happening. First specifically using the wives of the Prophet as models is also a way to disentangle her work from any narratives of women's roles in national frames and connect them directly to Islamic ones. Second, her choice to name the work of the prophet's wives during war time, allows Islamic human development work to access to the rhetoric associated with development without the negative connotations of it being considered western. This quote in particular showcases her ability to link herself and her organization to Islam very directly and through that association to development activities. She also serves to mark the difference between her own approaches to development that are distinct from western feminist approaches. She becomes more deliberate toward the end of a speech she gave during the eight year anniversary of the founding of her organization when she states,

“The beginning of the organization: Understanding that everyone has their own knowledge about life, Allah is a witness to what I am saying. I and those who are listening to me are hearing the history of the prophets and the good men after the prophet. Those who fight to raise the religion and women should stand by them, especially after hearing the history of women since the time of the prophet. The help that women gave during that time in the battlefield were things that helped human development and progress because they were standing for the religion of God...I have the opportunity to advise people that think we are wasting our time, or that what are we are doing wrong, that we are following what God asked us to do. We help widows, divorcees, and women abandoned by their husbands. The prophet (S.A.W) said we should help each other, so what is wrong in us doing our work? I pray that God let's those people that misunderstand our work come to know what we are doing. . So we ask God to continue our work and to double it and leave it for our children to continue for

the same thing. We thank God that has given us the chance to do this work and everyone that has attended this gathering. I pray everyone a safe journey to their destination. Pray for peace in Kano, Nigeria and everywhere in the world. May God bless everyone and God accept our work and assist our leaders to show the right way and make them have mercy on us and be just.” (Haj. Atine, interview November 11, 2010 and exert from speech given)

The misunderstandings she is concerned about include the perceptions that her efforts are going to antagonize men or that her goal is to exert control over men.

In contrast to Haj. Atine, Haj. Hassan, the head of the Federal Association of Muslim Women (FOMWAN) in Kano, cites specific examples of the wide range of activity of Hausa women in Islamic education. She gives the example of Haj. Uma Sadatu Suliman Wali. who provided Islamic education to the present Emir of Kano and his mother. Her husband is an Islamic teacher of the Emir’s late father and he was an Islamic scholar and in the office of the Emir to administer justice. Her mother in turn, Haj. Ama Dandita, who grew up in Zaria and excelled in trade from her home, trading sugar and other commodities. Haj. Hassan stated,

“Well you know right from the start women were because they have so many things in Kano. We have women that are religious leaders, I mean they are teachers. Like there is one woman Haj. Uma Sadaitu Suleman Wali she was a renound Islamic teacher. She was even the teacher of the present Emir. She the Emir studied the Quran from her. So also the mother of Alhaji Aminu Dandata Uma Zaria is also a very good trainer. Her husband is a business man. Also she in her own domain her own house if

he sells salt in his shop, she has salt in her house to time it to small small people who come and buy. She has um sugar, you know she sells any commodity around that some people with come and take, go and put something on top and sell and then go and bring her her money. [Is it normal for women to teach Emirs the Quran?] Yes that is Amina Zaria that is Aminu Dandata's mother. So those are kind we have those kinds of women. No she is Haj. Suleman Wali, is dead. They are all past. Yeah it is normal because her husband is one of the Ulannas in front of the Emir. So during their time, so the Emir's late father her husband was working under him so, she has a school. Because the Wali was like an Islamic, he is an Islamic scholar and he gives he's in the office of the Emir. So to deal with issues concerning judgment and justice concerning Islam, so he gives the advice. So she is also learned. So because of the closeness of the, so he is there so her students were all the children of the people around. ” (Interview on December 14, 2010, at her elementary school)

In addition to her work with FOMWAN, Haj. Hassan owns a private elementary school which is in the process of expanding to include a secondary school. The role of Islamic education that women played for the pre-colonial traditional leaders is a critical part of women's contemporary work on education. Even though Haj. Wali's husband was an Islamic scholar she was also knowledgeable enough to teach the royal family. Education themes are also echoed in the work of FOMWAN on reproductive health and immunizations, and educating them to vote in elections. The maternal health bill and conducting vaccination awareness programs are examples of ways that FOMWAN through its work to educate the political leadership benefits society more broadly. Emphasizing the Islamic perspectives allows FOMWAN to greatly expand its

programming. Their activities are packaged as providing the Muslim approach to contemporary health and education issues. (Interview on December 14, 2010 at her elementary school)

The Palace Historian of Daura lists the seventeen Hausa Queens that ruled prior to the introduction of Islam. (Interview with Mamman Abubakar, Interview Daura Palace, on January 13, 2011) Daura is the place where the legend surrounding the founding of Hausaland originated. I was able to visit the actual well where the snake was killed and met with the palace historian. Alhaji Abubakar begins the history of Daura by stating that the

“...leadership begins over 2000 years back. It began by the coming of one Arab man from Palenstine called Abdidar. He found some people Hausa people around. But there was no leadership. People were squatting individually not collectively in the form of a town. One house here and another house a few kilometers away another house ...Every house the farms were the property of the owner of this house. So the leadership only for your own family. I am the head of my household and usually my control was limited to my own family alone. No power over another neighbor. ... So when he died they knew they needed someone to replace him. But they didn't have any male child only female. And because of the value they had they decided to appoint the woman because she was from his own blood possibly she could do better than anyone among them. So they decided to appoint her to replace him with the title of magajiya. And the magajiya in Hausa is female, somebody who will inherit. If you say magaji male, magajiya female. She took over the responsibilities of her father. She stayed for long with these people, doing the same, what her father was doing. Then she died. Now they experienced two types of leadership, for male and for female. And they enjoyed better during the female

leadership. So they thought leadership was meant for women not for men. So they decided in the future everyday they would continue to appoint women. So that's why the first time Daura experienced the leadership of queens. We experienced the leadership of 17 Queens. In a period of about 1000 years, 1)Kufuru, 2) Gino, 3)Yakumo, 4)Ykunya, 5)Walizamu, 6)Yamubamu, 7) Gizaligizali, 8) Inagali, 9) Duarama, 10) Gamata, 11) Shata, 12) Batatuma, 13) Sedamata, 14) Jamata, 15) Hamata, 16) Zama, 17) Shawata. So there were 17, but after the leadership of the 9th Queen Daurama, during her leadership people in the forest found out there was a place water was pouring out from the ground like spring water. They reported to her. She came she saw the place and asked the people to clear the place. To be the source of their water. So that's the present Kusugu well. The historical well. So just because of that well the Queen decided to transfer her head quarters from another place to the present Daura. The 9th Queen. So when she did she built her palace standing for over 1, 500 years. ...This palace has been standing for over 1, 500 years. It is the duty of every leader of Daura to renovate this room, that's why it is lasting up to date. ...this 9th Queen after a long time of ruling the people of Daura she died. So the people would not forget her. One she was the founder of the place, so that's why they named the place Daura after her named Daurama. And the title of any Queen appointed from her changed from magajiya to Daurama. So the title became Daurama and the town became Daura. ...She was the present founder of the Daura we are in now. Because they were squatting 10 km away in the north of the present Daura. So the 17th Shawata, her title was Daurara. She was the one that Bayajidda-Abu Azid (given the name in Hausaland, before he got to Daura he understood Hausa language Baya jidda-because he not understand Hausa before), from Iraq ... [What did they like about her leadership style?] Usually women they one if they are

leading you will find them not selfish unlike men. Men usually they favor something. But women they are always straight. And women usually they have considerations, mercy and pity unlike men, you see if this is the king they say kill him. I will continue to cry and he wouldn't care. He would continue to kill him. They are more lineate. That is why they like the women's leadership better than men. [Do you think people not just in other parts of Hausaland, but Kano specifically remember this history?] No you see. All these Hausalands, Gobir, Kano, Katsina, Zaria, Taranbu, Garangabas, you see when seven Hausa states was established, there was no leadership for women. It has already gone. Babijya controlled. Then his son Bawo, took over and the children of Bawo established the 7 Hausa states. So nobody knew about any leadership from women. So right at that time all these areas men dominated the leadership everywhere. Well the coming of Fulani you see one thing. The Hausa rulers were ruling in the way they wanted. What happened Islamic religion came into this country through Arab traders, travelers, they have been traveling all over to sell their goods. So an Arab coming into this place with something valuable to sell to the people. He needed two things, he needed shelter and he needed security. So he could only get security only in the palace or with a wealthy man in the town. So they would go straight to the palace or wealthy man and say I am your stranger. Then he would give them a gift. He would like them and then say...So anytime it was time for Islamic prayers he would come out and pray. So the people admired and said what he was doing. Then the people continued to ask questions and the Arabs were introducing this religion to these people. They accepted the religion. So in the olden days when Sheik Usman Dan Fodio appeared in 1806 the Islamic religion was only meant for wealthy people and chiefs. Not for common man. Common man didn't care about religion. So having that religion you see the way they learned it was through

copying. Not through learning in books and so on you see. But by copying. So they could pray to God and inside their room they had their idol. They worship the idol and then come out and pray. ... So when Sheik started preaching in 1803 Hausa rulers were using the religion to cheat their own people. And he was against that. So he started to preach and that's why the chief of Gobir wanted to (get rid of him). ... [What happened to women when power change to men?] Right from that time if a king is appointed then their must be magajiya Daura she had power over, she can be able to impeach the Emir. She is appointed to give advice to the Emir, whatever he is doing wrongly magajiya Daura has the power to stop it. So we still have that power. Women, here we have magajiya Daura now. It is given first daughter of any Emir. Then she will continue to be magajiya Daura whoever is on the thrown even after my death. (using an example where he is the Emir) ... She will continue until she dies. And the magajiya has power over every woman in Daura. She has power up to date. And she has her own district heads appointed titles. We have titles for women that are appointed. We have them now. ... Whatever comes to her because she was not in a position to prosecute, [If women have problems they will go to her?] they will go to her and if she cannot be able to settle things then she used to send to the Emir to take over the case. [So if there was a domestic dispute between a husband and a wife?] They used to complain. Women used to complain yes. [And she would solve those cases?] Yes. [Do women still go to her?] Well uh you see her role has been reduced with the introduction of the courts. Usually some people they go straight to the courts. But if they want settlement they will either go to magajiya or to the Emir. We have many cases like that, they want settlement not anything that will harm somebody else. If I need my money from my friend if my friend borrowed money from me and is not paying me, taking him to court they will order for his

to be closed and leave so to settle the problem and not make it worse for my friend I will talk to the Emir. And the Emir will counsel him to pay it. So it will be settled in a nice way not a (harsh way).” (Interview with Alhaji Abubakar, Daura Palace, January 13, 2011)

In addition to listing all of the Hausa Queens he also stated that prior to the introduction of Islam the Hausa thought that women were well suited for politics, unlike men. Women were preferred because they were believed to think holistically about the consequences of decisions for the entire population in addition to the long-term rather than short term impacts. He was very clear that the details of this history have been forgotten by the majority of the Hausa population, particularly in Kano. Now women have become less visible in political institutions. He also echoed the fact that the Emirs of the original seven Hausa states were not fans of Usman Dan Fodio (the leader of the Islamic Jihad that conquered them) because his movement emphasized that in the “true meaning of Islam” there should not be separations within society or hierarchy. I included his account because it illustrates the important role the Emirate political system placed on utilizing royal women and rigidly guarding the gender hierarchy to retain power and political legitimacy which they were in danger of losing with the reforms of Usman Dan Fodio.

After meeting with Abubakar I met the Emir of Daura and he allowed me to visit with two of his three wives. The third was away traveling. His first wife indicated that her charity work was not in the form of an NGO or CBO and that it was important that she not overshadow but support the work of her husband. Abubakar told me that it was rare for an Emir to marry a woman with more than a secondary school education. He

also indicated that now some of the wives have more education but they are “shy” to show it.

Sadia, an employee of the Grassroots Health Organization (GHON), recalls that Kano was one of the oldest historical towns in Kano Emirate. (GHON office, November 11, 2011) During this period women were not allowed outside of the domestic sphere. There were several dangers and risks for women and young girls that could also be taken and kidnapped and forced into marriage. In more recent times, royal women led an advocacy mission led by Hajiya Asiberah that greatly assisted Kano municipal Local Government Authority in promoting education and health issues for women. Background information about her efforts is also housed at the Mambayya House for Democratic Change and Human Rights in Kano. This is important because it again underscores that while being placed directly in political spaces is not directly part of the historical memory, there are other sectors of public policy where women had an impact. Sadia recounts that

“Kano is one of the oldest historical towns. I love Kano and I will continue to love Kano. Before based on our tradition women are not allowed to come out. They are considered to be more at home or their work must be involved home and the family. They are not recognized in the educational, health and everything to do outside. But as time goes on our people were able to identify that women has roles to play even in the outside society. We have heard so many histories of young girls that were taken out by force to go out for their studies to be enrolled in primary schools. They are fussing and crying and have to be taken out by force from their parents to be taken to the primary schools. So as time goes on there are some little mobilizations and advocacy with traditional rulers on how important education is this is by the then missionaries that are coming to

Kano. So after that women are allowed, girls especially are allowed to go to school. And as you can see presently, I can see the number of women going to school can equal the number of boys or a little lower. Just some few percentage lower than that... From the first history of politics we have Haj. Asuberesa, there is a certain structure that was named after her. A structure was named after her Gambo Sawaba near Mambayya House. And the rest of them. They are politicians from the past. So as you can see women in Kano are now advanced. Women are coming out.” (Interview with Sadia, November 11, 2011)

Haj. Hadiza, the executive director of GHON underscores an important part of the way society was structured in Northern Nigeria. She recalled that,

“As you say in the south for the fact that they are used to community work and all so it wasn’t difficult for them forming organizations CSOs or NGOs it has always been. If it is not a community thing, it is a church thing. Some kind of thing. And you see for them, even those of them that are from the south that are living in the north, when they, people come to the north, they still have to form those organizations. You know. State organizations, even they go as low as village to village. If me and you come from the same village we need to have a meeting or. So if we are certain tribe we need to come together being that we are a certain tribe and staying in the north we need to come here and hold meetings. If maybe it is after church we need to meet. You know contribute, like I had a girl working for me. They meet every, after church they have to meet they come from the same clan, the same village in the south they have to meet. And every week you have to contribute like uh they will decide, this week you will bring toothpaste, you will bring pomade, you will bring this and this week when they bring it you will bring

washing detergent, this person will bring washing detergent. When you bring it the whole thing is given to one member. So she has like her yes (all her household needs) Yes they rotate it. You see so they are used to such kinds of things. But in the north because of the kind of our family set up you know. The husband being the head of the family. His word is last, you know. Our mothers are not doing anything you know ok, it's not that they are not doing anything, you have some of them you know that are used to making the cotton thread things like that you know but come to think of it, even before our women in the north were a bit more enterprising than now. Because they had some things, some arts and crafts they used to make. But you know I think it's because with the world becoming diversified and you know there is a need for uh the women to be enlightened and they are not meeting to that need. And for the fact that the backwardness that we are having in the northern areas of education you know has you know kind of contributed to that and we didn't grow up doing the community things. It's more about family, the main unit. So you see mostly when somebody will do something, his family is the main, his first point and anything outside his family is not, we never look beyond the family. Let it be a community even though our religion encourages the community the opposite of that, but I don't know if with time it (will change). It's more of a family thing, you look first onto your family and nothing beyond your family. And I think is one of the things we need to change. The behavior we need to change to start thinking beyond the family. Thinking community wise." (Interview with Hadiza, December 15, 2010)

She argues that in the history of Kano individuals became accustomed to the government addressing their needs unlike their southern counterparts which organize at the village level to address their development concerns. Furthermore, in Kano the

primary unit of organization was the family to include social organizations. Therefore familial ties were the primary points of accessing resources. Given this legacy she argued that there was some initial resistance to working together among women in the community based groups that were formed through GHON. Now however after working in a group rather than an individual context women see the benefits of groups. (Haj. Hadiza, Interview with Adryan Wallace, December 15, 2010)

Haj. Ibrahim, stated that “there have been lots of changes for women in the last two decades, for example now they know how to solve and address issues related to pregnancy.” (Interview October 9, 2010) She is 65 years old, married with six children. She had been a traditional birth attendant for eight years. The increase in women’s engagement in health has also provided a context for her to frame her work by also referencing the efforts of other Hausa women specifically in Kano.

Haj. Jhonsum, a member of part of the market women’s cooperative, indicates that there are more women’s groups than there were twenty five years ago. (Interview October 10, 2010) She is in her seventies with three children and has been involved in the group for four years. She engages in trading, buying and selling and sees the benefits of working with women’s groups. Given the span in her lifetime the trend around women organizing themselves either in NGOs or CBOs illustrates that collective actions and pooling resources for trading still resonates with women in society.

Haj. Jume, makes an interesting point during her interview. (Interview October 30, 2010) She states that there have been some changes for women however rural women’s lives are improving more than the women in urban areas. She uses her income from making soap and air freshener to pay her children’s’ school fees and provide other basic necessities for them. I think that her assessment serves as a reminder that while

some changes are occurring for women the development is not even across all women. Much of the change she sees for rural women centers upon some deliberate programming efforts for increased infrastructure and education efforts for women in these areas. Many of these programs are being undertaken by Kano state government. The limitations of the physical infrastructure encountered in the city, including lack of waste disposal, water access, overcrowding and the heavy concentrations of the population are also responsible for the disparate impacts of government sponsored programs.

Tamale, Ghana

In Tamale the interviews included members of the elders CBO, the youth CBO, and the chief's brother in the Hausa zongo. The women name their groups as the Elders and the Youth. The Elders focus primarily on addressing issues related to trade and increasing capital. The Youth focus more on social support in terms of balancing their work trading with their broader goals of obtaining more formal education and being financially independent. The Elders group does not offer any form of economic support to the youth.

Haj. Salisu, one of the founders of the elders CBO, highlighted the important role that women played in trade. Their extensive networks were highlighted as a primary reason for their relocation to Tamale. The women came from different states in Northern Nigeria. There were different types of trading they engaged in historically including the trading of beads, and they also acted as intermediaries reselling gold. Women that were heavily engaged in trading also had male counterparts that were active in leather works. Collectively they were able to help establish the economic vitality of the Hausa

community in Tamale, a city in northern Ghana. This was essential to the security of the Hausa in Tamale because they were a minority community. In contemporary settings the trading women are engaged in has decreased but not at the same level as the leather works men produced. Therefore additional weight is being placed on the trading endeavors of women. (Interview February 15, 2011)

The leader of the Youth CBO also highlighted that women have a long history of trading in the community. However, in terms of identifying other historical references to address contemporary issues they face, there were no examples. Instead the dominant theme is the trading activity of women. Hafsat stated that they are in need of more role models either historical or contemporary. In lieu of this they utilize each other to brainstorm ideas about balancing domestic lives and aspirations with educational and professional goals. She did highlight the importance of maintaining Hausa traditions as the influx of other populations into the zongo. The zongo is the area of Tamale where the majority of the Hausa community is concentrated. When asked to elaborate, she indicated that the style of dress being less modest was a primary example of the need to emphasize Hausa traditions. (Interview April 18, 2011)

The chief's brother highlighted Hausa women who were known for trade. His mother would go to different villages and sell the traditional beads, bowls, bangles, and earrings. His mother had customers all the way from Kano to village in Haran and Jiling kong in northern Ghana. Things changed once the after General Jerry Rawlings led a coup in ACCRA in 1979 because of the amount of violence in Tamale, and the burning of the central market in reaction to the coup. Many women stopped trading and some even went back to Nigeria in response the decrease of physical insecurity. During the

interviews of the male elders in the community there was little mention of women's activities beyond trading. (Interview February 10, 2011)

Impact of Historical Women's Roles on Contemporary Gender Constructs

The temporal study of the Hausa provides a good case to analyze these issues by providing two sets of pre-colonial junctures that can be analyzed and which suggest broader implications for general theory building about nationalism and religion. The variables I used to determine the social positions of Hausa women included class status, lineage, family connections, and the amount of formal education attained, religious education, and age, each critical time period emphasized different social categories based on the needs of the nation. There are essentially three categories of Hausa women, those in the a) higher, b) middle, and c) lower echelons of society. The two figures below depict these interactions.

Figure 4

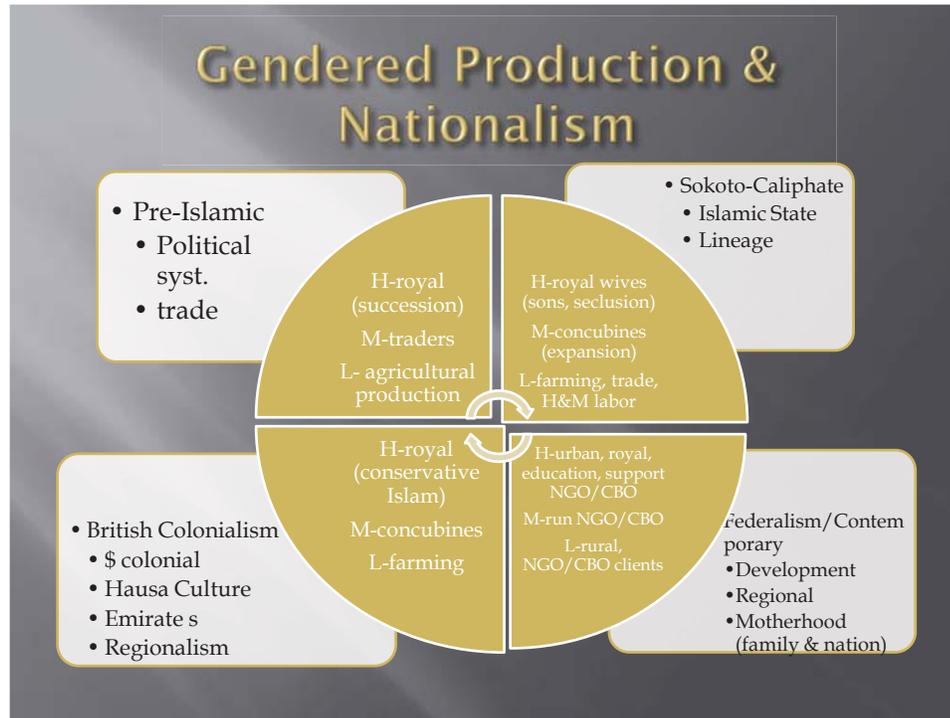


Figure 5

| Contesting Identity Categories Women & the State | | | | |
|---|---|---|--|---|
| | Pre-Islamic: Indigenous Religions | Islam: Sokoto- Caliphate | Colonialism: British | Post- Independenc e/Contempor ary |
| Nation- Nation-State | Royal, merchant, common | Royal, concubines, enslaved | Royal, concubines, rural | Urban (Royal, educated non- royal) rural |
| Hausa Women | Succession, organize trade markets, visible in public institutions | Succession, conservative interpretation s of Islam to secure positions (relative) | Contest categories imposed by British & Emirates | Motherhood, citizens, development (economic, education, etc.) |
| Interaction among Hausa women | Structured, producing all sectors | Firm hierarchies established, seclusion | Hierarchies institutionaliz ed more rigidly | Stratification NGO/CBOs, resources- institutions= right to define |

During the period when pre-Islamic religions were dominant, the relationship between religion, the state, and labor were interrelated. Agricultural and textile production were not done by royal women, but there was little stigma attached to non-royal women who were engaged in this kind of production (Nast 1996). It was all considered a critical part of making Hausaland a functional and economically viable state with established trade networks. The most critical production roles for women involved the production of goods as well as increasing familial relations through marriage to include approving and arranging them and producing children. Women in the higher social positions did not engage directly in agricultural labor or trade and instead were heavily involved in determining political succession, and organizing the markets. Women in the middle were involved primarily in trade, and women in the lower echelons were using their labor directly in the production of goods for trade. Hausa women in all

three social positions were able to operate in public spheres, and were engaged in establishing Hausaland both economically and politically.

The introduction of Islam and the establishment of the Sokoto-Caliphate (1804-1812) necessitated a different type of production. During this period agricultural work was being done by enslaved women, or women of lower social status a direct result of the conquering of the Hausa by the Fulani (Coles and Mack 1991). The introduction of Islam placed royal women in *kulle* (seclusion) in order to help consolidate the institutions of the Emirate political system. Hausa elite in many cases accepted Islam in order to secure a position in the new political order. Therefore political consequences resulted because religion and politics were conflated. If citizens did not ascribe to the new national definition of “proper” Muslim behavior then they were politically alienated.

Additionally, for those Hausa who wanted to retain political and social prominence, the rigid adherence to Islamic teachings was essential. The Hausa had been polygamous, and the ruling families had consolidated power through marriage. Under Islamic rule, men were limited to having four wives. But the Hausa political elite continued the pre-Islamic practice of taking concubines to consolidate power from all of their conquered territories. Each new wife or concubine was treated as a symbol of a new geopolitical space that was subsumed by each emirate (Nast 1996, Coles and Mack 1991). Given that children of wives and concubines could ascend to the throne, it allowed each group to buy into the political system.

The hierarchy among Hausa women became more rigid over time and the most important type of production became biological reproduction. Women of the highest social status were royal wives, women in the middle were the concubines, and rural women were in the lowest positions because the ruling class did not see them as women

because their biological reproduction was irrelevant to their maintaining power in the state (Nast 1996). The women in the lower status were not secluded unlike their two counterparts.

British colonization had a very different impact. The British colonial policy of indirect rule which administered the state through local leaders allowed the Hausa States in the Sokoto-Caliphate to function almost without interference as long as they practiced political cooperation and provided military strongholds for the British (Mustapha 2002). This was in marked contrast to British policy in the south where local entrepreneurs became the economic engine of the colony. The British depended almost exclusively on the analysis and advice and rule of royal Hausa-Fulani men to maintain law and order. These elite men in turn implemented even more extreme versions of Islam and designated themselves as the only authentic representatives of local culture and political actors capable of acting as a buffer between the masses and the colonial administration. This translated into shielding the Islamic states from western education brought by the British or other western “unbelievers” (Mustapha 2002, Umar 2006). Women's productive roles were focused less on products for trade and agriculture, and instead shifted to producing good future Muslims (children) and the family. Islamic culture became a strategy to reduce British cultural hegemony. Additionally the institutional foundation for federalism was established during this period (1945-1960) which reinforced huge regional differences between the northern, southern and the eastern parts of the country (Mustapha 2002). The results also created enmity between the Islamic and non-Islamic regions of the country prior to independence. The disparities between elite and non-elite Hausa women became more pronounced and institutionalized as Islamic culture was emphasized. Women in the higher and middle positions were more and more secluded.

Women of lower status were also increasingly living in seclusion, but not as stringently as women in the other two social categories.

After independence the social categories of Hausa women, higher, middle, and lower, remained constant however the factors that defined them and their relationship to the state shifted again. In some ways we see a return to the production roles of women of pre-colonial Hausaland, though newly defined, for the Nigerian state and the local state of Kano. The women in the higher and middle echelons tend to have more Islamic and formal education than their counterparts located in the lower social categories. Members of royal families tend to play a critical role in accessing resources while women in the middle provide services and run the organizations. Finally women in the lower echelons are typically clients of NGOs and/or members of CBOs. Therefore it can be argued that there is a reversal of the location and ability of women in the higher and middle locations to participate in public spaces from what occurred during the introduction of Islam and subsequently during colonialism. The women in the two higher social locations have access to education and capital that have facilitated their transition from internal to public spaces after independence. Women in the lower social locations, especially in the rural areas are excluded in many ways from accessing more public spaces dedicated to development because of educational, economic and social inequalities.

Women in the higher social categories that are heading organizations, such as VOMWAN and FOMWAN, utilized their Islamic knowledge and information about the role of women in Islamic education historically as validation for their contemporary activities. They also have more formal education and also serve to work on education and health issues. In terms of women in the middle, the program officer of GHON highlights the work on health in a more practical sense in terms of outreach to local

communities. Lastly, in terms of women that are member of CBOs and located in the last set of social positions, their emphasis is on trade and improving their basic quality of Life. In the case of Tamale, the overarching memory of women's contributions are economic, more specifically commodity exchanges, regardless of the age or social location. This is consistent with the position of the Hausa as a minority in Tamale, Ghana.

The work of women's NGOs clearly outline the kinds of production that women are now engaged in to include, development, small scale trading, reproductive health, and education. Kano is a Sharia state and therefore is treated as a buffer from intrusion by the Nigerian federal government on the affairs of local government which are treated as private and beyond the range of the national state. Different levels of education and positing of women within political systems impacts the status and resources of their organizations.

The congruence of women engaging in development work through NGOs with their casting as mothers of the nation in nationalist narratives is supported by scholars like Chuku (2002) who emphasizes the ways in which women can "clean up" the Nigerian federal state and justifies this assertion by tapping into the problematic formation of women as guardians of the nation and the state. This idea of self sacrifice was articulated in the founding myth of Queen Daura where women place themselves at risk "in the service of their various communities" (Chuku 2002). Though Hausa women may belong to the nation the key question is if placing themselves in "service to" these national communities will guarantee their full and equal membership. This study has revealed that the broadest expansion of social categories of Hausa women is occurring among women in the middle. Understanding the ways in which Hausa women are

located between women that are members of the royal family or political elite and women in the rural areas and the lower social positions are mediating the interactions of women on either end of the spectrum. It is critical to be able to ascertain the new production needs of the nation and state for women. Furthermore, understanding how women in the middle social positions engage in work with NGOs and how they determine to affiliate with different political institutions whether federal, local, or pre-colonial and the parameters of those relationships are also important.

It is clear that women in the upper echelons of society previously hidden in seclusion are now most economically mobile in comparison to women in lower and middle social strata. They are also best positioned to engage the normative political machinery in an effort to ensure that the state attempts to address their priorities. Women in the middle still have the freedom to access both spaces and there is more diversity and range among women in the middle. It is evident that women also choose historical references that also mirror their own work choices.

The history of “visible” and “invisible” economic activity of women in Kano state is responsible in large part for the economic activities and agendas of their respective contemporary women’s organizations. Women chose to couch their struggle for equality in the context of being “good” mothers and wives, with the addition of being “good” Muslims. In this context I would argue that in public discourse Islam represents more than a religion and also taps into a particular historical narrative where women’s roles were circumscribed almost exclusively to the family. The political significance of the introduction of Islam in Hausaland further suggests that the gender constructs created for women were also essential components to maintaining and strengthening a new economic and political system among the Hausa. The news clippings below illustrate narratives

surrounding Islam, gender and globalization. In these instances globalization or modernization are treated as contemporary and exhibiting “Islamic values” are considered more culturally authentic and “traditional”.

Appendix 2

The question of maintenance and contemporary women is discussed at length however the author concludes that maintenance is obligatory because of the “...pain, suffering, and loss of energy involved in the birth of the next generation...” Furthermore, “...according to Islam, it is the function of the husband to provide for the family expenses including the personal expenses of the wife, and that the wife has no liability in this respect. The wife may possess many times more wealth than the husband does, but still she has no obligation to contribute towards family expenses in money or in the form of work is optional and depends upon her own will and inclination.” The focus of the article has less to do with whether or not modern women want a dowry and is instead explores whether or not women are still entitled to maintenance. The author in the article above essentially attempts to naturalize the roles of men and women outlined in Islam. “According to Islam the prosperity of men, women, their children and the whole of society depends on the condition that the rules and laws of nature, which are conditioned and shaped by the strong and prudent hand of the Creator, should not be blindly acted upon, without any sight into their wisdom. As we have repeatedly mentioned, Islam has always observed the rule that man is a nature to be supported by the woman.”

This newspaper article is an excellent example of how public discourses around gender issues in Islam can fail to emphasize women’s agency and interpretations of Islam and consequently the choices they make. It is also important to highlight that the author of this newspaper article is male. The next two articles, which were authored by a

woman, focus more on specific actions that Muslim women can take to survive in a globalized world.

Appendix 3

This article opens with Aisha writing that “In speech and in behavior and mannerism, a Muslima must make sure she reflects the Islamic ideal. Always pray on time and get your children to join you in prayer as a practical lesson for them. ...If you lead by example, there are things you do not even have to prohibit, your children will not do them because they know you will not approve of them.” Although one of the first responsibilities she highlights is directly related to motherhood, she does provide specific strategies and methods that women can utilize to fulfill these roles. She emphasizes two areas that women need to navigate in the context of globalization, which include being an intellectual Jihadist and being an advocate for Islam. In terms of being an advocate for Islam it is important that “whenever you may find yourself today, as an aware and enlightened Muslima, you should be a good advocate for Islam. Talk about the positive aspects of Islam, our glorious and rich Islamic past. The contributions of Islamic scholars and scientists to today’s technological advancement through their researches during Islam’s Golden Ages.” Here she is suggesting ways that women can begin to construct counter narratives of Islam to combat any negative depictions in the media. In her second newspaper article she is more pointed in the charge she levels against women.

Appendix 4

Aisha underscores that the “most pervasive aspect of globalization today is the cultural aspect. ... and intimidation by people who believe her Islamic cultural identity is old-fashioned or backward. We are all aware of the Hijab related controversies in Europe, these are all caused by people who feel threatened by the Muslim woman’s

independent mindedness and refusal to move with global trends.” Islamic cultural prescripts are identified as a counter to globalization and what is perceived as western cultural influence. In order to challenge western hegemony, “Part of the awareness of a Muslima woman needs to know about all the conspiracies aimed at getting her to lose her Islamic identity, consciousness, and way of life. Feminism and other western ideas that claim to liberate women but actually deprive them of their womanhood are issues the Muslima should be very conversant with.” This second newspaper article was part of a paper, which was presented at the 10th anniversary commemorating the reintroduction of Sharia in Nigeria. Much of the focus of this newspaper article is centered upon providing women with ways to resist specifically western feminism. She writes that the conventions derived during the Beijing conference were in most cases in direct conflict with the family values in “any descent cultural context.” Furthermore Aisha argues “they are all about equality with men and getting our worth recognized in political and other public circles, but an enlightened Muslima can see that beyond that is a lifestyle that erodes family values and neglects the spiritual and moral needs of the next generation.” Here she is distinguishing an authentic Muslima as someone that rejects these forms of external feminism and anything that is perceived to reduce the role of women in the family unit, thereby threatening the stability of the family. This is an important way that women are policing the cultural boundaries and attributes that define a Hausa woman, a Muslim woman. There are two other important elements to highlight. First, while Islam is touted as a key organizing cultural force, there are variations in the ways in which being a Muslima are outlined by Hausa women. Her next quote directly criticizes other Muslim women that might adopt feminist perspectives, “Disguised as activists they come to you with the same feminist ideology that conflicts with your spiritual orientation. The

only difference being that the message is coming from a fellow Muslima may be even dressed like you with her flowing hijab or jihab. Please be enlightened and discerning enough to see through her disguised feminism.”

In addition to calling Muslim women who practice or advocate feminism as inauthentic she also points to a study by the Rand Corporation in the US which divided Muslims into four groups: fundamentalist, pragmatic, traditionalist and secularist. The pragmatic modernists are according to Aisha’s analysis of the study were best equipped to “serve the grand design of neutralizing Islam” while secularists are most closely allied with US interests. The pragmatic modernists therefore are most dangerous to Islam because they practice and know the religion and can gain the trusts of other Muslims. Aisha concludes by writing that “These are the globalist agents a Muslima must be on her guard against.” This piece on Muslim women in a globalized world not only illustrates the varied perspectives Hausa women retain about addressing gender inequality in Islam, it also highlights the importance that Hausa women’s NGOs, and CBOs place on situating their work within the context of Islam in order to directly combat accusations of being western agents or betraying Islamic tenants. During my interview with Haj. AUY on November 15, 2010, she stated that feminism is not a part of their lexicon.

“You see the bottom line, when you are talking about balancing family life and school life, and whatever, it all takes commitment. There is this saying which I love the most which is you know. Obstacles are what you see when you take your eyes off the goal. So that is something that I always think about. When you are determined to reach your, a certain point, you just find a way to cross the hurdles. You know as a wife and as a mother traditionally the Hausa-Fulani man does not compromise respect. So feminism is not in our dictionary. That is if you want to have a peaceful home. But at the same

time there is always a way round about it. You see respect is reciprocal. If you show respect you get respect in return. And somehow the more productive you are the more respect you get. But if your hand is always out stretched asking, asking see there is the traditional saying of the prophet, I mean the prophet Mohammad SAW that says the hand that is on the bottom is always lower in blessings and rankings than the one on top. Because the one on top gives, and the one on the bottom receives. So the more productive you are the more respect you will garner for yourself also. And the more you are able to utilize time. The more you are able to utilize time. Better children means better children in terms of health, in terms of upbringing, and activities, showing them how to save, training them how to do this. You see that is something that a well educated well rounded aspects of life”.

Even though using the term feminism is not used, she is very clear that she has rights in Islam including the right to pursue her educational and professional interests. For her, the key is productivity and balance as a means to earning respect. I think her position differs in some ways from the author on the two pieces about women and globalization because Haj. AUY states clearly that there are ways to assert your rights and goals as a Hausa woman without falling into the trap of needing to associate with feminism as a term or phrase. Instead, by addressing gender issues in her own right as a Muslim woman she has additional mobility without acquiring the suspicion that accompanies the word feminism while being true to its sentiment. The author of the article seems to focus on avoiding that label and any approaches associated with it by labeling them foreign and anti-Islamic. Furthermore, neither article really focuses or outlines the types of rights and that women have within the Islamic context or how to address gender inequality. This is a key difference between the positions of the two

women. Motherhood is an overarching priority and role that resonates with the women that participated in my study. These articles help demonstrate how women negotiate approaches to gender inequality on their own terms.

The following two newspaper articles showcase the importance of motherhood and issues related to successful childrearing as outlined by different components of Islam. The first is an article on Breast feeding, where it is explicit that “One of the most important responsibilities a Muslim woman has towards her children is to nourish their minds, bodies and souls with her milk for a period of two years. Her reward for this is so great that if she dies during this period she dies with the status of martyr.” The second piece touts the role of mothers in ensuring that their children reach their goals. When writing about her mother the author writes that, “She has helped me find my identity and is the one who tends to my dreams with water and sunshine, enabling them to grow and blossom. Up to this stage of my life she is the one person who still helps me discover more about the world and my place in it....My mother’s relationship is like a model that has helped me mold my ability to enter into the emotional relationships; she has shown me goodness and has taught me to believe in people.” Both articles underscore that mothers and their role in the family is not something that can be replaced and should be highly valued. These values are celebrated, even while women are clearly, evaluating their changing world and their place in it. They are clearly negotiating new spaces while upholding existing boundaries.

Appendix 5

Appendix 6

Establishing a balance between domestic life and NGO work and activities has been part of Hausa women’s mobilization strategies. The Federation of Muslim

Women's Associations of Nigeria (FOMWAN) illustrates this well. The Federation of Muslim Women's Associations of Nigeria (FOMWAN) was established in 1985.

FOMWAN Kano branch became very strong and active in 1985, with goals of increasing knowledge of Islam, education, women's rights in Sharia, and the status of Muslims in general. Ayesha Imam's work *The Dynamics of WINing*, demonstrated the importance of couching feminist agendas in relationship to Islam (Imam 1997).

Appropriate and ideal attributes of Muslim women engaged in different activities are represented in media depictions as models. There were several Northern women profiled in the Leadership Hausa newspaper. Each of these women were featured in the Northern Women Coming Out Sections of Aminiya which is a prominent newspaper in Hausa in Kano, Nigeria. These four profiles were selected in order to illustrate types of advice that the women gave to other women. The format of the profiles is the same and they provide background information about each woman, their current activities, etc. They key section that I will be analyzing is the final one during which each woman gives advice to other women about fulfilling their societal roles. Each woman emphasizes different elements of family life that should be the focus, and these are summarized briefly under each article. The profiles are in Leadership Hausa, a popular newspaper in Kano.

Haj. Rabi Namtari, she was born in Adamawa state and is an teacher and has taught in primary and secondary schools. Haj. Namtari suggested that women always study Islam. She also wrote that women don't need only western education but Islamic education as well. By studying you should be extremely committed to this process of moving closer to God through learning about Islam. Studying western education now has come close to approaching a necessity, like homes need water. Women are in charge

of study and they are able to pay attention and determine if knowledge will be attained. If women have knowledge of Islam then they can choose the type of education they want for their children. Thus, also where women are called to look for a trade or a profession, like sewing, or if they were released from marriage and are falling short, one by one women can engage in trade with small returns. If she can see that in marriage that it can happen that her husband can provide except or until poverty happens. She highlights that even though there maybe financial challenges, that women do agree to settle down. When trying to address financial limitations, it is important not to make your husband upset because when husbands are angry at wives it is a problem. She cautions that in these instances, he will not make things good and women will be more resistant to settling. Haj. Namtari also highlights that the wife can help give a decision on and address these issues by letting her husband see that even if she leaves home for a period of time, she will eventually return one by one and that it is out of necessity that she helps the financial situation by selling small things from inside the home.

Appendix 7

Appendix 8

Haj. Saleh, is actually a member of FOMWAN. She is 57 and from Gombe state originally and studied electrical engineering at ABU. She beings by citing the fact that women need to study knowledge from outside as well as the Quran, because it is useful. The second point she makes is that women need to be certain that they are limited in their ability to obtain this external knowledge during a certain period when their children need them. Haj. Saleh further argues that as a Muslim woman there is a specific path that asks them to wait for the right time, and this is not a negative thing. Additionally she cautions women not to make sure that your husband is not angered by your trade or occupation.

Only out of necessity should you work in an office. Engaging in work under these guidelines will ensure that you are not cheating your primary responsibility and that you have the patience of Allah to be able to provide for your household.

These two articles are important because they underscore the importance of being a wife and motherhood and the claim that fulfilling this role is a direct reflection of your commitment to Islam. Haj. Saleh goes further to argue that work in an office should only be pursued if there is no other choice. If a woman engages in small trading this should be undertaken if it will not anger her husband. Again this reinforces the idea that domestic harmony is an important goal. Even when knowledge external to the Quran is identified as important, pursuing that knowledge would ideally be done during a period when it would not negatively impact the children. In some respects this is a generational divide. Older women, which are the most active demographic in NGO work, engage in these activities after their children are no longer in the home.

In the case of women in their forties such as Haj. Hadiza however they are not waiting until all of their children are out of the home, to engage in their work.

“I have 4 kids, 3 boys and 1 girl, 17, 15 daughter, 10 year old and 8 year old. ... [How are you balancing the challenges of being a mother of 4 and a wife?] Ah yes it’s really challenging. Sometimes I, sometimes I just feel like shouting because oh I get so stressed out trying to, sometimes when I need to pick the children from school and I have a meeting there I rush out of workshops. I do. It’s a little bit better sense my husband is not all the time in Kano, but when he’s around it’s even double the, because he wants to eat my food and nobody else’s. (laughter) So I keep up. I’m running out of meetings rushing back to the house. Sometimes it’s really stressful, it can be really stressful but I try to get by it. But it’s challenging, it’s challenging because uh there is a lady that a

friend of my mother. She says that, she asks me how are you coping? I know it's not easy. Even we that did NGO work we started when, after our children had all grown up and that finished school and everything, but here you are you are doing this and you have small ones. I told her Auntie I'm just managing. It's not easy." (Interview, December 15, 2010)

There are multiple perspectives about what periods are acceptable for women to begin balancing their domestic responsibilities. The consensus is that their needs to be a method of meeting competing demands in ways that do not compromise the amount of attention and energy that can be given to the children or husband.

Appendix 9

Malama, Bello, age 51 offers only a few words of advice to women. She cautions that there can be trouble and difficulties when women have to engage studying and learning, raising children and being married. Women should not pursue studies or careers at the expense of the children. Furthermore, women should not allow themselves to be spoiled by education and books.

Appendix 10

Haj. Funtuwa, is from Kano originally. She states that women should start to look for education. The trading they engage in should also make and hold them closer to Islam. Women that have shops and are selling goods also are Muslim wives who are trading in the beginning to help with the family. That is the reason they are trading. They should also continue reading and pay close attention to the readings.

The advice in these profiles from women of different occupations all recognize that there are some areas, trade, education, professions, where women will endeavor to

pursue. Maintaining domestic peace and fulfilling the obligations of motherhood are touted as key priorities and other pursuits are supposed to be engaged in as long as they do not place raising children or the happiness of children in jeopardy. The fact that these women have been featured in *Aminiya* a prominent newspaper in Kano written in Hausa, illustrates in public social spaces the ideal constructs of Hausa women engaged in work outside the home.

Conclusion

This chapter utilized gender and political economy (economic and social production) to provide additional insights into how requirements of the nation state impact the relationships among different social categories of citizens. The state deploys historical narratives that only highlight a one dimensional account of women's societal roles. In response, Hausa women are engaging this discourse and constructing other accounts of women's work to contextualize their contemporary activities and priorities within the parameters of Islamic teaching. In the process, they are increasing both economic and educational opportunities, and creating a sense of identification with the state as defined in Islamic teachings. They recognize that globalization of economic, social and cultural production in particular can be a challenge to women living within Islamic traditions. Women in Kano are determined to expand their economic contributions to their families, but within the framework of Islamic teaching. Their decision making frames around external labor market participation echo the arguments

outlined by Glass' syncre-nationalism concept, which captures the dynamic interactions among membership in territorially bounded political communities and ideological nations which exist independent of a state such as broader global Islamic communities (Glass 2006).

CHAPTER FIVE: HAUSA WOMEN'S CREATION OF ECONOMIC SPACE

Introduction

This chapter outlines the contemporary economic activities of Hausa women now that the broader historical trajectory of their roles in production for the state has been explored in the previous chapter. Analyzing the participation of Muslim women in development work (education, economic empowerment, and health) can provide crucial insight into the complex interactions of religion, culture, and politics on the economic and production activities of women, which often remains uncaptured by dominant economic approaches. The work of Muslim women in particular is rendered less visible by the fundamental assumptions in two labor models, the static family labor model and time allocation theory. This work is a comparative study of interactions between local non-governmental (NGOs) and community based organizations (CBOs) among Hausa women in Kano, Nigeria and Tamale, Ghana and the respective fiscal contributions they make. Using interpretivist methods, this chapter seeks to 1) provide insight into how local Muslim women's organizations strategically engage in projects, 2) outline the limitations of dominant models to accurately depict their contribution to the labor market, and 3) illustrate the contributions of other forms of data to theories of labor. This chapter is organized into three sections. The first specifically illustrates the tangible ways that women are directly engaging and impacting the economic sectors of their respective communities and countries. A specific critique of time allocation theory is the second component followed by the deconstruction of the static family labor model. Finally the

funding mechanisms and approaches to development work undertaken by Hausa women are also interrogated and highlighted.

Development Work in West African Muslim Communities

During the last decade Muslim women in West Africa have increased their visible presence in development and treated it like a labor market. A mixed methods interpretivist (Nagar and Geiger 2007) approach is critical to capturing the unique perspectives and activities of women that span the spectrum of social locations, thereby closing data gaps and expanding our conceptual understanding of labor. My research provides a framework to move beyond binaries to identify other ways Muslim women are participating in the economy through their own organizations and the potential longer term impact of their work. The linkages between CBOs and NGOs literally bridge the work of women in seclusion and women engaged in labor outside of seclusion. Interrogating the underlying assumptions of different categories of employment reveals the conditions under which women choose to provide labor in different sectors of the economy and toward what purpose. The comparative study of Nigeria and Ghana facilitates the exploration of the structural impacts of political institutions.

Women use their agency to set programming agendas and articulate values through the sectors of the economy in which they choose to participate. Unfortunately many economic models oversimplify women's perspectives on value and fail to capture their contribution to the labor market. Some, such as Baudrillard, have critiqued the normative definition of value in political economy and instead posit that there are distinctions between economic and the signification values, though they are greatly reduced in more modern societies (Baudrillard 1981). In this construct, consumption

becomes institutionalized and culture becomes a constraint. His distinction is important; however the relationships among the consumption needs of the individual, groups and the state are a dynamic interaction between the economic and signification values which he does not address. As power shifts through economic and political restructuring, tapping into religious and nationalist narratives become strategies used to motivate citizens and that citizens can in turn interpret for their own agendas. Though these acts may be symbolic initially, they have a clear material value through the labor of citizens toward national political, economic, and social projects.

The works women are engaged in are an indicator of this reaction and they situate their labor within the context of Islam. The CBOs in the Hausa zongo in Tamale do not have formal connections to transnational Islamic NGOs. Given that many women's organizations do not have these types of formalized fiscal support mechanisms, it is important to understand how they engage in social and economic activities. Women are very conscious of the fact that securing enough social capital to obtain the support of local religious and traditional leaders is an important factor to successful program implementation for women's groups. Additionally, there are other types of support that women provide for one another beyond financial capital. The degree of institutional connection between NGOs and CBOs are analyzed in my study and provide insight into grassroots perspectives.

There are several foundational works that attempt to expand theories which explain the connections among the preferences of groups, economic policy decisions, and democracy. All of which can be mediated by the state and political institutions (Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman 1995). The impact of Islam on political, social, and economic institutions needs to be explored further because it challenges the sharp

artificial distinction made between the individual and the group. This delineation is particularly important when members of marginalized groups create organizations to help mediate relationships between political institutions and the development needs of citizens. Hausa women are an example of such a marginalized group. The Hausa are the largest and majority ethnolinguistic group in Kano comprising nearly 100% of the population, but within the Hausa community some women historically and to a much lesser extent in a more contemporary sense are marginalized through the practice of seclusion. They nonetheless are economically active, and participate in development efforts through membership in NGOs and CBOs.

The majority of work on Muslim NGOs in Africa focuses on the role of “zakat” and relationships between local organizations and transnational organizations (Weiss 2002, Kaag 2008). Zakat is the Islamic form of giving to the community in accordance with Islamic law. Zakat is often used to provide social welfare. There is no standardized method for how zakat is collected and distributed. The purpose of zakat is to assist with alleviating poverty through voluntary contributions of individuals with the most financial resources (Weiss 2002, Kaag 2008). Because there are no specific guidelines that regulate the amount or form of zakat it is also possible for individuals to make part of their contributions through the form of financial support to NGO programs targeting economic inequality as in the case of women in Kano. This is interesting given that the framework for the Kano state Zakat Commission was created in 1982 and the Zakat Commission was formally established in 2003 by Gov. Sherakarau (Ostein 2007). The functions of the Kano State Sharia Commissions are “ The Commission shall have the following functions: 1) promote, enhancement and development of Islamic social and cultural values in the state; 2) sensitise the general public to appreciate, accept and

practice Government's policy on Islamic social aspect of the Sharia through media, public lectures, seminars, workshops, symposia and courses; 3) initiate, organize and administer effective machinery for Islamic propagation and necessary guidance of the general public in their day-to-day activities; 4) initiate policies to assist Government in realizing its set objectives on the implementation of social aspect of Sharia as well as promoting Qur'anic and Islamic education in the State" (Ostein 2007, 43). Furthermore as originally constituted there are no special allocations for the participation of women or women's groups within the representation of other groups. The commissions are at local and village ward levels as well. The Zakat Commission does not give financial assistance to any of the women's organizations that participated in my research (Ostein 2007). More broadly they do not use them to distribute funds in large part due to the perception that the goals of the organization is to generate income and as a source of income (Muhammad, 2010). Muhammad highlights the following four key contentions:

"1) The state is one of the poorest despite its commercial reputation (Muhammad 2010, 287). This is attested to by the state governor who decried the poverty level among the people at the opening of a Microfinance Investors Forum in Kano (Khaliq, 2009). (Muhammad 2010, 287)., 2) Relocation of businesses to other cities increases unemployment and worsens the poverty among people. (Muhammad 2010, 287)., 3) Dependence on federal funds indicates poorly internally generated revenue arising, partly, from inadequate exploitation of local alternative revenue sources. (Muhammad 2010, 287)., 4) Citizens are averse to taking development loans to finance government operations." (Muhammad 2010, 287).

The majority of the population in Kano, Nigeria is Muslim (Muhammad 2010). Therefore, Ibrahim Muhammad (2010) posits that the state government of Kano should utilize the existing Islamic economic and charitable institutions to provide funding for populations living near or below the poverty line (Muhammad 2010). Muhammad (2010) and Khaliq (2009) argue further that approaches to development often result in the privatization of goods and services normally provided by public sector institutions, which continues to reduce the amount of services that are accessible and available to

economically vulnerable populations. The critical role that Islamic civil society, charitable, and philanthropic organizations can play in supplementing government efforts to increase the fiscal security of its citizens is illuminated by Muhammad (2010) when he writes:

“A combination of factors such as reduced financial support to welfare programmes, shrinking of government involvement from its traditional role and the use of conventional development approach adds to the plight of people suffering under poverty (Muhammad 2010, 288). Due to the exclusion of alternative sources of funding and ignoring other stakeholders, the achievement of poverty alleviation measures is, therefore, partial (Muhammad 2010, 288). Poor and needy Muslims in Kano, Nigeria, need not face this problem of ‘exclusion’ as Islam provides an alternative source of financing welfare services in the form of waqf which Muslims in other parts of the world have been utilizing...” (Muhammad 2010, 288).

Muhammad (2010) utilizes the Islamic-World’s (2006) conceptualization of philanthropy and charity outlined in their definition of the term waqf as posted on their website

(<http://www.islamic-world.net/economic>):

“The very idea of waqf itself consists of creating a third sector distinct from the profit-motivated private sector and the authority based public sector, and charging this third sector with the responsibility of performing a group of tasks (Muhammad 2010, 289). ...in the arena of righteousness, goodness, kindness, mercy and benevolence (Muhammad 2010, 289)...Historically, the Islamic society assigned education, health, social welfare and environmental welfare to this third sector. ...” (Muhammad 2010, 289, Islamic-World’s 2006 (<http://www.islamic-world.net/economic>))

Muhammad (2010) invokes Bremer’s (2004) assertion that the role Muslim philanthropic groups play in providing resources to some of the most economically marginalized populations is evidence of a synthesis between the religious and secular spaces. The blending of these two areas also represents a social restructuring that facilitates the harmony of public and private spheres a central goal of Islamic societies.

Currently, there are over several thousand (more than 2000) civil society institutions in Kano (Muhammad 2010). These organizations engage in programming and mission goals in an effort to address disparities that transcend economic, educational, social, cultural, health, and political boundaries significantly impacting the lives of the

Muslim communities they help (Kahf 1998, Muhammad 2010). Muhammad's (2010) work does use FOMWAN an example of groups that "they are not endowments in the Sharia context." (Muhammad 2010, 298). Depending on the national context, the ways in which the concerted efforts to attain the Islamic ideal of giving structural foundations via legal and other institutional frameworks to organizations varies (Muhammad 2010). These structural variations can directly impact the ability of some organizations to directly benefit from the Zakat Commission, an issues which needs to be fully addressed (Kahf 1998, Muhammad 2010).

While Muhammad (2010) does not offer a direct explanation for why FOMWAN is considered part of this ineligible group, I would posit that women's organizations that are able to access international funds are regarded with a level of suspicion because they have some financial autonomy. None of the organizations that participated in my study reported that they received any financial support from the Kano State Zakat Commission.

Tamale in contrast where Hausa women have fewer economic resources do not rely on zakat to provide significant portions of their financial resources. There are organizations such as the Computer Ladies that do collect small sums of money from members to help with weddings, funerals, and other specific social events. The Computer ladies have members from many minority Muslim communities in Tamale, including two members of the Hausa zongo. They meet weekly to discuss issues in their respective communities and select one issue to focus on alternating between communities. In other studies of Muslim organizations in West Africa formal mechanisms to utilize zakat play a more prominent role because the NGOs sources of funding are from larger Gulf State NGOs (Kaag 2008 and Weiss 2002).

Roger Weiss identified three reasons for the lack of institutional mechanisms to collect zakat among the Dagomba and Gonja ethnic groups in northern Ghana (Weiss 2002). First, the pre-Islamic social support systems among the Hausa served a similar function and therefore reduced the need to formalize those processes in Islamic institutions. Second, there is substantial debate among Islamic scholars regarding the collection of zakat and there are economic constraints that limit the ability of everyone to contribute. Finally, some believe that making the process formal can mitigate the amount of aid people would receive (Weiss 2002). Domestic and international funding mechanisms play a pivotal role in the ability of organizations to conduct programming. Kaag (2008) explored the connections between neoliberalism and the increased influence of transnational Muslim organizations in Chad. The funding goals of the Gulf state NGOs were to build mosques, wells, orphan support, healthcare and education (Kaag 2008). While receiving external funding is essential to being able to implement programs, the focus of the programming is, to an extent, reflective of the priorities of the donor and not necessarily congruent with those of recipient organizations (Campbell and Teghtsoonian 2010, Keating and Rishi 2010). Hausa women's organizations that are included in my study illustrate how acquiring multiple sources of funding allow them to minimize this risk.

Including local Hausa women's organizations in the analysis expands the work of Weiss and Kaag, which analyzes the importance of institutional connections and strategies for revenue generation. As outlined in Chapter 4 the Hausa have a long history of institutionalized Islam since the 11th century and therefore synthesis of culture and religion can also speak to the experiences of Muslim women with similar histories and prolonged exposure to Islam internal to and outside of Africa (Furniss 1996). The Hausa

also are the largest predominately Muslim, linguistic ethnic group in West Africa and represent the perspectives of African Muslim women (Furniss 1996). Comparing a country where Hausa women are an ethnolinguistic and religious majority, Kano, Nigeria to Tamale, Ghana, where they are an ethnolinguistic and religious minority allows women's responses to the retention of specific gendered scripts and understanding of labor mediated by interpretations of Islam across national boundaries to be further explored. The Sharia and non-Sharia context also extends the generalizability of the findings to other sets of cases.

Nigeria is a presidential federal republic with three levels of government: federal, state, and local. The current conception of labor reflected in literature and documents produced by the state centers on women as recipients of development work and aid. Kano functions as a Sharia state and the Hausa population is both the ethnolinguistic and religious majority. The 2009 Annual Abstract of Statistics indicates that 6.7 percent of the total Nigerian population resides in Kano state. Ghana is a constitutional republic and Tamale does not operate under Sharia law (2009). The decentralization process is still underway and the country is divided into ten regions. Tamale is the largest city in the Northern region with a population of approximately 1.8 million people. There are 293,881 residents in the cities of Tamale (Ghana Statistical Service 2005). The Hausa community in Tamale is very small comprising less than 3.4 percent of the population (Ghana Statistical Service 2005). The majority of the Hausa in Tamale are located in the zongo area near the center of the city. The migration of the Hausa from Nigeria to northern Ghana is largely attributable to their historic and extensive trade routes.

The Economic Activities of Hausa Women's Organizations Not Reflected in Government Labor Statistics

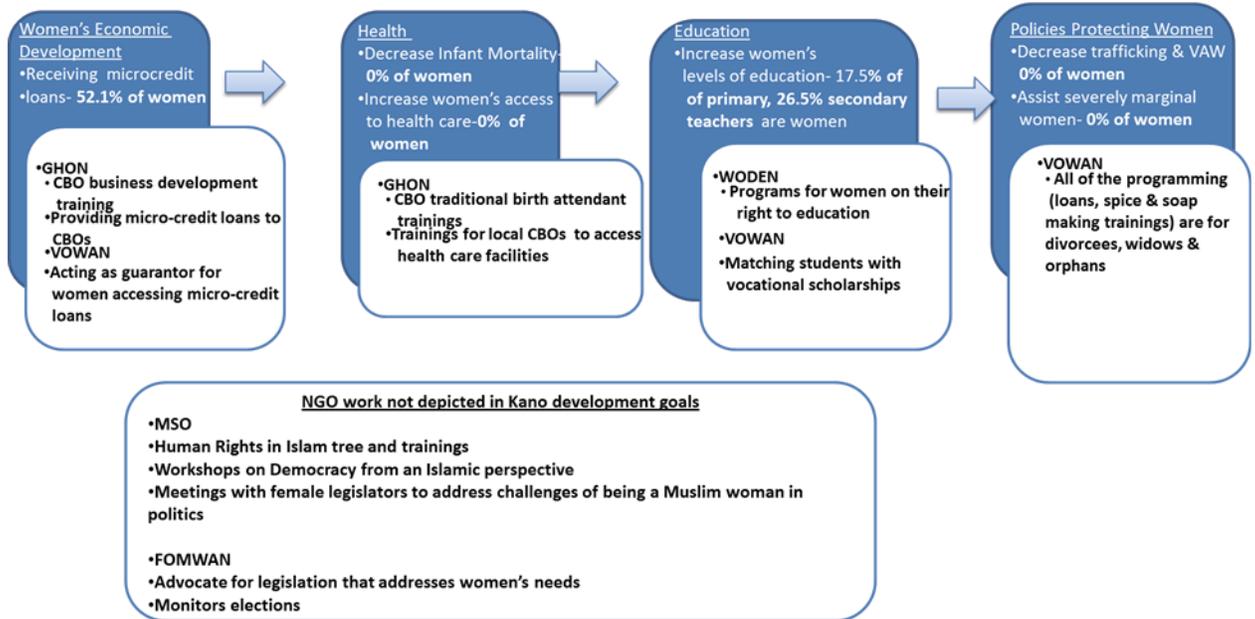
In this section of Chapter 5, I will depict the types of economic contributions that Hausa women's NGOs and CBOs have made in, Kano, Nigeria and Tamale, Ghana which are not illustrated or captured in the official labor statistics utilized by the government. The following two sections are organized around my specific critiques of time allocation theory and the static family labor model. In this section I illustrate the limitations of the existing structures of labor categories, the cooperative behavior of Hausa women in the urban sector, and the work of Hausa women designated as unemployed. The data collected on women in Kano and Tamale is outlined in each below.

Hausa Women's Work Beyond the Scope of Standard Government and Statistical Labor Categories

National development goals as they relate to women in Nigeria and Ghana are similar and include, gender equality, education, and supporting local industries. The local level differences are most prominent. The diagrams below depict the relationships between the policy framing of women's work by political institutions and the corresponding statistics on women's labor and the activities women are engaged in through their NGOs and CBOs which remain un-captured. The goals and statistics outlined by government officials and the bureaus of statistics in Kano and Tamale are included because they most directly impact the lives of Hausa women in those areas.

Figure 6

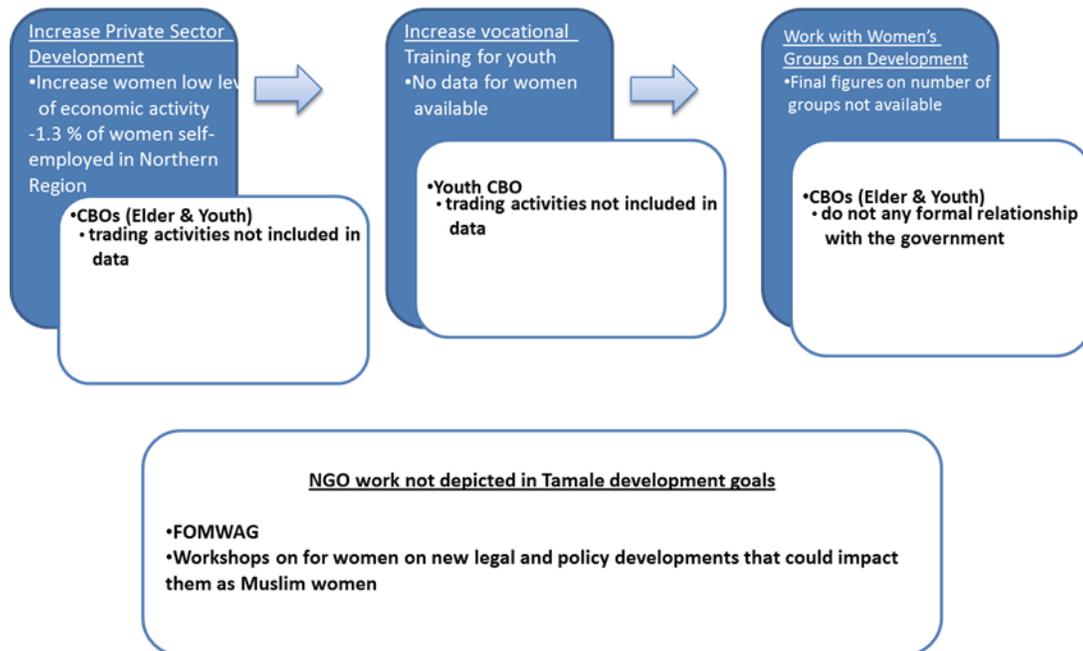
Figure 1
Hausa Women’s NGO & CBO activity uncaptured by Labor Categories & Statistics
in Kano, Nigeria



GHON-Grassroots Health Organization of Nigeria
WODEN-Women and Development Network
VOWAN-Voices of Widows Divorcees and Orphans of Nigeria
MSO-Muslim Sisters Organization
FOMWAN- Federation of Muslim Women’s Associations in Nigeria

Figure 7

Figure 2
Hausa Women in the Zongo's NGO & CBO activity uncaptured by Labor Categories & Statistics
in Tamale, Ghana



FOMWAG-Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Ghana

Tensions between the economic activities of NGOs and CBOs and the policy focus of local governments coupled with the actual presence of women in labor data are illustrated in figures 6 and 7. The significant contributions of women's work through civil society organizations and activities have been touted by two economists from Bayero University Kano, Badydai Sani and Sa'id Sulaiman:

“Women in their matrimonial homes and in governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) also render many services which help the economy of Kano state. The services provided by women in their matrimonial homes to their families and neighbors, though very difficult to be measure monetary terms, are very much appreciated and valued in the Islamic socio – economic system cherished by almost 99percent of the citizens of the Kano state” (Badydai Sani and Sa'id Sulaiman).

Organizational profiles of the NGOs and CBOs in Kano and Tamale are presented below in order to showcase a textured picture of the rationale for forming these groups, their programming, clients, and staffs and members. Accurately representing the perspectives of the women that established this group is difficult to depict in conventional forms of economic data presentation. Therefore I utilized narrative form with quotations.

Profiles of NGOs in Kano, Nigeria

The Grass Roots Health Organization of Nigeria (GHON) focuses its efforts on reproductive health, income generating activities for women, working with traditional birth attendants, increasing access to health facilities and services, and increasing access to clean water and sanitation. GHON, originally founded by a former president of the Nigerian Society of Women (NCWS), Amina Sambo is currently being run by her daughter Hadiza. The organization was established in 1993. There are offices in seven states in northern Nigeria, Katsina, Jigawa, Kebbi, Plateau, FCT Abuja, Taraba and Kano. The primary office is in Kano and they work with the coordinators in the other states. GHON focuses on reproductive health and other issues that impact women such as micro-credit, working with traditional birth attendants, VVF patients, and community sensitization programs about gender and health. The goal is to increase access to services and empower people at the grassroots level. GHON also works very closely with women's community based groups and cooperatives. If possible they work in partnership with women's groups at the grassroots level that already exist. If organizations do not exist they encourage the women to establish an organization or cooperative, and GHON provides targeted programming for that group. One of the most important objectives of

GHON is capacity building of women's organizations at the grassroots level. Even after they have completed programming, for example, micro-credit, or health trainings for traditional birth attendants, they continue to focus on capacity building of the local groups of women. This includes empowering the local groups to advocate and pool their own resources to address other issues in the community that affect them beyond the specific target program of GHON. The current Executive Director, Hadiza Sambo, sees her work as critically important because women, especially Muslim women, more specifically Hausa women, are often marginalized. (Interview with Haj. Sambo, by Adryan Wallace on December 6, 2010) Her mother was in the Ministry of Works and was the founder of GHON. She recounts the important influence her mother had on her.

“From my childhood I know she was part of Corona then from there she became part of NCWS. Then she is a former president of NCWS for 4 years post Lalyia du wangari... she was the Kano NCWS state president before. Also a member of Jamiyar Arewa member, very active member as well. So she was really interested in the organization thing. So even after she retired and was no longer the president she decided to open her own organization and at that time she was very much into the VVF patients. That was what the organization started doing, you know funding scheme from MacArthur for the VVF patients, there were trainings of doctors and nurses. By that time there weren't much doctors doing the surgery. Only Dr. Keys and GHON supported some doctors to be trained like that in the beginning. She later built a ward in Murtala Mohammed hospital.”

Haj. Hadiza continues by explaining how she became interested in GHON,

“My mother is somebody that you just can't stay with her and not doing anything. By the time I was an account officer, not that I was as much interested in the work at that

time, but I just knew that I had to do it. But it was after I came back from Lagos and I started my interest built in that area. And I started having the capacity building in all areas. I had been going to I attended a lot of trainings and workshops. And from there I started building an interest so much and by the time I started going for field works it became even more interesting. Yes and you know the feeling that I can do something was so much and I could go a long length in helping others. Especially the grassroots people you know. I do I was really interested and the kind of courage it gave me. I can remember my first few when I started it wasn't anything I was scared of, to be asked to stand up in front of a group and talk. Sometimes I would just feel like I was going to go and have a heart attack because I was so shy. But now after some years I could stand as far as I knew what I was going to talk about it was, yes. So I think it gave me courage it gave me you know kind of a kind of self esteem that I could you know give a give some assistance some help to the community. And you know my interest built up in the area of health so much. I know sometimes in the village or when I talk sometimes people will say are you a doctor. And I say no but you know doing health work almost you know, it yeah. I think its because being in the community and seeing the struggle you know and you know how backwards. Especially women not knowing their health right and you know how they are being sometimes you know even deprived of having access to health facilities. So I think that is one of the things and secondly um the issue I know all those health issues at the end of the day round up to poverty being the main cause of it. And you know when our organization, that is what moved us in 2007 to start thinking of doing microcredit which we started even though up to now we have not reached the grassroots.”

Voices of Widows, Divorcees, & Orphans Association of Nigeria (VOWAN) is a membership organization established in 2003 after Haj. Atine, the executive director, witnessed the financial vulnerability of women and children at a mosque during Ramadan. She was deeply moved by the women she encountered gathered outside the mosque in hopes of obtaining food who shared their stories of economic hardship with her. Since 2003 VOWAN has focused on “becoming the voice of the voiceless” widows, divorcees and orphans pushed outside the margins of Hausa society. The programming for these groups includes assistance with school fees and health care costs, offsetting housing costs, distributing food during Ramadan, clothing during Sallah celebrations, and meat during Eid-el-Kabir. They also help secure sponsorship for youth to obtain vocational skills from government programs such as the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) and the Industrial Training Fund (ITF). VOWAN provides marital counseling and family mediation. Finally they act as the guarantor for members that wish to obtain micro-credit loans from Grassroots Microfinance Bank. (Interview with Haj. Atine, by Adryan Wallace on December 17, 2010)

There are four reasons she cites for starting VOWAN,
“First intention, how do I enlighten people to understand the large problem of too many instances of divorce of young women in the society. Men are divorcing women for no good reason or just because of a small mistake. Second, the way to take care of children with no father. Which way will I protect the children from going around sleeping in the motorparks and mosque and etc. How get to stop those things? There are also small children smoking, drinking, and using drugs. Third, fights over property and removal of property from among the people. How can we find jobs for people without work? How can we get work for parents of those children so they can no longer sit at home? So I

thank God for showing me all those things that are mentioned so by now, in our intentions we do all we can do and God is a witness to what I am saying. From that time up to today so we thank God, the creator the merciful, the God that choose us to do this work. So this is the work we can do now, following the tradition of the development work of the women that were on the battlefield in the jihad. This is now our work. I beg God to help us to achieve the good of the work we are doing. The tests God has placed before us we have passed. God asks us to do the work and we are doing it right and getting good results. I prayed to God to allow him to pass the tests he has given me. From that day we create this organization until today. Today we are giving you this speech. We get many problems from people that want to abuse and criticize our work and say bad things about us, but we thank God that God chooses us to do this work. So since that time all the things we received from people and we thank God that he gives us patience to stand and do the work no matter what evil people are doing to us, we still stand. And we know that God is the one that does what he wants and we ask him We thank God as he shows us 5 years of the organization and beg him to let us see another 5 years coming. I beg God so all members of organization will continue to stand firm and not be swayed and I have begged God with his sweetest names lovely names in his name to assist our organization in our work. Fourth, and to let the leaders and funders of the organization be true to the people and let God to allow the elders to keep giving praying for us God will keep helping us. The prayers are the only thing elders have given to us therefore I thank you the patrons of the organization the greater man Gen. Mohamaed Buhari and other big men and bankers that attended this gathering. So we go to share good things to people that attended here the items of Sallah clothes to 250 people, mothers of children 150 and 100 widows.”

Haj. Rakiya from Women Development Network (WODEN) emphasized the importance of women having knowledge of the Quran and their rights under its teachings in order to avoid being deceived by men and other individuals that may try to manipulate the Quran to restrict the activities of women and therefore advance their own agendas. WODEN's motto is Women Empowerment. The goal of the organization is to "promote education, advocacy and create awareness on democracy, to educate the women folk and their girl children on good health, good child care and a high life expectancy for all. To enhance the women folk economically to enable them to uphold their dignity, hence take part in decision making in their communities and nation at large." (WODEN) Haj. Rakiya also co-founded an Almajari coalition to assist young boys with reenrollment into school, improving their health and helping them regain a sense of self worth. Hope for boys provides hope and help for their mothers. (Interview by Adryan Wallace, on January 16, 2011)

Muslim Sisters Organization (MSO) was established in 1985 in order to give women that engaged in community work during senior secondary school an opportunity to continue their endeavors once they were married. Haj. Jamilia is a former state chair and current member of the Kano Branch of MSO. MSO was created to provide a space for Muslim women to address perceived immoral behavior taking place in society and to promote an Islamic lifestyle. The organization formed after a Nigerian Council of Women's Societies meeting because many Muslim women did not agree with NCWS encouraging women to enter politics without providing them with strategies to address challenges that might occur for Muslim women. For example, determining how to

negotiate their workload, which often requires late nights in the office, was a challenge encountered by many Hausa women interested in holding political office. Forming a MSO chapter established an umbrella organization for Muslim women who wanted to improve their communities in ways consistent with their practice of Islam. Women with higher levels of education tend to focus on policy and more macro level issues in terms of planning, while women with less formal education shape the practical programs on the organization's agenda. Since its inception MSO has undertaken campaigns in areas of Human Rights and Islam. The organization has also partnered with United States Agency for Development (USAID) and the Center for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA) to create training manuals and to conduct trainings for their youth wing on democracy and good governance. There are also occasions where members collect donations from family and friends to pay the school fees for indigent children. Their motto is “and continue to remind, for surely the reminder profits the believers” (Surah Zariat:55) (Interview with Haj. Jamilia by Adryan Wallace on November 27, 2010)

The Federation of Muslim Women’s Associations in Nigeria (FOMWAN) was formed by members of MSO who were interested in having an organization of Muslim women at the federal level that provided women with an experience distinct from that of NCWS, a secular women’s organization. When asked to highlight the primary differences between FOMWAN and NCWS, Haj. Aisha the Ameerah of the northern region responded that there were two key issues. The first is that FOMWAN members believe that it is important at times to place professional ambition on hold and structure those goals around raising children and equipping them to be successful individuals. The second issue is related to ideas about the role of women in politics, specifically contemporary

political institutions. Participating in the national assembly was viewed more favorably than executive positions; however there is great concern about making sure that the values of honesty and integrity are not compromised in the pursuit of political ambitions. Additionally some concerns of women raised by Haj. Jamilia included the necessity to travel and return at late hours, which are considered to be undesirable but potentially avoidable complications while participating in politics. Lastly, being able to maintain an ethical position and not using public funds or one's position for personal gain and or to be competitive with their male counterparts, were additional concerns. (Interview with Haj. Hassan, by Adryan Wallace on December 13, 2010)

FOMWAN has monitored previous elections and will help monitor the 2011 elections and worked on health issues. This organization focused particularly on polio vaccinations during a time when male Muslim leaders in Kano raised concerns about tainted vaccines, and is well positioned with international donors, state and local Islamic leaders and members of the community allowing them to engage in a wide range of development activities. FOMWAN has also helped propose a bill on maternal health into the state assembly.

The article below illustrates FOMWAN's role in voter registration in the most recent presidential election in Nigeria.

Appendix 11

In summary, NGOs focused on gender and headed by women comprise twenty eight percent of civil society organizations in Kano. More specifically, these groups mainstream gender through their work on the following issues: HIV/AIDS, youth

development, religious associations, health, and private sector development, domestic issues within the home, and education. Through their development work they have formed expansive intra-organizational networks.

Profile of NGOs in Tamale, Ghana

The impetus of the Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Ghana (FOMWAG) began in Nigeria with the establishment of FOMWAN. In Ghana, FOMWAG primarily focuses on workshops and programs for its members to raise awareness relevant to legal and policy reforms that will impact their lives as Muslim women. In January 2011 FOMWAG members attended the conference on marriage registration held in Tamale. The other such meeting was held in Accra, in southern Ghana. There have been difficulties with compliance to marriage registration regulations established by the State, and FOMWAG members were able to provide critical insights for their non-Muslim counterparts about how to improve the process and increase the number of Muslims that register their marriages. FOMWAG was also invited to attend the constitutional review conference in Accra and participated in selecting the five areas of focus: National Development, Planning, Decentralization, Local Government and Human Rights. In February of 2011 FOMWAG participated in the national anti-corruption action plan regional consultations. Haj. Hajara Telly, the president of the FOMWAG Tamale, attended in order to raise the visibility of Muslim women and ensure that their interests are being included and mainstreamed in the national agenda. Generally, though, Hausa women in Tamale are less involved in NGO work than are Hausa women in Kano. This most likely is because they are part of a minority

community and have not usually been active in the broader community or its women's organizations.

Profiles of CBOs in Kano, Nigeria

The women from the CBO market associations cited "helping their families financially" as their main impetus for trading and joining the cooperative which enhanced their profit margins substantially. Out of the sixteen women interviewed, seven do not have children living in the home. However, their income does assist their children and grandchildren. The largest percentage of income is applied to costs associated with: maintaining the home, children, and school fees and to investing back into their business. The benefits of the CBOS most cited include allowing the women to pool their financial resources, share ideas for marketing, and troubleshoot coping mechanisms to deal with fluctuations in capital and demand for their products. Almost all of the respondents indicated that being in a group allowed them to request fiscal support in ways that they were unable to do while working independently. The primary goods traded are food stuffs, beverages, and packets of spices.

Traditional birth attendants also touted several benefits to joining a CBO. First, they were able to consult each other about maternal health practices. Second, they felt more confident. Lastly, they were able to receive training on new techniques as required from organizations such as the Grassroots Health Organization of Nigeria (GHON). Being able to refer women to the local hospitals when there are complications with child birth is also critical for them because it helps decrease maternal mortality rates of their

clients. GHON was instrumental in establishing a relationship between the local hospitals and the traditional birth attendants CBO.

Profiles of CBOs in Tamale, Ghana

The Zongo community of Hausa in Tamale is primarily a self contained unit. Since their inception they have received a one- time very modest amount of financial support from an NGO in the form of loans for their trading activities. This organization was not a women's based NGO. Currently they do not receive direct support from any NGOs or local government offices. There are two CBOs that focus primarily on trading activities and serve as a forum to discuss other issues that impact the lives of women and the community in general.

The first group is the CBO comprised of elders. There are approximately thirty-five members ranging from ages fifty to seventies. The organization has been operational for the past six years and was formed to provide support to women within the community that were engaged in trading activities. There are two women that are leaders of the organization, Haj. Balkisu and Haj. Sala. The primary areas of trade that they are actively pursuing include food stuffs and beads. Their meetings occur weekly to address factors that impact their business endeavors. The majority of the members of this group trade within the zongo community. Less than five women of the cooperatives in the zongo trade in any of the primary markets in Tamale. Instead women have set up mini stores and markets within the community. The primary economic activities of the women

involve trading and they have established over thirty trading cooperative groups organized according to the products being sold. The majority of items include food stuffs and beads. In addition to trade there are small numbers of women that act as intermediaries between buyers and sellers of recycled gold. In addition to the trading groups there is also an elders group that meets once a week to discuss more macro level issues such as access to capital for business development, that are impacting the women and community. Economic transactions among the Hausa in the zongo and Hausa women in Yendi, Kumasi, and Accra also occur on a small scale.

Haj. Sala is also a member of the Computer Ladies group which is a CBO that offers moral support to trouble shoot problems in the respective communities that comprise the membership. They are comprised of Hausa, Dagbani, and Twi women. There are only two women from the elders CBO in the Zongo that are also members of the Computer Ladies. Their meetings occur in the Hausa Zongo. They are known in the respective communities, most notably for providing resources for funerals, weddings, and other social occasions. The money utilized for these small scale activities come from donations collected by members of the group.

In addition to being a member of the elders group Haj. Balkisu teaches Quranic classes for adult women because she views having a strong religious foundation as essential to anything else an individual produces. The ages of women in the cooperatives range from forty to seventy, with the majority of active women in their sixties and seventies. These women assist their children with school fees and play a central financial role in their families, one previously held by their husbands. Women in their fifties are

somewhat less active though comprising a larger percentage of membership than women in their forties.

The second CBO is for young women in the zongo. This organization has been operating for almost two years, but struggles because of the requirement for support. The members of this group are between twenty and forty years old. The meetings held also occur weekly. Support in the form of encouragement in addition to trouble shooting obstacles is the primary objective of these organizations. The majority of the women that are members are engaged in trading activities in order to pay school fees for their children. Having more role models in their community of women balancing their work with their family life is also something they want to focus on as well.

Non-Agricultural Cooperative Behavior

The majority of Hausa women in Kano and Tamale are not involved in agricultural activity. There are two key areas that this section will focus on: 1) the internal participation of women organization in terms of operations with their clients and 2) the interactions between NGOs and CBOs.

In Nigeria, I observed a total of five programs conducted by the Grassroots Health Organization of Nigeria (GHON). There were two sets of initiatives they undertook. The first focused on increasing access to health care facilities of communities in local government areas (LGAs) conducted in partnership with (PATH) and the Kano State Ministry of Health. The second initiative focused on access to clean water and sanitation

in LGAs sponsored by the European Union (EU). The PATH program was funded by the Nigerian government and the EU funded the water project.

During their respective programs GHON officials made a concerted effort to ensure that women were participating in the training. GHON staff split into two teams to cover a total of four LGAs. The first phase of the trainings began with an advocacy visit to the traditional and LGA leadership, the district head, a representative of the ward head, the chief Imam, Members of the Ward Development Committee, and representatives of Women's groups, to discuss the program concept and obtain the concerns and needs of the community. The GHON staff made extra efforts to identify gender issues and encourage women to actively participate in the training. There was a specific occasion when a team member, during an advocacy visit with a traditional leader, insisted that women represent themselves rather than have one of the male elders represent them.

The interaction among team members and women in the local communities connoted respect and demonstrated that the ideas and input of the women was valued. During group presentations, they highlighted the problem solving abilities of one of the women's groups and used their proposed solution as a model for the other groups to follow. With one exception the ratio of men to women participants was 2:1 because they were nominated by community leaders which were usually male with the exception of the women's groups. GHON team members were vigilant about maintaining gender inclusion throughout the entire training process. This is an example of how women that are better positioned within the economic and political structure can create parallel spaces for other women internal to their respective communities.

On numerous occasions GHON team members monitored the participation of female participants, altered the seating arrangements so that everyone was sitting in a

circle rather than rows to try and increase participation of women. This behavior is consistent with the GHON philosophy of local ownership of development. Aside from the community health, and water and sanitation programs, when working with local groups they partner with existing CBOs or alternatively ask the women in communities to form one. The evidence of the success of this model occurred when women from various CBOs would come to the GHON office freely to use spaces for meetings. These included CBO partners from programs over three years ago. The two CBOs I observed were created with encouragement from GHON. Women are expanding their economic niche. Strengthening women in each sector increases the cumulative impact of women on economic and development outcomes.

In contrast, the relationship between NGOs and CBOs is virtually non-existent among the Hausa in the zongo community in Tamale. The Hausa community as a minority requires increased economic and political security in comparison to majority populations. Both the independence and self-sufficiency of the CBOs for market trading women in the Hausa zongo in Tamale and of FOMWAG on political representation and asserting legal rights are both indicative of different protection strategies adopted by minority groups. These CBOs were formed independently by the women in the zongo. CBOs conduct weekly meetings. The elders discuss the successes and challenges of their trading activities and monitor a modest credit program while the youth CBO in addition to weekly meetings give moral support and ideas but do not provide financial help. There is no direct fiscal support between the two CBOs.

In Tamale FOMWAG has members from different levels of society and everyone works together with the only stratification being the executive board which is comprised of individuals elected to leadership positions. Hausa women comprise less than seven

percent of the members of FOMWAG in Tamale. The Tamale branch of FOMWAG does not have a formal relationship with the women in the Hausa zongo. FOMWAG is in the process of reaching out to establish more formal linkages with the Hausa women in the zongo who appear to be more insular than their other Muslim counterparts in the North.

Justification for the Expansion of Labor Categories used in Official Government

Reports

Development work at the national level in Nigeria and Ghana emphasizes gender equality, education, and strengthening the private sector through local ownership. There are some differences between the national and state and local level development priorities and women's presence in different labor sectors in the two states. The work of Hausa women's organizations highlights that there is no clear category to measure women's participation in development work. I would argue that organizational programming should be separated from single categories such as education and health care because of the intersecting nature of development work coupled with temporal fluctuations in projects. Though gender is listed as a cross cutting issue critical to economic development the national governments of both countries construct women as benefactors rather than progenitors of development thereby erasing their contributions.

Analyzing the work of each organization illustrates the inadequacy of labor constructs and data. There is no statistical data on the contribution of women to health care and social work though this data is present at the national level which is interesting because at the state level of government, Kano has listed decreasing infant mortality and increasing access to healthcare as goals. The work of GHON in training traditional birth attendants, and providing their clients with access to health centers address both of these

issues. GHON also engaged in programs to empower small scale women's and community organizations access to their local medical facilities. These programs benefit men and women. Conceptualizing health care contributions beyond nursing renders other forms of labor related to health indicators visible. Micro-credit is one of the few issues that are priorities at the national and state levels and in which women's presence in Kano is actually higher than the national average. The limitation with this category is that the data only measured the numbers of women receiving micro-credit loans, not organizations that are giving loans and/or monitoring loan programs. Therefore, organizations such as GHON that also provide micro-credit loans are not captured by those statistics. Only government organizations distributing loans appear in the statistical data.

Furthermore CBOs provide capacity trainings for the trading cooperatives on key elements of business strategy and development. Those types of programs are also beyond the scope of the current national labor categories which do not include a measure for business development and training. These trainings are designed to help women increase their market share and provide them with tools to think through ways they can diversify their products. A key issue specified on the national agenda rather than the state-level is access to clean drinking water. It is important to note that these goals are consistent with the national development agenda not at the local state level. Therefore this is an example of other sectors of the economy in which Hausa women are engaged. There is no quantitative data to reflect the work of women's organizations such as GHON toward this end. They have implemented several programs on water and sanitation. Finally, the trainings GHON conducted on gendered cultural practices that are harmful for men and women are not specifically related to any of the existing classifications. The topics

covered during these trainings include an emphasis on behavioral training and addressing issues such as women's economic activity.

The work of VOWAN to secure microcredit loans for women engaged in petty trading is another type of labor related to women's economic empowerment that is not reflected in the official data on micro-credit recipients. Furthermore VOWAN also provided vocational skills trainings for women including soap making, spices, and sewing. In contrast to GHON, VOWAN supports the economic activities of individual women rather than groups. VOWAN's clients are some of the most marginalized populations including widows, divorcees and orphans. Work with these populations is not reflected in the existing labor data on Kano though it is part of the development priorities of the state. Furthermore, even at the national level social work listed broadly can cover many activities and the lack of specificity makes it difficult to situate the work of Hausa women's organizations in these areas.

Women Development Network's (WODEN) emphasis on education and gender equality is also part of the national agenda however the choice to situate these issues specifically within a rights framework is something that is not included in either agenda. Furthermore there is not a data category that captures this type of work or framing. The coalition of Almajari's that she embarked upon is an example of women engaged in sponsoring the education of school age children similar to the work of VOWAN though they work with older students and in helping them to secure scholarships for vocational training programs. The statistics on women's presence in the education sector only include women who are primary and secondary school teachers and do not incorporate women who play a key financial role in supporting education.

The work of MSO and FOMWAN in the political sphere in terms of advocacy and creating spaces for women to voice their concerns outside of contemporary political institutions is not at all reflected in the quantitative data or development agendas. FOMWAN's work on the maternal health bill illustrates how organizations with the social capital have the ability to move women's issues onto the political agenda with the right framing. The potential to translate concerns of women at all levels of society is important to note. FOMWAG in Tamale does not conduct economic activities or workshops and focuses only on raising awareness for Muslims of new laws in Ghana that may impact them.

There is virtually no data on the economic activities of CBOs in Tamale. The elder CBO focus on trading in food stuffs and beads and the profits are utilized to help offset the costs of their education of their grandchildren, to include school fees, supplies and uniforms. They are also sources of financial support for their families reflective of shifts in the economic security of the community. The youth in the other CBO are also using their trading activities to pay for their own school fees for secondary and post secondary education. These CBOs receive no financial support from the Tamale government. Most of the women are breaking even and not making a profit however their labor is the cornerstone for education and the quality of life for members of the community. In some ways the ability to leverage funds for the CBOs is also mitigated by their lack of formal connection to a larger NGO with a greater network.

Analysis of Non-Agricultural Cooperative Behavior

NGO work provides a space where women can have a direct impact on development and policy priorities without the being embedded within the political

system. Much of their work in Kano is focused on assisting marginal and vulnerable populations. The relationship that NGOs like GHON have with CBOs demonstrates the ways in which Hausa women at different levels of society are connected to one another. In this case the women that comprise the CBOs are often clients of an NGO such as in the case of GHON. The fact that GHON actually engages in capacity building programs with these CBO groups to ensure they can advocate for themselves on other issues is important because this allows for government delivery of services which can be monitored. Government agencies thus receive direct feedback from both the NGOs and CBOs levels independently. It is important however to ensure that relationships do not become paternalistic or that the roles of women based on their social or educational status become rigidly defined.

Muslim women's development work through NGOs has altered the relationship between women in seclusion and women located outside of it. Schildkrout (1982) highlighted the initial tensions early in the 1980s that arose because of the dependence on the children, particularly the girl child, to act as go betweens for women in seclusion (purdah or kulle) engaged in trading networks. Many development organizations emphasized the importance of education for girl children which placed them in direct conflict with the labor dynamics of that time. GHON is a perfect example of how local NGOs have helped to alleviate those specific tensions by helping any women in seclusion to form CBOs for trading which serve as a means to pool labor and credit for additional capital. Additionally these women's organizations have women in CBOs that are in different social stratifications as clients and are able to address their needs while also understanding and having the social capital to navigate their religious constraints and context.

The Hausa in the zongo are a double minority in Ghana; first Muslims nationally are in the minority and in Tamale the Hausa comprise less than 3.4 percent of the population which can in part explain their difficulty acquiring financial resources. The lack of formal relationship among the CBOs and NGOs at present makes internal communal self-reliance critical. The members of the CBOs interact with one another as equals. The social support and encouragement is a unique feature of the youth CBO. The majority of members are unmarried and living with relatives so they experience firsthand the challenges of balancing domestic work with professional endeavors and often seek the advice of married members of the group. Additionally while they have no formal affiliation with other local NGOs, the Chief of the Zongo offers constant social support for their activities and encouragement.

Hausa Women's Agency and the Limitations of Time Allocation Theory

Time allocation theory was formalized by Gary Beckerⁱ (1965), an economist at the University of Chicago. Becker (1965) argues that married women determine the amount of time they choose to allocate between home and the labor market in order to maximize their preference function relative to the market wage and the home wage (amount of time required for production within the home). Essentially the argument is that if a woman is behaving rationally she allocates the majority of her time outside of home production and instead places more emphasis in the labor market as her earning potential in the labor market increase compared to the time costs of labor within the home (Becker 1965). In other words women will only provide labor for the market if the wage associated with the market is at least the equivalent of the reservation wage.

The reservation wage is the minimum amount required to offset the cost (temporal and material) of home production that is incurred when a woman works primarily in the labor market (Becker 1965). The reservation wage does vary relative to other choices and therefore is not exogenous to the labor supply model. For example it can be impacted by issues such as the level of education of family members, the number of children in the below 6 years of age, the husband's income, etc.ⁱⁱ If working outside of the home can not generate wages that exceed the costs of subsidizing work within the home that will have to be outsourced, women will not work outside of the home (Becker 1965). More broadly, Becker's (1965) uses his work argue that economic frameworks can be successfully applied to analyze human behavior to include marriage, "irrational behavior", etc. His 1991 book entitled Treatise on the Family uses rational choice to analyze nonmaterial family dynamics, including birth, marriage, division of labor, etc. Time allocation theory assumes the Homo economicus model of human beings (Becker 1993).

Using this model married women determine the amount of time they choose to allocate between home and the labor market in order to maximize their preference function relative to the market wage and the home wage (Becker 1965 & 1993). There are three criticisms of the application of the homo economicus model to analyze and explain the economic activity of Hausa women. The data I have collected support my three critiques.

First, among the Hausa Islam informs each sector (political, economic, social, and cultural) of life and governs the rules of interactions among individuals and groups. While there are different interpretations of Islamic roles for women and men, there is

some consensus about the important role that women have in family life. Therefore, the primary logic that drives decision making by married women regarding labor participation is not solely calculating the maximum material benefit and instead is centered upon adhering to values developed through the synthesis of religious and cultural institutions. Women's primary production roles are explicitly related to the family. Therefore women's labor market participation is directly linked to their household responsibilities, in particular caring for children.

Second, in this context social capital is essential to being able to conduct NGO and CBO activities in particular. Social capital can be obtained from two key groups, 1) among other women, and 2) actors in political and religious institutions. Social capital can be acquired through demonstrating that one adheres to Islamic tenets and conducts themselves as a "proper Muslim woman". The three most significant ways that individuals can signal that they are respecting these norms include a) making motherhood a top priority, b) not advocating that women should occupy executive positions of leadership, and c) wearing of hijab.

Third, there are also ways that women's NGO and CBO work is directly connected to their abilities to take care of their families in terms of providing money for school fees, etc. Therefore through their work they also straddle the bridge between private and public labor. Additionally where CBO groups are established and connected to NGOs they are able to advocate to address other issues that impact women and their families at very localized levels

The figure (Figure 8) below indicates the age ranges of Hausa women engaged in NGO and CBO work that participated in this study in Kano, Nigeria. The majority of

participants involved in NGOs were women in their fifties and for CBOs the age was sixties. Women in their forties and thirties have the lowest percentages for both NGO and CBOs. The marital status of individuals engaged in NGO work is as follows: two participants are divorced, four are married, and two are widowed. The majority of CBO members are married with a minority being widows.

Figure 8: Age Distribution of Participants engaged in NGO and CBO work- Kano, Nigeria

| Organization Type | 30s | 40s | 50s | 60s |
|--------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| NGO | 25% | 25% | 37.5% | 12.5% |
| CBO | .06% | 12.5% | 25% | 56.25% |

In Ghana the age brackets with the highest percentage of activity are women below thirty and women in their sixties and seventies.

Figure 9: Age Distribution of Participants engaged in CBO work- Tamale, Ghana

| Organization Type | 18-19 | 20s | 30s | 40s | 50s | 60s | 70s |
|--------------------------|--------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| CBO Elders | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7.0% | 57.0% | 42.0% |
| CBO Youth | 16% | 83% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

In Kano each participant highlighted the importance of raising children before engaging in professional and civil society work. Only one participant did not have children. The other twenty four participants have at least one child. The median and mode

number of children for NGO was four, for CBOs the median was seven and the mode was eight. The numbers of participants with children that are still living in the home was four. Those four participants were all members of GHON. The CBO number of participants with children in the home is nine. These figures are important to gauge because the domestic commitments of participants can impact their work in civil society and other sectors of the economy.

Regardless of educational level or social status, all women considered their key production roles to be to provide a stable environment for the family to include varying levels of financial contributions. The type of financial contribution and the role it would play in addition to the sectors of the economy varied. The quotations below highlight the ways in which women in trading cooperatives see their economic contributions.

Haj. Adama states that, “ *Working to provide food and according to Islamic goals. There are difficulties sometimes, mainly profits change sometimes high sometimes low. It all depends on the marketability of the food. The ability depends on the amount of capital available for food etc. There is one group and I am the leader of the group that works together. The group formed by GHON because they worked with us before and they introduced the idea of forming the group. We are 25 and neighbors with each other. Our age ranges vary from younger to older women and those in the middle as well. We do not work with other women’s groups. Each member works on their own kind of business, food, and also kosan- bean cakes, etc. Men do not help directly with the businesses, but they stay out of or not get in the way of the business. Working with other women there are less problems because they have a better relationship with each other.*”

(Interview with Adryan Wallace, October 9, 2011)

Haj. Hasiya indicates that she *“Want to help take part in taking care of the children including school fees not just the husband I also want to take part. My husband is very supportive. Yes there are more opportunities for women in business because the challenges of life have allowed them to come out.”* While both of these women are members of CBO trading groups, women in NGOs also see their professions and non-governmental work as part of fulfilling their responsibilities.

Haj. AUY, a member of MSO explains how she decided to open a secondary school specializing in science. *“In 1989 there was a project that Kano state government wanted to put up. A model girls and boys secondary school where they wanted a woman who had done sciences, that would steer the affairs of that school. So despite the fact that I would be a lecture...I was invited to serve as the first principle of that school which I thought was a great challenge. And I love challenges, so I took it up. That school started here in Kano with 50 girls. All of the local governments in present Kano and Jigawa states were helped to really work on the girls. The ones from the municipal area were the ones that were that had not problem speaking English and they write well. But we had the ones from the local government areas that had a bit of extra work to bring them up. I was there for 3 years before the project was reviewed. The foundation, wanted the project to have more time. Instead of graduating the students, from up to O levels they wanted to stop at the GSE/C levels which I thought was not that big of a challenge anyway. So my being in the secondary school and the tertiary institution was something that made me see both sides of what lapses students have and where interventions can occur. When I was doing my post graduate studies, I lectured in BUK and its practical solutions for students, undergraduates. So I was able to see what was deficient there, I was able to see what was deficient in the secondary school and due to*

that fact that I voluntarily became an examiner, with the West African Examination Council (WAEC), in biology, I saw the lapses clearly and wanted to do something about it. So I was sort of at the best point of intervention to make the sciences interesting and for young ones to be eager to go into it rather than be afraid of it. So I decided to establish a secondary school. I established a secondary school....So in 1996 I decided to establish Excel College. I called it Excel College to infer that you have to be the best. So we decided it was a coeducational secondary school, um where we had both boys and girls. And there was a little difference between ordinary secondary schools and this school in the sense that we try to make it a model Islamic secondary school. Whereby western oriental whatever knowledge it is will have to be balanced with... (Islamic) I was working more toward moral upbringing and academic excellence. I wanted to raise students who will be confident face challenges anywhere without losing their Muslim identity. At the same time, relate whatever they learn.”

Each respondent situated their own work with specific references to their understanding of their roles as Muslim women. The data can be stratified according to level of formal education, income level, and social status. Women attaining higher levels of these three indicators engaged in NGO work and women in the lower echelons had memberships in CBOs. All of the women in NGO work completed senior secondary school and went on to earn, additional teaching certifications, diplomas, degrees from Polytechnics and undergraduate degrees. One participant obtained a master’s degree. The disciplines ranged from education, social work, and zoology. Successful completion of Quranic schools and in-depth knowledge of the Koran was extensive among the women engaged in NGO work. Two women involved in NGO work also own and operate their own secondary and primary schools. Two have retired from careers in government and

the private sector and the remaining four are involved in other economic activities as consultants in addition to their NGO work. Women below the age of 40 had more formal education than their counterparts in their 50s and 60s. The educational background of these women included Quranic education.

Women associated with NGO work cited the importance of education because it ensures that an individual can maximize their full potential and cultivate their interests and skill sets. Being able to serve as a role model of what it means to be a “Muslim woman” to their own children and other youth was also of great importance to them. The responsibility of caring for the vulnerable and trying to develop the community were also cited as key tenets of Islam that they were adhering to through the work of their respective organizations. One key example of this occurred during a speech commemorating the anniversary of her organization VOWAN. The executive director explicitly located her work with widows, orphans and vulnerable populations as a contemporary version of the development work that began with the wives of the prophet during the pilgrimage.

In Tamale, women considered providing financial resources to their family consistent with their role as Muslim women to provide a good home. The elders CBO used most of their revenue to assist with household expenses and school fees for their grand children in addition to school supplies and uniforms. The women’s role in helping to support the family has become more important as the economic constraints on men in the zongo limit their ability to provide financial resources. Many of the women are also widows. The youth CBO had a large number of young women as members of the organization. It is key however to underscore that acquiring fiscal capital is not a benefit

of membership. Instead they focus on their own development as individuals which they consider the primary mechanisms to help the entire community.

It is important to think about how the economic scripts for women are articulated by political officials, and Kano provides a great example of this. In the case of Kano one of the key differences is centered on the social production role of women in the family.

At the local state level Governor Shekaru proposed programs from 2003-2005 centered on assisting women in Kano through the Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development: “1) Reinvigorating cottage industries N40million, 2) purchase of raw materials for women’s organizations N20million, 3) supporting women’s cooperatives N6.7million, and 4) renovations to a women’s center N2million, 5) helping severely marginalized women N1.5million.” (Ado-Kurawa, 2006, Barau Aliyu and Hajir Nuhu 2006). There are four key areas that the government focused on as they relate to women, 1) development-economic, education, over extended in terms of labor requirements, 2) protection-reducing trafficking, addressing violence against women, 3) survival-decreasing infant mortality, increasing access to health care and 4) participation in decision making (Ado-Kurawa 2006, Barau Aliyu and Hajir Nuhu 2006). The roles of women from the perspective of the state is articulated in a speech by Shekarau, on May 29, 2003:

“In their capacities as mothers on whom early education and discipline of the young rest, the contribution of women in the development of any society is immeasurable...this administration is therefore committed to uplifting the status of women, by sharpening their potentialities so that they can contribute to the development of our great state. We shall introduce special programs for unmarried women, widows and young girls. These programs would focus on encouraging them to enter in matrimony and assisting them to be economically independent. To enhance women education, this government has henceforth made education for girls free in all public schools” (Women and Children 15)

This speech emphasizes that one of the most important roles for women is the social production of the family. Even the goals of education and economic independence are

given significance and for the purpose of adding to their capacity as mothers their key role in the development of Kano. These production requirements were cemented by resolution 10 of the Commencement Retreat Resolutions “that government priority projects include: societal reorientation, mass food production, water supply, security, health and environment, commerce and industry, education, women and youth as well as urban and rural infrastructural development.” (Ado-Kurawa 2006, 15). While the Millennium development goals were also cited as important issues that raise the visibility of women as a key part of society. He goes on to highlight the roles of women in the Quran as social actors, mothers, and involved in politics. Asiya the wife of Pharaoh was one of the women cited for saving the life of Moses the second woman was the Queen of Sheba.

Shekarau established the Directorate of Social Reorientation program to alter to attain “the moral rearmament and discipline of wider society” (Ado-Kurawa 2006, 50, Barau Aliyu and Hajir Nuhu 2006). There are also several initiatives to help protect the dignity of women and children in Kano. One key example is a program to send young girls involved in selling goods at the roadside to school and equip their parents with vocational training to replace the wages associated with her petty trading. They also host discussion on child labor, trafficking, proper dress code, traditional medical practitioners, divorce/separation, women divorcees/widows, and assisting orphans and other economically vulnerable groups. The special directorate focuses on state institutions protecting women and consequently the family. Governor of Kano State’s speeches and policies on women’s labor which indicate that education and other activities women engage in must be undertaken because they will strengthen the family.

Chapter 4 highlights the profiles women that exhibit model behavior and articles that emphasize maintaining respect as a Muslim woman in the face of globalization. The women that are engaged in work emphasize that their roles as mothers should be paramount. The key difference are the ways in which different Hausa women determine at what ages it is appropriate to engage in NGO or CBO work. The newspaper articles on Muslim women and globalization emphasize the importance of resisting the calls to “feminist” activities. While this is a key perspective represented in social discourses, my interviews illustrate that women are still interested in mobilizing around gender and these women have attended international conferences and worked with international organizations. Haj. Jamila for example stated that “Women like me (her social status) also did planning and going to international conferences coming back with new ideas, try them on.”, when referring to her role within MSO (Interview with Adryan Wallace, November 8, 2010).

The second component of time allocation theory is that married women will only provide labor for the market if the wage associated with the market is at least the equivalent of the reservation wage (Becker 1963 and 1993, Aromolaran 2008). The reservation wage is the minimum amount required to offset the cost (temporal and material) of home production that is incurred when a woman works primarily in the wage market (Becker 1963 and 1993, Aromolaran 2008).

I would argue that the reservation wage is not a monetary value. The reservation wage in this context is not being available to have direct interaction with their children during critical developmental ages of their children. Development work in the home takes precedence over development work in society. Next they want to make sure that they are not perceived to be overly influenced by western feminist approaches or the

requirements of international development organizations. Avoiding these perceptions also impact their decisions to engage in labor in the wage market.

Haj. AUY talked about the importance of being a role model *“Meanwhile being from this part of the country it serves you well to council other students , informally and then one has to be very careful to serve as a good role model. In terms of there was a conflict between western education and your Islamic education in the sense that um due to the kind of upbringing one had you respected, that you couldn’t be fully educated in the western sense but you you still uphold your values of being a traditional Hausa Fulani woman. And uh still be able to carry out those roles. In 1989 there was a project that Kano state government wanted to put up. A model girls and boys secondary school where they wanted a woman who had done sciences, that would steer the affairs of that school. So despite the fact that I would be a lecture...I was invited to serve as the first principle of that school which I thought was a great challenge. And I love challenges, so I took it up. That school started here in Kano with 50 girls.”*

She highlights her important economic role in development as well when she states, *“So and I am allowed to engage in economic activities which do not compromise my position as a wife and a mother and a Muslim woman. I provide job opportunities for over 100 people which I feel I am contributing something to the economy of the country. To the people around me and also no matter how small it is, it is pushing the wheel of progress forward.”*

In Kano the highest percentage of women economically active in development work are beyond the age of fifty four and in Tamale the women there are spikes in women’s trading activities with women between the ages of eighteen and thirty and ages sixty and seventy. These figures for Tamale correspond to the demographics of the

CBOs. Each participant highlighted the important role of Islam in their decision making and drives for the types of labor they are engaged in. Therefore participants indicated that domestic labor in terms of raising a family was just as important as labor activities that would reduce their time at home. When women are not engaged in child rearing they are more heavily represented in NGO and CBO activity than during the times when they are in the process of raising children. The intense and demanding nature of development work requires that women have sufficient time to devote to projects. Islam therefore becomes a cross-cutting theme among women regardless of their social status and level of education. The energy they expend on the community cannot come at the expense of their own children. These decision making frames Hausa women in the study employ to determine their participation in development activities illustrate the flaws in time allocation theory. The role of women as social developers and commitment to solving development issues was highlighted by participants as consistent with their roles as Muslim women. The right to self-definition of their roles was very important. Intersectionality provides a frame to understand the complex ways in which Hausa women define themselves.

The impact of historical memory on the role of women was reflected in two oral histories. In Kano the participant highlighted the important role that women played in providing religious education for the traditional leaders from pre-colonial times to the present. Additionally there are also references to the social support and what the participant referred to as the development work of the Prophet Mohammed's wives. In Tamale the vibrant economic role of Hausa women through trading which was extremely active after the migration from Nigeria to Tamale was the dominant theme. Given their long history of institutionalized Islam Hausa women are well positioned to articulate how

historical memory can normalize specific economic roles and activities according to gender. Designating an action or behavior Islamic directly engages various claims of authenticity therefore labeling particular types of work or labor anti-Islamic is a method to discipline behavior that transcend categories. This makes the decision by Hausa women to situate their work using Islamic frames strategic. Within this framework, women can constantly renegotiate their space.

Hausa women engaged in NGO work have synthesized these two sets of production requirements and have developed their own strategies to address gender inequality. They avoid framing professional and familial labor as in conflict and instead have created a strategy for social and economic production that is more cooperative. Taking time out from the wage market to develop and invest in their children and then subsequently return in the form of civil society organizations in some ways grants them more autonomy than maintaining a constant presence in the wage market. The majority of women engaged in NGO work are retired from other sectors of the economy and therefore were not dependent on the organization for financial stability. The smaller percentage of participants in their thirties and forties also had other forms of work in addition to the work of the NGO. Each participant has on at least one occasion used their own funds or tapped into their social networks to obtain donations to fund some of their smaller more direct aid projects. The majority of women in CBOs do not have the additional financial resources to contribute to smaller projects in the same ways that there NGO counterparts do. However there are instances particularly in MSO and FOWMAN where women of different social and economic backgrounds interact and those two groups may provide resources to CBOs to which other members belong.

Hausa Women's Agency and Criticisms of the Static Family Labor Model

The static family labor model states that the family attempts to gain the maximum collective output (joint household utility function) including combining the separate income contributions of the husband and wife, relative to labor supply and leisure demand (Becker 1963 and 1993, Aromolaran 2008). Female labor supply is determined by the potential market wages for the wife and the husband, the non-earned household income, externally observable characteristics of the household, and characteristics of the household that cannot be observed (Becker 1963 and 1993, Aromolaran 2008). Female labor supply can be represented two ways, 1) the specific number of hours a woman works or 2) as a dichotomous variable, 1=the value of working in the wage market and 0= the value of working in the household. Both representations represent labor market participation (Becker 1963 and 1993, Aromolaran 2008).

Shultz (1991 and 2002) argues that married women's decisions to engage in the wage market external to the home are determined by their participation rate (the dichotomous variable) rather than the specific number of hours that they work.ⁱⁱⁱ While there are many factors that impact women's labor decisions, education is often the factor discussed most in studies focused on developing countries. Education levels are considered a predictor of labor market participation because a married woman's level of education increases the potential she has to acquire capital through working outside of the home (Schultz 1991 and 2002). This is a direct effect of education on labor market wages. Education levels also impact reservation wages because becoming more efficient in production activities within the home also has non-market benefits (Schultz 1991 and 2002). For example women with more formal education are more likely to demand enhancements in nutrition, education, and health outcomes for children. Meeting these

demands is thought to necessitate streamlining corresponding domestic processes (Schultz 1991 and 2002). Proponents of this theory concede that formal education has less impact on female labor market participation for lower levels of education because these levels can in turn increase the reservation wage (Schultz 1991 and 2002). For example there are fewer expectations that the potential wage benefits in the labor market associated with primary and secondary education will outweigh the reservation wage in comparison to degrees earned in tertiary and some vocational institutions (Schultz 1991 and 2002).

The first component of the static family labor model that I will critique is that argument that The family attempts to gain the maximum collective output (joint household utility function) including combining the separate income contributions of the husband and wife, relative to supply and leisure demand (Schultz 1991 and 2002).

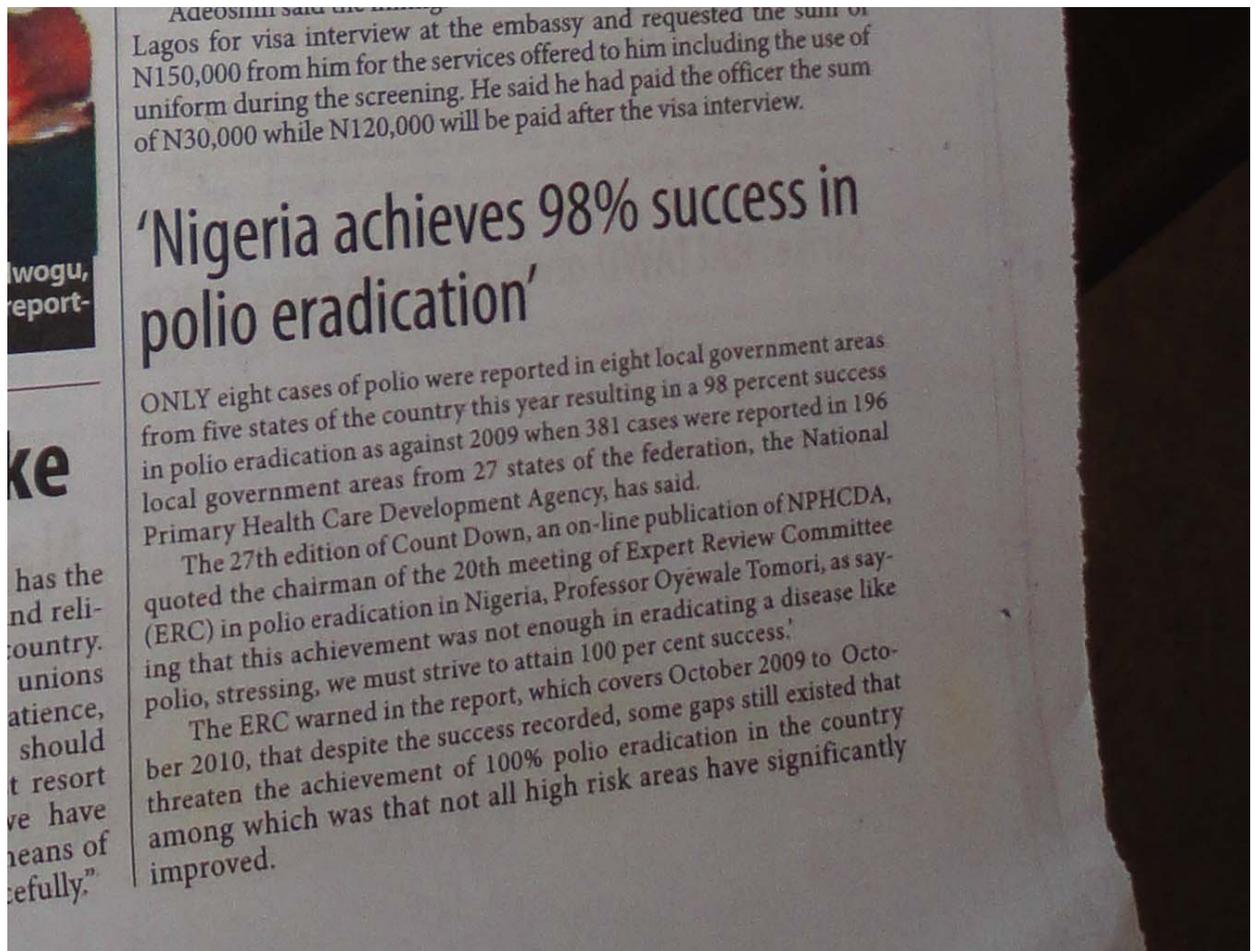
My first criticism is that the assumption that the husband and wife are expected to have comparable opportunities to earn income does not hold in this context. The income levels of Hausa women differ from their counterparts in the south because 1) there are greater education and income differences among men and women (though there are concerted efforts to resolve this issue), 2) women are not expected to participate in the labor wage market during key reproductive ages of their children, and 3) the maximum collective output is not measured exclusively by income and instead is measured by adherence to gendered labor roles.

Secondly, these gendered labor roles are reflected in the labor categories that are created to capture economic activity. The construction of these categories fail to capture the contributions and labor activities of Hausa women because they are involved in labor

that 1) embarks upon new types of work within existing labor categories and 2) moves into completely different sectors beyond existing labor categories.

The two charts that outlined Hausa women's NGO & CBO activity uncaptured by Labor Categories & Statistics in Kano, Nigeria and Tamale, Ghana illustrates the types of work that are not included. Some of these areas for Hausa women in Kano include, Muslim Sisters Organization (MSO) which developed a Human Rights in Islam tree and utilized it in trainings. Additionally, MSO developed a manual and workshops on Democracy from an Islamic perspective. The program targeted the youth. The head of GHON is the chair of the CiSHAN (Civil Societies and HIV/AIDS in Nigeria) network which is an umbrella group for NGOs working on HIV/AIDS in Kano. FOMWAN mobilized communities around the polio vaccination. This is particularly significant given the that Kano is a Sharia state.

Haj. Hassan *"A lot on advocacies, sensitization, mobilization and the greatest of all FOMWAN achieved and helped the state government was in polio eradication in their health sector. And also I was part of those that moved the government to sponsor a bill for maternal health. So the bill now is in the assembly. COMPASS help us as Nigerian partners."* While Haj. Hassan highlighted the important role they played in polio eradication, FOMWAN is not mentioned at all in this Kano Chronicle Article, November 10, 2010 below.



FOMWAN also advocates for legislation that addresses women's health needs, to include the maternal health bill. FOMWAN also monitors elections in Nigeria. In Tamale, the trading activities of the Elder and Youth CBOs are not reflected at all in the Government statistics.

Women contribute other types of labor in which women have some presence. However Hausa women are engaged in work beyond these boundaries. For example, in Kano in terms of women's economic empowerment from the perspective of the government, women are recipients of microcredit loans. Hausa women's organizations such as GHON, provides CBO business development training and micro-credit loans to

CBOs. VOWAN also auctioned as a guarantor for women accessing micro-credit loans. In terms of education, Haj. Hassan states, *“Well as an Amira I was fortunate to work with some USAID projects. So my tenure was blessed with a USAID project. We had a COMPASS project, uh which dealt with health and education and so we had we gave a lot of support to girl child education.”* FOMWAN has also built schools to help address the educational requirements of girls. Haj. Hassan also points out that the problem with girls education is not enrollment but rather retention. Health is an important sector where GHON is training traditional birth attendant CBOs. GHON has also facilitated trainings for local CBOs to access health care facilities for the CBOs clients. Education is an important sector where Women and Development Network (WODEN) conducted programs for women to understand their rights to education. VOWAN has matched orphans and vulnerable students with vocational scholarships. FOMWAN and other organizations, in addition to mobilizing locally around girl child education, have also built schools. The construction of schools is depicted in the article below.

Appendix 12

The second assumption of the static family labor model is that the value of working in the wage market versus the value of working in the home equates to female labor market participation (Schultz 1991 and 2002). First I would argue that among the Hausa women the goal is not necessarily maximizing the monetary output rather, but rather fulfilling the gender roles of a husband and a wife according to Islamic frames. Next, there are also different types of support that women offer each other in order to increase productivity at work and address their domestic responsibilities.

Interviews that indicate their goals and responsibilities do not to focus solely or even primarily on wealth accumulation. Interviews with women who discuss how they balance external labor with their domestic responsibilities, usually with help from co-wives, or older children. Hay AUY, indicates the importance of waiting until children are an appropriate age before engaging in work because the time you spend with them cannot be replicated or outsourced to someone else.

“During the first and second, during the second and the third, and fourth 6 years. I think when you have them at such an age, early morning I wake up. It’s not all about rushing for breakfast. We wake up and say our prayers, we have about ¾ of an hour with them, I have with them teaching them the Quran. It’s not a matter of dumping them in a school for another teacher to teach them religious instruction, teaching them the Quran. Sometimes I teach from chapters of the Quran, they study portions, sometimes I give them a brief history of prophets so that it is more interesting, you know children would like to have something so , I talk to them about Noah’s ark tomorrow, talk to them about Moses, you know. So we do a little story telling, so but you know I always know when to pinch off. So that they are expecting more. And then the following day we don’t have the stories again, we say, I make them memorize maybe a prayer for when you enter the bathroom, or when you are leaving the bathroom, or when you you know, just memorize. And we we write it on a post it piece of paper and it is kept on my bedroom fridge, so that during the day anybody who forgets may come and read it because the following morning they have got to tell me, to recite for me that particular prayer. So immediately after that we settle down for chores, people having a bath, people you know preparing breakfast, rushing to school, their father gets his breakfast and whatever and that’s it. And after school it’s time for homework. Immediately after that they go for formal Quranic classes.

TV is watched in my house by my kids only on Fridays and Saturdays. Up to this moment I have never bought any video games for my children when they were growing up. This was not, I didn't look at it as deprivation, I looked at it as something that will pay off in the end. I have seen the attention deficit it creates. I have seen how zombie like children become when they watch tv and become oblivious of their surroundings and I've seen the damage it has done to kids that are addicted to those games. Now that my kids have graduated I have engineers, I have you know chemists etc. they can play as many video games as they like now. Daughter industrial chemist, Son has just finished a BA in History and also has a diploma in crime management, my other son is a electrical engineer and daughter writes O levels in June."

She continues stating that, "A woman that is in her childbearing years as far as I'm concerned shouldn't be going, dabbling into politics. Because what time do you have for your kids? Your first responsibility is your home. If you cannot give your best to your best constituencies who are your kids you want to rush and fix the world then you are mistaken. You have your priorities wrong. But for people how are my age who have already finished nurturing and the nest is now empty or virtually empty then you can indulge in some other activities even if takes up your time it doesn't matter you can take up another hobby, fishing or something. You know. But you jump trying to fix the world when your house is in disarray it doesn't your priorities are somehow amiss."

The Policy documents from Kano State government on the roles of women clearly acknowledge these areas that are emphasized. Institutional connections among NGOs and CBOs that occur in Kano and in Tamale support networks internal to the Islamic understandings of proper gender roles of CBOs

The third component, education level, particularly in the case of developing countries, is often cited as the best predictor of women's decisions to participate in the wage market (Schultz 1991 and 2002).

My first critique is that many studies on women's labor that utilize education as a predictor of married women's wage market participation do not include the work of African Muslim women because they are using different decision making frames. The study by Aromolaran illustrates this tendency in the case of Nigeria. (2008) These types of studies conclude that women in northern Nigeria are either unemployed (economically inactive) or that they are engaged in sporadic economic activities. There are clear differences in the amount of access that Hausa women have had to formal education. But the emphasis on and access to Islamic education is greater. Additionally, as explained in my previous critiques, the emphasis modes of production associated with income are not the primary focus of the production roles of Hausa women.

Thus, western notions of both education and labor render the contributions of Hausa women invisible in government studies. The organizational profiles of NGOs and CBOs in Kano, Nigeria and Tamale, Ghana clearly illustrate that financial gain is not the primary motivation behind Hausa women establishing organizations. The majority of women engaged in NGO work are either retired, or have other professional pursuits as sources of income. Therefore, the NGOs themselves are not a primary source of revenue for them to support their individual households for the heads of the organizations, which places them in a position to select projects and partners based on the goals of their organization to specifically help women with practical concerns, not just economic vulnerability. Furthermore, even in cases of the CBOs that are engaged in trading they

are still not attempting to secure massive amounts of wealth and are instead concentrating on using their financial resources to meet the economic, education, and health needs of their families. The interviews illustrate that range of reasons why women chose to engage in NGO and CBO activities, and reflect a societal values that are contextually and temporally specific.

Theoretical Implications

Interrogation of the normative theoretical assumptions of the static family labor supply framework and time allocation theory expand upon the work in feminist economics by using Muslim women's work to challenge the distinction between domestic labor and the wage market. Time allocation theory is based on the assumption "that married women allocate time resources between home and market production geared toward maximizing her preference function" (Aromolaran 2008, 404). Aromolaran's (2008) study uses both models to analyze the impact of education on women's participation in the wage market in Nigeria, concluding that there is a strong relationship between higher levels of post-secondary education and married women's decision to engage in wage labor. The three limitations of Aromolaran's study that Aromolaran highlights are: 1) endogeneity effects of education to the labor market, 2) selection bias in the sample of married women ages thirty to fifty four, and 3) problems with self reporting on the labor of spouses (Aromolaran 2008).

I selected Aromolaran's work to review for two reasons. First, it utilizes two economic theories, time allocation theory and the static family labor model, that permeate approaches to studying women's economic activities. Second, works on women's

economic activities and contributions in Nigeria often do not include the work of Muslim women in the north in large part because utilizing time allocation theory and the static family labor model do not reflect the same decision frameworks applied by Hausa women to themselves. Additionally, the metrics that are thought to depict women's labor contributions do not capture the activities of Hausa women. Therefore it is important to develop other theories to conceptualize labor decisions and contributions of Muslim women in West Africa.

There are four interventions I made because they highlight the ways in which the underlying assumptions of the time allocation theory and the static family labor model can be problematic. First, the categories used to describe labor that is not explicitly considered part of the "market" need to be more explicit in order to capture women's economic contributions. For example, the cooperative labor in which women are engaged related to petty trading, cannot be assumed to be located within unpaid family labor as a category.

Because secondly, the cooperative behavior Aromolaran refers to is often part of agricultural production which does not reflect the type of cooperative activity most often engaged in by women living in urban areas in Kano and Tamale. Given the prominent role of petty trade (food stuffs, small scale trade that meets urban demand which comprises a significant portion of the urban economy) among some Hausa women, much of the cooperative behavior relates to rotating pools of credit and at times sharing of responsibilities related to the domestic sphere. For example, women farmers in Kano comprise less than 1 percent of the farmers in Kano (Nigerian Annual Abstract of Statistics 2009, Hill 1982). Additionally the model assumes that the marital institution is monogamous, which cannot be assumed in Muslim communities.

Thirdly, the high unemployment rate of women in the Kano should be contextualized where two to four wives can be part of a domestic unit. The labor of women involved in civil society work, either through NGOs or CBOs, is not accounted for using these labor categories. Furthermore women often take a break from labor outside the home to focus on the development of their children and then return to the work outside the home through their own women centered organizations. The women selected for Aromolaran's study are between ages thirty and fifty four, and therefore would not include a key period of economic and political activity for Hausa women which are the ages of fifty five to seventy.

Fourthly, time allocation theory is problematic because the current framework does not provide mechanisms to understand how women are conceptualizing different types of labor, which in turn are used to determine rational behavior in a given context. Next, it does not explain how unmarried women in the same age bracket interpret gender constraints that can impact their participation in the wage market. Furthermore it is important to understand how their perceptions about the feasibility of working outside the home if they get married influence pre-marital participation levels in certain economic sectors.

Finally, the assumption that unmarried women do not contribute to domestic labor of married women, which includes child care and food preparation, needs to be critiqued. In many cases the availability of the labor of unmarried women can help subsidize the work of married women and therefore can reduce the amount of reluctance that women could have about engaging in work outside of the home. In homes with multiple wives and several children, this type of cooperative work is crucial.

Conclusion

In order to address some of the gaps in the statistics on women's labor which do not capture the work of Hausa women in Northern Nigeria and Northern Ghana, I utilized ethnographic and qualitative methods that can contextualize the ways different Muslim women understand their social and economic production roles. In the case of Kano, where the Hausa are the majority, the state is focused on social production of the family while nationally the goal centers on economic production with less explicit emphasis on familial responsibilities. The Hausa is Tamale provide an interesting contrast because as a minority population the key priorities are on the economic sustainability of the community to include acquiring political inclusion and protection.

The mixed method approach also provided an opportunity to obtain an inventory of the work of Hausa women through developing profiles of the NGOs and CBOs work that was not being captured solely by labor statistics calculated using the flawed assumptions underlying static family labor model and time allocation theory.

Four critiques of the normative assumptions of the static family labor model and time allocation theory were outlined. First these approaches assume that everyone conceptualizes domestic and external labor markets in competition with each other rather than thinking of them layered in a time sequence. The age cohorts of women engaged in NGO and CBO work demonstrates that Hausa women often withdraw from work outside the home until their children have at least entered Junior Secondary School and then resume activities at a later stage. This is different than women in other contexts because working outside the home is suspended during this period rather than augmented. Therefore, instead of attempting to strike a balance between home and work during these key developmental ages, most women elect to engage in raising their children first and

working outside the home second. These decisions reinforce Hausa social norms while providing space for continued economic change.

Second, much of the data, including the work of Aromolaran (2008), identifies key productive ages as being between thirty and fifty four. However, many of the women ages thirty to forty consciously choose not to maintain a presence in the wage market because their children have reached an age women feel is appropriate to decrease their time in the home. My data clearly indicates that women in their sixties and seventies and between eighteen and thirty are the most active in their respective organizations. This directly challenges Aromolaran's conclusion that the most economically active ages for Nigerian women are between thirty and fifty four. My work indicates that women in Kano are not "unemployed" rather they are choosing to work after key reproductive years. Therefore it would be better to correlate the age of children, mothers, and their labor market activities before analyzing women's labor.

Third, new labor categories need to be developed in order to reflect NGO and CBO work among women. The long term economic benefits of women's activities need to be assessed as they are in a position to begin to change the relationships of women to the state through empowering and working with women from all levels of society. Their divergent interests would also be represented through the policy initiatives they could advocate independently and at times collectively, in addition to monitoring of government service delivery. There are benefits beyond just immediate programming because developing the capacity of CBOs can also increase their economic position, collectively and individually among group members. This is important because the members of CBOs will retain the skills to mobilize around issues adversely impacting

them and engage local government to address them. This changes in the domestic sphere determined by age are related to the visibility of women in political discourse.

In addition to conceptual challenges there are also more practical ones encountered when getting a clearer picture of women's activities through the organizations they join and in which they work. The registration process is difficult for women's organizations, particularly at the federal level, because it is costly and thus many women's organizations only register at the state level. This renders them invisible in national data sets. This can also increase the invisibility of women's civil society work because being outside of the purview of data gatherers increases the chances of being left out of data aggregated by government.

Furthermore, in addition to being invisible to national data sources, the NGOs also lose opportunities to partner directly with international NGOs because international NGOs only recognize federal registration, not registration at the state or local government level. In response, many organizations form coalitions. For example WODEN is a founding member of the Almaraji coalition, in order to split the costs of registration. Beyond paying the fees which can cost up to 150,000 naira, organizations also need to have a physical office which would cost (150,000-250,000 naira), and a bank account subject to financial audit. The bank accounts need to be established for a minimum of five years, and the statement of accounts, and audit needs to be completed for a minimum of three consecutive years. These requirements serve as structural obstacles for many organizations. In terms of institutional changes, the recognition of registration at the state and local levels could help mitigate some of the institutional constraints. The cost of registration at the local government level is much less prohibitive at approximately 500 naira.

The comprehensive nature of the activities undertaken by CBOs, the raising of revenue and sustaining operational costs on their own, occasionally partnering with international organizations, and being able to insert themselves within and between political social and economic sectors of society are standard features of each of these groups. Using different strategies to locate themselves at the center of decision making and increasing their economic and influence on political structures, directly and indirectly, are strategies employed by Hausa women, and the organizations they join. Hausa women are moving beyond state ascribed roles for women and are instead are pushing the structures themselves to enact change through policy and to increase inclusion across the board. The study of these groups provides us with tools to explain Hausa women's negotiation of cultural norms around their collective interests and thus creation of new political space.

CHAPTER SIX: HAUSA WOMEN'S

CREATION OF POLITICAL SPACE

Introduction

The recent emergence of women in the development sector in the last two decades has provided a mechanism for Hausa women to engage political institutions. Women have been politicizing development by translating issues of labor, health, education and access to resources into political processes. Domestic relationships such as marriage and other issues that disproportionately impact women are addressed through legislative advocacies, women further increase their visibility by asserting their rights through Islam and demand that the state protect their security, economic and educational interests. This chapter outlines how women are engaging political institutions, which actors are active in this process, and how women determine the priorities that are addressed. The metric utilized to evaluate the success of their efforts is also discussed.

By providing a brief history of the women's movement and the development of women's organizations, this chapter will highlight the differences women advance about their specific roles in political institutions. These differences are reflected in splits among different women's groups. This history of the women's movement in Nigeria causes us to think about the silences around the activities of women in the northern states of the country. The ways in which organizations interact with domestic and international

actors, in addition to how they conceptualize gender and development issues, of these (community based organizations) will also be highlighted through the study.

Brief History of Hausa Women's Organizations

The historical roles of Hausa women were summarized in the fourth chapter. This chapter will discuss the two divergent types of the organizations Muslim women formed and participated in during the 1980s. The first type of organizations eventually formed direct relationships with the state, and the second began as organizations distinct from the state with more radical rather than liberal aims. Aside from Jamiy'yar Matan Arewa (Northern Women's Association) very little is known about how Hausa women's groups historically connected to the Nigerian women's movement. The recent work in 2010, Northern Women Development by Haj. Kabir, provides a set of profiles about influential women in Northern Nigeria and begins to provide more information about the presence of Hausa women in Nigeria's women's movements (Kabir 2010). Aside from three women showcased in that study, the majority of the women were active post-independence.

The Jamiy'yar Matan Arewa (Northern Women's Association) was comprised of the spouses of political leaders and politically influential men pre and post-independence (1960). It was also called the rich women's organization as a means to illustrate their elite status (Ojewusi 1996, Ibrahim 2007, Salihu 2007). Their attempts to address the more practical needs of women (including access to clean water, health facilities, and fiscal capital for small scale trade) who were less privileged met with little success. Many of their efforts required conducting needs assessments of women who were trading

in markets or engaged in small scale agriculture, which in turn required data to determine the types of interventions and resources that were needed and the scale of the projects to be established (Ojewusi 1996). Having these women in particular collecting this information raised suspicions among the women they were trying to assist because their motives were perceived to be directly related to the state and its political leadership. More specifically, market women were concerned that these women were going to share the data with politicians and therefore the state would be able to regulate and limit their activities (Ojewusi 1996). An even greater concern was that the state might begin to levy taxes or develop some method to tap into their profits. The experiences of the members of the Jamiy'yar Matan Arewa illustrate some of the different types of configurations of state and society and their impact on civil society. In this case, the members of the organizations themselves embodied the state through their domestic relationships and therefore had a difficult time gaining the trust of women from middle and lower echelons of society. It is also important to highlight that during colonial years and the first years of independence women in the different social strata had limited interactions with the State and this also contributed to a lack of trust. Women in the north did not vote until 1979.

The National Council of Women Societies (NCWS), founded in 1958 found itself in a similar position to the Jamiy'yar Matan Arewa in terms of grappling with the advancing of women's interests and challenging the policies of the state that are problematic (Ojewusi 1996). NCWS was comprised of women from all three social categories of women that I outlined in my previous chapters, women in located in higher, middle and lower social echelons. The tension came when they began to receive invitations to provide the perspectives of all women to the political administration. There were discussions about whether or not accepting that invitation would result in the goals

of NCWS being co-opted by the state (Ojewusi 1996). Eventually, the leadership of the NCWS accepted the offer and the agenda shifted to programming in many respects because the group functioned as an umbrella organization for women's groups across the country. Muslim women participated in NCWS and women from the north have served as past presidents. Differences about whether or not it was appropriate for women to contest the office of head of state was an impetus for establishing the Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria (FOMWAN), which in many ways is a national version of Muslim Sisters Organization (MSO). FOMWAN was established to reflect specifically Islamic values but there is no animosity between FOMWAN and NCWS and there is continuity on most issues. The two groups have worked together and have overlapping membership. (Haj. Hassan Interview December 14, 2010, Haj. Jamilia Interview November 8, 2010) *"Well we network with all the NGOs any NGOs, we work with WIN, FIDA, um SWAN all the NGOS on the ground. Whenever they have something for us we go, we attend their meetings, we attend their activities, they attend our activities, so yeah."* (Haj. Hassan, Interview December 14, 2010)

Haj. Rakiya, from the Women and Development Network (WODEN) discusses the differences in women's mobilization in the north and the south. During an interview she states, *"Yes women in the south are more educated than northern women and had more power. ... (In) This NCWS mostly the women from the south have upper hand in NCWS because it came up during (the) military regime. They supported this NCWS because right from them, the women were looking for a way out to emerge with the men, so naturally women from the south south were all there. It came into this part of the country through Jamirya ata Arewa. There was an organization called Jamirya ata Arewa it was only for the northern women. These women's husbands were generals it*

came in through it. And these were the women in Kaduna and in other, so they were the ones rooting it now. To all the other states so it was through this Jamirya that some of them were even able to enter inside the NCWS and then they spread it to our local governments and everywhere. And still up till now the southern have more dominance, and these days the national coordinator Ramatu she is from the north. Ramatu is from the north. And the ones in Kano, a new president is to emerge so there has been a lot of talk... You know where there is no education, things can't move on properly and sincerely where here in this Kano there is not the real indigene Kano that has been the president of the national council. They want to but you know they don't have the education. So maybe someone married to the man here or someone brought up will be national council. But now the women are announced properly because they are reading. MSO this is many in this area. Because they talk about the Muslim women, what she should do, how she should take care, her life in general. So that is why you see these Muslim organizations are being set up. And the men most of them do encourage their women to go into these types of organizations if it is a Muslim women's organization. Any yet even most of these women that are in this Muslim women's organizations at least they are literate, even if they don't have, they are literate at least and they can understand what is happening. They are literate both in the Islamic way and in the modern education. Mmm hmm. But most of them are more literate in the Quran. Yes. Well its sort of giving women awareness, it's giving the women awareness and trying to sort of elevate the Muslim societies, especially the women. You know awareness is coming to them so they feel they should now bring it up to everyone else." Haj. Rakiya moves the story forward a bit by moving from the beginning of NCWS to contemporary groups such as MSO that developed in northern Nigeria. In order to understand the women's movement it is

important know the history of the primary non-Muslim organizations. The next secular organization to gain prominence after NCWS was Women in Nigeria (WIN).

Against this backdrop of Muslim women from the north forming their own organizations separate from NCWS, Women in Nigeria (WIN) was formed. WIN was founded in 1980 on the campus at Ahmadu Bello University, in Zaria, by a group of women active in feminist movements, some of whom were also Marxists (Ibrahim 2007, Yusuf 2007, Salihu 2007). The tensions between feminist activists and women critical of Marxist approaches were amplified by the distrust of organizers of the conference who informally met prior to the general meeting to discuss the agenda and priorities of the organization (Ibrahim 2007, Yusuf 2007, Salihu 2007). This was done in large part as a response to feminist critiques that Marxist frames did not address the cultural dimensions of gender inequality (Ibrahim 2007, Yusuf 2007, Salihu 2007). After the institutional collapse of the USSR, the US and associated neoliberal approaches to development created additional possibilities beyond “Cold War” interests the new organization could move to address issues of gender and development (Ibrahim 2007, Yusuf 2007, Salihu 2007). On the national scene, the failure of structural adjustment programs and the international discourses on gender and human rights catapulted the position of the feminist members of the organizations who had access to global academic circles giving them access to resources that were not offered to their male counterparts (Ibrahim 2007, Yusuf 2007, Salihu 2007).

The increase in notoriety, travel, and employment opportunities abroad for these women elevated the tense ideological debates that were taking place within WIN (Ibrahim 2007, Yusuf 2007, Salihu 2007). The focus of the organization changed from one with a radical agenda of its own and distinct from the state into a group more focused

on development or the funding that a focus on development could bring. The resulting NGO structure brought tensions to a new high. As a result Marxists, predominately men, and radical feminists, primarily women, began to accuse each other of trying to undermine the roles of members in each ideological camp (Ibrahim 2007, Yusuf 2007, Salihu 2007). To make things more complicated gender scripts were read into the differences. Ibrahim (2007) and Yusuf (2007) highlight these disputes, which in some cases may have had their basis in the fact that some men in the organization felt jealous of the hyper visibility of the women leaders (Yusuf 2007). In addition, some men (mostly Marxist academics) accused women of selling out the ideals of the organization and transforming it into an NGO to advance their own careers (Ya'u 2007, Bagu 2007). Ironically concerns of the masses of women with little formal education begin to dominate the agenda and a basic needs approach to development began to emerge (Ibrahim 2007). The concern moved from theoretical to practical issues. The prominence of the organization soon declined however. The thesis here is that this occurred largely because both the Marxists and radical feminists failed ultimately to link their ideological positions with the material realities of the masses of women. Continuing to perpetuate clear distinctions between the radical and the practical were the inherent flaws in theorizing about radical versus reformist movements as zero sum frames. Today WIN still exists as an organization, however many would argue that it is not as functional as NCWS (Ibrahim 2007, Salihu 2007). The current president of NCWS, Haj. Ramatu, is from Kano. However she cannot conduct any organizational activities that specifically articulate or reference her position as a Muslim woman (Haj. Jamilia, Interview with Adryan Wallace, November 19, 2010).

I attended an International Workshop on the Pro-Democracy Movement in Nigeria: Assessing Five Decades of Struggles at the Aminu Kano Centre for Democratic Research and Training at the Mambayya House, at Bayero University in Kano from November 24-25, 2010. The conference was illuminating and outlined the history and contemporary impacts of the left and progressive movements on democracy in Nigeria. The session on Gender and Democracy was striking because while the impact of women on political institutions was discussed, assessing the impact of levels of privilege among women and their participation was not discussed. The experiences of women in northern Nigeria in general and Hausa women in Kano in particular were also not addressed or mentioned in great detail. The session was also attended by a member of the Initiative for Women's Studies in Nigeria. There are efforts to remedy the lack of visibility of the experiences of Hausa women in politics, but much work needs to be done. When I asked a question during the workshop about how they analyzed the levels of privilege among Hausa women and the impact of that on their participation response was that they need to strengthen scholarship in that area.

These experiences of the Jamiy'yar Matan Arewa, NCWS, and WIN and their social bases highlight key debates that women's organizations must face in terms of political mobilization. Analyzing the ways in which Hausa women's groups are creating political space can provide insights into the strategies used to relate to state institutions and the consequences of such interactions. Each of these groups represent variations in the types of civil society groups and their relative impact on addressing gender inequality. Jamiy'yar Matan Arewa was more closely connected to the political institutions given that the majority of its membership was comprised of the spouses of elite political actors. The proximity to the state, while potentially providing resources to facilitate activities

also impeded the ability of members to gain the trust of women that were less privileged and were the targets of programming efforts. Additionally the agenda of Jamiy'yar Matan Arewa centered on representing the needs of women engaged in small scale trading rather than more substantive efforts to transform political and economic structures. There were also perceptions by other female activists that this organization functioned as more of a surrogate hand of the state rather than challenge it (Kabir 2010). While this is an important criticism of the group they still hold great symbolic significance as an example of northern women organizing and working across social divisions. NCWS during these historic periods was similarly critiqued for electing to work as an umbrella organization for other women's organizations and provide or represent the perspective of women for political institutions (Ibrahim 2007, Yusuf 2007, Salihu 2007). The second role highlights issues that can be problematic because the social location of women also impacts the visibility of their organizations and consequently their interests. For example if women in community based organizations which tend to have less economic security and formal education are not members of NCWS their priorities will not necessarily be included in the perspectives of women provided. NCWS has certainly had success increasing different aspects of gender inequality the question is which areas remain the primary focus (Ibrahim 2007, Yusuf 2007, Salihu 2007). Finally WIN emerged as a means to distance itself from the civil society role of NCWS and instead focus on more progressive attempts and structural reform. The ideologically strands which were Marxist and feminist shaped the discourse on economic and gender inequity (Ibrahim 2007, Yusuf 2007, Salihu 2007). The tense relationship of these two ideological camps within the organization largely stemmed from moments when feminist and Marxist frames were pitted against each other as viable approaches to address gender

disparities. The respective discourses that developed did fundamentally engage and in particular feminist perspectives critiqued the political, economic, and social production roles of women. The inability of the leadership to reach some kind of consensus resulted in more grassroots women taking control of the WIN agenda to focus on practical development issues (Ibrahim 2007, Yusuf 2007, Salihu 2007). In that context in terms of programming efforts and the focus on practical elements of women's interests rendered WIN effective in that sense. While addressing basic needs is critical there are other theoretical issues need to be addressed including the relationship between WIN and international donor organizations. In conclusion Jamiy'yar Matan Arewa illustrates that elite northern women were active in organizations and attempted to engage women from different social locations, NCWS provided a network umbrella organization for women which in turn served to provide women's perspectives to the state and finally WIN was distinct from the state and more focused on the development interests of grassroots women rather than the institutional transformations advocated by the feminist and Marxist ideological positions of the original leadership. Understanding these historical elements of Nigerian women's movements through organizations puts to contemporary approaches of Hausa women's groups to address the priorities of different Hausa women.

Contemporary Engagements of Hausa Women and Political Institutions

Kano, Nigeria

The founder of VOWAN, Haj. Atine, was interacting with the political system in more conventional ways prior to founding her NGO. She was running for office as an assembly person in 2002 with the United Nigerian Peoples Party. Her primary concern

was the plight of vulnerable populations, particularly widows, divorcees, and orphans. Her goal was to join the legislature and propose laws addressing and helping to make their lives more secure. Eventually, she decided to withdraw from politics and instead, in 2003, focused her energies on making a difference directly by working with vulnerable populations including widows, divorcees, and orphans through VOWAN.

There are several reasons that account for this decision on her part. First, she is unencumbered by the issues of corruption in politics in terms of pressures to provide favors and other acts of bias so dominant in Nigerian political culture. Though she highlights that these issues are greatly reduced if one is a legislator because there is no “burden of praise singers and political jobbers in search of one favor or another”, other situations can arise. Haj. Atine’s concerns echoes the same arguments advanced by a new political party Coalition for Change, that women’s perception of politics as a “dirty game” alienates them from mainstream political activity. While remaining outside of politics and choosing not to contest any more elections, she did engage the state directly a second time.

During 2005, she attempted to raise the issue of divorce with the National Assembly. *“The first year the organization was created we visited the Emir’s palace to tell the Emir about the work we were intending to do. We went to tell the Emir about the cases with those people however he was not in town at that time. Then we started to fight the divorce rates, and began asking why are people divorcing so rampantly? Then we tried to enlighten the women about what kinds of behaviors usually cause the divorce. Therefore we began holding trainings for women about how to avoid doing the things that usually cause the divorce. In 2004 we had another Sallah outreach and 50 children were given cloth, and we assisted 15 people with school fees.*

In 2005 we visited the House of Assembly to tell them that they have the power to make it a law that you cannot divorce women unless you have a concrete reason from the Koran that Islam accepts. The first reason for going to the House of Assembly was because of one woman that was 6 months pregnant and ate the bread that her husband wanted for breakfast. He divorced her because of it. The other case was one where the husband divorced the woman because of toilet soap. These two cases and other cases as well inspired us to go before the Assembly because people divorce women without reason.” (exerts speech 2008)

In 2009, Haj. Atine organized a protest of one million widows in Kano. The widows were going to assemble in March of 2009 and begin their march at the palace of the Emir, moving through the center of town and finally arriving at the House Assembly. Her goal was to again draw attention to the high divorce rates in Kano and the fact that they are typically initiated by men for reasons which were often frivolous. (Haj. Atine, Interview, December 16, 2010) Though she canceled the march for reasons explained later in this chapter, the fact that the march was organized was very significant particularly because Hausa women in Kano have not historically protested in the street. The over prevalence of divorce came to her attention when she read a story about a pregnant woman being divorced by her husband because she ate a loaf of bread the night before and there was no bread for his breakfast the next morning. In addition to the government, she also wanted the Sharia board to also be made aware. The Hisbah Sharia board is tasked with “enforcing a distinctive ‘Islamic government’” (Khaliq 2011). Several government officials commenting and recognizing the problem and estimates of the divorce rates are as high as 80%.

The newspaper article below illustrates the perspective of an Islamic cleric on the divorce rate in Kano. Unlike Haj. Atine, he attributes the high rate of divorce to the lack of financial resources of men rather than her explanation which centers on the actions of men that are selfish and arbitrary. Her ability to present a different set of explanations for the high divorce rate is important because it represents a challenge to the claims asserted by some religious leaders. The position she holds through her organization, VOWAN, provided a mechanism to disseminate a different narrative. Being able to produce a counter narrative and picture of the divorcees and the rationales behind their plights is critical because it gives a voice to this perspective and expands the civil discourse on an important issue.

Appendix 13

Haj. Atine has been interested in addressing the disproportional negative economic and social impacts of divorce on women. Since 2004, Haj. Atine has pushed for legislation making it more difficult for husbands to be granted a divorce. She agreed to call off the protest scheduled for January 29th, after several discussions with colleagues, including male colleagues who were members of the All Nigerian Peoples Party. By 2007. Malama Halima Shitu, commander of the women's wing, told IPS that

“Hajiya Abdullahi is herself a member of the Hisbah, and she never contacted the command for advice before embarking on her rally. Most people did not know that she belonged to the Hisbah because she hides (her) identity with VOWAN. And being a Muslim from Kano made it necessary for the intervention of the Hisbah. No one forced VOWAN to cancel the rally. Rather we wanted to know what she wanted to achieve by it. She mentioned that she was doing it to call people's attention the number of widows on the street. We sat her down and underlined to her the religious implications of the damage she was about to do to women not only in Kano, but in the Muslim

community as a whole. And before you know it, she was down on her knees voluntarily cursing her own actions. The Hausa community is known to be guided by Islamic norms, and the religion of Islam prohibits women from such acts as protests over issues that have already been ironed out by the religion...the organizer herself will never get a suitor-(nor would the) other women that would have been involved, as men will be by the roadside to watch.” (Ahmad, IPS 2009)

After meeting with the Hisbah¹ board she agreed with her colleagues that protest was not something that Muslim women have done traditionally and out of respect she canceled the protest. There are several key factors illustrated by the reaction of Haj. Shitu. First the emphasis on the important role of religion, being Muslim, as a key and overarching element of identity that should in effect trump collective membership in other social categories. Haj. Shitu argues that Haj. Atine should have already understood that her protest was not consistent with the acceptable ways for women to behave in Islam according to the interpretation of the Hisbah. Linking the potential negative impacts to the entire Muslim community outside of Kano also highlights a sense of collective identity around Islam that transcends local and national boundaries. Next the reputation of the Hausa community being linked to “Islamic norms” is also consistent with the close relationship between religion and culture which is difficult to untangle. (Hadiza, Interview with Adryan Wallace, December 6, 2010. The idea that protesting was unIslamic because the issues of divorcees had been addressed in the Quran suggested that the act of protesting itself could be read as a public statement that Islam did not adequately address the needs of women. Making that statement would clearly be interpreted by the Hisbah and other religious leaders and institutions as sacrilege and a direct attack against Islam. The same logic according to Haj. Shitu applies to Haj. Atine’s attempts in 2004 to advocate for a law making it more difficult for a husband to

¹ The legal board that institutes and monitors the implementation of Sharia.

divorce his wife, because as Malam Ibrahim Mu azzam commander of the entire Hisbah said, “ divorcees need to be empowered and it wasn’t right for them to demand for a law guiding divorcee, since the Islamic religion has already provided that .” I would argue further that this hint of the VOWAN protest was also marked with the conspiracy that the west is attempting to subvert Islam through the framework of development with an emphasis on women (Adamu 1997). There is a quote from an anonymous divorcee that stated she believed the protest was conspired by Haj. Atine and an international organization to subvert Islamic norms and culture; she added further that she believed Haj. Atine to have weak beliefs in Islam to have even considered the protest. The disciplining Haj. Atine could have suffered if she conducted this protest included social stigma and not being able to find a spouse in addition to the fact that I think it would be difficult for her to continue work with VOWAN because the protest would drastically reduce the amount of social capital she retained. The reactions to Haj. Atine’s call for a protest and the subsequent reactions by other women clearly reflect how intersecting membership in social categories can shape and impact Hausa women’s presence in public space, political activity, Hausa cultural spaces and mobilization (Springer 2002, Coogan-Gehr 2011, Crenshaw 1989,1991, 2010, Alexander-Floyd 2008). Interpretations of Islam and different perspectives of Hausa women also directly relate to the Glass’ argument about membership in ideological communities that are not territorially bounded (Glass 2006). Hausa Muslim women are not a homogenous category and there is debate about the type of political, social and economic roles for women within Islam and appropriate ways to challenge inequality and advocate for different interests. Furthermore the interactions between their social location within national contexts and their membership the larger global Islamic community also impact their positions on women’s political

engagement (Glass 2006). This is particularly significant because it illustrates the viability of Glass' theory to women of African descent in West Africa. Additionally the utility of Intersectionality as a frame to evaluate the political activities of women of African descent outside of the US is also illustrated. The careful synthesis of Intersectionality with Hausa feminist perspectives captures specific nuances of Hausa women's positions while also contributing to broader theoretical understandings of the effects of privilege on political mobilization.

The Hisbah celebrated their tenth anniversary in the article below. Among their successes they tout their ability to distribute Zakat², eliminating "open prostitution", alcohol sales, and winning people's confidence despite a difficult start. They have also alleged that they have mediated disputes among citizens. Haj. Salamatu Ibrahim, the National President of the Muslim Sisters Organization was quoted stating "that Hisbah has achieved incredible success in its six years of operation. Prominent among its achievements is the restoring of peace and order in the state through the mediation centers."

Appendix 14

The article also highlights the fact that "people feel more comfortable with the Hisbah than the police". The recent case of a 16 year old girl that was held captive for days and assaulted by police officers is a small test of this theory. According to accounts the young woman was riding home on an achaba (motorcycle taxi) and was stopped by local police. Technically women are supposed to take the three wheel A Dadidaitasu tricycles and not the motorcycles because Islam as practiced here contains social pressure

² Voluntary financial contributions for economically vulnerable populations.

that young women be accompanied when in public space. Citing this the police officers sent the owner of the achaba away and told him that they would take the young woman home. Instead they held her captive. When she escaped her family confronted the police and were asked to forgive the officers. They let the case drop. The uncle of the young woman spoke with her and she indicated she wanted justice so they took the matter to the Hisbah. The Hisbah ordered an investigation and subsequently the officers according to reports, have been fired and will stand trial. (Weekly Trust, December 11, 2010) In this example, the Hisbah did push for action to be taken while the police in contrast did not initially. However, it is important to highlight that the regulation of women's movements and interactions with achabas was the result of changes that came during Shekarau, the former Governor of Kano 2003-2011, administration in the hopes of reflecting more "Islamic" guidelines. Second, if the woman had not been a minor and unmarried the outcome may not have been the same. This young woman was an orphan and therefore this made her particularly vulnerable. This brief caveat illustrates instances when there are occasions that Islamic institutions do provide some recourse when contemporary systems do not. Women like Haj. Atine, are adept at navigating both systems. There were also calls by some NGOs to make sure that the young woman received justice, and VOWAN was among them.

Since 2009 Haj. Atine, a divorcee herself, has continued her activities helping these vulnerable women and their children. The government of Kano has commissioned several studies to analyze the causes of the high divorce rates, and they claim that it is a problem they are working with organizations to address. In terms of tangible solutions to combat what is perceived as a societal problem, little has been done beyond attempts to collect data. Emphasis has been placed on more training regarding marriage and the

proper roles for men and women in marriage according to the teachings of the Quran. VOWAN also offers marital counseling and training for women on the proper ways to care for their husband. These trainings often relate more to teaching women to neutralize trivial domestic matters that arise and prevent them from escalating to serious marital conflict and divorce. While the experiences of Haj. Atine, highlight interactions with domestic political systems, the experiences of the Muslim Sisters Organization (MSO) also introduce the additional dynamics of international donors as well.

The Muslim Sisters Organization has worked with international donors, the government of Kano, and conducted activities utilizing money individual members collected by tapping into their own social networks to provide training in various aspects of nation and community building. The programs with international donors focused on democracy and Human Rights trainings. Working with the Center for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA), they devised a training manual specifically to discuss the roles and responsibilities of political leaders to the citizens they are supposed to represent. The trainings emphasized the importance of being nominated to positions by the people and that individuals that seek office through self-appointment should have their motives viewed with suspicion. The manual makes distinctions between politics in the West and in Islamic societies, namely the way leaders are nominated and that politics in Islam is guided by scriptural text and Sharia law while in the West ideology defines the aims of the office holder. In terms of women's role in politics, the manual stressed that women are "leaders in their homes and helpers of their husbands".

Women are able to participate in politics, but in accordance with Islamic teachings their first role is to establish "unity" and development in domestic spaces which will benefit the entire society. In particular the office of the president should not be

occupied by women while membership in the “House of Assembly, Commissioners, Directors, Deputy Governors and other similar offices are acceptable.” Most importantly “Women leaders should maintain Hijab of the body, mind, and conduct. They must not neglect or sacrifice their home care for public life.” (MSO Democracy and Governance (As-Siyyaasa) Peer Educators Training Manual for Muslim Youths) Haj. Jamilia hosted a tea for female politicians in order to discuss these elements of proper conduct. However, her efforts were not successful as the majority of the politicians wanted to discuss the financial support that MSO could offer them. MSO does not directly sponsor the activities of individual politicians.

In addition to discussing politics, MSO produced a Human Rights in Islam tree for mass distribution. Figure 11.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN ISLAM



1. FREEDOM OF SPEECH
Every human being has the right to express himself in any way, through word of mouth or write up or by way of media. We have beautiful example, from Amr bin Ma'adiy Karabab'ah where he was challenged by a citizen on where he got his (Umar's) garment. The Amir had to provide explanation to the citizen. *Hadith*

2. RIGHT TO HEALTH
Deprive not your body (health) its deserved due. A *Companion* *Hadith*

26. RIGHT OF GOOD LEADERSHIP
"Render back your trusts to those from whom they are due and when you judge between people, Judge with justice." *Qur'an*

35. WOMEN'S RIGHT OF CARE
"Man are the Protectors and Maintainers of Women." *Qur'an*

WOMEN'S RIGHT OF KINDNESS
"Consort with them in kindness" *Qur'an*
"Let no Muslim man entertain any rancour against a Muslim Woman, should he dislike one quality of her, he would find another which is pleasing" *Hadith*

3. RIGHT TO EDUCATION
"Seek knowledge even if it is on the other side of the mountain" *Hadith*
"Knowledge is the obligation of every Muslim." *Hadith*

33. RIGHT TO VOTE AND BE NOMINATED
Every person was allowed to give his opinion. Decisions were usually taken on the basis of unanimity or consensus by majority. *Hadith*

5. RIGHT TO CLEAN ENVIRONMENT
"Cleanliness is half of faith" *Hadith*
Abu Huraira relates that the Prophet said "Avoid two accursed practices". He was asked what are the two accursed practices? He answered, "A person entering himself in a pathway frequented by people or in a shaded place used by them" *Hadith*

32. RIGHT TO REFUSE OBLIANCE IN SIN
"No obedience is there to any creature in disobedience of the Creator". And also "Obedience is due only in what is lawful" *Hadith*

4. FREEDOM OF RELIGION
"Let there be no compulsion in religion. Truth stands out clear from Error." *Qur'an*

21. RIGHT TO SOCIAL SECURITY
It is the duty of the government to provide social security wherein the individuals status is raised to the degree of sufficiency and affluence" *Hadith*

5. RIGHT TO PRIVACY
"O ye who believe! Avoid suspicion as much as possible! For suspicion in some cases is a sin. And spy not on each other. None speak ill of each other behind their backs." *Qur'an*

20. RIGHT TO LIVELIHOOD
Zuhair Ibn Aswad relates that the Holy Prophet said: "That one of you should take up his cords, go to the mountain, carry a pile of wood on his back, sell it and thereby make his face secure against the chastisement of Allah would be better for him than asking people, whether they give him or not." *Hadith*

6. FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION
There is no any other example in history when people gave opinion so freely and criticised the ruler (i.e. the government) so openly that during Khalifa Umar's rule. Once a person in the public tried to stop him but Umar (RA) said, "Let him say. He is free to give his opinion. If people do not give their opinions they are useless and if we (the rulers) do not listen to them, we are useless." (RA) *Hadith*

19. RIGHT OF FORGIVENESS (For Repentance)
"If any of you did evil in ignorance, and thereafter repented and amended (his conduct) Lo! He is of forgiving, most merciful." *Qur'an*

7. RIGHT OF JUSTICE
"O ye who believe! Stand not firmly for justice, as witnesses to Allah, even as against yourself, or your parents, or your kin whether it be (against) rich or poor. For Allah can best protect both. Follow not the lust of your hearts. Lo! we receive justice, surely Allah is well acquainted with all that ye do." *Qur'an*

18. FREEDOM OF MARRIAGE
"And among His Signs is this, that He created for you wives from among yourselves, that you may find repose in them, and He has put between you affection and Mercy, surely in that are indeed Signs for people who reflect." *Qur'an*

8. RIGHT TO GENDER EQUALITY
"I will not create the soul of a worker among you, whether male or female." *Qur'an*

17. RIGHT OF THE INSOLVENT
"If the debtor is in a difficulty, grant him time till it is easy." *Qur'an*

9. PROTECTION FROM TORTURE
The Umar relates that the Holy Prophet has warned him who makes a target of a living thing (animal or bird). *Hadith*

16. RIGHT OF TRAVEL AND IMMIGRATION
He who emigrates (from his home) in the cause of Allah, will find on earth many dwelling places and plenty to live by." *Qur'an*

10. RIGHT TO OWN PROPERTY
"and for this, let all those strive who want to strive." *Qur'an*

13. RIGHTS OF THE MINORITY AND THE ISLAM
The Prophet SAW said "I will tell you who are the dwellers of Paradise. He is every soul who is accompanied with his brother when he enters the Paradise." *Hadith*

COMPLAINT
The Islamic Law secures the right to complaint of every human being. One can complain against him to the government, the judge or the whole Ummah. No barrier is there in front of them. Likewise the great Quranic commentator said the case between Al bin Labh & a Jew and how the judge ruled the case - *Hadith*.

14. PROTECTION OF THE ORPHANS
"And give unto Orphans their properties and do not exchange theirs but things for them. Good ones, and do not add to your substance. Surely this is a great Sin." *Qur'an*

15. RIGHT OF MATERNITY AND CHILDHOOD
"The mothers shall give suck to their offspring. - If the father desires to complete the term, that he shall bear the cost of their food and clothing on equitable terms. No mother shall be treated unfairly on account of her child. Nur father." *Qur'an*

The tree outlines 27 rights afforded to women in Islam listed below.

Table 1: HUMAN RIGHTS IN ISLAM (Q=Quran, Hadith=Islamic scholarly works that articulate legal and historical interpretations of the Quran)

| Right | Source |
|---|---|
| 1. Freedom of Speech | Hadith |
| 2. Right to Education | Hadith, Q 39:9, 59:11, 35:19-20& 96:1-5 |
| 3. Right to Clean Environment | Hadith |
| 4. Freedom of Religion | Q51:56 |
| 5. Right to Privacy | Al-Hujurat: 12, An Nur 27-28 & 58-59 |
| 6. Freedom of Expression | Hadith |
| 7. Right of Justice | An Nissa: 135, Al Araf: 29, Al Hadid: 25, An Nan 1:90 and Al Maidah:8 |
| 8. Right to Gender Equality | Q 3:195, 40:40, 4:125 |
| 9. Protection from Torture | Bukhari and Muslim , Q 24:33, 4:92, 9:60 |
| 10. Right to Own Property | Q 83:26, Q7:32, 4:4&7 |
| 11. Right to Life | Al Maidah 32-34, Al Baqarah 179, Al Isra'a 31, Al Takwir 8-9, Al Anam 151 |
| 12. Rights of the Minority and the Weak | Hadith (Bukhari and Muslim Verse 21) |
| 13. Right to Complain | Hadith |
| 14. Protections of the Orphans | Al Nisa'a 2 |
| 15. Right of Maternity and Childhood | Q 2:233 |
| 16. Right of Travel and Immigration | Nisaa 4:100, Yumus 2, 6:11 |

| | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 17. Right of the Insolvent | Al-Baqara 208 |
| 18. Freedom of Marriage | Ar-Rum 21, 4:3 |
| 19. Right of Forgiveness (for Repentents) | Al-An'am 54 |
| 20. Right to Livelihood | Hadith (Bukhari), Q 62:11 |
| 21. Right to Social Security | Al Kifayah Wal ghina |
| 22. Right to Refuse Obedience in Sin | Hadith, Q 31:15 |
| 23. Right to Vote and Be Nominated | Stories of the Khalifas, Q4:135 |
| 24. Women's Right of Kindness | Hadith |
| 25. Women's Right of Care | Q4:34 |
| 26. Right of Good Leadership | Q4:59 |
| 27. Right to Health | Hadith |

They created this tree as a visual representation and reminder that Islam provides a comprehensive set of rights for women that can be referenced easily when women encounter resistance from men or other women when trying to assert them. Haj. Jamila explains the rationale behind the manual and her perspective on democracy. She states,

“MSO came up with guidelines for women in politics in fact it was sponsored by USAID, the manual, the manual on Democracy and Governance, that was before the second republic came and they asked us and we said yes, we will do it and we did it. I was the state chairperson of MSO at that time. So I took it as a youth activity because you know when you involve elders in this type of program they will infiltrate their personal views into it, so it was a youth the youth in schools that was used to develop the manual. Yes so they are fresh with Islamic ideas they have not been polluted with

personal experiences so we even did a human rights tree in Islam. We talked about human rights in Islam and we developed a human rights tree in Islam with its roots from the Quran, the Hadiths and the... We talked about everything in the manual, how power is given in Islam we talked about human rights we brought that women's rights are the same as men's but we also brought out the issue of the fact that in the Quran it is said that a nation that is cursed that is ruled by a woman. So it is up to you. It is only when a nation is cursed that a woman rules it because it means that there is no man there rules it because it means that there is no man there that can command anybody. So it's not as if there is a curse on them but that there is... because a woman is supposed to be protected it is a woman now that is ruling the country so where are the men or if you have 1million men where... of what caliber are they that none of them can stand up to defending their own country. So that is it is in that light, so we brought everything out for everybody to see our position in democracy. And then the other thing again that was brought out in the manual was that what exactly is democracy. What is governance. We found that in Islam it we use shurah, shurah is shurah consultation is people put in shurah are people that are noble people that are intelligent who have knowledge, people that you can trust so this shurah that decides . They sit together and deliberate and decide, and try to move the state forward. So there's none of them that puts themselves there. So again we also find again that in Islam the moment that you advocate for a post it disqualifies you. So it disqualifies you because it means that you have , if you cannot wait for the people to choose you then you have an ulterior motive. So we brought everything out so that people can see that this is what democracy is and if it is not this way then it is questionable. So don't allow people to be bringing themselves and giving you money to choose them. Because if you choose them, let the ones who are chosen let their

superiority be far superior to the ones that chose themselves. Then they will stop choosing themselves to do something. The second manual we improved upon it because the first one we did not talk about accountability or transparency, so we had to do another one including accountability and transparency which is part of governance. So we did that. We developed two manuals along the lines of politics. We actually a part of our project was to bring out and talk to women who are already in politics yes we had, we called it dialogue with women in politics. MSO organized it, USAID funded it, we called the women to Durbar hotel and gave them a tea, we gave them just like a tea break or tea time so, it was a dialogue.”

The ability of MSO to navigate three different sets of funding mechanisms and their associated influence places them in a unique position compared to many other women’s organizations. MSO maintains contact with other women’s organizations. During an interview Haj. Hassan explains how FOMWAN (an organization established by members of MSO) are able to engage with different actors,

“Well we network with all the NGOs (my question was about WIN) any NGOs, we work with WIN, FIDA, um SWAN all the NGOS on the ground. Whenever they have something for us we go, we attend their meetings, we attend their activities, they attend our activities, so yeah. And so we have a good report with NGOs we have with government and local government so. Yeah but you know you have to be patient and you know we, FOMWAN does not have a, we don’t have much demands. We demand for what we require. And we tax ourselves more than going to ask to beg for, so we tax ourselves more. So if you are going, if we are going to government we come with a project and we say okay this is what we have on the ground, what are you going to do to us, what’s going to be your contribution? We would not just come and say, look we are

going to build a school what's going to be your.., no we will get a space maybe we will start to lay the foundation and then we say okay this is what we have on the ground, not what's going to happen? So I think that is how FOMWAN is trying."

Like FOMWAN, MSO maintains good relationships with religious leaders in addition to amicable relationships with state institutions. They are also in a position to act as a gatekeeper, (as Haj. Atine stated in a previous interview) that can sanction other women's activities. FOMWAN differs from MSO in terms of their political activities in two ways, the monitoring of elections and sponsoring of specific legislation.

MSO also retains a division of labor among women where women with less formal education focus on basic needs and women with more formal education and connections focus on policy issues and framing. This strategy is utilized to address issues of privilege and prevent one group of women from dominating another. The definition of social status that they use incorporates education, lineage, and wisdom measured primarily by humility. The women in leadership positions, both at the policy and more practical development levels, work together and reach decisions through consensus. They consider the leaders selected and the models of the organization situational and not permanent. Each woman leader is tasked with developing women in their own sector and across sectors. Their goal is to bring all women together. Leaders are nominated and selected via consultation and consensus, not elections. The groups come together and determine the priorities of the organization. Haj. Jamilia stated that she and other women of her status feel a sense of responsibility to women in the CBOs. The shurah process that was featured in the democracy training manual also governs MSO's operations.

Role of Civil Society

Grassroots Health Organization of Nigeria (GHON) founded in 1993 by Haj. Hadiza's mother Haj. Ester Sambo. Its purpose was to highlight health issues in the community and find resources to address the issues. Alhaji Haladu, a program officer, gave the perspective of GHON on its place in civil society which he states is to partner with government and serve as a feedback mechanism regarding the ability of government to successfully deliver and goods and services (Interview with Adryan Wallace, October 29, 2010) the work of GHON on reproductive health and access to clean water and sanitation provide opportunities for government agencies to address specific community issues. They identify not only areas where the needs of the citizens are not met, but also provide an opportunity to highlight specific details in order that bottlenecks in services can be addressed. In turn, this work allows them to re-conceptualize the roles of citizens. This cycle then contributes to dynamic re-conception of the roles of citizens in civil society. Haj. Hadiza indicates that GHON allows the concerns of women in rural areas in Kano and other underserved segments of the city to reach the Ministry of Health and larger NGOs like PATH (Interview with Adryan Wallace, December 6, 2010). Additionally, the creation and empowerment of women's CBOs are important because they build skills to ensure that these groups can lobby around other issues impacting their quality of life. This is critically important to sustainability of their programs and their ability to meet changing needs.

Haladu and other staff members of GHON criticized the reliance on external donors for programming. Instead, they advocate retaining autonomy in the programming of local organizations, engaging in income generating activities, and having long-term relationships with CBOs in order to remain active and continue to support the

community. Community mobilization is possible even with limited resources once you have established trust and invested in the community. This model also allows the organization to be more selective about the types of grants sought and programming the group conducts. This emphasis on local support is all the more important in that many NGOs that matched their programming agenda with donor funding cycles have closed their doors as a result of the recent global financial crisis. Local financial independence has been critical to survival.

In addition to GHON's work on health they conducted programs on culture. The last such program ran in 2008 however because of lack of continued funding. This program, African Transitions, was focused on providing training for men and women about changing "traditional" gender roles. The newspaper articles depicted below indicate the criteria of a good husband and a good wife. The power dynamic in each of these pieces is geared toward the husband as head of the family with the wife playing a key support role. They urged stability in domestic relationships as the economy faltered.

Appendix 15

Appendix 16

The workshop that GHON continues to offer is unique because it outlines examples for participants of how to define gender roles in their relationships and to be flexible about what they entail. The key is to be able to adapt to requirements for new ways of interacting based on changes in structural factors to include economic constraints. For example, the power dynamics underpinning wife seclusion, and defining what it means to be a Hausa woman or man, and what constitutes Islamic behavior was discussed during these trainings. The target groups were individuals between the ages of

eighteen to fifty. After each session was conducted, a training of trainers is held so that each community has individuals locally that can serve as a resource for the community as required. This cultural program has political implications because it in some ways challenges the more conservative conceptions of gender promoted by the Kano Ministry of Social Reorientation. This Ministry was created under the Shekarau administration to re-establish specific Islamic cultural norms, including modesty, other elements of more conservative approaches to media and images. The ministry cautions against allowing a focus on development to shift what is considered appropriate roles of Muslim women. Furthermore, given the fact that Islamic culture is the key context for an Islamic education and developing confidence in and knowledge of your rights within what serves as the center for mobilization and changing the normative discourse. GHON demonstrates how Hausa women's non-governmental organizations strive to clearly link their programmatic work to address specific problems to Hausa and Islamic cultural contexts. Hence, the constant linking to context makes it possible to progress beyond present limitations.

Hausa Women's Definitions of Gender Equality

In that vein the work of Women and Development Network (WODEN) Haj. Rakiya, a widow and mother, founder of WODEN, focuses on educating women on their rights in Islam. This then becomes a political project that can foster self-determination. During my interview with Haj. AUY, a member of the Muslim Sisters Organization, founder of Excel College, and a mother, expressed her frustration at the way that Hausa women are stereotyped. She pushes back against the constructions of Hausa women as

passive when she states that, *“Now that my kids have graduated I have engineers, I have you know chemists etc. they can play as many video games as they like now. Daughter industrial chemist, Son has just finished a BA in History and also has a diploma in crime management, my other son is a electrical engineer and daughter writes O levels in June. So you see that’s why this stereotyping you know of the Hausa Fulani woman, I become angry, sorry, Now tell me what does anyone, what could anyone show me that I don’t have? Economically independent, I raised kids in my youthful years when I could enjoy them. They are my friends now. I can stand anywhere and speak very good English for anybody to understand what I am saying. My vocabulary is quite large. Okay and you sit there because I don’t wear a mini skirt or because I feel that I am not allowed to go somewhere until I tell somebody that that is a weakness. Rights women’s rights that is being shouted all over. Are not...we have different values. Therefore your values are not superior to mine neither are mine superior to yours. So each and everyone of us should respect each others values. If I feel that after having a graduate degree over 20years that I want to cook for my husband, you don’t judge me. I still want to do things for my husband. It’s not your problem. I still want to cover myself in hijab. It’s not your problem. As much as you have a right to walk partially naked on the streets it should be my right to cover everything but my eyes. So these are things that you know the stereotyping has gone on for so long that nobody wants to even here that it does not exist.”*

Haj. AUY explicitly states that it is possible to have graduate degrees, to wear hijab, to cook for her husband and to engage in development work and to own a school and be a Muslim woman. These are not mutually exclusive or contradictory activities. Instead, she clearly articulates her own perspective regarding gender equality and cultural

issues. This is important because it is representative of the approach to gender and development that distinguishes the approaches of Hausa women from their western counterparts and from the more conservative interpretations of Islam retained domestically. Furthermore, Haj. AUY has worked with international organizations and inserts her definitions of gender mobilization into each context.

Haj. AUY argues that women are change agents, *“So in 2001 I thought having students from 8 to 3 o clock was not enough so I moved from my old site to another site and opened a girls boarding section. So that we could have the girls throughout the week. This I believe is very important because women are agents of change. They are the biggest agents of change. They can create change within a short period raising children in a manner that will translate into what values you want them to have. So that is one way. So the females needed the extra care. Because you see women can really make a change. They can really make an impact they can really make a change not just in their offspring but even in their partners. They can make changes. Even their partners, they will be able to make changes in them because the society is gradually losing its moral fabric. There is not enough attention being paid to the essence of life itself, only the material aspects of life are being over emphasized. So that is why I thought the girls would need...At the same time I had opportunities, I want others to have better opportunities than I had. So it makes me proud that when I see the Excel students of this school in the hospitals, in law offices and some of my students from the secondary school in St. Louis brining their kids here for me to train them. I am very happy. You see the bottom line, when you are talking about balancing family life and school life, and whatever, it all takes commitment. There is this saying which I love the most which is you know. Obstacles are what you see when you take your eyes off the goal. So that is*

something that I always think about. When you are determined to reach your, a certain point, you just find a way to cross the hurdles.”

Women are the agents of change in themselves, their partners and society. Raising the next generation of children allows the ability to have a multi-generation impact. Women are role models for their children and should set a good example. Haj. AUY's father believed so strongly in educating his daughters that he made her husband sign a marriage contract that he would not interfere with her education. Her husband not only supported her obtaining her bachelors degree, but her continuing her education further. Not only is she a professional success, but her children are also doing extremely well having earned graduate degrees. Her youngest of four is still finishing secondary school. She created a scholarship for girls in her father's name in order to thank him for investing in her future. At 41 years of age she believes that respect is reciprocal and the more success you have the more respect you are given. During the interview, she stated plainly that she was a counter example of the negative stereotype of Hausa women who she thought were often depicted as lacking formal education and submissive to men. In addition to her credentials she is also involved in MSO and touted the fact that they are located in the enviable position of being gatekeepers to both the international donors and influential men.

Haj. Jamila, also a member of MSO, talks about the role of Muslim women's organizations in the development of society, *“MSO was formed by women that were members of MSS Muslim Students Society, in the secondary school level and when they get to university they still have opportunity to meet, because MSS activities continue to university, because they mark some days together to do some...although not as strong as when they were in the secondary school. When they come out as married women, there is*

no more activities, everybody is to themselves. There was no women organization as such so MSO decided to form from MSS. Those who still took MSS to university got themselves together as married women to come together and continue to war against the moral decadence and other things to promote Islamic lifestyle. In fact why I say MSO formed FOMWAN, at a meeting at an international conference MSO had in 1985 in Kano, the communiqué that came out was that MSO was supposed to be a member of the National Council of Women Societies, but it didn't fit in because of values. The values were different. NCWS also advocates for women in politics without actually giving them the moral code to follow. Cause we know how politics are, (how they are) mainly for men (mainly how they work out are for men), they go and have meetings up to 3 am as a married woman they don't give you the technical skills to cope with that kind of thing(s). Okay moving from place to place campaigning with other men you know, and none of your relatives is there with you to protect you against their abuses, so MSO felt that they cannot and if they bring their values it's not all the women in the NCWS would accept it. That they don't care they just want to do politics to do politics they will be able to fight for themselves that is all. So that is it. And then see how they kill people, if you belong to a group that is not powerful the next thing is that that man is shot. So that is how MSO decided that they want to have another national group that will be umbrella for other Islamic organizations for women. And that was how FOMAWN, it was after that communiqué from that meeting that the government invited MSO to form their own. So that was how MSO formed FOMWAN. Automatically MSO became a member, that is how I said she delivered her daughter and the daughter became the mother. Well FOMWAN appreciates it and MSO has a special seat in FOMWAN."

Haj. Hadiza highlighted some of the gender specific challenges she has faced as the executive director of GHON.

“Actually it’s challenging but I think I with time I have started to (make some) yes, and my encounters with men well it all depends on how I present myself at the beginning. Cause impressions last longer. I know I try, I carry myself well, I try to carry myself well. And I think with that I was able to achieve to a certain point. What I know I know and I tell them I do know this and that is it. And I don’t hide what I don’t know. I will say yes I don’t know this and I need you to tell me. How to go about it. So far so good. I think we have come a long way.”

Haj. Hadiza surmises that, first it is important to illustrate that you do not have all of the answers and instead focus on being honest with male counterparts about what you do and do not know. Second, particularly when traveling to the rural areas, Haj. Hadiza allows Haladu, a GHON program officer, to introduce her as the executive director and then she lets him do all of the talking. In her experience this puts the men in the community more at ease and more receptive to programming.

She also talks about striking a balance with her domestic life and work, *“Sometimes I, sometimes I just feel like shouting because oh I get so stressed out trying to, sometimes when I need to pick the children from school and I have a meeting there I rush out of workshops. I do. It’s a little bit better sense my husband is not all the time in Kano, but when he’s around it’s even double the, because he wants to eat my food and nobody else’s. So I keep up. I’m running out of meetings rushing back to the house and cook.”*

The importance of women’s education in increasing the status of women was also emphasized, *“Women should be educated. You need to be educated you see especially*

here in the north part. These women they need, when you talk of places like Kano, Jigawa, Katsina, these women need to be encouraged to seek education. For them to be able to at least you know read and write. (basic literary and numeracy) Yeah. Yeah. As you have said misinterpreted (Islam has been misinterpreted). Because I from what I know of my religion Islam tells me, it doesn't deprive any woman from attaining education. It encourages and I know if we if our men here could do what our religion says they should do to women women would have been so better off than anyone. So you can see the misinterpretation has gone so far. And you can see it has you know kind of they mixed it with tradition and sometimes it is so difficult to break the two apart. And it is unfortunate that the tradition in some areas has over shined the religion. And you see we have people misinterpreting it. That is where the misinterpretation comes from. Because the point is they feel that no woman should go to school. And it's not in there. Our religion says seek for knowledge even if you go to China to seek for knowledge go and seek the knowledge. And you should never stop seeking for knowledge. And God did not say that it is only men that should do that."

Haj. Hadiza sees her programs with GHON as a way to combat these issues of gender inequality, *"Because most of the projects now that we are doing we make sure that there is male involvement. And the men are comprised of religious people because we are aware that our people get to listen more to the religious people, the Imams. They, once an Imam says this is right then they will. So its working with those institutions, working with the traditional institutions, you understand. And trying to encourage them to you know, some of the traditional leaders are quite good, they keep up to, with their people. Yes some aren't (progressive), but that's why we work with them. We meet with them to get male involvement because if the men are able to realize that*

their wives are backwardness and everything they will you know try to push the women to acquire education. To acquire to you know be able to handle things like for instance now most of the beggars you will see on the roads are usually women and children. Why, why is it? Because you see when they are married and they have not been given an opportunity to learn anything they are not educated.”

During the programs I observed, it was clear that in the rural communities the role of the female staff members of GHON altered slightly during the advocacy missions. They stepped back in order to let men lead the advocacy sessions. I was asked previously to respect these differences and assured that they did not translate further than the specific times during which the organizations was engaging in advocacy visits. This modification was limited specifically to certain advocacy visits and did not apply to actually conducting training. Advocacy visits occur to the village head, LGA officials, and heads of health facilities in order to sensitize them about the potential training program and to determine if they are interested in participating. On the occasions when we traveled to more rural communities, aside from introducing ourselves, which consisted of just giving our names, we were asked very few questions. In fact, on one visit the other two female staff members and I were asked to sit down on a carpet that was physically located either to the side of the place where the men were sitting or in another location that made it difficult to participate in the conversation. There was a sharp contrast however when the programs themselves were being conducted because during those trainings female staff members conducted the sessions and were able to receive more interaction with the women than did their male counterparts.

There were also clear gendered linguistic differences. In many cases using Hausa as the method of instruction increased female participation while English alienated the

women participants. There was also an occasion when Haladu suggested that Sadia, a member of GHON, make her presentation using English rather than Hausa because people would respect her more if she spoke in English. She responded, “let them think less of me.” When I asked her about her comment, she indicated that it was more important that the women feel comfortable and encouraged to participate than that the male participants be impressed with her. She also reminded Haladu during a training at Takai local government to use Hausa because the two women participants were missing a good deal of the program.

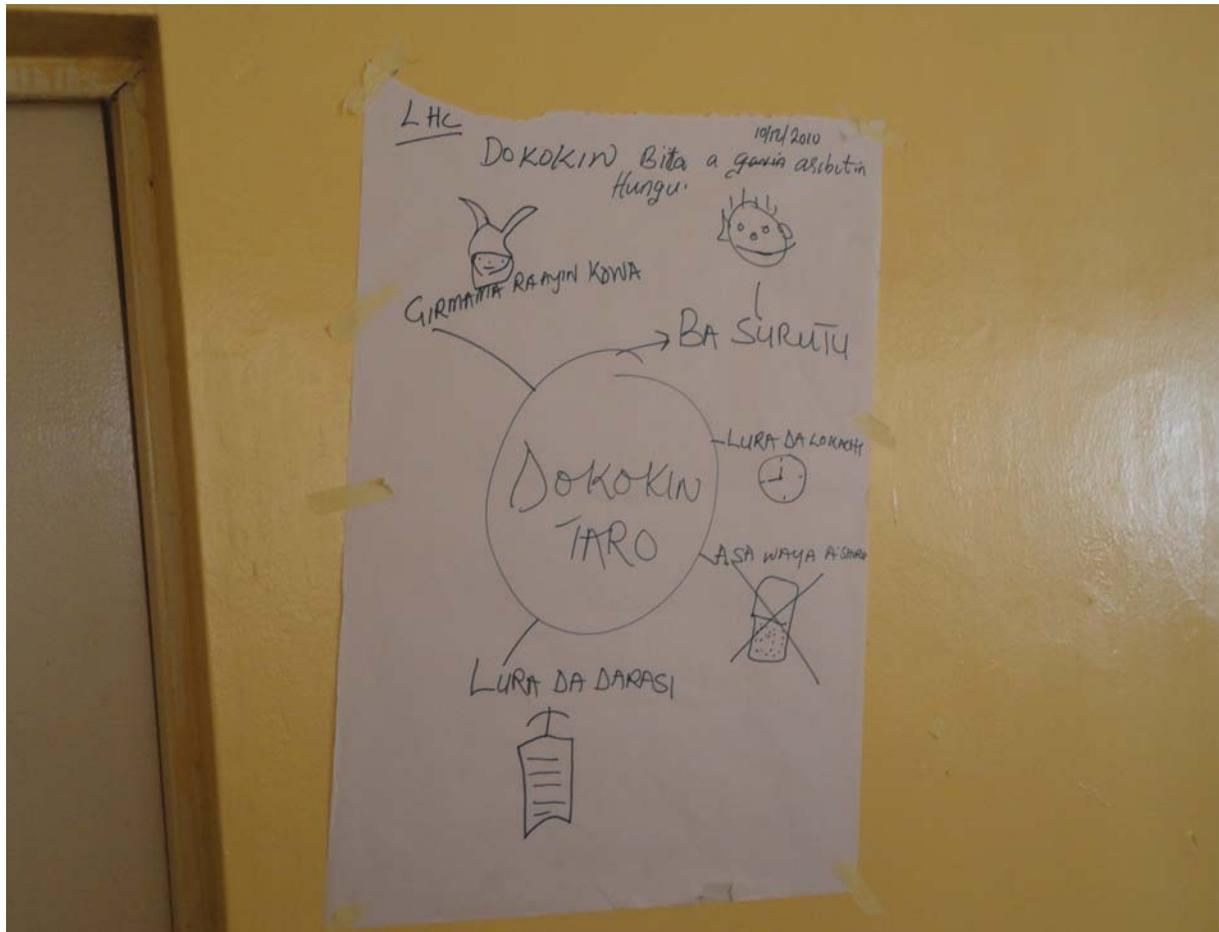
During the training exercises Haladu did highlight how well the female participants were doing on the group work. He even had the entire group use the plans produced by the women’s group as a template and example of how the work of the development committee should look. Haladu discouraged the LGA representative from asking leading questions and instead Haladu and other GHON staff sought to address problems that could be presented to the Ministry of Health. During another set of training exercises in the Taruani sector highlighted the connections between policy and practical concerns. The women highlighted that most affected them. The lack of gynecologists was a principle concern. Haladu in response explained the three tier health system in Nigeria, stating that the Tarauni health facility was not at level three and therefore a gynecologist could not be assigned. This raised issues of the fairness of the policy. Haladu let people express their opinions and then pointed out that the policy changes realistically may not come any time soon. Therefore they should concentrate on addressing change from where they were, not where they hoped to be. His comments did change the course of the conversation. It highlights the limitations of this type of work. Part of his response can also be read as a need to stay apolitical in order to assure they

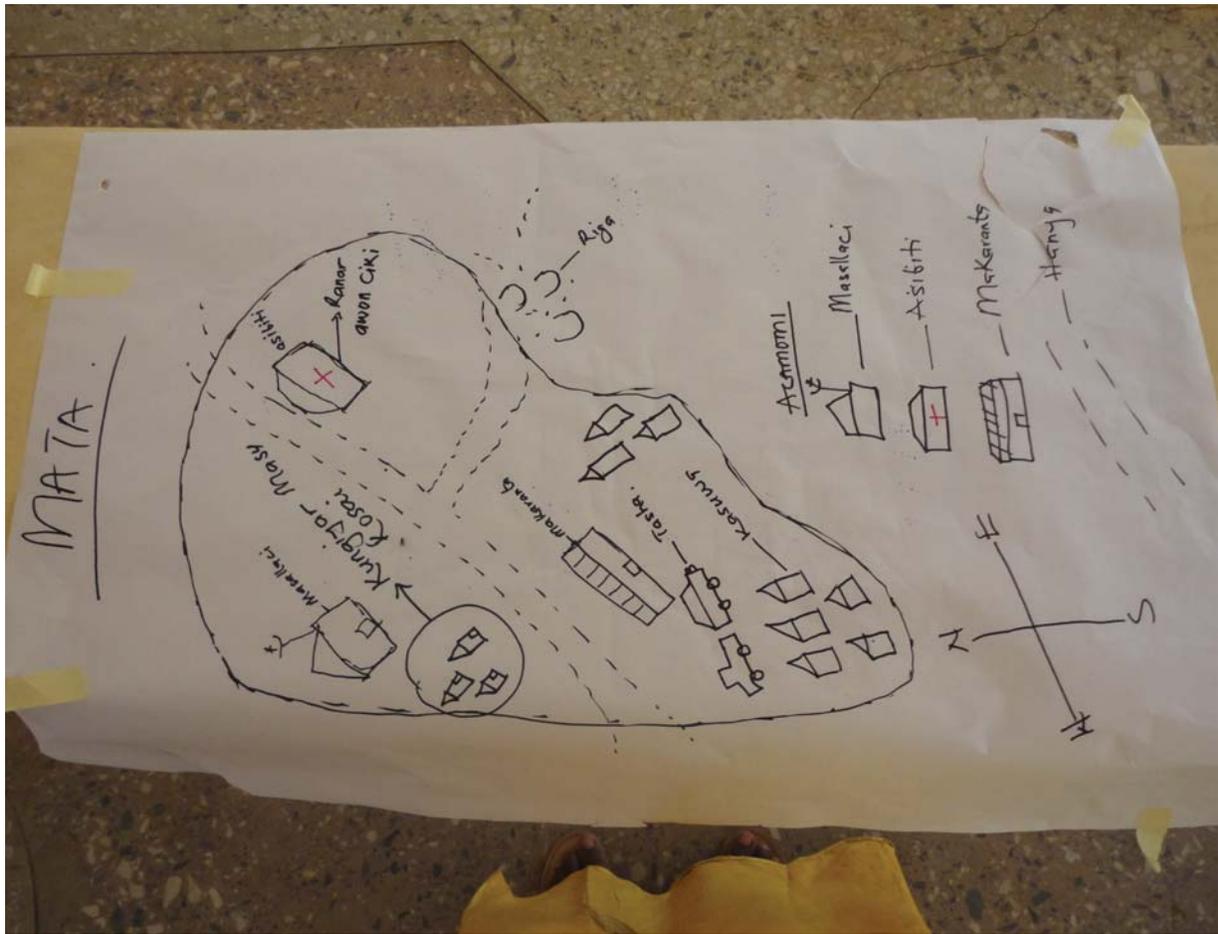
could continue to conduct programs. Primary elections took place shortly after this training. At the beginning of each session GHON staff emphasized that they are not political and that their mission is only focused on health. Once politics enters the discourse it tends to stymie the discussion. (Haladu, Interview with Adryan Wallace, December 15, 2010)

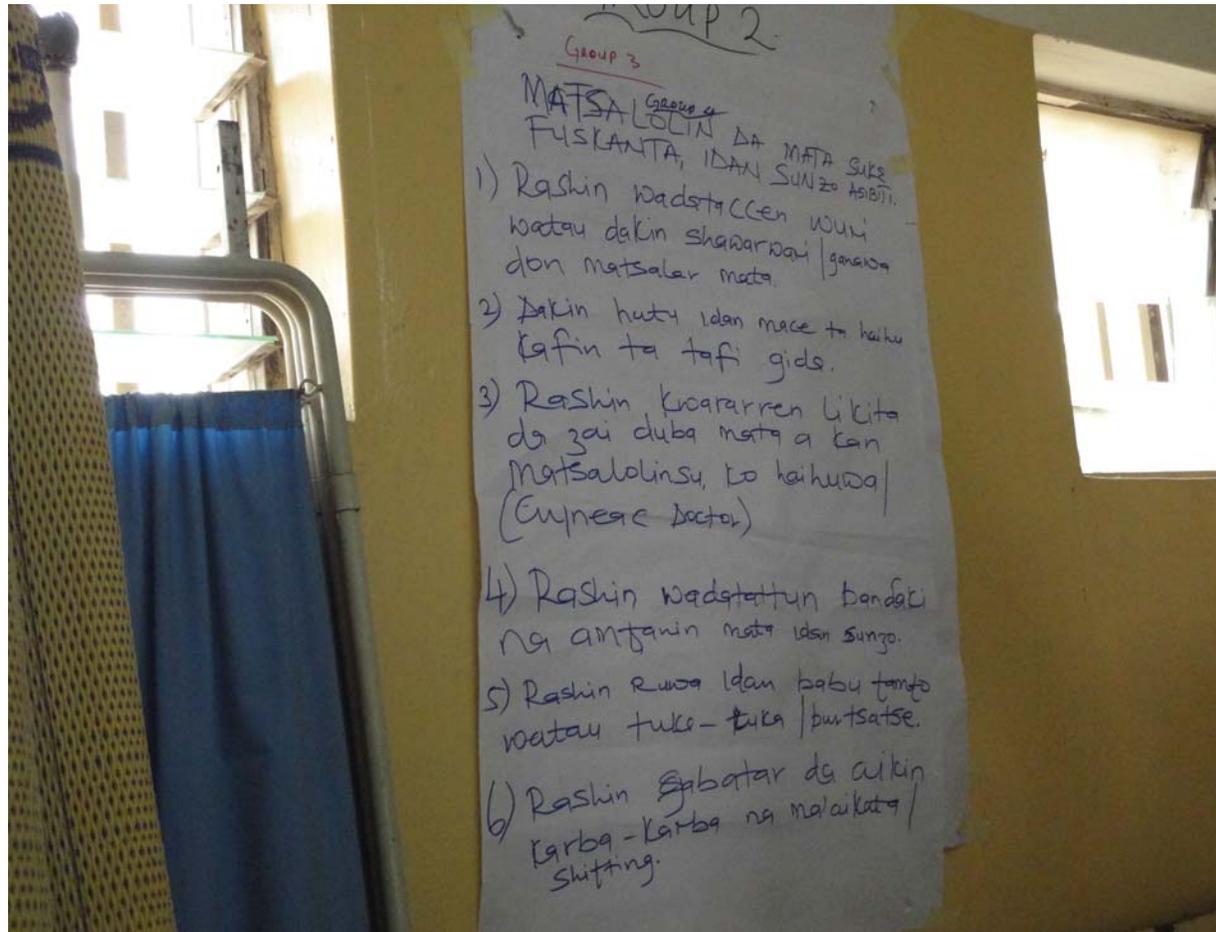
During each of the programs I observed there were usually less women than men with the one exception being in Taurani where it was almost even. On several occasions during sessions at Tarauni, clients came to use the health facility in the same location of the program and Sadia stopped the program so that people could access the facility and not feel like they were intruding. During a meeting in the Albasu local government area when the GHON staff was advocating for women to represent themselves on the Village development committee, Sadia asked the women if they were free to participate in programs. After speaking with her Sadia indicated that the women needed to be free to do the work and/or have husbands who are not strict, or they could be widows so they could be effective members of the group. This was important because it demonstrates that Sadia's goal was substantive representation for the women within the village development committee. I believe that the two women were widows. Addressing issues of illiteracy, Sadia suggested that they use picture graphics with their presentations not just words. There were also occasions that she would work with the women's groups during the small group exercises and write for them if required. She also thought that women worked better on their mandate, to increase access to the health facility within the community, if they were in groups that were separate from the men. It appeared to be the case and having them present in front of the men ensured that the men listened to their perspectives. Some of the women struggled with giving presentations initially. However

by midday they seemed more comfortable and looked at the men and the women during the presentation. Below are examples of the maps and problem solving strategies that women's groups devised to increase their access to health facilities in their local government areas. There are three types of depictions. First they draw a map of the community and the health resources available, second they produce a score card on which they evaluate the obstacles that reduce their access, and finally they outline solutions proposed to address these issues. Their perspectives and suggestions are then presented to the entire development committee after they have attended the training and brainstormed together. Women's groups in these exercises developed detailed descriptions of problems and propose practical solutions. Additionally, they highlight important issues for women's health, such as prenatal care and delivery services which men were not likely to depict. Other key issues, like privacy, and increasing access to gynecologists and ensuring that hospital employees are not condescending were discussed.

Figures 12-15 Pictorial Maps and Training Exercises GHON







At the conclusion of each training session to access health facilities participants would ask GHON to provide them with ID cards to indicate they had the authority to work on behalf of the community. The women raised this issue first in all but one training exercise. The response by GHON staff was that they were already empowered. I think that GHON was relying on the fact that they had met with the stakeholders (local area government officials, traditional and religious leaders, and hospital administrators) and there were lists and records of the names of individuals that participated in the training programs. While this is factually accurate, I would argue that the individual participants know what will be most effective to connote legitimacy and authority in their respective communities and therefore a card does seem like an effective way to convey that. I do understand however that there are costs associated with producing cards and

they may be prohibitive. Sadia also re-explained that the goal of the program was to outline obstacles preventing people from accessing the health facilities and to share them with the Ministry of Health. She indicated that during the training exercises GHON staff were acting as an intermediary between the community, the local government officials and the Ministry of Health and that after the participants completed the training the village development committee was to take on that role. The fact that the village development committee did not require an NGO or anyone else to bring the community concerns to the local government and ministry of Health was emphasized. Furthermore, she indicated that as members of the committee they were tasked with doing God's work and staying in touch with community members in order to be able to articulate and address their issues. The biggest concerns of women included expired medication, lack of privacy for consultation, lack of obgyns (the women in Albasu preferred home birth with TBAs to going to the health facility), lack of respect given to them by hospital staff, and other issues with the infrastructure of the facility, and limited access to government officials to resolve their problems.

Tamale, Ghana

The youth and elder CBOs in the Hausa zongo refrain from lobbying or petitioning to the state directly to address their needs because, while they are citizens, the lack of allocation of resources to their community from the state, indicates they are treated in some ways as "strangers". There is an assembly man for the zongo, Yahiya Yaya Mohammed, who makes it a point to understand the needs of the women.

(Interview April 27, 2011) The greatest challenge facing women here is capital for trading which is essential to the survival of the family given that the weight of responsibility for the children is on their shoulders. The youth and women understand the importance and value of education which is the primary use of funds. Ideally he thinks that the women need training and additional resources to organize their stores and aesthetic marketing strategies to draw more customers into the community. The trading activities for most women revolve around shops or stands owned by them, while the remainder sell goods within their homes. Very few of the women sell outside of the zongo community. Sanitation is a significant problem in the community, and when the service to pick up refuse stopped, Yahiya Yaya Mohammed was able to resolve the issues with the metro district assembly. As an assemblyman, he does not have a budget and therefore he is unable to address the needs of the women's CBOs. Hon. Mohammed did emphasize the role that international donor organizations could play in supplementing the lack of support from government sources. Unfortunately the CBOs have not been successful securing funding from any large donors. They are not directly connected to the Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Ghana (FOMWAG), and function largely out of site in the zongo. As "strangers" Hausa women in Tamale do not share the same historical memory of Hausa women in Kano, and do not maintain direct institutional connections to larger national or global communities.

Analysis of Political Activities of Women's Organizations & the Role of Civil Society

In Kano the variation in engagement of women's NGOs and CBOs toward political institutions or the institutions of the state illustrates the amount of influence women in different social locations can have on policy agendas. Many of the social differences among Hausa women are evident through the framing and strategies developed to advance their respective struggles for equality as partners in approaching the state. The funding disparity and ability to acquire multiple sources of funds without alienating groups in any sphere depict Hausa women's organizations levels of organizational autonomy and sophistication. Being able to evaluate these instances in the context of Islam provides additional insights into the role emergence of civil society in Islamic states. This layering of organizational ability is also in concert with Islamic understandings of the integration of civil and religious authority and ideas about the proper roles for women in both. Below are a selection of Civil Society Watch newspaper articles by Haj. Yusuf.

Appendix 17

Appendix 18

Appendix 19

Haj. Bilkisu Yusuf, writes about NGOs in the opinion piece, Civil Society Watch. In these articles she talks about the impact of the Beijing International Women's Conference in 1995 on FOMWAN and other Hausa Muslim women's groups. Haj. Yusuf also highlights the work of women's organizations in education, politics and peace efforts throughout northern parts of the country and their work to end violence against women. The articles outline the programs that women's groups are engaged in, with specific attention given to contextualizing these programs in the history of social and political

movements in northern Nigeria. In focusing on mobilization around violence against women, she discusses the attempts to draft a violence against women's bill in the national assembly and connects this and other efforts to the Beijing conference in which she was a participant. Haj. Yusuf's articles offer a contrast to Haj. Aisha Yusuf's article on Islam and globalization in the Daily Trust, discussed in Chapter 4, in which she views feminism and women's movements in general with suspicion. She views such movements as a danger to erode Islam. She is particularly critical of Muslim women's participation in international conferences on gender inequality for example Haj. Yusuf.

Dominant themes in the literature on civil society focus on the relationships among, organizations and the state, or organizations to each other (Mohammed 2010). A critical component is often overlooked or assumed is the relationship between these organizations and the masses of citizens that are supposed to be represented through these groups. Hausa women's NGOs and CBOs synthesize practical concerns with different elements of policy measures in their programming. Hausa women's organizations are involved in endeavors that address their basic needs which in turn requires that policy frameworks be altered. Because policies typically collapse characteristics of target populations so much so that they are over simplified, the initiatives by the state often do not intersect directly with the diverse experiences and perspectives of Hausa women.

In addition, leaders of Hausa women's NGOs and CBOs challenge that the assumption that a relationship with the state in terms of conducting programs is synonymous with being co-opted by the state. GHON is able to provide feedback to state sponsored programs as well as run cultural programs that are culturally centered while addressing other intersecting factors that impact women's access to health care, clean

water and sanitation resources. While it is possible that the organization can filter or alter the feedback of citizens, this was not obvious in direct observation of this particular organization. Women's feedback on programs had a direct impact on the work of the organization. Presentations were tailored, resources allocated, and different participant groups of women were involved as seemed appropriate to local contexts.

The example of Haj. Atine's divorced women's protest illustrates a critical feature of Hausa women's strategies and ability to maneuver in spaces created by civil society. By calling off the protest she generated both social capital and high levels of visibility in regard to the impact of high divorce rates on women. This social capital could be utilized at a later date to assist with future programming for her clients. By calling off the protest after meeting with Hisbah, who indicated that "hoodlums" may use the protest to engage in "illegal activities", she was able to focus on training women in income generating activities and securing loans for them to continue their small businesses. She was also able to keep pressure on the government regarding their promise to convene a panel to investigate the high divorce rate. The media accounts of her work and her decision to call of the protest praised her. Even opinion pieces in the Daily Trust, a major newspaper in Kano, issued a challenge to the government to address the issues Haj. Atine raised. In a subsequent interview with the People's Daily Weekend, she indicated that her organization is now receiving modest forms of support from the Special Services Unit in Kano. In lieu of the protest divorcees secured the Murtala Mohammed Library as a meeting hall to outline the economic and social challenges they are facing and to suggest possible remedies.

The experiences of Haj. Atine illustrate how not being in the political system allows some freedom from the institutional constraints imposed by the Nigerian political system. This is particularly true in terms of allocating public programming resources to organizations not run by closely associated with state organizations. Making the strategic decision to remain autonomous from the secular government structures has the added benefit for women of being perceived by society as retaining and upholding good Islamic values. While this is changing, there are still attitudes and discourses that accuse women in politics of having “low moral virtue.” Haj. Atine also raised the visibility of the issues divorcees face. By electing not to conduct the protest she demonstrated that she has the power to organize and disband large groups of people which will cause embarrassment to the government. The threat of protest therefore had more value than actually conducting the protest itself. The complex relationship with the state can also be problematic particularly when the spouses of politicians also play a prominent role in establishing or encouraging NGOs. An example of the potential danger of cooptation when wives of political officials are involved is highlighted when the wife of Gov. Shekarau (Goshi, The Fortuna 2010) gave an interview suggesting that women organize themselves into development groups. In this instance the particular approach to development by the state is more consistent with neoliberal approaches which could serve to enter women’s group and work into global capitalist economic structures. These global economic framings interact with normative gendered labor models and are reflected in the areas of development Kano state perceives women as most active. The specific ways in which Hausa women’s NGOs and CBOs challenge their roles as benefactors instead of progenitors of development was explored in Chapter 5. Furthermore I would argue that the activities of Hausa women’s NGOs and CBOs can be de-politicized when women

with direct connections to the political institutions also become explicitly involved in civil society.

Kano state was the first and the only state government in Nigeria to create an office for the Special Advisor on NGOs. This office is tasked with maintaining a database of civil society groups active in Kano in order to ensure the government has an inventory of their programming areas. The impetus behind this office can in some ways be linked to efforts of the first Lady of Kano. In an ideal scenario this office would serve as a resource to other organizations to have a central registry of organizations. It also however has the potential to usurp some of the programs and language advanced by NGOs in the interests of their clients. In these instances it becomes difficult to discern the motives behind the creation of the office. The office is largely ineffective and essentially just keeps registration forms with basic information about each organization. The cost of registration at the state level can be prohibitive and at the national level the cost is so high that multiple groups often form a coalition to split the fees. The primary benefits of registration at the federal level are that the majority of international donors require it and that it is easier for foreigners to locate and validate the organization. Additionally the office functions to advise the government of NGO activities not the inverse. The special advisor does not often directly contact NGOs on file to alert them to potential programming opportunities, at least not according to the interviews I conducted.

The formal structure of Muslim Sisters Organization (MSO) in terms of the division of labor of its members can mask power relations internal to the group. This is particularly true if the agenda begins to emphasize the interests of some groups over others. At present they seem to have reached a balance between the interests of the various sub groups. In addition to their programs that are often conducted with external

funds, there is other programming that appears to have steady constant support from sources internal to the group. For example they have a craft officer, committee and school, and a welfare officer that is tasked with issues of health and Islamic education, and there are schools and clinics that are available. It is possible to blend reformist (practical) and progressive movements and their programs. The result is that both sets of interests are given priority. They reach agreement by consensus.

The practical concerns of women in general such as income, nutrition and health issues alter domestic power dynamics. Finding ways to effectively deal with these issues while supporting their families gives them additional visibility and legitimacy. Therefore, their function within the family expands their interests to concerns of institutions of the state. My work builds on the impacts of Htun's (1997) argument that domestic gendered power dynamics within the family also extend into the political landscape and also influence political policy development. We cannot assume that women's practical needs are always at odds with policy or with the progressive changes that are often required to attain the basic goals. In some ways insisting that the state recognizes women's rights and priorities as citizens using a broader conceptualization of women requires fundamental and radical shifts in the models and frames of the state and that is a political project on its own merit. It is also critical that we focus on the goals and aims of Hausa women which in terms of the role of women in politics might be incongruent with western concepts of women and the state. However, the agency of Hausa women to utilize frames consistent with their own internal perspectives should be respected. The work of the Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria (FOMWAN) on monitoring elections and proposing legislation like the maternal health bill demonstrate the diverse roles Hausa women can play as political actors. In an article

in the Daily Trust, January 18, 2011, the Minister of Youth Development is quoted as saying that voting is a national duty. I would argue that the efforts of FOMWAN in this vein are assisting in this responsibility.

Female legislative politicians largely refrain from working directly with NGOs or CBOs, and instead chose to work with other female politicians. The danger is that the female politicians have little access to the perspectives of women in the CBOs. These organizations provide effective forums and entres into civil society for women. However there is a requirement for a space for female politicians in Kano state ministries or those seeking legislative office to speak with civil society (Haj. Jamilia, Interview with Adryan Wallace, November 16, 2010). There are very small numbers of female political officials in Kano. There seems to be some consensus that once elected many women in political office no longer see themselves as representing a broader constituency of women in a way that impacts programming or policy initiatives. The focus shifts to maintaining office and re-election. I would argue further that some female politicians feel pressure to exhibit some behavioral norms as they relate to utilization of public funds, for the general public, not just women in an effort to be perceived as part of the community of politicians. While there is some debate about this there are moments when members of secular civil society organizations such as NCWS begin to mobilize around the election of more female politicians. In the article below the NCWS president taps into the narrative that women are less corrupt than their male counterparts to suggest that women politicians would be better and more effective than their male counterparts. While there are certainly important issues that she raises regarding the lack of progress in some areas and the inadequate responses to gender issues, it is dangerous and inaccurate to assume that just having a female politician in office means that she will behave in ways that are

in always support of women's interests. This raises the question which women, and which interests.

Appendix 20

The push to establish the 100 women's group by the First Lady of Nigeria, Patience Jonathan, depicts the pitfalls of coalition building another strategy to consolidate women's organizations into a single group to represent "women's interests". In effect to a degree under this rubric they would have a different type of connection to state interests. While her call for women to unite and speak with one voice may sound beneficial on the surface, it fails to address the power hierarchies among women. For example, who will be members of this group, how will women who participate in the building of this coalition assure that alternative voices are heard in the 100 women's group and in their own organizations? This raises concerns around which sets of concerns are priorities and how the differential impacts of pursuing certain goals will be assessed and remedied for different women. Furthermore, the women that have already signed on as leaders are women that are already very visible in the NGO community, and therefore have a certain level of privilege. I think if the goal is truly inclusion and representation it would be helpful to have women that are less visible retain leadership positions in the 100 Women's group. The specific organizational and leadership structures still need to be determined to include rules that govern membership and if they will utilize proportional representation.

Additionally, the 100 Women's group, in an effort to increase the amount of female politicians, has offered financial assistance to any woman who receives the primary nomination for her political party at any level of government. This is particularly problematic for women like Sarah Jibril, who was contesting for the

presidential nomination of the PDP party, against Goodluck Jonathan, who was president at the time this group was established. Jibril indicated that she did not receive any money from this the 100 women's group fund to help support her election effort. The fact that the first Lady of Nigeria led the creation of the 100Women's Group is problematic because her own political interests were in conflict with the goals of the group to support women in politics and to increase the ability of women to participate in them. While financial support is a significant part of winning your party's nomination, is it not the only important factor. The news coverage of Sara Jibril, who is a Nupe woman from Kwara state, illustrates this. In the first newspaper article very little attention is given to her candidacy based on the electability chart that was created. Secondly, although she is from a northern state she was not considered as a potential consensus candidate for the north or as a seen as a strong rival to Jonathan (who is from southern Nigeria) within the PDP, the ruling party, presidential primary election. Jibril has a long history of working in NGOs. Haj. Jamila referenced this when I asked her what she thought about Jibril's candidacy. Haj. Jamila stated that , *“Sarah Jibril. I like her because of her consistency. Since that time we were doing democracy and governance with the youth, there is no gathering that USAID will organize or anybody that was interested in true democracy that she is not there. She has been so consistent, so I respect her for that I really do respect her. Uh I can't say how much of dedication she is to maybe good governance because I don't see, she has not held any position. So we cannot be able to judge her. But I think her intentions are genuine and uh if she is given the opportunity to go or given any position I am sure that she would do it to the best of her ability. I am sure, I think so. I can rate her over 50% genuine. I don't know I can't say more than that because I know she has been consistent. Now there is no proof to how her performance will be. Yes she*

has been there to inspire people by her words....by her consistency but that's not enough, we want to see if somebody will try her give her a position let us see how she delivers. That way we will know. That will help to know to determine the type of person she is. And then again you can't rule out the fact that some women are in politics, because the men that come out of politics become big guys. Why not them? And then the little women that come out of politics become big girls. They have big houses, big cars, you know all their children are abroad, so it could just be for that. And usually we have not seen much development from women."

Appendix 21

Appendix 22

Appendix 23

Haj. AUY, from MSO explains what it means to be a gatekeeper. *"You see like in terms of non-governmental organizations, being part of MSO from secondary school and then after graduation we formed a little group of MSO to carry on to carry on the same work. And this organization gives us an opportunity to give young girls the hope that they can be like us or better than us. So we visit secondary schools, we give lectures, we give career guidance, you know. We have health activities in villages for trainings of BAs along side economic activities, micro-credit, skills acquisition to make so as to make the women more financially women you know more capable of and also the older generation to know that you could enroll your daughter in school and she could be like me, not, don't be afraid that she will turn into something else. That's why most of the work we do in this area is around receptive. We don't have the hindrance of acceptance. The gatekeepers are mostly ours. So any problem we bring in they will accept because they know we can bring something that is going to be instrumental to the society."*

She posited that the secret to their success and creditability in both arenas is because they do not waver on MSO goals and make sure that everything they do is done within the context of Islam. Because they have been consistent over several years the MSO, enjoy a level of trust with the religious leaders and others who support their programs. I think her comments perfectly highlight the importance of displaying (in spaces outside of the home) that you are adhering to Islamic teachings as understood in this context. In this environment MSO hinge largely on steering away from attaining executive office, maintaining a modest aesthetic, and making explicit statements that focus on your programmatic goals of education, development, economic, empowerment, civic education, Islamic education. The goals are to enhance the quality of life for women and the family and not an attempt to take over the “role” ascribed to men as the head of the household or the state. The connection between household and state gendered leadership are highlighted in the MSO Democracy Training Manual.

Instead of clarifying women's relationship to the state, dominant theoretical frames of representation and political inclusion do not analyze the ways in which women are able to mobilize outside of political institutions (Tripp 2003, 2004). In addition having a relationship to the state in some capacities also has different consequences given the collapse in the pronounced delineation between public and private spaces in Hausa Islam. In the context of most pre-colonial African political systems there has always been a complex interrelationship between people and the state, unlike the conventional understanding of most political scientists who argue that the role of civil society is to mediate the relationship between state and society with an emphasis of altering the dynamics that occur in public. The Islamic context creates an entirely different construct. My theoretical framework synthesizes Intersectionality, Hausa feminisms and syncre-

nationalism which capture the ways in which Hausa women are negotiating memberships in Islamic and political communities and their economic and political impacts (Adamu 2007, Imam 1997, Glass 2006, Jordan-Zachary, Springer 2002, Crenshaw 1991, Alexander-Floyd 2008).

Haj. AUY, a member of MSO, stresses her approaches to gender and development through civil society groups, *“But um, I have been a consultant for USAID on curriculum development on women and ethics? Because of my NGO activities but uh you see you can’t come with a set idea and think you want to just reinforce that idea. No. Come in do a need assessment let the results show what if its; supposed to be an intervention, let the community determine the intervention. Don’t budget something in Washington and then say you are coming here to implement it. What do they need the most? If it is health care then traditional birth attendants, they need training, do it, not create another thing which may not have priority.”*

After using a consultative process MSO engages in a variety of activities, *“So we visit secondary schools, we give lectures, we give career guidance, you know. We have health activities in villages for trainings of BAs along side economic activities, micro-credit, skills acquisition to make so as to make the women more financially women you know more capable of and also the older generation to know that you could enroll your daughter in school and she could be like me, not, don’t be afraid that she will turn into something else. That’s why most of the work we do in this area is around receptive. We don’t have the hindrance of acceptance. The gatekeepers are mostly ours. So any problem we bring in they will accept because they know we can bring something that is going to be instrumental to the society.”*

Her father made her husband sign a martial contract which stipulated that her husband would not interfere with her education. Because of the important influence of her father, in 1997 she also “*created an NGO called Mama foundation? Which is named after my father and we give scholarships to orphans and the less privileged. That’s the other office I have. And I’ve worked with Ambassador Girls scholarship program the foundation worked with the Ambassador Girls scholarship program from the United States, provides 50 scholarships for female students in Kano for 3 years. The foundation supervised and mentored those girls. We do a lot of mentoring. I created this foundation in honor of my father because he would have made a choice that determined what my life, my life would have been different. Because to enroll us even education was free, .. he didn’t have to pay but he did. And then he could have married us off but he didn’t’. He could have taken us to primary school and decided that was it but he didn’t. So I decided to dedicate that foundation in his name to girls to give them. So I sourced these beneficiaries from orphanages, from communities around us here, and from villages where we have Islamic programs and I see the less privileged. Sometimes I pick them. Even now we have two from the Jos crisis.*” Self-identification, “*So those are some of the major activities that honestly I do. And my life is full. Honestly, I see myself as a representative of Hausa-Fulani women who are not apologetic in any way about their identity. Who are blessed with having an opportunity to interact positively with people from any part of the world as well as um you know as a mother I tried to raise the next generation that will carry on from where we have left. It’s fulfilling for me because I have never had any domestic violence against me, I’ve never had any problems of economic in terms of what I own. I own my own property and I will do with it what I will do with it without any interference just like my rights have been covered by the Quran.*”

So and I am allowed to engage in economic activities which do not compromise my position as a wife and a mother and a Muslim woman. I provide job opportunities for over 100 people which I feel I am contributing something to the economy of the country. To the people around me and also no matter how small it is, it is pushing the wheel of progress forward. So I believe if there is a check list of what makes one happy I am sure that I could tick off quite a number of things. You know, I don't need to go out and compromise my dignity and self-respect or run for political office before I make my mark. I believe even now I have made my mark in the sands of time. So you, whenever one introduces an idea to you or want to promote something to you they should also try to look at what positive things you have. So that something is could be reached. I'm not saying that our lives as Hausa-Fulani women are perfect."

I think that her definition of the differences between men and women underscores the perceptions of many participants which does not prevent them from engaging in development work. *"Yeah you see its quite basic, there is a difference between the emotional and the other factors that are between men and women. We are basically different. No matter what anybody says about it, we are physically different, emotionally different and psychologically, what will move a woman to tears will have a man pass by. You know. So definitely because of the different roles that the Creator has created us to serve we are definitely different so... You find that women have a way with the children so in that respect you find that women are less aggressive. No matter which way you cut it women are less aggressive. They'll always look for a way out that does not involve aggression you know anger they would rather break down and cry. And before then it simmers and you will be able to look at it objectively. That is in our natures in our making. At the same time there is some recklessness, women are reckless. Generally*

women are less reckless in terms of fiancés, they will try to keep the books straight. So that now is where you find the creeping differences between the two genders when they are in control of certain. (entities) It's just a way to show you that no matter what you say and what you do, you are basically different. You may be human beings but each has his own or her own gifts. Yes sometimes aggression maybe the only way out in some situations, then the men can come into play and it works. But in other cases it is this emotional appeal that works better." Thus, she sees active roles for women in civic space, in accordance with cultural and religious norms. She is suggesting women will bring about change through maintain a distinct perspective and role from men in addition to increasingly public spaces. Change will be incremental as more women participate.

Conclusion

In large part the role of Hausa women in politics is the result of a larger historical tradition impacted by the type of nationalism in Nigeria that formed as a result of their approach to federalism and democratization. The Hausa in northern Ghana are one of several minority Muslim groups. Therefore their model of self-reliance is the result of several attempts to insulate themselves from broader political rivalries and conflicts. The ways in which Hausa women elect to engage in political activity and mobilization should be contextualized within other historical interactions of women and the state. While the basic Islamic value system remains intact, the different national contexts have produced varied modes and patterns of civic involvement and action.

Prior to colonialism civil society organizations have had a relationship to the state in both Muslim and non-Muslim communities. In Islamic contexts this connection has

been even more pronounced which is largely attributable to the reduced distinction between state and society spaces. Furthermore, under colonialism particularly in Kano, where the Islamic emirate system served as a buffer between the masses and the colonial administration, continued post-independence. Given that the state often relies on one-dimensional models of citizens and their needs when creating policy to address gender, it is important to create a mechanism for women to have a dialogue with the state in order to alter the normative standard identity of a Hausa woman. Acting in relation to institutions of the state allows women's organizations to exert pressure on the state to address the myriad of issues their as citizens and their organizations are grappling with currently. Hausa women's NGOs have more access to the state and public space than CBOs but that also varies. While they may have some interaction with the state the fact that they also obtain funding from international organizations, national organizations, government ministries, and utilize their own social networks and resources allows them to function in each sphere with a level of autonomy. Hausa women's organizations that rely on their own capital and donations, or social networks for some of the programming are more autonomous than their counterparts in other non-Muslim countries.

When the public and the private spheres are collapsed into a single space as they are in Hausa society, the role of civil society is more nuanced and therefore the need to be more sensitive to Islamic norms is imperative because the interactions with the state also have implications for private and domestic spaces. The inverse is also true because perceptions of leadership in the domestic sphere are mapped onto and connected to the political sphere. Therefore the emphasis on the economic security of women is also important because it can shift the balance of power in decision making in the home and

consequently state structures. Economic security moves beyond just fiscal stability and also has implications for the amount of control that women will have in the household. I am not arguing that microcredit schemes are the only effective means of solving power dynamics nor am I ignoring the work of Ruspini (2001) which concluded that husbands often have more power in determining how the income of the wife is spent than is commonly acknowledged in Hausa society. It is instrumental to our understanding of cultural change that the contribution women are making financially to their families is seen and analyzed, along with an understanding of Islamic teachings about men's roles as head of the household. Furthermore women are interested in investing in their children because it is an important role that they have articulated for themselves and it is within their understanding and interpretation of Islamic teachings. Membership in organizations like FOMWAN and MSO also provides a place for women that might be engaged in child rearing to also make a difference in the community during what are considered critical development ages of their children they cannot dedicate full time efforts toward community development.

Moreover given the lack of pronounced delineation between public and private spaces makes activities that in certain contexts in the West might be placed in the domain of public interest very costly in other environments because they have implications for the power dynamic in the domestic sphere. The underlying theme in each of these examples is that articulating expressions of more normative "Islamic" principles, which are coded as men being the head of the family, frames the work of women's NGO and CBOs alongside engaging in work that is political is an approach often utilized. This framing renders, "un-Islamic" actions by women as individuals or in organizations that

direct violent attack on state authority in a way that affects the domestic authority of men. Engaging the state to mobilize around issues of gender, for example maternal health legislation is acceptable, since this is an area not necessarily perceived as directly threatening to the normative gender roles for men. Encouraging women to vote, monitoring elections, even running for state and local legislatures can be acceptable within certain societal parameters. Attempting to pass legislation relating to the marriage however is perceived as dangerous because it could be read as indicating that the Islam has failed to sufficiently address this issue. Therefore being perceived as a woman that is adhering to Muslim principles, provides social capital required to conduct programs to benefit women with Islamic understandings of behavior that is sanctioned and prohibited and also increases the ability of women to enhance their own personal, friendship networks. It is important to remember that historically in Kano the family was the primary unit of organization and that historical imprint is still present in important ways.

Explicitly stating that you are adhering to Islamic principles is a way to signal that you are not attempting to view your male counterparts as adversarial or an overt threat to “male authority” and therefore even if your organization works on gender equality you are able to operate with little interference. The challenges that are leveled in the domestic sphere also have implications for generating changes in public relationships between the state and citizens.

Through participant observation and semi-structured interviews this study uncovered the interactions among, political and cultural institutions, interpretations of Islam, resource distribution, changing historical circumstances and ambiguity in the microprocesses through which Hausa women experience and respond to policy. Hausa women’s development work through their organizations illustrates the ways in which

mobilizing within cultural frames can effect change. Additionally, by directly connecting mobilization efforts to Islamic contexts Hausa women are also able to solidify their positions as progenitors of cultural and religious exchanges and take leadership roles in this dynamic cyclical relationship. The results are expansions in the construction of Hausa women as a social identity category to include the myriad of perspectives and interests. Though there are some sets of women's interests, particularly those that occupy social spaces associated with less affluence, that have the potential to be marginalized, the majority of the organizations that participated in my study have structures which provide mechanisms for women from different backgrounds to take a leadership role. There are also institutional structures enshrined within the decision making process which rely on consensus rather than a clear majority which can also help augment gendered hierarchies and power dynamics among women. The theoretical benefits outlined above translate into direct practical outcomes on the ground. For example changes that address women's health concerns can help decrease infant mortality, provide more control over reproductive choices, which in turn has implications for their contributions to labor sectors in addition to economic activities and civic engagement. Through community based organizations involved in trade are altering their levels of financial contributions to their homes which in turn diffuse economic responsibility among marital partners. The majority of the spouses of participants were happy with this shift and it related to increases in stability of domestic environments. Therefore as women's economic and reproductive contributions expand, their productive roles in society change which are marked by their increased involvement in civil society organizations which in turn create space and mechanisms to mobilize outside of political institutions and effect change.

CONCLUSION

Overview

My dissertation project attempts to expand upon theoretical understandings of the interaction between structure and agency in the development of the state, construction of national identity, and the incorporation of marginalized groups into the state. The focus on Hausa women in northern Nigeria and Ghana allows a cross section of other social categories to be analyzed to assess their impact on more broadly political and economic relationships between elite and the masses of citizens. This is important to explore because it potentially can provide insights into the meanings of social categories and shifts in their significance. By combining feminist, interpretivist, and comparative methods the meaning and re-interpretation of social categories was examined as they are institutionalized and then contested as a part of national political and development agendas. The implications for both political science and economics are significant because this study can provide insights into key points of tension around variations in not only the acquisition but the distribution of resources. This becomes critical as the study of marginalized groups and their normative relationships with the state are increasingly determinative of political stability and inclusion.

Using Intersectionality and feminist theory, political culture and political economy as theoretical frames, this study provides insights into the different types of relationships that different women can have to the state and to each other. Furthermore, it analyzes the ways in which Hausa women in Kano, Nigeria, are contesting and accepting different conceptions of womanhood and gender equality through their civil society

organizations to create the political space required to advance their own economic, social and political interests. Additionally, the concept of syncre-nationalism outlined by Kathy Glass is essential to understanding the political and economic experiences of Hausa Muslim women (Glass 2006). Hausa women utilize Islamic frames to analyze the ways in which the intersections of other social categories, gender, socio-economic status, formal education level, Islamic education, lineage, age, occur within national and ideological communities. This component is particularly critical because it illustrates the utility of syncre-nationalism to women of African descent outside of the US. The ways that Hausa women interpret their roles within an Islamic context also influence the political and economic mobilization efforts within national contexts.

While social categories such as woman are very diverse and often contentious I argue that in some ways the state and other political institutions define this category as more homogenous than it actually is, and that Hausa women are pushing to expand what it means to be a Hausa woman through the work of their respective organizations. The relationships among Hausa women pre and post-independence are also evaluated to include temporal shifts and tensions over the meaning assigned to the category Hausa woman by Hausa women themselves. The multiple layers of meaning making are explored by utilizing a mixed-methods approach to include ethnography, participant observations, semi-structured interviews, statistical data on labor, policy papers and oral history to answer three questions 1) how do the contemporary economic activities of women relate to historical narratives about the role of Hausa women in production?, 2) how do women in different economic and social positions interact with the state?, 3) how do social relationships among Hausa women of different social status affect their different types of work?

Connections between Historical and Contemporary Production Roles of Hausa Women

In order to contextualize contemporary activities, this project explored the historical deployment of gender constructs in Hausa nationalism and their contemporary impact on the relative visibility of Hausa women before and immediately after the creation of the Nigerian and Ghanaian states. Hausa nationalism refers to a sense of Islamic identity interconnected with cultural scripts. The ways in which three critical political and economic restructurings were analyzed in terms of their impacted meaning on social categories for Hausa women. In Nigeria, the approach to federalism and the creation of a functioning nation state was attained through the production of separate regional identities related to ethnolinguistic groups. Political stability was attained through reinforcing differences and regional peculiarities and maintaining cultural and religious norms. In Kano in northern Nigeria, this meant disciplining women's behavior and activities in public spaces. The four interventions explored were: 1) pre-Islamic founding of Hausa states (pre-1100), 2) the consolidation of the Hausa states under the second the Fulani Sokoto Caliphate (1806-1900) (Islam), 2) British colonial rule (1885-1960) and 3) the post-independence development of Nigerian federalism.

Although sharing a similar pre-colonial and colonial past, northern Ghana was never a part of the Hausa state system. Islam was adopted here later than in northern Nigeria, and although the dominant religion, it has not been practiced in its more fundamentalist forms. Sharia law has never been adopted, and Muslim women have never been secluded. The Ghanaian State has been a unitary one, and federalism has

never been attempted. Hausa people here are immigrants to the area, and have not been integrated into the Ghanaian state. Most Hausa in Tamale live in a designated "strangers" quarter or zongo. There are few community based organizations (CBOs), and fewer non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are active within the Hausa zongo. This is consistent with the fact that the dominant themes of Hausa women's productive activities in Tamale historically centered almost exclusively on trading.

The production roles of women historically emphasized trading activities and domestic responsibilities. Women used their agency to redefine and expand the scope of work associated with these labels. The activities of their organizations illustrate the role of women as progenitors rather than as benefactors of economic development and provide mechanisms to place key issues on the political and legislative agenda. In Kano, NGOs were best positioned to engage contemporary political institutions via proposing legislation related to maternal health, monitoring elections and civic education. They also represented the agendas of some CBOs if they were directly linked. In Ghana the CBOs sought social support from the pre-colonial political institutions. In Kano there were institutional connections between NGOs and CBOs and in Tamale they did not exist. This is important because women engaged in NGO often have more formal education and financial independence than their CBO counterparts. The importance of motherhood cut across social positions making completion of child rearing the best predictor of economic activity outside the home rather than formal education alone. My dissertation provides a frame to conceptualize internal variations among women from other feminist perspectives and their impacts on competing concepts of gender equality. Furthermore these shifts have been historicized in an effort to identify continuity and change over time.

One of the key findings is that while the number categories for women which include women in higher, middle, and lower social strata, remained the same, the relative mobility of each group and their relationship changed. In contemporary settings women that occupy space in the higher and middle social echelons have more mobility in terms of being able to engage in NGO activities while women in the lower category may engage in CBOs that emphasize trading activities earlier as a result of the lack of economic security. Therefore the relative economic stability or vulnerability of women help shape the social acceptability of their labor choices. During Islamic and colonial periods more affluent women were closely connected to the state and their primary task was to reproduce the state biologically and politically through marriage leaving very little space to engage political institutions to garner changes. Women that were located in the lower social positions had greater mobility than their counterparts during these two eras. In a contemporary context however the shifts in connecting their Islamic identities with national identities result in women with more privilege having increased their mobility while the movement of their counterparts who are more vulnerable have more restricted interactions with the state. Furthermore, the relationships of NGOs to CBOs highlights that women with more resources play a critical role in ensuring that the interests and perspectives of grassroots women are addressed by political institutions. Intersectionality and Hausa feminisms together provide a lens to understand and explore these dynamics among women and mark the ways in which production requirements of the state have historically impacted the construction and fluidity of social categories. Intersectionality allows theorizing from the perspectives of individual actors and the groups they form to analyze the construction of social categories and how they are often resisted or specific elements may be accepted. Evaluating the activities of Hausa women's organizations

illustrates that there is a third possibility which includes redefining particular elements of identity categories toward their own ends. In the case of Hausa women there are a variety of perspectives of what constitutes being a Muslim woman.

Hausa Women's Agency and the Production Requirements of the State

The CBOs and NGOs were the most effective entry points to this study because it was possible to observe the interaction of all three levels of power dynamics and macro and micro process through these local groups. The participant observation of NGO and CBO programs and the interviews of Hausa women illustrated the perspectives of women at all societal levels regarding their self-determined identities and those outlined by the state. Therefore the data obtained about the structure of identity formation provided by the institutions and the agency provided by the women was read against each other to identify tensions and painted a more complete picture of the creation of national identity from the perspectives of all actors, the state, civil society and the citizens (at all levels) (Leech 2002).

I observed the programs that are conducted by the Grassroots Health Organization of Nigeria (GHON) and meetings with their NGO and CBO networks for three weeks. GHON officials, volunteers, and clients were also interviewed to outline their interactions with each other. Observing GHON, given the breadth of its development work and the different women that meet through the organization revealed levels of privilege among Hausa women. I also observed other women's organizations to include the Voice of Widows Orphans and Vulnerable Children (VOWAN), Women and Development

Network (WODEN), Muslim Sisters Organization (MSO), Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria (FOMWAN), and several CBOs from trading cooperatives (elder and youth), health cooperatives and development associations.

The activities of their organizations illustrate the role of women as progenitors rather than as benefactors of economic development and provide mechanisms to place key issues on the political and legislative agenda. The importance of motherhood cut across social positions making completion of child rearing the best predictor of economic activity outside the home.

In Kano there are more direct relationships among NGO and CBOs in contrast to Tamale, where these direct relationships are non-existent. In terms of political space, organizations in Kano are focused more on highlighting concerns that face women and championing legislation that can augment them. These activities are undertaken primarily by groups that identify as Islamic or focus on vulnerable populations. Organizations created around development issues are focused on women being able to access their rights to development through addressing access, distribution, and quality of services and resources. Creating CBOs as self-sufficient units is also a priority.

Economic Activities

The production roles of women historically emphasized trading activities and domestic responsibilities. Women used their agency to redefine and expand the scope of work associated with these labels. The contemporary activities of Hausa women's organizations illustrate the role of women as progenitors rather than as benefactors of

economic development and provide mechanisms to place key issues on the political and legislative agenda.

The importance of motherhood cut across social positions making completion of child rearing the best predictor of economic activity outside the home rather than formal education alone. The economic activity of Hausa women is largely influenced by their reproductive choices because women often choose to enter into the labor market through development work in their mid-fifties to their seventies. These are key periods of economic activity for Hausa women because their childrearing duties, which they embrace as part of their responsibilities, are primary. It is important to note that women that are members of CBOs tend to be less affluent and therefore are also working in trading activities. The largest percentage of women engaged in NGO work are women in their fifties and late forties while women engaged in CBO work are most heavily concentrate in their sixties. This suggests that the type of work and the position of women in NGO work are often higher and therefore their schedule can be more flexible allowing them to being work earlier than their CBO counterparts. In Tamale women are engaged in CBO activity only. The largest concentration of women's activity for the youth CBO is the twenties and for the elders group women in their sixties and seventies are among the largest concentration of members. This can be explained largely by the fact that women in the youth would have recently completed senior secondary school and given that there have been some delays in the marital age, these young women are unmarried and have not started families of their own. The membership distribution of the elders CBO is differs from CBOs in Kano because women in their seventies also have a large presence in Tamale and women in the CBOs in Kano tend to be a younger.

In order to address some of the gaps in the statistics on women's labor which may not capture the work of Hausa women in Northern Nigeria, I utilized ethnographic and qualitative methods that can contextualize the ways different Muslim women understand their social and economic production roles. In Kano the state is focused on social production of the family while at the federal level the emphasis is on economic production.

The mixed method approach generated data which created a more complete picture of the decision making frames Hausa women are using to determine their economic activities through their civil society groups. Hausa women's agency in defining their own roles as Muslim women and own approaches to development were also illustrated. Finally their empirical economic contributions were outlined in this study.

The normative assumptions of the static family labor model and time allocation theory are that people conceptualize domestic and external labor markets in competition with each other rather than thinking of them layered in a time sequence. The age cohorts of women engaged in NGO and CBO work demonstrates that Hausa women often withdraw from work outside the home until their children have at least entered Junior Secondary School and then resuming activities at a later stage. Therefore instead of attempting to strike a balance between home and work during these key developmental ages of their children, most women elect to engage in raising their children first and working outside the home second.

Much of the data, including the work of Aromolaran, identifies key productive ages as being between thirty and fifty four. However, many of the women ages thirty to

forty are not always able to maintain a presence in the wage market because their children might not have reached an age women feel is appropriate to decrease their time in the home. My data clearly indicates that women in their sixties and seventies and between eighteen and thirty are the most active in their respective organizations. This directly challenges Aromolaran's conclusion that the most economically active ages for Nigerian women are between thirty and fifty four. My work indicates that women in Kano are not "unemployed" rather they are choosing to work after key reproductive years. Therefore it would be better to correlate the age of children, mothers, and their labor market activities largely because there are fewer constraints on their mobility (Schildkrout 1982). This is a key issue irrespective of the income level and amount of formal education of the participants.

Third, new labor categories need to be developed in order to reflect NGO and CBO work among women. The long term economic benefits of women's activities need to be assessed as they are in a position to begin to change the relationships of women to the state through empowering and working with women across social locations. Hausa women's diverse interests would also be represented through the policy initiatives they could advocate independently and at times collectively. Additionally they could continue monitoring government delivery of services. There are benefits beyond just immediate programming because developing the capacity of CBOs can also increase their economic position, collectively and individually among group members. This is important because the members of CBOs will retain the skills to mobilize around issues adversely impacting them and engage local government to address them.

The comprehensive nature of the activities undertaken, the raising of revenue and sustaining operational costs on their own, occasionally partnering with international

organizations and being able to insert themselves within and between political social and economic sectors of society are standard features of each of these groups. Using different strategies to locate themselves at the center of decision making and increasing their economic and influence on political structures, directly and indirectly, are strategies employed by Hausa women and the organizations they join. Hausa women are moving beyond state ascribed roles for women and are instead are pushing the structures themselves to enact change through policy and to increase inclusion across the board.

Political Activities

Hausa women's approaches to political engagement are largely limited to Kano because the CBOs in Tamale do not lobby contemporary government institutions directly and they do not have a formal relationship with the Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Ghana (FOMWAG). Furthermore very few women in the Hausa zongo in Tamale are even members of FOMWAG. In Kano, Voices of Widows, Divorcees, and Orphans Association of Nigeria (VOWAN) demonstrates that it can be less restrictive to work outside of formal political machinery to assist vulnerable populations. Additionally demonstrating that you have the power to mobilize women such as Haj. Atine to protest and then acceding to the requests of the Hisha, religious board, and male counterparts and canceling the protest illustrates that there are times when threats of public displays of resistance are effective even if they are not executed. The work of Muslim Sisters Organization and the Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria (FOMWAN) and the Voices of Widows, Divorcees, and Orphans Association of Nigeria

(VOWAN) demonstrate that reformist and progressive aims can coincide with the practical needs of the masses of women and are just as valuable as are the policy goals of women that occupy more elite spaces. In Kano, NGOs were best positioned to engage contemporary political institutions via proposing legislation related to maternal health, monitoring elections and civic education.

In Ghana the CBOs sought social support from the pre-colonial political institutions. In Tamale, CBOs refrain from direct engagement with contemporary political institutions and the largest NGO for Muslim women informs women about relevant legislation rather than trying to shape or impact it. In Ghana, relationships often span post to pre-colonial leadership in the zongo rather than with national structures in Accra whereas in Kano the connection between contemporary political structures and organizations at both the state and national level is more pronounced.

Given that women do not have a 'critical mass' in either Kano or Tamale, it is important to understand the ways in which Hausa women are providing substantive representation outside of political institutions. The recent emergence of women in the development sector in the last two decades has provided a mechanism for Hausa women to engage political institutions. Women have been politicizing development by translating issues of labor, health, education and access to resources into political processes. Domestic relationships such as marriage and other issues that disproportionately impact women are addressed through legislative advocacies or through increasing women's visibility by asserting their rights through Islam for the state to protect their economic and physical security and interests. I posit that substantive representation can occur outside of legislature and ministries similar to the ways that

politics and political actions are conceptualized beyond normative constructions of elections and voting behavior.

My work shows variation in Muslim women's approaches and interpretations and understandings of women and politics and their translation into substantive representation outcomes filling a large omission in the literature. Perspectives on the roles of women and politics vary from leadership in the home and to participating in legislative and ministerial branches and to contesting for executive office. Irrespective of the variation in opinions about which political offices women may occupy, there is consensus that it is essential that women politicians do not engage in corruption and other activities that compromise their integrity. In order to avoid some of these institutional and societal constraints women are also engaging in work through NGOs to substantively represent and vie for women's interests. I analyzed the ways Hausa women's CSOs are attempting to influence legislative priorities, the amount of fiscal resources distributed to benefit women, and the interactions female representatives, organizations and grassroots women.

In Kano, FOMWAN sponsored a bill in the state assembly to address maternal health for women which included economic, social, and access issues for women at all levels of society. Their connection to CBO groups helped to integrate concerns from grassroots women which are often related to successful policy implementation. VOWAN was able to focus attention on the disproportionate impact of divorce on women and is pushing for legislation that will be prohibitive for men who are often the parties that initiate it. Additionally the successful elevation and shaping of these issues in public discourse also places pressure on the government to take some measures to remedy these concerns. VOWAN was granted space to host meetings to discuss their agenda and the government agreed to form a commission to focus on divorce. In Tamale the Elder and

Youth CBO leaders meet monthly with the Hausa zongo community representative to the Tamale Metro assembly. FOMWAG in Tamale engaged with legislation largely via representing the interests of Muslim women during the conference on the Marriage Registration in Ghana sponsored by the Ghana Law Commission. Additionally they hold workshops for Muslim women on legislation and policies that will impact them.

In terms of impacting resource allocation GHON provided a critical example of the ways in which providing feedback to the government about the ability of women to access health care facilities in addition to clean water and sanitation. GHON made concerted efforts to include the voices of rural women and women in CBO work in an effort to ensure that government allocations address their issues. Furthermore, the CBOs are given trainings that equip them to function as advocacy units for other issues that are beyond the scope of GHON programming. FOMWAN and MSO also have relationships to CBOs and members that are active in grassroots groups. In Tamale the Elder and Youth CBOs have established close ties with the Chief of the zongo community and their community representative. While they are not able to access fiscal capital, from the Chief they have attained large amounts of social capital from his support to them.

Finally the tensions that occur between female political actors and civil society groups has been explored. In Kano there are few interactions among groups largely because the perception among NGOs is that women politicians are preoccupied with re-election efforts rather than collaborating with women's groups and representing their interests. Additionally NGOs are connected to CBOs and therefore the interests of women with less privilege while the majority of female politicians do not have these direct connections. The institutional constraints of being operating within political institutions also impact the type of legislation and representation they can give. The

negative perceptions of female politicians may make some women in office want to distance themselves from these stereotypes and therefore agitate less for gender issues. Groups like the 100 Women and NCWS while intersecting female political aspirants with CSOs is also problematic because the organization was envisioned largely by the First Lady of Nigeria. Secondly, women the voices of women in NGOs are included while women in CBOs have very limited representation within the group. In Tamale there is no connection between CBOs in the Hausa zongo and Muslim women's NGOs.

Even though the state may attempt to balkanize women within the political system the substantive representation efforts of NGOs and CBOs address cross cutting development issues which provide advancements for women in multiple sectors.

Hausa's Women's Relationships to Each Other

In Kano there were institutional connections between NGOs and CBOs and in Tamale they did not exist. This is important because women engaged in NGO often have more formal education and financial independence than their CBO counterparts. In Kano NGOs also represented the agendas of some CBOs, if they were directly linked, to the government and in addition to tailoring programming funded by external donors to meet the realities of women on the ground.

Hausa women's organizations in Kano are pushing back against neoliberal approaches to development by diversifying their sources of funding. Using a tripartite funding scheme allows women's groups to conduct at least minimal programming, typically related to immediate needs, while connections to international donors and the state allow heads of these organizations to function as a buffer between domestic political

institutions and international and often more overtly capitalist approaches to development. The women heading these groups are also able to facilitate access to programs for the most marginal women and other populations in their domestic as opposed to their public spaces. There are times when they can choose to filter toward inclusion or exclusion the voices of other women. For example the Grassroots Health Organization of Nigeria was able to successfully have women participate in their health center trainings and GHON staff directly challenged the local leadership to have women present. The local leadership believed that they could represent the interests of women in their community and initially resisted the request of GHON staff to have women represent themselves. I am not arguing that this is the case with every organization rather that the relationships between NGOs and CBOs can be beneficial to women in CBOs under these conditions. If the organization is not committed to substantive representation, then the inverse effect can occur. In Tamale, the women in the CBOs expressed great disdain for NGOs because their representatives tended to come around to take pictures, make promises and failed to deliver any results.

These organizations demonstrate that the interaction between structure and agency in development work results in promoting both the common good and a more positive identification with the state. As organizations, whether community based or connected to national and international aid organizations, provide practical assistance to women across social categories, women begin to identify with wider circles of social interaction. As they succeed in placing issues that affect them on the national policy agenda, their identification with the state grows. Thus, CBOs and NGOs that promote the interests and meet the needs of women are also contributing to the state building process.

The complex interaction between religion, culture and national identity are highlighted by looking at Hausa Muslim women who live in two different national states. Hausa women in Nigeria came to identify more with the state as their issues moved to the national policy agenda. Hausa women in Tamale experienced no such transition and their identification with the Ghanaian state remained more restrained as their issues remained domestic and local.

ⁱ "A Theory of the Allocation of Time," *Economic Journal* LXXV (no. 299): 493-508, September 1965.

ⁱⁱ Heckman, James. "Shadow Prices, Market Wages, and Labour Supply", *Econometrica*, 42(4), 679-94. Heckman is an economics professor at the University of Chicago.

ⁱⁱⁱ Schultz, Paul. "International Differences in Labor Force Participation in Families and Firms", Economic Growth Center Discussion Paper 634, Yale University. Schultz is an economics professor (*Emeritus*) at Yale.

Appendix 2

LEADERSHIP™ FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 2010

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Islamic PERSPECTIVE

Does Modern Woman Want A Dower Or Maintenance?

By Shaheed Mutaahurt

WE have pointed out that, according to Islam, it is the function of the husband to provide for the family expenses, including the personal expenses of the wife, and that the wife has no liability in this respect. The wife may have enormous wealth and may possess many times more wealth than the husband does, but still she has no obligation to contribute towards the family expenses. The contribution of the wife towards family expenses in money or in the form of work is optional, and depends upon her own will and inclination.

Despite the fact that the expenses of the wife are a part of a family's expenses and are the responsibility of the husband, he in view of Islam is not entitled to take financial benefit from, or to have a share in the proceeds of the wife's labour and earnings. He cannot exploit her. The maintenance of the wife, in this respect, is like the maintenance of a father and mother which, in certain circumstances, it is the duty of a son to provide, but in lieu of the fulfillment of which the son is not entitled to any right in return for the services he has rendered.

An advantage to women in financial matters: Islam has given women an unprecedented advantage in financial and economic matters. On the one hand, it has given her full financial independence and freedom, and has prevented man from having any power on her property and work. It has taken away from man the right of guardianship over the affairs of woman, such as existed in historical times and was customary in Europe up to the beginning of the twentieth century. Over and above that, by freeing her from the responsibility of family expenses, Islam has exempted her from any liabilities or obligations to run after money.

When those who worship the west wish to criticize this law, in the name of protecting women, they find no alternative except to have recourse to the invention of a bold lie. They say that the reason behind maintenance is that man considers him the owner of woman and engages her in his service. Just as the owners of animals are obliged to bear their expenses so that they may ride the animals, or so that the animals will carry loads for them, the law of maintenance has demanded,

for the same purpose, the provision of the lowest, hand to mouth subsistence for woman.

If somebody were to take upon himself the task of attacking Islamic law with the criticism that this law has unduly favoured woman and is not fair to man and has treated him as a wageless attendant of woman, he could more plausibly bring forward arguments in favour of his plea and give it an ostensibly more realistic form than the person who attempts to criticize this law in the name, and for the protection, of women.

The reality is that Islam does not seek to devise a law in favour of women and against men, nor in favour of men and against women. Islam is neither a partisan of woman nor of man. In its laws, Islam

symbol of humility and need, and woman a symbol of needlessness. Islam recognizes man as a purchaser and woman as the owner of necessary goods. In the eyes of Islam, when the married couple lives together, it is the man who should consider himself the beneficiary and should bear the family expenses. The man and the woman should not forget that in the matter of love two different roles are assigned to them. The union will be stable, firm and harmonious only when the man and the woman behave within their natural roles.

Another reason why the maintenance is obligatory on the husband is that the pain, suffering and loss of energy involved in the birth of the next generation is left by an act of

were decreed that man and woman should be equally responsible for contributions to the family budget, and if the law did not come to her support, woman would be placed in a pitiable situation. These are the reasons that even among animals who live in pairs the male always stands in support of the female and helps to find food for her during her period of confinement when she gives birth to the offspring.

Besides that, man and woman are not created the same as far as their power to perform difficult, economically productive work is concerned. If there is a case of estrangement and the man takes a stand against the woman and says that he will not spend even the least amount of his earnings on her,

not old and worn out, will do, but for a woman what is the case? For a woman's dress is fit to be worn as long as it is to display some few charms. I often do we wish, that a dress or some jewellery should have more value for a woman than merely to be worn once! The energy and effort of a woman in earning wealth is less than that of a man, but a woman's sagacity to spend wealth is many times more than a man's.

Besides that, in order for a woman to remain a woman that is, to maintain her beauty, her elegance and ride, a much more comfortable, peaceful, and easy-going life is required, and fewer worries about necessities. If women were obliged like men to be always in search of and looking for resources and running after money, her pride would



*Muslim Women

has kept in view the prosperity of the woman and the man, and the children who are to be brought up under their care, and has, in the long run, kept the prosperity of all human society in view.

According to Islam the prosperity of men, women, their children and the whole of human society depends on the condition that the rules and laws of nature, which are conditioned and shaped by the strong and prudent hand of the Creator, should not be blindly acted upon, without any sight into their wisdom.

As we have repeatedly mentioned, Islam has always observed the rule that man is a

nature to be supported by the woman. Man's natural function in this connection is only an act of pleasure and nothing more. It is the woman who is accommodated by menstruation who undergoes the burden of the period of pregnancy and the indispositions peculiar to it; it is she who bears the hardships of childbirth and the resultant dangers; it is she who nurses and takes care of the child.

All the above mentioned things drain the physical and nervous strength of the woman, and sap the energy which she could have spent in work and earning money. In the face of these hard facts, it

the woman is never able to earn a sufficient amount to reach the standard of the earnings of the man.

Leaving aside all his above everything else is the fact that woman is in need of more money and wealth than man. Articles of luxury and ornaments are the primary needs of a woman. What a woman spends on make-up and self-adornment is equal to the expenses of many men. This inclination towards adornment creates by itself an inclination towards variety and fancy in woman. For a man, simple clothes, as long as they are fit to be worn and are

dwindle, and those wrinkles and knots would appear on her face which economic worries cast even on the face and forehead of man. It has been heard very often that those poor western women who are obliged to struggle for their livelihood in workshops, factories and offices, envy the life of eastern women. It is evident that a woman, who has no peace of mind and does not find time to attend to herself will also not be a source of delight and happiness for her husband.

culled from 'Rights of Women In Islam,' by Shaheed Murtadha Mutaahurt

Appendix 4

58 THE RELIGION WITH ALLAH IS ISLAM Q3.19 DAILY TRUST Friday, December 31, 2010

Trust Islamic Forum
*Being a paper presented at the 10th anniversary commemoration of the reintroduction of the Sharia in Nigeria.
 At the Shehu Musa Yar'adua Centre Abuja, on Friday 29th October 2010.*

Muslim women in a globalised world

Continued from last week
 By Aisha Umar Yusuf

ENLIGHTENMENT AND AWARENESS
 The most pervasive aspect of globalisation today is the cultural aspect. With the proliferation of media outlets and the way the media has truly reduced the world to a global village, the most potent challenge faced by the Muslima is the global cultural invasion. This is why the next tool she needs in this globalised world is enlightenment. She must be enlightened and aware of the happenings around her and on the global stage in order to resist pressure and intimidation by people who believe her Islamic cultural identity is old-fashioned or backward. We are all aware of the Hijab related controversies in Europe, these are all caused by people who feel threatened by the Muslim woman's independent-mindedness and refusal to move with global trends. An enlightened Muslima knows there is nothing wrong with her dress code, she knows it is divinely-ordained by Almighty Allah and

has to be ideal for her. But the globalist forces will keep waging a war against her principled stand and hoping that they could succeed one way or the other. It takes an enlightened Muslima to see through their actions.

Part of the awareness a Muslim woman needs is to know about all the conspiracies aimed at getting her to lose her Islamic identity, consciousness and way of life. Feminism and similar western ideas that claim to liberate women but actually deprive them of their womanhood are issues the Muslima should be very conversant with. Earlier on I mentioned how the Beijing conference came up with certain conventions that are directly in opposition to the provisions of Islam, these conventions mainly derive their inspiration from these feminist ideals that are mostly in direct conflict with family values in any decent cultural context. On the face of it these conventions may seem attractive, they are all about equality with men and getting our worth recognised in political and other public circles, but an enlightened Muslima can see that beyond that is a lifestyle that erodes family

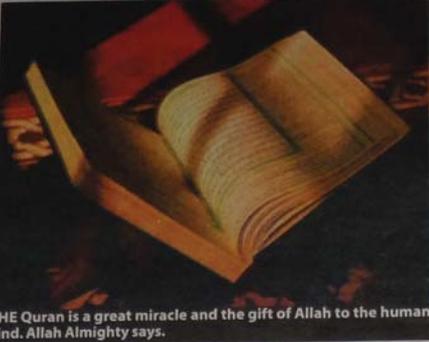
values and neglects the spiritual and moral needs of the next generation. The must know that she cannot sacrifice the future of the Umma at the altar of modernity.

Additionally the Muslima must be a discerning individual because the people who sometimes serve as agents of secularisation and the new world order in which religion plays a marginal

role are sometimes fellow Muslim women. Disguised as activists they come to you with the same feminist ideology that conflicts with your spiritual orientation. The only difference being that the message is coming from a fellow Muslima, may be even dressed exactly like you, with her flowing hijab or jilbab. Please be enlightened and discerning enough to

see through her disguised feminism. In a study commissioned by the Rand Corporation of United States titled Civil Democratic strategies a grand design for the ideological conquest of Islam was discussed. Muslims were divided into four categories namely hostile fundamentalists, conservative traditionalists, pragmatic modernists and finally secularist Muslims. Interestingly though the secularists were identified as the closest allies to US interests, it is the pragmatic modernists that the study says are needed to serve the grand design of neutralising Islam. This is because unlike the secularists they still practice Islam, dress like Muslims and are knowledgeable in the religion. They can easily win the confidence of fellow Muslims where the secularist are viewed with scorn as non-religious. These are the global agents a Muslima must be on her guard against. They are deceptive and dangerous. Some famous examples of such modernist Muslims are Professor Amina Wadud of the US and the feminist writer Fatima Mermissi of Morocco.

Continued next week



THE Quran is a great miracle and the gift of Allah to the human kind. Allah Almighty says.

Appendix 5

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Islamic PERSPECTIVE

LEADERSHIP® FRIDAY, November 12, 2010
 Edited By Al-Amin Ciroma
 e-mail: ciroman03@yahoo.com
 GSM: 08023674385

O ye who believe! Fasting is prescribed to you as it was prescribed to those before you, that ye may (learn) self-restrain. —Holy Qur'an (Surah ABakrah, 2: Ayaat-183)

Breastfeeding: A Natural Choice

By Al-Amin Ciroma

How do you want the future of your child? Do you want him to be one of the folks our beloved Nabi, Prophet Muhammad (may Allah be pleased with him and his purest progeny) be proud of in the hereafter? How can you achieve that? It is simple. Islam as a divine religion reprimands its followers to be seeking nearness to Allah (SWT) at all times. I would want to limit my scope this week to breast feeding, which the first school of a child.

A Hadith by the Prophet (SAW) advised nursing mothers to be in the state of cleanliness anytime they are to breast feed their children and should start by saying 'BISMILLAH'. This Hadith clearly shows how important breast feeding is in child's life. By so doing, your child will grow up as pious and virtuous as thought by the Prophet (SAW).

Therefore, mothers should take this as safety measure and adhere to Islamic teachings towards child's upbringing in Islamic way.

One of the most important responsibilities a Muslim woman has towards her children is to nourish their minds, bodies and souls with her milk for a period of two years. Her reward for this is so great that if she dies during this period she dies with the status of a martyr. In an age when we see many women choosing to feed their babies powdered milk formula in plastic bottles as a sign of "modernity," we should make an effort to

educate ourselves about the unique benefits of breastfeeding so that we do not deprive ourselves and our children of this extraordinary opportunity to gain the pleasure of Allah, Most Glorious.

First of all, every woman's milk is uniquely suited to meet the needs of her own baby. For example, the milk will be richer in the event of a premature birth, helping the baby to make up for his small size. The composition of the milk also changes from feeding to feeding and as the baby grows in order to meet the baby's nutritional needs at each stage of his development. In addition, breast milk contains at least 100 ingredients and nutrients not found in formula, and these are essential in providing immunities to disease, protection against allergies and prevention against ear infections, digestive disorders and various other ailments common among bottle-fed children. Cow's milk, on the other hand, contains high concentrations of proteins and hormones which are necessary for baby cows to grow normally but which are too rough for a human baby's delicate system.

If this is not enough motivation, breastfeeding is also good for mothers. In the days immediately following birth, the baby's suckling helps the mother's uterus to contract to its normal size. Many women do not get pregnant while breastfeeding (although a small percentage do), so this serves as a natural method of birth control and way of spacing apart children. Breastfeeding women typically regain their pre-pregnancy figures more quickly than other women and are much less prone to breast cancer later in life. Breastfeeding saves money (you never need to buy special equipment), and so long as the baby is feeding regularly and enthusiastically and growing at the rate appropriate for his age, you never need to worry about how much you are feeding him because he will determine the right amount of milk to drink on his own.

Some women express their breast milk and store it in the refrigerator so that other caretakers can be assigned to

feed their babies with the aid of bottles. While these babies get some of the nutritional goodness of their mothers' milk, they miss out on all the emotional and psychological comforts of breastfeeding which are just as important as the physical benefits. The act of breastfeeding creates a special bond between mother and child as it requires the mother to embrace her child several times each day. The babies, in turn, find comfort in their mothers' arms and learn to trust that they have a safe place to go for love and sustenance. In the period of two years, something special has undoubtedly taken place between mother and child.

It is rare these days to find women who breastfeed their children for two whole years as recommended in Islam. Attitudes have changed, and many women have been convinced that powdered formula (a manufactured drink!) is better than their own milk! May all women reflect upon Allah's greatness and have confidence in their ability to produce milk in order to nourish their children in the best possible

manner. Do not ever forget that formula is a 20TH century invention and that babies since the beginning of time have thrived without it. What's more, the main motivation of the formula industry is to make money while the supposed "convenience" of bottle-feeding has pushed women into the workplace and away from their responsibilities as mothers.

There are some frequently asked questions like this one, can a woman breastfeed her child in front of her 'Mahrams' (those prevented for marriage)?

Is it permissible or not for a woman to uncover her breast in front of her 'Mahrams' in order to breastfeed her child? One good sentence will suffice this question. A woman's 'awrah' (body and adornment) before her 'Mahrams' such as her father, brother, and brother's son is not 'haram' (prohibited). Allah says (interpretation of the meaning): "and not to reveal their adornment except to their husbands, or their fathers, or their husband's fathers, or their sons, or their

husband's sons, or their brothers or their brother's sons, or their sister's sons, or their (Muslim) women (i.e. their sisters in Islam)" [al-Noor 24:31]

So Allah has permitted a woman to show her adornment before her husband and her 'Mahrams.' What is meant by adornments is the places where adornments are worn, so the site of the ring is the hand, the site of the bracelet is the forearm, the site of the necklace is the neck and chest, and the site of the anklet is the calf. But in case the 'Mahram' may find himself in the state of 'fitnah' (detrimental trouble), then it is 'Wajib' to cover her breast and feed her child under the cover. On the other side, however, it is completely 'Haram' for a woman to breast feed her child in presence of those not prevented to marry her.

Based on this, the woman must cover her breasts properly when she wants to breastfeed her son in public places. This is part of modesty and keenness to remain covered. ■



•Breastfeeding mother



•Breastfeeding mother

Appendix 6

24 *wm* lifeXtra

Saturday, December 11, 2010

A mother like no other



Aisha Idris Bugaje

HUNDREDS and thousands of poems have been written on mothers and how extraordinary they are, but none of them has done complete justice in capturing the essence of a mother. A mother is quite a sensitive and emotional topic to discuss, and she is virtually impossible to describe. Not even the word love can adequately describe the special world, the universe that is the mother. At its finest, mothers love embodies all the virtues that we hold sacred, patience, kindness, forgiveness, compassion and perhaps the greatest of all sacrifice.

Even with these general qualities, the definition of mother varies from person to person. My mother covers all variations, she is as diverse as one individual can be, role model, best friend, confidant, and so much more. We are a total of eleven kids borne to my mother but with the death of my sister Ikram last year (may her soul rest in peace) we were reduced to ten surviving presently. Eleven bonds and spirits, each unique in their own way, yet all connected through my mother's heart.

My mother's love is constant and equal for every one of her children, it does not vary from child to child, and each of us has the same attachment to her. She has created a home for us where there is peace and security and a deep sense of belonging for every one of us. I have never seen or experienced any where the kind of joy, empathy, and every

other conceivable emotion that I have seen in my mum's upbringing of her children. I remember as a young kid her loving devotion and constant presence and as I grew older the main source of support and guidance for me and my other siblings. She is the one I see at my best and at my worst, accepting, loving, supporting, she might not necessarily be at the forefront but her presence is assured. She has encouraged me to grow and develop myself, to be independent, she taught me to work hard, to love challenges and to never give up, most of these lessons I learn through her own example. She brings out the best in me and my brothers and sisters. One thing about my mum am grateful about is that she has never forced any of her children to take a path she wants but she gives us the freedom to make our choices and decisions on what we want in life within reason. The most precious thing our mum has given us is her trust and confidence, it might not always be obvious and we might not always feel it but it is always there. My mother is a disciplinarian, but a very gentle one. She is very generous with her praises and blessings for all of us even with the smallest good done, and her scolding scarce.

She has helped me find my identity and is the one who tends to my dreams with water and sunshine, enabling them to grow and blossom. Up to this stage of my life she is the one person who still helps me discover more about the world and my place in it. She holds my hand and gently nudges me on over and over again when it gets too scary and I want to pull back or take the easy way out. She never believes anything

but the very best in me. Whenever one of her children needs her, my mother drops everything she is doing and attends to them no matter how busy she is at that time. I can't remember the countless times I picked the phone and called her and she stop whatever she is doing, just cuts right through it no matter how important and rushes forth to attend to my problems. Whatever difficulty I find myself in whether its being ill, or in I find myself in trouble or just plain hurt it is my mum who has the largest capacity to take it away or to share the suffering with me. She is the one I turn to automatically when am down and I remember all the pain my mother had and I willingly undergone on my behalf and all the trying times that we had gone through together. It is this unconditional love, this absolute certainty that she is by my side under any circumstance that is the biggest source of my strength in life. With her by my side nothing seems impossible. She therefore thought me the true meaning of mothers love; ever-present, unconditional and boundless.

The thing that makes my mother special is that not only is she an excellent mother to ten active and still growing children but also a highly intellectual academician and also an outstanding business woman. She manages a home, a career and a very successful business. It takes an extraordinary person to juggle these very demanding responsibilities. She is smart and intelligent and strong. She is the busiest most efficient person I know, she never seems to have time for herself, and I worry about her so much of the time. She is also a very simple

I do now understand that I cannot do the same things as my mum does, I don't have her dedication and stamina but she has given me a pattern on which to build my own life. My mother's relationship is like a model that has enabled me mold my ability to enter into other emotional relationships; she has shown me goodness and has taught me to believe in people. It is funny how we don't always feel the impact of our mothers love till later in life when we are all grown up and exposed to life and its challenges, and then we feel more acutely the impact of a lifetime of a mother's love

person, humble in her dealings with people and she has very few impossible dreams and fewer illusions about life. She has a goodness that seems to envelope all. She is also very wise and spiritual. Every day I spend with my mum adds to my knowledge and insight about the world.

I learnt and experienced through her that a mother's love is one of the strongest purest forms of mercy, for no one in the world has more mercy for me than my mother, no one knows me more, no one can protect me as much or knows better for me than my mother. No one that is, except God.

I had always been very close to my mother, and while growing up looked to her as the ideal role model of what a woman should be and how she should behave. But as I grew up, saw the world and developed new perspectives my opinion became more diverse. There was a stage when I feel mentally torn between either imitating my mother or other significant influences in my life. But I have come to realize that my mum is the ultimate role model for everything I wish to be. Also I realize that my mum is after all a human, capable of making mistakes. She is not perfect and has made her fair share of mistakes in life. Still to me she is the nearest to perfection as any human being could get. She is strong and honest and pretty and has such a great sense of humor and I wonder if I can ever fit into her shoes. I do now understand that I cannot do the same things as my mum does, I don't have her dedication and stamina but she has given me a pattern on which to build my own life. My mother's relationship is like a model that has enabled me mold my ability to enter into other emotional relationships; she has shown me goodness and has taught me to believe in people. It is funny how we don't always feel the impact of our mothers love till later in life when we are all grown up and exposed to life and its challenges, and then we feel more acutely the impact of a lifetime of a mother's love.

One of the great things about my relationship with my mum is that she always we tell each other everything. My mother is the type of person who genuinely listens, no matter how tired or busy she is. She might not completely understand you or share your perspective but she will listen carefully and respond kindly and honestly. This open channel of communication we have between us has bred a lot of trust and a deep understanding of each other; it has also led us to always appreciate each other's stand on things that we differ. And through all the ups and downs, the arguments and the disagreements, it still turned out to be such an intimate and close relationship.

I think we should all take a second look at our mothers and our relationship with her. We should celebrate our mothers and her. We should make them a priority. We should remember the incomparable role they played in our life and we should honor them above all else.

Bugaje, a graduate of Mass Communication from the Ahmadu Bello University, contributed this piece from Zaria

Hajiya Rabi Abdulhamid Namtari

Daga Lubabatu I. Garba

Hajiya Rabi Namtari Bafulata ce kuma baya saboda shawarata ga harkar ilimi ta rikide ta zama malamar makaranta. Kamar yadda ta ce tun farko zuciyyarta ta fi kwanciya da harkar koyarwa, amma saboda rashin samun cikakkiyar shuwara da kuma yadda ada mutane suke daukar cewa idan mutum ba karatun lauya ko na likita ya yi ha, to ba a kallonsa a matsayin wanda ya yi wani karatun kirki. Wadannan dalilai ne suka sanya ta je ta karanci aikin lauya. Bayan koyarwar da ta yi a wasu makarantu a yanzu haka ita ce Darakarntar Makarantar *Great Heights Academy* - Abuja. Mahaifinta tsobon dan sanda ne wanda kafin rasuwarsa sai da ya kai mukamin mataimakin babban sifeton yansanda (AIG).

Asalinta da karatun da ta yi

Sunanar Rabi Abdulhamid Namtari. Asalinmu Fulanin Yola ne ta jihar Adamawa. Sunan mahaifina Alhaji Abdullahi Jika. An haife ni a Legas a shekara ta 1969. Na yi karatuna na firamare a Legas a Makaranta *Corona Victoria Island* daga baya kuma sai na Karasa a Makarantar Home Science Association School Ikoyi inda na gama a shekarar 1980. Daga nan kuma sai na yi karatun sakandare a shekarar 1980 zuwa 1985. Bayan na kammala sai na shiga Jami'ar Maiduguri inda na karanta fannin aikin lauya a shekarar 1990. A shekarar 1990 zuwa 1991 na yi aikin bautar kasa a Bankin Afri bank da ke Legas.

Ayyukanta

Saboda shawarata bin aikin koyarwa, musamman abin da ya shafi addinin Musulunci ya sa na fara koyarwa a wata makaranta ta addinin Musulunci mai suna *Crescent Nursery and Primary* a Legas daga shekarar 1993 zuwa 1999. Bayan mun dawo Abuja kuma na yi aiki da Makarantar *Sunrise International School*. Sannan na yi aiki a Makarantar *Esteem International Schools*. Yin aiki da wadannan makarantu ya sa na dan sami gogewa a harkar ilimi, kasancewar kamar yadda na fadi tun farko ban karanci shafin ilimi ba. Daga baya kuma a shekarar 2001 ni da mahaifina sai muka zo muka bufe Makarantar *Great Heights Academy*, wanda da dan gogewa da nake da ita ta yin aiki a makarantu daban-daban muke fokarin tafiyar da ita.

Yawan iyalinta

A yanzu haka ina da 'ya'ya shida duk mata. Hudu daga ciki ni na haife su, yayin da biyu kuma 'ya'yan 'yan uwana ne da nake rikonsu ta yi aure. Daya ta gama jami'a. Biyu kuma suna karatu a jami'a. Yayin da biyu kuma suke matakin sakandire.

Yadda ta hada aiki da kula gida

A haikikanin gaskiya ba abu ne mai sauki ba a ce mutum yana fita



HAJIYA Rabi Namtari

aiki sannan a lokaci guda kuma ga nauyin kula da iyali a kansa. Sai dai ni duk hakan bai dame bi ba kasancewar Allah Ya ba ni mugaidda mai karfafa min gwiwa. Ganin cewa duk ayyukana sun shafi taimaka wa addini hakan bai tafa sanya shi ya nuna damuwarsa ba. A kullum ma shi yake karfafa min gwiwa kan ayyukan da na sanya a gaba. Haka kuma kasancewar duk ayyukan da nake yi na harkar da ta shafi kula da tarbiyyar dalibai ne, wanda kusan da ma abin da muke tunawa bai sa na sami wasu matsaloli masu tayar da hankali ba.

Nasararin da ta samu

Babbar nasarata a rayuwa ita ce kafa wannan makaranta da muka yi da nufin tarbiyyantar da kuma ilimintar da 'ya'yanmu wadanda su ne manyan gobe. Kasancewar ana kawo mana yaran da ba su san komai a shafin addini ba, sannan ba su iya karatun Alkur'ani ba, amma cikin ikon Allah sai ki ga kafin a ce sun gama makaranta sun san abubuwa da dama har ma suna daga cikin wadanda suke sauke Alkur'ani. Ina ganin babu babban nasara a rayuwa wacce ta wuce ka dora mutum a kan hanyar da zai gyara addininsa.

Haka kuma na sami kyautukan yabo daga kungiyoyi daban-daban. Misali kyautar yabon da

na samu daga Kungiyar Iyaye da Daliban Makarantar Crescent a Legas da kuma kyautar da na samu daga Hukumar Makarantar Esteem Abuja da kuma ta Kungiyar Daliba Musulimi ta Jami'ar Obafemi Awolowo da kuma wacce na karfa daga Nigera Education.com. Haka kuma na samu wata lambar yabon daga AFamin Foundation.

Kalubalen da take fuskanta

Babban kalubalen da nake fuskanta game da wannan makaranta bai wuce na rashin kudi ba. Kasancewar makarantarmu ba ta gwamnati ba ce, duk wata matsala idan ta taso mukan tsaya ne a kan irin kudin da dalibai ke biya na makaranta. A lokacin da mahaifina (Allah Ya ji kansa) yana raye ba mu da wata matsala. Da zarar wata bukata ta kudi ta taso mana za mu je mu same shi mu gaya masa, shi kuma insha Allah zai san abin da zai yi a kai.

Na biyu kuma sai abin da ya shafi gyanar tarbiyyar dalibai. A lokuta da dama sai ki ga irin yaran da ake kawo mana makaranta wasu tun daga gida ba su iya ko da rike tsintiya ba, ballantana shara. Mu kuma a nan muna fokarin ba wa yara tarbiyyar da za su zama mata masu amfanar kansu. Mun san cewa duk inda mace take wata

rana za ta zama uwa, idan kuwa haka ne ashe tana bukarar samun nagartacciyar tarbiyya wacce ita ma za ta iya ba wa 'ya'yanta. Daga cikin tarbiyyar da za ka yi wa 'ya' mace dole ka koya mata yadda za ta kula da kanta da gida gaba daya. Shi ya sa ba mu yarda da daukar ma'aikatan da za ri'ka yi wa dalibai shara ko wanki ko gyanar kayansu ba, mun fi so su yi komai da kansu. A irin wannan ne muke samun matsala da irin yaran da tun farko su saba a gidajensu masu aiki ne ke yi musu komai. Haka za ki ga wasu ba su ma saba da sanya hijabi bi, haka za a yi ta fama da su kafin a ce sun saba.

Abin da take son a tuna ta da shi

Babban burina bai wuce a ce dalibanmu suna aiki da abin da muke koya musu na tarbiyya da kuma tsari da koyarwar addin Musulunci kamar yadda a kullum muke kokarin dora su a kai. Haka muke dauka cikin ma'aikatan da kuma daga cikin makarantarmu akwai matan da mazajensu suka rasu da kuma wadanda auren su ya mutu wanda suke samun sararin daga ake biyansu. Ina ganin ko da wadannan abubuwa aka tuna ni Alhamdulillah.

Shawara ga gwamnati a kan gyaran ilimi

Babu shakka batun ilimi babban abu ne. Duk al'ummar da aka ce jam'arta ba su da ilimi, to fi wannan al'umma akwai jan aiki a gabanta. Ina kiran gwamnati da babbar marya cewa ta fara fadafa shirinta na bayar da ilimi kyanta, a kalla yaran da ke ragata a kan titunta sa samo halin ruwa makaranta. Da yawa yaran da ke ywawon talla a tituna wadanda ba su wuce a cewa su aiyar da tsammani ba wai karatun ne iyayensu ba su so ba, abin da za a dauki nauyin karatun nasa ne yake faranci. Kin ga idan aka samu gwamnati ta dauki nauyinsu, to insha Allah za a wayi gari duk kusan yaran sun sami ilimi da tarbiyyar da za su tallafi rayuwarsu. Haka kuma ina kiran gwamnati da ta dauki maganar gyaran wutar lantarki da muhimanci, kasancewar komai na koyarwar dalibai da kwamfuta ake yi, rashin wutar nan ba karamin koma baya yake kawowa wajen abin da ya shafi koyarwa ba. Sannan zai yi kyau idan gwamnati ta bubbude makarantun manya, musamman ma mata, saboda wadanda ba su sami damar yin karatu tun farko ba su sami su yi. Na tabbatar babu batun makara a lamarin ilimi.

Shawararta ga mata

Shawarata har kullum ga mata ita ce su dage su nemi ilimi. Ilimin nan kuma ba wai kawai na boko ba har ma da na Idamawa. Neman ilimin addini wajibi ne, domin da shi ne mutum zai san yadda zai bautu wa Allah kamar yadda Ya ce a bautu masa. Ilimin boko ma a yanzu ya zama kisan dole saboda shafin gidanar da rayuwar yau da kullum. Kamar yadda na fadi mace mai ilimi ita ce wacce ke iya kula da iyalanta yadda ya kamata. Idan mace tana da ilimi tarbiyyar 'ya'yanta tana bambanta da na wacce ba ta da shi. Haka kuma yanayin tafiyar da al'umman gidanta za ta godamar da shi cikin sauki.

Haka kuma ina kiran mata da su nemi sana, la'alla dinki ne ko saka kai ko da kitso ne, ya kasance dai mace tana yin 'yarsana komai kan karanta. Kada mace ta yarda ta zaina haka kawai ba tare da dan yin wani abu da zai kawo mata kwabo ba. Ba zai yi kyau ba mace ta zaina ta rungome hannu tana jiran komai sai mijinta ya yi mata ba, a gaskiya an wuce wannan lokacin. Idan kin duba yawancin mace-mace aure da yake faruwa a yanzu babu abin da yake kawo shi sai talauci. Shi mujin yana jin haushin matar ta fiye kawo matsaloli, ita kuma a nata Sangaranta tana jin haushin sa cewa ba ya so ya ba ta. Idan kuwa kina da shi fa? Ke kan ki za ki taimaka wa kanki da 'ya'yanki da kuma 'yan wa ba tare da kin jira wani abu daga gare shi ba. A yanzu ma zamani ya kai cewa idan mace tana son ganin komai ya tafi daidai a gidanta, to dole fa sai ita ma ta taimaka, mana ta sanya da dan nata a cikin harkar gidanar da gidan.

Appendix 8

Hajiya Rahmatu Saleh

Daga Nasiri Bello, Sakkwato

Hajiya Rahmatu Saleh wadda yajayya ta yi aiki a matsayin dokta ta Shehu Shagari da ke Sakkwato (S.S.C.O.E.) inda ta fara aiki bayan ta yi aiki a Indimar Kasa a shekarar 1978, kuma ta koyar kwallon gasa (Polytechnic) da ke Birnin Kebbi, tsakanin 1983 zuwa 1998. A halin yanzu darakta ce a shehohi General Studies na kwalejin ilimi ta Shehu Shagari a Sakkwato. Tana daga cikin waɗanda suka tafi kungiyar mata musulmi (FOMWAN) tun a shekarar 1985, inda ta shugaban ci gaban ilimi na kungiyar, har ta samo damar hude makarantar FOMWAN Nazari da firamare a shekara ta 2002, inda ta fara da yara uku kacal, amma yanzu makarantar tana da dalibai satta da 800, kuma a farkashinta aka samo hude makarantar Islamiyya ta mata guda uku. A halin yanzu ita ce shugabar FOMWAN reshen Ibar Sakkwato.

Akwila da karantanta

Cikakken sunanta shi ne Rahmatu Aline Saleh, an haife ta a shekara 1935 a garin Gombe. Ta fara karantun firamare a shekarar 1961 a garin Kumo. Bayan kammala firamare ta samo nasarar shiga Sakandaren gwamnati ta yun mata a garin Batsi, inda ta kammala a shekarar 1972. A shekarar 1973 ta sami shiga Jam'ar Bayero da ke Kano, inda ta sami digiri a fannin korar da Turanci (BA Ed. English). Bayan ta kammala digirin ta yi hidimar kasa a garin Kano a shekarar 1978. Bayan hidimar kasa sai ta koma Sakkwato garin majunta, Alhaji Abubakar Mahe.

Ayyukanta

Bayan dawowarmi ne daga Turai na samu aikin karantarwa a kwalejin ilimi (S.S.C.O.E.) Sakkwato, inda hinda wadantso shekari shida da na yi a Waziri Umar Polytechnic Birnin Kebbi, nake aiki har yanzu.

Tun ina karama na tashi da shawar aiki irin na Musulunci a inda na yi Amirah tun makarantar Sakandare, Allah Ya taimake ni na cigaba da shawar wannan aiki a inda na fara zuwa Cibiyar Musulunci (Islamic Education Trust) taron gudanar da cigaban Musulunci, musamman ga mata, da kuma ina zuwa na kungiyoyin M.S.S da M.S.O har aka kafa kungiyar FOMWAN a shekarar 1985.

Na rife mukamai daban-daban a kungiyar FOMWAN ta Sakkwato, inda Allah Ya faddare ni da zama Amirah a farkon wannan shekarar. Na samu nasarar hude FOMWAN Nazari da firamare da Islamiyyoin mata guda uku a cikin garin Sakkwato da kewaye. A fangaren kwalejin ilimi ta Shehu Shagari kuma na rike



Hajiya Rahmatu Saleh

mukamai daban-daban, kamar mataimakiyar shugabar sabbe da kuma shugabar sabbe (H.O.D) da Direkta. A garin Birnin Kebbi na riko mukamai masu yawa.

Iyalinta

Alhamdulillah, Allah Yi ba ni ya ya hudo tsakanina da mijina Alhaji Abubakar Mahe, mace guda, mata uku. Yata ta farko ta ce Hajiya Farida, ta yi aure, tana da mata iyalin kuma tana karatun digiri na biyu Masters a Jam'ar Uman Danfodiyo, na biyu kowa Muhammad Al-Mukafi, ya gama Masters yana aiki a Hukumar tara kudiri shiga ta gwamnatin tarayya (FIRS) a Akure, shi ma ya yi aure. Na uku Muzaffar yana karatun koyon zancen muhalli. Architecture a Jam'ar Ahmadu Bello da ke Zariya, inda yake shekara ta hudu. Sai dan autana Salihu, yana karatun injiniya (Electrical and

Electronic Engineering) a Jam'ar gwamnatin tarayya da ke Minna.

Nasarorin da ta samu

Cikin nasarorin da ta samu a rayuwa akwai mutanen da na yaye a fannin koyarwa shekaru 32 da sula wuce da sula zama manyan mutane. Daga cikinsu akwai Fur-furoshi da malamai da sauransu. w-fondo kuma har yanzu suna ba ni girma kuma suna tunawa da ni aiki inda na hafa da su. Na biyu, akwai 'yan uwana da na dauko kuma na rife su kamar ya'ana da marayu da marasa galihu da waɗanda kuma suka musulunta. Na ulu, makarantar Nazari da firamare da Islamiyyoin kungiyar FOMWAN da na kula da su kuma na yi jagorancin su.

A karshe ina jin daɗin tarbiyar da na yi wa yaranta da suka yi karatu na boko da na Musulunci. Babu abin da zan ce sai dai

Alhamdulillah

Kalubale da ta fuskanta

A gaskiya na fuskanci kalubalen hada aikin gwamnati da aikin tafiyar da gida. Kowane babban abin yi ne, kuma hada taura biyu ne ba baki. Akwai babban kalubale na rashin samun cikakken goyon bayan maigida, sai ya rika ganin kamar ka fi ba da muhimman a ayyukan waje a kan cikin gida. Sai kuma kaluballen rashin fahimtar al'umma dangane da fitar mata su yi aikin taimaka wa jama'a, wannan yakan sa mutum ya ji kamar wucewar shekaru ana samun farin fahinta.

A cikin masu aikin da awar ma kanta ana samun rashin fahimtar tafiyar da awar, wannan babban kalubale ne, domin wadanda ake taimaka wa yawanci sai ka gama

wahala da su, sun yi kafi, su jaya maka baya, so ce wa ke fada da su in ba kai ba!

Shawarar ta ga mata

Babbar shawarata ga mata shi ne su nemi ilmin addini da kuma dawo wajen ganin yaransu na samun wannan ilmi na addini da kuma amfani da shi. Na biyu, su tabbatar da sun samu ilmin zamani da su da yaransu maza da mata, wannan ilmin kuma a gina shi bisa ga tubali na Musulunci, su yi taka-tantantani da kuma kaucewa duk wani abu na zamani da bai dace ba, ko kuma bai da matsayi a Musulunci. Su kuma tabbatar da sun iya sana'in hannu da su da yaransu, don ba dole ba ne kowa ya yi aikin ofis. Daga karshe, su tabbatar da ayyukansu bai cutar da babban haikin da Allah Ya aza masu na kula da iyalinsu ba.

Appendix 9

AMINIYA Juma'a 17 ga Disamba 2010

Tare da Rukayya Ayyuba Adamu
ayubaukayyay@yahoo.com

FITATTUN MATAN AREWA 25

Malama A'ishatu S.Bello



MALAMA Aisha S. Bello

Daga Mu'azu Hardawa a Bauchi

Dokta A'ishatu S. Bello ita ce shugabar makarantar Kwalejin 'yan mata ta gwamnatin tarayya da ke Bauchi (FGGC), mace ce mai kamar maza da ke da digiri hudu kuma 'yar asalin Jihar Adamawa ce.

Tarihinta

Ita 'yar asalin Jihar Adamawa ce kuma tana da shekara 51, an haife ta a garin Yola, ta yi karantunsa a Mustapha Primary School ta gama a 1966 ta wuce Sakandaren 'yan mata ta gwamnati a Yola wacce ta gama a 1971, daga nan ta yi aure, inda daga baya mijinta ya ba ta dama ta koma Kwalejin horon

Yanzu tana da yara biyar, mata biyu sun yi aure, shi ma namiji daya ya yi aure, biyu sun gama jami'a suna shirin tafiya hidimar Kasa. Matan suna aiki, daya a babban banki (CBN), daya a hukumar lura da iyakokin Kasa, daya kuma a Sigma Pension.

Malamai ta Mubi ta dauki hanyar koyarwa (Pivotal). A 1978 ta samu nasara sosai ta shiga Jami'ar Bayaro ta Kano ta karanta Digirin farko a shekarar 1979-83 inda ta karanta fannin halayyar da Adamu (Sociology) da fannin ilmi (Education.) Ta yi karatu da matar Abubakar Rimi mai rasuwa daga nan ta tafi bautar Kasa a Yola Teachers College da ta kammala aka dauke ta aiki ta cigaba da koyarwa a wannan makarantar.

A shekarar 1985 aka nadda ta mataimakiyar shugabar makarantar da ta yi karatu, watau daga shekarar 1985-1991. Ta koma digiri na biyu a fannin ilmi a Jami'ar Bayero ta Kano, duk da cewa tana da yara a lokacin, sai ta dauki hutun aiki daga Jiha ta kama aiki da Bankin Commerce a Kano zuwa shekarar 1996. Bayan ta gama digiri na biyu sai ta sake komawa ta yi wani digiri na biyu a kan aikin Banki don ta samu ci gaba a wannan aiki da take yi. Da ta kammala a 1996 sai aka nemi daukar shugaba a kwalejin 'yan mata ta gwamnatin tarayya da ke Yola. Ta nema A 1997 aka dauke ta shugabar makarantar. Daga nan sai aka mayar da ita irin wannan makarantar dake Minjibir a jihar Kano (FGGC

Minjibir) ta shekara biyu, aka koma da ita ta Bauchi (FGGC Bauchi.) yanzu ta kai shekara biyar a wurin.

Jami'ar Bayero ta ba ta dama ta karanta Digiri na uku (Dokta) kan jagoranci a fannin ilmi kafin ta koma shugabar makaranta.

Kuruciyarta.

Mahaifinta marigayi Alhaji Mohammad Wali wanda ya yi karatu da aikin gwamnati shi ya ba ta farfin gwistar karatun saboda mijinta ya amince, ya kuma sanya ta karatun alfo, tana haddar Alkur'ani da ibada, sai Alhamis da Juma'a suke hutu har lokacin da ta bar gida ta yi aure.

Shawararta ga mata

Ta bukaci mata su yi aure su kuma yi wa maza ladabi yadda za su bar su su cigaba da karatu. Kuma su maza bai dace su hana matan yin karatu ba don neman ci gaban iyalansu da sanin yadda za a kula da yara don ba za a hada wacce ta yi karatu da wacce ba ta yi ba. Ko ba za ta yi aiki ba tana iya ajiye takardar saboda bacin rana. Don ana iya samun a rabu ko a mutu a bar mata yara ba makabuli, don haka tana iya daukar takardarta ta nemi wajen da za ta sami abin yi don samun saukin rayuwa kan hanyar kwarai.

Ta shawarci mata su nisanci sake hanya saboda samun farshe mai kyau kuma su tashi su nemi na kansu, musamman idan mazansu sun ba su dama. Kuma su ri'fa taimaka wa mazajensu da yarasu. Su nisanci neman abin da zai fata musu suna. Su ji tsoron Allah a duk inda suke.

Kalubalen da ta fuskanta

Akwai wahala haɗa karatu da aure da rainon yara, amma idan mace ta tura lamarinta ga Allah babu wani wahala, don a lokacin da ta samu jami'a a karon farko tana da yara biyu amma haka ta yi ta kokari da himma tare da tallafin mijinta wanda ke kara mata karfin gwiwa har ta cimma wannan matsayi na zama matar aure kuma daliba kuma uwa, haka kuma shugaba da taimakon Allah. Yanzu tana da yara biyar, mata biyu sun yi aure, shi ma namiji daya ya yi aure, biyu sun gama jami'a suna shirin tafiya hidimar Kasa. Matan suna aiki, daya a Babban Banki Najeriya (CBN), daya a hukumar lura da iyakokin Kasa, daya kuma a kamfanin Sigma Pension.

Ta ce yadda ake tafiya da rayuwa yanzu yana damunta, saboda ko mutum ya yi laifi ko bai yi ba, idan wani yana yi dole

ya shafi wanda bai yi ba, ko da kuwa kadan ne, musamman wannan lokaci na siyasa, ganin yadda wadanda haɗkin tafiyar da mutane yadda ya dace ba sa yin hakan, kowa maimakon ya taimaki mai karamin karki sai

“ Akwai wahala haɗa karatu da aure da rainon yara, amma idan mace ta tura lamarinta ga Allah babu wani wahala, don a lokacin da ta samu jami'a a karon farko tana da yara biyu amma haka ta yi ta kokari da himma tare da tallafin mijinta wanda ke kara mata karfin gwiwa har ta cimma wannan matsayi na zama matar aure kuma daliba kuma uwa, haka kuma shugaba da taimakon Allah.

Don identifies diabetes as major health problem

From Johnkennedy Uzama, Owerri

DIABETES has been described as a major health problem undermining the development of the present century.

An associate professor of Federal University of Technology Owerri (FUTO), Dr. Nnamdi Ibezim said this yesterday while delivering the 21st public lecture at the institution.

He said that the disease if not adequately controlled, the patient will run a higher risk of developing complication such as hypoglycemia and ketoacidosis among others.

He identified the disease as one of the clearest outcomes of the nutrition transition, adding that prevalence of diabetes is currently higher in developed than in developing countries.

He regretted that majority of Nigerian diabetic population cannot afford meaningful treatment and that prevalence of the diseases in the past 30 years has been in steady increase.

The lecturer blamed the major cause of the increase rate of the disease to changes in lifestyle, overweight and obesity, physical inactivity, alcohol consumption, dietary changes and cigarette smoking, among others.

Group laud Echocho's win in Kogi

By Abbas Jimoh

THE United Nigeria Initiative



Governor Magatakada Wamakko registering at Gidan Ja oje registration polling unit at Wamakko Local Government yesterday.

Voter registration: civil society coalition to deploy 1000 observers

By Onimisi Alao

FOUR civil society groups collaborating on an exercise dubbed Project 2011 Swift Count are to send out 1000 observers to monitor the ongoing registration exercise in all the 774 local government areas and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT).

The coalition which includes Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria (FOMWAN), Justice Development and Peace Commission Nigeria (JDPC), Transition

Monitoring Group (TMG), and Nigeria Bar Association (NBA) said in a statement Friday that the observers will provide impartial information on the registration exercise.

The statement explained that the observers will go to registration centres to observe the process and provide the citizens, political contestants and the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) with a systematic and independent information on the conduct of voter registration.

A credible voter registration process, the statement added, is critical to restoring public confidence in Nigeria's elections.

The statement quoted Akuro George, the Project 2011 Swift Count 1st Co-Chair as saying, "INEC Chair, Jega, has taken important steps to improve the process. Project 2011 Swift Count is observing voter registration in every LGA to provide independent verification to help build public confidence in the process. Project 2011 Swift Count is also strongly encouraging all eligible

Nigerians to register to vote."

The statement, giving further insight into how Project 2011 Swift Count will work, said, "Taking advantage of the latest developments in information and communication technologies, observers will send in their reports to a National Information Centre (NIC) in Abuja by coded text messages. These messages will be quickly processed by a computer for analysis. The partners will periodically issue public statements on the conduct of the voter registration."

Appendix 12



Islam and girl-child education (II)

The national conference on Islam and the education of girl child which was organized by the Abuja-based Centre for Regional Integration and Development (CRID) in this column last week. It held at Arewa House Kaduna from October 23-24 2010 and was well attended by stakeholders from all walks of life. The keynote address presented by the Sultan of Sokoto His Eminence Alhaji Muhammad Sa'ad Abubakar who was the Chairman of the occasion was discussed in detail last week. An aspect of his speech reminded us of the enlightenment Islam brought to the world. The Sultan said 'we must also appreciate the great transformation which Islam brought to the life of the Girl-Child and to women in general. Girls were not only neglected during the jahiliyyah period but were regarded as a source of shame to their families. Many of these girls were buried alive by their own parents. Islam put a stop to this ignoble practice and accorded equal treatment to both male and female. It was also the Religion of Islam which conferred on the girl the right to Education and consequently the ability to comprehend her rights and obligations and to play an effective role in the affairs of her society. The historical record of women Islamic scholars and saints as well as women leaders is there for us to learn and behold.'

After the opening ceremony, several papers were presented by resource persons. The summary of statistics produced by CRID shows that the Northern States comprising the North-East, North-West and North-Central zones which had a late start in the arena of formal education lag behind the rest of the country. The North East has the lowest female adult literacy rate of 43.3% followed by the North West with 48.3% while the North Central has 50.7%. For youth female literacy the Northwest has the lowest figure of 48.3%, followed by North East with 54.9% and the North-Central with 76.6%. The outcome of an exploratory qualitative survey on Attitudes towards Girl Child Education conducted in Kano and Katsina Emirates identified some of the factors that militate against girl child education. Among them were the cost of schooling, high poverty rates in northern states, prevalence of *talha* hawking, preference of marriage at the expense of education, corruption in the educational system and absence of role models in the rural areas.

In a paper titled 'Family and Society - Towards Discharging the Obligation of Marriage and the Imperative of Female Edu-

Civil Society Watch

By Hajya Bilqis (11/11)

Professor Muhammad Tabasi of the Faculty of Law Bayero University, Kano said that girl children in are either not enrolled in school or withdrawn for the purpose of marriage. The Professor said education is compulsory for the Muslim woman and it is a collective obligation of the Muslim community to educate them. He stressed that both Islamic and modern education are essential to personal, communal and national development. *The Role of Traditional Rulers in Promoting Girl Child Education* was

highlighted some of the contributions of traditional rulers in Ilorin and Yobe states. He said they enlighten and mobilize their subjects on a continuous basis on the importance of education using education such as field exhibitions to address all such messages are often amplified by the District and Village Heads and other functionaries in the traditional hierarchy. He also said traditional rulers play a role in the establishment of educational institutions in their domain and encourage enrolment and retention of pupils in these schools and fundraise for educational development of their communities.

The Professor said education is compulsory for the Muslim woman and it is a collective obligation of the Muslim community to educate them

the title of a paper presented by Dr Lateefah Durosimi the Chairperson of the Education Committee of the Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria (FOMWAN). She said 'statistics show that 60-62% of children who are out of school are girls and it is unfortunate that Muslim girls constitute the majority of these'. To address this deficiency and promote girl child education FOMWAN has established over 150 schools nationwide. It also influences programmes in over 1,000 Islamic schools that are structured for both religious and formal education.

Most of them also have skills acquisition centre primarily aimed at out-of-school girls and young mothers who dropped out of school because of early marriages. On the role of traditional leaders she urged them to ensure that parents and guardians are educated on the importance of girl child education and also encourage female participation in community meetings to motivate creation of role models for girls in rural communities. Empowerment of women was identified as a means of promoting education and Dr Durosimi urged traditional leaders to ensure that women benefit from government's poverty alleviation programmes.

A traditional ruler, Alhaji Gaji Grema, the Waziri of Gujba in his presentation high-

lighted some of the contributions of traditional rulers in Ilorin and Yobe states. He said they enlighten and mobilize their subjects on a continuous basis on the importance of education using education such as field exhibitions to address all such messages are often amplified by the District and Village Heads and other functionaries in the traditional hierarchy. He also said traditional rulers play a role in the establishment of educational institutions in their domain and encourage enrolment and retention of pupils in these schools and fundraise for educational development of their communities.

The participants were later divided into three working groups to deliberate on the following areas: Education Policies and how to ensure that these policies respond to the needs of the society.

Another group focused on communicating the importance of girl child education to Muslim parents while the third group discussed how to work in partnership with opinion and religious leaders. The Groups came up with several recommendations. Paper presenters made useful recommendations for enhancing girl child education in Muslim communities. The conference provided an opportunity for all the stakeholders in education to renew their commitment to girl child education.

representing a paper on *The Importance of Education in Islam: Perspectives from the Quran and Sunnah*, Profes-

Appendix 13



SUNDAY TRUST, January 16, 2011

44 REGIONS SPECIAL

ST magazine

Community NEWS



The Hisbah men marking their day

Hisbah: Local security outfit celebrates sixth anniversary

From Halima Musa, Kano

Last week, the Hisbah command celebrated its sixth year anniversary. A large congregation gathered at the Kano Pillars Stadium, Sabon Gari, to witness the occasion. Lectures and speeches were delivered by distinguished personalities including the state governor, the acting commandant of the Hisbah Board and the Emir of Kano.

Hisbah Board started as a committee during the administration of Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso in 2001 with 250 members. It worked under the leadership of renowned Islamic Scholar, Sheikh Aminuddeen Abubakar. When Malam Ibrahim Shekarau took over, he upgraded it by creating a board for it and recruited about 9000 men and women who are spread across the 44 local government councils. The board's first Director General was Sheikh Yahya Fataq Chedi, who died recently after he was released from detention by the federal government.

Hisbah, which brought the Hisbah command on board was signed in November, 2003 by the state government. Offices were created in all the 44 local government councils.

Speaking on its mandate, the Acting Director General, Dr Sa'id Ahmad Dukawa, said the Hisbah board is mandated to among others, assist the police in reducing crime in the state, foster peace among people through mediation, encourage the giving out of Zakkat, ensure sanitation in places, discipline in mosques and places of large gatherings and assist in okada cases of accidents.

The acting DG said the greatest achievements of the Hisbah among these mandates is a distancing among people. "One of our achievements is restoring peace in Kano through our various programmes such as sensitization, mediation between parents and their children, husbands and wives and also between neighbours.

He further added that the Hisbah board has succeeded in eradicating open prostitution, consumption and sale of alcohol and the closing up of beer parlours in the state. He also mentioned how the board had intervened on many occasions, intercepted and destroyed several cartons of beer brought secretly and clandestinely into the city.

He noted that despite problems faced at the inception of its operation from both the federal government and some members of the society, particularly the okada riders, the command has succeeded in winning people's confidence.

On the challenges faced by the Board, Dukawa lamented how some hotels are still selling alcohol and the outright defiance of the law that bans women from riding commercial motorcycles. He however avers that the Hisbah officers would not relent in their effort to ensure a decent society in the state.

He reiterated the Board's resolve to clamp down on any hotel that decides to sell or allow the consumption of alcohol, adding that they are doing everything possible to ensure that okada riders abide by the law.

In his remarks, the state governor, Malam Ibrahim Shekarau, said Hisbah has recorded great success on its mandated roles. He said this could be seen from the way people besiege the Hisbah office with their problems, adding that even non Muslims visit the Hisbah office with their problems.

He noted that the Hisbah has mediated and fostered peace between people, just as it has tackled prostitution and the sale of alcohol in the state. "Consumption or selling of alcohol are only done in private because of the activities of the Hisbah men."

The governor announced an increment of the Hisbah allowance from N6,000 to N15,000 for those working at the headquarters and from N5,000 to N10,000 for those working at the local government areas.

Hisbah in the eyes of the people
Hajia Salamatu Ibrahim, the National President of the Muslim Sisters Organization

(MSO), noted that Hisbah has achieved incredible success in its six years of operation. Prominent among its achievements is the restoring of peace and order in the state through its mediation centres (zauren sultu). "Hisbah has achieved tremendous success by bringing peace and order in the state through the zauren sultu. It has also reduced congestion in the courts because of its reconciliation initiatives between couples, debtors and creditors as well as parents and their children who prefer to lodge their complaints with the Hisbah office.

Another area that the Hisbah men are giving their contributions, according to her, is when there is a large gathering. She said, "It is now very easy for one to go to the Hisbah office and request its officers during ceremonies such as marriages and other festivities. They provide tight security on such occasions."

Another man who assesses the performance of the Hisbah board, Malam Yusuf Mai jama'a, said he is highly impressed with the way the board has been conducting its activities since inception. In his words, "the Hisbah has succeeded in ridding the society of alcohol, prostitutes and free inter mingling of the opposite sex."

He commended the state governor for announcing the salary increase of the Hisbah officers, saying the allowance is just a small gesture as it can not pay the services they are rendering to the Kano people.

Investigations by Pyramid Trust, revealed how people feel more comfortable with the Hisbah men than with the police. On many occasions, the Hisbah men are called in to mediate between people, assist at accident spots and other disasters, wade in to conflicts and crisis and offer shelter for stranded and abandoned people.

It also on many occasions, assists in providing furniture and other materials needed by a bride or orphans and converts to Islam as well as rehabilitate victims of many mishaps that occur every day. One interesting thing about the Hisbah command is its ability to operate without taking money from aggrieved persons or from people with problems as it is with other security outfits. A poor man can walk into a Hisbah office and report an incident that might require the intervention of the Hisbah and the officers would be deployed to the area without any delay and without a penny being taken from the person.

Women cheated or oppressed by their husbands are able to get redress through the intervention of the Hisbah office. This development, as discovered by Pyramid Trust, has contributed to enhancing the position of the board in the perception of many people in Kano State.

Appendix 15

DAILY TRUST Friday, December 17, 2010

THE RELIGION WITH ALLAH IS ISLAM Q3.10 49

Trust Islamic Forum

The rise and fall of our Iman (II)

Continued from last week

By Aisha Mijoudali

EVERYBODY has something that nourishes their faith which makes it shine and glow in their hearts. Faith is key to our believing and worship in Islam. It is the key to living in this world with its injustices and uncertainties. Without it, the need to perform any acts of obedience will dim and flicker and have no meaning. Brighten your faith, illuminate and understand Islam. Know what it means to be Muslim and that ball will be a glowing star.

How do you keep this candle alight? I have read quite a number of options on how to keep Iman close but after employing the yoyo, here are some suggestions.

Work on your mind and heart. These are the first things to give when Iman is at its lowest. Surround yourself with reminders, in a planned and organized manner. This way it happens frequently and not once in a while. It's great to have books on a shelf but since you need will power to pick up a book, why not subscribe to a magazine or an email group that sends weekly reminders? Join *halqa* classes every weekend, monthly discussion gatherings, anything that is regular, strong and can help jolt you back to reality.

Mentor. There's nothing like having others

look up to you. You have to be responsible for them, point them in the right direction and to do that you have to be in touch with your Iman. 24/7, it helps you call it to account more frequently. A bad taste will be felt faster than when you're not responsible for anyone. Parents, kids

count but add others to this list, the neighborhood school, the mosque, the Muslim community at work, sisters circle etc.

The ball is not so foggy in your vision now; it'll brighten every time the above hits a spot. When that happens how prepared is your hand?

Start with small steps. Never rush back with hurried vigor. Plan a regime and stick to it. When your body accepts this without complaint, step it up a notch and increase as you feel stronger. This way when the ball falls and you work on the shoe, remaining won't be a large "TO-DO", but easy tentative steps to an ever forgiving Lord.

The Quran. Listen to it, recite it and read its meaning. This will remind you of Allah's wrath and mercy and open your eyes to the truth away from the *dunya*. Plan the times you can do this completely. I singled out this act because for me, the Quran is a powerful reminder that washes away the stains of hypocrisy. In your small spare-time spent with the Quran should have a special niche.

Tears. Make sure when you return to Allah, you soften the indecisiveness and confusion in your heart with tears of repentance. Beg your Lord for His forgiveness and the strength to return to him frequently whenever you feel yourself straying.

For me these five things are my strongest tips in disciplining your heart and head in getting a grip of the rise and fall of the "yoyo". Try them out anytime and insha Allah, the ball will sparkle and the yoyo will rise with a flick of the hand. *Fee amanallah.*



MUSLIM faithful bow in prayer in a mosque

Making your husband happy in an Islamic way

- 1- Beautiful Reception**
 - After returning from work, school, travel, or whatever has separated you, begin with a good greeting.
 - Assalamu 'Alaykum and a smile. Salam is a sunnah and a *dunya* for him as well.
 - Meet him with a cheerful face.
 - Beautify and perfume yourself.
 - Start with good news and delay any bad news until he has rested.
 - Receive him with loving and yearning sentences.
 - Make hard efforts for excellence of the food & having it ready on time.
- 2- Beautify and Soften the Voice**
 - For your husband only, it should be used in front of non-mahram men (men who can marry you if you were unmarried).
- 3- Smelling Good and Physical Beautification**
 - Taking good care of your body and fitness.
 - Put on nice and attractive clothes and perfumes.
 - Rath regularly and, after the monthly period, remove any blood traces or bad smells.
 - Avoid that your husband observes you in dirty clothes or rough shape.
 - Avoid prohibited types of ornamentation, e.g. tattoo.
 - Use the types of perfumes, colors, and clothes that the husband likes.
 - Change hair style, perfumes, etc. from time to time.
 - However with these things you should avoid excessiveness and, of course, only act as such in front of mahrem men and women.
- 4- Satisfaction With What Allah (SWT) Has Allotted**
 - You shouldn't be depressed because your husband is poor or works in a simple job.
 - You should look at poor, sick, and handicapped people and remember Allah (SWT) for all that was given to you.
 - You should remember that real wealth lays in Iman and piety.
- 5- Indifference to Worldly Things**
- 6- Appreciation**
 - You should not consider this world as your hope and interest.
 - You should not ask your husband for many unnecessary things.
 - Asceticism does not mean not to enjoy what is good and permissible (Halal), but it means that one should look forward to the hereafter and utilize whatever Allah SWT gave them to achieve paradise (Jannah).
 - Encourage your husband to reduce expenses and save some money in order to give charity and feed poor and needy people.
 - By the saying of the prophet, the majority of people in hell were women because they were ungrateful and deny the good done to them.
 - The result of being grateful is that your husband will love you more and will do his best to please you in more ways.
 - The result of being ungrateful is that your husband will be disappointed and will start asking himself: Why should I do good to her, if

the never appreciates?

- 7- Devotion and Loyalty**
- 8- Compliance to Him**
 - In particular in times of calamities in your husband's body or business, e.g. an accident or a bankruptcy.
 - Supporting him through your own work, money, and properties if needed.
 - In all that he commands you, unless it is prohibited (Haram).
 - In Islam, the husband is the leader of the family, and the wife is his support and consultant.
- 9- Pleasing Him If He Is Angry**
 - First off, try to avoid what will guarantee his anger.
 - But if it happens that you can't, then try to appease him as follows:
 - If you are mistaken, then apologize.
 - If he is mistaken there:
 - Keep still instead of arguing or
 - Yield your right or
 - Wait until he is no longer angry and discuss the matter peacefully with him.
 - If he was angry because of external reasons then:
 - Keep silent until his anger goes.
 - Find excuses for him, e.g. tired, problems at work, someone insulted him.
 - Do not ask many questions and insist on knowing what happened, e.g.
 - You should tell me what happened?
 - I must know what made you so angry.
 - You are hiding something, and I have the right to know.
 - Guardianship While He Is Absent
 - Protect yourself from any prohibited relationships.
 - Keep the secrets of the family, particularly bedroom talks and things that the husband doesn't like other people to know.
 - Take care of the house and children.
 - Take care of his money and properties.
 - Do not go out of your house without his permission and put on full hijab.
 - Refuse people whom he does not like to come over.
 - Do not allow any non-mahram man to be alone with you in any place.
 - Be good to his parents and relatives in his absence.
 - 10- Showing Respect for his Family and Friends**
 - You should welcome his guests and try to please them, especially his parents.
 - You should avoid problems as much as you can with his relatives.
 - You should avoid putting him in a position where he had to choose between his mother and his wife.
 - Show good hospitality for his guests by arranging a nice place for them to sit in, perfection of food, welcoming their wives, etc.
 - Encourage him to visit his relatives and invite them to your home.
 - Phone his parents and sisters, send letters to them, buy gifts for

them, support them in calamities, etc.

- 11- Admirable Jealousy**
 - Jealousy is a sign of a wife's love for her husband but it should be kept within the limits of Islam, e.g. not insulting or backbiting others, disrespecting them, etc.
 - You should not follow or create unfounded doubts.
- 12- Patience and Emotional Support**
 - Be patient when you face poverty and strained circumstances.
 - When you face calamities and disasters that may happen to you, your husband, your children, relatives or properties, e.g. diseases, accidents, death, etc.
 - When facing hardships in *Dawah* (imprisonment, getting fired, arrested, etc.), be patient and encourage him to keep on the path of Allah and remind him of paradise.
 - When he mistreats you, counteract his ill-treatment by good treatment.
- 13- Support in Obedience to Allah, *Dawah* and Jihad**
 - Cooperate with your husband and remind him of different obligatory and voluntary worships.
 - Encourage him to pray at night.
 - Listen and reciting the Quran individually and with your husband.
 - Listen to Islamic tapes and songs individually and with your husband.
 - Remember Allah SWT much, particularly after Fajr and before Maghrib.
 - Share in arranging *Dawah* activities for women and children.
 - Learn Islamic rules (ahkam) and good manners (adab) for women.
 - Support your husband's activities by encouraging him, offering wise opinions, soothing his pains, etc.
 - Yielding some of your rights and a part of your time with your husband for *Dawah*.
 - Encourage him to go for Jihad when needed and remind him that you and the children will be in the preservation of Allah SWT.
- 14- Good Housekeeping**
 - Keep it clean, decorated and well arranged.
 - Change house arrangements from time to time to avoid boredom.
 - Perfect of food and prepare healthy foods.
 - Learn all the necessary skills for managing the house.
 - Learn how to raise children properly and in an Islamic way.
- 15- Preservation of Finances and the Family**
 - Do not spend from his money, even for charity without his permission unless you are sure that he agrees on this.
 - Protect his house, car, etc. while he is absent.
 - Keep the children in good shape, clean clothes, etc. Take care of their nutrition, health, education, manners, etc.
 - Teach them Islam and tell them the stories of the Prophets and companions.

www.lutunmuslims.com

Edited by Aisha Umar Yusuf

All correspondence to trustislam2010@yahoo.com Text messages to 08054 102 950 or 0803-7862783.

Trust Islamic Forum

The rise and fall of our Iman

By Aisha Muhammad

Get a Grip
 "In Allah please forgive me."
 The words taste so beautiful on the tongue. The heart is full and tears flow from the eyes. It's been so long anything had felt so right.

Wearing the hijab and saying the daily salawat, albeit absentmindedly, had slowly become a routine. Reading the Quran is a struggle and waking up for tahajjud, in a huge question mark in the sky. This story should be familiar to you. It is the journey of every Muslim, the rise and fall of the great empire of faith, our Iman.

It's certain and true that Iman has its highs and lows. Some highs are really euphoric, these are the times you wake up without the alarm to say your salawat, your tears and quiet sobbing mark the still quiet of the night as you make dua for your family, friends and the entire ummah. You remember those that have passed away and those yet to be born.



MUSLIMS sisters strive to gain knowledge about their religion and endeavour to increase their Iman.

It's an enriching moment that keeps you at minimal till late and over the dawn prayer. Your tongue is moist with the remembrance of Allah during the day, your salawat said at the call of the adhan, your eyes focused and away from the view of the last of life, disciplined and striving

to your Rabb, you try to read the Quran, resting day and night and send salaah and text of naseehah to friends and family. You give charity to all, smiling, spreading the salam and ever ready to spread Allah's word. The days are pure, sad and almost painful

as you struggle through the seconds, minutes, hours and days in being obedient to your Lord. As sure as the sadness and pain exists, the calmness and serenity is incomparable. The changes set in, slow in some, speedily in others. A need not to seem arrogant or strain relationships

drops your guard a little. Waking up late one day, work the hub or our darling spouse keeps you up and we miss one night of tahajjud, then two. Stuck in traffic one afternoon delays the salaah, instead you listen to the odds on 93.7 at the lowest vol-

ume. The changes are almost negligible. You're engaged with work and the time for salaah passes. You check your pockets, can't remember what you spent your money on but there's no cash to buy that book on Islamic finance let alone give in charity. Try to understand, I'm not saying everything in the above is wrong, at least it doesn't set out to be but the dunya does have a way of pulling us apart. The results are the same, just like the virus, down and then hopefully and mercifully up alhamdulillah.

Let's examine the game, playing with the yo-yo. The yo-yo is a string, a rather medium sized one in length tied to a ball, normally shiny and catchy. The game entails releasing the ball from the string and then bobbing it up and down. The ball at the end rolls up by a flick of the hand. It's supposed to be a stress reliever.

To be continued

Making your wife happy in an Islamic way

THE following is part ONE of a summary of the book "How to Make Your Wife Happy" by Sheikh Mohammed Abdulsalam Hamad.

1. Beautiful Reception

After returning from work, school, travel, or whatever has separated you.

- * Begin with a good greeting.
- * Start with Assalamu Alaykum and a smile. Salam is a sunnah and a dua for her as well.
- * Shake her hand and leave bad news for later!
- 2. Sweet Speech and Enchanting Invitations**
 - * Choose words that are positive and avoid negative ones.
 - * Give her your attention when you speak or if she speaks.
 - * Speak with clarity and repeat words if necessary until she understands.
 - * Call her with the nice names that she likes, e.g. my sweet-heart, honey, saahib, etc.

3. Friendliness and Recreation

- * Spend time talking together.
- * Spread to her good news.
- * Remember your good memories together.
- 4. Games and Distractions**
 - * Joking around & having a sense of humor.
 - * Playing and competing with each other in sports or whatever.
 - * Taking her to watch permissible (halal) types of entertainment.
 - * Avoiding prohibited (haram) things in your choices of entertainment.

5. Assistance in the Household

- * Doing what you as an individual can/like to do that helps out, especially if she is sick or tired.
- * The most important thing is making it obvious that he appreciates her hard work.

6. Consultation (Shurah)

- * Specifically in family matters.
- * Giving her the feeling that her opinion is important to you.
- * Studying her opinion carefully.
- * Be willing to change an opinion for hers if it is better.
- * Thanking her for helping him with her opinions.

7. Visiting Others

- * Choosing well raised people to build relations with. There is a great reward in visiting relatives and pious people. (Not in wasting time while visiting!)
- * Pay attention to ensure Islamic manners during visits.
- * Not forcing her to visit whom she does not feel comfortable with.

8. Conduct During Travel

- * Offer a warm farewell and good advice.
- * Ask her to pray for him.
- * Ask pious relatives and friends to take care of the family in your

absence.

- * Give her enough money for what she might need.
- * Try to stay in touch with her whether by phone, e-mail, letters, etc.
- * Return as soon as possible.
- * Bring her a gift!
- * Avoid returning at an unexpected time or at night.
- * Take her with you if possible.

9. Financial Support

- * The husband needs to be generous within his financial capabilities. He should not be a miser with his money (nor wasteful).

* He gets rewards for all what he spends on her sustenance even for a small piece of bread that he feeds her by his hand (hadith).

- * He is strongly encouraged to give to her before she asks him.

10. Smelling Good and Physical Beautification

- * Following the Sunnah in removing hair from the groin and under arms.
- * Always being clean and neat.
- * Put on perfume for her.

11. Guarding Privacy

- * Avoid disclosing private information such as bedroom secrets, her personal problems and other private matters.

12. Aiding in the Obedience to Allah

- * Wake her up in the last third of the night to pray "Qiam-ul-Layl" (extra prayer done at night with long sujud and ruku'at).
- * Teach her what you know of the Quran and its tafsir.
- * Teach her "Dhikr" (ways to remember Allah by the example of the prophet) in the morning and evening.

* Encourage her to spend money for the sake of Allah such as in a charity sale.

- * Take her to Hajj and Umrah when you can afford to do so.

13. Showing Respect for her Family and Friends

- * Take her to visit her family and relatives, especially her parents.
- * Invite them to visit her and welcome them.
- * Give them presents on special occasions.
- * Help them when needed with money, effort, etc.
- * Keep good relations with her family after her death if she dies first.

Also in this case the husband is encouraged to follow the sunnah and keep giving what she used to give in her lifetime to her friends and family.

14. (Islamic) Training & Admiration

- This includes
 - * The basics of Islam
 - * Her duties and rights
 - * Reading and writing
 - * Encouraging her to attend lessons
 - * Islamic rules (ahkam) related to women
 - * Buying Islamic books and tapes for the home library

15. Admirable Jealousy

- * Ensure she is wearing proper hijab before leaving the house.
- * Restrict fire mixing with non-muslim men.
- * Avoiding excess jealousy. Examples of this are:
 - 1- Analyzing every word and sentence she says and overloading her speech by meanings that she did not mean.
 - 2- Preventing her from going out of the house when the reason are just.
 - 3- Preventing her from answering the phone.

16. Patience and Mildness

- * Problems are expected in every marriage so this is normal. What is wrong is excessive responses and magnifying problems until a marital breakdown.
- * Anger should be shown when she exceeds the boundaries of Allah (SWT), by delaying prayers, backbiting, watching prohibited scenes on TV, etc.
- * Forgive the mistakes she does to you (See item 18).
- * How can you best correct her mistakes?
 - 1- First, implicit and explicit advice several times.
 - 2- Then by turning your back to her in bed (displaying your feelings).

Note that this does not include leaving the bedroom to another room, leaving the house to another place, or not talking with her.

- 3- The last solution is (when allowable) lightly hitting her. In this case, the husband should consider the following:
 - * He should know that sunnah is to avoid beating as the Prophet PBUH never beat a woman or a servant.
 - * He should do it only in extreme cases of disobedience, e.g. refusing intercourse without cause frequently, constantly not praying on time, leaving the house for long periods of time without permission or refusing to tell him where she had been, etc.

17. Pardoning and Appropriate Censure

- * Remember all the good she does whenever she makes a mistake.
- * Remember that all humans err so try to find excuses for her such as maybe she is tired, sad, having her monthly cycle or that her commitment to Islam is growing.
- * Avoid attacking her for the bad cooking of the food as the Prophet PBUH never blamed any of his wives for this. If he likes the food, he eats and if he doesn't then he does not eat and does not comment.
- * Before declaring her to be in error, try other indirect approaches that are more subtle than direct accusations
 - * Escape from using insults and words that may hurt her feelings.
 - * When it becomes necessary to discuss a problem wait until you have privacy from others.
 - * Waiting until the anger has subsided a bit so you can keep control on your words.

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Appendix 17

DAILY TRUST Thursday, January 13, 2011

DAILY TRUST EDITORIAL

No. 20 PIC/16, Makani Crescent, Off Solomon Lar Way, Ukoiki District, Abuja
09-4726241, 8715364

Jimeta prison riot

About 485 inmates of Jimeta prison in Adamawa state, took part in rioting over scarcity of drinking water. They complained that the scarcity affected their feeding arrangement, making it difficult for them to have three square meals. The prisoners had broken the locks to the cells during the morning prayers and overpowered the guards after a fight with prison staff, which according to reports, lasted nearly two hours. It was an apparent jailbreak attempt. The inmates broke into the prison workshop and armed themselves with whatever tools they laid their hands on. One inmate was arrested while trying to escape.

Prison authorities blamed the poor state of the borehole inside the prison yard for the scarcity. It is unfortunate that people, whose movement as prisoners is restricted, would be denied a basic necessity such as water. While the situation outside prison walls is not better in terms of access to clean water, it is unpardonable if confined persons would be deprived of water. It is ironic that a protest over water scarcity is happening in a town that is located on the bank of the Benue River.

The Jimeta Prison episode illustrates the widespread collapse of public utilities in the country, chiefly due to lack of maintenance and poor governance. There is no doubt that population expansion poses challenges to keeping up with demand for social services by government, but the failure to address them is a result of the failure to plan. It thus became a pattern for government to construct multi-million naira dams and water works without proper maintenance culture required to keep them running. Such facilities are usually abandoned a few months after much fan-fare. Boreholes, which are supposed to be back-up facilities in the provision of water to the populace, have in the last two decades become the major sources of water supply in Nigeria. Gradually, Nigeria has become a "bottled water generation", with citizens increasingly being dependent on the canned product to quench their thirst. Statistics released by the nongovernmental agency Water Aid in Nigeria during the 2010 World Water Day showed that an estimated 77 million people (about 55%) of Nigerians lack access to clean and safe water.

Given all the country's water resources, including natural endowment of rivers and an average rainfall season of six months annually, there is no reason why Nigerians, whether in prison or outside of it, should not have universal access to clean pipe borne water.

Despite its vast natural wealth, Nigeria is unable to provide the greater percentage of her population with basic needs of life including water. If present trends continue, the country is not likely to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). It is regrettable that water, today, does not run in the taps in most state capitals in Nigeria. Indeed there is no town or city in the country, including Abuja where there is constant availability of pipe borne water.

International Development Targets (IDTs) were set in 2000 by the United Nations Millennium Declaration to specifically address poverty concerns related to hunger, water and disease. It thus became one of the main thrusts of the National Economic Empowerment Strategy (NEEDS) to increase people's access to clean water and environment with view to improving significantly the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by 2020. Clean and safe water is a sure pathway to good health. It protects against cholera, dysentery, diarrhoea, typhoid fever and skin diseases.

All tiers of government in the country must show commitment in the provision of clean water by ensuring that the sources of public water supply are refurbished and equipped with necessary operational facilities that will make them fully functional. A sustainable culture of maintenance must be employed to guarantee uninterrupted water supply. Measures must also be put in place to check fraud in the system. Those found guilty of corrupt practices from among government officials should be brought to book, to serve as deterrent to others. The water problem in Jimeta and the rest of Nigeria should be fixed without further delay to prevent a recurrence of inmates' violence and the scourge of water borne diseases.

KABIRU A. YUSUF: Chairman/Chief Executive Officer
ISIAQ A. JBOLA: Managing Director/Chief Operating Officer
MANNIR DAN ALI: Executive Director/Editor-in-Chief
ALIU M. AKOSHILE: General Manager, Business & Strategy
MAHMUD JEGA: Editor, Daily Trust
SHEHU Q. MOHAMMED: Asst. General Manager, Finance
GARBA ALIYU ABUBAKAR: Asst. General Manager (IT)
AKEEM MUSTAPHA: Advert Manager

e-mail: opinion@daillytrust.com

UBEC's almajiri education agenda

Civil Society Watch

By Hajija Bilikisu (ruri)

Statistics show that Nigeria has 10 million children of school going age who are out of the formal school system. The almajiri who fall within the poor rural areas are the largest group. They move from the rural areas to the urban centres, particularly during the dry season, to eke out a living. In the cities, they are under the supervision of a Qur'anic school teacher (malim) who is not paid to provide for their basic needs for shelter, food, clothing and healthcare. Hungry, dirty, disease ridden and distressed, the children spend a considerable amount of time begging for food, doing menial tasks and herding the army of unemployed in urban areas. They are often used in the common ladder for social ascent. To expose children to the vagaries of life without providing for their needs under whatever pretext is child abuse and a violation of the comprehensive package of rights Islam provides for children. It is un-Islamic to violate these rights and perpetuate a vicious cycle of orphanhood where parents give birth to children they have no intention of providing for only to throw them out on the streets. Islam allows abdication of parental responsibility and exploitation of the weak and vulnerable in the society.

The traditional Qur'anic system of education (makarantar alfi) we see today which is synonymous with begging and deprivation is a caricature of the original concept. Qur'anic schools have an enviable history from the early days of Islam. Grounded in respect for learning and promotion of knowledge and development, graduates of the system in many Muslim countries were comparable to accomplished schools anywhere in the world. All over the world, Muslims have integrated Islamic education into their educational systems and their children do not fill the streets begging for crumbs. I attended a school where both formal and Islamic education were provided and today the children of the elites still acquire both, without engaging in *bara*. It is obvious that there is endemic ignorance and a class dimension to the almajiri phenomenon which the community, opinion and religious leaders have to address.

In some communities there are more Qur'anic and Islamiyyah schools than primary schools. Statistics from the Ministerial Committee on Madrasah Education shows that the North-West zone has the highest enrolment 4,903,000 pupils, North-East 2,657,767, north Central 1,133,288, South West 809,317, South East 3,827 and South-South 18,500. The almajiri have fundamental human rights to education and basic necessities of life and they are potential human resources for their communities which should be harnessed and tapped for national development. For Nigeria to achieve its dream of becoming Africa's giant in technological and economic development the country must have a well educated and skilled population. One effective method of tapping the potential of its citizens is investment in education.

It is impossible to achieve the Millennium Development Goals 1 and 2

within its original location, establishment of a Model Almajiri school to serve a group of Tsangaya schools and integration of basic education in an established Madrasah Islamiyyah school. Other aspects of the models are: harmonisation of Tsangaya curriculum to include Islamic and basic education, training and recruitment of teachers of various subjects for these schools, introduction of vocational and life skills into the integrated schools, development and production of instructional materials and monitoring and evaluation to ensure quality assurance.

The National Almajiri Education Implementation Committee, which is charged with the construction of integrated Rural Almajiri Schools met last week January 6 2011 at the UBEC

I attended a school where both formal and Islamic education were provided and today the children of the elites still acquire both, without engaging in *bara*

center for the almajiri children. This initiative was launched by the Vice President Arc Namadi Sambo with the laying of the Foundation Stone of the Education Trust Fund (ETF's) Almajiri Model School in Gantua, Jigawa State in December 2010. That launching ceremony was a symbolic move to bring all stakeholders on board the policy train that had been travelling to the station for integration of the almajiri into the UBE scheme. The Vice President emphasised during the launching that the Gantua Integrated Boarding Almajiri School is only one of 31 boarding and day almajiri schools which shall be established by the Education Trust Fund ETF under the programme within the next four months. It is expected that by September 2011, at least one hundred of such schools will be in place as pilot institutions.

The journey started a long time ago with several administrations making contributions at Federal and State levels with varying degrees of success. Several nongovernmental organisations have also been working in different communities to give succour to the almajiri who roam the streets. The current initiative gained a momentum in June 2010, when the National Committee on Madrasah Education submitted its report to the Federal Government. The Committee's assignment was to develop a framework for Almajiri and out-of-school children in the Nigerian Education System. Last October, the Minister of Education, Professor Raquyyah Ahmed Rufai inaugurated the National Implementation Committee on Almajiri Education, and appointed Professor Shehu Galadanchi as the Chairman, Professor Muhammad Jagaba as the National Coordinator with Dr. Rashid Aderinoye as the Secretary. The Committee identified some areas of focus and designed intervention models. They include headquarters in Abuja to continue with the implementation plan for the framework. Membership of the Committee is drawn from a broad spectrum of stakeholders, State governments, Senior UBEC Directors, UBEC Governing Board which is represented by former Education Minister, Professor Tunde Adeniran, the MDG office is represented by Mrs. Fatima Iddin Ahmad, The nongovernmental organisations are represented by Hajija Asmaa Ahmed Makarfi, the former first lady of Kaduna State and founder of the Millennium Hope Project which has established almajiri model schools and skills acquisition centres in Kaduna.

Her project is one of the pioneer community efforts in almajiri sector in the state. Dr. Khalid Aliyu Abubakar, the Secretary General of the Jamatu Nasil Islam the leading Islamic organisation in the country; Dr. Hamid Bobboy of the Centre for Regional Integration, which has a track record of working in education. My humble self is a member representing the Federation of Muslim Women's Association of Nigeria (FOMWAN) which is working in education nationwide. FOMWAN has 132 Islamiyyah adult literacy schools, 19 day-care centres, 59 nursery schools, 30 secondary schools, 24 vocational centres and 4 hospitals. It has a Tsangaya project in Borno which is the recognised centre of traditional Islamic education in West Africa.

The challenge before UBEC is to achieve its objectives of addressing effectively and on a long-term basis the challenges facing the traditional Islamic Education Sector especially as they relate to itinerancy and begging. It is also important to promote involvement of the people and making sure that community ownership. This is a veritable way of ensuring project sustainability of the almajiri projects.

Appendix 18



DAILY TRUST

Thursday, December 9, 2010

OPINION

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DAILY TRUST
MEMORIALNo. 20 P.O. Box, Mafesofa Crescent, Off Sokoto-Lar Way,
Lagos District, Lagos
(01-4752624), 871-5344MPs' ridiculous position
on sack of NSE DG

The House of Representatives Committee on Capital Market recently asked the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) to reinstate the dismissed Director General of the Nigeria Stock Exchange (NSE), Professor Nii Okereke Onyiake.

Okereke-Onyiake had filed a notice of retirement last June amidst controversies over her alleged complicity in the crash of the NSE following the global financial meltdown of 2008. She was also accused of murky fraudulent practices and shady deals by the President of the Exchange, Aliko Dangote. The raging altercation between the two principal officers of the exchange culminated in the action on Okereke-Onyiake and the suspension of Dangote by the SEC.

The external auditing firm KPMG was called in to look into the accounts of the exchange; its preliminary report indicted Okereke-Onyiake of mismanagement as well as deliberately overlooking incidences of margin loans and round tripping by banks operating in the capital market leading to substantial losses incurred by millions of Nigerians through the crash of the market.

Before the House Capital Market Committee took its questionable position, its senate counterpart had summoned the SEC Director General, Mr. Aruna Oteh ostensibly to explain why Okereke-Onyiake was sacked.

It is astonishing that the legislators would ignore the glaring evidence of the colossal damage done to the nation's capital market by the meticulously documented activities of Okereke-Onyiake, some of which have been linked to the collapse of very many businesses and untold hardship on hundreds, if not thousands of individuals and businesses. The members of the House who have made this recommendation must be asked to explain their motive.

The House committee while making case for the reinstatement of Professor Onyiake referred to her sack as 'tantamount to using a legal means to effect illegal action'. This meaningless sloganeering cannot upstage the strong foundation on which the case against Mrs Okereke-Onyiake was built.

The SEC should therefore disregard this unwarranted overzealousness on the part of the committee, and concentrate on how to revive the struggling capital market and bring on board local and international investors so that the damage already done to the economy and people who invested money and confidence in the nation's capital market and businesses may be salvaged. By the way, the legislators should restrict themselves to their constitutional role of lawmaking, and stop interfering in functions that are in the domain of the executive.

The auditors' preliminary report clearly portrayed the pivotal role that the former NSE DG played in the lead up to the crash, a sufficient enough offence to earn her the dismissal she got.

For the House committee to appear to be a willing avenue for backroom manoeuvres to undo the decision of the SEC is regrettable, and must not be allowed to succeed.

We have seen in countries where accountability is taken seriously what happened to people who caused the crash of their capital markets. Such strict adherence to rules and scrupulous application of prescribed penalties when these are breached inspires confidence in the investing public. The Nigerian House committee, with its advice, is doing the opposite.

In China an offence less than the magnitude for which Okereke-Onyiake was dismissed has attracted the death penalty. Such draconian rules don't apply here; we are not advocating their introduction either. But the basic ones that we have must be applied and upheld when they are breached.

For this reason, it is unacceptable that some form of safe-landing ground is being prepared for the sacked DG, when in fact she got off lightly in the first place. And KPMG are yet to submit their final report. It may perhaps become inevitable that it would be a matter for the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission to handle.

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GARBA ALIYU ABUBAKAR: Asst. General Manager (IT)
AKEEM MUSTAPHA: Advert Manager

e-mail: opinion@dailytrust.com

Ending violence against women

Civil Society Watch

By Hajija Bilkius (mni)

will go to governments, civil society groups and UN Agencies at the forefront of advocacy and intervention to end violence against women and girls. Step by step, we can work together towards the day when all women live free from violence, and realize their full potential as powerful agents for thriving, peaceful societies.

Wrote at the *Issue table* (reflecting about the status of women in various communities). Umma drew attention to the fact that the strong

Maryam said if that happened in Stone Age Arabia, it is amazing that it is still an issue in the twenty first century because people who are supposed to be educated use modern technology to perpetuate another form of infanticide

gle to end violence against women has historical origins and it makes you wonder how various societies made it a culture in the first place.

In Calabar, they used to kill twins until Mary Slesor's campaign put an end to that culture of infanticide and in pre Islamic Arabia, the Bedouin Arabs used to bury baby girls alive because it was considered a shame to have a girl. It was the advent of Islam that put an end to that culture of infanticide. Maryam said if that happened in Stone Age Arabia, it is amazing that it is still an issue in the twenty first century because people who are supposed to be educated use modern technology to perpetuate another form of infanticide. In India and China where a high premium is put on boy children, pregnant women would do an amniocentesis to confirm the sex of a foetus and if it is a girl, they abort it. Other forms of violence include abduction of women in Ethiopia where their abductors become their husbands. In India, the grieving widow used to commit self immolation by throwing herself on her husband's funeral pyre during cremation ceremony and dying with him! I have not heard stories of the grief stricken husbands throwing themselves on their wives funeral pyre and dying with them. In some parts of Igbo land, some widowhood practices constitute violence against woman. When her husband dies, a wife has to prove to his family that she did not kill him. She is forced to drink the bathwater used to wash his corpse. I have never heard stories of husbands being forced to prove that they did not kill their wives! For women in Nigeria, our stock-taking will begin with assessing the

programs we have made to getting our government to enact laws that work to end discrimination against women and promote their development. We therefore envisioned the country's national advocacy machinery for the advancement of women, the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development (FMWASD) for driving the process. There are several bills outstanding at the National Assembly that if passed would impact positively on the lives of women and hasten the pace of development in the country. One of this is the Bill on Violence Against Women (Prevention, Protection and Prohibition) Act of 2003. The Bill was proposed by the Legislative Advocacy Coalition on Violence Against Women (LACVAW), a group of forty five Civil Society Organizations established in 2001 and upon

used by Honourable Florence Aya at that time the Chairperson of the Women Affairs and Youth Development Committee in the House. The advocacy for the passage of this Bill has been overtaken by the attention directed at the more popular International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women CEDAW. The bill has also been reviewed and it is now known as the Bill on Violence Against Persons now being promoted by the current Chairperson of the House Committee on Women Affairs and Youth Development, Hon Binta Masi Garba.

The CEDAW Domestication Bill was presented to the National Assembly as an Executive Bill with the FMWASD as the sponsor at the last lap of the previous administration. Unfortunately, it suffered a setback due to an objection by a member on the pegging of the age of marriage. The Ministry and Civil Society Organisations have since gone back to the drawing board to get people from all walks of life, activists, religious leaders, development partners, politicians and community based organisations to engage with the Bill. This has expanded the group of stakeholders and is generating awareness and support for the Bill. This is an important step because there are people who do not know its content but will oppose it out of their misunderstanding of it. It is our responsibility of all promoters of justice and equity to carry everyone along so that they lend their support to the passage of all relevant laws for the advancement of women and protection of all vulnerable groups.

Appendix 19

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LEADERSHIP THURSDAY, DECEMBER 9, 2010

Ending Violence Against Women

Every year, November 25 is marked with events around the world as the International Day to Violence Against Women. The tone is usually set by the gender and human rights communities worldwide, supported by the United Nations which issues a statement to draw attention to the need to combat violence against women. This year, the message was signed by the Under-Secretary-General Michelle Bachelet who observed that worldwide, women and girls continue to suffer violence inside and outside of their homes, often at the hands of intimate partners or persons of trust. Gender-based violence, particularly sexual violence has also become a troubling and persistent feature in situations of armed conflict. This brings to mind the cases of rape reported in the theatres of war in Bosnia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Datar etc.

The UN therefore said 'stopping violations of women's human rights is a moral imperative and one which we must come together to combat. The impact of such a scourge on society - psychological, physical and economic - cannot be overstated. Addressing this persistent violation can also reverse the economic impact of significantly lower productivity and higher health care costs - funds drained away on a preventable problem.' Michelle Bachelet said. 'The Secretary-General's Campaign UNITE to End Violence Against Women has given new impetus to efforts to end violence against women.'

More than 130 countries now have laws against domestic violence, but more needs to be done to enforce them and counter impunity. More men and men's organizations are joining in the campaign to end violence against women and girls but we need to combat attitudes and behaviours that permit or even encourage this violence. We need services so that the millions of women and girls who survive abuse every year can recover and secure

justice. We must hold perpetrators to account. We must intensify prevention efforts, so that someday we will no longer need to meet on 25 November and call for ending violence against women. Joining in the efforts to stop violence is everybody's responsibility. Governments, private enterprises, civil society groups, communities and individual citizens can all make essential contributions. Men and boys must be active in encouraging respect for women and zero tolerance for violence. Cultural and religious leaders can send clear messages about the value of a world free of violence against women.

As we come together to end violence, a core part of our responsibility must be providing enough resources. So far, this investment has been inadequate. Last year, the UN Trust Fund to End Violence against Women met only 3 percent of the requests it received for programmes vital to progress. The fund has a US \$100 million annual funding goal that we can all strive to reach. These funds will go to governments, civil society groups and UN Agencies at the forefront of advocacy and innovation to end violence against women and girls. Step by step, we can work together towards the day when all women live free from violence, and realize their full potential as powerful agents for thriving, peaceful societies.'

We sat at the dinner table reflecting about the status of women in various communities. Umma drew our attention to the fact that the struggle to end violence against women has historical origins and it makes you wonder how various societies made it a culture in the first place. In Calabar, they used to kill twins until Mary Slessor's campaign put an end to that culture of infanticide and in pre Islamic Arabia, the Bedouin Arabs used to bury baby girls alive because it was considered a shame to have a girl. It was the advent of Islam that put an end to that culture of infanticide. Maryam said if that happened in Stone Age Arabia, it is amazing that it is still an issue in the twenty first century because people who are supposed to be educated use modern technology to perpetrate another form of infanticide. In India and China where a high premium is put on boy children, pregnant women would do an amniocentesis to confirm the sex of a foetus and if it is a girl, they abort it. Other forms of violence include abduction of women in Ethiopia where their abductors become their husbands. In India, the grieving widow used to commit self immolation by throwing herself on her husband's funeral pier during cremation ceremony and dying with him! I have not heard stories of the grief stricken husbands throwing themselves on their wives funeral pier and dying with them. In some parts of Igbo land, some widowhood practices constitute violence against woman. When her husband dies, a wife has to prove to his family that she did not kill him. She is forced to drink the bathwater used to wash his corpse. I have never heard stories of husbands being forced to prove that they did not kill their wives!

For women in Nigeria, our stocktaking will begin with assessing the progress we have made in getting our government to enact laws that seek to end discrimination against women and promote their development. We therefore commend the country's national advocacy machinery for the advancement of women, the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development (FMWASD) for driving the process. There are several bills outstanding at the National Assembly that if passed would impact positively on the lives of women and hasten the pace of development in the country. One of this is the Bill on Violence Against Women (Prevention, Protection and Prohibition) Act of 2002.

The Bill was proposed by the Legislative Advocacy Coalition on Violence Against Women (LACVAW), a group of forty-five Civil Society Organisations established in 2001 and sponsored by Honourable Florence Aya at that time the Chairperson of the Women Affairs and Youth Development Committee in the House. The advocacy for the passage of this Bill has been overtaken by the attention directed at the more popular International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women CEDAW. The bill has also been reviewed and it is now known as the Bill on Violence Against Persons it is now being promoted by the current Chairperson of the House Committee on Women Affairs and Youth Development, Hon. Bintu Masi Garba.

The CEDAW Domestication Bill was presented to the National Assembly as an Executive Bill with the FMWASD as the sponsor at the last lap of the previous administration. Unfortunately, it suffered a setback due to an objection by a member on the pegging of the age of marriage. The Ministry and Civil Society Organisations have since gone back to the drawing board to get people from all walks of life, activists, religious leaders, development partners, politicians and community based organisations to engage with the Bill. This has expanded the group of stakeholders and is generating awareness and support for the Bill. This is an important step because there are people who do not know its content but will oppose it out of their misunderstanding of it. It is our responsibility of all promoters of justice and equity to carry everyone along so that they lend their support to the passage of all relevant laws for the advancement of women and protection of all vulnerable groups. ■

N.G.O WATCH

By Hajiya Bilkiisu (mni), e-mail: bilkisuy@yahoo.com

FOR THE RECORD

SUNDAY TRUST October 10, 2010

POLITICS 15

SUNDAY
POLITICS

The President, National Council of Women's Societies (NCWS), Hajija Ramatu Usman, says women have been sourcing necessary funds and steeling their confidence and are about set to come out en masse to vote and be voted for, come the general elections due next year.

Women would make things happen in 2011

—NCWS President, Ramatu



By Onimisi Alao

WOMEN groups under your umbrella have recently been up in activities to sensitize women for 2011. How strongly do you see women coming out for elective offices in the election year? Women are coming out in large numbers to vote and be voted for. Lots of aspirants have submitted their names to the Council on their intent to go for elective offices. We are networking with influential organisations, especially UNIFEM (United Nations Development Fund for Women), to assist the women with their electioneering campaign. We are working on a basket fund for the female politicians courtesy UNIFEM through the Ministry of Women Affairs.

It won't be just funds in 2011. How are you going to get the women out to take advantage of opportunities?

We have been pushing women politicians, letting them see the reason for them to go for registration as soon as INEC starts registering people. The registration is where to start from. Women would register so that they could vote during the elections and make their votes count. We tell those wishing to contest for positions under the various parties to obtain the necessary documents while they have time. We are insisting that our voices in the various tiers of government should rise. Nine or eight female senators out of 109 in the current Senate is unacceptable. We have only 26 women out of 365 members of the House of Representatives, which is clearly inadequate. Thank God that the National Gender Policy document is out. It gives 35% representation to women. We women have come out, with our First Lady (Dame Patience Jonathan) carrying the

flag for us to achieve the new target. We are moving steadily towards it.

Could you shed more light on the new document?

It's called Gender Affirmative Policy Document. We were agitating for 30 percent in respect to the Beijing Platform of Action of 1995. We have gone past that now. Since the country has signed the new gender policy and spelt out 35%, it has to be 35%.

You were asking for 30%. You didn't get it. Now you are promoting 35%. How realistic is 35%?

The gender policy has been signed into law and it says 35. We can't continue singing 30%. We are working on it. We have to work it through because we can't expect it to drop on our laps. We can't go to sleep and wake to cry for what we know we can work out. We are optimistic because acting and speaking, we have steadily made our point about the necessity of adequate women representation in governance and it has begun to sound natural to our men, more so now than ever, more so now that the country has its own law boosting the call for women participation. Yes, we would get to 35%.

You talked of a basket fund. How are you raising the fund? What exactly would it achieve?

We mean it to empower women to participate actively in politics with ease; produce posters for campaign, facilitate meetings with different groups, take care of logistics, and such things.

How are you raising the fund?

We are going to launch it and women, and even men of goodwill, can donate. Donation is a major source but beyond that, we've been doing esusu (contri-

bution). We've been doing the contribution since 2007.

Who have been the ones doing the contribution?

All Nigerian women: civil servants, politicians, women entrepreneurs, name them.

How much are you looking at?

The central planning committee of the fund would soon come up with the target and other issues.

We are still talking about women participation in 2011. What offices are women mainly seeking?

All the offices: The office of the president, state governors, and so on down the line.

We know of Dr Sarah Jibrin who is eyeing the Presidency. Plateau State Deputy Governor Pauline Tallen and Senator Gbemisola Saraki of Kwara State want to govern their respective states. Do you have more women aspiring to such high offices?

We have received a poster from Hajija Mairo Habib of Kaduna State. She is going for the governor's office. We believe a lot more would come out as we move towards the election year.

Would you say that women have progressed from being 'their own problem' for failing to use their numerical strength to vote fellow women into power?

Women have never been their own problem. It's men that set us up. They crack our wall of unity. They pursue us like lizard. In the pursuit, they add our small space to their own.

How?

Men are a cunning lot. They

are disarmingly polite as they set about instigating us against one another. If I decide to go for an elective office today, some man would go to my friend and whisper to her, 'Why are you sitting here as Ramatu parades herself all over the place? After all, you are a better candidate! Such words could sow a seed of discord and cost me my friendly support. That's by the way, because nobody could do that to me. If I wish to come out, I will come out to win, not just to test my popularity.'

When could we expect you to 'come out to win'?

Not now. Politics with intent to seek office is not something you wake from an overnight sleep to start. I began planning to be on this seat (as national president of NCWS) five years before the election. Politics needs strategising and networking. Some aspirants don't relate with even their immediate communities. They live all their life in the city until they have some change in their pocket. Then they say they want an office. Of course, politicians would flock to you, eat your money, and shove you aside. Especially at the primaries, they will say, 'after all, how much did you give?' But we don't like that. If they say nomination is free for women, it should be free.

You mentioned how you started preparing for this office five years before vying for it. You got here in 2006. How many more years would you remain the NCWS national president?

The tenure is four or five years, as the case may be. The time limit derives from what the general meeting of the council decides. It is a four-year tenure, but the general meeting could for some reason extend the tenure of a given executive by one year. There is no second-term option.

Some people may want to appraise the NCWS. What exactly do you do?

The National Council of Women Societies, Nigeria, is the oldest indigenous nongovernmental organisation in Nigeria. It is the voice of Nigerian women. The Council was established in 1958 and incorporated in 1965. Our activities cover all areas of interest to women. Among them, we take care of our children, especially during this political era when politicians use our children as thugs. Our future is in the hands of the youths. We can't sit back and watch politicians waste them. For our women in politics, we are networking with relevant bodies: market women associations, groups of wives of uniformed men, FIDA (a body of female lawyers), and many more such organised groups; all in the effort to see that women realize their political ambitions.

Many have said different things about the Women for Change Initiative, a concept acclaimed to have been designed to help women through the 2011 elections. What is your perspective of the programme?

Women for Change Initiative is a programme of the First Lady but all of us are working together to achieve a purpose common to us: political empowerment. You may have noted that I follow Madam to the various states of the country. The programme is a response to the signing of the gender affirmative law favouring at least 35% women's participation.

What has the programme achieved for women so far?

Along the way of the visits to several states, we have many states which have announced publicly that they would give women 35% representation.

24 INTERVIEW LEADERSHIP WEEKEND[®] December 11, 2010

Am PDP's Only Credible Candidate

— Sarah Jibril

Dr. Sarah Jibril is the only woman that has declared to contest the 2011 presidential elections on the platform of the PDP. She spoke with RUTH CHOJI -TAFIDA.

You have been silent for sometime, how is the campaign going? I have not been silent. I just had a press conference in Kaduna, but your colleagues want to blacklist me in the newspapers. I submitted my form in November, and I thought the press would highlight that a woman is also in the race.

I am running for the fourth time. I ran in 1993 and came fourth in loss during the SDF era. I have contested under the PDP twice and I am running again, and before you think that, I am running to many times, asked president Lincoln of America, who ran 11 times, he had a focus and vision for America, he never gave up until he got it. That brought a milestone in the American history.

It is because of the philosophical bankruptcy of our so-called leaders that we are not getting things right. I am on a mission to save Nigeria from the shackles of criminal leaders; those who have institutionalised criminality. Even with agencies like the EFCC/CICAC, Code Of Conduct Bureau, how many times have they followed the rules of electoral process by investigating person that are indicating interest to seek elective office.

Even the president that wants to contest elections, has he been clear by agencies?

I insist that if anybody wants to contest elections, he or her must first go to his home community and find out if he has a clean record. We must know their history, what they have done for their people first before coming into the limelight, we also need references from places they have worked before. We want the EFCC to give us their records first before we go to the party screening proper. The first stage of screening is by party primaries, and the next level is the general elections, when the party will be expected to produce the best. The only way we can have the best candidate is when the press does the right thing by exposing the criminals in the contest. See the way our politicians are doing nonsense in the polity, that is why I am contesting. The Politician are criminalising the polity. I also accuse the press of not exposing these fraudsters parading themselves as leaders. We are supposed to ask questions. How come religious leaders are accepting these mediocre, hypocrisy and corruption? Why are they not talking? We are also accomplices in the destruction of Nigeria. I also accuse the women who were part of "Women for Change" that has now been hijacked to campaign for someone. Why are the women not asking female aspirant how they are doing and ways, they will help them?

Recently, some elders adopted Atiku Abubakar as the consensus candidate of the North, what is your reaction to this?

It only means we have three classes of contestants, the class of Mama Sarah Jibril, the class of President Goodluck and the class of the so-called "wise men." Nigerians know the class I stand for. The third class is of some selfish people who sat together, inspired by the peculiarity of the North, who are only men and only Muslims. I am a woman, I am a Christian and Nupe, a minority from the North. Are they saying I am not

from the North, do Christians not exist in the North? Do other ethnic groups not exist in the North? Who are the representing in the North? By what root are they claiming to be from the North, go my village and you will see my great-grand fathers grave there. What is in the character of these people that Nigerians can emulate?

President Jonathan doesn't want to respect the zoning arrangement which he was a part of. He is talking about sacrifice, sacrifice is about moral integrity. I am shocked that he will go to some places and say there was no zoning at all. The president was there when a letter was written to late Alhaji Rimi in 1999, stating that they had agreed that Chief Obasanjo would contest, that it was zoned to the South. In fact Rimi M2million was returned to him. In 2002, a letter was written by Chief Ameh that the party had zoned it to the south again. Rimi went to court to exercise his constitutional rights. Ofcourse he contest but lost. So what I saying is that, whatever was good and bad for the goose is also good and bad for the gander, our political leaders are the pollutants of our social status in this country. I expect that Obasanjo as a father will face Jonathan and tell him the truth. I expected that leaders would teach morals and values. I also expect the Imams and pastors to take a stand against this decadence. I asked the Christian why they are allowing President Goodluck to break an agreement, to tell lies against what he was a witness to? How come the Imams are sitting down and Baba Ciroma called only the Muslims? Nobody asked whether what they are doing goes with the Muslim faith.

Why are we covering up to this controversies?

I took my papers to Baba Ciroma in the house, I knelt down and presented my flyers. We are neighbours in Kaduna, wife was a minister of Women Affairs, and she is now the woman leader of the PDP. Is she not supposed to promote the rights and issues of women? Can you say that they have forgotten that Nigeria is a signatory to the UN and other laws on women domestication? I am challenging the chairman to asked these questions. I believe that Atiku doesn't represent the best from the North. The political class should stop thwarting the efforts of Nigerians. I am the only credible candidate now in the PDP. If they need votes North and South, who can they present that has integrity, detribalized. PDP has history in its hands to present the first female candidate in Nigeria. We helped Liberia to come up with a female president, so for the first time, PDP has the opportunity to make history by selecting me to represent them, a woman of integrity from Kwara State. Kwara is believed to be to held in ransom by a particular family, how do you hope to liberate your people?

Everybody knows that I am being vilified or ignored in Kwara State by the Saraki family. Did you see them give me appointment in the state or recommend for any appointment?

Have I brought shame to Kwara State or dishonour, so why is it that I am being vilified? Why is Baba Saraki not showing honour? His daughter has been a House member and senator, his son is governor and his daughter now wants to be governor. Are there no educated women in Kwara State? Why are people not asking questions? They should know that the same milk they took from their mothers is the same we took from our mothers too, we are human too. I declare to the Saraki to let go of Kwara State before the judgement of the Almighty God starts. We are not slaves in Nigeria, enough of the oppression. It is not peculiar to Kwara, it is a Nigerian thing and so many people are all guilty of it. God did not create us to be slaves. If Saraki is a true Muslim, if he fears God, there are other people too who have gone to school, anyway it is Kwara who will decide. If she stands on her own to contest without holding these positions, I would have respected her, but for them to manipulate these positions to themselves is wrong.

You have been known to be the only consistent female aspirant, what keeps motivating you?

We all know that we have problems like corruption, poverty, dearth of infrastructure, lack of basic amenities and many other things. I cannot sit back and watch politicians continue to destroy this nation. I am not afraid of anybody, and nobody can kill me. Nigerians are tired of those criminalising leadership, we are sick and tired of the shame of being called one of the most corrupt countries in the world.

I am a train teacher and I read psychology, so I know what it means to teach people how to be good leaders. IPAC is not working because the leaders don't want it to work. When I take over, I will restore all we have lost, our dignity, our pride, our wealth, our morality and integrity as individuals and a nation. We will also enjoy fifty years of peace and tranquility the land. If you have notice, honest people don't make money in Nigeria, it is only the criminal minded ones that make money. We celebrated our independence with a bomb-blast, we would have a social, political, economic as well as spiritual agenda for all the geopolitical zones, with time, we would increase the zones and the states. Even those in Diaspora that are coming back will be expected to go through their zones and find out what they can do before they will be integrate. We would also discover other means of resources. We are now controlling oil from one region, what about other resources from other regions?

In your opinion in what way will the N1million set aside for women seeking elective positions help them?

Have they distributed the money? I have not been contacted. How much does cost to raise a councilor? I would have thought that the first lady would raise one councilor in each of the local governments in Nigeria. How much would it cost to raise one senator in each state? I thought they would make sure that women emerge in every state, yet they are having a jamboree. Anyway nobody has given me any money, I don't know anything about the money or whether they are distributing it. "Women for change is a noble idea but it is obvious they are trying to make it favour of somebody. They want to use the Nigerian women to vote in



• Dr. Sarah Jibril

President Jonathan doesn't want to respect the zoning arrangement which he was a part of. He is talking about sacrifice; sacrifice is about moral integrity. I am shocked that he will go to some places and say there was no zoning at all. The president was there when a letter was written to late Alhaji Rimi in 1999, stating that they had agreed that Chief Obasanjo would contest, that it was zoned to the South

somebody. So it has been turned to something else. If she is serious about empowering women, then it must start from the ward level, to state and then federal. You don't just gather some few women and give them money and expect things to work. Nigerians have become wiser, now, they know that they deserve what they are getting and they won't allow ourselves to be deceived again.

What advice do you have for women?

Every woman should contribute a minimum of N100 from the grassroots to the national level. It is particularly for me, but for any woman that will seek elective position. If we can do that, then we would rule this country. It is only when we are in power that we can make a difference, and change the destiny of our children. I will encourage women to be united, and help one another against these corruption leaders who feel they can continue to rule us perpetually without changing our situation. Nigeria is a rich nation. We have no business living in poverty, yet corruption has turned them into slaves, and I have come to bring liberty, restoration, fairness and equality. Let's join hands and restore the dignity and glory of the giant of Africa. ■

Appendix 23

4

Politics

THE NATION ON SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 2010

PRESIDENTIAL RACE MONITOR

Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)

| Aspirant | Backers | Stronghold | Chances |
|------------------------|---|---|--|
| Dr. Goodluck Jonathan | Southwest governors, Southsouth governors, ex President Olusegun Obasanjo, Gen Theophilus Danjoma, Chief Edwin Clark, Femi Otedola, Jimoh Ibrahim, Gov Ibrahim Shema, Chief Dapo Sarumi, PDP leadership, Mallam Murtala Yar'Adua, some FEC members, pro-democracy groups, international community, Nigerians in Diaspora. | Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Edo, Ondo, Oyo, Ogun, Lagos, Ekiti, Katsina, Katsina, Kebbi, Taraba, Kogi, Ogun, Plateau, Benue, Imo, Abia, Nasarawa, Ebonyi, Enugu. | Bright. Has won support of most of the governors. Indeed, no fewer than 28 PDP governors attended his declaration with many of them endorsing the Jonathan/Sambo ticket. His current trip to the UN General Assembly is expected to boost his international image. |
| Gen. Ibrahim Babangida | Ken Nnamani, Dr Peter Odili, Arthur Eze, Gov Aliyu Shinkaff, Gov Babangida Aliyu, Gov Murtala Nyako, Prof Jibril Aminu, Ghali Na Abba, Dr Kurile Olajide, Sen Kanu Bello, Chief S. Bakare, Alex Akinyele, some Northern groups. | Niger, Adamawa, Zaria. | Slim. Apparently not sure if he can beat Jonathan the way things are, he is pressing for a consensus candidate for the North to face the President. Analysts believe he may eventually step aside. |
| General Aliyu Gusau | Prof. Anjo Abdulahi, Mammam Daura, Senator Ben Obi, some ex-military officers who are working behind the scene for now. | Zamfara and Kebbi States. | Fair. Has declared his intention and collected nomination form. Highly favoured to emerge as Northern consensus candidate. |
| Alhaji Atiku Abubakar | Peter Okocha, Lawal Kaitu, Amh. Yahaya Kwande. | Adamawa, Rivers. | Slim. Has been granted waiver but still being opposed in his home state of Adamawa. The declarations so far have further shown how thin his support base is. |
| Dr. Bukola Saraki | Unknown, but counting on some fellow governors. Hopes to explore the good will of his father, Senator Olusola Saraki in the North. | Kwara State. | Slim. Governors' Forum, which he relies on, has been weakened. The only hope is if he is picked as consensus Northern candidate. |
| Mrs. Sarah Jubril | Some gender-based NGOs. | Doubt if she can win a ward. | Slim. |

With the Independent National Electoral Commission, INEC, pushing for a shift of the general elections from January to March/April, there is bound to be some kind of change in gear regarding the frenzy that has so far attended the presidential race.

A couple of weeks back, the frenzy was almost attaining its climax with several aspirants declaring their interest and making frantic moves to beat the previous deadline set for the party primaries.

It is expected that a number of aspirants will welcome this shift and the resultant lull as they will have more time to perfect their plans to clinch the tickets of their parties.

For several others it will create a drag on their resources and pose a big challenge to those who are relatively less endowed with material resources to run campaigns.

The extension is also expected to get those in political employment of the aspirants to have more time to offer their services.

On the flip side, the situation, it is feared, will create more room for welling up of bile and recriminations likely to eventually generate a backlash of political thugery.

Meanwhile, more aspirants are expected to throw their hats into the fray as the days and weeks roll by. The latest aspirant that formally registered his interest during the week is the political economist and university don, Prof. Pat Utomi who was a candidate during the last dispensation.

All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP)

| Aspirant | Backers | Stronghold | Chances |
|-------------------------|--|-----------------------------|--|
| Gen Ibrahim Babangida | Gov. Ali Modu Sheriff, Gov. Ibrahim Gaidam, some govts, Reps, retired military officers, some Northern groups. | Not known. | Fair. May be resisted by some founding members of the party. May finally drop out because of fear of defeat. Gov. Ibrahim Shekarau remains formidable. |
| Mallam Ibrahim Shekarau | Some top Kano politicians and businessmen, political appointees in the state, some founding leaders. | Kano. | Fair. |
| Alhaji Bashir Tofa | Ezeoke leadership. | Some council areas in Kano. | Slim. Too late in showing interest. |

Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN)

| Aspirant | Backers | Stronghold | Chances |
|--------------------|--|-------------------------------|---|
| Mallam Nuhu Ribadu | Pro-democracy forces, some progressive politicians, Northern leaders and traditional rulers. | Adamawa and Southwest States. | Bright. He is the only candidate of the main opposition party, ACN. |

Congress for Progressive Change (CPC)

| Aspirant | Backers | Stronghold | Chances |
|-----------------------|--|--|---------|
| Gen. Muhammadu Buhari | Gen. Muhammadu Buhari - Northern masses, some Northern politicians, pro-democracy group. | Kano, Katsina, Kaduna, Bauchi, Gombe Zamfara, Kebbi, Sokoto. | Bright. |

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