

WOMEN AND TRADE IN WEST AFRICA

by

Betty Plewes

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate
Studies and Research in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirement for the Degree of Master of Arts

McGill University
Montreal

March 1977

© Betty Plewes - 1978

ABSTRACT

The relationship between women's economic roles, domestic autonomy and their social power is examined in four West African societies: the Hausa, the Kanuri, the Yoruba and the Guang. West African women are involved in many types of trade, but the market traders have been a particularly significant group. Market traders such as the Yoruba are frequently economically independent. Economic independence although a pre-condition does not necessarily lead to domestic autonomy. Among the Hausa and Kanuri religious ideology has a powerful limiting effect on autonomy. Neither does economic independence necessarily lead to social power. An important intervening variable is collective organizations which facilitate the application of positive and negative sanctions. The market women who have formed collective organizations have played an influential political role, although not the fabled role attributed to them.

PRECISE

La présente étude porte sur les relations qui existent entre le rôle économique, l'autonomie domestique et le pouvoir social de la femme dans quatre groupements sociaux de l'Afrique de l'Ouest: les Haoussas, Kanuris, Yorubas et Guangs. En Afrique occidentale, les femmes pratiquent de nombreuses formes de commerce, mais les vendeuses foraines constituent un groupe particulièrement important. Fréquemment, chez les Yorubas par exemple, elles sont économiquement indépendantes. Toutefois, même si l'indépendance est une condition préalable à l'autonomie domestique, elle n'y aboutit pas toujours. Chez les Haoussas et les Kanuris, l'idéologie religieuse milite fortement contre l'autonomie. L'indépendance économique ne confère pas nécessairement non plus le pouvoir social. Une variable important qui entre en ligne de compte est l'organisation collective qui facilite l'application de sanctions 'positives' et 'négatives'. Les vendeuses foraines regroupées en associations collectives ont joué un rôle politique important, sans toutefois être celui que leur attribue la légende.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to thank the members of my committee, Professors Dan Aronson (Chairman), Carmen Lambert and Laurel Bossen, for their support and critical comments throughout the preparation of the thesis. Dr. Mohammed Sani Zahrdeen, now of Abdullahi Bayero College, Kano, Nigeria, and his wife Hajiya spent many hours discussing West African life and Hausa culture with me when he was a doctoral candidate in the Islamic Institute at McGill University. I want to thank them for their interest and patience. I also want to thank the McConnell Memorial Fellowship Foundation for financial support during graduate study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ABSTRACT	
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	
INTRODUCTION	1
I. ECONOMIC SELF-SUPPORT AND DOMESTIC DEPENDENCE	12
II. DOMESTIC AUTONOMY WITHOUT POLITICAL POWER	33
III. TRADE IN GHANA: URBAN AND RURAL	48
IV. WOMEN IN POLITICS: MYTH AND REALITY	66
V. SUMMARY: ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE IS NOT ENOUGH	77
BIBLIOGRAPHY	87

INTRODUCTION

One aspect of the Women's Liberation Movement in North America and Europe has been an expanded scholarly interest in the position of women in non-western societies. It is evident that the development of theoretical frameworks for analysis of women's roles is essential, both from the perspective of the scholar for purposes of explanation, and for the activist in order to develop strategies for change. The struggle to develop a "theory of women" has often involved cross-cultural studies in the search for patterns and relationships. Although there has been considerable variation in women's roles throughout history and cross-culturally there are common elements. The most frequently recurring theme is that of the oppression, domination, or inferior status of women (in its "endless variety and monotonous similarity" (Rubin 1975: 160)). The second theme is the relationship between women's status and their economic role. The problem I wish to explore in this thesis is the relationship between women's economic activities and their exercise of social power.

On the analogy of the powerful Marxist theory of class oppression many studies have attempted to apply Marxist analysis to the role of women (Rubin 1975: 160). Some studies of capitalist society discuss the oppression of women in the context of the relationship between housework and the reproduction of labour (Benston 1969; for other authors see Rubin 1975). Other anthropological works employ an evolutionary perspective postulating an increase in the oppression of women with the rise of private property and the development of class society. They argue that pre-class societies were sexually egalitarian (Leacock 1972, 1975; Sacks 1971, 1974; Rohrlich-Leavitt 1975).

The studies cited all point to the analysis of women's roles in the productive process as being critical to an understanding of their exercise of power in the family and in the wider society. Leacock (1972) in her introduction to Engels' The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State argues that pre-class societies had more egalitarian female-male relationships because women were involved in socially necessary labour. These societies were characterized by a communal household, a reciprocal division

of labour, and an economy which did not involve dependence by the wife and children on the husband. The subjugation of women occurred with "the transformation of their socially necessary labour into a private service through the separation of the family from the clan" (Leacock 1972: 41).

Sacks (1971, 1974) also explores the relationship of women to the productive process. In an analysis, based on Engels, of four African societies, including class and non-class societies, she develops four descriptive categories of production: individual and collective domestic production, and individual and collective social production. She concludes that it is women's involvement in collective social production, defined as production as a group for use or appropriation by another household, which is positively correlated with control over goods and services (Sacks 1974: 212). This control forms the material basis for the exercise of social power. As societies become stratified into class societies women's economic contribution becomes one of individual domestic production which does not give them control over goods and services.

There are other feminists who argue that women have been universally oppressed and are critical of arguments for pre-class egalitarianism (de Beauvoir 1972; Firestone 1971; Gough 1971; Millet 1970; Rubin 1975). This does not mean they deny the relevance of economic variables, rather they feel the analysis does not go far enough. De Beauvoir (1972) writes that all cultural systems are determined by the sexual dualism. Although women's oppression originates in this dualism there are biological and historical circumstances which intensify it. These circumstances are carefully documented in The Second Sex. Firestone (1971: 5) argues that the sex class system cannot be explained solely by tracing the ownership of the means of production for "there is a level of reality that does not stem directly from economics". She sees this level of reality as stemming from the biological division of the sexes for reproduction. Women's roles have been determined by a number of characteristics of the biological family. Because of constant childbirth, wet nursing and the long period of dependence by children, women have been dependent on men. The mother/child interdependency has shaped the psychology of all humans. This natural reproductive difference led to the first division of labour (Firestone 1971: 8-9). These authors find the roots of oppression in biology or the symbolic use of the sexual dualism, but all acknowledge the economic variables as a means of perpetuating the oppression.

The relationship between women's economic activities and their exercise of political power is explored in a number of studies. Leavitt (1971) states that the best indicators of women's status are her degree of participation in economic life, her control over property and the products of her own labour, and she relates these to the kinship system. Brown (1970, 1975) argues that the powerful role of Iroquois women in politics, religion, and domestic life was a result of their control of economic organization which included female rights in land, female organizations with female leadership, and the right to distribute and dispense all food. In an examination of women's status in rural Asia and Africa, Moore (1974) finds that female public power, access to goods and services, private power and respect are related to the extent of female participation in extra-domestic activities. Sanday (1973) in a pilot study of twelve societies postulated a positive relationship between female contribution to production and female status, but in fact she found a negative one. She concluded that contribution to production was a necessary but not sufficient condition for high status and control over the products of one's own labour was an important intervening variable. In a further exploration of this problem she develops a scale of female status where the presence of female solidarity groups is an indicator of high female status (Sanday 1974). All the studies cited emphasize the importance of female economic control and indicate that female organizations are one method of exercising this control.

My purpose in this thesis is to show how economic independence leads to greater female autonomy by examining women's roles in the productive process and their degree of political participation. Although the basic relationship examined is an economic one other variables such as religious ideology, inheritance regulations, and kinship are considered as they have an important influence either inhibiting or enhancing the degree of autonomy. Economic independence is an important pre-condition but it does not ensure the exercise of social power at either the local or the national level. Both Moore (1974) and Sanday (1973, 1974) have pointed out that it is control over resources, often exercised through female groups that is an important pre-condition of female power. In this thesis I examine female collective organizations to see how control over economically relevant goods is translated into social power. It is hypothesized that collective organizations in order to achieve these ends must have either an economic aim or a directly political focus for it is usually in such groups that people become aware of

the relationship between the control over resources and the exercise of political power. Recreational, religious, cultural or benevolent groups and societies usually focus within a narrower range of concerns.

I use the term female autonomy rather than female status to refer to the degree of control a woman exercises over her own person and activities, and her ability to participate in all roles of the society as an equal. She may occupy sex-linked roles but where she does these roles are independently judged as critical to the social functioning as the male roles.

Women's autonomy is examined within two spheres, the domestic and the social or public.¹ I consider the activities and interactions which take place within the household and which have few effects beyond the household to be within the domestic sphere. Relationships within this sphere are usually in the nature of daily face-to-face interactions with a husband, children, co-wives, parents or in-laws. The social sphere involves those activities and relationships beyond the household, which have implications for the wider society. The social sphere itself has a number of levels which need to be considered, ranging from the neighbourhood to the nation state. Social power is here defined as the ability to control or influence events at any of these levels. It involves the ability to apply both positive and negative sanctions (Bierstadt 1950; Dahrendorf 1968), in order to affect such social events or institutions as formal government bodies, laws, market policies, or elections.

Economic independence is defined as a state where an individual has the economic resources to provide her own food, clothing and housing. In order to be economically independent a woman must control the products of her own labour. This is more likely to occur where women have control over the factors of production. It is hypothesized that where women are economically independent they have greater domestic autonomy as indicated by control over their own sexuality, choice of marriage partner, ease of divorce, participation in domestic decision-making and control over their own children. Where women are economically independent and involved in collective organizations they exercise greater political power as indicated by their participation in the public sphere. This involves such activities as strikes, demonstrations and financial support of political candidates.

I have chosen to examine this problem in the context of West Africa because it has been an area par excellence of the visibility of women in the economy. Two of the most notable features of West African economic history have been markets and the predominance of women in them. Historically, markets have developed on the borders of ecological zones (Meillassoux 1962), and they flourished in the great savannah kingdoms of West Africa as points of exchange for the products of the desert and forest zones (Bovill 1968; Skinner 1962; Brenner 1973). Markets have developed in areas of high population density and where the economy was specialized and diversified (Meillassoux 1962). Where the economy was simple and communities relatively self-sufficient as among the Wolof, markets do not seem to have developed (Ames 1962).

Women play an extremely important even fabled role in these markets as reflected in the world-wide popular images of the West African market "mammies", mammy wagons and female-dominated market places. Reports of large numbers of Yoruba women in marketing date from the earliest European accounts, but McCall (1961) notes that women were not prominent in the early accounts of Ashanti markets. Women do not seem to have been involved historically in long distance trading of such valuable commodities as gold, salt, kola and slaves (McCall 1961) although there are accounts of women trading on more than a local level among the Nupe (Nadel 1942) and the Yoruba (Hodder 1969).

Boserup (1971) writes that areas of hoe agriculture with shifting cultivation are usually areas of female farming, and that in most of sub-Saharan Africa women are predominant in subsistence production. It is in some of the regions of female farming that women are active in trade. Women first began to exchange the surplus from their food crops and then expanded into other commodities. The Yoruba exhibit a different pattern. The region was never an area of female farming and during the colonial period, with the introduction of cash crops there was an expansion of the internal market for farm produce which kept men in agriculture. An expansion of the distributive sector not only kept women in trade, but drew large numbers of other women into this sector (Marshall 1964).

Whatever the history of female involvement in trade no one can deny their overwhelming presence today. Boserup (1971) estimates that half of the labour force in trade in West Africa is female. 80% of all traders are women in southern Ghana and among the Yoruba, 50% in eastern Nigeria, and 60% in the Dakar region of Senegal. Female traders in West Africa are mainly part-time and small-scale (Hopkins 1973). The majority operate in the internal market system (Mintz 1971). Commodities traded by women are food stuffs and related products, and portable imported goods. Men usually trade livestock, wood, leather, iron goods, major imported goods and goods associated with new instruments of production such as sewing machines (Herskovits 1962).

Two statements about women's marketing need further examination. The first is Bohannon's (1962) statement that important cash crops often bypass the market place which means the markets remain a "pin-money" affair for women. The second is that the participation of women in the wholesale sector is small (Klingshirn 1971).

The West African literature contains many references to women's trading activities, which are usually conducted on an individual basis. Fulani women are present in Hausa markets selling dairy products from their husband's herds (Dupire 1962). The great majority of Ibo women are petty traders dealing in agricultural products (Ukwu 1969), but some women are also large scale traders dealing in textiles, fish and palm oil (Leith-Ross 1956; Katzin 1964 cited in Mintz 1971). Nupe women deal in food products, agricultural produce and locally produced goods for women (Nadel 1942). Guro and Wolof women also deal in agricultural products (Meillassoux 1962). Along the coast of Ghana, Ewe women market the catch of their fishermen husbands sometimes right beside them on the beach (Hill 1970). Even secluded Muslim women such as the Hausa and the Kanuri are able to trade in cooked food and other products through children and male relatives (Peshkin 1972; Cohen 1967; Smith 1966; Hill 1969).

As indicated above the scale of the individual woman's market trade is quite small, but in the sprawling and numerous markets of such large commercial centres as Onitsha, Kano, Ibadan, Lagos, Accra and Dakar a few women have managed to acquire substantial fortunes through trade, particularly trade in textiles (Leith-Ross 1956; Addae 1954; Little 1973). Although success-

ful trade on this scale is not rare neither is it typical of the scale of trade and size of ~~income~~ derived by the thousands of women traders along the coast of West Africa. Women participate in large numbers at the lower levels of trade, but the higher and more profitable levels are dominated by men and the large European firms.

Market women have frequently formed market organizations which have had varying functions. They are often mutual aid societies providing assistance to needy members and they usually attempt to supervise trade by regulating the number of sellers and price, by buying in bulk and occasionally undertaking production (Little 1973). Some groups have attempted to provide credit facilities for their members. The literature on the structure and activities of these organizations is not very complete and awaits further investigation (Hopkins 1973).

It is interesting that there are no cases cited in the literature where women do not control the profits of their trading activities. McCall (1961) argues that this situation exists because men do not know the conditions of the market and therefore could not tamper with a woman's profits without endangering her capacity to trade advantageously. An example of the results of this kind of interference comes from a Yoruba woman who complained that her trading ventures were repeatedly broken up by her husband who either "borrowed" goods (diminished her stock or turnover) or money (tampered with her liquidity) (Personal communication D. Aronson). McCall (1961) further notes that it is the type of activity rather than the value of the product which has modified the traders' roles as wives and diminished the ability of their husbands to control them economically and sexually. Among the Yoruba, family life is organized to accommodate a woman's trading activities (Marshall 1964). Such features as the development of specialists in household tasks, the pervasiveness of cooked meals for sale even in small villages, the sharing of child care, the acceptance of separate residences for husband and wife for part of the year, and the husband's gift of trading capital all facilitate a woman's trade. Marris' (1962) study of a resettlement scheme in Lagos discussed the relocation of a group of people who had lived in central Lagos where the women had been energetic traders. One of the principal ill effects of the resettlement was that it interfered with the marketing ability of the women.

One reason women are in trade in such large numbers is because there are few other occupational choices open to them. Colonialism in West Africa strengthened areas of traditional male dominance and undermined female ones. Farming was seen as a male activity and it was to men that new crops, particularly valuable export crops and new techniques were introduced (Boserup 1971). Education and training were primarily available to men as were the new jobs created in government and industry. The colonial bureaucracy itself was completely male. The impact of colonialism on traditional sex roles is an area for further study.

Although the industrialized sector of West Africa is not large, where factories exist they prefer to hire men. Women, however, frequently say they prefer trade to factory jobs because industrial work demands regular hours and does not provide day care facilities (Peil 1972). Even though women in trade frequently work longer hours than their industrial counterparts they can more easily integrate their trade work schedules with the demands of children and domestic work.

What then are the consequences of women's economic activities for their exercise of social power? The popular conception and the scholarly literature coincide in the view that West African women are the "freest" in Africa and further claim that West African trading women have considerable economic and political power (Leith-Ross 1956; Herskovits 1962; Hammond and Jablow 1973; Little 1973). There are however a few dissenters. Sacks (1971) argues that since West African traders and craftswomen are involved in individual social production, they will have greater personal freedom but not more economic and political rights. The women's market organizations are important variables in this context. Herskovits (1962) writes that through these organizations the women of Ghana and Nigeria contributed significantly to the nationalist movements and that their votes were courted by the politicians. What power the women actually had and what they used it for has not been carefully investigated and at least one writer (Bretton 1967) feels it was not very significant. He states that even in Ghana where Nkrumah assiduously courted the market women he probably did not regard them as a potent political force, and that in both Nigeria and Ghana their impetus was blunted by bribing the leaders. To the contrary, one may ask why, if they were powerless, it was necessary to bribe them. These dimensions of women's organizations need further investigation.

I hypothesize in this thesis that where collective organizations exist women have greater political power resulting from the potential and actual use of collective action. These organizations may act as forums for raising political consciousness and for developing leadership and organizational skills. Mechanisms by which control over resources is converted into political power seem to be similar to strategies used by men. Women's organizations traded support for material benefits and there are other examples of women developing support through client-patron relationships (Hoffer 1974; Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation 1960).

In summary, West Africa has a long tradition of markets and female participation in marketing. With the introduction of cash crops and the growth of the economy, female participation has expanded relatively, not diminished. The nature of trade seems to lend itself to non-interference by men and to collective organizations to regulate trade and market activities. Women, however, trade mainly on a small-scale in agriculture and related products. Profits are small. There is large scale participation at the lower levels, but few women are involved in importing and exporting goods or in wholesaling. Women's market associations have had some degree of involvement in and consequence for the formal political system.

Methodology and Plan of the Thesis

In this thesis I look at the lives of women in four West African societies - the Hausa, the Kanuri, the Yoruba and the Guang. These four West African societies represent one evolutionary level of the development of the horticultural state and one where the transition of women's roles from social to domestic production is especially intriguing. West Africa as we have seen is an area where women are highly visible in the economy. I have chosen two northern Nigerian² Islamic societies, the Hausa and the Kanuri, where the influence of religious ideology on women's economic activities is particularly interesting. Additionally because of their distance from the coast and because of colonial policy they were relatively free from early missionary influence and formal western education. The Yoruba and the Guang on the other hand, are two coastal peoples who felt the religious, educational, and economic impact of colonialism much earlier. Basically the comparison is between two Islamic societies where women are relatively inhibited in their activities and two relatively commercially oriented societies where

women participate actively in the economy. This presents the two groups somewhat stereotypically but the ethnographic material will add subtlety and complexity to the women's roles.

This material is organized under four general categories: Economic Life, Political-Legal Roles and Limitations, Autonomy in Domestic Life and Political Participation. Within the category of Economic Life, I examine such variables as female occupations, inheritance regulations, access to factors of production, collective organizations and decision-making. Under Political-Legal Roles and Limitations I consider traditional female political roles, legal status and religious roles. In considering Autonomy in Domestic Life I examine a woman's control over her own sexuality, marriage and divorce regulations, control over children, and the position of older women. This material is presented and discussed in the first three chapters. The degree of female political participation so critical to an analysis of women's position in society, is reserved and discussed separately. This then is the plan of the thesis. Chapters I, II and III examine the economic activities and domestic life of the four societies. Chapter IV discusses the political participation of women and their impact on the society.

In my research for this thesis, I have read in addition to the material which relates to women in these four societies, works of general history, politics, economic history, and ethnography, as well as studies of women in other parts of the world. A note is apropos about the adequacy of the material. Much of the literature, including the anthropological literature, contains a male bias not only in the interpretation but also in the presentation of seemingly factual information. There are problems where indigenous terms are translated by imprecise English terms but no careful additional information or explanation is given. It is therefore difficult to know cross-culturally whether the same phenomena are being compared. Two examples of this in the women's literature are the terms prostitute and witch³. Often in the literature women's activities are either omitted or are discussed without including comparable data for men, which makes it difficult to assess the relative strength of variables. The largest gap I found was in the descriptions and analyses of women's political activities. Although there are one or two events such as the Aba "Riots" or Women's War⁴ which are quite well-documented, most situations are not. For example there is reference in

in the literature to the strikes, boycotts and demonstrations carried out by women during the nationalist struggle in Ghana, but nowhere have I been able to locate descriptions of how they were organized, who the leaders were, or what the effects were. For this reason Chapter IV sometimes reads like a collection of isolated incidents and it is difficult to discern patterns. Generally the material is lacking in the richness and depth which facilitate fruitful theoretical discussion.

We shall, however, learn a great deal about the lives of women in the chapters that follow. It is recognized that women's lives cannot be understood outside the socio-cultural context in which they are lived. Society cannot be neatly bisected and the female section examined. Nevertheless, the focus in this thesis is on women - their homes, their work, their politics.

Footnotes for Introduction

1. The relationship between the two domains is not discussed in this thesis. Sanday (1974: 192) suggests that status in one domain may preclude status in the other. For a fuller discussion of one possible relationship see Sacks (1974).
2. Northern Nigeria has special appeal and interest for me as I spent three years in Kano teaching mainly Hausa children at the primary level. Through the children I came to meet many of their mothers and aunts. Another friend introduced me to women in a small town about eleven miles outside of Kano. My choice of the two northern societies has been influenced by my fond memories and the questions raised by my stay in Kano.
3. See Firestone (1971: 15): "Witches must be seen as women in independent political revolt: Within two centuries eight million women were burned at the stake as witches by the Church - for religion was the politics of the period".
4. Current women writers are beginning to refer to this as the Women's War rather than the Aba Riots. See Van Allen (1976: 35).

CHAPTER I
ECONOMIC SELF-SUPPORT AND DOMESTIC DEPENDENCE

Kano, Zaria, Katsina, Ngazargamo - the ancient towns of northern Nigeria conjure images of mud-walled towns, busy markets marking the termini of the desert caravan routes, and splendid feudal ceremonies. The ancient chronicles include the names of queens and tales of their military exploits. It is in this savannah region whose recorded history extends into the distant past that I begin my study of African women. By examining the social structure, ideologies, physical settings and historical traditions we will begin to understand the factors which inhibit and enhance women's control over their own behaviour. The Hausa and the Kanuri are considered together in this first chapter as they share many patterns of religion, social organization, and subsistence (Forde 1946: 119; Cohen 1967: 6). They are located in similar physical settings, have been influenced for many hundreds of years by Islam, have a common colonial experience, and were both incorporated into the modern Nigerian state. Their physical proximity has led to military and economic contact, and each has had a direct influence on the other as illustrated by the many Kanuri loan words found in the Hausa language (and vice versa) and the many customs which have been borrowed and adapted.

Hausa women, although they are in Islamic seclusion, engage in a fascinating variety of craft and trade activities inside the walls of their husbands' homes. Smith (1955: 60) writes that the profits of these activities give them a marked degree of economic independence. But what, we may ask, does this economic independence mean in the context of extreme domestic dependence? An examination of the economic roles and domestic situation of Hausa and Kanuri women will help us to answer this question.

The Hausa, a linguistic not an ethnic group, consist of a number of overlapping subcultures which share the Daura myth of origin¹ (Barkow 1972: 317). They live mainly in northern Nigeria between 10½ and 13½ degrees north (Hill 1972: 1) and in neighbouring Niger. Statements of their numbers vary, but they are a large group with estimates ranging as high as 20 million Hausa speakers and 15 million Hausa "proper" (Mainet 1964: 26). The Hausa population of Nigeria is given as 5.5 million in the 1952 national census and as 11.5 million in 1963 (Cohen 1971: 25). References in this thesis are to the Nigerian Hausa.

The Hausa have long lived in centrally organized chiefdoms whose history and structure have been fully described in such works as Smith (1960), Last (1967), and Hogben and Kirk-Greene (1966). In 1804, the Fulani who were living among the Hausa mounted a Jihad under the banner of Islamic purity, conquered the Hausa kingdoms and transformed them into a theocratic state installing themselves as the ruling class. The British conquered Hausaland in 1900 but their policy of Indirect Rule further entrenched the power of the Fulani elite. The Hausa states were centred administratively and economically on walled towns some of which were quite ancient (Smith 1966: 129). Urban life was and is Islamic, complex and highly stratified with the upper-class Fulani still providing a model which other groups strive to imitate. Today such towns as Kano, Katsina and Zaria have large populations, but the great majority of the Hausa people live in the rural areas (Smith 1966: 129; Hill 1972: 5).

The Hausa economy is based on the cultivation of the staple grains of millet and guinea corn, and the cash crops of cotton and groundnuts. Most men are farmers and traders or craftsmen, and women engage in craft and trade activities. The balance between production for subsistence and exchange in the rural economy varies depending on the location and its relation to the cities (Forde 1946: 133).

Descent is reckoned bilaterally with strong patrilineal emphasis and shallow descent groups (Smith 1955: 48; 1966: 148). Residence after marriage is virilocal and frequently patrilocal (Smith 1966: 141).

The Kanuri, an ethnic group living in northeastern Nigeria are the inheritors of a thousand year old Islamic kingdom which originated in Kanem east of Lake Chad and became Borno (Cohen 1967: 1). This kingdom was an Islamic feudal society that was never conquered by the Fulani Jihad which swept northern Nigeria in the early 19th century and subdued the Hausa states. Brenner (1973) and Cohen (1960; 1967; 1971) have outlined the history of Borno from the growth of the early kingdom of Kanem in the first millenium to the restoration of the Shehu by the British in 1903. This kingdom became the emirate of Borno within whose boundaries most of the Kanuri still live. According to the 1952 census there were 1.3 million Kanuri and in the 1963 census that number had increased to 2.3 million (Cohen 1971: 25). The emirate

capital Maiduguri had a population of 88,000 in 1963 (Cohen 1971: 26). In the same year, two thirds of the population lived in villages with populations between 1500 and 8000 (Cohen 1971: 26).

The economy is similar to that of the Hausa being based upon cereal cultivation and groundnuts. Kanuri men are farmers as well as dry season craftsmen, but we shall see that there are some significant differences between Hausa and Kanuri women. Hausa and Kanuri women contribute to the economy in a variety of ways.

Economic Life

In this section I examine the economic activities in both the rural and the urban areas. Variables such as seclusion, inheritance, domestic-decision-making, and the ways in which they inhibit or contribute to the scope of women's commercial and agricultural activities are considered.

In rural Hausaland in addition to their domestic duties of cooking, cleaning, looking after children, drawing water and fetching firewood, women spin, weave, make pots, dress hair and trade in various commodities (Smith 1955: 60). The major commercial activity of women though is the processing of food such as groundnut oil or the preparation of snacks for purchase by people in other compounds. Women prepare and process foods which are hawked in the streets or in the market by small children, often young girls. Alternatively children may be sent to a woman's house to purchase her specialty.

Before proceeding with the discussion of women's economic activities a consideration of the seclusion of women will perhaps clarify the discussion as it imposes a major restraint on the activities of women. Purdah, auren kulle, or seclusion, according to Islamic custom, is the confining of married women to the compounds of their husbands. In Hausaland it ranges from the total seclusion of women by the upper class aristocrats and wealthy merchants to the slightly more flexible situation found in the rural areas where women are supposed to remain within the compound during the day, but may visit other compounds in the evening and may also visit their parents at regular intervals. The seclusion of women results in the segregation of the sexes (Cohen 1971: 98-99; Mernissi 1975: XV). It means that except in the poorest

urban families and the remotest rural areas a woman is physically restricted to the inside of her husband's compound. In economic terms, this bars her from face-to-face interaction with her customers and suppliers as well as from participation in the market places. Reliance for these services is then placed on children, male kinsmen or older women "released" from such restrictions. A woman who is past menopause is generally "freed from the requirements of Muslim modesty" (Barkow 1972: 320) and can move about relatively freely and therefore expand her trade activities. Seclusion also means that Hausa women are not much involved in agricultural labour.

Case material for rural Hausaland is drawn from two sources. M.G. Smith in his studies in the rural areas of Zaria Province calculated the values of production and consumption in all important fields of Hausa economic activity in order to compile an Income/Expenditure budget (Smith 1955: 116). Polly Hill's studies were conducted in 1967-69 in Batagarawa (a village about six miles from Katsina) and focussed on rural inequality (Hill 1972: 4)².

In the villages surveyed by Smith (1955) there was only one small bush hamlet where women farmed. Eight women with the help of hired labour worked farms of less than an acre (most under half an acre) (Smith 1955: 227). The variety of subsidiary activities undertaken in these villages is illustrated in Table 1. Of the 421 women in the survey (see Table 1) none had no subsidiary activity and only two had no craft. Many women combine spinning and weaving with the processing of food for sale. The income derived from these activities was estimated at approximately £ 5 per year (Smith 1955: 61) but because of seclusion and the women's own reluctance to divulge information the figures were obtained from men and must be taken only as estimates (Smith 1955: 136). Women undertake these activities quite separately from their husbands. The income derived is controlled by the women and spent on their children, their relatives and small personal items for themselves. They purchase utensils for their homes (Mortimore and Wilson 1965: 88), kola nuts, cosmetics, livestock and magical assistance. Wives also make loans to husbands and other male kin (Smith 1955: 118).

In Batagarawa where there was an adult female population of 399, similar activities were carried out by women (Hill 1972). "Export income" was generated entirely by male farmers while women worked in the local context and carried on their economic activities independently of their husbands (Hill

TABLE 1
WOMEN'S SAMPLE OCCUPATION CENSUS

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Community</u>				
No. of subsidiary occupations	A	B	C	D	TOTAL
0	-	-	-	-	-
1	33	53	10	46	142
2	22	101	5	126	254
3	3	6	-	12	21
4	-	1	-	2	3
5	-	1	-	-	1
Total adult females (probably underestimated)	58	162	15	186	* 421
Spinning	44	157	11	174	386
Weaving	20	64	4	129	217
Hairdressing	?	6	1	?	7
<u>Miscellaneous:</u>					
Grinding corn for pay	-	1	-	1	2
Keeping goats	?	?	?	1(?)	n.k.
Selling firewood	-	2	-	3	5
Bori (spirit possession)	?	15	?	1	16
Teaching weaving (School)	-	1	-	-	1
<u>Cooked Foods</u>					
Koko (gruel)	-	3	-	1	4
Fura (spiced dumpling)	13	16	4	8	41
Waiṇa (bean cake)	-	2	-	3	5
Locust bean cakes	?	2	-	6	8(?)
Groundnut oil and cakes	1	13	-	8	22
Danwake (bean cakes)	-	2	-	3	5
Cooked groundnuts	1	1	-	1	3
Tuwo for strangers (porridge)	-	1	-	1	2
Other foods	2	7	-	1	10
Grinding tobacco (Husband prepares, sells it, pays them)	3	-	-	-	3
<u>Traders and Brokers</u>					
Corn and Farm Produce Broker	1	1	-	1	3
Hoarding and Selling					
Grain	-	2	-	2	4
Cotton	-	?	-	2	2
Grain and Peppers and Other Products	-	2	-	1	3
Palm oil	-	2	-	-	2
Fatauci (trading journeys)	-	-	-	1	1
Prostitutes	1	1	-	-	2

TABLE 1 (cont'd)

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Community</u>				
	A	B	C	D	TOTAL
<u>Summary</u>					
Women with no craft	-	-	-	2	2
Women with 1 craft	28	49	10	39	126
Women with 2 crafts	12	68	2	122	204
Women with 3 crafts	-	1	-	1	2
Women with 1 trade	5	2	-	1	8
Women with 2 trades	1	2	-	1	4
Women with 1 trade, 1 craft	11	35	4	20	70
Women with 1 trade, 2 crafts	1	-	-	11	12
Women with 2 trades, 1 craft	-	5	-	1	6
Women with 2 trades, 2 crafts	-	1	-	2	3

(from Smith 1955: 244)

1972: 321). Forty women in Batagarawa, mainly semi-secluded older women owned farm land which they worked with the help of hired labour (Hill 1972: 109, 335).

Women in Batagarawa have access to small-scale capital through two types of institutions the adashi, a contribution club, and biki, a contribution system involving partners. The adashi is a "rotating credit association" of the type described by Ardener (1964: 201). Each member agrees to pay a certain sum of money into a common pool for a fixed time period, a different member drawing the total fund on each occasion until each has had her turn. In Batagarawa nearly all adashi members are women and each group is run by a woman who collects the contributions (through the medium of children), selects the weekly beneficiary and generally organizes the affairs of the group in return for a small commission payable by each beneficiary. The size of the contribution varies between one pence and two shillings, payable weekly, usually lasting for thirty weeks and having the same number of participants. This means that once in a thirty week period each participant would receive an amount ranging from two shillings six pence to three pounds. When a member defaults in payment the organizer is liable. Four fifths of all women in the town participated in adashi groups and many belonged to several groups (all information from Hill 1972: 203). This club gives women access to larger amounts of capital than could be saved individually. Additionally it develops administrative skills in the organizers. Possibly it could provide the basis for collective action.

Biki is a contribution system involving partners and occurs between friends, masters and servants, rich and poor, women including co-wives, and certain close relatives. It also gives access to larger amounts of capital. On a certain occasion one person will make a contribution to another person on the understanding that the recipient will make a counter-contribution, usually double the sum when the original donor needs funds. Each partner continues doubling the sum until an intolerably high level is reached when the sum is halved. Contributions are often made in connection with marriage, naming ceremonies, and funerals. The entire adult population is involved in this network (all information from Hill 1972: 211).

Another means of saving used by women is the ownership of live stock, and women in Batagarawa own two thirds of the sheep and two fifths of the goats (Hill 1972: 66). Hausa women usually own their own pots and pans and have a collection of enamel bowls which can be converted into cash (Mortimore and Wilson 1965: 88). In the rural areas it is possible to begin to trade without any capital investment as raw foodstuffs may be paid for after the processing and selling have been completed (Hill 1972: 268).

No income statistics were given for Batagarawa women but the case studies (Hill 1972: 143-147) indicate that a woman's economic situation is sometimes independent of that of her husband, as a considerable proportion of the wives of the poorest farmers were not as badly off as their husbands. Some wives were considerably helping their husbands while others refused even to cook for them as a sign that since the man was not meeting his responsibilities neither would the wife meet hers (Hill 1972: 147).

In the urban areas women embroider, knit, and sew articles for sale, but again it is the processing of food and the preparation of snacks that is the predominant activity. These activities, however, become more complex in the urban areas as the raw materials must be purchased either in the market requiring an initial capital investment or from customers requiring an established network of trusting and trustworthy acquaintances (Remy 1975: 362). Home-based crafts require a teacher and some capital outlay for materials (Remy 1975: 362). Women who are newly arrived from the rural areas feel these constraints most severely for they are removed from the kin and friendship networks of their village and thus from social relationships necessary to conduct economic endeavours. Remy (1975: 365) cites the case of Asabe, a young secluded woman, who had recently moved to Zaria with her husband. She had no friends in the section of the city where she lived as she had no female relatives who could take her to ceremonial gatherings where she could meet other women. She wanted to begin weaving, but the landlord would not allow her to dig the holes for the loom posts and in any case the market for hand-woven cloth had been eroded by the manufacture of factory produced cloth. She wanted to sell prepared food (as her mother had), but in order to sell it she would need a group of acquaintances who would come to her compound to buy it or the services of a child who could sell it on the street or in the market. Because she was isolated from these kinds of contacts she would not have been successful. Her husband who did not wish her to do either was pleased that she could not.

Within the domestic economy Hausa men make all major expenditures (Smith 1955: 136) usually giving their wives a small daily allowance for buying cooking ingredients which are purchased from other secluded women traders (Hill 1972: 25).

Turning to Kanuri women we are struck by the fact that although women in the urban areas are secluded as their Hausa counterparts are, rural Kanuri women are not (Cohen 1967: 42). In rural Borno Kanuri women perform domestic functions similar to those of Hausa women. Drawing water in Borno is a much more arduous task as the water table is very deep which means there are few wells and women must often travel considerable distances to fetch water (Peshkin 1972: 14). Kanuri women also form a significant part of the agricultural labour force working on their husbands' farms planting, hoeing and harvesting. Ronald Cohen working in Magumeri in 1955-1957 (see Cohen 1960, 1967) found, in a sample of 75 men, that 74 used their wives as agricultural labourers (Cohen 1960: 305). All decisions regarding agricultural activity are made by men while all income derived from agricultural production is dispensed by them, wives sometimes receiving a small token payment for their labours (Cohen 1967: 75-76). Outside the domestic sector with the exception of cooked food and pottery production men control all income producing work in the society (Cohen 1967: 75) and all major distributive functions (Cohen 1960: 268).

In Maiduguri, the capital of Borno, a 1974 survey (Hardiman 1974) of women's secondary activities found 101 out of 170 women engaged in some secondary activity such as embroidery, selling foodstuffs, and hairdressing. Six were in full time occupations, and 63 had no additional activity. There were 88 Kanuri women in the sample but the data were not broken down ethnically and so it is not possible to examine Kanuri women's activities separately. The conclusion derived from the survey is that the main economic contribution of women in Maiduguri is in terms of their domestic role (Hardiman 1974: 7). There is no information about the income derived from these activities except that it is small (Hardiman 1974: 7). Women, however, do control this income and make decisions regarding their own trade or craft (Hardiman 1974: 21). No information about credit associations was found.

According to the Sharia (Islamic law) women (daughters) inherit one part to two parts inherited by men (sons). A woman may receive one third to one quarter of her husband's estate if there are no children (Cohen 1960: 180; Personal communication MSZ). The law, however, as customarily applied among the Hausa and Kanuri has rarely allowed women to inherit land or houses. In Zaria, women cannot inherit this type of property where there are male heirs (Smith 1955: 60). In Batagarawa, Hill (1972: 270) suggests that if women do inherit farm land they probably sell it to their brothers. Of the 47.9 acres owned by the forty female farm owners in Batagarawa one quarter of the total acreage had been inherited from fathers (Hill 1972: 335). Kanuri women do not receive land-right use or household immovables (Cohen 1960: 180-183). A Hausa woman's moveable property on her death goes to her daughter, but she is likely to have given most of her possessions to her daughter before her death (Hill 1972: 270).

There has apparently been some change in the application of inheritance laws in Hausaland in the past twenty years in the direction of female ownership of property (Personal communication MSZ). The reason stated previously for not allowing women to inherit land and houses was that men were responsible for looking after women, implying that women did not, therefore, need this kind of property, and that it was unwise to fragment such property. The reasons for this change are not clear.

Since rural Hausa women are in seclusion and do no farm work they engage in more craft and trade activities than Kanuri women. Because of the lack of information it is difficult to assess the economic position of urban women, but it appears that the incomes generated are quite small. It is probable that a woman spends most of her income on personal items and on maintaining and strengthening her ties with kinsmen so that she may call on them for accommodation and support in the event of an emergency, divorce and in old age. Smith (1955: 115) states that Hausa women have a considerable degree of economic independence although it appears that he means that their economic activities are separate from those of their husbands for few Hausa women could provide their own housing and all of their own food.

Hausa and Kanuri women are so hemmed in by the institutions and ideologies which circumscribe their economic activities that we can only marvel at the ingenuity with which they have tried to circumvent some of the restrictions. The assertions that women prefer seclusion because it frees them from agricultural work (M.G. Smith 1964: 22) or because it raises their prestige (Barkow 1972: 323) or that "they seem quite contented with their lot" (Hardiman 1974: 7) really offer little insight into the problem in light of the fact that most women have no alternative, neither do they have the experience or information with which to think about other possibilities.

Political-Legal Roles and Limitations

As noted above the Hausa and the Kanuri societies are both Muslim and have been so for many hundreds of years. The Sharia governs not only religious life but many aspects of secular life. Under Islamic law, women are legal minors and are represented in their transactions with the outside world by a male guardian, usually a father or husband (Smith 1955: 48). Previously, women did not appear in the court and a small side room where their comments could be heard adjoined the court (Cohen 1971: 92). Today they do appear, Kanuri women infrequently and Hausa women somewhat more often (Cohen 1971: 93). Women in what was the former Northern Region of Nigeria, which includes Borno and Hausaland have never had the vote.

According to the Islamic view, women because of their "natures" are not expected to be as rigorous in their religious practice as men (Trimingham 1968: 130). Islam has no public religious roles for women. Large numbers of women are supporters and adherents of the Bori cult, a spirit possession cult (described in detail in Madauci et al. 1968: 78-84).

The current political situation of Hausa and Kanuri women is discussed in Chapter IV, but it is also interesting to look at the political participation of women in societies before the imposition of colonial rule and the development of modern political structures.

Dynastic lists of the Hausa states in ancient times have been preserved and include the names of such women as Amina the queen of Zaria and the Queen of Daura, both well known figures in Hausa legend (Hogben and Kirk-Greene 1966:74). In Zaria prior to the Fulani Jihad there were several royal offices that were reserved for women (Smith 1960: 35). The Iya was the senior woman of the realm and the office had fiefs attached to it which were administered by the office holders' husbands (Smith 1960: 143). The office of Sarauniya was also held by a woman usually the king's eldest daughter. Another office usually held by the king's daughter or sister and also with fiefs attached to it was that of the Magajiya. In the 19th century, this person was responsible for the collection of the tax on the Bori dancers and today is usually the head of the prostitutes (M.G. Smith 1964: 261 #10). The women in these offices were ineligible for succession (Smith 1960: 33), and this was no doubt safer for the king than having male office holders who might attempt to usurp his power. When the Fulani took control of Zaria at the beginning of the 19th century they eliminated these offices.

Traditionally the women of Borno were organized in associations with titled heads (Cohen 1960: 223-225). The head women of the state were the Shehu's (king's) mother the Maira and his sister the Ma'aram. Other offices with titles were the Do'oma, head of the zower, and the Gumsa senior wife of the Shehu. All these women held power through their connection to the male royal office holder. Women were invested to these offices wearing male robes which emphasized the "congruency of nobility, authority and maleness" (Cohen 1960: 224). The holding of royal office by women is found in other parts of Africa (see Lebeuf 1963), but it is not clear from the literature exactly what their functions in the administrative hierarchy were nor what real power these office holders possessed. Additionally, one cannot infer what power resided with the general female population from the fact that a few women held senior offices.

Autonomy and Dependence in Domestic Life

When a Hausa girl is about 13 years old and a Kanuri girl between the ages of 10 and 12, her parents will choose a young man, in cooperation with his parents, of about 20-25 years of age for her to marry. Prior to her marriage, a young Hausa girl will have participated in organized play groups of boys and girls each with their own leader whose activities include institu-

tionalized lovemaking which is supposed to stop short of intercourse (M.G. Smith 1964: 25). Young Kanuri girls are strictly forbidden premarital intercourse although some sex play between pre-pubescent boys and girls occurs. Severe punishments are, however, meted out to Kanuri men who have sexual relations with a previously unmarried girl (Cohen 1971: 78). As marriage is virilocal and frequently patrilocal, the early married period is often a very unhappy time for a young girl as she is separated from her family and must try to find her way among the strangers in her husband's father's house. During the period following the first marriage of a Kanuri girl, she is completely confined to her husband's compound and for a period up to two years she does not come out, even to attend the funeral of her parents (Hardiman 1974: 1). There are cases cited in the literature of women who have remained in their husband's compound for periods up to forty years (Hardiman 1974: 1; Cohen 1960: 118). Women are expected to have sexual relations only with their husbands. Although under Islamic law men are required not to commit adultery, it is so defined within the culture that relations with an unmarried woman (widowed or divorced) are not considered to be adultery (Cohen 1960: 138-139; Barkow 1972: 323).

As a woman grows older and is married and divorced she has greater freedom in the choice of a marriage partner. Marriage becomes an agreement between the woman and the man (Smith 1955; 1966; Cohen 1971: 77), although women throughout their lives are represented in their marriage transactions by a male guardian (Cohen 1971: 77; Smith 1955: 48). Basically, the Hausa or Kanuri marriage contract states that women should respect and obey their husbands, and that husbands should provide for their wives (Cohen 1971: 96; Smith 1955: 59-60). A Hausa wife is supposed to bow down when approaching her husband, obey all his orders, and also obey his senior wife and his parents. She must cook, sweep, sleep with him, nurse their children and surrender them on divorce. If she is in purdah she must remain in the compound. If not she must draw water and sometimes collect firewood. This will depend on whether the husband can afford to have a well in the compound or can pay to have someone deliver water and firewood to the house. Men are obligated to provide their wives with food (this does not include the mid-day snack)³, a separate hut, firewood for post-natal ablutions, a ram for naming ceremonies, burial, shelter, and care. A husband should give his wife one cloth a year, arrange for washing her clothes, and sleep with her two nights in succession in rotation with his other wives. He should visit his wife's parents and should allow

her to do so also. A daughter's marriage payment should be divided with his wife while a son's marriage payments and tax are his responsibility (all information from Smith 1955: 59-60). These obligations represent the cultural ideal and in practice vary considerably with the socio-economic level and personality of the men and women concerned.

Polygyny (Islam allows a man to have up to four wives) is a cultural ideal which most men would like to achieve, as having several wives symbolizes success and enhances the image of the husband. In fact not many men achieve this goal as they are too poor to support more than one wife. In Batagarawa, two thirds of all heads of farming units and most of the men working within the farming units have only one wife (Hill 1972: 37). The local aristocracy who are wealthier and can shoulder the increased costs, have more wives than the peasants (Hill 1972: 37 see Table II.12). Of the 66 married Kanuri women in the Maiduguri study, 59.1% were in monogamous marriages, 21% had one co-wife, 6.1% had two co-wives and 13.6% had three co-wives (Hardiman 1974: 8).

Divorce is possible among both the Hausa and the Kanuri and is regulated by Islamic law. A husband can repudiate his wife, that is divorce her, by saying he wishes to do so. A woman, however, must go through the courts. This procedure is quite complicated and is rarely resorted to by Kanuri women who are more likely to act in such a way as to force their husbands to divorce them (Cohen 1971: 122). Hausa women more frequently use the courts. If it is a Hausa woman's first marriage and there are no children she is supposed to return part of the marriage payment, and is apparently frequently assisted in this payment by her prospective second husband (Smith 1955 cited in Hill 1972: 226). In Hausaland the statistics are fragmentary, but the impression is that divorce is frequent (Hill 1972: 23). It is estimated that it occurs two to three times in a woman's lifetime (M.G. Smith 1964: 26) although there are many women who are married to the same man all their lives (Hill 1972: 23). The data for the Kanuri are much more complete as a detailed study of marriage and divorce in Kanuri society exists (Cohen 1971). The Kanuri divorce rates cited in the study are among the highest ever recorded (Cohen 1971: 124). 54% of all marriages ever contracted end in divorce and 81% of the completed marriages end in divorce (see Cohen 1971: 125 Table 10.2). In Hardiman's sample of 88 Kanuri women where the average age was 38, 44 women had been married once, 21 twice, 16 three times, 4 four times, 2 five times and 1 six times (see Hardiman 1974: 7, Table 6).

It is difficult to verify the real causes of divorce as the reasons given may in fact have simply been "the last straw". These reasons do usually indicate sources of tension in marital relationships. It is clear from statements of Hausa women and men that relations between co-wives, lack of attention by husbands, disagreements with in-laws, failure to fulfill marriage obligations, and lack of continuing sexual attraction are sources of tension in Hausa marriages (Smith 1955: 64). Reasons for divorce given by Kanuri respondents are similar with failure to fulfill the marriage obligations rating high (Cohen 1971: 133). Within the marriage, husbands are supposed to provide food and shelter, women are to assist and obey; thus if either party does not live up to the expectations of the other and fulfill his/her obligations, problems occur which may threaten the marriage.

In both societies it is women who are primarily responsible for the socialization of children. The ties that develop between a mother and her children are often the strongest emotional bonds of a person's life. Men are frequently closer to their mothers than they are to their wives. On divorce, however, women must surrender their children to their husbands. Infants remain with their mother, but a father may claim the child at about four years of age. Given that Hausa marriages are rather brittle it is more usual for a mother to be separated from her children than for a father (Smith 1955: 48). It can be a difficult situation for young children when they are left in the care of co-wives who put the interests of their own children before that of the divorced wife's children. At the same time, it is extremely upsetting for many mothers to leave their children behind.

It is common for Hausa and Kanuri women who have reached menopause to be divorced by their husbands so that they can marry younger women (Barkow 1972: 320; Cohen 1971: 58-59). In one Hausa village study 35% of women over 45 were not married as compared to 4% between 30 and 40 (Barkow 1972). In rural Zaria in Smith's sample of 44 women over 50, one half were unmarried at the time of the study (Smith 1955: 62). Women at this age frequently go to live with their sons as they have an obligation to support them, but this can be a time of real hardship for women who do not have children to care for them. Among the Hausa the position of older women can sometimes be one of considerable power and influence as many household members will consult her about marriages and divorces as well as other household decisions (Barkow 1972: 321). This position is not one of much authority in the Kanuri household

(Cohen 1967: 72). Older women try to continue their economic activity as long as possible in order to maintain some independence and to contribute something to the household budget (Cohen 1971: 72). Old women may act as intermediaries in arranging love affairs as they can move easily in and out of the women's quarters and about the town (Cohen 1960: 140; M.F. Smith 1964: 64) and frequently appear in this role in Hausa folktales (see N. Skinner 1969). Older women and children are the only group who can move about in this manner as younger women are in seclusion and men are prevented from entering the women's quarters except in their own homes.

The position of Hausa and Kanuri women shows a marked degree of domestic dependence with considerable intrasocietal variation along a number of axes; older/younger, urban/rural, aristocrat/peasant and married/unmarried. As women become older they have increasing freedom in terms of mobility, sometimes increasing domestic influence, and ability to expand their trade activities. Men who depend on their wives because of their economic contribution are often less dominating as they fear their wives may leave them. This means they would have no one to prepare food for them and additionally could not afford the expense required in acquiring another wife. Unmarried women who are divorced or widowed have greater control over decisions affecting them, but they too must depend on relatives for accommodation and food. They are expected to remarry within a period of about three months. Hausa and Kanuri women live in a state of dependence on men.

Discussion and Summary

Societies do not convert to Islam over night. Islamization is a process. As it develops it alters the beliefs and behaviour of the people and the institutions of the society, but the ideology itself is also modified and adapted at the same time. Certain aspects of Islam are accented while other aspects are considerably modified or ignored. The amount of freedom women have under Islam depends as much on custom and economic circumstances as it does on religious restriction (Trimingham 1959: 176). The well-travelled Yoruba trader (discussed in Chapter II) considers herself as much a Muslim as her secluded Kanuri sister in Maiduguri. Islam came very early to the Hausa and Kanuri kingdoms. Among the Hausa it began as a cult religion of the ruling class in the 15th century (Trimingham 1968: 19), but the cities did not convert to Islam until after the Fulani Jihad (1800-1810). The rapid spread of Islam into the

rural areas did not occur until after the British conquest at the beginning of the twentieth century (Greenberg 1946: 9). The British at this time passed new laws which in effect freed the slaves, and female slaves who had been involved in agricultural production now seemed to prefer seclusion in imitation of the wives of their former masters (Trimingham 1959: 189). This gave them greater leisure in which they turned to craft and trade activities (M.G. Smith 1964: 23). With the spread of Islam throughout the countryside, wife seclusion also became a symbol of Muslim identity.

Seclusion is a custom associated with Islamic societies although not a point on which the Koran is emphatically clear (Cohen A. 1969: 52 cited in Hill 1972: 279). Sexual segregation is supported with arguments about the nature of women and justified on religious grounds but the seclusion of wives is often a symbol of the husband's Muslim identity and his socio-economic position. Seclusion is definitely related to social class and a rise in the standard of living. There are reports from Niger where previously Hausa women were not secluded that some men are beginning to prohibit their wives from farming, and are compensating them to achieve this (Hill 1972: 279). Hardiman (1974: 7) also reports that in rural Bor'no wealthy men are beginning to seclude their wives. Formerly, seclusion was practised most strictly by upper class aristocrats and wealthy merchants of both Hausa and Kanuri society and was much copied by men with social aspirations. "For the Kanuri; the appearance of upper class membership enhances an individual in the eyes of himself and his fellows" (Cohen 1960: 222). Today, Hausa men appear to be willing to forgo the advantages of a woman's productive activities in order to gain prestige from seclusion. Hill (1972: 190-193) lists the under-utilization of labour resources during the farming season as a contributing cause of poverty in Batagarawa. Wife seclusion is given as one example of under-utilization. She cites other West African cases, such as the Kanuri, where female labour is a "major factor in crop production" (citing Cohen 1960: 274). Although Kanuri women are involved in production, as I demonstrate below the Kanuri are poorer not richer than the Hausa. Women's trade however would certainly benefit if women were not in seclusion.

As I have illustrated, local custom has modified Islamic tradition in a number of specific ways among the Hausa and Kanuri. For example, a man is required to allow his wife to visit her family no matter how strict the seclusion and this is an obligation which stems from customary not Islamic law (Cohen 1961: 1238). In the case of inheritance law, we have seen that it has been applied in ways to deny women rights that in fact Islamic law provides. Although both the Hausa and Kanuri societies are Islamic, rural Hausa women are secluded while rural Kanuri women are not secluded and make up the bulk of the agricultural labour force. The seclusion of women then needs a more complex explanation than one based solely on religious ideology. The explanation involves a consideration of a combination of economic, demographic and historical-ideological factors in Hausaland and Borno.

The major determining factor is that Borno is poorer than Hausaland. During the last fifty years, Borno has been less integrated into the export economy than most of Hausaland. For example, the railroad connecting the north to the seaport of Lagos reached Kano in 1911 but was not extended to Maiduguri until 1964. Buchanan and Pugh (1955) in their economic geography of Nigeria show lower export production and lower per capita income for Borno than for Hausaland. Both Smith (1955) and Cohen (1960) outline budgets for rural households which are calculations not only of cash income but also of subsistence in-kind income. Smith's figures for Hausaland are for the 1949-50 period and Cohen's for 1955-1957. Cohen (1960:307) comments that his figures are comparable to those that Smith (1955) had calculated for rural Hausaland. However, later Cohen (1971: 208 #4) adds that he believes that his earlier figures were "distorted upward by the fact that the respondents were better off than the average and were generally older members of the community picked to participate in an agricultural experiment because of their influence". This would mean that the incomes for Borno generally were lower than those of Hausaland. Even with the agricultural contribution of Kanuri women incomes are lower.

Borno has a lower population density than Hausaland and as previously mentioned a lower water table which has made well construction difficult. One of the pre-conditions of female seclusion is the provision of wells within the compound (Hill 1972: 24). If no household wells exist, this service may be provided by an occupational group of water carriers (Horowitz 1974), but neither of these situations exists in Borno and the seclusion of women is

difficult. This is not the case in most of Hausaland where well-construction is less difficult. In the dispersed hamlets just outside Batagarawa where there are no wells within the compounds women are not secluded (Hill 1972: 279).

It was suggested to me that Kanuri Islam stems from the Islamic tradition of the central Sudan which is less strict than the Jihadi principles which govern large parts of Hausaland and which allows women more freedom (Personal communication MSZ)⁴. The fact that Kanuri men like to seclude their wives and that rural men are beginning to do so where it is possible argues against this. The suggestion that it is a more recent imitation of the Hausa pattern does not alter the fact that economically it must be possible to seclude wives. From the Hausa data we have seen that men are willing to undergo some hardship in order to gain prestige from seclusion, but it seems likely that there is a lower limit beyond which subsistence would be jeopardized.

Economic and environmental variables are of primary importance in whether or not women are secluded. A lower standard of living in combination with the lack of wells has meant that Kanuri women must be unsecluded in order to draw water and perform agricultural labour.

In the cases considered, religious ideology directly inhibits domestic autonomy by creating structures and laws which physically isolate a woman from most aspects of public life placing her directly under the control of men. These same structures further strengthen women's dependence by preventing them from engaging in economic activities which would provide a base for the growth of autonomy. But it is not simply ideology which inhibits. A religious ideology provides a range of possibilities some of which are selected by the culture and others which are rejected, according to the socio-economic situation in which it develops. Chapter II illustrates this point clearly for Islam arrived in Yorubaland in a different historical period when the economic system was quite different and thus the impact has not been the same as in Hausaland.

One factor which inhibits women's economic activities is the inheritance pattern as regulated by Islamic law and modified by customary practice, which denies women access to land on which she might farm and houses where she might live separately and independently of her father or her husband. Women have limited access to capital and credit although this they share with

men as a problem of the underdeveloped economy. Women are constrained by the cultural explanation of their "nature", their minds and their proper sphere of activity. Ideology not only constrains their activities it acts as a rationalization of the existing situation. In Hausaland and urban Borno the overwhelming limitation on women's activities is seclusion. It physically confines them to their husband's compound, places limits on the scope of their activities and makes them dependent on children, male kinsmen and older women. Seclusion is, however, simply part of a larger pattern of sexual segregation. There are male and female spheres of activity and for the most part the two fields, male and female, are congruent with the social-public and domestic-private spheres. This separation has meant that women have their own sphere of activity where they must take control. They have to meet some of their own and their children's needs from their own resources. Women have developed skills appropriate to the scale of trade in which they engage. The negative aspect is that the female sphere is so small that women are excluded from large segments of social life and their physical confinement becomes a psychological and intellectual confinement as well.

Hausa women do engage in individual social production, and according to Sacks (1971) this should lead to greater personal freedom. The crucial point to note is that even when a Hausa woman does achieve a measure of economic independence, as in Batagarawa, this has relatively little effect on her domestic situation. Social production in this case does not lead to greater personal freedom. We have here a case characterized by economic independence and domestic dependence. This means we must go beyond economic factors in discovering the crucial determining variables of women's autonomy. In this chapter we have seen that the ideological variable is the crucial one.

Chapter II presents us with an interesting contrast. Yoruba women are extremely mobile and highly visible in the economy.

Footnotes for Chapter I

1. For one version of this legend see Johnston (1966: 111-113).
2. The second half of Polly Hill's book Rural Hausa: A Village and a Setting has a marvellously complete commentary which is really an encyclopaedia of Hausaland.
3. "In Hausa households the women cook an evening meal and sometimes a morning one. All other food is referred to as 'snacks' and is bought in the market or from women who prepare it in their compounds. While much of the cooked food is sold to men, women also buy mid-day 'snacks' from each other through the intermediary of children. Processing food and making these 'snacks' are the most widespread economic activities of Hausa women both rural and urban" (Remy 1975: 364).
4. The Hausa refer to the Kanuri as, "Na Shehu Larabawan bidia". This means the followers of the Shehu who favour luxury. Bidia means religious innovation (sometimes heresy) but associated with pleasure not technological innovation. An example would be the acceptance of drumming.

CHAPTER II
DOMESTIC AUTONOMY WITHOUT POLITICAL POWER

Moving south from the savannah grasslands home of the Hausa and Kanuri, we come to the rain forest region of the Yoruba in southwestern Nigeria. Yoruba women, familiar to many as the formidable, hard-bargaining traders of Nigerian markets are often presented as the most independent women in Africa (LeVine 1970: 179). A careful examination of the ethnographic material will allow us to see whether these images match the reality.

The Yoruba are a large ethnic group located mainly in southwestern Nigeria where they number between ten and eleven million (1963 Nigerian census cited in Bascom 1969: 1). Their language is of the Kwa subfamily of the Niger-Congo group of languages (Bascom 1969: 8). Politically, they were organized into a large number of kingdoms, perhaps as many as fifty, but there is no evidence that these kingdoms ever formed one political unity (Lloyd 1966: 551).

One of the most striking aspects of Yoruba society is its long urban tradition stretching back at least six hundred years (Marshall 1964: 1). Yoruba cities had an agricultural base and were surrounded by a belt of farmland up to fifteen miles in width (Bascom 1969: 4). Seventy-five per cent of Yoruba men are still farmers engaged in hoe agriculture (Lloyd 1966: 556). Cocoa is now the main export crop but palm oil and palm kernels are also important (Krapf-Askari 1969: 3). The Yoruba economy is a diversified one with an advanced non-agricultural sector (Hodder 1969: 16) making the Yoruba one of the richest peasant groups in Africa (Lloyd 1966: 578).

Descent is reckoned patrilineally except among some southern Yoruba sub-groups where there are cognatic descent groups (Lloyd 1968: 67). Residence after marriage is virilocal and usually patrilocal.

The ethnographic material presented here is drawn mainly from Lloyd (1966; 1968), Bascom (1969) and Marshall (1964). There is an enormous Yoruba literature (see Baldwin and Baldwin 1976) which contains much general information about women but few systematic studies. The following section describes the economic activities of Yoruba women concentrating mainly on trade, the area in which they have gained such renown.

Economic Life

Although agriculture is important in the Yoruba economy, women do very little farm work (Lloyd 1966: 557; Hodder 1969: 17). They have rights to land but since they rarely farm they only activate these rights when their adult sons need land (Marshall 1964: 63). Women are, however, dominant in dyeing, pottery making, vertical loom weaving and food processing (Hodder 1969: 17). Cooking and child care are women's responsibilities but specialists have taken over such domestic tasks as cooking, sewing, washing, ironing, and hairdressing. This considerably reduces the amount of time spent by Yoruba women on household tasks (Marshall 1964: 258). Trade, however, is the major activity of Yoruba women. In other societies where women do not cultivate but are traders, the evidence suggests that they entered the distributive sector at the beginning of the colonial period (Marshall 1964: 1-2). There is no evidence that Yoruba women were ever only cultivators (Marshall 1964: 1-2). Traditionally they were involved in local level trade, although a small number engaged in interurban trade which required travelling in armed caravans for safety (Marshall 1964: 77). Today Yoruba women are found in all areas of the market except butchering and selling cattle, but they operate mainly in cloth, provisions and foodstuffs (Bascom 1969: 26).

Trade

That women are found everywhere in trade is clear to even the most casual visitor to Yorubaland. The studies of Comhaire-Sylvain (1951), Marris (1962), and Baker (1974) provide more detail about the contemporary market women of Lagos. In a sample of 170 employed women in Lagos, Comhaire-Sylvain (1951: 171) found that 84.7% were in trade. The majority of the traders fell within four descriptive categories, (a) hawkers who had a tray of goods and moved about the streets, (b) traders with glass cases usually displayed in front of their homes, (c) shopowners who sometimes owned market stalls, and (d) market traders (Comhaire-Sylvain 1951: 173-179). In 1948 there were 15 markets and about 8,000 traders. By the early 1970's the Lagos City Markets and Women's Organization claimed a membership of 63,000 and listed 33 markets (Baker 1974: 224).

The great majority of women traders are Muslim, polygynously married, and illiterate (Baker 1974: 228). They begin their trading careers when they are small girls assisting an older female relative in her commercial activities and learning business skills from her. When a woman marries, her husband is expected to provide her with capital to begin trade. This sum varied between £2-5 in 1950 (Comhaire-Sylvain 1951: 171) and by 1960 averaged about £30 (Marris 1962: 53). Marris (1962: 53) found that most women had in fact received their starting capital from their husbands, but Marshall's (1964: 185) studies in the town of Awe had different results. Although husbands were expected to give their brides starting capital, most women actually began with money saved from their own pre-marriage trading with their mother or other women. Perhaps men in small towns such as Awe have less capital available than residents of Lagos.

As indicated above the main commodities traded by women are cloth, provisions and foodstuffs. The proportions of traders in each of these product lines can be seen in Table 2.

TABLE 2
WHAT TRADERS SELL

(Proportions of 51 men and 149 women traders interviewed in central Lagos)

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Textiles	25%	24%
Provisions and Cigarettes	4	23
Foodstuffs	12	31
Other	43	18
No Specialty	16	4

(from Marris 1962: 75)

As can be seen from the table, 25% of female and male traders are in textiles and 54% of the women are in foodstuffs and provisions. Women often begin in fresh foodstuffs and having amassed some capital move into provisions which require more capital (M. Cohen 1972: 91-92). Textile trade is the most profitable. Women who trade in this commodity are likely to pursue their trade all along the coast of West Africa buying and selling as they travel (Baker 1974: 228; Comhaire-Sylvain 1951: 180). Although it is some-

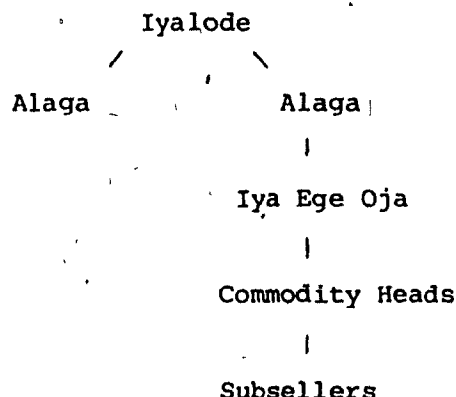
times assumed that women operate exclusively in retail trade, the line between wholesalers and retailers is a blurred one since many women combine both aspects of the trade, selling retail to one customer and in bulk to another (Baker 1974: 225; Remy 1968: 18; Comhaire-Sylvain 1951: 177).

Income statistics are not completely reliable but they do allow a general impression. Among the traders sampled in Table 2 (see above) women made less than men. 66% of the women but only 25% of the men made less than £11 per month. 38% of the men but only 14% of the women made more than £21 (Marris 1962: 76). The proportion of cloth sellers earning £11 or more a month was double that of the food and provision sellers (Marris 1962: 76). Baker (1974: 227) estimates that at one end of the scale hawkers might average £1 - 3 per month while large scale traders earn £100 or more per month. In general income depends more on capital invested than kind of stock. Since women had less capital they made less (Marris 1962: 76). One source of capital for women traders is the esusu club which is similar to the rotating credit associations described for the Hausa. Bascom (1952: 67) discusses one type of esusu where all the women in one compound form a savings club. Baker (1974: 231) and Remy (1968: 12) note the existence of esusu among the traders but do not provide details.

Market women form organizations to facilitate trade by regulating prices, controlling supplies and settling disputes within the market. Commodity organizations where the oldest women act as heads are a long-standing organizational form¹ (Lloyd 1953: 43; Hodder 1969: 55). Although the existence of these organizations has long been noted, little has been understood of their origins, organizational forms, and activities (Hopkins 1973: 57 #120; Baker 1974: 349 #25). It is interesting to note that it is only the market-based women who are organized (Marshall 1964: 27). Without this type of organization the numbers of traders and the wide variety of transactions would soon produce chaos in the markets. Street hawkers do not require the same kind of organization.

Lagos traders are "organized around a powerful hierarchy of traditional market leaders who maintain strict supervision over all the main markets in the city...resolving conflict and enforcing discipline" (Baker 1974: 229).

TABLE 3
MARKET ORGANIZATION IN LAGOS



(from Baker 1974: 229-231)

At the head of the hierarchy is the Iyalode (Mother of the Markets). This is a traditional chieftaincy title whose incumbent is, according to traditional protocol, second in status to the Oba (the king) and who participates in the appointment and installation of the Oba. Under the Iyalode are the Alagas or chairwomen of the various markets who are responsible for co-ordinating market affairs and regulating disputes. The Iya Egbe Oja are section heads in charge of a group of traders in a product range. They are mainly concerned with supply, sale, preparation and processing of merchandise. Below this level are the commodity heads and subsellers. The Alagas have regular monthly meetings at the home of the Iyalode. These leaders "exercise a remarkable degree of control over the markets, levying duties as seems necessary, keeping rivalry within tolerable limits, maintaining order and peace, and directing affairs of group interest" (all information from Baker 1974: 229-231). We shall return to a discussion of the political activities of these women in Chapter IV.

Women control the income from their trade and spend it on personal needs, their children and their relatives (Marris 1962: 53). All traders reinvest profits in their own businesses. In addition, small scale traders invest in jewellery, while women with larger profits invest in houses which they rent. In 1950 there was a group of about 400 women who owned between three and five houses each (Comhaire-Sylvain 1951: 176). Women also pay for further

education for their children. It is usually sons who are sent abroad for further studies as daughters are expected to follow their mothers in trade (Baker 1974: 229).

Men and women have separate budgets and do not know the size of each other's incomes. Women are sometimes wealthier than their husbands (Bascom 1969: 65; Lloyd 1966: 566). In at least one small town men do not have substantially larger incomes than women (Marshall 1964: 201). Husbands who are having financial difficulties are often supported and helped by their wives, and many households would be seriously in debt without the wife's contribution (Marris 1962: 53; 81).

Husbands and wives cannot inherit from each other. A woman's goods go to her junior siblings or others in her descent group (Lloyd 1968: 68). Tools such as looms and dye pots are a form of personal property and as such are inherited (Personal communication D. Aronson). When a woman's father dies she has a right to a share of his personal properties including land (Marshall 1964: 63). A man's property is divided equally according to the number of wives but it is the children who inherit (Bascom 1969: 46). The father's house is left to males. Land and houses until quite recently were vested in the lineage and women lived in the house of their father and then of their husband.

Large numbers of Yoruba women are involved in economic pursuits which bring them in contact with a wide variety of people and expose them to the information and activities of the market place. The world in which they live is much broader and more varied than the world of Hausa and Kanuri women. Yoruba women manage their own businesses which range in size from the small head tray piled high with wares and balanced on the head of the street hawker to the firms of the large scale cloth sellers with branches in several cities. They make important contributions to the family budgets. In order to manage their own affairs they have formed collective organizations. Market women have been described as "the most autonomous and self-sufficient interest group in Lagos" (Baker 1974: 232).

Political-Legal Roles and Limitations

In contrast to the Hausa and Kanuri women the legal rights of Yoruba women are the same as the rights of Yoruba men. A woman can enter independently all forms of contracts and can take action in her own name on all legal matters arising from them (Lloyd 1968: 69). One factor contributing to the existence of such a status is the need to facilitate trading activities, which become too cumbersome if a woman must be represented in all transactions by a male. Women in southern Nigeria began to vote in 1950 (Baker 1974: 235) whereas, it will be remembered, women in northern Nigeria never received the vote.

One might expect that since women have had such a long history of independent trade activity that they also have been involved in the traditional political system. It appears that women have had definite roles to play but the evidence is rather fragmentary.

In Ibadan in 1851 there were four lines of chiefs. The fourth line was civil, headed by the Iyalode and represented the interests of women. The Iyalode was described by a European woman in 1872 as "a sort of queen, a person of much influence and looked upon with much respect" (Anna Hinderer quoted in Awe 1967: 19). The Iyalode was probably like the Iyalode of Lagos described above (Personal communication D. Aronson).

In Ife there were two senior women, the Yeye Ojumu who was the head of the elder women and the Yeyeloja who was in charge of the market women and settled their disputes (Bascom 1969: 33-34). Women were also organized for political purposes especially among the Oyo Yoruba in a town organization called the Egbe Iyalode. Members were mainly craftswomen and traders and their comments were apparently listened to with respect. In some towns the Iyalode the head of the Egbe sat on the town council (Fadipe 1970: 253).

The Ogboni cult which in addition to other activities functioned as a senior law court (Bascom 1969: 35) was made up predominantly of men, but usually had about six women members called Erelu whose duty it was to represent the interests of the women of the town (Morton-Williams 1960: 368)². Also the Alafin of Oyo heard reports of Ogboni meetings from a woman who attended

on his behalf (Morton-Williams 1960: 365). Female members of the Ogboni were said to possess witchcraft (Morton-Williams 1960: 369-370).³

Domestic Life

Today young women marry at 16 to 20 years of age and men in their mid to late 20's (Lloyd 1966: 564), while formerly men were probably older (Bascom 1969: 64). In the past children were frequently betrothed but this is rarer now and a young person has a greater part in the choice of a marriage partner (Lloyd 1966: 566). Formerly also Yoruba girls were expected to be virgins at the time of their marriage. The display of a bloodied white cloth was part of the marriage ceremony. Informants agreed that 90% of the time the girl was a virgin, but today this is rarely the case and proof of virginity is no longer a part of the ceremony (Bascom 1969: 62).

Marriage is virilocal and patrilocal and the wife's position is characterized by overt submission and economic independence (Lloyd 1966: 566). A wife respects and defers to her husband, kneels when greeting him, does not eat with him, and never addresses him by his name (Marshall 1964: 56). Marriage gives a man the right to the woman's domestic labour, the right of sole sexual access and the right to all children born during the marriage (Lloyd 1966: 564). A man can claim compensation for his wife's adultery (Lloyd 1966: 564), but he is allowed additional wives as well as other sexual relationships. Men must provide their wives with a room (though not necessarily to herself), with money to start her own craft or trade, and must see that she does not go without food and clothing. Most women in fact provide their own clothing and some food. Perhaps one fifth buy all their own food and clothing (Lloyd 1966: 566). Marshall (1964: 201) claims there are no clear cut responsibilities, that men provide what they can and women do the rest.

Most Yoruba marriages are polygynous although there are no reliable figures indicating the degree of polygyny (Lloyd 1966: 564-565). One survey of 776 heads of households shows that 2.5% were wifeless, 34.9% were married monogamously and 62.6% polygynously (Galetti, Baldwin, Dina 1956 cited in Bascom 1969: 64). As these figures apply to heads of household who are likely to be older and wealthier the figures for polygyny may be a bit higher than for the general population.

As among the Hausa and Kanuri there is a close and affectionate tie that develops between a mother and her children, while the father is frequently distant and authoritarian (Lloyd 1966: 566). A Yoruba woman's first concerns are for her children (Marshall 1964: 253), and women frequently say that their children are the most important thing in their lives (Leighton et al. 1963: 47). It is from their children that women receive emotional satisfaction (Leighton et al. 1963: 47). Lloyd (1966: 566) notes that all but the most sophisticated (men) regard their mother as closer than their wives. This was also true for Hausa-Kanuri men. Children are taught to be self-reliant (Marris 1962: 55,57) and begin to assist their parents when they are quite young. At divorce men have a right to all children born during the marriage and usually claim them at about the age of seven.

Although many Yorubas are Muslims, Yoruba women are not secluded. Formerly a Yoruba woman made daily ritual visits to her parents home for a period of 84 days after her marriage. On completion of these visits she was free to come and go as she pleased (Bascom 1969: 63). Once a woman has embarked on a trade today she is free to go wherever necessary to pursue her trade and a man would not suggest that his wife join him on his farm if this would interfere with her trade (Marshall 1964: 204). Women traders must often be away from home (Marris 1962: 48). Comhaire-Sylvain (1951: 177) tells of a woman who had six children and travelled between Lagos and Abeokuta, a distance of about 50 miles, thirty times during 1947 both during her pregnancy and while nursing her child.

Yoruba women although frequently economically independent do not see themselves as having equal authority with their husbands and in situations where there are disagreements they usually defer to them (Marshall 1964: 255-256). In some cases the couple will submit to the arbitration of a senior male in the compound (Personal communication D. Aronson). Wives and husbands may have separate residences for short periods and so make daily decisions independently. Within the household the senior wife divides and allocates the women's household tasks (Marshall 1964: 52). Women do not participate in the affairs of their husband's lineage, but wives of lineage members have responsibilities for such tasks as cleaning the main chamber. They hold bimonthly meetings to solve relevant problems (Bascom 1969: 45). As members of their own lineage, women have responsibilities and are expected to participate in lineage affairs (Bascom 1969: 46).

In the past divorce was rare but is apparently more frequent now (Lloyd 1966: 565). All divorce actions are initiated by women and occur in the customary courts. If a man is dissatisfied with his wife he ignores her but she remains in the compound and supports herself. Two thirds of all divorcées run away to their lover's house where they then sue for divorce. In this case part of the marriage payment must be refunded, the amount being determined by the judge. As most women have chosen a new husband before they leave their old one, with the exception of a few older women, the divorced husbandless woman does not exist (Lloyd 1968: 71). Divorce statistics are unreliable but the rate seems to be high (Lloyd 1966: 565). I would guess however, that it is lower than the Kanuri rate for there seem to be other ways of solving marital disputes such as separate residences for part of the year. Yoruba women have more control over their lives and more ways of altering unpleasant situations.

Age is an important determinant of status in Yoruba society and the older a woman becomes the more important her role in lineage affairs (Marshall 1964: 61). For example, in cases of property dispute she might be called upon to remember events which took place early in her life or to report facts of lineage history. If a woman is the oldest child of a father she would be consulted by her brothers before any decision regarding properties was made (Marshall 1964: 61). Wealth is also an important determinant of status and if a woman were a wealthy trader she would function in her lineage "like a man" and have control over disposable property (Marshall 1964: 68). In general, it appears that final decisions continue to rest with men although older women have an influential consultative role. Children accept the responsibility for looking after elderly parents but unlike Hausa and Kanuri women Yoruba women are rarely divorced after the age of forty. Some women do choose to live separately from their husbands and return to their natal compounds (Lloyd 1968: 71). Perhaps because older Yoruba women are less of a strain financially on their husbands, they are less frequently divorced. When a man dies his wives are inherited by his heir usually a younger sibling and if a woman does not like the heir she must formally divorce him (Lloyd 1966: 565). Women who are grandmothers frequently reduce the scope of their trading and look after their grandchildren so their daughters can spend more time on their own trade.

Discussion and Summary

One of the questions that arises from the literature is why Yoruba women are currently and have been historically involved in trade in such large numbers. Hodder (1969: 24) and Pedler (cited in Hodder 1969: 24) both argue that the predominance of women arose as a result of the continuous warfare of the 19th century when women could move about the countryside more safely than men. They do not offer an explanation as to why women could move about more safely, nor does it seem logical as presumably women would be valued as captives. Marshall (1964: 77) also disputes Hodder's view and argues that the predominance of women is related to the settlement pattern. Large numbers of people lived in walled towns surrounded by farm lands. While the problem of why Yoruba towns developed at all is still unresolved (Krapf-Askari 1969: 155), within the Yoruba town there was a high degree of craft and service specialization and thus a need for the exchange of goods and services (Marshall 1964: 78). For the most part women who were looking after children remained inside the town walls where it was safe, while men were usually outside farming and fighting (Marshall 1964: 82). Since women were already in the town they undertook this exchange function.

The traditional division of labour was perpetuated during the colonial period by the introduction of cash crops which led to an expansion of the internal market for farm products. This combined with the lack of jobs in the non-agricultural sector kept men in agriculture and expanded the number of jobs in the distributive sector which kept women in trade (Marshall 1964: 89-90).

Successful trade requires capital, personal flexibility and mobility. All are present in Yoruba society. Access to trading capital has been institutionalized in the form of a cash gift from the husband to his wife. Legally women can enter into all kinds of contractual arrangements. Yoruba women cannot be compelled nor are they even expected to follow their husbands to a new location when this would interfere with their trade. Separate residences are a feature of Yoruba society. In addition women who must devote considerable time to their business activities cannot undertake heavy domestic responsibilities and in fact they have access to specialists. Older women also assist with child care. These domestic and legal features are a result of the interplay of the conditions required for successful trade with women's

domestic responsibilities. Women are expected to maintain themselves financially and thus the domestic and legal situation supports and enhances a woman's economic pursuits. The requirements of trade have altered aspects of the family which in turn support trading practice. Being a trader is a part of a woman's self-image. She sees herself as a woman, mother, wife and trader. It is a well-defined role accepted by both men and women and the Yoruba family accommodates and adapts to this role (Marshall 1964: 258).

Two other features of Yoruba life enhance a woman's autonomy. One is her relationship to her own lineage. She has definite responsibilities in the lineage and can always return to her natal compound in times of trouble. The second is the respect and increasing authority which come with age.

Although many Yoruba are Muslims, in Yorubaland Islam has always been a personal religion rather than a state religion as it is in Hausaland and Borno (Lloyd 1966: 574). Muslim regulations of marriage, divorce and inheritance are not followed (Lloyd 1966: 574), and Islam does not inhibit women's activities in the way observed in northern Nigeria. Market traders in Lagos joined the Jam'at congregation, a Muslim sect which raised the status of women (Baker 1974: 235). One concludes that women were well-established traders when Islam began to make inroads into Yoruba society and refused to accept practices which threatened their trade.

Despite a high degree of economic independence and considerable domestic autonomy, women are not perceived by men as being equals. Fadipe (1970: 326) writing in 1937 stated that women are considered to be inferior and Leighton et al. (1963: 45) in their studies found that "people believe that women are intended to serve and obey men and no matter how old a woman is she still needs a man to look after her".

How Yoruba men actually perceive women is ambiguous. According to Prince (1961: 804) all Yoruba women are potentially witches. It is not clear whether all women perceive themselves to be potentially witches. Such characteristics as old age, facial hair, or unusual behaviour may lead people to suspect a woman of being a witch (Prince 1961: 798). Witches are supposed to engage in two types of activity, sucking the blood which causes wasting

diseases and eating a victim's spirit which interferes with his sexuality. Prince (1961: 798) postulates a fundamental relationship between menstrual blood and witchcraft, but this raises a number of problems as it is frequently older women, who are certainly past menopause, who are thought to be witches. If all Yoruba women potentially possess these attributes which cause them to be labelled "witches", surely we are discussing a characteristic or quality of the female character which merits fuller and more accurate descriptions than found in such terms as "witch" and "witchcraft". LeVine (1970: 179) links the perception of women as witches with male fear and resentment of successful women. He suggests that Yoruba men are not only resentful of female independence but that they feel emasculated by it and envy it. This manifests itself in two tendencies in men. One is a widespread preoccupation with impotence and the other the occurrence of male transvestism in ritual and cultural fantasy (LeVine 1970: 179). He does not present evidence which would link these variables, and it is not obvious that these two cultural features are causally related to "the long-standing pattern of feminine independence". Why should men be sexually threatened by a presumably long-standing and well-accepted female role (Marshall 1964: 257)? Another Yoruba symbol, the linked male-female edan brass figures of the Ogboni cult embodies the principle of male-female complementarity. Both figures are seen as necessary to restore peaceful and co-operative relations (Morton-Williams 1960: 369-370). Men's perception of women's power and their symbolic representation of it is a complex question and one that requires further study (see Chapter IV, Footnote 3).

Are the images of freedom and independence confirmed? To a degree they are. The Yoruba woman's situation is vastly different from that of the Hausa and Kanuri. Her domestic situation contributes to her economic success rather than inhibiting it, still she does not perceive herself, neither is she perceived by men, as being equal to men. We shall return to this question in the concluding chapter, for if the "most independent women in Africa" do not have equal authority with men, then the search for explanation must go beyond the economic sphere.

Chapter IV assesses the situation of two groups of women in Ghana. Again the women are involved in individual social production, but the situation of the Guang reflects neither the dependence of the Hausa nor the freedom of the Yoruba.

Footnotes for Chapter II

1. Men's guilds have many of the same organizational features (Lloyd 1953: 43).
2. Morton-Williams does not give the number of male Ogboni members in Oyo. Bascom (1969: 36) says that in 1937 in Ife there were 100 Ogboni members, all male.
3. Morton-Williams does not say whether the males were also considered to possess witchcraft.

CHAPTER III

TRADE IN GHANA: URBAN AND RURAL

Two groups in Ghana bear comparison with the Yoruba as coastal, relatively commercially oriented people. The first are the Guang of Larteh, a town in the state of Akwapim in southern Ghana. About 35 miles from Larteh is Accra, the capital city and commercial centre of Ghana. The market "mummies" of the Accra markets are as well-known as their Yoruba counterparts. In the second part of this chapter the commercial activities of these Accra market women are discussed.

The Guang

The Guang are believed to be the earliest settlers in present day Ghana but their origins are unknown. They are a patrilineal group who were at one time absorbed into the Ashanti Confederacy and have been affected by the matrilineal patterns of the Ashanti (Klingshirn 1971: 14-17). Guang like Yoruba is a member of the Kwa sub-family of the Niger-Congo language family (Klingshirn 1971: 10 #1). Larteh is the only one of six Guang towns on the Akwapim ridge to retain its own dialect (Klingshirn 1971: 10). Cocoa was introduced into the Akwapim area in the late 19th century. As there was a shortage of land in that area the farmers purchased land to grow cocoa in the neighbouring states and developed villages there close to their farms. This migration which led to an enormous increase in the production of cocoa has been described by Polly Hill (1963). Today Larteh has a population of 6361 most of whom are either full or part-time farmers. The men are often absent from the town working on their cocoa farms (Klingshirn 1971: 10). Most of the food crops are raised by the women, but fish is the principal protein in the diet and is brought daily from the coast twenty-four miles away (Klingshirn 1971: 14). Because it is so near the coast Larteh has a long history of contact with Christian missionaries stretching back over a hundred years and a correspondingly long history of formal education sponsored by the missions (Klingshirn 1971: 17-18).

There have been two recent studies of Larteh, one by David Brokensha (1966) and the second by Agnes Klingshirn (1971). The latter study which focussed on the activities of women and the opportunities that are available

to them in a developing country was more useful in terms of this study.

In the previous chapters we have seen that only Kanuri women have been significantly involved in agricultural labour. Like the Kanuri, Guang women work as dependent labourers for their husbands but they also bear the primary responsibility for food crop production. Whereas among the Yoruba the introduction of cocoa meant an expansion of the female distributive sector among the Guang it meant that women had expanded responsibilities for food crop production.

Economic Life

Among the Guang men and women have different but overlapping responsibilities in agriculture. Basically, women work in food crop production and men in cash crop production. Women raise the food crops of cassava, cocoyams, and vegetables to feed themselves and their families on land to which they have usufruct rights granted by their husband's lineage (Klingshirn 1971: 141-142). Surplus foodstuffs raised by the women on this land are taken to the market and sold. One third of the money is retained by the woman (Klingshirn 1971: 155). Women are also required to work on their husband's cocoa or oil palm plantations in the capacity of dependent labourers, men retaining the money from the sale of the cocoa and palm oil (Klingshirn 1971: 145, 155). A woman may have her own land which she has received from her husband, her own lineage, or she may have purchased it herself. On this land she may grow cash crops after her subsistence obligations have been met. Until recently property was inherited in the male line and women could only inherit land if there were no male heirs (Klingshirn 1971: 129). The traditional heir, usually the husband's younger brother, inherited not only the man's property but also his brother's wives and children and the responsibility for their care. Today it is more usual for a man's property to be divided so that one third goes to his widow, one third to his children, and one third to the customary heir. Inheritance and property rights are allowing more female ownership but women do not yet have equal access. In addition to these agricultural responsibilities women have the domestic responsibilities of child-rearing and food preparation. This means that the time and physical energy for their own cash crop production are limited. If Guang women have access to capital they can hire agricultural labourers (usually northern migrants) to work their farms (Klingshirn 1971: 145).

Weaving, goldsmithing, blacksmithing, and carving wood and ivory are men's tasks, while pottery production is exclusively practised by women (Klingshirn 1971: 142-143). Table 4 below lists the economic activities of 63 women in Larteh and their mothers and daughters.

TABLE 4
OCCUPATIONS OF INTERVIEWEES
THEIR MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>Mothers</u>	<u>No. Among Interviewees</u>	<u>Daughters</u>
Farmers	44	16	8
Petty Traders	6	12	3
Fish Sellers	5	6	2
Seamstresses	1	6	-
Teachers	-	6	8
Storekeepers	-	6	-
Bakers	-	4	2
Housewives	-	3	-
Cloth sellers	2	2	-
Labourer	-	1	-
Okomfo (professional medium)	-	1	-
Nurses	-	-	5
Social Worker	-	-	1
Pupils of Primary & Middle School			16
Pupils of Commercial School			4

(from Klingshirn 1971: 138)

There is in fact a larger percentage of women in Larteh in farming but many women were away at their farms at the time of the survey. Table 4 shows a decline over the three generations of women farmers and an increase in the number of nurses, teachers and women who list themselves as housewives. It also indicates an increase in the number of traders from mothers to interviewees, but a decline from interviewees to daughters. It is likely that some of the daughters now in school will enter trading when they cannot find other employment. Of the 63 women surveyed by Klingshirn (1971: 138) she states that 23 are in trade (she appears to omit the bakers). As Table 5 indicates, the majority of these women had a few years of primary education or less.

TABLE 5
EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF TRADERS

Illiterate	11
Class III	5
Standard III-VI	6
Secondary School	1

(from Klingshirn, 1971: 158)

Most of the traders in Larteh sell food products and Table 6 shows the distribution of full-time traders by commodity in the Larteh-Ahenease Market.

TABLE 6
LIST OF FULL-TIME TRADERS AT LARTEH-
 AHENEASE MARKET (1966)

Type of Traders	
Fishmongers	50
Vegetable Sellers (mainly plaintain, cassava, cocoyam, tomatoes, okra, peas, beans	25
Yam Sellers	10
Sellers of Cosmetic Articles	6

(from Klingshirn, 1971: 161)

Table 6 above illustrates the importance of fish in the diet and the large number of women selling the surplus from their food crop production. There are many more women in part-time trade in Larteh and about 100 women engage in selling in the streets or hawking house to house (Klingshirn 1971: 163).

Most of the trade in Larteh is very small scale and nets the trader about £4 to £5 per month. Capital required to begin trading varies from £5 for cosmetics to £100 for cloth and may come from a woman's husband, her mother or money she herself has saved from trading in surplus food products (Klingshirn 1971: 164 #3).

The Market Women's Association has been in existence in Larteh since 1923 when it was founded to advise the town administration on market matters. Today this association provides its members with mutual assistance, credit, and funeral contributions, and represents the traders' interests to the local authorities (Klingshirn 1971: 235). Other organizations with an economic function are the "mutual benefit or benevolent thrift societies". Some of these associations are organized on the same model as the rotating credit organizations discussed in both the Hausa and Yoruba studies. The Guang societies allow the members to borrow money at low rates as well as giving them access to the contribution pot (Klingshirn 1971: 233-234). In Larteh this sum may reach as high as £50 an amount sufficient to allow a woman to begin an independent trade (Klingshirn 1971: 234). Women outnumber men in these societies by 10 to 1 indicating that women have less access to other kinds of credit and therefore greater need for this type of mutual support (Klingshirn 1971: 234).

In Larteh trade is the preferred occupation of women as they find it easier and less isolated than farming. Women greatly enjoy the social interaction required by trading (Klingshirn 1971: 164-165). Trade is also "preferred" in the sense that women do not have the skills or education to enter other occupations.

As in the other three societies men and women keep their incomes separate and do not know the size of the other's earnings (Klingshirn 1971: 96). Although women are not compelled to contribute to household expenses, many of them do. Of the 23 traders in Klingshirn's (1971: 158) sample, 6 said they were using their incomes only for themselves while being supported by their husbands, 4 were widows supporting themselves, and the remaining 13 said the money was theirs but they used it in the household and to help pay school fees (Klingshirn 1971: 162). Although men are required to provide basic support for their wives and children, any additional things a woman wants she must provide for herself (Klingshirn 1971: 162). A clear sexual division is apparent in decision-making. In the areas under their control - the kitchen, the vegetable garden and the rearing of daughters - women are unchallenged. In all other areas men make the decisions - the handling of money, the education of the children, and public representation (Klingshirn 1971: 96).

Political-Legal, Religious Roles and Limitations

In the traditional political system the Guang had the office of Queen Mother one which was probably borrowed from the Ashanti during the process of Akanization. Although among the matrilineal Ashanti the position was one of some importance, among the Guang it was not. The Guang Queen Mother did not have her own court or palace and she was not one of the Kingmakers (Klingshirn 1971: 216). It is likely that in this pre-colonial situation the majority of women had only very limited political rights or functions (Klingshirn 1971: 217).

Legally Guang women fall between the position of legal minors of the Hausa-Kanuri women and the full legal equality of the Yoruba women. Husbands are responsible for the debts contracted by their wives but the reverse is not true (Klingshirn 1971: 94). All Ghanaian women have been able to vote since 1954 when universal adult suffrage was introduced (Klingshirn 1971: 271).

In traditional religious practice women were of great importance as priestesses, mediums and herbalists. Today one of the most powerful shrines in Ghana is in Larteh and is headed by a woman (Klingshirn 1971: 216). In Larteh in 1965 there were 32 licensed herbalists, 9 of whom were women. Women are also the main support numerically and financially of the churches in Larteh. There are 12 churches in the town with a membership of 4017 and over two-thirds are women (2695). The women's groups associated with the Christian churches are important routes for gaining prestige and skills in modern organizational techniques as well as confidence from participation in such activities (Klingshirn 1971: 257-258). Klingshirn (1971: 255) suggests that one of the reasons for the large scale participation of women as religious practitioners is to compensate for their lack of power in the public sphere. I agree with this explanation for the churches allow women to develop aspects of themselves which do not find expression in other areas.

The prophetic, separatist and healing churches (included in the 12 above) frequently exhibit a negative attitude toward women. Some of them restrict the activity of menstruating women and women who have recently given birth. Others require women to obey men and do not permit them to participate in meetings or Biblical discussions. Women attend these churches

because they can only receive full membership in the Christian churches if they are monogamously married. These churches also conduct rituals in response to women's petitions for safe pregnancy or to become pregnant. Seventy-eight of these churches permit polygyny but proscribe other sexual behaviour (Klingshirn 1971: 265-267). Many of the churches also claim the power to exorcise witches and this again is an area which concerns women, as among the Guang like the Yoruba it is usually women who are accused of being witches (Klingshirn 1971: 273).

Autonomy and Dependence in Domestic Life

In Guang domestic life several themes evident in the other societies recur: the rights in women obtained by men through the marriage contract, the importance of children, and the sexual division of responsibilities.

Marriage is considered the normal state for adults by the Guang. Women when questioned reply that they marry in order to have children (Klingshirn 1971: 68-69). Formerly premarital chastity was required and girls were killed or banished for premarital pregnancy. Today such harsh punishments have disappeared, but promiscuity for girls is still deplored (Klingshirn 1971: 60). An unmarried woman and her child are more accepted by the society, but the woman may still have difficulty in finding a husband (Klingshirn 1971: 61). Men are rarely reproached for their premarital sexual behaviour and this dual standard continues into marriage. Husbands but not wives may engage in extramarital affairs. If a wife is discovered in an affair her husband can sue her lover for damages, but a wife cannot sue in the reverse situation (Klingshirn 1971: 95). Women do have the right to take lovers if their husbands are impotent, fail to sleep with them, or fail to provide maintenance (Klingshirn 1971: 104). The explanation for these differences is in the nature of the marriage contract. The rights in a woman's childbearing capacity, as well as the rights to her domestic, sexual, and economic services are transferred from her family to her husband (Klingshirn 1971: 95). A husband in return must maintain his wife providing housing, food, clothing and medical treatment when required. If either person fails to live up to her/his obligations, divorce is easy and accessible to both men and women (Klingshirn 1971: 106-107). If the couple cannot reach a reconciliation through arbitration then they must go to the Local Court where the chief and the elders determine responsibility for the marriage

breakdown and compensation must be paid (Klingshirn 1971: 110).

Polygyny is an ideal which many Guang men financially cannot afford to reach. The impression is that polygyny is on the decline in Larteh. Of the 63 women in the sample, 7 (11%) were living polygynously while among the mothers of those interviewed 16 (25%) had been polygynously married. The cost of maintaining more than one wife combined with some influence from Christianity and education are responsible for the decline (Klingshirn 1971: 85). Formerly several wives and a large family were economic assets, but today with the rising cost of living, the need to educate children and the shortage of housing in the urban areas, large polygynous families are not possible. Such a decline may not be evident among the Yoruba for several reasons. First it is possible that a woman's trading may contribute to polygyny, for if a man has a wife trading in the town he may take another wife to have someone to look after him on the farm (Marshall 1964: 204). Also since Yoruba women are often self-supporting the cost of maintaining a wife may be less.

Child-rearing practices for the Guang are similar to those noted for the other societies. Children belong to the father and upon divorce the husband can claim the children. Frequently the children, especially the girls stay with their mother (Klingshirn 1971: 34,100), although the father is still responsible for their upkeep. One aspect that is different is that the father-son as well as the mother-daughter relationships are frequently close ones. The father-daughter relationship remains a more formal one of respect and duty (Klingshirn 1971: 100-101). It was mentioned earlier that Larteh has a long history of formal education and female education was recognized as important. It is also true that where girls were sent to school they were expected to be lazy and hard of understanding by both the Guang and the Europeans (Klingshirn 1971: 185).

Traditionally old age commanded great respect. Older women having born many children shared a position in family councils similar to that of men (Klingshirn 1971: 116), but this is not always true today. Frequently husbands and wives live separately in old age. This may occur for a number

of reasons. The husband may have no house in Larteh as the couple has always lived in the small village near their farm. A man may take a younger wife and his older wife may not want to stay in the household. In old age a man may not want to continue to support his wife and so he divorces her. Life is not always as difficult for older men as it is for older women. A man may have a younger wife to look after him, but more importantly he keeps his property from which he can derive an income (Klingshirn 1971: 118). A woman may have worked all her life on her husband's farm but on divorce she can claim nothing. Sometimes at this period a man will give his wife money to start trading, but whether this occurs or not a woman will try to have some economic activity to meet as many of her own needs as she can. Her children have an obligation to support her and contribute to her upkeep if they can. They may have moved away to the city and have other responsibilities which prevent them from fulfilling this responsibility (Klingshirn 1971: 117).

Discussion and Summary

Guang women like women in many societies are in a stage transitional between their dependent status of the pre-colonial and the colonial period and the possibility of a new independence. Although changes are beginning to occur, there are still many factors which limit women's activities. The strongest is a life-long dependence on fathers and husbands and the insecurity which accompanies this dependence. When men moved into cocoa production, women remained in subsistence production. This does not give women control over economically relevant property for the product is consumed by the family. Even prior to the introduction of cocoa, men were involved in the production of palm oil and here too women provided significant labour - carrying the palm nuts, processing them into oil and then transporting the finished product (Klingshirn 1971: 147-149). In a very real way cash crop production is based on the subsistence production and dependent labour of women. These responsibilities take so much time and energy that a woman has little opportunity to raise her own cash crops. Because of inheritance regulations a woman has limited access to land and only through small-scale trading and the sale of surplus food can she acquire capital. Additionally she has no claim on the marital estate in the event of divorce. The income derived from trade is not large enough for many women to be self-supporting, but it is an important contribution to the family income.

Polygyny and divorce rules make it easy for a man to divorce his wife forcing her to fall back on her own resources, her parents, or her children for support. A woman has no legal claim to her own children, but since she is valued for her reproductive capacity when she can no longer bear children she may be divorced by her husband. She may also be divorced if she cannot bear children. The nature of the marriage contract undermines a woman's security. A woman provides services in exchange for maintenance, but when the contract is broken she must look elsewhere for maintenance.

Above I used the words "possibility of a new independence" advisedly for the independence of women is by no means assured. It is for instance true that inheritance laws are beginning to change, but this is in part due to the fact that the agrarian sector is beginning to decline and men are moving out of agriculture and into industry and commerce (Klingshirn 1971: 286). They are, therefore, less reluctant to allow women to own land. New occupations are opening up but women are constrained because of their lack of education, resulting from their unequal access to the formal school system. They are also held back by male prejudice whereby women are not thought "suitable" for many jobs. In Larteh men did not and do not think it is appropriate for women to be involved in politics and women report that they are not interested in politics, and do not participate when they have the opportunity.

Agricultural production by the Guang is a combination of production for subsistence and exchange. Because Guang women are involved in both kinds of production, Sacks' (1971) categories of individual and collective domestic production, and individual and collective social production, are not particularly useful here. Guang women, working as dependent labourers on their husbands cash crops are involved in social production, for the product is for use in other households. Their labour, however, is controlled by their husbands as part of their domestic responsibilities. When women grow subsistence crops this is individual domestic production, but when the surplus is sold this becomes social production. Guang women are in a transitional stage between the domestic production of the past and a more recent move into social production. The impact on their domestic life is limited. This transitional period is characterized by great insecurity and continuing dependence on men.

Traders in Accra

Large commercial centres such as Lagos and Accra offer tantalizing possibilities of prosperity and draw people from the towns and rural areas. It is in the sprawling markets of these cities that most of the city dwellers purchase their food and clothing. Most of the traders from whom they buy these goods are women. Who are these women? What do they sell? How do their incomes compare with other workers? What do the traders themselves feel about their work? Several studies provide this detail about Accra market women, but first a note on the Ghanaian economy which provides the larger context.

In Ghana, farming is done in the north mainly by men and in the south mainly by women (Klingshirn 1971: 146). Agriculture in Ghana as a whole occupies 58% of the female labour force and 57% of the male (Klingshirn 1971: 165). Cocoa and palm oil are the most lucrative agricultural activities and 47% of the men in agriculture are engaged in this production while only 27% of the women are, mainly in the capacity of dependent labourers on the farms of their husbands and fathers as the Guang data illustrate (Klingshirn 1971: 165). In 1960 of a total female labour force of 991,418, petty traders accounted for 272,052 or 27% of the total. In the wholesale sector there were 16,519 people and 356 (2%) of them were women. One-third of these wholesalers were in Accra (Klingshirn 1971: 157). According to the 1960 census 90% of the women in sales were illiterate, 5% had primary schooling, 3.5% middle school and 1.5% had secondary, teacher or commercial training (Klingshirn 1971: 159).

Although Klingshirn (1971: 157) citing the 1960 census states that the percentage of women in the wholesale sector is about 2% of the total number of wholesalers, the reality is more complex. In most West African markets many traders combine both the retail and wholesale functions. This appears to be particularly true for cloth sellers but also applies to other commodities. Evidence of the combining of the wholesale and retail aspects of the trade comes from Ibadan (Remy 1968: 18), from Lagos (Comhaire-Sylvain 1951: 177) and in the material discussed below (Sai 1971: 65; Addae 1954: 53). It may be that men predominate at the "pure" wholesale level, but it is misleading to think that women are not involved in wholesale trade.

A high concentration of women traders is found in the markets of Accra and Florence Sai's (1971) study of these women provides much information about them. Sai (1971) interviewed a sample group of 57¹ women engaged in selling food and textiles in Selwyn Market, the second largest market in Accra. Tables 7-11 below provide information about the age, education, tribe, and marital status of the traders as well as the commodities they sell.

CHARACTERISTICS OF 57 MARKET WOMEN
IN SELWYN MARKET

TABLE 7
AGE

<u>Age</u>	<u>No.</u>
under 20	1
20-29	5
30-39	16
40-49	23
50&over	12

TABLE 8
EDUCATION

	<u>No.</u>
None	37
Primary	6
Middle	14
Secondary	-
Other	-

TABLE 9
MARITAL STATUS

	<u>No.</u>
Single	1
Married	46
Widowed	6
Separated	4

TABLE 10
TRIBE

<u>Tribe</u>	<u>No.</u>
Akan	7
Ga	44
Ewe	5
Northern Ghana	-
Non-Ghanaian	1

TABLE 11
DISTRIBUTION BY COMMODITY

	<u>No.</u>
Foods	
Starchy vegetables	9
Perishable vegetables	9
Fish	7
Meat	3
Groceries	10
Oil	1
Textiles	18

Typically the traders surveyed are over thirty (61% are over forty), married, have little or no schooling and trade in food. Women begin trading in food and agricultural products and after acquiring skills and capital move into imported goods. The average educated trader starts directly in imported goods and those with large starting capital begin in imported textiles (Sai 1971: 35). 40% of the 57 traders considered themselves wholesale-retailers and sold in bulk to other traders (Sai 1971: 56).

Table 12 (see below) indicates the amount of capital used to begin trading in food is smaller than that used to begin in textiles, and that women with smaller amounts of capital usually do begin in food. If the £1 to £100 category were broken down, one would expect to find the food traders at the bottom of the category and the textile traders nearer the upper end. As to the source of their capital 26% started with their own money, 50% with gifts,² 5% with inheritance or transfers, and 2% with credits or loans (Sai 1971: 25). All traders said they invested their profits in their business (Sai 1971: 46). They continued to invest up to a certain capital ceiling which seemed to the investigator to be about 2000-4000 cedis (Sai 1971: 46). The investigator concluded that this was the upper limit manageable given the credit, storage, display, and bookkeeping facilities available to the women. It may be that other investments such as housing or transport are more profitable at this level. Table 13 shows the amount of working capital of women involved in the two commodity lines.

Women belong to three main types of rotating credit organizations similar to those described for the Yoruba (esusu) and the Hausa (adashi) and called susu. One type was organized by the women themselves with daily subscriptions. Another type was organized by an external clerk-collector, and a third organized by a collector who acted as a financier and would loan money to traders (Sai 1971: 49-52). 44 women out of 57 had used this form of saving at one time or another.

CAPITAL OF 57 MARKET WOMEN IN SELWYN MARKET³

TABLE 12
STARTING CAPITAL (IN £'s)

<u>£</u>	<u>Food</u>	<u>Textiles</u>
1-100	24	2
100-200	4	1
201-300	3	0
301 & over	8	15

TABLE 13
TYPE OF CAPITAL

<u>Capital in Cedis</u>	<u>Food</u>	<u>Textiles</u>	<u>Total</u>
0-49	9	0	9
50-99	7	0	7
100-199	10	2	12
200-299	4	1	5
300-399	0	0	0
400-499	3	1	4
500-999	2	4	6
1000-1999	0	2	2
2000-2999	2	3	5
3000-3999	0	0	0
4000 & over	2	5	7

(from Sai 1971: 44)

The average working day for the women was 9½ hours as compared to 6-8 hours for men and women in industry or retail stores. The average monthly income as reported by the traders was N¢ 36, but Sai thinks the average monthly income was probably higher. This compares favourably with N¢ 37 of a section manager in a large store in Accra (Sai 1971: 62). The women in the study were asked where they would place themselves on a national level of living scale; 7 said at a high standard, 24 fairly high and 15 lower than average (Sai 1971: 64).

When the women were asked their reasons for being in trade, all but 4 said that they thought a woman had to work even if she had someone to look after her. 13 took up trading to supplement housekeeping money, and to be able to take care of their children better. 33 had helped their mother or their grandmother in trade and 26 planned to leave the business to a daughter, a niece, or someone they had trained (Sai 1971: 62). The women thought that marketing was most suitable for girls but that boys could work in related fields.

Textile trade usually requires a larger initial capital and is in general conducted on a large scale. Addae's (1954) study of textile traders in Accra provides information about the organization and profitability of the trade. The number of "pure" wholesalers or "pure" retailers is small as by far the largest number of women combine the two functions (Addae 1954: 52-53). A profile of the most successful wholesaler-retailer would reveal an illiterate woman, with up to forty years trading experience, who employs assistants, is a passbook holder⁴ with several firms, and has a monthly turnover up to £3000 (Addae 1954: 53). The number of women at this level is small. Table 14 below lists the annual turnover and profit of 356 out of 500 credit customers of the largest importing firm. These traders who hold passbooks would be at the upper level of Accra traders and although a few women have impressively high incomes, most (77.3%) have an annual profit below £45 (in 1954).

TABLE 14
PROFITS OF 356 CREDIT CUSTOMERS IN
ACCRA IN 1954

Average Annual Turnover (in £'s)	Estimated Annual Profit (in £'s)	Number	%
108,000	4080	1	0.3
36,000	1350	2	0.6
12,000-36,000	450-1350	7	1.9
6,000-12,000	225-450	13	3.9
3,600-6,000	135-225	9	2.5
1,200-3,600	45-135	49	13.9
Below 1200	Below 45	275	77.3

(Addae, cited in Acquah 1958: 71)

Market women in Accra have had their own market organizations. In 1954 there were nine associations of sellers in the Accra markets and all except the Butchers' Association were female associations (Acquah 1958: 86). Some of the groups had a few male members who were literate and assisted the women in the organization of the association (Acquah 1958: 86 #1). The Accra Market Women's Association had four hundred members and wanted an equitable system of stall allocation. They were "prominent in politics" until 1951 when they "lost interest" (Addae 1954: 54). Then in 1953 the Accra Market Traders' Association was formed with four hundred members. They undertook a benefit scheme and had plans for forming a company to import goods. In addition there was a loose organization of women who held passbooks with a particular firm. It took up traders complaints with the firm and in 1953 staged a successful three-day strike because the firm restricted the amount of goods which could be taken out (Addae 1954: 54). In order to further our understanding of traders and the political process, it is essential to know more about these market organizations. What was the composition of the membership? How were they organized? How were they related to the daily administration of market affairs? What did the women do when they were "active in politics"? Why did they "lose interest" (Addae 1954: 54)?

In the capital city of Accra, large numbers of women are in trade and the income of many full-time traders compares favourably with other Ghanaian incomes. The majority of women trade in food products but the most lucrative trade is in textiles which require larger starting capital. Capital is often accumulated by starting in food trade, but women in Ghana as in Nigeria are limited by their lack of access to capital. A few women have very large incomes but this is not typical of most women in trade. Profits are invested in the business, traders usually living on a fixed amount, part of which is contributed to the domestic budget. In both Larteh and Accra women see the need for and wish to have their own incomes. In Accra the larger market and the greater diversity of the urban economy permit more women to derive an adequate income from trade.

The data from Accra indicate that the trade activities of Yoruba women are not an isolated phenomenon. All along the coast of West Africa women are involved in trade on a scale which allows them an income on which they can live. Market organizations which facilitate trading are a recurring organizational form. Accra women do not appear to be as effectively organized as their Lagos counterparts. Chapter IV which assesses the political impact of women will evaluate the role of organizations in effective political action.

Footnotes to Chapter III

1. Sai (1971) limited her sample to sellers of food and textiles.

Sample Frames

	Total Number of Sellers in Selwyn Market	Sampling Fraction	No.
Textiles	560	1/31	18
Food	1560	1/37	42
Total	2120		60

2. Three women were absent and dropped from the sample leaving the 57 women discussed here (Sai 1971: 33).

2. Sai does not indicate from whom the gifts were received.

3. In these charts three currencies are used. The £ whose value in 1955 and 1965 was equivalent to \$2.80 (American). The cedi introduced in 1965 and whose value in 1965-66 was \$1.17 (American). The re-evaluated cedi was called the new cedi (N¢) and in 1970 was equivalent to \$0.98 (American).
4. The pass book system is operated by the large European trading companies. A trader deposits a certain amount of money or other securities with the company and then can purchase goods up to that amount. Since each trader must pay for her last supplies before she can purchase a new supply, it is not a credit system. A commission on the amount supplied is credited to the trader's original deposits. All these transactions are recorded in a pass book. (All information from Nypan 1960: 66).

CHAPTER IV

WOMEN IN POLITICS: MYTH AND REALITY

Because the critical factor in assessing the degree of autonomy of women in society is political power, it is necessary to review and elaborate more fully this issue. Of particular concern are the kinds of issues or situations in which women involved themselves, the organizational forms used or developed by women, and the methods employed to influence or control public events.

Hausa and Kanuri

The involvement of women in activities outside the domestic sphere has been minimal. Women meet in groups at weddings and naming ceremonies and these are important times of information exchange. For example, it is likely that when the first woman was successful in her court case and secured the right to inherit land or houses this information was disseminated at such an event and encouraged other women to try similar proceedings (Personal communication MSZ).

Few Hausa women have participated in the formal political parties. Prior to the 1966 coups there were two northern-based political parties, as well as branches of the southern-based parties. The Northern People's Congress (NPC) represented the traditional groups with a vested interest in perpetuating the status quo, and the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) represented a more progressive but not radical element in northern society and supported increased rights for women (see Paden 1973; Whitaker 1970 for discussions of the political parties).

The NPC was opposed to the vote for women, but the party did have a women's section whose primary task was to attract enfranchised men to the party (Sklar and Whitaker 1964: 631).¹ The women's section along with the youth section was not allowed to organize above the provincial level (Sklar 1963: 385). Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, was the first premier of the Northern Region and the influential head of the NPC. He was opposed to female suffrage in the north, and in fact any important public position for women (Whitaker 1970: 404). The following quotation is taken from his autobiography, and while the quotation itself is somewhat ambiguous the meaning is clear - women are not to be involved in politics.

Women have a great influence in this country and they will continue to use it for the right, and for the peace and stability: to thrust them into the political arena at this stage in our development would only, I think, reduce this influence and would gain nothing for the public interest.

(Bello 1962: 223)

The NEPU was interested in securing new rights for women, thus the women's section was a much more important section of their party. NEPU women who tried to organize were harassed by both the local authorities (who were NPC supporters) and by NPC thugs. Malama Gambo Ahmed Sawaba, a Nupe, who rented houses, and Malama Takano, a Hausa trader, were leaders of the Women's Wing of NEPU. Malama Gambo trained under Aminu Kano (the leader of NEPU) at the NEPU school in Kano in 1951-1952. In 1953 after convening the first meeting of the NEPU Women's Wing in Kano she along with 200 other women was sentenced to a month in prison by the Alkali's court. In 1956 she served six months in prison before her conviction was reversed by the High Court of the Northern Region (all above information from Sklar 1963: 419 #99). At one point she was beaten by six men and left for two days in the bush before the NEPU protests led to her discovery by the police (Feinstein 1973: 156).

The British with their policy of Indirect Rule supported the growth of NPC power. In this regard the following exchange between the British residents and NEPU officials is interesting. The Kano Native Authority, which was NPC dominated, issued an order prohibiting women from participating in public ceremonies including political meetings, and provided that women who did so could be arrested. In 1958 NEPU officials wrote to the British Resident:

According to Islamic law the husband is solely responsible for the moral and social behaviour of his wife, not an Emir (the head of the Kano Native Authority). Some of us are determined to emancipate our wives from the shackles of outmoded customs and degradation, and an interference by an external hand on marital life goes beyond Islam and common sense.

The Resident replied:

The arrangement to which you object was made some two years ago. It was designed to arrest progressive deterioration in moral standards amongst the community and was made on the advice of a committee comprising amongst others the most prominent religious leaders in the city...

In view of the composition of the committee to which I have referred above I am surprised that you contend that the terms of the announcement offend against Moslem law and tradition. This is not the view of those who are most qualified to advise on this point, and I am sure I should be most unwise to intervene in the sense which you require

(quoted in Whitaker 1970: 405 #80)

Northern women did try to combine with women from other parts of the Federation to further their cause. In 1958 at the Second Annual Conference of the NEPU Women's Wing they affiliated with the All-Nigeria Women's Union (under the leadership of Mrs. Ransome-Kuti). Two suffragette resolutions were passed.² Eleven officers were elected in addition to four field secretaries and five patrons. Fourteen were Hausa, three were Fulani, two were Nupe and one was Idoma. Only two were Christians (Sklar 1963: 419 #19).

The literature does not contain other references to political activities of Hausa women. There are no references to Kanuri women. It is likely, however, that market traders and prostitutes who have some informal organization have agitated to protect their rights or support various issues. For example the Hausa prostitutes in Ibadan registered their names on the voters' lists and were said to have been politically active (A. Cohen 1969: 63), although there is no indication of the nature of their activities. The two women organizers of NEPU both were involved in commercial activities. Here again it is essential to know who the 200 women who went to jail in 1953 were. How had they become involved? Was it through their husbands or their own organizations?

The Yoruba

Yoruba women have not been slow to act when they feel their rights have been threatened. In 1938 in Ife, women successfully prevented a group of Syrians from moving into the market (Hodder 1969: 42). The Egba Women's Association (a branch of the Nigerian Women's Union) led by Mrs. Ransome-Kuti in 1948 protested against the taxation of women and the power of the Alake of Abeokuta by camping on the Alake's palace grounds, singing and causing a disturbance.³ They were successful in forcing him into exile in 1950 although it is not noted whether in fact the tax was removed (Sklar 1963: 251; Mabogunje 1961: 17; Hodgkin 1957: 90).

Politically, the most important group of market women has been the group in Lagos (Comhaire-Sylvain 1951). They have been able to exert influence at the municipal level through formal political parties to which they have contributed financial support and after 1950 electoral support. Many times control of the Lagos City Council has gone to the party that has had the support of the market women. In return the market women have demanded that their commercial interests be represented and protected. Herbert Macaulay, the founder of the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) recognized the strength and importance of the market women and in the 1920's he inspired the formation of the Lagos Market Women's Guild (Baker 1974: 234). The women turned to Macaulay with their grievances as they did in 1932 when they complained that the Egba (a Yoruba subgroup) were disrupting established trade patterns and in him they found a representative (Cole 1975: 139). The women became the financial backbone of the NNDP (Baker 1974: 235) giving their support because they thought the party would represent their interests in the distribution of market stalls by the town council (Cole 1975: 139). Macaulay spoke Yoruba to the women and his personal magnetism inspired loyalty. On his death in 1946 Madame Alimotu Pelewura the Alaga of the Ereko Market and one of Macaulay's chief supporters ordered her 10,000 followers to close their market stalls for two days. After his death the NNDP with their new allies the NCNC were not able to hold the loyalty of the market women and political divisions began to appear among the women themselves. All the political parties in Lagos were aware of the importance of the market women and after 1950 they formed an auxiliary wing of every major party in Lagos (Baker 1974: 241). Eventually, most of the market women gave their support to the Action Group. They were said to be the critical factor in the party's 1962 victory in the Lagos City Council elections (Baker 1974: 241).

The 1958 action of the NCNC Market Women's Wing and the United Muslim Party Women's Wing provides an example of the kinds of issues which concerned the market women. The women complained because the Lagos City Council (dominated by the Action Group) had allowed market dues to be collected in advance from women who were promised stalls. In addition they complained that applicants for stalls had first to join the Action Group paying dues to party workers who issued no receipts and kept no records (Baker 1974: 236). The two Women's Wings submitted petitions which led to an investigation. The findings of the investigation (the Rapson Report) led to a smearing of the Action Group and the dismissal of the town clerk. These events contributed to the 1959 electoral defeat of the Action Group (Baker 1974: 236). This municipal level action illustrates the influence of the market women.

Baker (1974: 242) argues that the Lagos market women have a traditional concept of politics as "a face-to-face relationship in which individual political favours are distributed by authorities with whom they can identify personally". This view leads them to trust traditional market heads, the Oba and chiefs of Lagos rather than the modern political system (Baker 1974: 242). A similar description applies to the Ibadan market women. Ibadan politics are characterized by an "informal political economy" (Jenkins 1967 cited in Remy 1968: 21) where in order to secure government services it is necessary to make payments to city councillors or other influential men. Women traders have constituted one of the major service using groups in this political economy (Remy 1968: 21). Wealthy cloth merchants who have headed the Federation of Ibadan Women Traders have used their position in the Federation and as heads of commodity associations to deliver the market women's vote in return for personal economic benefits. These benefits have been in the form of capital and credit from Action Party funds.

Municipal and regional level politics combined with the attempts of all parties to secure the market women's vote have had a divisive effect on the women's own Federation. In the 1950's the market women supported the Action Group, but in the 60's some of the women switched to the Nigerian National Democratic Party. Most of the women remained loyal to the Action Group and Chief (Mrs) H.D. Awolowo but the Federation was divided into two camps. If the Federation had been united it could have pressured the political system for the benefit of the market women. Instead it has been fragmented and thus ineffective as a pressure group (Remy 1968: 24).

The market women of Lagos

...tend to react to, rather than innovate public policies. They act as a pressure group only when their vital interests are at stake... They have not agitated, for example, for lower taxes, better education or increased public medical facilities, issues one might expect to be of special concern to them.

(Baker 1974: 242)

Because of their large numbers, their potential for political protest, electoral and financial support, male politicians have had to take them into account, and they have therefore "shaped the character and outcome of electoral contests, the internal organization of political parties and the administration of public policy" (Baker 1974: 223). Comhaire-Sylvain (1951: 183-184) raises an interesting point although she does not elaborate on it. She says that the Lagos Women's Unions were formerly more powerful politically and that currently market unions are more powerful in towns like Abeokuta where the traditional governmental structure remains. This is consistent with Baker's (1974: 242) description of the traders' traditional concept of politics for it would allow them to function more effectively in the traditional context.

Why have the Lagos traders not concerned themselves with issues beyond trade related ones? One reason appears to be their lack of modern leadership. The traders for the most part are Muslim and illiterate and they have not related to upper class, Christian women as leaders. Neither have they developed their own leaders with a wider view who could relate both to the traders and the modern political hierarchy which is frequently Western-educated and Christian (Baker 1974: 243). The market women are also quite self-sufficient requiring only stall construction and sanitation control from the municipal authorities (Baker 1974: 242). The lack of modern leadership, their self-sufficiency and their traditional view of politics have all contributed to the narrowness of political view of the market women.

The Guang

Traders in Larteh have also acted to protect their own interests. In 1962 the local Guang traders decided that the Shai women traders were taking away too much of their business and brought a case against them before the Local Council (Klingshirn 1971: 228-229). The problem however was apparently not resolved because in 1964 the women fish traders drove the Shai women traders from the market. At this point the men decided to intervene, but the

head of the fish sellers told the chief when the case came before him, that the women might stop trading in fish if they were not allowed to handle this situation in their own way. A boycott would have been serious for the town as fish is its main source of protein.

The Convention People's Party (CPP) which established a branch in Larteh in 1949 had two women on the executive committee in 1964. The minutes of the meetings of these committees indicate that women did not actively participate either through their own hesitation or because the men would not permit them to voice their opinions (Klingshirn 1971: 223-224). Although two branches of the National Council of Ghanaian women were established in the town in the early sixties, they have not been very active. When women were asked whether they were interested in politics one half of them said they were not, giving the reason that they were women and thus it was not an area they should be concerned about (Klingshirn 1971: 230). Men would not discuss politics with their wives (Klingshirn 1971: 230).

Larteh women have acted when they perceived their own interests to be directly affected, but they have not shown much interest in national level politics. This has occurred because they believe it is not their legitimate area of concern and because they do not clearly see the connection between national politics and their own lives.

Women in Ghana

There is a long history of female protest in Ghana. In 1896 the women of Accra and Christiansborg marched on Government House to protest the establishment of a municipal council in Accra. This council would have introduced taxes to which the residents were opposed. Both men and women refused to co-operate with the government and delayed the implementation of the council for two years (Acquah 1958: 24). In 1945, 6,000 men went on strike in the Ashanti Gold Fields and as a result the company made some improvements in pay and opened a canteen to help keep the cost of living down. "The canteen experiment failed here - as often elsewhere - owing to a conflict with the women food traders - and the failure to invite the workers to participate in running the canteen" (Roper 1958: 64). Market women in Tema supported the youth in their opposition to relocation of the village to allow for the building of the Tema harbour and it took almost seven years to overcome this resistance (Amarteifio 1965: 16 cited in Klingshirn 1971: 218).⁴

Ghanaian women were active supporters of Kwame Nkrumah and diligent workers in the nationalist cause. Nkrumah like Macaulay in Lagos recognized the importance of securing their support and their votes. Women in Ghana had been organized in dance societies, mutual aid societies, and market women's associations. The latter were important as they constituted a valuable communication network, and also as "the hardcore of the consumer goods distribution system ... could paralyze the major towns and cities by closing their markets" (Apter 1963: 171). In support of the nationalist cause women "helped financially, organized boycotts of trade and so on" (Hodgkin 1961: 120). The Convention People's Party (Nkrumah's party) was spread into the villages by "lorry and taxi drivers, railway workers, market women, teachers and Standard VII boys, shopkeepers and others" (Apter 1964: 271). In his autobiography Nkrumah wrote:

Much of the success of the CPP has been due to the efforts of women members. From the very beginning women have been the chief field organizers. They have travelled through innumerable towns and villages in the role of propaganda secretaries and have been responsible for the most part for bringing about the solidarity and cohesion of the party.

(Nkrumah 1957: 108)

In 1953 the Federation of Ghana Women was formed bringing under its sponsorship - the YWCA, Army wives, mid-wives associations, church groups, market women's associations, and benevolent societies (Vellenga n.d. p. 8). One of the aims of the group was to strengthen the legal position of Ghanaian women and they focussed on the legalization of customary marriage. Another group with a large base among market women was the All Africa Women's League whose primary interest was establishing day nurseries. The League was also concerned with delinquency, marriage counselling and prostitution (Vellenga n.d. p. 10). In 1960 in an effort to strengthen the party (the CPP) the government disbanded the Federation and merged all groups into the National Council of Ghana Women (NCGW) which was really a branch of the CPP (Klingshirn 1971: 220). A temporary bill was passed in 1960 whereby 10 additional parliamentary seats were reserved for women who were elected by the male members of parliament (Klingshirn 1971: 217). The NCGW helped select the candidates for these 10 regional seats (Apter 1964: 299). By 1965 there were 19 women in parliament.⁵ One was the Minister of Social Welfare and Community Development (Klingshirn 1971: 217).

Bretton (1967: 72-73) notes that the market women were nominally organized under the NCGW but remained independent and traded support for material benefits. He cites the drying up of these benefits, the insistence of the Nkrumah regime on nationalization of trade, and the women's knowledge of the government's corruption as reasons for the women's declining support. He suggests that Nkrumah probably did not regard them as a potent political force and that what force they did constitute was easily blunted by bribing their leaders (Bretton 1967: 108 #13). It is likely that Nkrumah did consider them a potential threat otherwise there seems to be no point in bribing them.

The market women of Accra do not appear to be as well organized as the women of Lagos. Addae (1954: 54-55) suggests that the market organizations of Accra have lacked internal organization, and have had too wide and diffuse a membership to be effective. They have also been largely concerned with mutual benefit funds. There does not appear to be one all-embracing structure as exists in Lagos but a number of commodity organizations which appear to be unrelated to each other.

All these events suggest that women have been an important political force in Accra and Lagos but their effectiveness has been limited by a number of factors. Of primary importance is the fact that most of the groups seem to react to given situations rather than initiate their own plan of action based on shared principles. In the few situations where they have formulated goals and programs as with the Federation of Ghana Women it is largely the result of the leadership. This lack of modern leadership has considerably inhibited the political growth of the women, although they have made important contributions as in the nationalist movements. In these types of issues they appear again to have responded to a situation, one that was ready made and dominated by male leaders. Leaders have not arisen from the ranks of the market women who could help them analyze their total situation and formulate plans of action based on their own wider interests. Whether this type of leadership will develop or whether, as has happened in the past, educated women will move out of trading is uncertain. It is clear, however, that effective collective organizations are the vehicle of mature political participation.

The evidence does not support the myth which has grown up around market women. This myth, which attributes to the traders considerable power to manipulate politicians and political parties, is perpetuated by constant references in the literature. These references, however, are rarely supported with case material. Market women have had their role to play, but it is somewhat less crucial than we have been led to believe.

Footnotes for Chapter IV

1. "At Shonga there is a notable and reputable lady who has a great influence on females; the Galadima ... called her and talked to her to join the NPC. She was the president of a trader's social union ... and changed her society into an NPC political party. One hundred cards were issued to her freely and ten badges. ... She goes on a tour of lecture and enrollment. If Action Group members wish to find a girl or lady to marry, she often advised the fiancée not to agree until he joins the NPC" (cited Sklar 1963: 358 #11).
2. They also passed a resolution asking the regional government to pass a law prohibiting women from smoking cigarettes in public (Sklar 1963: 525 #99).
3. There are several interesting additional notes to this incident. Prince (1961: 798) in his discussion of Yoruba witches related an incident, which while not specifically indicating Abeokuta, (he refers to it as the town of A), must be the situation referred to above. When the police were sent to disperse the women who had gathered in front of the place the women "brandished their menstruation cloths". This sent the police flying in all directions as it is believed that a man will have bad luck for the rest of his life if struck by a woman's menstrual cloth. At this same time, there were bands of diviners and ordeal men who would conduct witch hunts. One such group was the Atinga. One informant said that the King of A (Abeokuta) did not invite the Atinga to the town because many of the pillars of the community were witches (Prince 1961: 801). Perhaps, as Firestone (1971 see Introduction, note 3) suggests, witchcraft accusations are a means of controlling women's political activities.
4. No date is given but it must have been in the 1940's as the harbour was begun in the early 1950's.

5. The parliament consisted of 104 electoral seats as well as the ten regional seats reserved for women (Klinghshirn 1971: 217). This means that in 1965 women had been elected in nine electoral districts as well as having their ten seats.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY: ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE IS NOT ENOUGH¹

In our study of West African women we have seen that there is great diversity. In the north there are women who for forty years have remained within the mud walls of their husband's compound. In contrast are the highly mobile market "mammies" of the south travelling along the coast in bus and lorry from Lagos to Lome to Accra and back. To many, given the variety of physical settings and ethnic backgrounds found in West Africa, such diversity comes as no surprise. What perhaps is surprising, is the similarity of many aspects of women's lives. What are the key determinants of women's lives?

Women's Work and Domestic Life

Let us first reconsider Sacks' (1974: 212) categories of individual and collective domestic production and individual and collective social production. Social production is defined as production for use or appropriation by another household. In her analysis it is women's involvement in collective social production, that is production by a group, which gives them the control over goods and services, that forms the material basis for the exercise of social power. Individual social production, she argues, leads to greater personal freedom, but does not bring women more economic and political rights.

Women in all the societies examined in this thesis are involved in some degree of social production. It is mainly individual social production but there are collective elements. Hausa women pursue their craft and trade activities. Rural Kanuri women work as labourers in subsistence and cash crop production, and in the city they engage in small-scale craft production and trade. In Larteh, Guang women raise subsistence crops, exchange the surplus, and work as dependent labourers in cash crop production. Small-scale craft and trade activities are also undertaken. Yoruba women and market traders in Accra are individual entrepreneurs in self-owned enterprises. The impact of these economic roles on domestic life shows considerable variation in the four societies.

Hausa women's economic activities have had little influence on their domestic life. Women must be at least partially self-supporting. They must provide some of their own food, meet their ceremonial obligations to kin, and purchase their own cosmetic and "luxury" items. In other cases, especially where their husbands are poor, they may be completely self-supporting, although they still live in their husband's house. Hill (1972) noted this in Batagarawa where the wives of the poorest farmers were sometimes not as badly off as their husbands. Women through their own house-trade could meet their responsibilities and probably provide their own food. In such cases a woman might loan money to her husband or she might divorce him. In the latter case, the man is then deprived of her domestic services thus forcing him to rely on another household for food² or to incur the expense of marrying another wife, an undertaking he can ill afford. A divorced woman must find another man to marry usually within a three-month period.

The situation of Kanuri women was similar. The ideology of male dominance influences all aspects of male-female relationships and has not been significantly modified by women's participation in production. Where husbands are dependent on their wives' agricultural labour they may modify their behaviour out of fear that their wives will leave them, but the fundamental nature of the relationship is not altered. The ideology of male dominance in Kanuri society, with the resulting "defiant" behaviour of women may be one of the significant factors in the high divorce rate among the Kanuri (see Cohen 1971). In situations where women have little control over their lives, divorce may be one of the few mechanisms open to them which offers the possibility of improving their situation.

The role of Hausa and Kanuri women in social production³ has not led to greater personal freedom. The variable with the greatest impact in determining their domestic life has been the cultural interpretation and application of Islam. It is a simplification to say that Islamic ideology oppresses women for we have seen that Islam is modified by the cultural context, economic system and historical traditions of the culture in which it operates. Nevertheless, women are oppressed by the institution of seclusion, the Islamic perception of them as inferior beings and their legal

political definition as minors. Religious ideology has had greater determining effect than economic roles on women's personal freedom.

Guang women are involved in both domestic and social production, but the impact of their economic roles on their domestic life is not very significant. Their responsibilities for subsistence production and agricultural labour are still significant, and leave little time for self-controlled ventures. Guang women make a significant contribution to production, but the products of the labour are either consumed by the family or appropriated by their husbands. Although in a larger sense work in cash crop production is social production, in Guang society as in Kanuri society women's labour is viewed as individual domestic production for the husband. Other institutions and structures within the society support and intensify the dependent role of Guang women. Some women are involved in trade, but the income derived is small. Involvement in this type of activity has not significantly altered inheritance regulations, domestic decision-making or the perception of women. In spite of women's involvement in social production, traditional ideologies and institutions play a powerful role in perpetuating women's dependence on men.

Yoruba women are the exceptional case. Their trade activities generate more income and have had a greater impact on their domestic lives than in the other three cases. We have seen that aspects of the family have been modified to accommodate women's trade. Women are expected to be self-supporting and the family structures support this role. Nevertheless, it is only where women amass considerable wealth that they are able to strongly influence the decision-making process within the lineage. Individual social production among the Yoruba has led to greater personal freedom. The interesting point is that in this case and contrary to Sacks' (1971) assertion, it has also led to more political rights (see below).

Women and men in Ghana and Nigeria are inhibited by the state of their national economies which suffer from the characteristics of underdevelopment common in Third World countries. There is a lack of indigenous capital affecting all entrepreneurs, but, as we have seen, women have access to less capital than men (Marris 1962). Where resources and industry have been concentrated in the urban areas, the rural areas are often stagnating. Thus

the urban economy of Lagos and Accra provides greater opportunities for women. For some Hausa women though we saw that the urban economy imposes further restrictions on women who cannot recreate the rural support system in the city.

Women are also inhibited by their lack of education. Some of this results from the lack of available facilities, but it also stems from unequal female access to the educational institutions which do exist. Male prejudice from within the traditional society as well as that which developed from the male-biased colonial regimes have prevented women from advancing.

The relationship between women's economic independence and domestic autonomy is not a simple one to one correspondence moving in a single causal direction, but a dialectical relationship where other variables inhibit or enhance women's economic endeavours which in turn react on the domestic sector. The complexity of this interaction can be seen in the discussion of the effects of Islam on women's roles. We can begin with economics, but must consider the complex interaction of many variables. We cannot end our analysis with economics.

Women and Trade

Trade has proved to be the most rewarding area for female endeavour, because it is relatively easily combined with women's responsibilities in child-care and other domestic tasks. It can even be combined with seclusion! Women's tasks in order to be compatible with child-care must have certain characteristics. They must be tasks which do not require concentration, are not dangerous, are interruptable, easily resumed and not too far from home (Brown 1970: 1073-4). To this we can add that the working hours must be flexible. Trade as well as craft production has all these characteristics. In addition it is possible to trade without being literate. There is a built-in apprenticeship system with mothers training their young daughters. As the scope of the trade expands, it begins to become incompatible with domestic tasks and it is in this phase that new arrangements begin to emerge within the family.

Women's primary identification even among such successful traders as the Yoruba is as a wife and mother and not as an entrepreneur. Her trade helps her to better fulfill these roles by helping her husband and children financially. A woman's role in production is supportive of her domestic role. It is difficult to assess the impact of this primary association as mother on women's trade.

McCall (1961) is partially correct in saying that it is the nature of trade rather than the value of the product which has modified the trader's role as wife and diminished her husband's ability to control her economically and sexually. More precisely it is the nature of trade and the profits it engenders which modify a woman's situation. Successful trade requires certain preconditions. Physical mobility, freedom from domestic tasks, non-interference with stock and liquidity, all lessen a husband's control. The data also indicate that the contribution towards the domestic budget plus economic independence from the husband give a woman greater decision-making power within the family. Where a woman is very wealthy, her decision-making power is greater.

Women's present involvement in trade is an extension of their traditional interests (in food and agricultural products) and is not seen as a move into areas of traditional male dominance. Women traders remain within the indigenous economy outside the modern educational, political and commercial sector. At the same time, Bohannon's (1962) labelling of markets as "pin-money" affairs for is not an accurate description. Large numbers of women support themselves and their children (and sometimes their husbands) from their market earnings. These earnings are not merely minor supplements to the domestic budget. On a larger scale women's role in the distributive network is an important aspect of the national economy. Women traders are not key economic decision-makers, but neither is their role a trivial one.

Women and Politics

Throughout the thesis we have seen that sustained political action has only been possible through collective organizations. One of the most politically active groups has been the market women through their organizations. Market trade is greatly facilitated by organization for administration and representation, and successful market administration has always necessitated some kind of relationship with the political authorities. The organizational structures developed for the administration of the market have then been used for broader political purposes. Because there are large numbers of women who meet daily in the markets, they form an important network where information can be quickly disseminated. All these factors have made possible the application of sanctions by the market women. They have offered financial and electoral support, written petitions, and participated in boycotts, strikes, demonstrations, and parliamentary enquiries into the status of women. Although market women are remarkably individualistic, some degree of collective action has been in their own best interests.

Market women have been involved in political activities in two ways. They have acted directly to protect their own economic interests. Secondly, their organizations have been used by other groups in the society. In Ghana they were used mainly by male politicians in the nationalist struggle. In Ibadan their leaders were co-opted by one of the political parties to further the interests of the party. An interesting and more progressive use was in the formation of the Federation of Ghana Women where female leaders amalgamated existing women's groups and tried to focus their support behind new goals.

The data for other types of women's groups involved in political action are thin. A useful and interesting study would be the Egba Women's Union in Abeokuta. This union inspired by Mrs. Ransome-Kuti (see below) apparently had a membership of 80,000 (!) women paying a subscription of one shilling a year. They operated a weaving corporation, a maternity and child-welfare clinic, and conducted classes for illiterate women (Little 1973: 51; Hodgkin 1957: 90). It was this group which in 1948 demonstrated against the traditional ruler and forced him into exile. This is another example of female political activity that appears several times in the literature and for which no full length studies exist. It is likely that one of the initiating

forces was the energetic leadership of Mrs. Ransome-Kuti. I would also speculate that the women involved had a history of independent economic activity and an awareness of the need to protect their own economic interests through political action, and improved skills. Effective leadership is an important precondition for collective action, but the membership must have reached a certain level of consciousness where they see themselves as able to act in their own interests. Economic independence is an indispensable base in the development of this kind of action.

Market women are certainly forceful and aggressive personally. Collectively they have been politically active, but they have not been as important a political force as one might expect given their resources, numbers and reputation. Their role has been a responsive one and therefore their influence confined to market-related issues. Market women still operate mainly outside the modern sector and are conservative in their politics.

Women and Colonialism

In none of the societies do women have as much political control as men. Neither are all the roles in the society equally available to both sexes. Yoruba women are in the most advantageous position but still it is not one of equality with men. Has this always been the case? Is it true that before the imposition of colonial institutions, sexual egalitarianism prevailed? Rohrlich-Leavitt (1975: 623) argues the latter.

Pre-colonial women in areas that were not completely Islamicized were neither exploited economically nor dominated politically. As in other pre-capitalist societies, in Africa sex roles were interdependent but women worked, socialized, and functioned politically and ritually mainly in concert with other women. African women played vital roles as farmers, traders, potters and weavers and controlled their own earnings. In many regions their political roles were pre-eminent, being supported by strong women's organizations and secret societies, in which women learned to function collectively, to develop self-confidence and the ability to speak persuasively.

Or listen to Leacock (1975: 607);

Everywhere in Africa where one scrapes the surface one finds ethnohistorical data on the authority once shared by women but lost.

The historical accounts of women's activities in pre-colonial times are few, but the data presented in this thesis do not indicate that women's position in pre-colonial times was much superior to what it is now. It certainly does not indicate the truly egalitarian society depicted above. It is clear that colonialism undermined areas of traditional female power, but it is not true that all regions were equally representative of shared female authority. Rohrllich-Leavitt (1975: 623) states that pre-colonial African societies were more egalitarian in terms of sex-roles, but she excludes the Islamicized areas. Surely an explanation of women's status in Africa cannot exclude these large numbers of women. To claim the imposition of the colonial regime as the major determinant of the status of African women is too narrow.

In light of the status of Yoruba women the comments of Mrs. Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti, one of Nigeria's leading feminists and a Yoruba are interesting. Mrs. Ransome-Kuti, a Christian, and school teacher and proprietor comes from Abeokuta. Her activities have been referred to in the text above. As a leading advocate of women's right to vote and stand for election, she campaigned in the north on a non-partisan basis for women's suffrage. As President-General of the Nigerian Women's Union she led the women's revolt in Abeokuta in 1948 and in 1958 she helped convene the Women's Conference in Jos (Sklar 1963: 402 #251). She has been actively involved in Nigerian political parties and in 1959 when her own party the NCNC refused to adopt her as the official candidate for the Federal House, she ran as an independent, but did not win. Her views on the position of women in Nigeria are interesting in light of her long history of action in the women's movement. She writes that formerly in Nigeria women were "worse than slaves" (Ransome-Kuti 1961). The characteristics of this status were childhood betrothal, inability to divorce husbands, the use of the wife as an agricultural labourer, polygyny, a woman's subordinate status in her husband's household, and the husband's ability to reclaim the brideprice. The period to which she is referring is the early colonial period, but these conditions did not result from colonial institutions. Although in 1961 the situation was beginning to change there was resistance from the men. Men, she claims,

are unwilling to have women participate in the legislatures, and want them only as voters "ordinary election tools". Mrs. Ransome-Kuti councils that,

Women must be ready to work and contribute to the progress and development of the country. One of our greatest tasks is to learn tolerance. We have to be silent at times when we have the right to talk for the sake of peace; not to be too firm in demanding our rights when dealing with our husbands. We should try to forego our personal interests for our husbands. We should realize that our men are jealous and are used to being called masters and lords; so that it is not easy for a master to take the position of equal. It should be realized that our Nigerian Independence could only be felt where wives tolerate their men because we must try to build happy homes for our children. Many of us are still ignorant. We all must know our responsibilities and common domestic work. Our homes must be clean and healthy. Centres must be created where women married and young could learn housecrafts.

Again we find the primary identification of women as wives, but especially as mothers. But her vision is broader than this. She also sees women as workers at all levels of society and calls for the formation of women's organizations which remain free from male political domination. There is no reference in the article to a now vanished high political status for women. This does not mean that such a status could not have existed, but she does make reference to the important economic and cultural contributions of women and it seems unlikely that their political role would have escaped mention.

The place to begin to understand women's autonomy is with their role in the productive process. Within that productive process the distinction drawn by Leacock (1972) and Sacks (1971 1974) between domestic and social production is a useful one. Women involved in domestic production do not achieve control over economically relevant resources, for the product of the labour is disposed of within the family. However, involvement in social production does not ensure greater personal freedom. Where the products of a woman's labour are appropriated by her husband, control over resources obviously does not develop. But even when a woman engages in production in her own right there are other variables which can have a greater determining influence on her domestic situation.

Where social production does not lead to domestic autonomy neither does it lead to social power. Women in northern Nigeria, who are engaged in social production, are nowhere as near to full social participation as women in the south. Moore (1974), Sanday (1973, 1974) and Brown (1975) all indicate that female collective organizations are essential to the exercise of female political power. We have confirmed this view by demonstrating the critical role played by market organizations in the application of sanctions which are the core of social power (Dahrendorf 1968; Bierstadt 1950). Contrary to Sacks (1971) market women do have more political rights.

Economic independence is not enough because the causes of women's oppression are not solely economic. Yes, women must have control over the products of their own labour. Yes, they must be involved in collective social production, but this alone will not ensure autonomy. The structures which oppress women are so pervasive that change must come in many sectors of society simultaneously. Ideologies and social institutions must change, but so must men's perception of women. Perhaps more crucial women must have access to the education and types of experiences which will help them to change their perceptions of themselves. Women will then demand full social participation.

Footnotes for Summary and Conclusion

1. This is also the title of an article by Irene Tinker (see Tinker 1976).
2. In Ibadan, for example, where there are large numbers of male Hausa migrants, housewives do a large business in the sale of cooked food (see A. Cohen 1969).
3. It must be emphasized that the literature is quite incomplete in its discussion of Hausa and Kanuri women's activities. There is no mention of collective production by co-wives, although I saw one joint venture where the wives of the village head made and sold bread. There are no descriptions of larger scale traders nor of older women who have expanded their trade activities. Again I know of a situation where an older woman, who in her married life had been secluded, in middle age had a stall in the market and sold not only her own weaving, but also her secluded daughter's embroidery (Personal communication HZ). The impact of women's economic roles on their domestic life has been slight but the complexity of their economic activities has not been fully investigated.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acquah, A. Ione
1958 "Accra Survey." London: University of London Press.
- Addae, Gloria
1954 The Retailing of Imported Textiles in the Accra Markets. In Proceedings of the West African Institute of Social and Economic Research, Third Conference. Pp. 51-56.
- Amarteifio, G.W.
1965 Report on "Social Welfare". Advance, No. 45. Edited by Department of Social Welfare and Community Development, Ghana.
- Ames, David
1962 The Rural Wolof of the Gambia. In Markets in Africa. Paul Bohannon and George Dalton, eds. Pp. 29-60.
- Apter, David
1963 Ghana in Transition. New York: Atheneum.
1964 Ghana. In Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa. James S. Coleman and Carl G. Rosberg Jr., eds. Pp. 259-315.
- Ardener, S.
1964 The Comparative Study of Rotating Credit Associations. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. XCIV. Pp. 201-229.
- Awe, Bolanle
1967 Ibadan, Its Early Beginnings. In The City of Ibadan. P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje and B. Awe, eds. Pp. 11-25.
- Baker, Pauline
1974 Urbanization and Political Change: The Politics of Lagos 1917-67. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Baldwin, David E. and Charlene M. Baldwin
1976 The Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria: An Indexed Bibliography. Boston: G.K. Hall and Co.
- Barkow, Jerome
1972 Hausa Women and Islam. Canadian Journal of African Studies 6: 317-328.
- Bascom, William
1952 The Esusu: A Credit Institution of the Yoruba. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 82: 63-69.
1969 The Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

- Baumann, Hermann
1928 The Division of Work According to Sex in African Hoe Culture. Africa 1(3): 280-319.
- de Beauvoir, Simone
1972 The Second Sex. New York: Vintage Books. First published in French in 1949.
- Bello, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu
1962 My Life. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Benston, Margaret
1969 The Political Economy of Women's Liberation. Monthly Review 24(4): 13-27.
- Bierstadt, Robert
1950 An Analysis of Social Power. American Sociological Review 15: 730-738.
- Bohannon, Paul and George Dalton, eds.
1962 Markets in Africa. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Boserup, Ester
1971 Women's Role in Economic Development. London: Athlone.
- Bovill, E.W.
1968 The Golden Trade of the Moors. Second Edition, revised with additional material by Robin Hallett. London: Oxford University Press.
- Brenner, Louis
1973 Shehus of Kukawa: A History of the Al-Kanemi Dynasty of Bornu. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bretton, H.L.
1966 Political Influence in Southern Nigeria. In Africa: The Primacy of Politics. H.J. Spiro, ed. Pp. 49-84. New York: Random House.
1967 The Rise and Fall of Kwame Nkrumah: A Study of Personal Rule in Ghana. London: Pall Mall Press.
- Brokensha, David
1966 Social Change at Larteh, Ghana. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Brown, Judith
1970 A Note on the Division of Labour by Sex. American Anthropologist 72: 1073-1078.
1975 Iroquois Women: An Ethnohistoric Note. In Toward an Anthropology of Women. Rayna Reiter, ed. Pp. 235-251.
- Buchanan, K.M. and J.C. Pugh
1955 Land and People in Nigeria: The Human Geography of Nigeria and Its Environmental Background. London: University of London Press.

Chapman, Jane Roberts, ed.

1976

Economic Independence for Women: The Foundation for Equal Rights. Sage Yearbooks in Women's Policy Studies, vol. 1. Beverly Hills, London: Sage Publication.

Cohen, Abner

1969

Custom and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cohen, Monique

1972

Market Traders in a West African City: Abidjan, A Case Study. M.A. Thesis. Montreal: McGill University.

Cohen, Ronald

1960

The Structure of Kanuri Society. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Wisconsin.

1961

Marriage Instability Among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria. American Anthropologist 63: 1321-2149.

1967

The Kanuri of Bornu. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

1971

Dominance and Defiance: A Study of Marital Instability in an Islamic African Society. Washington: American Anthropological Association.

Cole, Patrick

1975

Modern and Traditional Elites in the Politics of Lagos. Cambridge University Press.

Coleman, James S. and Carl G. Rosberg Jr., eds.

1964

Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Comhaire-Sylvain, Suzanne

1951

Le Travail des Femmes à Lagos. Zaire 5(2 and 5): 169-187, 475-502.

Dahrendorf, Ralf

1968

Essays in the Theory of Society. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Dudley, B.J.

1968

Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria. Frank Cass and Co. Ltd.

Dupire, Marguerite

1962

Trade and Markets of the Nomadic Fulani of Niger (Bororo). In Markets in Africa. Paul Bohannan and George Dalton, eds. Pp. 335-362.

Engels, Friedrich

1972

The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. Eleanor B. Leacock, ed. New York: International Publishers Co.

- Fadipe, N.A.
1970 The Sociology of the Yoruba. Francis Olu Okediji and Oladejo O. Okediji, eds. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.
- Feinstein, Alan
1973 African Revolutionary: The Life and Times of Nigeria's Aminu Kano. Quadrangle / The New York Times Book Co.
- Firestone, Shulamith
1971 The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution. New York: Bantam.
- Forde, Daryll
1946 The Native Economics of Nigeria. Margery Perham, ed. London: Faber and Faber.
- Freeman, Jo
1975 The Women's Liberation Movement in the United States. In Women Cross-Culturally: Challenge and Change. Ruby Rohrlich-Leavitt, ed. Pp. 375-387. The Hague: Mouton.
- Gailey, Harry A.
1970 The Road to Aba. New York: New York University Press.
- Galletti, R., K.D.S. Baldwin and I.O. Dina
1956 Nigerian Cocoa Farmers. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gamble, D.P.
1957 The Wolof of the Senegambia. International African Institute.
- Gibbs, J.L., ed.
1966 Peoples of Africa. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.,
- Gough, Kathleen
1971 The Origin of the Family. Journal of Marriage and the Family 33(4): 760-771.
- Greenberg, Joseph H.
1946 The Influence of Islam on a Sudanese Religion. American Ethnological Society Monograph No. 10. New York: Augustin.
- Hammond, Dorothy and Alta Jablow
1973 Women: Their Economic Role in Traditional Societies. Addison-Wesley Module No. 35.
- Hardiman, Margaret
1974 Women in Maiduguri: Some Aspects of Their Lives: Mimeographed.
- Herskovits, M.
1962 Preface. In Markets in Africa. Paul Bohannan and George Dalton. eds. Pp. vii-xvi.

- Hill, Polly
1963 Migrant Cocoa Farmers of Southern Ghana. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1969 Hidden Trade in Hausaland. Man, September. Pp. 392-409.
1970 Studies in Rural Capitalism in West Africa. Cambridge University Press.
1972 Rural Hausa: A Village and a Setting. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Hinderer, Anna
1872 Seventeen Years in Yoruba Society. London.
- Hodder, B.W.
1969 Markets in Yorubaland. In Markets in West Africa: Studies of Markets and Trade Among the Yoruba and Ibo, by B.W. Hodder and U.I. Ukwu. Pp. 3-109. New York: Africana Publishing Corporation.
- Hodder, B.W. and U.I. Ukwu
1969 Markets in West Africa: Studies of Markets and Trade Among the Yoruba and Ibo. New York: Africana Publishing Corporation.
- Hodgkin, Thomas
1961 African Political Parties: An Introductory Guide. Penguin Books.
1957 Nationalism in Colonial Africa. New York University Press.
- Hoffer, Carol
1972 Mende and Sherbro Women in High Office. Canadian Journal of African Studies 6: 151-164.
1974 Madame Yoko: Ruler of the Kpa Mende Confederacy. In Woman, Culture and Society. Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds. Pp. 173-188.
- Hogben, S.J. and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene
1966 The Emirates of Northern Nigeria: A Preliminary Survey of Their Historical Traditions. Oxford University Press.
- Hopkins, Anthony G.
1973 An Economic History of West Africa. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Horowitz, Michael M.
1974 Barbers and Bearers: Ecology and Ethnicity in an Islamic Society. Africa, Vol. XLIV. Pp. 371-382.
- Imam, Ibrahim
1969 Kanuri Marriage. Nigeria Magazine 102: 512-515.
- Jenkins, G.
1967 An Informal Political Economy. In Transition in African Politics. Butler and Castagno, eds. Pp. 166-194. New York: Praeger.
- Johnston, H.A.S.
1966 A Selection of Hausa Stories. Oxford at the Clarendon Press.

- Katzin, Margaret
1964 The Role of the Small Entrepreneur. In Economic Transition in Africa. M.J. Herskovits and M. Harwitz, eds. Pp. 179-198. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Kilson, Marion
1974 African Urban Kinsmen: The Ga of Central Accra. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Klingshirn, Agnes
1971 The Changing Position of Women in Ghana: A Study Based on Empirical Research in Larteh, a Small town in Sourther Ghana. Ph.D. Dissertation. Marburg/Lahn.
- Krapf-Askari Eva
1969 Yoruba Towns and Cities. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kratochvil, Laura
1975 African Women: A Select Bibliography. Cambridge: African Studies Centre.
- Last, Murray
1967 The Sokoto Caliphate. London: Longmans.
- Leacock, Eleanor B.
1972 Introduction. In The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, by Friedrich Engels. Eleanor B. Leacock, ed. Pp. 7-67. New York: International Publishers Co.
1975 Class, Commodity and the Status of Women. In Women Cross-Culturally. R. Rohrlich-Leavitt, ed. Pp. 601-616.
- Leavitt, Ruby see Rohrlich-Leavitt, Ruby.
- Leighton, A.H. and T.A. Lambo et al.
1963 Psychiatric Disturbance Among the Yoruba. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Leith-Ross, Syliva
1956 The Rise of a New Elite Among the Women of Nigeria. International Social Science Bulletin 8(3): 481-488.
- LeVine, Robert
1970 Sex Roles and Economic Change in Africa. In Black Africa: Its People and Cultures Today. John Middleton, ed. Pp. 174-180. New York: The MacMillan Co.
- Little, Kenneth
1973 African Women in Towns: An Aspect of Africa's Social Revolution. Cambridge University Press.

- Lloyd, P.C.
 1953 'Craft Organization in Yoruba Towns. Africa, Vol. XXIII. Pp. 30-44.
 1966 The Yoruba of Nigeria. In Peoples of Africa. J.L. Gibbs, ed. Pp. 547-582. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
 1968 Divorce Among the Yoruba. American Anthropologist 70: 67-81.
- Lloyd, P.C., A.L. Mabogunje and B. Awe, eds.
 1967 The City of Ibadan. Cambridge at the University Press in association with the Institute of African Studies: University of Ibadan.
- Mabogunje, A.
 1961 The Market Women. Ibadan: 11:14-17.
- Madauci, Ibrahim, Yahaya Isa and Bello Daura
 1968 Hausa Customs. Zaria: Northern Nigerian Publishing Co.
- Mainet, Guy
 1964 La Vallée du Gulbi de Maradi. Documents des Etudes Nigeriennes, 16. Bordeaux: IFAN-CNRS.
- Marris, Peter
 1962 Family and Social Change in an African City: A Study of Rehousing in Lagos. Northwestern University Press.
- Marshall, Gloria
 1964 Women, Trade and the Yoruba Family. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. New York: Columbia University.
- Martin, M. Kay and Barbara Voorhies
 1975 Female of the Species. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Marx, Karl
 1964 Pre-capitalist Economic Formations. E.J. Hobsbawm, ed. New York: International Publishers.
- McCall, Daniel
 1961 Trade and the Role of Wife in a Modern West African Town. In Social Change in Modern Africa. Aidan Southall, ed. Pp. 286-299. London: Oxford University Press.
- Meillassoux, Claude
 1962 Social and Economic Factors Affecting Markets in Guroland. In Markets in Africa. Paul Bohannan and George Dalton, eds. Pp. 279-298.
- Mernissi, Fatima
 1975 Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in a Modern Muslim Society. New York, London: John Wiley and Sons.
- Millet, Kate
 1970 Sexual Politics. New York: Doubleday.

- Mintz, Sidney
1971 } Men, Women and Trade. Comparative Studies of Social History 13: 247-269.
- Mitchell, Juliet
1971 Woman's Estate. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Moore, M.P.
1974 Some Economic Aspects of Women's Work and Status in the Rural Areas of Africa and Asia. Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex. Mimeographed.
- Mortimore, M.J. and J. Wilson
1965 Land and People in the Kano Close-Settled Zone. Department of Geography, Occasional Paper No. 1, Ahmadu Bello University.
- Morton-Williams, Peter
1960 The Yoruba Ogboni Cult in Oyo. Africa, Vol. XXX. Pp. 362-374.
- Nadel, S.F.
1942 A Black Byzantium: The Kingdom of the Nupe in Nigeria. International African Institute. London: Oxford University Press.
1952 Witchcraft in Four African Societies: A Comparison. American Anthropologist 54: 18-29.
- Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation
1960 Eminent Nigerians of the Nineteenth Century. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nkrumah, Kwame
1957 Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons.
- Nypan, Astrid
1960 Market Trade: A Sample Survey of Market Traders in Accra. African Business Series No. 2. Economic Research Division. University College of Ghana.
- Oppong, Christine
1970 Conjugal Power and Resources: An Urban African Example. Journal of Marriage and the Family 32(4): 676-680.
1973 Marriage Among a Matrilineal Elite. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ortner, Sherry
1974 Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture? In Woman, Culture and Society. Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds. Pp. 67-87.
- Ottenberg, Phoebe
1959 The Changing Position of Women Among the Afikpo Ibo. In Continuity and Change in African Cultures. W.R. Bascom and M. Herskovits, eds. Pp. 205-223. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

- Paden, John
1973 Religion and Political Culture in Kano. Los Angeles:
University of California Press.
- Paulme, Denise, ed.
1963 Women in Tropical Africa. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Pedler, F.J.
1955 Economic Geography of West Africa. London.
- Peil, Margaret
1972 The Ghanaian Factory Worker: Industrial Man in Ghana.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Peshkin, A.
1972 Kanuri School Children: Education and Social Mobilization
in Nigeria. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Prince, Raymond
1961 The Yoruba Image of the Witch. Journal of Mental Science
107: 795-805.
- Ransome-Kuti, F.
1961 The Status of Women in Nigeria. Journal of Human Relations
10(1): 67-72.
- Reiter, Rayna, ed.
1975 Toward an Anthropology of Women. New York and London:
Monthly Review Press.
- Remy, Dorothy
1968 Social Networks and Patron-Client Relations: Ibadan Market
Women. Unpublished paper.
1975 Underdevelopment and the Experience of Women: A Nigerian
Case Study. In Toward an Anthropology of Women. Rayna
Reiter, ed. Pp. 358-371.
- Rohrlich-Leavitt, Ruby
1971 Women in Other Cultures. In Women in Sexist Society: Studies
in Power and Powerlessness. Vivian Gornick and Barbara K.
Moran, eds. Pp. 276-303. New York. London: Basic Books.
1975 Conclusions. In Women Cross-culturally: Challenge and Change.
R. Rohrlich-Leavitt, ed. Pp. 619-641. The Hague: Mouton.
- Roper, J.I.
1958 Labour Problems in West Africa. London
- Rosaldo, Michelle and Louise Lamphere, eds.
1974 Woman, Culture and Society. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press.
- Rubin, Gayle
1975 The Traffic in Women: Notes on the "Political Economy" of
Sex. In Toward an Anthropology of Women. Rayna Reiter, ed.
Pp. 157-210.

- Sacks, Karen
1971 Economic Bases of Sexual Equality: A Comparative Study of Four African Societies. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Michigan.
1974 Engels Revisited: Women, the Organization of Production, and Private Property. In Woman, Culture, and Society. Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds. Pp. 207-222.
- Sai, Florence Aleeno
1971 The Market Women in the Economy of Ghana. M.Sc. Thesis. Cornell University.
- Sanday, Peggy
1973 Toward a Theory of the Status of Women. American Anthropologist 75(5): 1682-1700.
1974 Female Status in the Public Domain. In Woman, Culture and Society. Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds. Pp. 189-206.
- Schlegel, Alice
1972 Male Dominance and Female Autonomy: Domestic Authority in Matrilineal Societies. HRAF Press.
- Skinner, Elliot
1962 Trade and Markets Among the Mossi People. In Markets in Africa. Paul Bohannan and George Dalton, eds. Pp. 237-278.
- Skinner, Neil
1969 Hausa Tales and Traditions, I. Originally compiled by Frank Edgar. Neil Skinner, ed. New York: Africana Publishing Corporation.
- Sklar, Richard
1963 Nigerian Political Parties: Power in an Emergent African Nation. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Sklar, Richard and C.S. Whitaker
1964 Nigeria. In Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa. James S. Coleman and Carl G. Rosberg Jr., eds. Pp. 597-654. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Smith, Mary F.
1964 Baba of Karo: A Woman of the Moslem Hausa. New York: Frederick A. Praeger.
- Smith, M.G.
1955 The Economy of Hausa Communities in Zaria. Colonial Research Series No. 16. HMSO: London. Reprinted 1971 by the Johnson Reprint Co. New York.
1960 Government in Zazzau: 1800-1950. London: Oxford University Press.
1964 Introduction and Notes. In Baba of Karo, by Mary Smith. Pp. 11-34, 257-290.
1966 The Hausa of Northern Nigeria. In Peoples of Africa. J.L. Gibbs, ed. Pp. 119-158.

Tinker, Irene
1976

Women in Developing Countries: Economic Independence is not Enough. In Economic Independence for Women: The Foundation for Equal Rights. Jane Roberts Chapman, ed. Pp. 113-135.

Trimingham, J.S.
1959
1968

Islam in West Africa. London: Clarendon Press.
The Influence on Islam Upon Africa. New York: Praeger.

Ukwu, U.L.
1969

The Markets in Iboland. In Markets in West Africa: Studies of Markets and Trade Among the Yoruba and Ibo, by B.W. Hodder and U.I. Ukwu. Pp. 113-250.

Van Allen, Judith
1976

African Women, "Modernization", and National Liberation. In Women in the World: A Comparative Study. Lynne B. Iglitzin and Ruth Ross, eds. Pp. 25-54. Santa Barbara: Clio Books.

Vellenga, Dorothy Dee
n.d.

The Growth of the Women's Movement in Ghana: A Struggle for Justice or Power. Unpublished paper.

Whitaker, C.S.
1970

The Politics of Tradition: Continuity and Change in Northern Nigeria 1946-1966. Princeton University Press.