

Abstract

HAUWA MAHDI, *Gender and Citizenship: Hausa Women's Political Identity from the Caliphate to the Protectorate.*

The thesis is about the relation between the gender structure of Hausa society on the one hand and the Sokoto Caliphate and the Nigerian colonial state on the other. The period of research is from c.1850 to 1963. The period stands astride two types of political system – the indigenous system that ended in 1900 and the colonial from the latter date to 1963. The focus is on the changes brought about by colonial policies.

The main question is *How have colonial policies in Nigeria affected the citizenship of the genders?* The thesis is centred on four themes – administrative structure, Hausa cultural practices, ethnicity in politics and the law. The study examines the process of change in gender-based identities and statuses in the interplay between the state and Hausa society.

The research is based broadly on of Nancy Frasier's "redistribution and recognition" paradigm. It is also based on Joan W. Scott's investigation of how societies perceive the "individual". The use of these theories enabled the study to focus on the forms of labour and resource redistribution, and the cultural implications of those for individual and group status. Using this framework the study explores why and how Hausa women came to be excluded from the electoral process by law at the time of independence.

The main concepts in the investigation are *citizenship* and *gender*. The research shows that the adoption of Islam as an ideology, in both the Caliphate and Nigeria, has been crucial in how the statuses of individuals as well as groups have been perceived. It has also been important in defining the status of slaves and non-Muslims. Each of these identities implied a particular status. Being a woman, non-Muslim or slave allowed or prevented those who held it certain rights but it also denied them certain privileges or other rights. When the constitution that was to usher in independence was drafted, the women of Northern Nigeria became the only group denied the electoral rights of citizenship.

KEY WORDS: Hausa, gender, women, Sokoto Caliphate, British colonial rule, Islam, Sharia, ethnicity, constitution, citizenship, Nigeria.

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