ECONOMIC ROLES OF WOMEN
IN AN EXPANDING MARKET TOWN:
A CASE STUDY IN MANGU,
BENUE-PLATEAU STATE, NIGERIA

by

Catherine Frances Drew

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Major Professor .....

Major Department .....

External Examiner .....

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
Introduction		1
Chapter 1	Literature Review	3
	Introduction	3
	Common Characteristics of the Female Economic Role	3
	Variations in the Economic Role of Women in Nigeria	5
	(a) Division of Labour	5
	(i) Division of Labour within Farming	5
	(ii) Division of Labour between Farming and Non-Farming Activities	6
	(iii) Division of Labour within Non-Farming Activities	7
	(b) Female Non-Farming Occupations	8
	(i) Food Processing and Preparation	8
	(ii) Crafts	9
	(iii) Trading	9
	(c) Use of Money/the Role of Woman as Provider	12
	Factors Accounting for the Variations in the Woman's Economic Role in Particular Societies	15
	The Economic Role as the Determinant of the Status of Women in Society	19
	Conclusion	20
	Statement of the Problem of the Present Research	22
Chapter 2	The Research Setting	27
	Introduction - Physical Description	27
	History	28
	(a) Administrative History	28
	(b) Social History	30
	(c) Economic History	33
	Present Demographic Make-up	34
	Conclusion	36
Chapter 3	Methodology	39
	Description of Fieldwork	39
	Data Collection	39
	(a) Informal Discussions	39
	(b) Questionnaire Administration	39
	The Sample	41
	Data Analysis	44
	Construction of Variables	45
	(a) Dependent Variables	45
	(b) Independent Variables	52
Chapter 4	Christian and Muslim Women (The Religious Factor)	59
	Introduction	59
	Primary Occupation	59
	(a) Mat-Making	59
	(b) Beer Brewing	64
	(c) Food Processing	66
	(d) Trading	69
	(e) Miscellaneous	73
	Profit Level	75

Chapter 4 (Cont.) Page

Farming 97
Provision and other Spending Patterns 99
Other Factors 105
Conclusion 114

Chapter 5 Muslim Women in Mangu 117
Primary Occupation 118
Profit Level 124
Farming 129
Provision 130
Conclusion 130

Chapter 6 Christian Women in Mangu 135
Introduction 135
Primary Occupation 135
Traders/Non-Traders 143
Profit Level 152
Farming 166
Provision 171
Conclusion 176

Chapter 7 Conclusion 180
The Traditional Economic Role of Women in Sura and Pyem Societies 180
The Relative Economic Positions of Christian and Muslim Women 183
Theoretical Implications of the Research Findings 184

Bibliography 208

Appendix A 214
Appendix B 215
Appendix C 216
Appendix D 217
Appendix E 220
Appendix F 231
Appendix G 237

LIST OF TABLES

A list of Tables showing page numbers, chi square probabilities and Cramer's V's for all relationships tested is found in Appendix G, page 237.

FIGURES

Figure 1 Location Map 25
Figure 2 Ethnic Location Map (Taken from Netting, 1968: 37) 26
Figure 3 Model of Women's Economic Roles 96

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is a country which is experiencing rapid socio-economic change; this can be seen in the growth of market centres, the rate at which roads and other communications facilities are expanding, the pace of urbanisation, and the increasing demand for more (and new) goods and services. One of the consequences of these changes is that ordinary people are presented with opportunities for new and expanded economic activities. This study is concerned with the ways in which women in a particular market town have responded to the general expansion of economic life.

The purposes of this study are threefold: first, to describe the different responses of women to enhanced economic opportunities; secondly, to analyse the variations in responses in terms of the factors accounting for them; and thirdly, to compare and contrast the present economic roles of women in that community with those of the past.

CHAPTER 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

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Introduction

The literature written in English on the economic role of women in West Africa is largely concerned with various ethnic groups of one particular nation - Nigeria. Although some information is available about the female economic role in societies in southern Ghana, the Cameroon Republic and the Ivory Coast, these represent but a few of the many societies in the rest of West Africa. For this reason the present literature review will be confined to the discussion of the economic role of women in Nigeria, with reference also being made to the above listed non-Nigerian societies. Any generalisations made here refer to these areas only.

Several common features characterising the economic role of women in most Nigerian societies can be identified in the literature. However, perhaps more striking than these is the great variability in the content of the female economic role, in terms of both the level of contribution and the means through which this contribution is made. This variation is found both within and between cultures. The first section of this literature review will be devoted to a discussion of the characteristics of the female economic role common to most societies, while the second section will emphasise the variations to be found in this economic role. In the third section attention will be shifted to the factors which some authors have put forward as accounting for this variation within particular societies. In the fourth and final section the debate in the literature about the effect of a woman's economic role on her other roles and on her status within society generally will be discussed.

Common Characteristics of the Female Economic Role

One common theme that runs through the literature is that women fulfil and have always fulfilled important, indispensable economic roles. Mair asserts that in many cases the woman's economic activity is essential for the survival of the family (1969:7). As will be seen below, this generalisation of the indispensability of the woman's economic functions can safely be applied to many societies in Nigeria, such as Yoruba and Ibo societies, as well as the Akan societies of Ghana.

However, Muslim Hausa society of northern Nigeria is in several ways a notable exception to this rule. For, although their services as producers and distributors may be essential for the society at large, these women do not generally contribute heavily to the upkeep of the family and there is evidence that some wives of rich men can carry out little, if any, productive activity. (Simmons, unpubl.:9; Pittin, unpubl.:19)[1]

The independent or autonomous nature of the woman's economic role is the second common characteristic which spans the variation in this role. Netting reports that among the Kofyar[2] husband and wife work very much as a team (1968:125), but this, as will be seen below, is an important exception to the general rule of the relationship between male and female economic roles. It is usually the case that women work independently of their husbands. Hill points out, for example, that in West Africa women rarely work under the supervision of their husbands when doing farm work, even when they are working on their husband's land (unpubl.:5); the Bamenda of Cameroon Republic provide an example of this (Kaberry, 1952:145). With regard to non-farming activities this pattern holds as well; Marshall states that the businesses, as well as economic affairs in general, of the Yoruba husband and wife are kept quite separate (unpubl.:188 and 255), and Hill emphasises the general economic independence of Hausa women when she writes that,

> "... a woman's economic autonomy is often sufficient to insulate her from her husband's poverty - as shown by the examples of prominent house-traders whose husbands are notably poverty stricken" (1969:398).

Given the indispensable and autonomous nature of the female economic role, it is not surprising that in most societies this active, important role is an essential component of the female self-image. As Levine comments, "The typical African woman considers herself as a cultivator as well as a wife and mother; her occupational role is a part of her self-image" (1970:175). Evidence from Yoruba (Marshall, unpubl.:4) and Hausa societies (Simmons, unpubl.:7) support this generalisation. Few statistics about the number of women who have or do not have an occupation have been collected, but those that are available for

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1. This is not to imply, however, that Hausa women have no economic responsibilities. As will be seen below, these women have many social obligations, the fulfilment of which requires considerable amounts of money.

2. All ethnic groups, such as the Kofyar, for which no nation state is identified are assumed to be found within Nigeria.

the Yorubas (Boserup, 1970:93), Hausas (Konan, unpubl.:21) and Kanuri (Lock, unpubl.:3) show that the majority of women in these societies have some form of money-making occupation.

Variations in the Economic Role of Women in Nigeria

(a) The Division of Labour

Although task allocation by age, rank or ethnic group does exist in Nigerian societies, the sex of an individual is very important in determining his or her economic role. Division of labour by sex is found in most of these societies but there are, however, variations in the way in which it is applied. The division of labour by sex may be analysed on three levels. The first is within farming itself, the second level being between farming and non-farming activities, and the third is amongst non-farming activities alone.

(i) Division of Labour within Farming

Levine has identified a uniformity in the division of farming tasks in West African, saying that men generally clear the land and women do the larger share of the routine cultivation (1970:175). Both Tiv (Bohannan, 1968:8 and 67) and Banenda societies (Kaberry, 1952:27) provide examples of this general rule. In the Akan societies food crops are reported to be cultivated mainly by women (Hill, unpubl.:3), whereas men do the major part of the cash cropping.

The case of the Afikpo Ibo is a particularly interesting one because the sexual divisions within agriculture had important consequences for the relative economic positions of men and women in that society. Amongst this group there was, and still is, not only a sexual division of labour in farming tasks but also in crops, men owning certain men's yams, women owning women's yams plus most other crops. When cassava was introduced into this society it was classified as a woman's crop and even though it soon became a very important food and cash crop, men would not farm it as it had been labelled "female". This new, profitable crop allowed women to attain an unprecedented level of economic independence, many women becoming better off than their husbands and capable of subsisting without any support from their husbands (Ottenberg, 1956: 206-223).

There are however some exceptions to this general rule of sexual division of labour within farming. The Maguzawa Hausa women of Makarfi District are reported to do the same work as men (Abell, 1962:6). Amongst the Kofyar, as well, there is little sexual division of labour

either in farming or in other activities, Netting's thesis being that this lack of division of labour is a special adaptation which makes their form of intensive homestead agriculture possible (1968:127).

(ii) Division of Labour between Farming and Non-Farming Activities

In many Nigerian societies there is a sexual division of labour between farming and non-farming activities, the latter including food processing and preparation, craft-work and trade. Where this division of labour obtains, women are often the refiners and retailers, men fulfilling the role of agricultural producers. Several examples of this division of labour can be found in the literature. As early as the 19th Century Yoruba women were acting as retailers, selling some of their husbands' agricultural surplus as well as producing and selling such items as soap, pottery, cloth, oil and cooked foods (Marshall, unpubl.:249-250).[1] This female role is still very much in evidence today for the majority of Yoruba women trade and farming is mainly a male activity (Marshall, unpubl.:7).[2]

Nupe society provides another example of this role of the woman as refiner and retailer, Nupe women selling their husbands' agricultural surplus (Nadel, 1942:252-254). A similar pattern is found amongst some Hausas. Hill states that in Batagarawa, a Hausa village near Katsina, the majority of grain being sold is retailed by women on behalf of their husbands (1969:268). If a woman is not selling her husband's grain she is most likely to be engaged in some form of food processing or preparation, but Hausa women, even those in semi-seclusion in rural areas, do not for the most part participate in agricultural activities (Hill, 1972:279).

Some exceptions to this theme of man the agricultural producer, woman the refiner and retailer can, however, be mentioned. In Tangale society women do farm but they also trade (Shehu, unpubl.:42-82).

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1. In discussing the reason for this division of labour at that time Marshall cites Pedler's argument that it was the women who traded because, unlike the men, they enjoyed immunity from attack during this time of constant warfare. Marshall, however, disagrees with this explanation, stressing the economic self-sufficiency and high degree of internal specialisation of Yoruba towns during this period. She states that women were engaged in trading activities within, not between, towns while it was the men who risked going outside the town to farm (unpubl.:72-80).

2. Many Yoruba women do farm, but, as Mabogunje's data indicate, these women are by no means in the majority (1968:124).

As for the Ibos, farming and trading are about equally divided between men and women (Leith-Ross, 1939:199). Amongst the Bamenda this pattern is somewhat reversed, for here it is the women who farm and the men who earn money from non-farming pursuits (Kaberry, 1952:27).

(iii) Division of Labour within Non-Farming Activities

Most non-farming occupations can be subsumed under the three main categories mentioned above - food processing and preparation, crafts, and trading. Both within and between these categories a sexual division of labour can be identified. Food processing and preparation is a female occupation; in no society has it been reported that men are involved in this occupation on the home-industry level.

Data in the literature on craft production is scarce, and although certain crafts are mentioned as being done by Ibo (Leith-Ross, 1939) and Tangale (Shehu, unpubl.) women, amongst others, the question of whether or not these are exclusively female occupations is not discussed. However, the general impression given is that in craft production as well, a sexual division of labour exists, an example being Nupe society in which women produce those items used by women, men those used by men (Nadel, 1942:295).

Finally, within trading sexual differentiation can be found. One form is in terms of items of similar value and origin (either local or imported), men often trading items produced by men, women those by women, or the item may be traded by the sex that uses it, Nupe society providing an example of both of these forms (Nadel, 1942: 330-334). Another form of sexual differentiation exists in terms of the scale and profitability of the trading. The data from studies in Accra (Pellow, unpubl.), in Ibo (Ottenberg, 1956) and in Yoruba areas (Marshall, unpubl.) all point to the following conclusions: that men control the long-distance trade whereas women are largely limited to local trade; that men trade with more capital than women; and, that men handle the more expensive items. In short, men dominate the more lucrative levels of trade.

The evidence in the literature, then, supports the generalisation that there is considerable division of labour by sex in Nigerian societies. However, it is important to note that there is much variation in both the degree of differentiation and the form it takes from one society to the next.

(b) Female Non-Farming Occupations

Female non-farming occupations vary both in terms of the type of occupation and the scale on which the occupation is pursued. The purpose of this part of the literature review is to describe briefly the variability in female occupations, and the discussion will be organised in terms of the three major categories of non-farming activities mentioned above.

(i) Food Processing and Preparation

Although information about food processing and preparation is available for a few other societies, most of the data on this occupation come from Hausa society. For this reason, the following discussion is clearly Hausa-oriented.[1]

Food processing and preparation can be broken down into three categories. The first of these is the processing of harvested crops for payment, including the threshing, winnowing and pounding of grain. This is usually a form of paid labour in areas where women are not obliged to do farm work, and has been identified as an occupation amongst Hausa (Hill, 1969:399) and Tangale (Shehu, unpubl.:43) women, to mention but two.

The processing of food items to be used in cooking is a second type of occupation in this category. Such items as ground-nut oil and its by-product, kuli kuli,[2] as well as daddawa[3] are included here. The list of items is unending, these varying from society to society, and it suffices to say that this production of items to be used in food preparation provides an income, though not a large one, for many women.

The third occupation in this category is the preparation of cooked staple foods, snacks and drinks for immediate consumption. Here again

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1. It must be noted here that Hill, in her discussion of female Hausa occupations, lumps both food processing and preparation and the retailing of items not produced by the woman herself under the term "house-trading". In this chapter these will be considered separately in the respective sections on food processing and preparation and trading.
2. Small fried cakes made from the residue obtained when the oil is expressed from ground-nuts.
3. Black cakes made from the fermented seeds of the locust-bean tree.

the variety of items is unlimited and only a few examples will be given. Women prepare staple foods such as rice, yams and tuwo[1] and sell these with different forms of stew, as well as making lighter snacks like bean cakes. Kunu, a non-alcoholic gruel, and locally brewed beer or wine are two types of drinks prepared by women, the latter usually being made by non-Muslims only. It is likely that this cooking and selling of foods can be found in most, if not all, Nigerian societies and has been reported amongst the Ibos (Leith-Ross, 1939:342), Kanuri (Lock, unpubl.:6), Tangale (Shehu, unpubl.:41), Tiv (Bohannan, 1968:132) and Hausa (Hill, 1969:399).

Two further comments can be made about this occupation. The first is that although food processing and preparation is done by women generally, it would seem that it is particularly important amongst secluded women as it can be done by the woman within the compound, children being used as her link with the outside. This, then, is one aspect of the variation in woman's economic role in which Muslim wife seclusion is important. Non-secluded women are involved in food processing and preparation but they do have alternative occupations to choose from. The second comment is that although sizeable profits may be earned by women who do this type of work on a large scale, in general the profits of women in this category are relatively small.

(ii) Crafts

Craft work is mentioned as a female occupation in many societies and here also there are innumerable types and varieties. For example, Nupe women are said to do indigo dyeing, weaving and pottery (Nadel, 1942:295), Yoruba women to do spinning, dyeing and pottery (Mabogunje, 1968:84) and Hausa women weaving and spinning (Abell, 1962:7), while it is reported that Kanuri women do pottery, needlework and hairdressing as crafts (Lock, unpubl.:6). The general impression given by the literature, however, is that the two other categories (food processing and preparation, and trading) are more important occupations for Nigerian women than craft production.

(iii) Trading

Trading is one of the most important female occupations in Nigeria, especially in the southern areas. In western Nigeria sixty-six percent of all Yoruba women are traders. Of these Yoruba women, one half have

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1. A staple food made from the flour of guinea corn, maize, millet, or rice.

trading as their main occupation and the rest take part in trading as a subsidiary to agriculture or craft production (Boserup, 1970:93). In eastern Nigeria women amount to about one-half of the labour force in trade (ibid.:91). In Ghana seventy percent of all women engage in trade (ibid.:93), eighty percent of the total labour force in trade being female (ibid.:91).

Trading, then, is shown in the literature to be a wide-spread female occupation. However, the term "trading" does not represent a homogeneous occupational category. On the contrary, there is a great deal of variation in trading in terms of the types of goods sold, the scale of investment and the level of profits realised, the variation in these three factors being correlated. In the literature on trading three general profit levels are identifiable, with certain items and scales of investment usually being associated with each.

The least profitable level of trading can be divided into two categories. The first includes the selling of such locally produced goods as surplus grains (in small quantities), vegetables and firewood. The second category is the small-scale retailing of some of the cheaper manufactured goods such as salt, kerosene, soap, matches and sugar.

On the middle profit level are the women who deal in foodstuffs on a scale somewhat larger than those at the petty level, and these women buy grains or other items with the purpose of reselling them for a profit. Some of the cheaper manufactured items mentioned above are sold by these women, but on a larger scale. Included here as well is the selling of the slightly more expensive manufactured items like enamel pots, various forms of plastic ware or cloth, these items being sold on a moderate scale. These women deal in greater sums of money and have higher profits than those on the petty level, but still their scale is not large enough for them to call themselves "big traders".

This title is reserved for those women who make up the high profit category in trading. They deal on a large scale in either locally produced items like grains or oil, or in manufactured goods such as cloth, pots, or imported foods. It is stressed in the literature that those women who reach this level are the exception, rather than the rule, being relatively few in number.

Concerning trading, several further points can be made. Firstly, although women in southern Nigeria can be found trading on all three levels of profitability, female trading amongst the Hausas is largely confined to the lowest of these three levels, women mainly selling on

a petty scale such items as salt, kerosene, oil and soap. The data on the Batagarawa women, for example, support this generalisation. When this is coupled with the fact that the majority of Hausa women are secluded (Hill, 1972:279), a possible connection between wife seclusion and confinement to the lowest profit level in trade is indicated. Although certain exceptions of Hausa women dealing on the higher profit levels can be cited[1], nevertheless for most Hausa women, as for most secluded women of other ethnic groups in northern Nigeria, the general rule of their involvement on the lowest level of profitability in trade still stands.

Related to this first point is the second more general comment to be made, that trading is far more important as a female occupation in the south of Nigeria than in the north. Women are indeed found in the markets of the north but these are usually women from the south. No reasons for this are given in the literature but a few suggestions can be made here.

As mentioned above, there is the obvious factor of seclusion. A large proportion of the population in northern Nigeria are Muslims, and many of these Muslim women are secluded, this being so especially in the urban areas.[2] As such, they are unable to participate fully in market trade, being confined to the petty level of trade which can be conducted within the compound. This factor of seclusion does not, however, help to explain the apparent relative lack of involvement of non-secluded women in trading in northern Nigeria.

Looking beyond seclusion, then, another factor which might be important is that women in the south were exposed to the modern urban-oriented economy much earlier than those in the north. The question of exactly how this difference affected the female economic roles in the two areas has not been investigated. Whatever the processes involved, and whatever the historical reasons accounting for this

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1. These exceptions include the trading in sacks of grain done by some wealthy Hausa women (Hill, 1969:407), and the monopolisation of the trade in kola nuts, plantains and oranges by the Hausa women in Ibadan (Cohen, 1969:64).

2. Unfortunately there is in the literature a great lack of information concerning the extent to which wife seclusion is practised by Muslims in various parts of Nigeria. Until this gap is filled the effect of seclusion on female economic roles cannot be fully evaluated.

difference, it may be hypothesised that as this modern urban-oriented economy expands in northern Nigeria, so will expand the involvement of non-secluded women in trading. This is indeed one of the general hypotheses of this study.

The third and final comment to be made about trading concerns the general distribution of the population into the three categories of profitability, this being that the majority of female traders are found in the two lower profit categories. Various reasons are given for this generally low level of gain, some of these being applicable to both male and female trade. First is the fact that there is a large number of traders and hence competition is keen (Pellow, unpubl.:180). Secondly, there is the ubiquitous problem of shortage of capital (Ottenberg, 1956:207). Thirdly, and relevant to female trade only, is the problem of the competition of domestic duties with trading activities for the time and energy of the woman (Marshall, unpubl.:253).

The fact that most female traders are low earners in comparison to other occupations such as nursing, teaching, etc. is contrary to the image of the rich West African female trader which readers, whether justifiably or not, may gain from some authors who tend to emphasise the few who have become extremely wealthy by trading rather than the many who have not (e.g. Little, 1973). Pellow, in her work on the women in Accra, attempts to correct this false impression, pointing out with her data that the vast majority of female traders are low earners (unpubl.:191-192).

It is not our intention to overstress this point of the generally low profits of female traders, for one would naturally assume that the mass of people, whether male or female, will be found at the lower earning levels of the occupational scale in West Africa, as in most parts of the world. What is notable and not obvious, however, is that most of the lucrative levels of trade, as above mentioned, are dominated almost entirely by men. The main reason given in the literature for the continued involvement of women in trade, despite the low profits, is that since they are illiterate and unskilled (like many men as well); they have no other means of making money, this applying especially in the urban areas (Pellow, unpubl.:160).

(c) <u>The Use of Money/ The Role of Woman as Provider</u>

Just as women in Nigeria have varying roles as producers, so do they differ as consumers. Three categories of female consumers can be identified in the literature, the first of these being women who spend

their money on luxuries and extras, providing few if any of the basic needs of the family.[1] In this category we find most women in Muslim societies in which wife-seclusion is practised.[2] According to Islam it is the role of the man to provide for the household and any money earned by a woman is to be used by her for her personal needs. Hausa women are an example of this, for it is reported that Hausa women do not contribute heavily to household expenditures (Simmons, unpubl.:9) but that they spend their money, rather, on extras for themselves and their children. They buy such items as clothing, jewelry, furniture for their rooms, and enamel or brass bowls (Dry, 1949:159).

As Hill points out, however, that the man should provide for all the basic needs of the family is the ideal and, in fact, women in poor households may help with their husband's food expenses (1972:25). Nevertheless, although these deviations from the ideal may be found, the evidence in the literature supports this general rule of the lack of contribution to family needs on the part of secluded Muslim women. Pittin confirms this for the Hausa women in Katsina (unpublished:19), Cohen for those in Ibadan (1969:66-69) and the same pattern has been found amongst Muslim women in Maiduguri (Lock, unpublished:7).

Secluded Muslim women do, however, have other important forms of financial responsibilities. At ceremonial times they must give gifts to friends and relatives and a woman is expected to contribute heavily to her daughter's dowry (Dry, 1949:159). Bashir, for example, identifies these financial obligations used to maintain social ties as the major motivation for earning money by Muslim women in Kano (Bashir, unpublished: 15-16).

In general, secluded Muslim women do not reinvest their profits in their occupation but use them largely on items of conspicuous consumption (Cohen, 1969:69).[3] One implication of this, as Pellow

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1. Since in the literature there is very little mention of female economic responsibilities to the family of birth, the term "family", in discussions in this thesis on the female role as provider, refers to the husband, his wife or wives, and their children.
2. Unfortunately no data on the spending patterns of non-secluded women in these societies is available and hence the following discussion pertains to the secluded women only.
3. It must, however, be noted that the buying of jewelry and enamel or brass bowls can be considered a form of investment because the value of these appreciates and at any time they can be converted to money.

eloquently states, is that "their wealth . . . provides them with no nobility beyond their domiciles or their female culture" (unpublished:155).

In the second category of female consumers one finds societies such as the Nupe and the Tangale in which women make a considerable contribution to the upkeep of the family, although they are not the chief providers. The basic pattern here is that the men provide the staple foods such as grains or tubers while the women provide everything else (Nair, 1969:138; Shehu, unpubl.:22). Although information is not available to prove the suggestion, it seems likely that this division of provision between husband and wife exists in many Nigerian societies.

Thirdly there are those societies in which women bear much, and in some cases all, of the burden of providing for the family. Women may do this either by farming or through some money-making occupation. Examples of the former way are Banenda and Maguzawa Hausa women, the Akan and Yoruba women being examples of the latter way, with the Ibos representing a compromise between the two.

Banenda woman are responsible for almost all the farming duties and therefore provide the food whereas the men devote their time to cash-earning occupations to pay taxes, school fees, etc. (Kaberry, 1952:146). The right of a man to depend on his wife for food is clearly shown by the fact that if a couple are going to divorce, the man has the right to claim the standing harvest (Hill, unpubl.:4). The case of the Maguzawa Hausa is similar where the crops from the wife's farm are used for the family while those from the husband's are used for taxes, ceremonies and marriage payments (Barkow, 1972:325).

Amongst the Ibos the men provide yams when they are plentiful and may give meat or fish at festive times, but the women are responsible for the rest of the family's food needs (Ottenberg, 1956:207). Women usually provide for these needs through a combination of farming and trading, although some women do trade exclusively(Leith-Ross, 1939:338) Finally, Akan and Yoruba societies belong in this third category. Information from these societies seems to support the suggestion made by Boserup that there is a possible connection between females being in market trade and societies in which women have no right to full support from their husbands (1970:93). In both these societies trading is a widespread female occupation and for both there is evidence that many women are, to a large extent, self supporting (McCall, 1961:297; Marshall, unpubl.:188).

Factors Accounting for the Variations in the Woman's Economic Role in Particular Societies

In the previous sections, the variations found in the economic role of women have been variations in type of occupation, in amount of profit, and in the use women make of their earnings. Much, although not all, of the variation discussed so far in this chapter, has been between societies. But even within a given society there is variation between women, and this section discusses a few factors raised in the literature which help to explain this variation.

The first of those factors to be discussed is the life cycle, this including the two related factors of age and number of children. The life cycle has been identified as affecting female occupations in several ways. Hill states that amongst the Batagarawa Hausa older women rather than younger women are more likely to be engaged in the major female occupation, which in this case is food processing and preparation. This she explains in terms of the heavier child-care responsibilities of younger women with small children (1969:401-402). Pitten reports a similar pattern in Katsina and although she acknowledges the effects of differential child-care duties, she goes beyond this to interpret the difference between younger and older women in the context of the socio-economic responsibilities of women of various age groups. She states that once a woman starts having children, she becomes involved in the complex net-work of gift-giving and in order to meet these obligations she must earn money. As she matures in years, the age and number of her children increases and so do her financial commitments (unpublished:17). Marshall identifies a similar relationship between life cycle and the trading activities of Yoruba women, stating that older women are more involved in trading, having fewer child-care responsibilities (unpublished: 210, 220).

The life cycle has been reported to affect female occupations in another way. Nadel states that in Nupe society it is largely childless women or women beyond the age of child-bearing who are the few full-time, long-distance professional traders. And, it is with this class of traders that prostitution is associated (1942:153).

The socio-economic status of the husband is a second factor suggested in the literature as accounting for the variation in female economic roles. Although the effects of this factor have been debated for Hausa society, comments concerning other ethnic groups are few. For this reason, the following discussion is largely limited to Hausa society.

There are two distinct points of view presented in the literature on this subject. Konan and Hill agree that for Hausa women in Dakace, a village near Zaria, and Batagarawa respectively, the husband's status is not important, the wives of rich men being just as likely to do food processing occupations as those of poor men (Konan, unpubl.:32; Hill, 1969:401-402). Hill does note, however, that the husband's status may determine the scale of occupation, the wives of wealthier men dealing in more items (1969:406). She also states that the few women who store grain in bulk and resell it at a price rise are almost exclusively the wives of wealthy men (1969:406).

Yeld, on the other hand, argues strongly that the occupation of a woman is related to her husband's status (Yeld, 1960). First of all, she states that these two factors are linked through seclusion, for, as Smith argues, the degree of seclusion under which a woman lives is a function of her husband's economic position as he is responsible for maintaining the marriage form (Smith, 1959:246), and seclusion limits the occupational activities of women. Secondly, she argues that amongst secluded women, the wives of rich men have occupations different from those of poor men (Yeld, 1960:127-128).

Yeld develops a ranking of female occupations which she says correlates with the husband's socio-economic status. Her ranking is as follows: on the bottom are those non-secluded women married to poor men, these women being petty market traders, water sellers and those who do various types of labour. In the middle come women married to men of moderate incomes, these women doing food-processing occupations. On the top are women married to wealthy men, these women doing mainly crafts or having no occupation at all (1960:127-128). Although Pitten reports a similar pattern in Katsina, she makes no mention of Yeld's lowest category and is far more cautious in her suggestion of a relationship between a woman's occupation and her husband's status (unpublished:19). Further evidence in support of the existence of this relationship comes from Bashir's work on Hausa women in Kano (unpublished:43) and Shehu's work on the Tangale of North Eastern State (unpublished:83-84).

The issue, then, is not settled, with two opposing points of view being presented in the literature. It must be noted, however, that the evidence against the hypothesis of a relationship between a woman's occupation and her husband's status comes from rural areas, whereas the evidence in support of it is mainly from urban areas. If this were found to be generally so, such a pattern would suggest that it is some

characteristic of the urban as opposed to the rural environment which explains the variation in the strength of the association between the husband's status and the woman's occupation.

Although much of the work done on the economic role of women in Nigeria has been within religiously homogeneous societies, there are however a few societies mentioned in the literature in which religious differentiation can be found, these providing the only available analysis of religion as a factor affecting female occupations. The first of these is the case of the Maguzawa Hausa as opposed to Muslim Hausa. When comparing these two, Barkow states that "Islamization has provided women with the opportunity to forsake labouring in the fields and to develop craft skills" (1972:327-328). As mentioned above, Maguzawa women farm, collect water and firewood, and trade in the market unlike their Muslim sisters in seclusion. Seclusion allows women to concentrate more fully on their own money-making occupations (although it limits the range of occupations which can be done) and it may thereby confer real economic benefit upon the woman (Pitten, unpublished:7).

It would seem, then, that it is wife seclusion, as an aspect of Islam, that gives Muslim Hausa women an economic role different from that of the Maguzawa. Hill, however, weakens this argument by bringing out evidence to show that even in rural areas where Muslim Hausa women are only partially secluded, they do not trade in the market nor do they farm (1972:279). This leads one to conclude that it is not simply seclusion but perhaps several aspects of Islam which affect occupations of Muslim Hausa women, such as the role of the male as provider and the general modesty and submissiveness required of women.

The other example providing an insight into the effects of religion on the female economic role is the case of Yoruba women. A large number of Yoruba women are Muslims but there is no evidence put forth in the literature to suggest that the economic roles of Christian and Muslim women differ to any significant extent. For, as Marshall stresses, virtually all Yoruba women are traders and when discussing the important role of the Yoruba woman in providing for the family, she makes no distinction between Christians and Muslims (unpublished:4, 188). Wife seclusion is not practised by the majority of Yoruba Muslims and this may be the main reason why the religious difference seems not to affect female economic roles in that society.[1]

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1. Some few Yoruba Muslim women are known to be secluded, but no data are available about their economic roles. Hence, the effects of their seclusion cannot be evaluated.

The larger issue raised by this example is what factors determine whether or not wife seclusion is practised by the Muslims of any particular area. Unfortunately, no author has yet undertaken to answer this question.

There has been little analysis of the varying effects of the urban and rural environments on the economic role of women, but a few points can be made. The shift from agriculture to trading has been identified by several authors as the major effect of urbanisation (Okonjo, 1970:109,113; McCall, 1961:291). Women, obviously, cannot farm in the urban areas, and that women take up trading rather than industrial jobs in the urban centres is not surprising when the largely commercial nature of Nigerian cities is considered.

Another level on which the effects of urbanism are discussed is that of the relative overall socio-economic positions of urban as opposed to rural women. Authors differ in their assessment of this. Little tends to emphasize the economic independence of urban women, believing that the growth of urban institutions holds out new and extra opportunities for women to achieve status (1973:180). He does admit, however, that although this urban environment offers wider scope for individual women, it does not generally provide women with the safeguards and security they traditionally enjoyed in the rural system (1973:29). Referring to the Akan of Ghana, McCall is another author who stresses the liberating effect of urbanisation on women (1961:298).

Pellow, on the other hand, speaks out rather zealously against what she calls this "myth of the liberated African (Ghanian) urban woman" (unpublished:341). One of the theses of her study on women in Accra is that the urban woman is in many ways more dependent upon her husband than the rural woman (ibid.:262-264). Okonjo echoes this same theme of the increased dependency of urban women amongst Ibos (unpublished:133-134).

A woman's rank amongst co-wives is another factor suggested in the literature to account for the variations in the female occupational roles, and has been discussed by Marshall. She states that amongst Yoruba women the senior wives are more free to trade than the junior wives because the latter carry most of the responsibility towards the husband and the domestic duties of the compound. Younger wives do some trading but their activities are more restricted than the senior wives (Marshall, Unpl:233-234).

The Economic Role as a Determinant of the Status of Women in Society

In this final section the focus will be shifted from the female economic role itself to look at the broader question of whether or not this role is an important determinant of the status of women within society. Most authors writing about West Africa tend to agree that an active economic role on the part of a woman is associated with her having a higher status within the society, more authority within the family, and with her being less dominated by her husband. Certain exceptions to this general opinion can, however, be cited.

Speaking on a general theoretical level, Goode states that when women have opportunities for productive decision and action outside the control of their men, they enjoy more respect and are less dominated by their men. He argues that this is so because the husband and their family want to receive the benefits of this outside activity (1963:346). Both Mair and Little support this theory (Mair, 1969:7; Little, 1973:172). Examples of societies in which this relationship has been shown to hold are many. Clignet states that in the Ivory Coast an increase in a woman's economic independence is associated with a decrease in the power of her husband over her (1970:46). McCall is saying the same thing about Akan society when she reports that the adoption of an active role in trade by women in the urban areas has diminished the ability of the husband to control his wife economically and sexually (1961:298).

On the same theme, Cohen asserts that male dominance in Kanuri society is based on economic power. It is the wealthy man who can most effectively demand the traditional role of the wife as a subordinate, for he is not dependent upon his wives for their labour services (1971:178). In Banends society as well, men are reported to use the economic dependency of women to maintain male dominance (Kaberry, 1952:146).

Some authors, however, present data which do not agree with the general view. Ottenberg, for example, admits that in Ibo society women, when economically independent, flaunt their husbands' authority. But, she goes on further to say that this uncertainty about the proper respective positions of men and women is chiefly on the domestic level and that on the general level of society the men's position of religious, moral and legal authority is in no way threatened (1956:223).

Sanday also deviates from the generally accepted position. She questions the simplicity of the direct correlation between a woman's economic contribution and her authority position within the family

and the society, suggesting that this relationship is more complex (Sanday, 1973:1682-1683). Sanday presents evidence from several societies to dispute a theory propounded by Durhan that if women participate in any two of the three main activities of survival - reproduction, defence and subsistence, they will develop a power base (ibid.:1683). She effectively shows that women who contribute heavily to subsistence activities may or may not have power and high status within their societies. Her conclusion is that a contribution to production is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the development of female status (ibid.:1697). According to her, a contribution to production will only enhance female status where control and production are linked. If power is based on magical or religious title (open to males only), then the contribution of women to production will have no effect on their status (ibid.:1695).

Conclusion

Although a few common characteristics of the economic role of women in Nigeria stand out in the literature, i.e. the indispensability and autonomous nature of therole, it is however the great diversity of female economic roles across Nigeria that strikes the reader. Women differ with respect to the types of occupations they pursue. The majority of Yoruba women, for example, are market traders whereas most Muslim Hausa women are confined to food processing and crafts, occupations which can be done within the home. Within any one culture there may also be variations in terms of type and scale of occupations; amongst Ibo women, for example, some are large scale traders selling substantial amounts of both local and imported products while others deal on a petty level, selling only the surpluses from their own farms.

Women also differ greatly in the way in which they use their earnings .Yoruba women have a very important part to play in providing for the needs of their families whereas Muslim Hausa women contribute little to the family's material support, using their earnings for extras for themselves and their children as well as for the maintenance of social relationships through gift-giving.

Considerable variation in the degree and form of division of labour can also be identified in the literature. Amongst the Yoruba and Tiv, for example, male and female roles are distinctly separate, the separation of these appears to be less clear for the Ibos, and in Kofyar society there is little division of labour by sex. In terms of

the form the division of labour by sex takes, in Yoruba society the men have been identified as the producers, the women being the retailers, while the reverse is true for the Banenda.

Thus, great variations in female economic roles are described in the literature; however little work has been done on the analysis of these differences. Although a few authors have suggested one or two factors which might account for the variation in female economic roles within the particular societies they studied, few comparisons between cultures have been made and there have been few, if any, attempts to develop theories explaining the variation found within or between cultures. It would have been interesting, for example, if the differences in female economic roles had been correlated with dominant cultural influences such as religion or political structure, with degree of urbanisation or with levels of economic development. Netting is the only author who approaches a general explanation, suggesting that the lower division of labour amongst the Kofyar (and the accompanying female economic roles) is a response to ecological factors. He does not however expand this thesis to present a pattern of correlations between certain ecological types and different forms of division of labour between men and women, (and hence different female economic roles).

The development of general theories about female economic roles has probably been hindered by the following limitations of the data presently available. First, the data are scarce, many areas of Nigeria never having been covered. And, even for those areas where research has been done, there are large unfilled gaps in the information. Also, the number of books and articles that have been specifically written on this topic are few; much of the available data is found in the context of studies undertaken for purposes other than the explanation of female economic roles.

Secondly, the research on the economic role of women has been done over a long time span, from about the 1930's to the present day, and this makes the analysis of differences between ethnic groups difficult as important factors like level of economic development, level of western education and communication facilities have certainly varied as well.

Thirdly, most of the work on the economic role of women has been descriptive rather than analytical. This lack of analysis even within particular cultures makes the development of more general theories

difficult because not even the most simple base on which to begin has been built. Finally, the little analytical work which has been done is largely impressionistic rather than quantitative, thereby increasing the difficulty of making comparisons.

Much ground work therefore remains to be done in terms of data collection and analysis before general theories of female economic roles can be developed. Perhaps this study contributes to this task in two ways. First, it is a quantitative piece of research and, secondly, it is analytical, going beyond mere description to test for the effects of several factors on female economic roles. As such, it provides concrete information on at least one community which might be compared to others. It may be that a general theory of the determinants of female economic roles in Nigeria can only be developed when comparative data for many areas are made available.

Statement of the Problem of the Present Research

The main purpose of this research was to describe and analyse in detail the variation found in the economic roles of women in Mangu, a market town on the Jos Plateau. The following aspects of the female economic role were studied: the types of primary occupations followed by the women, the income earned by women in the pursuit of their occupations, the participation of women in farming, and finally, the role women played in providing for the needs of their families.

As very few, if any, theoretical propositions concerning the economic role of women in Nigerian (or West African) societies existed to be tested, this study was an exploratory one, aimed at investigating the effect of a number of factors on the economic role of women in Mangu. Most factors suggested in the literature as possibly accounting for the variation in female economic roles were considered. Those included in this study are the following: age, the number of children a woman has, husband's socio-economic status, religion, and rank amongst co-wives. During the preliminary field-work period a number of other factors were identified as possibly offering some explanation for differences in economic roles amongst women in the town. These are as follows: Christian denomination, ethnicity, whether a woman is monogamously or polygynously married, the western education received by both a woman and her husband, the length of time a woman had been living in Mangu town, whether she lived with her husband or lived alone, the area of the town where a woman lived, and finally, the amount of

money a woman received from any source to start her occupation.

Although secondary to the purpose of analysing the present economic role of women in Mangu, another aim of this study was to identify the ways in which this economic role differed from the economic role of women that pertained in the area at the beginning of the 20th century.

Finally, although this study was not designed to test any particular theories, implications of the research findings for several theoretical frameworks will be explored in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

CHAPTER 2

THE RESEARCH SETTING

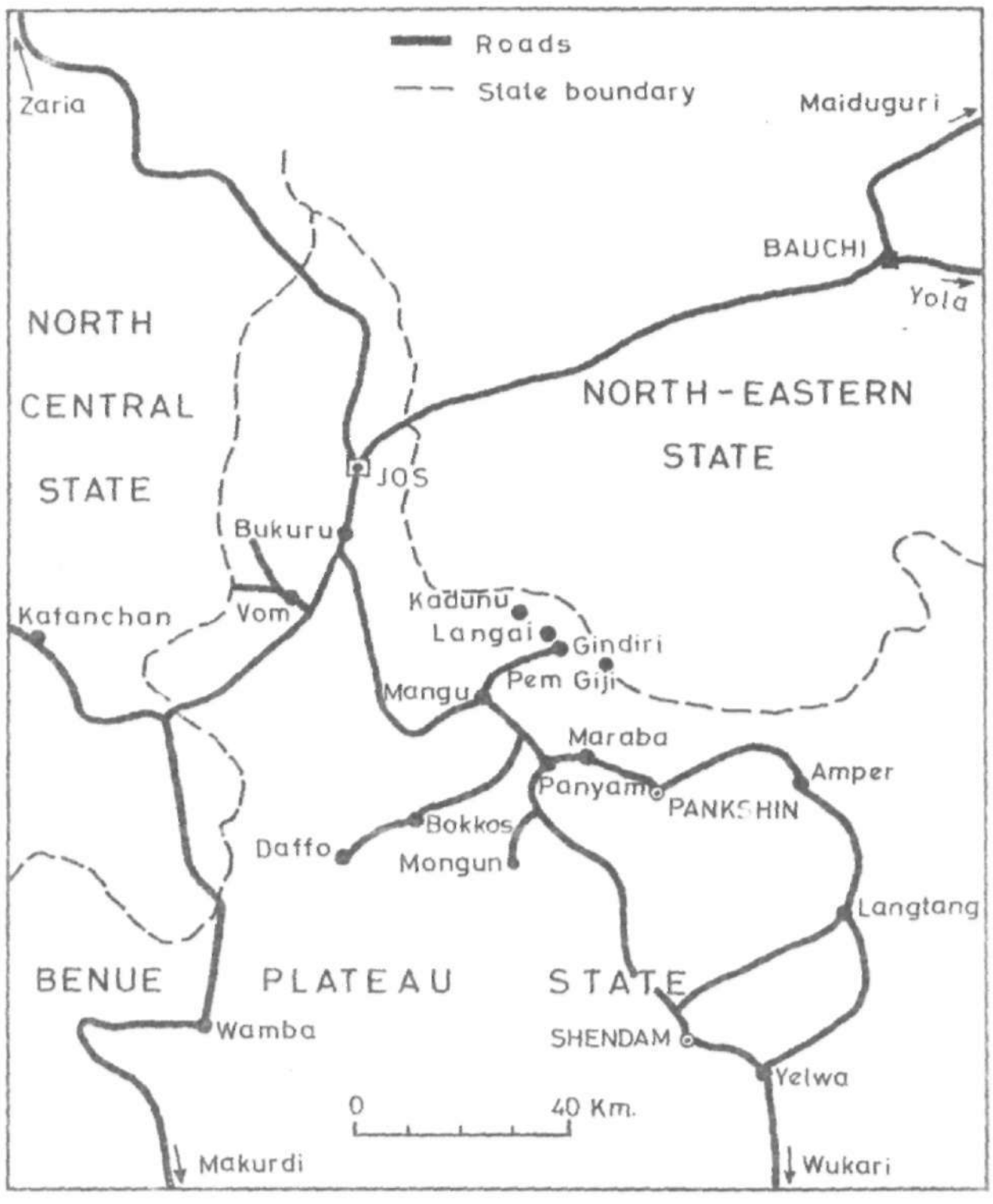


Fig. 1 LOCATION MAP



Fig. 2 ETHNIC LOCATION MAP

CHAPTER 2

THE RESEARCH SETTING[1]

Introduction - Physical Description

The research for this study on the economic role of women was undertaken in Mangu, an expanding market town in Benue-Plateau State, Nigeria. Mangu is located on the Jos Plateau 80 kilometres south-east of Jos on the Jos-Pankshin road. Like many other town built on a major road, Mangu stretches out along both sides of the road. The town is about 2 kilometres in length; at its broadest point Mangu is about 1.5 kilometres wide but it narrows in places to less than 250 metres, especially at the southern end. The population of Mangu was estimated to be 15,000 in 1973.[2]

The most striking physical feature of Mangu is its market. Located on both sides of the road at the northern end of the town, it covers a wide area, and is serviced by a large motor park. In the market there are two long rows of permanent market stalls which are zinc roofed, the remainder of the stalls being temporarily constructed of wooden poles and grass matting on market days. Although first and foremost a market town, Mangu also performs the role of an administrative centre, having a Police Charge Office, a Local Area Office, and a Grade B Area Court. Also, the present Chief of Mangu District occupies the office of Chief of Sura-Pyem administrative area as well as that of the President of Pankshin Local Authority.[3] In Mangu one also finds a dispensary, three primary schools, a secondary school, seven grinding engines, and two petrol pumps. There are four

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1. Information not referenced in this chapter has been drawn from the researcher's field notes.

2. This was the estimate made by the 1973 Census Officers in Mangu. (It must be noted that these census figures havenot been accepted by the Nigerian government.)

3. See below, page 29 , for a description of the administrative structure of Pankshin Division.

Christian churches of different denominations and about fifteen mosques in the town.

The majority of buildings in Mangu are made of mud bricks and are roofed with grass. However, about one-fifth of all the buildings do have zinc roofs, and of those with zinc roofs, about one-quarter are homes in which the floors and walls are cement plastered and perhaps painted. There are three or four buildings in the town which are made from cement blocks.

History

Mangu was founded in about 1885 by a Sura man named Mwansat. Because of famine he and some other Suras left the village of Kopal near Panyam and went to Pyemgiji, the then religious capital of the Pyem people. Later, they moved to Langai with Mangvot, the Pyem founder of Langai, and after some time Mwansat shifted to the present site of Mangu.[1] A full history of Mangu from the time of its original settlement to the present day cannot be given here, but the important events in the administrative, social and economic histories of the town will be mentioned.

(a) Administrative History

Although the ties were loose, Mangu, from the time of its establishment, came under Bauchi Emirate, Mangu residents paying taxes to Langai from where they were transmitted to Bauchi. Bauchi town came under British control in 1902[2] and by 1906 the southern parts of Bauchi Emirate, including the Mangu-Gindiri area, had also been subdued by the British. Bauchi Emirate then became a division in the newly-formed Central Province. It was subdivided into districts with the Mangu-Gindiri area thus being formally incorporated into the District of Bauchi Division.[3] In 1908 Pankshin was made the head of Hill

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1. This series of events is commonly agreed upon by Mangu, Gindiri and Panyam residents as being the true account of the founding of Mangu. This also agrees with the versions collected in 1934 by A.B.Mathews and Noad,(National Archives Kaduna (NAK), SNP 17-3 22864, Gindiri District Report).
2. F.B. Gall, comp., The Gazetteer of Bauchi Province (London: Waterlow & Sons Ltd., 1920), paragraph 38 in The Gazetteers of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, Vol.I: The Hausa Emirates (London: Frank Cass, 1972).
3. NAK, SNP 7 889-1908, Annual Report for Bauchi Province for 1907.

Division, another division of Central Province,[1] and most Sura and Angas people lived in Hill Division while the Suras of Mangu were under Bauchi Division along with the majority of the Pyem. Later, in 1926, Plateau Province was created, consisting of Jos Division, Pankshin Division (the former Hill Division renamed) and the Mangu-Gindiri area of Lere District of Bauchi Division.[2] In view of the growing importance of Mangu, an essentially Sura town, the links with Gindiri, a Pyem town, were eventually resented. Consequently, in response to popular demand, Mangu was shifted in 1935 to the North Sura Federation District of Pankshin Division.[3] Then, in the late 1950s, Mangu and its environs were made a separate district, the town being the administrative headquarters.

Prior to this time the highest authority below that of the Divisional Officer had been the District Head. However, in 1956 the twenty-four districts of Pankshin Division were grouped into three administrative areas, these being the Angas, Sura-Pyem, and Ron-Kulere Federations.[4] Positions of Paramount Chief were created to head each of those three federations. These positions were filled by election, the District Heads of each federation being eligible for election in their own area. Later, in 1958, the further position of President of Pankshin Local Authority came into being and this post was filled by the election of one of the three Paramount Chiefs.[5]

Although Plateau Province was joined with Benue Province in 1967 to form Benue-Plateau State, the administrative structure set up in the late 1950s still stands today. The main features of this structure can be sketched as follows: on the apex of the structure is the Divisional Officer and below him are the three Paramount Chiefs, one of whom occupies the position of President of the Local Authority. Each

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1. NAK, JOSPROV 373-1912, Annual Report for the Central Province for 1912.
2. NAK, SNP 17-3 22864, Gindiri District Notes; S.J. Hogben, An Introduction to the History of the Islamic States of Northern Nigeria (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 249.
3. NAK, JOSPROV 4005-1483, Gindiri District Notes.
4. Provincial Annual Reports 1956 (Kaduna: Government Printer, 1958), p. 130.
5. Provincial Annual Reports 1958 (Kaduna: Government Printer, 1958) p. 122.

of the Paramount Chiefs heads an administrative area made up of several districts and below each Paramount Chief, then, are the other District Heads within his area. Finally, in each district are the various Village or Ward heads.

Two levels of councils exist in this administrative structure. These are the Pankshin Local Authority Council and below it the District Councils. The membership of the former is made up of representatives from each district, the President of the Pankshin Local Authority, plus other local notables and administrative nominees. Each District Council consists of the District Head, some Village or Ward heads of the district and other nominated members.

(b) Social History

The social history of Mangu will include comments on both the ethnic and religious composition of the town's population.

The founders of Mangu were Sura and since its establishment, despite its early close links with the Pyem of Langai, Mangu has been thought of as a Sura town. However, Mangu is not ethnically homogeneous, several other groups having settled in the town. Firstly, from the time of its founding people from neighbouring ethnic groups made their way to Mangu. The Pyem are the largest local, non-Sura group in Mangu and they are followed in terms of numbers by the Angas from the area around Pankshin.

Secondly, from 1910[1] onwards the development of tin prospecting brought many Hausas to the Mangu area, either as traders or as foremen working for the tin companies. The Hausas settled in a village about 5 kilometres north of Mangu on the Jos road, unwilling to live amongst the then pagan Suras, and this village was also referred to as "Mangu". Thus there were and still are two Mangus, these being distinguished by their names. The Mangu closer to Jos is called "Mangu Hausawa" (the Mangu of the Hausas) while the Mangu of this study is commonly referred to simply as "Mangu", although the official name of the town

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1. Although tin prospecting had begun in the area by 1902, it was not until 1910 that this activity had reached sizeable proportions. (F.B. Gall, op. cit., paragraph 71).

is "Mangu Asali" (Original Mangu).[1]

Although today Mangu is larger and more important than Mangu Hausawa, this has not always been the case. In earlier days Mangu Hausawa was the more significant of the two, being the seat of the local court. This court was an Alkali's Court probably set up by Bauchi to accommodate the needs of the growing Muslim population. However, when Mangu began to develop as a market centre, Mangu Hausawa was soon overshadowed. It continued to decline relative to Mangu and by 1964 Mangu Hausawa had lost even its judiciary functions to Mangu, the former customary court in Mangu having been by that time upgraded to a Grade B Area Court. As such, it became the most important court in the district. The Alkali's Court in Mangu Hausawa was eventually closed down in the late 1960s with the death of the Alkali.

As Mangu grew in importance the Hausa people began to move to the town from Mangu Hausawa and they were joined by many Hausas from other areas who came to Mangu to take part in the commercial activities. The expansion of Mangu as a market centre attracted people from the south of Nigeria as well. The first Yorubas arrived in Mangu around 1945 and they were followed by the Ibos who started to come some four or five years later. Although all the Ibos left Mangu during the disturbances in 1966, a few have returned and are presently living in the town. Finally, numerous other groups from both the Plateau and other regions are represented in small numbers in Mangu.

Mangu is also heterogeneous with respect to religion for the town marks the meeting-point of the two major cultural influences affecting the area, Islam coming from the north and Christianity from the south. As mentioned above, the Hausas came to Mangu from 1910 onward. Although this date marks the beginning of the Muslim influence in the area, it was not until many years later, in the 1940s, that this influence began to penetrate the local culture. By the early 1960s there were many Muslims in Mangu but the Christians and followers of indigenous religions together still formed the majority. However, after the visit of the late Sardauna of Sokoto to the region in 1965,

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1. Originally the Mangu of this study was called "Mangu Arna" (Pagan Mangu). Later, in response to a petition by the many Muslims in the town, the name was changed to "Mangu Asali". More recently, the expansion of the market has earned the town a new, unofficial name - "Mangu Kasuwa" (Market Mangu).

there were many conversions to Islam on the part of both the Christians and followers of indigenous religions. At present the Mangu population is approximately 60 per cent Muslim and 40 per cent Christian, with a negligible number of people still following indigenous religions.

The Christian influence came under the protection of the British Army which had established control over most of the area by 1907.[1] The Church Missionary Society (CMS) set up stations in Panyam, Langtang, and Bukuru in that same year[2], and in Kabwir in 1910.[3] Panyam was the centre for mission work amongst the Suras and no mission settlement was ever established in Mangu although the town was visited by missionaries from Panyam. In 1930 the CMS handed over all their holdings in the region to the Sudan United Mission (SUM)[4] and from that time onwards this was the major Christian group to proselytise in the Mangu area.

The local Nigerian church associated with the SUM is named EKAS (Ekklisyar Kristi A Sudan) and sometime in the 1930s the first EKAS Church was established in Mangu. Since then Christians of various denominations have filtered into Mangu and at present one can find in the town Baptists, Roman Catholics, and members of the Assemblies of God, amongst others. However, the majority of Christians in Mangu belong to the EKAS Church.

As for further mission activity in the area, in 1934 a school to train pastors was established by the SUM in Gindiri,[5] and this was just the beginning of what was to become one of the largest mission educational centres on the Plateau. In 1950 a leprosarium was started by the SUM 5 kilometres east of Mangu. And, the SUM also established local dispensaries and primary schools in the Mangu area.

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1. NAK, SNP 7 889-1908, Annual Report for Bauchi Province for 1907.
2. L. Maxwell, Half a Century of Grace (SUM 1954), p.13
3. ibid., p.172
4. ibid.,
5. ibid., p.182

Relating religion to ethnic group, in Mangu the Suras are both Christian and Muslim, although the Christians are in the majority. The Hausas in Mangu are exclusively Muslim, this being true with very few exceptions for the Pyem as well; almost all Yorubas are Baptist Christians. Most of the Angas people in Mangu are Christian although a few Muslims may be found among them.

(c) Economic History

The last topic to be discussed in this section is the history of Mangu's economic development from a small village to a large commercial centre. By 1910 extensive tin prospecting was well under way and this date marks the beginning of trade in the area. As mentioned above, Hausa traders started to come at that time for gains were to be made by selling to the European tin miners and to the many Nigerians they brought to the area. Mangu residents soon became involved in this trading, realising that they too could earn profits by selling their surplus grains to these people, the money earned being used to meet their personal needs as well as to pay their taxes to the Colonial administration.

Tin prospecting and the demand for money to pay taxes, then, were the two main stimuli that initiated commercial activity in the area, Mangu being involved in this activity as a trading centre. However, even when the prospecting revealed little tin in the immediate vicinity and the industry was therefore concentrated in areas north and south-east of Mangu, the town still continued to grow as a trading centre, servicing the mining camps. For, its position as a point mid-way between the mining areas in the north and the grain-producing areas south of Pankshin made it a logical point to stock-pile.

In the mid 1920s trade in Mangu was given a further boost by the building of the first Jos-Pankshin motor road which passed through Mangu, and by the establishment of Mangu market by Hirse Dalahan, the sixth Chief of Mangu. From this time onward Mangu consolidated her role as a distribution centre. Although the market increased steadily in size it was not until 1958 and after that the accelerated growth of Mangu market took place, and in 1958 the two rows of permanent market stalls were constructed. By this time the motor road had been improved and extended to the Shendam Lowlands, thereby expanding the scope for trade in terms of both geographical area and

products. Finally, the upgrading of the Jos-Shendam road to a good two-lane tarmac surface in 1971 only quickened the already rapid expansion of Mangu market.

Mangu is at present the largest market centre on the Plateau, with the exception of Jos, and the town plays an essential role in the distribution of goods on both the local and regional levels. Although Friday is the official market day much buying and selling, especially in bulk, is done on Thursdays and small quantities of most items sold on Fridays can be obtained in the market on any day of the week. The majority of Mangu residents depend either directly or indirectly upon the market for their livlihood, and it is with justification that the town, as mentioned above, has been unofficially named "Mangu Kasuwa" (Market Mangu).

Present Demographic Make-up

The Mangu population was recorded in 1934 as 2,399[1], it was thought to be approximately 8,000 in 1963[2], and, as mentioned above, it was estimated as roughly 15,000 in 1973. These figures show that the Mangu population almost doubled between 1963 and 1973 and this rapid growth is still going on, as evidenced by the many new buildings continually springing up.

As seen above, the Mangu population is very heterogeneous. Ethnically many groups are represented, the major of these being the Sura, Peyem, Hausa, Yoruba and Angas. Religiously, Mangu is split between Christians and Muslims, followers of indigenous religions being few. In terms of Christian denomination, about four-fifths of all Christians are members of the EKAS Church, other denominations such as Catholics, Baptists, members of The Assemblies of God and the CMS Church making up the remainder. Another form of heterogeneity which exists and which has not previously been discussed is differentiation with respect to male occupations and the wealth and prestige associated with these. This differentiation will be described in the following paragraphs.

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1. NAK, SNP 17-3 22864, Gindiri District Report.

2. Figures for Mangu town exclusively are not available in the 1963 census report. However, as the total population of the district was recorded as 27,205 in that year, this estimate of 8,000 for Mangu alone made by Mangu residents seems reasonable. (Population Census of Nigeria 1963 - Northern Region, p.198.)

The various male occupations in Mangu can be grouped into four main socio-economic levels. Before going on to identify these, two comments must be made. Firstly, these categories are very broad and contain within them much differentiation, the discussion of which was not thought to be relevant to this thesis. Secondly, this particular categorisation and ranking of male occupations applies to Mangu only, as it was based on the Mangu residents' own evaluation of the various occupations. The author takes note of the fact that these same occupations might be ordered in a different way in another community.

Having made these comments, an outline of the male socio-economic structure in Mangu will now be presented.[1] On the bottom level are the full-time farmers, those men usually having some form of part-time work such as craft-production or trading to supplement their income. Included in this bottom category as well are such low status non-farming occupations as labourer, tanner, and barber.

On the second level are those men whose full-time occupation is not farming but some other form of work such as tailoring, carpentry, bicycle-repairing and blacksmithing. The small scale full-time traders are placed in this category as well. Men in this category may or may not farm, but if they do, this is only as a subsidiary to their major occupation.

Men on the third level can be divided into two groups - those with western education and those without. In the former group are such men as policemen, pastors of various churches, headmasters of primary schools and their teachers, etc. The latter group is made up of those men who have become moderately well-off through means other than western education, usually through commerce. Although these men are not trading on the largest scale and they would tend, for example, to have a market stall rather than a shop, still they have sufficient income to be placed in the same category as the above-mentioned educated, salaried workers.

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1. Although some authors might treat trading as one homogeneous category, in this outline the various levels of trading - petty, part-time, and full-time on the small, moderate, and large scales - are considered as different occupations.

The highest socio-economic category of men in Mangu consists mainly of men who have become wealthy through large-scale commercial activities. These men are either big traders with shops, transporters, petrol sellers, or, in some cases, a combination of these. In this top category as well is the Paramount Chief of the Sura-Pyem Federation who, by virtue of his political position and his high salary, is placed in this upper stratum. Included in this category also are the few men in Mangu with higher education such as the Principal of the Mangu Secondary School and some of his teachers.

Two important observations about the male socio-economic structure in Mangu can be made. The first is that farming, as either a part-time or a full-time occupation is on the decline. Men are shifting from farming to trading, the latter occupation offering more gain for less strenuous labour, as well as certain social advantages. The effect of this change on the male role as provider for the family, especially amongst the Christians, and its effects upon the economic role of Christian women will be discussed in a later chapter.

The second observation to be made about this structure is that, a few exceptions notwithstanding, high male socio-economic status in Mangu is generally associated with the Islamic faith, almost all the wealthy transporters and traders being Muslim. This correlation is understandable when one considers the different avenues to success taken by Christians and Muslims. For the former, western education has been the way to wealth and prestige and those who have achieved it by this means are now employed in the larger urban centres. The Muslims, at least in the past, turned largely to commerce as a means to success and most of those who did well are still in Mangu, taking advantage of the ever-increasing opportunities this market centre provides for them.

Conclusion

It was in this rapidly expanding market town, then, that this study was carried out. Mangu offers two main advantages as a research setting. The first is that both in terms of the size and the heterogeneity of its population, Mangu might be thought to be representative of the growing commercial towns located on arterial trade routes in the Benue Basin, e.g. Lafia and Nasarawa. For this reason the findings of this study may be applicable not only to Mangu itself but also to other commercial centres of similar character.

Secondly, as has been shown above, the population of Mangu is heterogeneous with respect to ethnic group, religion, and male socio-economic status, amongst other factors. This heterogeneity is sufficient to allow for a considerable depth of analysis. And, because these variations exist within the same community, hypotheses concerning the effects of these factors on the economic role of women can be tested while controlling for the influence of such important variables as general level of education, communications facilities, degree of specialisation, amount of agricultural surplus, and availability of raw materials. Also, as the Suras, the largest ethnic group, are both Christian and Muslim, the effect of religion on female economic roles can be investigated, the traditional cultural heritage being held constant.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

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Description of Fieldwork

The fieldwork for this study on the economic role of women was carried out between October 1972 and March 1973. Three months of preliminary fieldwork were done during which time the information necessary for the construction of a questionnaire and the selection of a quota sample was collected. In December, 1972, a questionnaire was pretested, and the actual administration of the questionnaire took place between January and March, 1973. A week of follow-up fieldwork was done in April, 1975, to see what changes had come about in the economic role of women in the community since the time of the original research and to fill in certain gaps of information about the area.

Data Collection

The bulk of this report concerns the analysis of the responses of 192 women to a verbally administered questionnaire. However, this analysis depends heavily upon information obtained through informal discussions carried out during the fieldwork period. All interviews, either formal or informal, were conducted through an interpreter as the researcher was not fluent in the local languages.

(a) Informal Discussions

Information on a variety of topics not covered by the questionnaire was obtained through informal discussions. Some of the topics investigated in this way are the following: the history of Mangu, the traditional economic role of women in Sura and Pyem societies, the social composition of Mangu, the general orientation of the EKAS Church towards male and female economic roles, and the structure, functions and possible effects of the Women's Fellowship (Mata Zumunta) of that church on the economic roles of women in Mangu.

(b) Questionnaire Administration

As mentioned above, the major part of the data of this study was collected by means of a verbally administered questionnaire. The questionnaire was pretested on a sample of fifteen women in Mangu

Hausawa at the end of December, 1972. No major alterations were found to be necessary, although some of the questions such as those concerning the woman's contribution to the upkeep of the family were made more specific. Between mid-January and the end of March, 1973, the revised questionnaire was administered to 192 women in Mangu.

All interviews were done by the researcher herself, with the assistance of either of her two interpreters. Both interpreters were female, had been born and raised near Mangu, were Sura, and were fluent in Sura, Hausa and English. Interviews were conducted in the following fashion. During the interview the researcher held the questionnaire in English while the interpreter held a copy of the questions in either Sura or Hausa, the choice of the language in which the interview was to take place having been made by the respondent. Each question had been assigned a number and the researcher directed the interview by telling the interpreter which question to ask next. The answer to each question was immediately translated into English by the interpreter and was recorded on the questionnaire by the researcher.

The months from January to March proved to be an excellent time to carry out the survey, being the dry season. During this season there are no farming activities and hence the Christian women who farm were more available for interviews during these months than they would have been at any other time of the year. The dry season did not, of course, affect the availability of Muslim women as almost none of them are involved in farming. The dry season thus represents the peak of the involvement of Christian women in non-farming pursuits, whereas there is less variation in terms of season for the Muslim women's activities. Because all interviews were carried out in the dry season, the effect of season on female occupations was not investigated.

Often, more than one woman in any given house was interviewed and separate visits were usually made for each respondent.[1] In polygynous homes co-wives were in most cases interviewed in order of seniority. The average length of an interview was one hour.

Interviews were usually held in the home of the woman, although in a few cases the questionnaire was administered to women while they

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1. For further discussion on this point see the section which follows on the selection of the sample.

were visiting friends or relatives. Interviews were conducted in either the woman's bedroom, in the common sitting room or in the open air, according to the preference of the respondent. Although an attempt was made to talk to women on their own, in at least half of the cases this was not possible, co-wives, friends, relatives or the husband of the woman often being present. Interviewing in the presence of others did offer the advantages that the accuracy of the woman's responses were often checked and corrected by those listening and that information unknown to the woman was sometimes volunteered by the others. However, observers did create some problems. The presence of listeners sometimes made the woman reluctant to be fully honest about any private matter such as her profits and the use of her earnings. Secondly, observers sometimes made the woman unwilling to give certain pieces of information which were true but socially unacceptable. Thirdly, with co-wives listening, junior wives would be unlikely to contradict what the senior wife had said in a previous interview, thereby multiplying inaccuracies in the data.

The Sample

The questionnaire of this study was administered to a quota sample of 192 women. Although a random sample would have allowed for the use of stronger statistical tests, the selection of such a sample was not possible given the size of Mangu and the limited resources available to the researcher in terms of money, time, and accurate population records.

It was expected that religion, Christian denomination, ethnic group, age and husband's socio-economic status would be important variables and hence it was decided to draw a quota sample on the basis of those variables. Rough estimates of the distribution of the Mangu population on each of these variables were made and at the time the interviews were carried out the sample was drawn to replicate, as closely as possible, these rough estimates.

The original target sample was to be 150; in fact, as mentioned above, it was possible to interview 192 women. Table I shows the actual distribution of the sample compared to the estimated distribution for a sample of 200. It should be noted that no attempt was made to draw a sample with respect to an estimated multivariate distribution; that is, for example, whereas efforts were made to keep the numbers of Christian and Muslims in the correct proportion, 40 per cent Christian and 60 per cent Muslim, it was not thought

possible to specify the proportion of Muslim women under the age of thirty.

Two further variables were taken into consideration during sample selection, these being the woman's type of primary occupation and the location of the woman's marital home. As regards type of occupation, it was impossible at the time of interviewing to estimate the population distribution for the different female occupations. And so, the main objective of sample selection with respect to this variable was not to replicate the Mangu population, but simply to ensure that the number of women interviewed in each of the major occupational categories was sufficient to allow for the analysis of this variable. Consequently, the sample may be disproportionate with respect to the types of female occupations, e.g. traders may be over-represented in the sample.

Concerning location, Mangu was thought of as being divided into eight sections but the number of women living in each section could not be estimated. However, during the selection of the sample, an attempt was made to interview women from all sections of the town.

Contact with the women in Mangu was made in a variety of ways, and of those women contacted, only those that conformed to the needs of the sample were interviewed. Many women were known by the researcher's two interpreters through their network of friends and relatives. Women who had been interviewed at times introduced the researcher to some of their kin or acquaintances. Many women who were met by chance either on the streets or in the homes of others agreed to be questioned. Sometimes women unknown to the researcher or her interpreters were approached without any introduction, these women having been identified as necessary to complete one or another of the sample's quotas. Finally, the heads of several wards assisted in introducing the researcher to needed categories of women who had not been otherwise contacted.

In any given household that had been contacted, all women that were needed to fulfil the requirements of the sample were interviewed. For, it was not the intention of the researcher to limit the study to, say, the first wife of the head of each household.

In general, the women were very receptive to the idea of being interviewed and were most cooperative. Christian women were interviewed without prior consultation with their husbands, but no Muslim woman was questioned before permission from her husband had been received.

TABLE 1. THE STUDY SAMPLE

VARIABLES	CATEGORIES	ESTIMATES FOR A SAMPLE OF 200		ACTUAL SAMPLE OF 192	
		NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%
RELIGION	CHRISTIAN	80	40%	81	42%
	MUSLIM	120	60%	109	57%
	INDIGENOUS	—	—	2	1%
DENOMINATION	EKAS	64	80%	68	84%
	OTHER	16	20%	13	16%
ETHNIC GROUP	ANGAS	10	5%	10	5%
	HAUSA	40	20%	32	17%
	PYEM	30	15%	27	14%
	SURA	120	60%	113	59%
	OTHER	—	—	10	5%
AGE	AGE < 30 yrs.	80	40%	65	34%
	AGE ≥ 30 yrs.	120	60%	123	64%
	D.K., N.A.	—	--	4	2%
HUSBAND'S SES					
(1) CHRISTIAN	LOW	56	70%	58*	69%
	HIGH	24	30%	23	28%
	D.K., N.A.	—	—	2	3%
(2) MUSLIM	LOW	60	50%	58	53%
	HIGH	60	50%	48	44%
	D.K., N.A.	—	—	3	3%

* Includes two followers of indigenous religions.

Data Analysis

Cross-tabulations have been used to analyse the data obtained from the questionnires, these data having been arranged and coded in terms of dependent and independent variables. Two, three or sometimes four variables have been interrelated (e.g. two variables being cross-tabulated with sometimes one or two controls) along the lines formulated by Hyman (1955) or Blalock (1964). The range of the responses of most variables has been dichotomised or trichotomised and thus the variables must be considered as being at the nominal, or at most ordinal, level.

The statistic used to measure the strength of association between the variables cross-tabulated is Cramer's V. The reason for choosing this measure over, say, one of the measures developed by Goodman and Kruskal is simply that it could be easily calculated from the chi square statistic, a program for which was available to the researcher; there were no programs available for the calculations of Goodman and Kruskal's tau or lambda, for example. Yule's Q might have been used as it is simple to calculate but because some of the variables have more than two categories this choice would have entailed using two quite different measures of association.

Cramer's V was calculated wherever it was appropriate to calculate the chi square statistic. Firstly, it was calculated for all two by two tables in which no more than one cell had an expected frequency less than five and in which no expected frequency was less than one. Secondly, it was calculated for all tables with degrees of freedom greater than one in which no more than 20 per cent of the expected frequencies were less than five and no expected frequency was less than one. Yate's correction was done on all two by two tables, (Senter, 1969: 381; Siegel, 1956: 110).

The values of Cramer's V were divided into four ranges and the following table presents the phrases used to describe each of these ranges.

TABLE 2 RANGES OF CRAMER'S V

PHRASE USED	VALUES OF CRAMER'S V
No Relationship	$0 \leq V < .15$
Weak Relationship	$.15 \leq V < .25$
Moderate Relationship	$.25 \leq V < .45$
Strong Relationship	$.45 \leq V \leq 1.00$

Tests of significance for the chi square statistic were of course calculated by the program. These tests, while providing protection against random sampling errors, offer no protection against systematic bias which may arise through the selection of a non-random sample. The study sample is clearly non-random and for this reason it would be misleading to depend here upon these tests of significance. Hence, in this thesis the results of these tests are not emphasised though they are reported in Appendix G .

Construction of Variables

In the following paragraphs the way in which the variables of this study were operationalised for the analysis will be described, beginning with the six dependent variables.

(a) Dependent Variables

(i) Primary Occupation

Data were collected on all the occupational activities of the woman interviewed and if a woman had more than one occupation, as many of them had, the woman's primary occupation was used for the analysis. If a woman could not differentiate between her occupations, the first occupation she mentioned was in most cases taken as her primary occupation. The only exception to this rule involves trading women. In the sample there are ten women who did trading plus one or more other occupations who did not specify a primary occupation. In order that the number of traders would be sufficient for analysis, trading was taken as the primary occupation of these ten women.

A wide variety of female occupations was found in Mangu and these were grouped for the analysis into the five following categories: mat-making, beer-brewing, food processing and preparation, trading, and a miscellaneous category.[1]

The first category consists of women doing mat-making. This is the main form of craft production done by women in Mangu and although a few other crafts such as basket-making, weaving, spinning, knitting and crocheting are also done, these are usually secondary occupations. There were, however, seven women in the sample doing crafts other than mat-making as their primary occupation. Because these forms of craft production differ from each other and from mat-making in terms of processes and profits, they were included in the miscellaneous occupational category rather than being classified with mat-making.

The second category includes those women who brew beer and the alcoholic form of gruel, kunun tashi. Although, as will be seen below, these two drinks differ slightly in their mode of preparation, kunun tashi is almost equal in alcoholic content to beer. For this reason the brewing of beer and kunun tashi have been classified together in one category. The preparation of these alcoholic drinks were seperated from the other forms of food processing and preparation because these two groups of occupations are quite distinct in terms of several factors. Firstly, the brewing of beer and kunun tashi takes usually 4 or 5 days whereas the preparation time for most other food items (with the exception of groundnut oil) is simply a few hours. Secondly, although a small number of women do brew beer with only a few mudus[2] of grain, in general brewers operate on a scale much larger than that of the other food processors. Thirdly, while the big brewers of beer and kunun tashi have their own brewing pots and prepare these drinks in their own homes, many of the women involved in this occupation on a smaller scale hire the use of pots from the more established brewers, having no beer-brewing pots of their own. The big brewing houses are located in one part

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1. Detailed descriptions of each of these occupational categories in terms of materials and processes involved, the location of the activity, and the usual scale of investment and level of profits are presented in the next chapter.

2. A dry measure the volume of which is approximately equal to one litre, although it varies.

of the town, near the market, and it is in these houses that most of the beer is produced as well as sold. The other foods are always prepared in the home of the woman herself, the foods are sold either in the home, the streets, or in the market, and no special section of the town can be identified with food preparation.

The third category of female occupations, then, is food processing and preparation, consisting of the production of certain food items used in cooking and the preparation of foods for immediate consumption.[1] The preparation of the sweet type of kunu, kunun zaki, is included in this category rather than that of beer brewing because it is more similar to food processing occupations than to beer brewing in terms of the factors just mentioned - the length of time spent in preparation, the place of preparation and sale, and the scale on which it is prepared.

The one woman whose primary occupation was petty-trading in salt and kerosene was also placed in this category of food processing and preparation because although she differed from the food processors in terms of the actual work done, in terms of other characteristics she was more similar to those women than to the women who do trading. This woman was a Muslim and carried out this trading entirely from within her home, using children as her link with buyers. Traders, on the other hand, travel to other markets and sell their goods in Mangu market. Also this woman, like many other food processors, had a weekly turnover and profit far smaller than that of the traders.

Trading, then, is the fourth category of female occupations. Women in this category differ greatly with respect to their scale of investment and profits earned. However, there are two important characteristics which identify women in this category, regardless of the level of their trading. These characteristics have just been mentioned - the travelling to local markets to buy foodstuffs and the reselling of these in Mangu market. This "trading" category does not, however, include the selling of the woman's own small agricultural surpluses, garden products or firewood, as this form of trading is not done by women living in Mangu but seems to be reserved for women who come to Mangu market from the surrounding villages.

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1. Examples of these will be given in the next chapter.

Finally, there is the fifth category of miscellaneous female primary occupations, this consisting of several occupations which could not be subsumed under any of the other four categories.[1] These miscellaneous occupations were not included for the analysis as their numbers were too few to form a fifth variable category. That is, if this category had been included for the cross-tabulations of this variable with other variables, the Cramer's V's could not have been calculated for most of the tables produced because the numbers in certain cells would have been too few.[2]

(ii) Traders/Non-Traders

As will be discussed in the next chapter, trading is a relatively new female occupation in Mangu and it differs in several ways from the other occupations done by women. In order to identify any special characteristics of women who trade, a second dependent variable in terms of type of occupation was constructed in the following way. A woman was classified as either a trader or a non-trader depending on whether or not she engaged in the activities described immediately above as "trading", regardless of whether or not this was her primary occupation. In this way, all women trading are separated from all non-trading women. "Traders" and "Non-Traders", then, are the two variable categories of this dependent variable.

(iii) Profit Level

There were great differences in the profits gained by women and the third dependent variable measures this variation in earnings. This variable consists of a woman's total profits from all her occupations for the week prior to the interview. Another alternative would have been to use only the profits from her primary occupation for that week. This was not done because it is a woman's total gain, not merely the gain from her primary occupation, that may affect or be affected by such factors as her husband's socio-economic status, her age, the number of her children, and her contribution to the family's upkeep.

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1. A list of the occupations of these eleven women is given on page 73 in the next chapter.

2. See Table 4 at the end of this chapter for the frequency distribution of this and all other variables in terms of both the fine and collapsed codings.

Detailed questions appropriate to each of the occupations were asked in order to ascertain the profits gained by the woman in the week before the interview.[1] There was no guarantee that that particular week's profits were typical of the woman's earnings but at least the introduction of error in this way was random. And, what was lost in terms of representativeness was more than gained in terms of accuracy, for questions about a "normal" week might often have generated unrealistic answers. This rule was relaxed, however, in the few cases where the earnings of the week prior to the interview were, for one reason or another, totally out of line with the woman's normal profit level.[2] In those cases the woman was asked to estimate her earnings for the most recent week in which her profits were at their usual level.[3]

In terms of the accuracy of the profit figures, another point must be made. It is likely that women deflated rather than inflated their profits, being understandably suspicious of questions on this topic and being unwilling to publicise the exact amount of their earnings.

Profits were found to vary from none at all to ₦20.00 per week and, in the analysis, this range was dichotomised into low and high categories. The former contains total profits up to ₦2.00 while the latter includes any profits over that.[4]

(iv) Total Number of Occupations[5]

This variable measures the total number of occupations a woman was involved in at the time of the interview. Mat-making was considered as one occupation. No woman brewed both beer and kunun tashi and hence the question of whether to treat these as two separate occupations or as one did not arise. For food processing and preparation, involvement in the production of any one of the main groups of items in this category - items to be used in cooking,

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1. See Appendix F , p. 233, for examples of these questions.

2. These include such reasons as sickness, having travelled, or preparations for special ceremonies, e.g. a marriage.

3. It is clear that this variable might have been named "Income" or "Earnings" per week.

4. It must be noted that for this, as for many other variables, there were several "Don't know" and "No answer" responses. These responses were deleted from the analysis; they do not constitute more than 5 per cent of any subsample, and there does not appear to be any pattern to these "Don't know" and "No answer" responses.

5. This variable will henceforth be referred to as "Number of Occupations".

snacks, cooked basic foods, and kunun zaki - was regarded as a separate occupation. For example, if a woman made both kunun zaki and bean cakes, it was recorded that she had two occupations. Food processing and preparation occupations were treated in this way because the production of the different groups of items were perceived by the women in Mangu as being quite separate occupations. Trading, regardless of the number of items sold, was coded as one occupation. For the analysis, women doing only one occupation made up the first variable category and women having two or more occupations formed the second.

The woman's total number of occupations is not one of the important variables of this study. It was considered to be of interest only in terms of its relationship with the major dependent variables - Primary Occupation, Traders/Non-Traders and Profit Level, and for this reason it was cross-tabulated with these three variables only.

(v) Farming

One might have expected from the literature review that farming would be one of the major categories of female occupations. In fact, no woman in the Mangu sample listed farming as her major occupation and for this reason farming is not a category under primary occupation. Farming as an activity has been, however, considered as a separate, dichotomous variable. The first category of this variable includes women who farm as a secondary occupation while the second category consists of women who do no farming at all. In this study the analysis of this variable is rather secondary to the main work of describing and analysing the primary occupations of women. Hence, very little is done with this variable apart from investigating its interrelationship with the other major dependent variables.

(vi) Provision of Household Needs[1]

The sixth dependent variable is a measure of the woman's contribution to the upkeep of the family. Commodities consumed by the family were divided into the four following groups: basic foods, including grains and tubers; soup ingredients, including vegetables, meat, salt, oil, etc.; substantive non-food items such as clothing

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1. Henceforth referred to as "Provision".

for the woman herself and for her children, school fees and firewood; and finally, less expensive non-food items such as soap, pomade and plaiting threads.

Women were asked to estimate what proportion of each item in these groups they provided relative to what their husbands provided. Then, a score on a six-point scale was calculated for each of these four groups of items.[1] The categories of this scale are shown in the following table.

TABLE 3 CATEGORIES OF PROVISION OF HOUSEHOLD NEEDS

CODE	DESCRIPTION OF CATEGORY
1	Nothing
2	Small in comparison to husband
3	Less than husband but still substantial
4	Same as husband
5	More than husband but husband also assists
6	All

Then an overall provision score for each woman was obtained by calculating a weighted average of the scores the woman received for each of the four groups of items. The scores of the basic foods and substantive non-food items were given twice the weight of the other two categories - soup ingredients and less expensive non-food items. This weighted average was also in terms of a six-point scale and for the purpose of analysis this range was dichotomised, scores of one to three forming the "low" provision category and four to six forming the "high" category.

As mentioned above, the major focus of this study is the primary occupations of women. However, the woman's contribution to the upkeep of the family, as an important aspect of the female economic role, has also received considerable attention, and this variable, "Provision", has been cross-tabulated with most, although not all, of the other variables of this study.

1. A description of how these scores were calculated is presented in Appendix B.

(b) Independent Variables

Having discussed the dependent variables of this study, attention will now be shifted to the construction of the independent variables.

(i) Religion

The range of this variable was dichotomised into Christian and Muslim as only two followers of the indigenous Sura religion had been interviewed, these being too few to make up a third variable category.

(ii) Christian Denomination[1]

Here again, the range of this variable, Denomination, was dichotomised, members of the EKAS Church forming the first category and members of all other Christian denominations forming the second. All the non-EKAS Christians were considered as one category because the numbers belonging to each of these different denominations were too few to form separate variable categories.

(iii) Ethnic Group

The three ethnic groups used in the analysis are Hausa, Pyem and Sura. A few women of other ethnic groups were also interviewed but their numbers were not sufficient to form another variable category. And, as will be seen in the findings, even with just these three categories the computation of the Cramer's V was not possible for many tables in which this variable was cross-tabulated with the dependent variables, the numbers in certain cells being too few. This occurred especially for the Christian sample because in Mangu religion and ethnic group are corelated: there are Hausa, Pyem, and Sura Muslims, and Sura Christians, but there are no Hausa Christians and very few Pyem Christians.

Although it would have been interesting to compare systematically the economic roles of Yoruba and Sura Christian women, this was not done because Yoruba women were not included in the sample. However, a few general comments about Sura as compared to Yoruba Christian female economic roles are made in Chapter 7 below.

There are several reasons why Yoruba women were not interviewed. Firstly, the Yorubas are relatively few in number in Mangu, perhaps accounting for not more than twenty families, and hence, Yoruba women represent but a small minority group in the town. Secondly,

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1. Henceforth referred to as "Denomination".

the intention of this research was to focus primarily on the local Mangu peoples. And thirdly, there was a language problem. Yoruba women in Mangu tend to speak limited Hausa and English and the researcher's interpreters were not fluent in Yoruba.

Although Hausa women are not indigenous to the Mangu area they were included in the sample, for two reasons. Firstly, there are a substantial number of Hausas in Mangu and secondly, it was thought that comparisons between the Hausa, Sura and Pyem Muslims should be made.

(iv) Woman's Number of Children[1]

This variable represents the total number of children a woman had at the time of the interview, irrespective of whether or not they were actually living with her. Women with three children or less were included in the "few" category, women with four or more in the "many" category.

(v) Husband's Number of Wives

The range of this variable was dichotomised into women in monogamous marriages and women in polygynous marriages.[2]

(vi) Wife's Rank in Polygynous Households[3]

The first category of this variable is made up of all women who are the first wife in polygynous marriages, the second consisting of all women who are their husband's second, third, or fourth, wife.

(vii) Age

As very few women knew their age in terms of years the researcher, in consultation with her interpreters, made a rough estimate of each respondent's age. Variation in woman's age was divided into two categories, women under thirty years of age being included in the "young" category and women thirty years or over being placed in the "old" category.

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1. Henceforth referred to as "Number of Children".
2. Henceforth referred to as "Monogamy/Polygyny".
3. Henceforth referred to as "Wife Rank".

(viii) Western Education

The range of this variable was dichotomised into those women with no western education and those women with some western education. Very few of the women in the latter category had more than three years of primary schooling and for this reason the variation in levels of schooling attained was not investigated. Attendance at "Women's School", a form of adult education including literacy classes as well as the teaching of certain home-economics subjects, was also considered to be western education.

(ix) Length of Residence in Mangu[1]

This variable is a measure of the length of time a woman has lived in Mangu. Women who had been in Mangu for ten years or less were placed in the "short" category and those who had been there for more than ten years were included in the "long" category.

(x) House Location

Although Mangu was divided into eight sections, the comparison used in the analysis of the Traders/Non-Traders variable (the only dependent variable cross-tabulated with House Location) was between women living in the area near the EKAS Church, section eight, and women living in all areas of the town. The range of this variable, then, was dichotomised into those women living in section eight and those women living in the other seven sections of the town.

(xi) Husband's Socio-Economic Status[2]

The indicator used to measure the socio-economic status of the woman's husband was his primary occupation. Male occupations were ranked in the way that Mangu residents perceived them and were grouped into the four occupational levels outlined in the previous chapter. (See page 35) These categories, in ascending order, are as follows: farmers, craftsmen and small-scale traders, traders on a moderate scale plus average-salaried workers, and finally,

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1. Henceforth referred to as "Residence-Mangu".
2. Henceforth referred to as "Husband's SES".

large-scale traders, transporters and high-salaried workers.[1] For the purpose of the analysis these were collapsed into two categories, with the two lowest forming the "low" category of husband's socio-economic status and the two highest forming the "high" category.

(xii) Husband's Western Education

The range of this variable was dichotomised in the same way, for the same reasons, as the Woman's Western Education - none versus some.

(xiii) Amount of Initial Capital[2]

Women were asked to estimate the amount of money with which they started their present occupation. If they responded in terms of materials with which they began, e.g. a certain quantity of grass for mats or grains for food preparation, these quantities were converted into monetary values. The "low" category of this variable includes women who had a beginning capital of ₦1.50 or less, the "high" consisting of all women whose initial capital was greater than ₦1.50.

(xiv) Husband/Wife's Residence

The range of this variable was dichotomised into women living with their husbands and women living on their own.

(xv) Husband's Farming Response

The categories of this variable used for the analysis are as follows: men who themselves farm, regardless of whether or not they also pay others to farm for them; men who do not farm but pay others to farm for them; and men who do neither.

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1. A complete list of the different occupations in each of those categories is presented in Appendix A.

2. Henceforth referred to as "Initial Capital".

TABLE 4

CODING DECISIONS SHOWING FREQUENCIES

VARIABLE	FINE CODING	FREQ.	COLLAPSED CODING	FREQ.
1. PRIMARY OCCUPATION	MATS	87	MATS	87
	BEER	21	BEER	21
	KUNUN ZAKI	31	FOODS	53
	FOODS	22		
	TRADE IN 1-3 ITEMS	11	TRADE	20
	TRADE IN 4-6 ITEMS	9		
	MISCELLANEOUS	11	MISCELLANEOUS	11
2. TRADERS/ NON-TRADERS	TRADERS	58		58
	NON-TRADERS	134		134
3. PROFIT LEVEL	PROFIT ≤ ₦1.00	114	LOW PROFIT	144
	₦1.00 < PROFIT ≤ ₦2.00	30		
	₦2.00 < PROFIT ≤ ₦4.00	25	HIGH PROFIT	40
	₦4.00 < PROFIT	15		
	D.K., N.A.	8		8
4. NUMBER OF OCCUPATIONS	NONE	1	NONE	1
	ONE	93	ONE	93
	TWO	65	2 OR MORE	98
	THREE	24		
	FOUR	9		
5. FARMING	YES	58		58
	NO	134		134
6. PROVISION	1 a	35	LOW PROVISION	146
	2	83		
	3	28		
	4	23	HIGH PROVISION	46
	5	5		
	6	18		
7. RELIGION	CHRISTIAN	81		81
	MUSLIM	109		109
	INDIGENOUS	2		2
8. DENOMINATION	EKAS	68	EKAS	68
	ASSEMBLIES OF GOD	2	NON-EKAS	13
	BAPTIST	2		
	CMS	5		
	ROMAN CATHOLIC	4		
9. ETHNIC GROUP	ANGAS	10		10
	HAUSA	32		32
	PYEM	27		27
	SURA	113		113
	OTHER	10		10
10. NUMBER OF CHILDREN	NONE	27	FEW	114
	1 TO 3	87		
	4 TO 6	60	MANY	78
	7 PLUS	18		

a See Table 3, page 51, for Category Descriptions

VARIABLE	FINE CODING	FREQ.	COLLAPSED CODING	FREQ.
11. MONOGAMY/ POLYGYNY (HUSBAND'S NO. OF WIVES)	ONE	82	MONOGAMOUS	82
	TWO	53	POLYGYNOUS	106
	THREE	28		
	FOUR OR MORE	25		
	D.K.,N.A.	4	D.K.,N.A.	4
12. WIFE RANK (POLYG. WOMEN)	FIRST	50	SENIOR	50
	SECOND	34	NOT SENIOR	54
	THIRD	14		
	FOURTH	6		
	D.K.,N.A.	2		2
13. AGE	AGE < 30 YRS.	65	YOUNG	65
	30 ≤ AGE < 45 YRS.	109	OLD	123
	45 YRS. ≤ AGE	14		
	D.K.,N.A.	4	D.K.,N.A.	4
14. WESTERN EDUCATION	NONE	163		163
	SOME	29		29
15. RESIDENCE - MANGU	TIME ≤ 6 YRS.	46	SHORT	102
	6 < TIME ≤ 10 YRS.	56		
	10 < TIME ≤ 20 YRS.	48	LONG	87
	20 < TIME	39		
	D.K.,N.A.	3		3
16. HUSBAND'S SES	LOW 1	34	LOW	106
	LOW 2	72		
	MEDIUM	61	HIGH	81
	HIGH	20		
	D.K.,N.A.	5		5
17. HUSBAND'S WESTERN EDUCATION	NONE	135		135
	SOME	44		44
	D.K.,N.A.	13		13
18. INITIAL CAPITAL	NONE	61	LOW	127
	IN. CAP. ≤ ₦1.50	66		
	₦1.50 < IN. CAP. ≤ ₦4.00	45	HIGH	65
	₦4.00 < IN. CAP.	20		
19. HOUSE LOCATION	SECTIONS 1 - 7 b	162		162
	SECTION 8	19		19
	D.K.,N.A.	11		11
20. HUSBAND/ WIFE'S RESIDENCE	LIVES WITH HUSBAND	166		166
	LIVES ALONE	24		24
	D.K.,N.A.	2		2
21. HUSBAND'S FARMING RESPONSE	FARMS	23	FARMS HIMSELF	71
	FARMS AND PAYS OTHERS	48		
	PAYS OTHERS ONLY	61	PAYS OTHERS	61
	NEITHER	47	NEITHER	47
	D.K., N.A.	13	D.K.,N.A.	13

b See appexdix B for the fine coding for this category.

CHAPTER 4

C..RISTIAN AND MUSLIM WOMEN

(THE RELIGIOUS FACTOR)

CHAPTER 4

CHRISTIAN AND MUSLIM WOMEN (THE RELIGIOUS FACTOR)

Introduction

The major thesis of this paper is that religion is a very important factor accounting for the variation in female economic roles in Mangu. The purpose of this chapter is to identify the ways in which the economic roles of Christian and Muslim women differ and to offer some explanation for these differences.

Of course, even though religion is an important factor, it does not fully explain the differences in women's economic roles as there is variation in those roles within the Christian and Muslim groups taken separately. The factors accounting for these differences amongst Christians and amongst Muslims will be discussed in the next two chapters.

Primary Occupation

The first difference one notes about the economic roles of Christians and Muslims is that these women typically follow different occupations. In this study this difference presents itself as a strong association between primary occupation and religion (V= .58, Table 5). Mat-makers tend to be Muslim women, whilst beer brewers and traders tend to be Christian women, and women of both religions are involved in food processing and preparation occupations.[1] This association can be understood if the history and characteristics of these occupations are known; for this reason a brief description of each occupation will be given, including comments on the history of the occupations, the materials and processes involved, where the occupation is done (e.g. at home or in the market), and the usual level of profit of each occupational category.

(a) Mat-Making

As we have seen, mat-making is the major type of craft production done by women in Mangu. A few women knit or weave and

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1. "food processing and preparation" will henceforth be referred to simply as "food processing".

TABLE 5

PRIMARY OCCUPATION BY RELIGION

	MATS	BEER	FOODS	TRADE	TOTAL
CHRISTIAN	18.4% (16)	95.2% (20)	45.1% (23)	85.0% (17)	42.5% (76)
MUSLIM	81.6% (71)	4.8% (1)	54.9% (28)	15.0% (3)	57.5% (103)
TOTAL	100.0% (87)	100.0% (21)	100.0% (51)	100.0% (20)	100.0% (179)

$\ddot{v} = .58$

TABLE 6

PROFIT LEVEL BY PRIMARY OCCUPATION

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
MATS	92.7% (76)	7.3% (6)	100.0% (82)
BEER	57.1% (12)	42.9% (9)	100.0% (21)
FOODS	80.8% (42)	19.2% (10)	100.0% (52)
TRADE	31.6% (6)	68.4% (13)	100.0% (19)
TOTAL	78.2% (136)	21.8% (38)	100.0% (174)

$v = .48$

NOTE: All tables shown in the text include only those variable categories used in the analysis. See Appendix E for the complete frequency tables.

others make pots or covers for calabashes[1] but these crafts are rarely primary occupations. As the main form of craft production, mat-making provides an occupation for many women (87 women to be exact, those accounting for 45 per cent of the total sample),[2] and as soon in Table 5, the vast majority of these women are Muslims, 82 per cent of all mat-makers being Muslim and 18 per cent being Christian.

The history of mat-making in Mangu is an interesting one. Mat-making was originally done by the Pyem men of the Gindiri area. Later, these men taught the craft to their women and soon it became an important female occupation amongst the Pyem. At the present time mat-making amongst the Pyem is done largely by Muslim Pyem women and by some old men, most of whom are followers of the indigenous Pyem religion. The craft was brought to Mangu by the Pyem people and was first picked up by the Sura males. They in turn passed on the skill to the women, and at present mat-making in Mangu is almost entirely a female occupation although some few male mat-makers can be found. For the most part, however, the men left this occupation to the women and involved themselves in other non-farming activities such as tailoring, trading, etc.

Mat-making has been done in Mangu for at least the past five decades and perhaps even longer, but the recent expansion of the market in the past ten to fifteen years and the increased demand for mats to be exported to other parts of Nigeria has swelled the numbers of women involved in this occupation. Mats produced in Mangu are now being sold in such distant places as Maiduguri, Kano and Sokoto.

Women usually buy the dried grass used in weaving in bundles of approximately twenty centimetres in diameter, although some may purchase (or be given) a whole sack of grass at a time.[3] The grass is first sorted according to width and the pieces that are too wide for the weaving are reduced. Then it is dyed a variety of

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1. Calabashes are vessels made from dried gourds.

2. As one would expect, the fact that so many women make mats has important consequences for the findings of this study.

3. These sacks are approximately 1½ metre in height and 60 cm. in diameter.

colours, the most common ones being yellow, orange, red, green and purple; the original beige colour of the dried grass before it is dyed is also used in weaving. Once the different colours of grass are prepared weaving begins; considerable skill is needed in order to achieve a tight even weave and to make the desired colour pattern. The actual weaving of the mat entails weaving a long strip about 8 to 10 centimetres in width and when this strip reaches approximately 30 metres in length it is cut into sections of about 2 to 2.5 metres long. These sections are placed side by side, are sewn together, and the edges are then bound with a final strip of matting. Most often a woman will not do this sewing and binding process herself but will have it done by someone who specialises in this skill. Mat-making is generally done within the home and is easily combined with domestic responsibilities as it can be picked up or put down at any time. Although Muslim women do this occupation as much in the rainy season as in the dry season, the Christian women are more involved in mat-making, like all other non-farming activities, in the dry season.

The length of time taken[1] to finish a mat varies greatly, depending upon the skill of the weaver and the amount of time devoted to the craft. It can take as little as four to five days or as long as two months, although the average length of time is about two to three weeks.

From Table 5 we see that mat-making is clearly a low profit occupation, 93 per cent of all mat-makers having a low weekly profit, and profits in this occupation are equally low for Christians and for Muslims (Table 7). The reason for this low weekly income is that the profits from one mat are usually spread over the two or three weeks taken to complete the mat. The average selling price of a mat is about N1.50, giving the producer a profit of about N0.60.[2] However, in terms of a weekly income (i.e. profits, as defined here)[3], the average earnings per week in this occupation are about N0.30. Those women who take longer than the average time to finish a mat (and there are many of them) may have weekly incomes as low as N0.10. As will be discussed below, this extremely slow rate of production and hence low weekly profit of many mat-makers seems to reflect their low commitment to earning money.

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1. The term "taken" is used here rather than "required" because, as will be seen below, it is the writer's suggestion that many, if not most, mat-makers could increase their rate of production if they desired to do so.
2. All figures given in this chapter concerning investments, turnover, and profits pertain to the time when the research was done. Prices and profits have undoubtedly gone up since then.
3. See above p.48 for the discussion of this variable.

TABLE 7

PROFIT LEVEL BY RELIGION
(MAT-MAKERS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
CHRISTIAN	93.3% (14)	6.7% (1)	100.0% (15)
MUSLIM	92.5% (62)	7.5% (5)	100.0% (67)
TOTAL	92.7% (76)	7.3% (6)	100.0% (82)

(No Cramer's v)

TABLE 8

PROFIT LEVEL BY RELIGION
(FOOD PROCESSORS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
CHRISTIAN	72.7% (16)	27.3% (6)	100.0% (22)
MUSLIM	85.7% (24)	14.3% (4)	100.0% (28)
TOTAL	80.0% (40)	20.0% (10)	100.0% (50)

v = .11

Whether she be a Christian or a Muslim, a woman's mats are generally sold on her behalf by her husband or by some male relative, the trade in mats being a male activity. Some few Christian women may sell their mats themselves, but this is not generally the case.

(b) Beer-brewing

As will be seen later in the discussion of the traditional economic roles of women in Sura and Pyem societies, beer-brewing is a long-established female activity in the area. Traditionally (say in the 19th century), women brewed beer with their own or their husband's grain for ceremonial purposes, or, more importantly, to repay work parties who had come to plant, weed or harvest crops. Beer is still brewed to-day for these purposes but for at least five or six decades women in the area have also been brewing beer for sale. Thus, the preparation of beer is not a new female occupation in Mangu.

Beer-brewing, as an occupational category, includes the preparation of local beer, giya, as well as the alcoholic form of kunu, kunun tashi. The brewing of these drinks is a Christian occupation in Mangu; Table 5 shows that only one out of 21 brewers is a Muslim. And this one Muslim brewer, (who happens to be a Pyem), lives on her own without a husband, is totally self-supporting, and is thus very much marginal to the Muslim community in Mangu. Further, women of the different Christian denominations are not equally involved in beer brewing. Table49 below, p.137, shows that a smaller proportion of EKAS Christians are brewers than that of non-EKAS Christians as it is the EKAS Church which vehemently condemns the production, sale, and consumption of alcoholic drinks.

Beer and kunun tashi are usually made from a combination of millet and guinea corn, although at times they may be produced from only one or the other of these grains. The grain is soaked in water and allowed to ferment for about 24 hours after which it is dried and ground into flour. Water is then added to the flour and the mixture is boiled for many hours. In the case of beer the liquid is boiled twice, on two separate days, and strained after each boiling whereas for kunun tashi the boiling and straining procedure is done only once. Both drinks are ready for sale a day after the boiling is completed. Much time, then, is involved in brewing; for beer, the process takes five days, and for kunun tashi, four.

Much of the brewing in Mangu is done in the big brewing houses located at the northern end of the town near the market. Many women, especially the large-scale brewers, have their own brewing pots but others, including some who come into Mangu from surrounding villages, rent the pots of other brewers in order to make beer. The sale of beer and kunun tashi is done largely within the bigger brewing houses and it is in these houses also that fried meat[1] is commonly sold.

In the minds of most Mangu residents beer-brewing and prostitution are associated, and this is not without some justification. Some (though definitely not the majority) of the beer brewers live alone, having been either widowed, divorced or separated from their husbands; certain of these brewers living on their own are known to be prostitutes, along with some of the women who sell fried meats in the drinking-houses. Also, women who have no occupation other than prostitution are most likely to be found in the beer-drinking areas of the town.[2]

Some brewers prepare beer for sale on Fridays only whereas others brew beer to be sold on both Thursdays and Fridays; very few women make more than two batches of beer per week. The scale on which beer is brewed varies greatly, from ₦1.00 to ₦10.00 worth of grain per week being converted into beer; the average amount of grain used per week is ₦4.50.

Beer-brewing was found to be one of the higher profit occupations in Mangu. As can be seen in Table 6, about 43 per cent of all brewers earn high profits; this is much larger than the proportion of either mat-makers or food processors in that profit category (7 per cent and 19 per cent respectively), although smaller than that of traders (68 per cent). Like investment in terms of grain, profits earned from beer-brewing also differ greatly, ranging from about ₦0.20 to ₦6.00, however the average profit per week earned from brewing is approximately ₦1.90.

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1. Recall that the frying of different types of meat - goat, beef, or fowl - is one of the food processing occupations.

2. Due to the largely survey approach of this research and to limitations of time, it was not thought possible to analyse prostitution as one of the ways in which women in Mangu earn money.

It appears that the higher profits of brewers are mainly due to the larger scale of their activities, i.e. their larger investment in terms of money, time, and energy, as compared to mat-making and food processing. As was seen above, many mat-makers have a very low level of production, and it will be shown below that food processors generally operate on a scale much smaller than beer brewers. That the higher profits of brewers depend upon the larger scale of their production is also shown by the fact that the few very small-scale brewers, using say only ₦1.00 worth of grain per week, earn very small profits. Comments about the intrinsic profitability of brewing as compared to the other occupational categories will be made below.

(c) Food Processing

Although religion and type of primary occupation were found to be generally associated, Table 5 above (p. 60) shows that the proportions of Christian and Muslims in food processing occupations nearly replicate the overall sample proportions of Christians and Muslims. This means that Christians are just as likely to be food processors as Muslims and food processing is in this respect an exception to the general rule of division of female labour by religion in Mangu. However, differences between Christians and Muslims within this occupational category are found in terms of the type of food produced and the mode of marketing. In terms of scale of production and profits earned, however, Christian and Muslim food processors appear to be quite similar.

As discussed in the literature review, the two major groups of activities within this category are the production of food items to be used in cooking and the preparation of foods for immediate consumption, the main categories of the latter being snacks, meals, and kunun zaki. (Note that for several reasons given above kunun zaki was included in food processing rather than in beer-brewing.) In the first group are such items as groundnut oil and its by-product kulli kulli, as well as daddawa. Snacks such as bean cakes, fried or boiled eggs, and different varieties of fried meats, are also prepared by Mangu women. In terms of basic foods for meals women cook rice, yams, cocoa yams, nassa[1] and tuwo, and sell these with a variety of soups and stews.

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1. Corn meal cakes.

The production of groundnut oil is done almost exclusively by Muslim Hausa women, and the scale of their production is usually not large, due to the scarcity of locally grown groundnuts. Daddawa is made by both Christians and Muslims, but here again the chief producers are Muslim Hausa women. These women also dominate the preparation of snacks, the most popular one being kosai; very few very few Pyem and Sura Muslim women are involved in this activity and no Christian woman of any ethnic group prepares snacks as her primary occupation. The production of fried meats is done almost exclusively by Christians as a secondary occupation. However, the two followers of indigenous religions prepare meats as their primary occupation. Basic foods are made by both Christians and Muslims but it appears that the number of women (of either religion) involved in this occupation is not large[1]. Finally, both Christians and Muslims prepare kunun zaki for sale. Amongst the Muslims the Sura women are the main producers of this drink although a few Hausa Muslims do it as well, and for Christian food processors, kunun zaki is the item most frequently produced. The implications of this division of labour within food processing both by religion and ethnic group will be discussed in the later chapters of this report.

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1. It is interesting to note that amongst Muslim Hausa women in Katsina, the large-scale selling of cooked foods is a very profitable occupation done by older women, divorcees, and prostitutes, none of whom are secluded. (Renee Pittin, personal communication.) This would indicate that seclusion is an important factor accounting for the low participation of married Muslim women in Mangu in this occupation; meals, unlike snacks, are not sold by children in the streets and markets. Rather, they are generally sold directly to the buyers (many of whom are men) by the women themselves. In fact, those few Muslim producers of cooked foods who were interviewed lived on their own and were at least 45 years of age.

Food processing and preparation is usually done within the home, this being so for Christians and Muslims alike. Muslim women invariably sell what they produce from within the home as well, for virtually all Muslim women in Mangu, with the exception of the old, are in seclusion. Children are used by Muslim women as their links with other homes or the outside market.[1] Christian women, however, go to the market themselves to sell their products although some do also send their children to the market to sell for them. In terms of place of sale the exception is fried nuts; although sold at times in the market, these are usually sold in beer-drinking houses. That only Christians are active in this occupation is thus understandable.

Women producing snacks or cooked foods usually do so daily, but fried nuts are most often sold on Fridays only. Items for use in cooking are also made for sale on Fridays. As for kunu, Christian and Muslim women differ with respect to the days of production and sale. Most Muslim women make small amounts of kunu for sale every day, although they do increase the volume produced for Fridays. Christian women, on the other hand, tend to prepare kunu for sale on Fridays only. However, whether they do it daily or concentrate on Fridays, in terms of total weekly production Christian and Muslim women are very similar. (See Table 8 above, p. 63)

The average amount of the different food items sold per week varies but the average weekly profits earned from the different items is much the same. For kunu, the average worth of grain used per week is ₦1.00. This is generally converted to about ₦1.90 worth of kunu; average weekly earnings from kunu are about ₦0.85. With snacks, basic foods, and food items for cooking, the amount sold per week averages around ₦3.00 and this gives the producer a weekly profit of approximately ₦0.70. It would appear, then, that a smaller investment in kunu yields a profit similar to that of a slightly larger investment in foods or snacks.

There are however some food processors in Mangu who have weekly earnings up to ₦3.50. These women may be either producers of kunu, cooked foods or snacks, and propably their earnings are high because they operate on a scale much higher than the average producer.

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1. In the case of groundnut oil and daddawa, relatives or the husband of the woman may also do the selling.

It is interesting to note that these larger-scale producers may be either Christians or Muslims. Thus, it is possible for women of both religions to produce on a fairly high level but, as we have seen, the majority of food processors do not seem to do so. Combining all items, the average weekly profit from food processing is about ₦0.70.

From this we can see that food processors generally operate on a scale much smaller than beer brewers and earn smaller weekly profits. However, it must be noted that the average earnings per week of women in this category are still almost twice those earned by mat-makers. A discussion of the relative "profitability" of food processing vis-a-vis the other occupations will be presented below.

It is not possible to give a full description of the materials and processes involved in the production of each of these food items and these descriptions would add little to the analysis.

Concerning the history of these occupations, kunun zaki had been made in the area for many decades but it was only the expansion of the market in the past ten to fifteen years that encouraged women to produce it for sale on any substantial scale. The production of groundnut oil and kulli kulli, along with certain snacks such as bean cakes, were Hausa introductions to the area; the cooking of basic foods for sale can also be linked, at least to some extent, to the Hausas because they brought with them to the area their custom of buying meals from food sellers. Sura and Pyem women did cook large quantities of food for ceremonial times but the buying and selling of cooked food for meals was not common. The cooked food industry in Mangu also responded to the growth of the market which increased the numbers of strangers in the town needing food and drinks.

From this brief history it can be seen that food processing occupations are not "new" to Mangu women.

(d) Trading

Trading, like beer-brewing, is clearly identifiable as a Christian occupation for, as shown in Table 5, p. 60, 17 of the 20 traders (or 85 per cent) are Christians. Not only are the majority

of traders in Mangu Christians; also, as will be discussed below, all Christian traders in the sample were members of the EKAS Church.

Female traders in Mangu deal in foodstuffs only,[1] selling such items as acha,[2] millet, maize, guinea corn, cassava flour, bananas and sometimes tomatoes. A few women buy and sell goats, but this is not common. The goods sold by Christian traders come from a variety of sources. By far the most important of these are the other markets in the area, especially those in Daffo and Kadunu. The majority of traders travel weekly to at least Daffo market, if not other markets as well, and buy up foodstuffs which they resell in Mangu. These journeys are but one-day excursions and the women are not involved in any long-distance trading which would require them to stay overnight in another place. Only men are involved in long-distance trading. (In contrast, see Nadel, 1942: 331-332.)

A second source of goods comes from traders who bring foodstuffs to Mangu from other regions and who sell these in bulk to local Mangu retailers, women included. Thirdly, Mangu women also buy foodstuffs for resale from producers who come from nearby villages to Mangu market. These villagers often bring with them small quantities of grain or vegetables for sale, and Mangu women, meeting these people as they come into the town, buy up their goods and retail them later, often on the same day, in the Mangu market. Although not much of this type of bulking was done by the women at the time of interviewing, in the past two years it has become a more important source of goods for the trading women in Mangu.

As one would expect, the Muslim traders (and there are only three of them) did not obtain the goods they sold in the ways described above. In all cases the foodstuffs were bought on their behalf by the husbands or male relatives. Two of these women were involved in the large-scale trading described by Hill (1969:407) i.e., they purchased sacks of grain and sold them when the price went up. Again, the selling was done by the women's husbands or male

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1. Recall that "traders" here refers only to the Sura and Pyem Pyem female traders in Mangu. Yoruba traders do of course deal in both food and non-food items but they were not included in the sample.

2. A grain grown in certain parts of northern Nigeria.

relatives. The third Muslin trader also did this type of storing of grain but as well she retailed grain in small quantities to those who came to the house to buy. None of these Muslin traders, then, bought or sold in the market.

The Christian traders, on the other hand, retail their food-stuffs in the market although some may also sell from their homes. Although a few traders sell in the market daily (except Sunday), most traders retail in the market on Fridays only; female traders tend to congregate in one particular section of the market.

Although Christian women do trade all year round, their trading activities are at their peak during the dry season, for two reasons. Firstly, there are no farming responsibilities to be fulfilled during these months and secondly, there are more grains to be traded in the dry season than in the rainy season. For Muslin women, of course, it is only the availability of grains that would cause seasonal variations.

Trading is the highest profit occupation in Mangu; as can be seen above in Table 6, p.60, the proportion of traders who earn high profits (68 per cent) is greater than in any other occupational category. There is quite a wide range in terms of weekly capital investment and profits amongst traders. Several traders who were interviewed invested ₦40.00 to ₦50.00 per week in grains and earned about ₦9.00 to ₦10.00 from that investment. On the other hand there were some traders who would go to Daffo only to buy ₦2.00 worth of grains. When resold, these would give the woman a profit of ₦0.20 or less. However, these very small-scale traders are exceptions, and the average weekly investment in trading is about ₦13.00,[1] the average profit per week being approximately ₦2.50.

Thus, traders, with a higher investment of capital, have higher incomes per week than women in any other occupation. As will be discussed below, it is not known if an investment in trading renders larger profits per unit of input than in other occupations. However, the fact still stands that the investment in trading is higher than for other occupations and thus, regardless of "profitability", traders earn more.

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1. Traders may have over-represented their investment per week and hence this figure may be a bit high. However, even if the investment figures were reduced, say, by one third, traders would still have a higher level of investment than other women. The profit figure appears to be quite realistic.

The form of trading described in this section is a very new occupation for women in Mangu. A few women started to trade not more than ten years ago and it has only been within the past five to six years that considerable numbers of women have become involved in this activity. Prior to that time women sold small quantities of grains or garden products they grew themselves or firewood they collected, but the buying and selling of grains produced by others was entirely in the hands of men. It appears that later many of the men moved out of this local retail trade in foodstuffs and went into more lucrative businesses such as contracting, transporting, and trading in manufactured goods and wholesale foodstuffs. The women then, it seems, started to take over some of the local trade in foodstuffs[1].

This is not to say, however, that it is only women who buy foodstuffs locally and resell them; at the time of the research many men were still involved in this trade and both men and women could be found going to Daffo and Kadunu to buy foodstuffs, although the men may have been fewer in number than the women. In the past two years, though, the number of females doing this type of trading has increased greatly and although some men are still involved, it seems as if women now dominate this aspect of commerce in Mangu, many men having moved into other more profitable types of trade. If this sketch is correct, then the pattern of the division of labour between men and women in trade which was identified by Pellow (unpubl.: 165-166), that men dominate the more lucrative levels of trade, would seem to hold for Mangu as well.

Traders, then, can be distinguished from other women in Mangu by the following five characteristics: trading is the only really "new" female occupation in Mangu; traders travel outside of Mangu in pursuit of their occupation; traders are involved in an occupation in which they are, at least to some extent, in competition with men; traders have a higher level of investment and profit than other women; and finally, with the exception of three Muslims, traders are all EKAS Christians.

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1. The conjecture might be raised that women who became traders were wives of men who had gone out of trading, the husbands turning over their businesses to their wives. There is, however, no evidence to support this conjecture.

(e) Miscellaneous

This category contains those eleven women whose primary occupations were not included in any of the other four categories. In this category there are four women who did crocheting and knitting, one weaver of cloth, one pot-maker, one woman who made covers for calabashes, one basket weaver, one woman who gathered and sold firewood, one hotel owner, and one who had no occupation at all. For the reasons mentioned above, this occupational category in no place enters into the analysis of primary occupation and therefore no further comments about it will be made.

Returning to the question of the association between primary occupation and religion, it should be clear from the above descriptions of the different occupations that this association can be largely explained in terms of the restrictions that Islam places upon the movements and activities of Muslim women in Mangu. The seclusion of Muslim women greatly limits their choice of occupation; as only mat-making and food processing can be done entirely within the home, these are the only two alternatives open to most Muslim women.

Beer-brewing is an unacceptable female Muslim occupation for two reasons. First, Islam prohibits the preparation, sale and consumption of alcoholic drinks and moreover, it is unthinkable within the Muslim culture that a respectable woman would be found in such public places as those areas where beer is produced and sold. As for trading, it is not possible for Muslim women to participate in the above mentioned activities of Christian traders - travelling to other markets and the retailing of goods in Mangu market - and very few Muslim women would have (or be given) sufficient capital to buy grains in bulk and store them until a price rise. The few Muslim women in Mangu who do this are rare exceptions.

No such limits, however, are put upon the occupational choice of Christian women; they are free to participate in any form of economic activity they want. The rule of the EKAS Church forbidding the brewing of alcoholic drinks is the one exception to this freedom. Some EKAS members do however break this rule.[1]

Seclusion, then, as an aspect of Islam, is a major factor accounting for the differences between the types of occupations pursued by Christian and Muslim women.

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1. This issue will be discussed in the chapter below dealing with the variation in economic role amongst Christian women.

In terms of mat-making and food processing alone, a question arises as to why a greater proportion of Muslim women are in mat-making rather than food processing as their primary occupation whereas for Christians this is the opposite, when, as shown above, it is clear that higher profits could be made from food processing, especially if a woman were to operate on a relatively large scale.

One possible reason why many Muslim women have mat-making rather than food-processing as an occupation is that if a Muslim woman wants to enter food processing she must have the service of a child old enough to sell her products for her. For Christians this is not the case as they can go to the market themselves to sell their products. Although this factor may be the reason why some Muslim women do mat-making, it appears that other factors as well are responsible for having mat-making as a primary occupation because it is probable that many, if not most, Muslim women have access to a child who could sell their goods for them.

Several other reasons for having mat-making rather than food processing as an occupation were given during interviews. Some women indicated that they felt mat-making was a more prestigious occupation (see Yeld, 1960:127-128).[1] Others said they preferred mat-making because it was a less strenuous form of work. Still other women indicated that they were not interested in the higher profits which could be made from food processing as their husbands were able to meet all their financial needs. Thus, it appears that other considerations overshadow those of profit-making in some, if not many, cases and this seems also to reflect a somewhat low level of commitment to money-making on the part of Muslim women.

The fact that relatively few Christians have mat-making as their primary occupation seems to indicate that they have a somewhat higher level of commitment to economic life. This impression is strengthened when one notes that, as will be seen below, no Christian woman has mat-making as her sole occupation, whereas the majority of Muslim mat-makers do only this craft, even though it is likely that, as said above, most of them could take up food processing if they chose to do so.

This issue of level of commitment to money-making that has been but briefly touched upon here will receive further attention in a later section of this chapter.

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1. In fact, three Muslim women who made high profits from their kunu production nevertheless insisted that their mat-making was their primary occupation.

To summarise, then, the restrictions of seclusion is the main factor which explains why Christian and Muslim women in Mangu follow different types of occupations. Another factor, however, which may also contribute to this difference in choice of primary occupation is the variation in the attitudes of these two groups of women towards earning money.

Profit Level

Christian and Muslim women in Mangu also differ with respect to the profits they earn from their economic activities. A moderate association was found between profit level and religion (V=.31, Table 9), with Christian women tending to earn higher profits than Muslim women; 38 per cent of all Christians in the sample earned high profits whilst only 11 per cent of all Muslims did so.[1]

Judging from what has been said above, the place to start when looking for an explanation of this association is the difference in the primary occupations followed by Christian and Muslim women. It was stated that a strong association exists between primary occupation and religion (V=.58, Table 5 above, p. 60) and it was also shown that the occupations done by the two religious groups differ with respect to the level of profits earned by those who pursue them. A strong association was found between profit level and primary occupation (V=.48, Table 6, p. 60) and the direction of this association supports the argument that differences in profit level between Christians and Muslims are at least partially accounted for by the differences in the occupations they pursue. Mat-making is associated with low profits, brewing and trading with high profits, while food processing is associated with neither high nor low profits.

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1. As we have seen, traders are an exceptionally high profit group, and it was mentioned above that they may be somewhat over-represented in the sample. For these reasons it was thought necessary to investigate this relationship between profit level and religion for non-traders only. Table 10a shows when trading women are removed from the sample, an association is still found between these variables, although it is a weaker one (V=.18). However, this association is masking a much stronger relationship at a lower profit level. Table 10b shows that when the high profit category includes all women with profits greater than N1.00, a moderate association between profit level and religion is found (V=. 32) amongst non-traders only, Christian women tending to have higher profit than Muslim women.

TABLE 9

PROFIT LEVEL BY RELIGION

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
CHRISTIAN	62.3% (48)	37.7% (29)	100.0% (77)
MUSLIM	89.5% (94)	10.5% (11)	100.0% (105)
TOTAL	78.0% (142)	22.0% (40)	100.0% (182)

v = .31

TABLE 10a

PROFIT LEVEL BY RELIGION
(NON-TRADERS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
CHRISTIAN	43	15	58
MUSLIM	90	11	101
TOTAL	133	26	159

v = .18

TABLE 10b

PROFIT LEVEL* BY RELIGION
(NON-TRADERS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
CHRISTIAN	28	30	58
MUSLIM	81	20	101
TOTAL	109	50	159

v = .32

* Recategorised; see Text

It is clear what is happening, then: Christian women are more active in those occupations in which high profits are earned (brewing and trading) while Muslim women are restricted to those occupations in which the majority of women earn low profits (mat-making and food processing); hence the associations between profit level, primary occupation, and religion.

If type of primary occupation mediates as an explanation of the relationship between profit level and religion, then the explanation of this relationship must lie in either something about the different occupations themselves, or about the women who select the different occupations. That is, either it is not possible to earn high profits in certain occupations due to their intrinsic unprofitability or to limitations of scale, or, there is something about women who choose certain occupations that accounts for their low earnings and hence the low profits of the occupational category they select.

As we shall see in the following paragraphs, explanations in terms of the characteristics of the occupations pursued by Christian and Muslim women and explanations in terms of the differences between the women themselves are both necessary for a complete answer to the question of why women in the "Christian" occupations tend to earn more than women in the "Muslim" occupations.

The first factor that will be discussed here is the number of occupations a woman pursues for, as the reader will recall, "Profit Level" is a measure of a woman's total earnings from all her occupations for the week prior to the interview; it is not merely her earnings from her primary occupation. The following question is therefore raised: do women in the high profit occupations earn those high profits because they are involved in a greater number of occupations than those in the low profit occupations? In other words, is the association between profit level and primary occupation spurious in so far as it can be totally explained by a difference in the number of occupations done by women in the various occupational categories?

If this were so, then one would expect that beer brewers and traders, being the high profit earners, would be active in two or more occupations while mat-makers and food processors, the low earners, would have one occupation only. However, that does not appear to be the case. A moderate association was indeed found between primary occupation and number of occupations (V=.28, Table 11) but the direction of the association is not the one outlined above, the one expected if

TABLE 11

PRIMARY OCCUPATION BY NUMBER OF OCCUPATIONS

	MATS	BEER	FOODS	TRADE	TOTAL
ONE	50	14	20	4	88
2 OR MORE	37	7	33	16	93
TOTAL	87	21	53	20	181

v = .28

TABLE 12

PROFIT LEVEL BY NUMBER OF OCCUPATIONS

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
ONE	81	10	91
2 OR MORE	63	30	93
TOTAL	144	40	184

v = .25

the variation in profits earned in the different occupations were a function of number of occupations pursued.

It was found that mat-makers and brewers tend to have one occupation only and food processors and traders tend to have two or more occupations. Thus, there is a mix in terms of profits because some high profit brewers will have one occupation only and some low profit food processors will have more than one.

With this mix one would not expect to find a strong relationship between profit level and number of occupations. In fact, a moderate association between these variables was found (V=.25, Table 12), with high earners tending to have two or more occupations, low earners to have one only. This association does not, however, offer any straightforward explanation of the association between profit level and primary occupation for the total sample. As we shall see below, there is an interaction between the relationship and religion, i.e. the association between number of occupations and profit level (and between number of occupations and primary occupation, as well) is different for Christians than for Muslims. Number of occupations does offer some explanation of the relationship between profit level and religion, but not in a simple way through primary occupation; this will be discussed below.

In the discussion of the primary occupations we saw that there is much evidence of differences in the scale on which occupations are pursued. It is a thesis of this paper that the relationship between profit level and primary occupation is mediated by these variations in scale amongst the occupations. In other words, women in certain occupations may invest more money, time and energy in the pursuit of their occupations and thereby earn higher profits. The argument and evidence for an affirmative answer to this question is to be found above in the discussion of the primary occupations and will be briefly reviewed at this point. Attention will then be turned to the discussion of what may account for the variations in scale amongst the occupations.

Unfortunately it was impossible to measure scale systematically and quantitatively but we have seen above that trading and beer-brewing, the high profit occupations, appear generally to be pursued on a larger scale than mat-making and food processing, the relatively low profit occupations. Recall that beer brewers and traders may have an average weekly monetary investment of ₦4.50 and ₦13.00 respectively whereas the average kunu-maker, for example, uses only ₦1.00 worth of ingredients per week. And, between mat-making and

food processing , the difference in profits shown above may be thought of as a function of scale; the average nat-maker sells one nat worth about ₦1.50 once in two or three weeks whereas the average food producer sells approximately ₦1.50 worth of goods per week. Thus, if we had had a quantitative measure of scale, we might have expected that this measure would have been associated with our profit measure.

If scale indeed mediates the relationship between profit level and primary occupation, then the question raised is "Why are there differences in scale amongst the occupations?" This question can be answered in terms of the two perspectives outlined above - either there is something intrinsic to certain occupations which places limits on scale of production, or, there is something about the women in the different occupational categories that is responsible for the scale of their activities. As we shall see, although more evidence is available to support the first type of explanation, still both are necessary for a full understanding of the relationship between scale and type of primary occupation.

One factor that might be thought to account for the differences in the scale on which the various occupations are pursued is the amount of initial capital received to begin economic pursuits.[1] Perhaps women in the low scale occupations had less capital, and hence their low level of production.

This is where a quantitative measure of scale would be very useful; we have no such measure, but certain limited inferences can be drawn from an examination of the relationship between profit level and initial capital if we are willing to assume a strong positive relationship between scale and profit level.

When we look at the relationship between profit level and initial capital, however, we find that in fact there is no association for the total sample (V=.11, Table 13). It is therefore not very surprising to find that there is only a weak association between primary occupation and initial capital (V=.19,Table 14) and that the direction of this association is somewhat different from what one would expect if the relationships between scale, primary occupation and profit level were a function of initial capital. Although food processors (low earners) do tend to have low initial capital, some nat-makers (who are also low earners) may have had high initial capital; and

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1. The reader should bear in mind that "Initial Capital" refers to the capital with which a woman began her present occupation.

TABLE 13

PROFIT LEVEL BY INITIAL CAPITAL

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
LOW CAPITAL	99	22	121
HIGH CAPITAL	45	18	63
TOTAL	144	40	184

v = .11

TABLE 14

PRIMARY OCCUPATION BY INITIAL CAPITAL

	MATS	BEER	FOODS	TRADE	TOTAL
LOW CAPITAL	55	12	42	11	120
HIGH CAPITAL	32	9	11	9	61
TOTAL	87	21	53	20	181

v = .19

traders and brewers, both high earners, may have had either low or high starting capital.

One possible reason for this mix in terms of profits in this relationship between primary occupation and initial capital is that many brewers and traders may have built up their relatively large present capital investment (indicating a relatively large-scale operation) by accumulating the profits from their initially small-scale activities. Some mat-makers, on the other hand, in particular Muslim mat-makers, received as a gift from their parents or husbands sufficient grass for two or three mats, thereby having had high initial capital, although earning low profits. As we have seen, food processors do tend to have low initial capital but this does not explain why many women in this category apparently have not increased the scale of their operations from their previous earnings as traders and brewers seem to have done. For, as will be shown below, it does not appear that food processing is less "profitable" per unit of investment than trading or brewing.

From the above discussion about initial capital we can see that this factor does not appear to be associated with either profit or primary occupation. In the light of this, it is understandable that no association was found between initial capital and religion (V=.04, Table 15) in the study sample.

The question of how women, and especially women who have a lively interest in the economic world, get started in their occupations is a crucial one for research into women's economic roles. Better and more refined measures of the sources, quantity and use of initial capital may well show results quite different from those just presented.

Another factor which might explain differences in scale amongst the primary occupations is a variation in the intrinsic limitations within each occupation on the scale on which these can be carried out. As we shall see, although this variation does exist, it does not however totally explain why certain occupations are done on a larger scale than others.

Mat-making is a very time-consuming task and it was found that even the most skilled weavers do not finish a mat in less than about four days with full-time effort. Thus, there are clear limitations to the scale of production which can be achieved in mat-making.

Several problems of scale also arise for food processing. Comparing food processing to trading, for example, in the latter a turnover of ₦20.00 worth of goods per week could be handled with

TABLE 15

INITIAL CAPITAL BY RELIGION

	LOW CAPITAL	HIGH CAPITAL	TOTAL
CHRISTIAN	51	30	81
MUSLIM	74	35	109
TOTAL	125	65	190

v = .04

case whereas the production and sale of that value of any food item would be extremely difficult for one woman to manage.[1] The sheer physical volume of ₦20.00 worth of any food presents a problem, and secondly, the fear of wastage if all is not sold acts as another deterrent. However, these limitations are not so severe as those placed on nat-making, for at least a sizable minority of both Christian and Muslim food processors operate on a relatively large scale, although not as large as that of beer-brewers.

For beer brewers there is also a block to the scale of production which can be achieved as there is some limit to the volume of beer than can be produced by any one woman. However, beer-brewing does have two slight advantages over food processing: first, the vats in which beer is brewed can be made very large, and secondly, the product can be kept for several days without spoiling.

Blocks to the expansion of scale are perhaps least for trading as a woman with sufficient capital can travel to local markets and buy up any amount of foodstuffs that are available. And, Mangu market provides, at most times, seemingly unlimited opportunities to sell these foodstuffs.

From the above we can see that nat-making is the only female occupation in Mangu in which the expansion of production is severely limited by the intrinsic character of the occupation. And, as we have seen, the vast majority of Muslim women have nat-making as their primary occupation. If nat-making were the only occupational choice open to Muslim women, and if Muslim women were found to be working to "full capacity" in this craft, one would have been justified in concluding that Muslim women earn lower profits than Christian women only because they are restricted to this occupation in which large-scale production is impossible. However, we have seen above that the average nat-maker in Mangu (the vast majority of whom are Muslims) take between two and three weeks to complete a nat whereas with full-time effort a nat could be finished within four or five days. And, there are many nat-makers who spend up to a month on one nat. Further, we have seen that many Muslim women do nat-making only when they could augment their earnings by doing food processing as well. It would appear, then, that a sizable number of Muslim women are not working up to the "full-capacity" they could.

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1. It appears that very few women in any occupation recruit help in order to increase their production. Why this is so has not been investigated in this study, but it is an interesting question.

Thus, the low profits of Muslim women can be partially, although not totally, accounted for by the intrinsic limitations of the occupations they are forced by their seclusion to pursue.
It is suggested here that low scale of productive economic activity may also reflect low commitment to earning money, and that this factor of level of commitment to economic life makes some contribution towards an understanding of the relationships between scale, profits, type of occupation and religion which have been outlined above.

It appears that Muslim women are somewhat less committed to earning profits, to economic life, than Christian women, and hence the willingness of many of them to produce on a scale smaller than that which they could. This is not to say, however, that they are totally unconcerned about earning money; the point here is that they appear to be somewhat <u>less</u> concerned about this than the Christian women in Mangu.

For this sample there are no quantitative data which directly bear upon this issue of level of commitment, but there is some evidence to support the contention that Muslims are less committed to money-making than Christian women. During interviews some Muslim women spoke jokingly about their occupations and about their low profits; they appeared to be untroubled about the fact that they were small producers and small earners. In some cases it seemed as if the woman was actually proud of her lack of profits, stressing the fact that her husband was able to support her entirely.[1]
Women with this attitude were in most cases mat-makers, and they sometimes referred to their mat-making as a pastime rather than an occupation.[2]

With Christian women, the atmosphere was usually quite different. During interviews these women generally expressed a keen interest in making money and an awareness of the economic problems facing families in a time of price inflation. Christian women earning high profits

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1. Although these comments do not apply to all Muslims, the women who reacted in this way were sufficient in number to show that at least a sizable minority of Muslim women have these attitudes.
2. A question may be raised as to why these women are in the sample at all, as they appear to have a "pastime" rather than an "occupation". The reason for their inclusion is that it is very difficult to objectively evaluate just when a "pastime" becomes an "occupation" for as soon as these women begin to earn more profits they may well start to regard their work as an occupation. Another reason for including these women is that they do in fact enter the economic sphere through their activities, however marginally.

often spoke proudly of their success and those whose profits were low were at times almost apologetic about their lack of gain.[1]

This difference in attitudes between Christian and Muslin women towards earning money is associated, at least partially, with the dominant teachings of Christianity and Islam in the area towards the role of the woman as provider within the family. According to Islam, the woman is not expected to contribute her earnings to the support of the family; all her basic needs are to be provided for her and her children by her husband. Thus, although Muslin women do need to earn money for their own personal use, they are not required to contribute to the basic support of themselves and their families; the need to do so would bring shame upon their husbands.[2] Christian women, in contrast, are expected to play an active role in helping their husbands provide for the family and the fulfillment of this role does not reflect negatively upon their husbands.

Thus, it appears that the Christian woman, with a greater obligation to assist her husband in supporting the family, has a more pressing need to earn money and is therefore somewhat more committed to economic life than her Muslin sister who is expected to use her earnings only for her own personal wants.

Leaving behind this discussion of scale as a mediating factor between profit level and primary occupation, let us turn to a third factor which might explain why women in certain occupations earn high profits while women in others earn low profits - the difference in the intrinsic profitability of the occupations themselves.

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1. The writer takes note of the possibility that a "vicious circle" may be operating here - that Muslin women do not care about earning money simply because they know they are excluded by their seclusion from high profit occupations. However, the fact that some few Muslin women do earn high profits even within seclusion suggests that the potential for others to do so is there, at least to some extent, if they choose to make use of it.

2. However, this norm is not always upheld. A discussion of this issue and of the spending patterns in general of both Christian and Muslin women follows below in the section concerning the relationship between provision and religion.

Unfortunately no analysis of the profits per unit of input could be done for the various occupations in order to determine whether or not, in fact, they differ in terms of their "profitability". However, it would appear that, with the exception of mat-making, it is differences in scale rather than differences in "profitability" which are most important in explaining the variations in profit level between the occupations.

Figures for the average weekly investment in snacks and basic foods are not available, but if one takes only beer brewing, kunu making and trading, one can see that " profitability" is unlikely to be the factor accounting for the differences in profits earned by women in these categories. Recall that the average weekly investment for beer brewing was ₦4.50 and the average weekly profits of women in that category was ₦1.90. For kunu, the figures were ₦1.00 and ₦0.85 respectively, and traders were found to have an average weekly investment of ₦13.00 and a weekly profit of ₦2.50. Although these are but rough estimates of investment and profits, it seems as if kunu is the most "profitable" occupation, followed by beer, and finally by trading. Thus, it does not appear that the differences in profits amongst these occupations are a function of differences in inherent "profitability".

Mat-making is, however, a special case. As we have seen above, there are definite limits to the scale of production which can be achieved within this occupation. Even with full-time effort, at least four to five days seem the minimum time required to complete a mat, and the maximum profit per mat is about ₦1.00. Thus, the most a woman could earn per week from mats is about ₦1.30. In contrast, the most hard-working kunu maker might earn ₦3.50 per week. Thus, it seems safe to say that mat-making is a relatively "unprofitable" occupation.

The low profits of Muslim women can then be at least partially understood in terms of the relative "unprofitability" of this craft in which a large proportion of Muslim women are involved. Here again, however, this factor does not explain why so many Muslim women do mat-making when higher profits could be earned from food processing or why those mat-makers do not make greater efforts to increase their production. Several other factors mentioned above are necessary for the understanding of those latter issues.

Let us summarise, then, what has been said about this question of the relationship between profit level and primary occupation, which in turn mediates the relationship between profit level and religion. There is some evidence to support the argument that mat-makers earn low profits because of the intrinsic unprofitability of the craft. However, differences between food processing, brewing and trading must be explained in terms of scale of production. Further, this variation in the scale on which the different occupations are pursued is partially, though by no means totally, explained by the differences in the intrinsic limitations to the expansion of production in those occupations.

This variation in intrinsic limitations helps one to understand why Christian women are able to earn more than Muslim women, but it does not help in explaining why so many Muslim women are "underproducers". Granted, there are many Christian "underproducers" as well, but these are proportionally fewer than the Muslims, as evidenced by the fact that few Christian women do mat-making as a primary occupation and that no Christian woman in the sample had mat-making as her sole occupation. This issue of the "underproductiveness" of many Muslim women is at least partially explained by the somewhat lower commitment of Muslim than Christian women to money making.

Thus, we have seen three factors which affect the relationships between profit level, primary occupation, and religion: the intrinsic unprofitability and the blocks to expansion of production of the different occupations, as well as the level of commitment to money making of women in these occupations.

Most of the previous discussion on profit level has been oriented towards an explanation of why primary occupation and profit level are associated and how that association explains the relationship between profit level and religion. Within the context of that discussion mention was made of the variable "number of occupations" and it was shown that the relationship between profit level and primary occupation is not merely a function of number of occupations. In order to support that point several comments were made about the relationship between profit level and number of occupations but the discussion of this relationship was deferred. Let us take up this discussion here.

A weak association was found between number of occupations and religion (V=.22), Christian women tending to have two or more occupations, Muslim women to have one only. Table 16 shows that 65 per cent of all Christians have two or more occupations whereas 41 per cent of all Muslims do so. Given that Christian women tend to earn high profits, one might have thought that the association between

number of occupations and religion would mean that Christian women have high profits because they take on extra occupations.

Even though an association was found between profit level and number of occupations, this does not prove the argument because, as previously stated, there is an interaction between this association and religion. In other words, that association differs in strength for the Christian and the Muslim samples. Let us see what is actually happening in this relationship between profit level and number of occupations for the two groups separately.

Amongst Christians, no association was found between profit level and number of occupations (V=.06, Table 17). This is understandable when one looks at the relationship between primary occupation and number of occupations for the Christian women. A strong association was found between these variables for Christians (V=.49, Table 18), with mat-makers and traders tending to have two or more occupations, brewers to have one only, and food processors to be associated with neither. Amongst Christians, profit level is also strongly associated with primary occupation (v=.52,Table 19), with mat-makers tending to earn low profits, food processors tending slightly to earn low profits, traders tending to earn high profits, and no more brewers than one would expect falling into either category. The reason for this lack of association between profits and number of occupations, then, is that we have some high earning mat-makers with two or more occupations.

This finding is consistent with the generally high motivation amongst Christian women towards earning money. It is only that there is no one strategy as regards number of occupations. With beer brewers we may hypothesise that the profitable strategy is to specialise. With traders we might expect that they too would specialise but traders do not in fact do so. This may be because trading is a relatively new occupation and perhapds women are afraid to invest all their time and money in this one activity. Perhaps they fell more secure retaining another occupation such as Kunu making to fall back on in case of lossess from trading.[1] It may also be that their practice of having two or more occupations is simply to augment their already high profits.

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1. If this were found to be correct, one could predict that, in time, traders will specialise once they are more established in occupation.

TABLE 16

NUMBER OF OCCUPATIONS BY RELIGION

	ONE	2 OR MORE	TOTAL
CHRISTIAN	35.0% (28)	65.0% (52)	100.0% (80)
MUSLIM	58.7% (64)	41.3% (45)	100.0% (109)
TOTAL	48.7% (92)	51.3% (97)	100.0% (189)

v = .22

TABLE 17

PROFIT LEVEL BY NUMBER OF OCCUPATIONS
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
ONE	19	9	28
2 OR MORE	29	20	49
TOTAL	48	29	77

v = .06

TABLE 18

PRIMARY OCCUPATION BY NUMBER OF OCCUPATIONS
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	MATS	BEER	FOODS	TRADE	TOTAL
ONE	0	13	10	4	27
2 OR MORE	16	7	13	13	49
TOTAL	16	20	23	17	76

v = .49

TABLE 19

PROFIT LEVEL BY PRIMARY OCCUPATION
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
MATS	14	1	15
BEER	12	8	20
FOODS	16	6	22
TRADE	3	13	16
TOTAL	45	28	73

v = .52

For Muslims, however, the situation is different. As the moderate association between profit level and number of occupations for these women shows (V=.32, Table 20), the practice of having more than one occupation is consistently associated with higher profits. Primary occupation and number of occupations are also associated for Muslims (V=.35, Table 21), mat-makers tending to have one occupation only, food processors to have two or more. Here again, then, the choice of many women who might do food processing to keep to mat-making only probably reflects their lack of commitment to earning money. For, although no association was found between profit level and primary occupation when the original profit categories are used (V=.07, Table 22a), this table is in fact masking an association between the two variables at a lower level of profits. Table 22b shows that when all women earning more than ₦1.00 are included in the high profit category, a moderate association between profit level and primary occupation is found (V=.27), food processors earning more than mat-makers.

For Muslims, then, differences in number of occupations help to account for differences in profits; for the Christians this is only sometimes the case. From the overall perspective, however, the fact that generally more Christians than Muslims are involved in several occupations probably reflects again the somewhat higher commitment of Christian women towards money making, with of course the exception of some high earning Christians whose strategy appears to be to specialise in one activity in order to maximise their profits.

Before turning to look at the difference between Christian and Muslim women in terms of two other aspects of their economic roles - farming and spending patterns - a summary of what has been said about the differences between these two groups in profits and choice of primary occupation will be given.

We have seen that Christian women earn higher profits than Muslim women. This is explained by the type of occupations that Christians and Muslims typically follow and by the scale on which they pursue their occupations. These differences are in turn affected at least to some extent by variation in commitment to economic life, e.g. the choice of mat-making by Muslims and the avoidance of this as a sole primary occupation by Christian women, as well as the "underproductiveness" of many Muslim women. Religion also directly affects type of primary occupation as Muslim women are restricted by their seclusion to food processing and mat-making, the latter being a relatively unprofitable occupation. Finally, commitment to economic life is affected by religious affiliation, by the values and norms of the two religious groups. (See Figure 1, p. 96)

TABLE 20

PROFIT LEVEL BY NUMBER OF OCCUPATIONS
(MUSLIMS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
ONE	61	1	62
2 OR MORE	33	10	43
TOTAL	94	11	105

v = .32

TABLE 21

PRIMARY OCCUPATION BY NUMBER OF OCCUPATIONS
(MUSLIMS ONLY)

	MATS	FOODS	TOTAL
ONE	50	9	59
2 OR MORE	21	19	40
TOTAL	71	28	99

v = .33

TABLE 22a

PROFIT LEVEL BY PRIMARY OCCUPATION
(MUSLIMS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
MATS	62	5	67
FOODS	24	4	28
TOTAL	86	9	95

$v = .07$

TABLE 22b

PROFIT LEVEL*BY PRIMARY OCCUPATION
(MUSLIMS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
MATS	60	7	67
FOODS	18	10	28
TOTAL	78	17	95

$v = .27$

*Recategorized; See Text

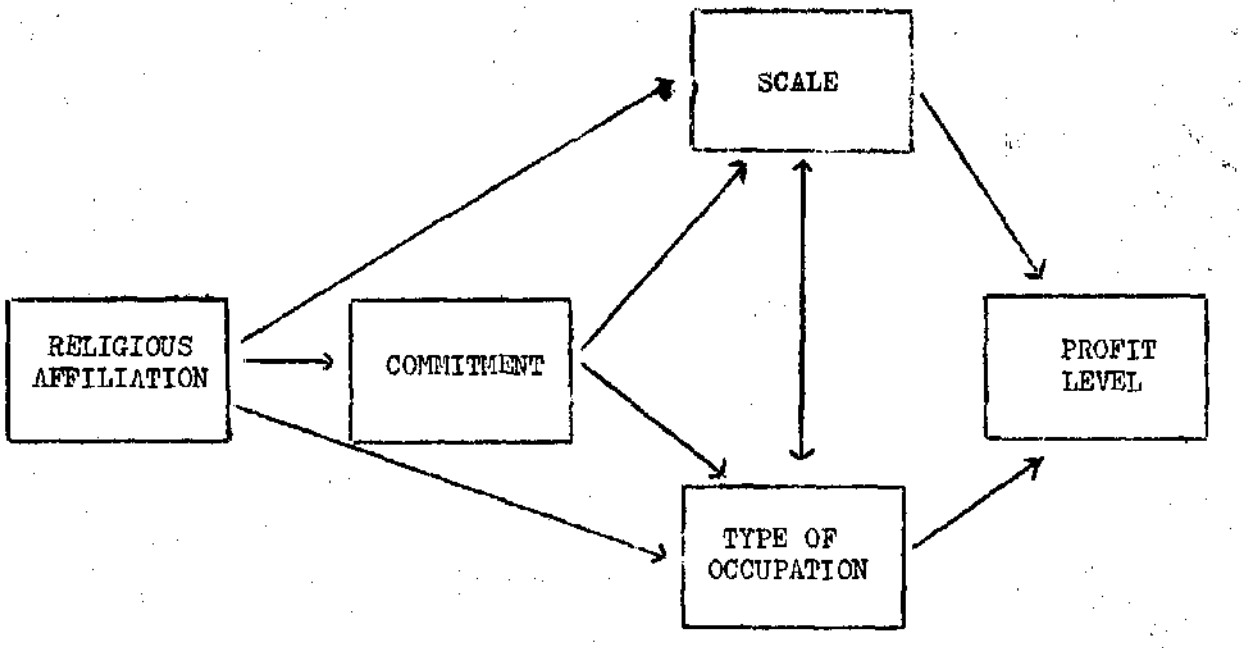
There were also rather less important arguments about the effect of number of occupations and initial capital on profit level.

It should be clear that although explanations in terms of the intrinsic character of the occupations pursued by Christian and Muslim women are important, a full understanding of the differences between Christian and Muslim women in terms of the economic roles we have been discussing so far cannot be realised without an explanation involving differences between the women themselves.

The discussion of other factors which are associated with religion and which might therefore have been thought to account for the associations between religion and female economic roles will be discussed below in a subsequent section.

FIGURE 3

MODEL OF WOMEN'S ECONOMIC ROLES



Farming

As one would expect, Christian and Muslim women in Mangu differ greatly with respect to farming. A strong association was found between farming and religion (V=.58, Table 23). Christian women tend to be involved in farming; the vast majority of Muslim women do not farm.

That seclusion is the factor accounting for the lack of involvement of Sura and Pyem Muslim women is shown in that many of the women whose husbands had recently become Muslims said they had been farming up to the time of their husbands' conversion to Islam.[1] Thus, it is safe to suggest that if these women had not gone into seclusion they would probably still farm. Hausa women in Mangu have never been known to farm, most Hausa women being secluded.

However, this factor of seclusion and conversion to Islam is but a superficial explanation of why Muslim women in Mangu do not farm, because there is evidence that Muslim women in other areas are in fact involved in farming activities. (See Hill, 1972:279.) The underlying question here then is why, in Mangu, affiliation with the Islamic faith means wife seclusion. Only when this question is answered can one have a deeper explanation of why Muslim women in Mangu do not farm.

This issue of the variation in the application of the teachings of Islam has received very little attention by researchers. It is beyond the scope of this paper to attempt a full analysis of this issue but a few suggestions relevant to the Mangu situation can be made. One possible reason why Muslim women in Mangu are secluded and hence do not farm may be that the Hausa-Muslims who came to Mangu were primarily traders and not farmers, and therefore their wives did not farm either. And, perhaps, Sura and Pyem Muslims, whether they were farmers or not, copied this pattern of secluding their wives in order to show they were "real" Muslims. Related to this are considerations of prestige; the prestige of both husband and wife seems to be raised by the wife's seclusion and dependence upon her husband. Finally, it may also be that Muslim women in Mangu do not farm because, as we have seen, their husbands tend to be of high socio-economic status and therefore can afford to pay others to farm for them. This would not explain, however, why even the wives of poor Muslims do not seem to farm.

This question of the differing applications of Muslim teachings in terms of wife seclusion is crucial for an understanding of the economic roles of Muslim women and deserves careful consideration in future research on this subject.

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1. Recall that in 1965 many Mangu residents became Muslims.

TABLE 23

FARMING BY RELIGION

	YES	NO	TOTAL
CHRISTIAN	60.5% (49)	39.5% (32)	100.0% (81)
MUSLIM	6.4% (7)	93.6% (102)	100.0% (109)
TOTAL	29.5% (56)	70.5% (134)	100.0% (190)

v = .58

TABLE 24

PROVISION BY RELIGION

	LOW PROVISION	HIGH PROVISION	TOTAL
CHRISTIAN	53.1% (43)	46.9% (38)	100.0% (81)
MUSLIM	92.7% (101)	7.3% (8)	100.0% (109)
TOTAL	75.8% (144)	24.2% (46)	100.0% (190)

v = .45

Provision and Other Spending Patterns

So far in this chapter differences between Christians and Muslims in terms of their productive economic activities have been the major issue. In this section, however, attention will be turned towards consumption roles, and the ways in which Christian and Muslim women use their earnings will be compared and contrasted.

First of all, as noted above, the women of these two religious groups differ very much with respect to their contribution to the support of the family. A moderate, although almost strong, association was found between provision and religion (V=.45, Table 24), Christian women tending to be higher providers than Muslim women. As this table shows, 47 per cent of all Christian women are in the high provision category while only 7 per cent of all Muslims are in that category (that is, 8 out of 109 women).

One might think that provision correlates with profits and that this explains the difference between Christian and Muslim provision scores. However, this does not appear to be the case, for although a weak association between provision and profits was found for the total sample (V=.20, Table 25), this association is largely a function of religion; when religion is controlled, this association disappears. For Christians only there is no association between provision and profit level (V=.06, Table 26) and amongst Muslims, only one of the eight high providers is a high earner. This lack of association between provision and profit level will be discussed below.

Another factor which the reader might consider to be the cause of the difference between Christian and Muslim provider roles is the socio-economic status of their husbands, for it will be recalled that more Muslim women in Mangu have high status husbands than Christian women. However, as will be seen in the next chapter, provision and husband's socio-economic status are associated for neither the Muslim

TABLE 25

PROVISION BY PROFIT LEVEL

	LOW PROVISION	HIGH PROVISION	TOTAL
LOW PROFIT	115	29	144
HIGH PROFIT	23	17	40
TOTAL	138	46	184

v = .20

TABLE 26

PROVISION BY PROFIT LEVEL
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	LOW PROVISION	HIGH PROVISION	TOTAL
LOW PROFIT	26	22	48
HIGH PROFIT	13	16	29
TOTAL	39	38	77

v = .06

nor the Christian samples.[1] The reason why this is so is at least in part related to the fact that "provision" is a measure of the proportion of the family's needs a woman provides, not the absolute value of what she provides. As with profit level, this issue of the lack of association between provision and husband's status will be discussed in a later chapter.

The factor which offers a more plausible explanation for this association between provision and religion has already been mentioned above - the difference in the teachings of the Islamic and Christian faiths in the area towards the role of women as providers for the family. Islam allocates little to no provider role to the wife, placing the burden of meeting the needs of the family on the husband alone. Money earned by the wife is entirely her own and is to be used for her personal wants; she is not expected to use her earnings to help in supporting the family. (See Dry, 1949: 159)

The Christian faith, as expressed by the EKAS Church, on the other hand, stresses the "helpmate" role of wife to husband, and women are encouraged to earn money in order to help their husbands support the family. Women who make no attempt to earn money and to assist their husbands are spoken to by other female members of the Church and are told of their responsibilities to do so; the women who work hard and are therefore able to contribute substantially to the support of the family are respected for their endeavours.

Ideally, then, Muslim women are not supposed to use their own earnings for the basic upkeep of the family. With very few exceptions, this norm appears to be upheld, although there was the obvious problem of measurement: as it is considered socially unacceptable for a Muslim woman to give much help to her husband, women who did so might not admit it. And, the survey approach of this study did not allow for the checking of women's responses on this issue. Some of the Muslim women did say they bought at times such items as soup ingredients or snacks for themselves or their children with their own money but in general it appears that, in Mangu, the Muslim women contribute very little to the needs of the family.[2] Many Muslim women

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1. See below Table 47, p. 133 and Table 93, p. 174 respectively.

2. This finding agrees with those of Simmons (Unpublished:5) and Pittin (Unpublished:19) on this issue. See also Dry (1949:159).

seemed in fact proud of their lack of contribution to the family's support as this is a measure of their husbands' wealth and ability to provide for them; to have to assist their husbands would be shameful for both husband and wife as this would indicate the husband's inability to fulfill his male role as provider.

If Muslim women do not contribute to the support of the family, then on what do they spend their money? The two most important consumption items identified by Muslim women in Mangu were clothes and gifts for friends and relatives. Many Muslim women said that one of their major needs was clothing beyond that provided by their husbands. Two themes emerged from discussions about this. It was commonly thought that demands had risen, and that women were no longer satisfied with one or two inexpensive wrappers. Secondly, there appeared to be a fair amount of clothes competition and many women felt they must buy new and expensive wrappers to keep up to the standards of their friends. This increased demand is felt for their children as well, and, thus, Muslim women use much of their earnings in buying extra clothing for themselves and their children.

The second major way in which Muslim women in Mangu use their money is in buying gifts to give to other women. It was mentioned in the literature review that Hausa Muslims, as well as Muslim women of other ethnic groups, are often involved in gift-giving relationships between close friends and relatives in which gifts must be presented on special ceremonial occasions such as the birth or marriage of a child. Many, although not all, of the Muslim women in Mangu have one or more close friends with whom they have this gift-giving relationship. Also, these women are obliged to give gifts to relatives at the appropriate times. Thus, much of the income of Muslim women in Mangu is directed towards the maintenance of social ties through gift-giving.

Muslim women in Mangu also use their money to accumulate enamel bowls, china, etc., which are intended mainly as dowries for their daughters, and smaller items such as pomade, soap and plaiting threads are also purchased by some Muslim women with their own money. However, these expenditures did not appear to be of foremost importance to the women; most Muslim women identified clothing and gifts as the

most significant items on which they used their earnings.[1]

The spending patterns of Christian women in Mangu are in most ways, though not in all ways, different from those of Muslims. First, as mentioned above, most Christian women take an active role in providing for their families. Almost all Christian women are either partially or totally responsible for soup ingredients and many help in buying grains and tubers as well. Christian women usually clothe themselves and also help in buying the basic clothing for their children. Many Christian women assist their husbands with the children's school fees.

Generally, the Christian woman is working in cooperation with her husband to meet the family's needs. However, there were several cases in which the woman had totally taken over the support of the family because the husband had ceased to be the provider. Related to this is a slightly more wide-spread phenomenon: some Christian men, when they stop farming, do not necessarily use the money they earn from their non-farming occupations to buy the food for the family which previously would have come from the farm. In these cases, additional economic pressure is placed upon the woman as she must provide all the food for the family. However, this is not generally the situation; in most cases husband and wife each contribute what they can to the family exchequer.

Christian women appear in general to be somewhat more aware and concerned than Muslim women about the rising costs of living, the pressures to expand consumption of manufactured items, and the need to educate their children, and they seem to be working hard to assist their husbands to meet these new demands. Far from being ashamed of their provider roles, Christian women are proud to tell of the extent to which they, through their earnings, can help their husbands; there seems to be almost a competitive spirit amongst Christian women in terms of their contribution to the support of the family.

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1. That gifts are a major expenditure for Hausa Muslim women is not surprising, given the great importance of gift-giving in Hausa society generally. (See Smith, 1954). What is notable, however, is that Pyem and Sura Muslims are also involved in these gift-giving networks although these are not a part of their traditional cultures. The significance of this will be discussed in Chapter 7 in the section on Christian and Muslim role models.

Besides their contribution to the family's needs, the other major item on which Christian women spend their money is extra clothing, and in this aspect they are similar to Muslim women. Christian women also spoke of the rising demand for new and more expensive clothing and of the need to keep up with their friends in terms of this. In recent years groups of friends have started buying similar types of cloth, often quite expensive, to wear on special occasions and many Christian women participate in those friendship groups.[1] Hence, for both Christians and Muslims, clothing is an important consumption item.

Relatively few Christian women participate in the form of gift-giving found amongst Muslim women, and even if they do, the value of the gifts exchanged is much less. Thus, gift-giving is not an important way in which Christians spend their earnings.

Finally, a question might be raised as to the financial obligations of Christian women to the Church. A woman is expected to contribute at least ₦0.03 a week to the Women's Fellowship, above and beyond her contribution to the general offering. Women must also buy two Church uniforms, one for local and one for regional Church functions, but the cloth for these is inexpensive and hence, most women can easily afford to buy them. Church expenditures, then, do not represent a major drain on the earnings of Christian women.

From the above paragraphs, then, we can see that Muslim and Christian women differ greatly in terms of their roles as consumers. Christian women use their earnings for basic needs as well as for some luxury items such as extra clothing. Muslim women, assured of their basic support from their husbands, spend their money largely on extra clothing and gift-giving. These two items are indeed perceived as needs by Muslim women, but objectively they cannot be evaluated as being as vital for survival as many of the items on which Christian women spend their earnings. In other words, relative to the Christian women in Mangu, Muslim women have somewhat more limited and less vital economic goals and this, we have seen above, contributes at least somewhat to their lower commitment to economic life.

It is interesting to note that the differences in spending patterns between Christian and Muslim women in Mangu parallel the differences Simmons (Unpublished: 9) points out between Hausa men and women,

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1. See below, p. [illegible], for further mention of this.

namely, that Hausa men are expected to use their resources to maintain the communal life of the household whereas Hausa women maintain individual relationships with their's. Likewise, Christian women in Mangu play an active role in providing for the communal needs of the family whereas Muslim women use their earnings either for their individual needs or for the maintenance of personal social ties through gift-giving.

Other Factors

Throughout the above analysis of the difference between the economic roles of Christian and Muslim women, no mention was made of how these women differ in terms of other factors such as age, ethnicity, husband's status, etc. If Christian and Muslim women were found to differ significantly with respect to some of these factors, it might be argued that these factors might at least to some extent be responsible for the variation in economic roles between Christian and Muslim women. In this section, then, those other factors which were found to be associated with religion will be identified and their possible effects on the variation in economic roles will be explored.

Christian women in Mangu tend to be slightly older than Muslim women (V=.16, Table 27). However, when age is controlled the relationship between profit level and religion remains almost the same.[1] Controlling for age does not affect the relationship between primary occupation and religion for older women; this relationship could not be tested for younger women, but we shall see below that young Christian and Muslim women typically do different occupations. Thus, we can conclude that differences in age amongst Christian and Muslim women do not account for differences in terms of profits or type of primary occupation.[2]

We have already seen that there is a correlation between religion and ethnic group in Mangu. A strong association was found between these factors in the study sample (V=.54, Table 28), the vast majority

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1. For the Cramer's V's for all relationships discussed in this section in which certain factors have been controlled, see Tables 34 and 35, p. 112 and p. 113 respectively.

2. Very few Muslim women farm or are high providers. For this reason the effect of age (and all other factors associated with religion) on the relationships between religion and both farming and provision could not be investigated.

of Christians being Suras while Muslin women are represented in all three of the main ethnic groups in Mangu - Hausa, Pyem and Sura. When only Sura women are considered, the relationship between primary occupation and religion remains the same. The association between profit level and religion still stands when ethnic group is controlled, but it is somewhat weakened. Thus, although Christian and Muslin Sura women do differ with respect to profits, this difference is less within the Sura group than when all ethnic groups are considered. This weakening of the association may well be due to the fact that the vast majority of Pyem women are mat-makers, and mat-makers tend to earn very low profits. Thus, although controlling for ethnicity does affect somewhat the association between profits and religion, still, this factor does not fully account for differences between Christian and Muslin women in terms of either profits or type of occupation.

It was also discussed above that husband's status and religion are correlated in Mangu. So too with the study sample (V=.24, Table 29); Christian women tend to be married to low status men and Muslin women to be married to high status men. When husband's status is controlled, the association between profits and religion still stands, although it is weaker for women married to low status men than for women married to high status men. The relationship between type of primary occupation and religion for women with high status husbands could not be investigated, but for women with low status husbands, the association between these factors is still strong, although a little weaker than when all women are considered. It appears, therefore, that the difference between Christian and Muslim women in terms of profits and type of primary occupation is not merely a function of differences in husband's status.

As one would expect, Christian women in Mangu tend to be monogamously married whereas Muslim women tend to be polygynously married (V=.55, Table 30). This association does not account for the differences between the profits of Christian and Muslim women, for when this factor is controlled, the associations between religion and both profit level and primary occupation remains almost the same. The numbers in certain categories were too few to test the relationship between primary occupation and religion when monogamy/polygyny is controlled.

TABLE 27

AGE BY RELIGION

	YOUNG	OLD	TOTAL
CHRISTIAN	20	59	79
MUSLIM	45	62	107
TOTAL	65	121	186

v = .26

TABLE 28

ETHNIC GROUP BY RELIGION

	HAUSA	PYEM	SURA	TOTAL
CHRISTIAN	0	3	68	71
MUSLIM	32	23	44	99
TOTAL	32	26	112	170

v = .54

TABLE 29

HUSBAND'S SES BY RELIGION

	LOW SES	HIGH SES	TOTAL
CHRISTIAN	56	23	79
MUSLIM	48	58	106
TOTAL	104	81	185

v = .24

TABLE 30

MONOGAMY/POLYGYNY BY RELIGION

	MONOGAMOUS	POLYGYNOUS	TOTAL
CHRISTIAN	61	19	80
MUSLIM	21	85	106
TOTAL	82	104	186

v = .55

It is not surprising that Christian women in Mangu are more likely to have some western education than are Muslim women (V=.21, Table 31). Here again, this factor offers no explanation of the variation between the profits of Christian and Muslim women because when western education is controlled, this relationship is not significantly altered. The association between primary occupation and religion for women with some western education is the same as for the total sample; the association between primary occupation and religion could not be tested for women with no western education. Here again, then, it seems as if differences in western education do not explain the variation between either the profits or the primary occupation of Christian and Muslim women.

Christian husbands are more likely to have received some western education than Muslim husbands (V=.29, Table 32). When husband's western education is controlled, the relationship between primary occupation and religion is even stronger than for the total sample. The numbers were too few to calculate the Cramer's V for the relationship between primary occupation and religion when only women whose husbands have some education are considered. Although the association between profits and religion still stands when husband's western education is controlled, it is weaker for women married to husbands with some western education than for women married to men with no western education. It is not clear why this is so; we shall see below that the effect of western education on female economic roles is puzzling in many instances and remains an unanswered question. We can conclude from this data, however, that differences in husband's western education do not account for differences amongst Christians and Muslims in terms of occupation and profits.

In the study sample older Christian women tend slightly to have more children than older Muslim women (V=.16, Table 33). When this variable is controlled, no Cramer's V could be calculated for the relationship between primary occupation and religion. In terms of profits, controlling for number of children appears to have no effect upon the relationship between profits and religion. Thus, it would seem safe to conclude that differences in number of children have nothing to offer to the understanding of the difference between the profits of Christian and Muslim women.

TABLE 31

WOMAN'S WESTERN EDUCATION BY RELIGION

	NONE	SOME	TOTAL
CHRISTIAN	61	20	81
MUSLIM	100	9	109
TOTAL	161	29	190

v = .21

TABLE 32

HUSBAND'S WESTERN EDUCATION BY RELIGION

	NONE	SOME	TOTAL
CHRISTIAN	45	30	75
MUSLIM	88	14	102
TOTAL	133	44	177

v = .29

TABLE 33

NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY RELIGION
(OLD WOMEN ONLY)

	FEW	MANY	TOTAL
CHRISTIAN	22	37	59
MUSLIM	34	28	62
TOTAL	56	65	121

v = .16

TABLE 34

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PROFIT LEVEL AND RELIGION

1.	TOTAL SAMPLE	v = .31
2.	SURA WOMEN	v = .23
3a.	YOUNG WOMEN	v = .27
3b.	OLD WOMEN	v = .31
4a.	WOMEN WITH LOW STATUS HUSBANDS	v = .20
4b.	WOMEN WITH HIGH STATUS HUSBANDS	v = .47
5a.	WOMEN WITH NO WESTERN EDUCATION	v = .25
5b.	WOMEN WITH SOME WESTERN EDUCATION	v = .34
6a.	MONOGAMOUSLY MARRIED WOMEN	v = .33
6b.	POLYGYNOUSLY MARRIED WOMEN	v = .27
7a.	WOMEN WHOSE HUSBANDS HAVE NO WESTERN EDUCATION	v = .36
7b.	WOMEN WHOSE HUSBANDS HAVE SOME WESTERN EDUCATION	v = .19
8a.	OLD WOMEN WITH FEW CHILDREN	v = .26
8b.	OLD WOMEN WITH MANY CHILDREN	v = .29

Note: See Table C, p. 216, for the figures for these relationships.

TABLE 35

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRIMARY OCCUPATION AND RELIGION

1.	TOTAL SAMPLE	v = .58
2.	SURA WOMEN	v = .58
3a.	YOUNG WOMEN	No Cramer's v
3b.	OLD WOMEN	v = .56
4a.	WOMEN WITH LOW STATUS HUSBANDS	v = .48
4b.	WOMEN WITH HIGH STATUS HUSBANDS	No Cramer's v
5a.	WOMEN WITH NO WESTERN EDUCATION	No Cramer's v
5b.	WOMEN WITH SOME WESTERN EDUCATION	v = .57
6a.	MONOGAMOUSLY MARRIED WOMEN	No Cramer's v
6b.	POLYGYNOUSLY MARRIED WOMEN	No Cramer's v
7a.	WOMEN WHOSE HUSBANDS HAVE NO WESTERN EDUCATION	v = .69
7b.	WOMEN WHOSE HUSBANDS HAVE SOME WESTERN EDUCATION	No Cramer's v
8a.	OLD WOMEN WITH FEW CHILDREN	No Cramer's v
8b.	OLD WOMEN WITH MANY CHILDREN	No Cramer's v

Note: See Table C, p. 216, for the figures for these relationships.

Young Christian women do not tend to have more children than young Muslim women (V=.07, Table 36), and there is also no association between length of residence in Mangu and religion (V=.00, Table 37). For this reason one would not expect these factors to be responsible for the differences between Christian and Muslim women in terms of either type of occupation or profits.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen that in all aspects of their economic roles Christian and Muslim women in Mangu differ greatly. We have also seen that these women differ in terms of a variety of other factors as well. Given the strong association between religion and most of the variables of this study, it seems likely that the cross-tabulations of the dependent variables with the independent variables for the total sample may well produce results that are misleading in many, if not most, cases because of an interaction with religion. We have already seen above how religion interacts with the relationship between profit level and number of occupations, and to really understand what was happening, one had to look at this relationship separately for the Christians and the Muslims.

Thus, it is only by analysing the Christian and Muslim samples separately that one can achieve an understanding of the effect of factors other than religion on the economic roles of women in Mangu. The next two chapters, then, will be devoted to the analysis of Christian and Muslim economic roles, these two groups of women being considered separately.

TABLE 36

NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY RELIGION
(YOUNG WOMEN ONLY)

	FEW	MANY	TOTAL
CHRISTIAN	16	4	20
MUSLIM	40	5	45
TOTAL	56	9	65

v = .07

TABLE 37

RESIDENCE - MANGU BY RELIGION

	SHORT	LONG	TOTAL
CHRISTIAN	42	37	79
MUSLIM	59	49	108
TOTAL	101	86	187

v = .00

CHAPTER 5

MUSLIM WOMEN IN MANGU

CHAPTER 5

Muslim Women in Mangu

In the previous chapter attention was focused on the differences between the economic roles of Christian and Muslim women. Although this variation between the women of the two religious groups is perhaps the most striking issue concerning the economic roles of women in Mangu, still, as we have seen throughout the above chapter, there are considerable differences amongst the economic roles of both Christians and Muslims when these two groups are taken separately. However, as we shall see below, the variation amongst Christians is far greater than that amongst Muslims. The purpose of these next two chapters is to analyse these differences in economic roles within the two religious groups and to compare and contrast these analyses; as we shall see, some factors which are important in explaining variations amongst Christians are not useful in the analysis of differences amongst Muslims and vice versa. This chapter will deal with Muslim women and the next will be focused on Christian women.

Perhaps the most notable feature of Muslim economic roles in Mangu is their relative lack of variation. In this chapter we shall see that Muslim women appear to be a rather homogeneous group with respect to their levels of profit, farming activities and provider roles. Greater variation is found amongst these women in terms of their type of primary occupation, but this variation, as with the smaller variation in profits, appears to be correlated with only a few of the study variables.

Primary Occupation

TABLE 38 PRIMARY OCCUPATIONS OF MUSLIM WOMEN

MATS	BEER	FOODS	TRADE	TOTAL
(71)	(1)	(28)	(3)	(103)
68.9%	1.0%	27.2%	2.9%	100.0%

Turning first to the differences between Muslin women in terms of type of primary occupation, Table 38 shows that amongst those Muslin women included in this analysis, 69 per cent have mat-making as their primary occupation, that a sizable minority are food processors (27 per cent) and that there are three Muslin traders and one Muslin beer-brewer. For the purpose of this analysis of primary occupation, the one brewer and three traders have been excluded as they are too few to form a separate variable category and it was felt that they might be sufficiently unique cases to cloud the more general relationships between this variable and the other variables of the study. The discussion of this variable, then, will be directed towards answering the question of why some Muslin women in Mangu have mat-making as their primary occupation while others are food processors.

One factor which helps in explaining this variation in primary occupation amongst Muslin women is ethnic group. A moderate association was found between these two factors (V=.37, Table 39). Hausa women tend to be food processors, Pyem women to be mat-makers, while Sura women are associated with neither occupation. This finding is understandable in the light of what has already been said above about the history of these occupations. Pyem women clearly keep to the Sura/Pyem tradition of mat-making. Hausa women are more active in the traditionally "Hausa" female occupation - food processing - than women of the other two ethnic groups. And, the food items produced by Hausa women are bean cakes, cooked meals, and groundnut oil, all of which have been described above as Hausa introductions to the area. Hausa women also have mat-making as their primary occupation but it would be wrong to assume that this participation in mat-making reflects an adoption of "Sura/Pyem" female economic roles

TABLE 39

PRIMARY OCCUPATION BY ETHNIC GROUP
(MUSLIMS ONLY)

	MATS	FOODS	TOTAL
HAUSA	14	14	28
[redacted] PYEM	18	1	19
[redacted] SURA	33	10	43
TOTAL	65	25	90

v = .37

TABLE 40

PRIMARY OCCUPATION BY AGE
(MUSLIMS ONLY)

	MATS	FOODS	TOTAL
YOUNG	37	5	42
OLD	32	23	55
TOTAL	69	28	97

v = .30

on the part of Hausa women, for Hausa women in other areas are also known to make mats.[1] It is interesting to note, however, that Hausa women in Mangu have adopted the Sura/Pyem style of mat-making.

Muslim Sura women do both mat-making and food processing as primary occupations. It might be thought that this indicates a greater degree of adoption of "Hausa" economic roles amongst the Sura than amongst the Pyem. However, when one looks closely at the type of food items prepared by Muslim Suras, it can be seen that 7 out of the 10 food processors make kunu, a drink which was made in the Mangu area long before the arrival of the Hausas; only three women are active in what might be called the "Hausa" forms of food processing. Although the number of Sura Muslim food processors in the sample is small, the pattern exhibited here seems to be typical amongst Sura Muslim women in Mangu, i.e., that Sura Muslims have not really adopted "Hausa" female roles in terms of their economically productive activities.

To some degree, that certain occupations are associated with certain ethnic groups needs no explanation beyond noticing that it was these ethnic groups that first brought these particular occupations to Mangu. But, in the case of Pyem women, there appears to be another factor at work as well which helps in explaining why the vast majority of these women are mat-makers. We shall see below that Muslim mat-makers are more likely than food processors to be married to high status men. And, although no figures are available to prove it, it appears that many high status Muslim men in Mangu are married to Pyem women; hence the relationship amongst Muslim women between mat-making and Pyem ethnicity.

Another factor which appears to contribute to an understanding of differences in primary occupation amongst Muslim women is age. A moderate association was found between primary occupation and age (V=.30, Table 40), with younger women tending to do mat-making and older women tending to do food processing.[2] Several explanations of this association can be offered. It may be that older women are more active in food processing in order to earn the slightly higher profits which we have seen can be made in that occupation as compared to mat-making, the reason for this being that older women are likely to have

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1. For example, mat-making is the major female occupation in a Hausa village outside Kano (Pittin, personal communication).

2. Recall that both Hill (1969: 401-402) and Pittin (Unpublished: 19) also found that older Hausa women were more likely to be food processors than younger women.

greater financial commitments than younger women.[1] Their children may well be more numerous and more mature, thereby placing a greater burden on the women to buy extras and to accumulate dowries for their daughters. Also, and perhaps more importantly, older women are more involved in gift-giving relationships than younger women.[2] However, as will be discussed below, no association was found between profit level and age amongst Muslim women (V=.11, Table 47 below, p.133). Hence, this explanation of the greater participation of older women in food processing in terms of their heavier financial commitments is not given the support one might have expected, given that profits and primary occupation are both associated with age. Although the relationship between age and profits is a very weak one, at least the direction is what one would have expected - that young women tend to earn lower profits than old women. The reason for the weak relationship between these factors will be discussed below.

Another possible explanation of this association between primary occupation and age lies in the fact that, as mentioned above, food processing on the part of a Muslim woman requires that she have access to a child old enough to sell her products for her. It might be argued that younger women would be less likely than older women to have children old enough to act as sellers for them, and hence the low participation of young Muslim women in food processing. However, the child selling a woman's products need not be her own and, as mentioned above, it appears that in most households some child would be available to carry out this task. Thus, the availability of a seller does not really provide an adequate explanation of this association between primary occupation and age.

Perhaps the most plausible explanation of this association[3] is that which concerns the expectations of a "new wife" in a Muslim household. Young women are more likely to be newly married for the first time than older women, and a newly married woman is not expected

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1. Recall that profit level and primary occupation were found to be moderately associated for Muslim women, mat-makers tending to have lower profits than food processors (V=.27, Table 22b, p.95).

2. As women reach old age, say fifty years or more, their financial commitments do taper off. However, the reader should bear in mind that in this sample the majority of "old" women are between 30 and 45 years of age.

3. I am indebted to R. Pittin for this explanation.

to have any form of money-making activity for at least the first year of marriage. This lack of profit-making activity serves to increase the economic and psychological dependency of the new wife upon her husband and is part of her rite de passage from her role as a young girl who wanders freely, selling products made by her mother or other women, to her role of wife within seclusion. This explains, then, why so many young Muslin women are mat-makers rather than food processors. For, as we have seen, the latter occupation is usually identified with profit-making whereas mat-making, generally a very low profit occupation, is in some if not many cases regarded as a pastime rather than a profit-orientated activity.

In the literature review, the debate concerning the effects of a Hausa man's socio-economic status on his wife's status was mentioned. Yeld argues that the socio-economic status of a woman is related to that of her husband (Yeld, 1960) whereas Smith argues that there is no relationship between the status of men and women in (Muslin) Hausa society (1959). Yeld holds that crafts are done by the wives of high status Hausa men whereas food processing is done by the wives of low status men (Yeld, 1960: 127-128), and Pittin gives evidences from Katsina to support this (Unpublished: 19). The findings of this study with respect to the relationships between primary occupation and husband's status agree with those of Yeld and Pittin. As mentioned above, an association (albeit a weak one) was found between primary occupation and husband's status (V=.15, Table 41), with mat-makers tending slightly to be married to high status men and food processors to be married to low status men. Mat-making is considered to be a more prestigious occupation than food processing both because less physical labour is involved and because profits are lower. (Recall that the low profits of mat-producers make them virtually totally dependent upon their husbands, and this dependence gives high status to both the woman herself and to her husband.)[1]

With the exception of number of occupations, which will be discussed below under profit level, none of the other variables of this study were found to be associated with differences in primary occupation amongst Muslin women - number of children, monogamy/polygyny, western education, length of stay in Mangu, wife rank, husband's

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1. There is not, however, a negative relationship between profits and husband's status for a Muslin woman; there is in fact no association between these variables. The reasons for this lack of association will be discussed below.

TABLE 41

PRIMARY OCCUPATION BY HUSBAND'S SES
(MUSLIMS ONLY)

	MATS	FOODS	TOTAL
LOW SES	29	15	44
HIGH SES	42	10	52
TOTAL	71	25	96

v = .15

western education, and amount of initial capital.[1] Thus, it appears that the only factors which really offer any understanding of the differences between Muslim mat-makers and food processors are ethnicity, age, and husband's status. Mat-makers tend not to be Hausa (i.e. to be either Pyem or Sura), to be young and to be married to high status men whereas food processors tend to be either Hausa or Sura, to be older, and to be married to low status husbands.

Profit Level

TABLE 42 PROFITS OF MUSLIM WOMEN

LOW	HIGH	TOTAL
(94)	(11)	(105)
89.5%	10.5%	100.0%

Having discussed the variation in type of primary occupation amongst Muslim women in Mangu, let us now turn to the analysis of differences amongst these women in terms of profit level. Table 42 shows that of those Muslim women included in the analysis, the vast majority earn low profits (90 per cent) while only a small minority earn high profits (10 per cent) when the original profit categories are used. With but one exception, none of the variables of this study were found to be associated with this small variation in profits amongst Muslims. As we have already seen, a moderate association was found amongst Muslim women between profit level and number of occupations (V=.32, Table 20 above, p. 94), with low earners tending to have one occupation only and high earners tending to have two or more occupations.

It was thought that perhaps significant variation in profit level amongst Muslim women might be found at a lower level of profits and for this reason the cross-valuations were redone using N1.01 rather than N2.01 as the lower limit of the high profit category. When this was done, 22 per cent of all women fell into our new "high" category and 78 per cent of all women fell into the new "low" category. However, this variation was still found to be associated with only a few of the other variables of this study and these associations are for the most part merely a reflection of the association between profit level and primary occupation which is found for Muslim women.

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1. The Cramer's V's for these relationships are presented in Table 47, p. 133.

This association between profit level and primary occupation using the new profit categories is moderate (V=.27, Table 22b above, p. 95), low earners tending to be mat-makers and high earners to be food processors. The relationship between profit level and number of occupations still stands when profits are recategorised (V=.47, Table 43), with high earners tending to have two or more occupations and low earners to have one occupation only. It is obvious here that additional occupations boost the incomes of Muslim women. And, recall that primary occupation and number of occupations were also found to be moderately associated for Muslim women (V=.33, Table 21 above, p. 94), with mat-makers tending to have only one occupation and food processors to have two or more. What is happening is clear: high profits tend to be earned by food processors who have two or more occupations while low profits tend to be earned by mat-makers who have one occupation only.

In order to determine whether the relationship between profits and primary occupation is merely a function of number of occupations, one would have to control for number of occupations. Because of the small sample size and because of the small variation in profits, these controls were not done. However, the information given above concerning the limitations on the scale of mat-production, the intrinsic unprofitability of the craft, and the average incomes per week of these two occupations all seem to indicate that even if number of occupations was found to partially account for variation in profits between the occupations, it would fail to do so entirely, considerations of the scale and profitability of the two occupations also being necessary to understand this association. However, as this question of the effect of number of occupations on the relationship between profits and primary occupation was not investigated, it can only be stated here that food processors do in fact tend to earn higher profits and to do more occupations than mat-makers.

Differences in profits amongst Muslim women were found to be associated with only two other variables of this study - ethnic group and wife rank. Profits and ethnic group were found to be weakly associated for Muslim women (V=.16, Table 44), with Hausa women tending to earn high profits, Pyem women to earn low profits, and Sura women to be associated with neither high nor low profits. Probably this reflects the association between profit level and primary occupation for, as we have seen, Hausa women tend to do food processing, the "higher" profit occupation and Pyem women tend to do mat-making,

TABLE 43

PROFIT LEVEL* BY NUMBER OF OCCUPATIONS
(MUSLIMS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
ONE	59	3	62
2 OR MORE	23	20	43
TOTAL	82	23	105

$v = .47$

* Recategorized; See Text

TABLE 44

PROFIT LEVEL* BY ETHNIC GROUP
(MUSLIMS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
HAUSA	27	4	31
FYEM	16	7	23
SURA	32	10	42
TOTAL	75	21	96

*Recategorized $v = .16$

the "lower" profit occupation, Sura women being involved in both of these occupations. No independent explanation of the association between ethnic group and profits outside of the correlation between type of occupation and ethnicity seems to present itself in the data. And, as we have seen, the relationship between type of primary occupation and ethnic group can be explained in terms of the different occupational traditions of these ethnic groups.

Profit level was also found to be weakly associated with wife rank (V=.15, Table 45), senior wives tending to have higher profits than those co-wives who are not senior. This correlation was also found amongst Yoruba women by Marshall (1964:233-234), but her explanation of this correlation is not relevant to the Mangu situation. Marshall argues that senior wives have more time to devote to their money-making activities than junior wives because the largest share of the domestic responsibilities within the household falls upon the junior wives. However, this explanation does not hold in Mangu as the household duties, especially those of cooking, are invariably divided equally amongst co-wives in Muslim families. Each woman must of course care for her own children, but time-consuming tasks such as the washing of clothes and fetching of water and firewood are done by none of the co-wives; these services are usually performed for payment by people outside the household.

It might have been argued that senior co-wives would be likely to be older than junior co-wives, and therefore have greater financial responsibilities, this difference in age accounting for differences in profits. Although there may be some truth in this, it has been mentioned that the data show no association between age and profits, and therefore much weight cannot be placed upon this explanation.

Another possible explanation of this association between profits and wife rank concerns the difference that was discussed above between expectations made of "new wives" and women who are not newly married in households within the Hausa Muslim culture. By virtue of her position as "senior wife", a woman must have been in the household for some time, in most cases one year at least. Hence, she would have passed through the period during which she, as a "new wife", would be expected to be economically unproductive. A certain proportion of "not senior" wives, however, must be "new wives", and must therefore be expected to have no profit-making activities. Nevertheless, it is understandable that this association between profit level and wife rank is a weak one because not all junior wives are

TABLE 45

PROFIT LEVEL* BY WIFE RANK
(MUSLIMS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
SENIOR	26	12	38
NOT SENIOR	35	7	42
TOTAL	61	19	80

v = .15

* Recategorized

"new wives" and therefore not all of them are subject to those restrictions. This difference in expectations, then, of newly married women as opposed to women who have been married for some time appears to offer a reasonable explanation of the relationship between profit level and wife rank amongst Muslim women.[1]

No association was found between profit level and the following variables: number of children, monogamy/polygyny, age, western education, length of residence in Mangu, husband's status, husband's western education, and amount of initial capital.[2] Thus, all we can discern from the data about the variation in profits amongst Muslim women is that high earners tend to be food processors, to have more than one occupation, to be Hausa, and possibly to be the senior wife amongst co-wives. Low earners, on the other hand, are likely to have mat-making as their sole occupation, to be Pyem, and possibly to be junior wives.

Farming

Muslim women in Mangu differ very little in terms of their participation in farming activities. As was seen above in Table 23, p.98 , 94 per cent of all Muslim women do not engage in farming activities and only 6 per cent do farm (that is, 7 out of 109 women). As the Muslim women who farm are so few in number, Cramer's V's for the cross-tabulation of this variable with other variables could not be calculated. However, a brief sketch of these women in terms of several factors will be presented.

First, all of these Muslim women who participated in farming activities were Suras. Three of them had food processing as their primary occupation and four of them were mat-makers. Five of these women earned high profits and two earned low profits; three had one occupation only and four had two or more occupations. Two of these women were married to high status men and five were married to low status men. The two married to high status men were young while those married to low status men were old. Finally, five of these Muslim women who farm were living with their husbands, one lived alone, and for one no answer to this question was given.

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1. Notice also that primary occupation and wife rank were not found to be associated. This is not surprising given the weak association between profit level and wife rank.

2. The Cramer's V's for these relationships are presented in Table 47, p.133 .

Provision

As with participation in farming, almost no variation was found amongst Muslim women in terms of their contribution to the needs of the family. Table 24 above, p.98 , shows that 93 per cent of all Muslim women fall into the low provision category whereas only 7 per cent (or 8 out of 109) are in the high provision category. This group of eight high providers was too small to allow for the calculation of Cramer's V's on tables on which this variable was cross-tabulated with other factors, and thus no explanations of this variation could be developed using the original provision categories. However, it was thought that greater variation in provision might be found at a lower provision level and for this reason cross-tabulations were done using the "less than husband but still substantial", score 3, as the lower limit of the high provision category. (See Table 3 , p. 51 , for the provision categories.)

However, there are only six Muslim women in this score 3 provision category, making only 14 "high" providers with this recategorisation. That this is so emphasises the fact that Muslim women are consistently low providers. The one factor which explains the small variation in provision is straightforward: provision is moderately associated with husband's residence (V=.42, Table 46). High providers tend to be living on their own whilst low providers tend to be living with their husbands. Provision was also cross-tabulated with ethnic group, age, husband's status, profit level and primary occupation but was found to be associated with none of those factors.[1]

Conclusion

Although some variation in the economic roles of Muslim women in Mangu does exist, and although certain factors can be identified as possibly accounting for that variation, still, the general impression one receives when looking at Muslim women in Mangu is that they are a relatively homogeneous group in terms of their economic roles. That Muslim women are all low providers and do not farm is as one would expect, given the practice of wife seclusion amongst Muslims in Mangu. What is notable here, however, is that the great majority of these women are low earning mat makers and even those

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1. The Cramer's V's for these relationships are presented in Table 47.

who do food processing do not vary greatly in terms of profits (using the original profit categories).

It might be suggested that this lack of variation amongst Muslim women in terms of their productive economic roles is due to the fact that they share the common economic position of being assured by the Islamic faith, as practiced in Mangu, of receiving their basic support from their husbands. However, it is obvious that in economic situations different from that of Mangu, these patterns may well differ and there may be ways and motivations for women within the Hausa Islamic culture to participate on a much larger scale in the economic world. In comparison to such large urban centres as Jos and Kano, Mangu offers Muslim women far fewer opportunities to earn high profits and places far less economic demands upon these women. Relatively limited opportunities to earn money and limited economic goals, then, are two factors which contribute to our understanding of the lack of variation in the economic roles of Muslim women in Mangu.

TABLE 46

PROVISION* BY HUSBAND/WIFE'S RESIDENCE
(MUSLIMS ONLY)

	LOW PROVISION	HIGH PROVISION	TOTAL
LIVES WITH HUSBAND	91	7	98
LIVES ALONE	4	6	10
TOTAL	95	13	108

$v = .42$

* Recatogorized; See Text

TABLE 47

RELATIONSHIPS AMONGST SELECTED VARIABLES
(MUSLIM WOMEN ONLY)[1]

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	DEPENDENT VARIABLES		
	PRIMARY OCCUPATION	PROFIT* LEVEL	PROVISION*
1. AGE	v = .30	v = .11	v = .08
2. ETHNIC GROUP	v = .37	v = .16	v = .08
3. NUMBER OF CHILDREN (OLD WOMEN)	v = .04	v = .02	Table not Formulated
4. MONOGAMY/POLYGYNY	v = .00	v = .05	Table not Formulated
5. WESTERN EDUCATION	No Cramer's v	v = .04	Table not Formulated
6. RESIDENCE - MANGU	v = .05	v = .08	Table not Formulated
7. WIFE RANK	v = .04	v = .15	Table not Formulated
8. HUSBAND'S SES	v = .15	v = .01	v = .06
9. HUSBAND'S WESTERN EDUCATION	v = .07	v = .05	Table not Formulated
10. AMOUNT OF INITIAL CAPITAL	v = .12	v = .06	Table not Formulated
11. PRIMARY OCCUPATION	—	v = .27	v = .10
12. PROFIT LEVEL*	—	—	v = .03

* Recategorized; See Text

[1]The purpose of this table is to show the v's for those relationships in which no association is found; the v's for these relationships are underlined. Other v's have been included for completeness. See Table D.1, p. 217, for frequencies.

CHAPTER 6

CHRISTIAN WOMEN IN MANGU

CHAPTER 6

CHRISTIAN WOMEN IN MANGU

Introduction

Far greater differences in economic roles were found amongst Christian women in Mangu than amongst the Muslim women. Christian women differ substantially in terms of type of primary occupation, profit levels, farming activities and provision. In this chapter, then, the factors accounting for this variation amongst Christian women will be discussed, and points of similarity and contrast between this analysis and the above analysis of differences amongst Muslim economic roles will be noted.

Primary Occupation

TABLE 48 PRIMARY OCCUPATIONS OF CHRISTIAN WOMEN

MATS	BEER	FOODS	TRADE	TOTAL
(16)	(20)	(23)	(17)	(76)
21.0%	26.3%	30.3%	22.4%	100.0%

Once again, let us begin with the discussion of differences amongst Christian women in terms of their type of primary occupation. Christian women are involved in a wider variety of occupations than Muslim women. As we have seen above, Muslim women are for the most part confined to mat-making and food processing; the two additional occupations done by Christians are beer-brewing and trading. In the study sample, as Table 48 shows, Christian women are almost equally distributed over the four occupational categories. These figures may however be somewhat misleading because no estimates of the proportion of Mangu women in each category could be made and the object of sample selection with respect to this variable, as noted above, was to ensure that sufficient women in each occupational category were interviewed to allow for the analysis of this variable. Traders, for example, may be slightly over-represented in the sample. Despite this problem, Table 48 nevertheless shows that substantial numbers of Christian women were found in each of these four occupational categories.

In the study sample, as in Mangu, approximately 80 per cent of all Christian women are members of the EKAS Church. Beer brewing is thought of in Mangu as a non-EKAS Christian occupation and our sample bears this out in that whereas 9 out of the 13 non-EKAS Christians brew beer (69 per cent), only 18 per cent of all EKAS Christian women are involved in this occupation (Table 49). This is undoubtedly related to the fact that the EKAS Church seems to be more strict about prohibiting its members from brewing beer than the other Christian denominations represented in Mangu.

Another point to note from this table is that trading appears to be an exclusively EKAS phenomenon; no non-EKAS woman was interviewed who was involved in trading. Given the small proportion of non-EKAS Christians in Mangu, one would naturally expect the number of non-EKAS trading women to be very small. However, it appears that at the time of interviews virtually no non-EKAS women were traders, beer brewing being their most favoured occupation. That all traders are EKAS members will be discussed below in the subsequent section of this chapter on trading women.

Another characteristic of beer brewers in Mangu is that they tend to be polygynously married. Although the number of Christian women in Mangu who are polygynously married are relatively few, these women tend to be concentrated amongst beer brewers. This is shown by the data in that 10 out of 19 brewers (or 53 per cent) are polygynously married, this being far higher than the proportions of polygynously married women in any of the other occupational categories (Table 50). And, five out of the ten polygynously married brewers are members of the EKAS Church. This finding agrees with the general impression that Mangu Christians seem to have about beer brewers: that they are not serious in their Christianity as they brew beer and as they tend to be polygynously married.

A very few mat-makers and food processors are polygynously married, while all Christian traders who were interviewed were monogamously married. Again, this characteristic of traders will be discussed below.

Beer-brewers in Mangu also tend to be slightly older than one would expect, as with traders; food processors tend to be slightly younger than expected and for mat-makers no association was found (V=.21, Table 51). As a wide variety of factors not investigated

TABLE 49

PRIMARY OCCUPATION BY CHRISTIAN DENOMINATION
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	MATS	BEER	FOODS	TRADE	TOTAL
EKAS	19.1% (12)	17.5% (11)	36.5% (23)	26.9% (17)	100.0% (63)
NON-EKAS	30.8% (4)	69.2% (9)	— (0)	— (0)	100.0% (13)
TOTAL	21.1% (16)	26.3% (20)	30.3% (23)	22.3% (17)	100.0% (76)

TABLE 50

PRIMARY OCCUPATION BY MONOGAMY/POLYGYNY
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	MATS	BEER	FOODS	TRADE	TOTAL
MONOGAMOUS	81.2% (13)	47.4% (9)	78.3% (18)	100.0% (17)	76.0% (57)
POLYGYNOUS	18.8% (3)	52.6% (10)	21.7% (5)	— (0)	24.0% (18)
TOTAL	100.0% (16)	100.0% (19)	100.0% (23)	100.0% (17)	100.0% (75)

in this study might account for the tendency of brewers to be old, no comment on this issue will be made here. Of interest here as well is that young Christian women tend to do food processing whereas it will be recalled that young Muslim women were most active in mat-making. This is probably due to the fact that young, newly married Christian women are not restricted in their profit-making activities in the same way as are the young Muslim women in that position. The association between trading and being "old" is too weak to warrant discussion.

In the light of the Yeld-Smith debate (even though it concerns Muslim Hausa women), an obviously interesting variable in terms of the economic roles of Christian women is husband's socio-economic status. As with Muslim women, an association was found between primary occupation and husband's status for Christian women (V=.29, Table 52), but this association is stronger and in the opposite direction from that found for Muslim women. Amongst Christians mat-makers tend to have low status husbands, beer brewers and food processors tend slightly to have high status husbands, whereas for traders no association was found. We shall see below that, amongst Christians, mat-makers earn low profits and low profits are also associated with low husband's status. The discussion of the interrelationship between these factors will be presented below. An explanation for the lack of association between husband's status and trading will also be given below in the separate section on trading women.

Unlike the Muslim sample, a moderate association was found for Christian women between primary occupation and husband's western education (V=.32, Table 53); beer brewers tending slightly to be married to men with no western education, and food processors tending to be married to men who have received some western education. This, coupled with the fact that women in these two occupational categories tend slightly to be married to high status men, would lead us to infer that beer brewers and food processors are probably married to different types of high status men. For mat-makers, no association was found, and the husbands of traders tend to have no western education.

These findings concerning the relationship between husband's western education and primary occupation of Christian women are somewhat consistent with what was found concerning the relationship between primary occupation and the woman's western education.

TABLE 51

PRIMARY OCCUPATION BY AGE
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	MATS	BEER	FOODS	TRADE	TOTAL
YOUNG	5	3	8	3	19
OLD	11	17	14	14	56
TOTAL	16	20	22	17	75

$v = .21$

TABLE 52

PRIMARY OCCUPATION BY HUSBAND'S SES
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	MATS	BEER	FOODS	TRADE	TOTAL
LOW SES	15	11	14	13	53
HIGH SES	1	7	9	4	21
TOTAL	16	18	23	17	74

$v = .29$

TABLE 53

PRIMARY OCCUPATION BY HUSBAND'S WESTERN EDUCATION
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	MATS	BEER	FOODS	TRADE	TOTAL
NONE	7	14	8	13	42
SOME	5	6	13	4	28
TOTAL	12	20	21	17	70

v = .32

TABLE 54

PRIMARY OCCUPATION BY WOMAN'S WESTERN EDUCATION
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	MATS	BEER	FOODS	TRADE	TOTAL
NONE	87.5% (14)	90.0% (18)	65.2% (15)	70.6% (12)	77.6% (59)
SOME	12.5% (2)	10.0% (2)	34.8% (8)	29.4% (5)	22.4% (17)
TOTAL	100.0% (16)	100.0% (20)	100.0% (23)	100.0% (17)	100.0% (76)

From Table 54 it can be seen that food processors are more likely to have some western education than women in any other category. Beer brewers and mat-makers tend to have no western education. As for traders there may be a slight tendency for these women, relative to other women, to have some western education. It is interesting to note that, as just mentioned, the husbands of traders, relative to other Christian husbands, tend to have no education.

Christian women in the various occupational categories also differ with respect to the amount of capital which they received to start their occupations. Unlike for Muslim women, a moderate association was found between these variables for Christian women (V=.25, Table 55), food processors tending to have received low initial capital, traders to have received high initial capital, whereas no association was found for either mat-making or beer brewing. That food processors tend to have started with low capital probably reflects the fact that it is possible to carry out this occupation with a weekly investment of not more than ₦0.30. It would not be worth while, however, for a trader to travel, for example, to Daffo to buy less than ₦2.00-₦3.00 worth of goods. It has already been discussed that some beer brewers received high starting capital while others accumulated their capital from their originally small-scale production; hence the lack of association between beer brewing and either high or low initial capital.[1]

The more important issue raised here, however, is why have traders received higher initial capital than other women? We have already seen that the obvious factor, husband's status, offers no explanation of this as traders are not associated with having either high or low status husbands. As a key issue to understanding differences amongst the economic roles of women, this question of sources, amount, and use of initial capital warrants further investigation.

All but of the Christian women included in the analysis are Suras, and therefore there is no point in discussing ethnicity and primary occupation.

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1. However, as will be shown below, when only non-trading occupations are considered, beer-brewing tends to be associated with high initial capital.

TABLE 55

PRIMARY OCCUPATION BY INITIAL CAPITAL
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	MATS	BEER	FOODS	TRADE	TOTAL
LOW CAPITAL	10	11	18	8	47
HIGH CAPITAL	6	9	5	9	29
TOTAL	16	20	23	17	76

$v = .25$

Before turning to the discussion of the differences between trading and non-trading women which precedes the analysis of variation in profits of Christian women, a brief sketch will be given of the significant characteristics of Christian women in the various occupations. Christian mat-makers tend to be married to low status men.[1] Christian beer brewers tend to be members of some Church other than the EKAS Church, to be polygynously married, and to tend slightly to be married to high status men and to be married to men with no western education. Christian food processors are more likely than other women to have received some western education, to be married to high status men, to be married to men who have some western education, and to have received little starting capital. Finally, Christian traders are all members of the EKAS Church, they are all monogamously married, they tend to be a bit more likely to have some western education than one would expect, whereas their husbands tend to have no western education; and finally, traders tend to have received more initial capital than other women.

Traders/Non-Traders

From the above section and from comments in Chapter 4, it appears that Christian traders may be a distinct group of women in Mangu. They have a much higher capital investment than other women, they earn higher profits than other women, they are all monogamously married and they are all members of the EKAS Church. In the next section of this chapter variation in profit level amongst Christian women will be analysed and it may well be interesting to look at how profits are related to the other variables of the study both when all Christian women are considered and when only the more "normal" working Christian women in Mangu, i.e. the non-trading women, are considered.

Before going into this analysis of profit level, an examination will be made of the ways in which trading and non-trading Christian women in Mangu differ.[2] The answer to the question "What is distinctive

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1. Mat-makers also tend to have fewer children than other women; this will be commented on below.

2. Note that the Traders/Non-Traders variable was constructed in such a way that "trading women" includes all women who participate in trading, irrespective of whether or not this is their primary occupation.

about traders?" will provide the background for the discussion which will follow about profits.

Firstly, that all traders are members of the EKAS Church is not surprising given that approximately 80 per cent of all Christians in Mangu belong to that church. What does need explaining however, is, why virtually none of the non-EKAS women in Mangu are traders.[1] Recall that most non-EKAS women brew beer, and it seems more likely that their participation in beer brewing explains their membership in some non-EKAS church rather than vice versa. The essential question, then, is not "Why are non-EKAS women not traders?" but rather, "Why are beer-brewers non-EKAS Church members?" The obvious explanation here is the rule of the EKAS Church against beer brewing.

It is also interesting to note that the proportion of trading women who are active in the EKAS Women's Fellowship is greater than that of women in other occupations. Although all EKAS women are nominally members of the Fellowship, in fact the number of women who regularly attend meetings and other activities is probably not more than 200. It appears, however, that most traders are active in the Fellowship although they are not necessarily on the executive of this organization. This is not surprising because, as will be discussed immediately below, most traders live in the area near the EKAS Church and people living in this area are thought to be more dedicated to the church than people living in other parts of the town. People say, for example, that virtually all men living in this area are monogamously married because of their commitment to the norms of the church.[2]

It is also striking that the majority of traders live in the

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1. See Table E. 5, p.[illegible] for figures.

2. This helps to explain why trading women are all monogamously married (V=.30, Table 59).

TABLE 56

TRADERS/NON-TRADERS BY PROFIT LEVEL
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	TRADERS	NON-TRADERS	TOTAL
LOW PROFIT	5	43	48
HIGH PROFIT	14	15	29
TOTAL	19	58	77

v = .39

TABLE 57

TRADERS/NON-TRADERS BY PROFIT LEVEL
(EKAS CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	TRADERS	NON-TRADERS	TOTAL
LOW PROFIT	5	33	38
HIGH PROFIT	14	12	26
TOTAL	19	45	64

v = .40

TABLE 58

TRADERS/NON-TRADERS BY HOUSE LOCATION
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	TRADERS	NON-TRADERS	TOTAL
SECTIONS 1-7	6	46	52
SECTION 8	14	5	19
TOTAL	20	51	71

v = .58

TABLE 59

TRADERS/NON-TRADERS BY MONOGAMY/POLYGYNY
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	TRADERS	NON-TRADERS	TOTAL
MONOGAMOUS	21	40	61
POLYGYNOUS	0	19	19
TOTAL	21	59	80

v = .30

section of Mangu near the EKAS Church (V=.58, Table 58). It is the suggestion of the writier that trading is concentrated amongst Christian women living near the EKAS Church mainly because the first few women who started trading happened, for whatever reasons, to live in that area. Being neighbours to the original few traders, the women in that area were more likely to be in close communication with these women than were women living in other areas. Hence, the information about the ways in which trading could be carried out successfully and the profits that could be made from this activity spread amongst the women in this area. Presented with models of women who had succeeded in this occupation, the trend caught on and soon many women in that area started to trade. This diffusion of the occupation was encouraged by the concept amongst Fellowship members that they should help one another; for example, it was reported that in several cases the successful traders lent capital to those women who wanted to start trading and the reason given for doing so involved the responsibility of Fellowship members to help each other.

In the two years since the research was done, the numbers of female traders have greatly increased. It is interesting to note that although there is still the tendency of traders to live near the EKAS Church, women living in other parts of the town are now participating in this occupation more than before. Thus, it may well be that the study caught the diffusion of this innovation at a relatively early stage. A record of the friendship and kinship networks of the women who were traders at the time of the interviews would have offered some understanding of just how this diffusion process took place.

Christian traders in Mangu tend to earn higher profits than non-trading Christian women (V=.39, Table 56)[1]. That this is mainly due to their larger scale of activities, i.e. to their larger weekly investment, has been adequately discussed above; the evidence will not be reported here.

It is curious that trading women tend to be married to men with no western education (V=.18, Table 60), and that this association is slightly stronger when only EKAS women are considered (V=.23, Table 61). The obvious explanation might have been

1. When we look at this relationship for EKAS Christians only, thus eliminating high profit non-EKAS beer brewers, the relationship stays the same (V=.40, Table 57).

husband's status, as it is reasonable to assume that high status is at least somewhat associated with western education amongst Christians. However, this factor offers no assistance here because trading and husband's status are not correlated. The effect of western education of husbands (and of the women themselves) on female economic roles in Mangu remains an unanswered question.

Traders also differ from non-traders in terms of amount of initial capital received to start their occupation (V=.22, Table 62). This association is stronger when EKAS women only are considered (V=.30, Table 63), for we have seen above that some non-EKAS brewers did receive high initial capital. As noted above, no apparent reasons for this association between trading and initial capital present themselves from the data. A call can only be made for further research into this important issue.

A very weak association was found between trading and number of children when all older Christians are considered (V=.17, Table 64). As this relationship is so weak, and as no logical explanation for it can be derived from the data, no comments about this association will be made.

Traders were found to be similar to non-traders in terms of the following factors: age, western education,[1] length of residence in Mangu, farming activities and provision.[2] Another one of these factors for which no association with trading was found is husband's SES.[3] It is possible that there is in fact a curvilinear relationship between trading and husband's status; it may be that traders married to high status and low status men enter this occupation for different reasons. Perhaps women married to high status men trade because they are encouraged financially and otherwise to do so by their husbands. Perhaps women married to low status husbands become traders because they very much need the high profits which can be made in that occupation in order to help support their families. Motivations of women for selecting their occupations were not investigated here, and this too remains a question for further research.

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1. This may be somewhat misleading because putting all non-trading Christian women together masks the relationship shown above between primary occupation and western education in which food processors and traders are more likely than expected to have some western education while mat-makers and beer brewers are less likely. (Table 54, above, p. 140).

2. See Table 96, p. 178, for the Cramer's V's for these relationships.

3. See Table 96, p. 178, for the Cramer's V for this relationship.

TABLE 60

TRADERS/NON-TRADERS BY HUSBAND'S WESTERN EDUCATION
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	TRADERS	NON-TRADERS	TOTAL
NONE	16	29	45
SOME	5	25	30
TOTAL	21	54	75

v = .18

TABLE 61

TRADERS/NON-TRADERS BY HUSBAND'S WESTERN EDUCATION
(EKAS CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	TRADERS	NON-TRADERS	TOTAL
NONE	16	20	36
SOME	5	21	26
TOTAL	21	41	62

v = .23

TABLE 62

TRADERS/NON-TRADERS BY INITIAL CAPITAL
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	TRADERS	NON-TRADERS	TOTAL
LOW CAPITAL	9	42	51
HIGH CAPITAL	12	18	30
TOTAL	21	60	81

v = .22

TABLE 63

TRADERS/NON-TRADERS BY INITIAL CAPITAL
(EKAS CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	TRADERS	NON-TRADERS	TOTAL
LOW CAPITAL	9	36	45
HIGH CAPITAL	12	11	23
TOTAL	21	47	68

v = .30

TABLE 64

TRADERS/NON TRADERS BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN
(OLD CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	TRADERS	NON-TRADERS	TOTAL
FEW	3	19	22
MANY	12	25	37
TOTAL	15	44	59

v = .17

Let us summarise, then, the distinctive characteristics of trading women relative to other Christian women in Mangu: all traders are members of the EKAS Church, they are more likely than non-traders to live near the EKAS Church, their husbands tend to have no western education whereas those of non-traders tend to have some western education, traders tend to have received higher initial capital than non-traders, and traders tend to earn higher profits than non-traders.

Profit Level

TABLE 65a PROFITS OF CHRISTIAN WOMEN

LOW	HIGH	TOTAL
(48)	(29)	(77)
62.3%	37.7%	100.0%

TABLE 65b PROFITS OF NON-TRADING CHRISTIAN WOMEN

LOW	HIGH	TOTAL
(43)	(15)	(58)
74.1%	25.9%	100.0%

Having thus identified the ways in which traders and non-traders differ, attention will now be turned to the analysis of the variation in profits amongst Christian women. This analysis will in most cases involve the comparison between the Cramer's V's for cross-tabulations for the total Christian sample and those of the non-trading Christian sample.

Let us begin this analysis with a brief summary of what has been said in Chapter 4 about the contributions made by the variables primary occupation and number of occupations to the understanding of differences in profits amongst Christian women. We saw above that for Christian women profit level is strongly associated with type of primary occupation (V=.52, Table 19, p. 92). Mat-making is associated with low profits, food processing is slightly associated with low profits, trading is associated with high profits, while beer-brewing is associated with neither profit category. It was suggested

that differences in the scale on which these occupations are pursued and the relative unprofitability of mat-making are the factors which largely explain this association.

Differences in number of occupations pursued do not assist in the understanding of this association between profits and primary occupation amongst Christians because, although primary occupation and number of occupations were found to be associated for these women (V=.49, Table 18, p. 92), the direction of this association is mixed with respect to profits. All mat-makers, most of whom are low earners, have more than one occupation; beer brewers, who may earn high profits, tend to have one occupation only; traders tend slightly to have two or more occupations, and for food processors there is no association with either category. With this mix in terms of profits, it is not surprising that no association was found between profit level and number of occupations for Christian women (V=.06, Table 17). This is not to say, however, that number of occupations is not important in accounting for the higher profits of Christian women generally when they are compared to Muslim women.

The only one of these three relationships which was investigated when traders were removed from the Christian sample is that between profit level and primary occupation. When traders are removed[1], the association between these factors is weakened (V=.29, Table 66) but the direction remains much the same. Mat-makers are still associated with low profits, beer brewers tend clearly to have high profits, and food processors are associated with neither profit category. That the relationship is weakened by the removal of the traders is understandable, given the association between trading and high profits.

Another factor which contributes to the understanding of the variation in profits amongst Christian women is husband's status. For the total Christian sample a very weak association was found between these variables (V=.18, Table 67), with low earners tending slightly to be married to low status men, high earners to be married to high status men. However, for non-traders only, there is a moderate correlation between these factors (V=.35, Table 68), the direction of the association remaining the same.[2] The reason why

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1. In this case only women with trading as a primary occupation were removed from the sample.

2. Both these associations probably reflect, in part, the fact that mat-makers tend to be married to low status men and also to earn low profits.

this association is strengthened by the removal of the traders is that no association exists between trading and husband's status; thus, there must be some high profit traders married to low status men. In fact, of the 17 Christian traders whose profits are known, 11 earn high profits and are married to low status men.

Several reasons might be put forward to explain why, amongst non-trading Christians, high earners tend to be married to high status men and low earners to low status men. One of these involves the opportunities of the women to accumulate capital. It seems reasonable to assume that women married to low status men may have to spend most of their earnings on immediate needs whereas women married to high status men may have fewer financial commitments, may be able to accumulate capital and thereby increase their earnings. Women with high status husbands may also receive more financial assistance for the expansion of their economic endeavours than women with low status husbands. A second possible explanation of this positive correlation between profits and husband's status is that there may be a certain atmosphere in the homes of high status, successful men - a certain economic dynamism - which encourages all household members to be economically active. Perhaps in the homes of low status men this spirit of economic dynamism is lacking.

High and low earning Christians also differ to some extent in terms of the monogamy/polygyny distinction. Although for the total Christian sample no association was found between these factors (V=.02, Table 69), for non-trading Christians a weak association is found between profits and monogamy/polygyny (V=.21, Table 70). Low earners tend slightly to be monogamously married whereas high earners clearly tend to be polygynously married. The fact that all traders, many of whom are high earners, are monogamously married explains why the inclusion of traders weakens the association. For non-traders only, this association obviously reflects the fact that beer brewers, many of whom are high earners, tend to be polygynously married.[1]

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1. If monogamy/polygyny had been found to be associated with husband's status for non-trading Christians, then one might have thought that this relationship between profits and monogamy/polygyny reflects the fact that low earners tend to be married to low status men. However, no association between husband's status and monogamy was found for either the total Christian or the non-trading Christian samples (V=.01, Table 71 and V=.01, Table 72 respectively).

TABLE 66

PROFIT LEVEL BY PRIMARY OCCUPATION
(CHRISTIANS ONLY, TRADERS EXCLUDED)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
MATS	14	1	15
BEER	12	8	20
FOODS	16	6	22
TOTAL	42	15	57

v = .29

TABLE 67

PROFIT LEVEL BY HUSBAND'S SES
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
LOW SES	36	17	53
HIGH SES	10	12	22
TOTAL	46	29	75

v = .18

TABLE 68

PROFIT LEVEL BY HUSBAND'S SES
(NON-TRADING CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
LOW SES	33	6	39
HIGH SES	8	9	17
TOTAL	41	15	56

v = .35

TABLE 69

PROFIT LEVEL BY MONOGAMY/POLYGYNY
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
MONOGAMOUS	36	21	57
POLYGYNOUS	11	8	19
TOTAL	47	29	76

$v = .02$

TABLE 70

PROFIT LEVEL BY MONOGAMY/POLYGYNY
(NON-TRADING CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
MONOGAMOUS	31	7	38
POLYGYNOUS	11	8	19
TOTAL	42	15	57

$v = .21$

TABLE 71

MONOGAMY/POLYGYNY BY HUSBAND'S SES
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	MONOGAMOUS	POLYGYNOUS	TOTAL
LOW SES	43	12	55
HIGH SES	17	6	23
TOTAL	60	18	78

$v = .01$

TABLE 72

MONOGAMY/POLYGYNY BY HUSBAND'S SES
(NON-TRADING CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	MONOGAMOUS	POLYGYNOUS	TOTAL
LOW SES	28	12	40
HIGH SES	11	6	17
TOTAL	39	18	57

$v = .01$

Differences in profits are weakly correlated with differences in western education for the total Christian sample (V=.18, Table 73). However this association appears to be a function of the fact that 6 out of the 7 traders with some western education earn high profits, for when traders are removed from the Christian sample, this association disappears (V=.11, Table 74). Recall that amongst non-trading Christians it is food processors who tend to have some western education and food processing is associated with neither profit category; beer brewers, who tend to earn high profits, also tend to have no western education. Thus, it is understandable that there is no association between profits and western education for non-trading women.

Amongst all Christians, high earners tend slightly to have been in Mangu for more than ten years, low earners to have been in Mangu for ten years or less (V=.20, Table 75); for non-trading Christians only, this association is a moderate one (V=.28, Table 76).[1] This effect on the association of the removal of traders is understandable when one notes that no association was found between trading and length of residence in Mangu. Thus, there must be some high-earning traders who came to Mangu within the past ten years; amongst the traders, six of the seven traders who had come to Mangu in the past ten years earned high profits. Hence, these high earners who had come relatively recently weaken the more general positive correlation between profits and length of residence in Mangu.

Here again, this association probably reflects at least somewhat the association between primary occupation and length of residence in Mangu. Amongst Christians it was found that mat-makers, who are low earners, tend slightly to have been in Mangu for ten years or less (V=.18, Table 78). However, as this association is a very weak one, it is doubtful if it fully accounts for the correlation between profits and length of residence in Mangu.

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1. It might be thought that these associations are merely a function of age; age and length of residence in Mangu are in fact associated (V=.22, Table 77), with younger women tending to have been in Mangu for ten years or less, older women to have been there for more than ten years. However, as no association was found between profits and age for either the total Christian sample or the non-trading Christian sample, it is unlikely that this correlation between profits and length of residence in Mangu is explained by age.

TABLE 73

PROFIT LEVEL BY WOMAN'S WESTERN EDUCATION
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
NONE	39	18	57
SOME	9	11	20
TOTAL	48	29	77

v = .18

TABLE 74

PROFIT LEVEL BY WOMAN'S WESTERN EDUCATION
(NON-TRADING CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
NONE	35	10	45
SOME	8	5	13
TOTAL	43	15	58

v = .11

TABLE 75

PROFIT LEVEL BY RESIDENCE - MANGU
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
SHORT	28	10	38
LONG	19	18	37
TOTAL	47	28	75

$v = .20$

TABLE 76

PROFIT LEVEL BY RESIDENCE - MANGU
(NON-TRADING CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
SHORT	27	4	31
LONG	16	11	27
TOTAL	43	15	58

$v = .28$

TABLE 77

RESIDENCE - MANGU BY AGE
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	SHORT	LONG	TOTAL
YOUNG	14	5	19
OLD	26	32	58
TOTAL	40	37	77

$v = .22$

TABLE 78

PRIMARY OCCUPATION BY RESIDENCE - MANGU
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	MATS	BEER	FOODS	TRADE	TOTAL
SHORT	11	9	11	7	38
LONG	5	11	12	8	36
TOTAL	16	20	23	15	74

v = .18

TABLE 79

PROFIT LEVEL BY INITIAL CAPITAL
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
LOW CAPITAL	35	14	49
HIGH CAPITAL	13	15	28
TOTAL	48	29	77

v = .22

Other factors may be at work as well. It is suggested here that perhaps women who have come recently to Mangu, say within one or two years, have not yet been able to break into the market, have not been able to develop a sufficiently large clientele to allow them to expand their scale of activities. Or, perhaps it takes some time for newcomers to "get used to" the new semi-urban economic environment, to explore the new opportunities present for earning money. However, as the measurement of the variable "length of residence in Mangu" was not fine enough to separate women who had come to Mangu, say, five years prior to the interview from women who had come one year before that time, little can be said on this issue. The above comments are but speculations. Another important point which was not investigated is the type of environment from which the women had come - either rural, semi-urban or urban.

Finally, amount of initial capital offers some explanation of differences in profits amongst Christian women, although the association between these factors is weak for both the total Christian and the non-trading Christian samples (V=.22, Table 79 and V=.18, Table 80 respectively). In both cases low earners tend to have received low starting capital, high earners to have received high starting capital. That this association is only slightly weakened by the removal of the traders reflects the fact that amongst trading women only, 6 out of the 14 high earners received low initial capital, and of the 5 low earners, two received low initial capital.

Here again, this weak association between these factors probably reflects the relationship between primary occupation and initial capital. Amongst non-traders only, beer brewers tend to have high profits and to have started with high initial capital whereas food processors, who are associated with neither high nor low earnings, tend to have received low initial capital (V=.21, Table 81). Hence, those food processors who began with very little capital but who now earn high profits cloud this relationship between profits and initial capital. In general, it is not surprising that this association between profits and initial capital is a positive one, as initial capital obviously affects the scale of a woman's activities. However, that this relationship is weak is understandable because, as mentioned above, some beer brewers and food processors had been able to accumulate capital from their once small-scale activities.

TABLE 80

PROFIT LEVEL BY INITIAL CAPITAL
(NON-TRADING CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	TOTAL
LOW CAPITAL	33	8	41
HIGH CAPITAL	10	7	17
TOTAL	43	15	58

v = .18

TABLE 81

PRIMARY OCCUPATION BY INITIAL CAPITAL
(CHRISTIANS ONLY, TRADERS EXCLUDED)

	MATS	BEER	FOODS	TOTAL
LOW CAPITAL	10	11	18	39
HIGH CAPITAL	6	9	5	20
TOTAL	16	20	23	59

v = .21

The following variables do not appear to be related to differences in profits amongst either all Christian women or amongst non-trading Christians only: Christian denomination, number of children, age, and husband's western education.[1]

Let us summarise, then, what has been said about high and low earning non-trading Christians: high earners tend to be polygynously married, to have high status husbands, to have lived in Mangu for more than ten years and to have received slightly higher initial capital than other women. Low earning non-traders tend to be monoganously married, to have low status husbands, to have lived in Mangu for less than ten years and to have started their occupation with low initial capital.[2]

As the numbers of trading women are so few, no comments can be made about the correlates of high and low profits amongst these women.

Farming

TABLE 82 PARTICIPATION IN FARMING BY CHRISTIAN WOMEN

YES	NO	TOTAL
(49)	(32)	(81)
60.5%	39.5%	100.0%

Unlike amongst Muslim women, there is considerable variation in terms of farming activities amongst Christian women in Mangu. As this issue of participation in farming activities is not central to this thesis, the correlation of this variable with only a few of the other study variables has been investigated.

The obvious factor which accounts for a woman's participation in farming activities is whether or not her husband farms, for, as will be seen below, amongst the Suras, as amongst many other ethnic groups, the women receive a piece of land from their husbands and are expected

1. See Table 96, p. 178, for the Cramer's V's for these relationships.

2. A comment on the possible relationship between length of residence in Mangu and husband's status will be made below.

to carry out certain agricultural tasks on both their own land and that of their husbands. A moderate (although almost strong) association was found between the women's farming responses and those of their husbands (V=.44, Table 83). Women whose husbands themselves farm tend to farm as well, whereas women whose husbands either pay others to farm for them or who have nothing at all to do with farming tend not to farm.

Profit level and the farming activities of Christian women are not correlated for the total Christian sample (V=.10, Table 84) but when non-traders only are considered, there is a moderate association between those variables (V=.26, Table 85).[1] Women earning low profits tend to farm whereas women earning high profits tend not to farm. This correlation between profits and farming probably reflects at least somewhat the association found between primary occupation and farming amongst Christian non-traders[2] (V=.26, Table 86) in which mat-makers tend to farm whilst there is no association for the other occupational categories.

Recall that mat-makers tend also to be married to low status men. This finding and the fact that mat-makers tend to farm are consistent with each other as it is safe to assume that the husbands of many women who farm are farmers by occupation, and farming, as seen above, is a low status occupation in the Mangu setting.

Another factor which might be working here is length of residence in Mangu. We have seen that a weak association was found between primary occupation and length of residence in Mangu amongst Christian women, mat-makers tending to have been in Mangu for less than ten years whereas no association was found for any of the other occupational categories. This adds another dimension to the picture of low-earning Christian women - they tend to be mat-makers, to farm,

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1. It is understandable that the removal of the traders strengthens this association for no correlation was found between trading and participation in farming activities amongst Christian women. Thus, there must be some high earning traders who farm and these women mask the association between profit level and farming which is found amongst non-trading Christian women.

2. Here, only women whose primary occupation is trading have been removed from the sample. For the total Christian sample, this association is a weak one, but the direction is the same (V=.23, Table 87).

TABLE 83

WOMAN'S FARMING RESPONSE BY
HUSBAND'S FARMING RESPONSE
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	YES	NO	TOTAL
FARMS	34	9	43
PAYS OTHERS	10	13	23
NEITHER	3	9	12
TOTAL	47	31	78

v = .44

TABLE 84

FARMING BY PROFIT LEVEL
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	YES	NO	TOTAL
LOW PROFIT	31	17	48
HIGH PROFIT	15	14	29
TOTAL	46	31	77

v = .10

TABLE 85

FARMING BY PROFIT LEVEL
(NON-TRADING CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	YES	NO	TOTAL
LOW PROFIT	29	14	43
HIGH PROFIT	5	10	15
TOTAL	34	24	58

v = .26

TABLE 86

FARMING BY PRIMARY OCCUPATION
(CHRISTIANS ONLY - TRADERS EXCLUDED)

	YES	NO	TOTAL
MATS	13	3	16
BEER	10	10	20
FOODS	13	10	23
TOTAL	36	23	59

v = .26

TABLE 87

FARMING BY PRIMARY OCCUPATION
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	YES	NO	TOTAL
MATS	13	3	16
BEER	10	10	20
FOODS	13	10	23
TRADE	11	6	17
TOTAL	47	29	76

v = .23

TABLE 88

PRIMARY OCCUPATION BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN
(OLD CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	MATS	BEER	FOODS	TRADE	TOTAL
FEW	6	8	4	3	21
MANY	5	9	10	11	35
TOTAL	11	17	14	14	56

v = .27

to be married to low status husbands, and finally, to have been in Mangu for ten years or less.[1] It may be that some of these low-earning households are not fully integrated into the commercial world of Mangu as they have come relatively recently to Mangu from surrounding villages; farming still seems to be their main source of livelihood. However, as the association between mat-making and female farming is a weak one, and as the relationship between length of residence in Mangu and both female farming activities and husband's status was not directly investigated, this suggestion about how these findings fit together is only a tentative one.

Thus, in terms of the variables analysed here, we see that Christian women who farm tend to be mat-makers, they tend to be married to men who farm, and relative to other non-trading Christian women, they tend to earn low profits.

Provision

TABLE 89 PROVISION SCORES OF CHRISTIAN WOMEN

LOW	HIGH	TOTAL
(43)	(38)	(81)
53.1%	46.9%	100.0%

As with farming activities, Christian women differ substantially with respect to their roles as providers for the needs of the family. Table 89 shows that 47 per cent of all Christian women are high providers, and this is quite a contrast to the Muslim sample in which only 7 per cent are high providers.

One factor which offers some explanation of this variation amongst Christian women in terms of provision is type of primary occupation. These two variables are moderately, although almost strongly, associated (V=.44, Table 90), beer brewers and traders tending to be high providers, food processors tending to be low

1. It was also found that mat-makers, who tend to be low earners, tend to have fewer children than expected (V=.27, Table 88). This finding does not contribute, however, to this picture of low earning Christians as no association was found between profits and number of children for either the total Christian sample or the non-trading Christian sample.

providers, while mat-makers are associated with neither provision category. That beer brewers are high providers is not surprising as many of these women live on their own. In the case of food processors it might be argued that their tendency to be married to high status men accounts for their tendency to be low providers. This may or may not be the case; as will be discussed below, no association was found between provision and husband's status but this lack of association may simply be due to the fact that beer brewers, many of whom are high providers, tend slightly to be married to high status men.

No reason for the tendency of traders to be high providers can be discerned from the data. One might have expected that their higher profits would make them higher providers, but it will be shown below that there is no association between profits and provision amongst Christians. It appears, then, that variables other than those investigated here are responsible for the fact that traders are more likely to be high providers than mat-makers and food processors.[1]

Given that food processors tend to be low providers and beer brewers and traders tend to be high providers, and given also that many beer brewers and traders earn high profits, one would have expected profits and provision to be correlated, with low earners being low providers and high earners being high providers. However, as mentioned, this is not the case; no association was found between profit level and provision for either the total Christian sample or the non-trading Christian sample (V=.06, Table 91 and V=.04, Table 92 respectively). This would indicate that there are some low earning women who provide as much or more for their families as their husbands, even though the amount of money involved may be small and the standard of living achieved a low one.[2] High earners may also be high providers. It may be that their husbands

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1. Note however that there is no association between trading and provision when all trading Christian women are compared to non-trading Christians. The high providing beer brewers probably account for this.

2. Note that "Provision" is a measure of the contribution a woman makes to the upkeep of the family relative to the contribution her husband makes; it is not a measure of the absolute value of goods provided.

TABLE 90

PROVISION BY PRIMARY OCCUPATION
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	LOW PROVISION	HIGH PROVISION	TOTAL
MATS	9	7	16
BEER	6	14	20
FOODS	19	4	23
TRADE	6	11	17
TOTAL	40	36	76

$v = .44$

TABLE 91

PROVISION BY PROFIT LEVEL
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	LOW PROVISION	HIGH PROVISION	TOTAL
LOW PROFIT	26	22	48
HIGH PROFIT	13	16	29
TOTAL	39	38	77

$v = .06$

TABLE 92

PROVISION BY PROFIT LEVEL
(NON-TRADING CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	LOW PROVISION	HIGH PROVISION	TOTAL
LOW PROFIT	24	19	43
HIGH PROFIT	7	8	15
TOTAL	31	27	58

v = .04

TABLE 93

PROVISION BY HUSBAND'S SES
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	LOW PROVISION	HIGH PROVISION	TOTAL
LOW SES	27	29	56
HIGH SES	15	8	23
TOTAL	42	37	79

v = .13

provide little for the family. Or, it may be that both husband and wife are contributing and thus these households may have a relatively high standard of living.

One might have expected the status of a woman's husband to have an effect upon her provider role, with women married to low status men being more likely to be high providers than women married to high status men. However, no association was found between provision and husband's status amongst Christians (V=.13, Table 93) and this may possibly be due to the fact that beer brewers, who tend to be high providers, also tend slightly to be married to high status men. Although this Cramer's V for this relationship is below the lower limit of the "weak association" range, it can be discerned from the figures that the relationship is in the direction outlined above. There need not necessarily be an association between provision and husband's status for non-beer-brewing Christians, however; it may be that households of high status men have higher demands than those of low status men and hence there is much the wife can do to help in providing for the family's needs.

Differences in provider role amongst Christian women correlate with differences in age (V=.23, Table 94), with younger women tending to be low providers and older women to be high providers.[1] Two rather obvious explanations for this association can be put forward. As the children in a family increase in number and age, financial pressures obviously increase as well. It may be that in the early years of her marriage, when her children are small and few, the woman's husband is able to cater for the family's needs but later the help of the woman is required. Also, it may be more socially acceptable for a woman who has been married for some time than for a very young wife to help her husband; perhaps it is that the authority relationship between husband and wife is less important as the marriage matures.

However, this association between age and provision may be explained in a less direct manner by the fact that food processors, who tend to be low providers, also tend to be young, and that beer brewers, who tend to be high providers, also tend to be old. In the case of beer brewers we have seen that beer brewers are probably high

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1. Recall that no association between provision and age was found amongst Muslim women.

providers because many of them live alone, not because they are older women. For food processors, their association with low provision may be mediated either by age or by husband's status. Food processors tend to be young; secondly, they tend to be married to high status men, and although it has not been identified here, there may be an association between provision and husband's status. However, as husband's SES was not controlled for in the association between age and provision, it is difficult to tell whether age or husband's status is the determining factor.

Again unlike amongst Muslim women, no association was found amongst Christians between provision and the variable husband/wife's residence (V=.00, Table 95).

To conclude, all that can be said from this analysis of provision is that low providers tend to be young and to be food processors whereas high providers tend to be older women and to be either beer-brewers or traders.

Conclusion

From the above discussion we can see that both trading and non-trading women vary in terms of their economic roles. In the case of non-trading Christians some relatively clear patterns to this variation can be discerned. Differences amongst trading Christians, however, appear to exhibit little consistency, at least not in terms of the factors analysed in this study; trading Christian women are clearly not a homogeneous group with respect to the characteristics investigated here. This probably confirms, again, that the study caught this innovation in Christian female occupations at an early stage, as no patterns had yet emerged.

TABLE 94

PROVISION BY AGE
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	LOW PROVISION	HIGH PROVISION	TOTAL
YOUNG	15	5	20
OLD	27	32	59
TOTAL	42	37	79

v = .23

TABLE 95

PROVISION BY HUSBAND/WIFE'S RESIDENCE
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	LOW PROVISION	HIGH PROVISION	TOTAL
LIVES WITH HUSBAND	36	30	66
LIVES ALONE	7	7	14
TOTAL	43	37	80

v = .00

TABLE 96

RELATIONSHIPS AMONGST SELECTED VARIABLES
(CHRISTIAN WOMEN ONLY)[1]

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	DEPENDENT VARIABLES		
	TRADERS/ NON-TRADERS	PROFIT LEVEL	
		ALL CHRISTIANS	NON-TRADING CHRISTIANS ONLY
1. DENOMINATION	v = .22	<u>v = .10</u>	v = .01
2. AGE	<u>v = .01</u>	<u>v = .09</u>	<u>v = .09</u>
3. NUMBER OF CHILDREN (OLD WOMEN)	v = .17	<u>v = .03</u>	Table not Formulated
4. WESTERN EDUCATION	<u>v = .09</u>	v = .18	<u>v = .11</u>
5. HUSBAND'S SES	<u>v = .02</u>	v = .18	v = .35
6. HUSBAND'S WESTERN EDUCATION	v = .18	<u>v = .01</u>	<u>v = .03</u>
7. RESIDENCE - MANGU	<u>v = .04</u>	v = .20	v = .28
8. FARMING	<u>v = .05</u>	<u>v = .10</u>	v = .26
9. PROVISION	<u>v = .04</u>	<u>v = .06</u>	<u>v = .04</u>

[1]The purpose of this table is to show the v's for those relationships in which no association is found; the v's for these relationships are underlined. Other v's have been included for completeness. See Table D.4, p. 219, for frequencies.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

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The Traditional Economic Role of Women in Sura and Pyen Societies[1]

Having thus analysed in detail the present economic roles of Christian and Muslim women in Mangu, a brief look will now be taken at the traditional economic role of women in Sura and Pyen societies as it existed before the intrusion of either of the two main cultural influences in the area - Islam and Christianity. What follows here is the picture of these traditional roles given by elderly Sura and Pyen women in Mangu, Panyam and Gindiri. By looking at these traditional roles we shall be able to get some idea of the varying effects these two influences had on the economic roles of women in these societies.

As in most traditional Nigerian societies, women in Sura and Pyen societies had a very active role to play in providing for the needs of the family. The major way in which they made their contribution was through their agricultural activities. The division of labour in agriculture between men and women was mainly by task, although there was some division of labour by crop as well. Cultivating was done mainly by men; planting was usually done by women although men did assist in the broadcasting of *acha*; weeding was largely a female activity. The work of harvesting was shared between men and women. Both men and women harvested acha; women harvested maize, a "woman's" crop, and men harvested both guinea corn and millet, the latter being clearly a "man's" crop. Threshing was done mainly by men, although women were responsible for threshing maize.

In Sura and Pyen societies land was (and still is) owned by the family of the husband and women received land from their husbands; some women also received land from their own families. The husband was required to carry out all male agricultural tasks on his wife's land, and she in turn was obliged to perform female agricultural tasks on his land as well as her own. If a woman had too much land for her

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1. The information in this section refers mainly to the early 20th century. It is written in the past tense, but much of what is said here still applies today. Although Sura and Pyen societies do differ, it was found that the economic role of woman was basically similar in both.

husband to work on, or if a man had too many wives and could therefore not manage to fulfil all his farming responsibilities, a woman would brew beer and call others to come and assist her with the farming tasks. The beer drunk after the work was done was considered sufficient payment for services rendered. (Men did call work parties as well.)

The harvest from a woman's land was kept separate from both that of her husband and the harvest belonging to his other wives. Every woman had her own granary and she would prepare meals for herself, her children, and her husband with grain from this granary, until it was finished. Only then would the harvest from the husband's granary be used. The harvest from a woman's land was never sold; it was to be used for the family and she had no right to sell it. Some of the harvest from the husband's land might be sold, and from his millet harvest taxes were also paid.

Most women also kept small gardens on land near the home, and the main item grown was garden eggs. The products from these gardens were either used in cooking or traded in the market for such ingredients as salt and (at a later time when it was available), oil. Women also collected leafy vegetables from the bush areas to use in cooking.

The general division of responsibility for the provision of household needs was as follows. Grains were thought of as a male responsibility because they were usually grown on land belonging to the husband's family. However, as seen above, women also contributed greatly to agricultural production. Meat was not eaten regularly in most families; from time to time the husband would provide meat from his hunting, or richer men would slaughter animals they kept. As soon as women started to earn money, though, they began to buy meat to use in cooking. Ingredients for soups and stews were clearly a female responsibility. Clothing was also thought of as a male responsibility, but here again, women began to buy clothes for themselves and their children as soon as they started to earn money. Finally, the collection of firewood was a female responsibility.

The earliest female occupations in the area were the brewing of beer for sale and mat-making; women also exchanged or sold garden products in the market, as well as vegetables collected from the bush and firewood. A few other crafts such as pot-making and basket-weaving were done, but these were not as common as beer-brewing or mat-making. Women used the money earned or what they received in exchange

for their products for soup ingredients and clothing, as well as for gifts for their families and friends.

Thus, we can see that women in traditional Sura and Pyem societies had an important economic role to play; they contributed to the material well-being of their families through both their agricultural activities and through their non-farming pursuits.

When comparing the present economic roles of Muslim Sura and Pyem women in Mangu to those of the traditional past, it is clear that there have been significant changes. In terms of productive activities, Pyem and Sura Muslim women still do make mats, but there the similarity ends. They no longer have a part to play in agricultural production, they do not brew beer, and they are only marginally involved in any form of trading. Although kumun zaki was made by women in traditional times, the sale of this and other food items can be considered a somewhat non-traditional occupation as no food or drinks other than beer were usually sold in the past. Muslim women have virtually lost their traditional provider role for they do not usually use their earnings for the communal needs of the family. Also, they are no longer responsible for the collection of firewood or the fetching of water.

The present economic roles of Christian women in Mangu are also different from those of the traditional past, but the differences are not so great as for Muslim women, and, the changes have been more in the form or content of the roles rather than in the function.[1] In terms of their productive activities, Christian women still contribute to the support of the family through their farming activities, although they do farm less now than before. Christian women do brew beer but the influences of Christianity may have reduced the proportion of women involved in this occupation (at least in Mangu). Mat-making is done by Christian Sura women but is a less important occupation than before. Food processing, particularly the production of kumun zaki, has become a money-making activity for many Christian women. Finally, and most recently, trading has become an important Christian female occupation and this trading involves the buying and selling of other's

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1. Note that "Christian women in Mangu" here refers almost exclusively to Sura women as very few Pyem Christian women live in Mangu.

products rather than merely the petty selling of items produced by the women themselves which was done in the past.

These changes in terms of type of productive activity, with the exception of the possibly lower involvement in beer-brewing, can be attributed to the overall expansion of commercial activities in the area. In other words, the productive economic roles of Christian women have moved with the times, they have moved in the same direction as the changes in the economy of the area -- from agriculture to commerce.

In terms of their roles as providers, Christian women in Mangu appear to contribute as much as they did in the past, if not more, to the material support of the family. It is only that the means through which they make their contribution have changed. Instead of providing for their families through their farming and agricultural activities, they now earn money through other occupations and they use their earnings to help meet the family's needs.

The Relative Economic Positions of Christian and Muslim Women

When looking at the relative economic situations of Christian and Muslim women in Mangu, we can see that Christian women are in a position to become more and more involved in the market economy whereas the Muslim women have far more limited opportunities. As the town grows as a commercial centre, Muslim women may be able to expand their food processing activities. (Certainly Muslim women in large urban centres appear to have considerable opportunities to earn money in this and in other ways from within seclusion.) But, it is unlikely that secluded Muslim women in Mangu will ever be able to take part in the relatively large-scale trading which is proving to be an important and profitable occupation amongst Christian women, if in fact these Muslim women desired to do so.

The economic life of Christian women appears to some extent to be keeping pace with the economic development in the town whereas the economic opportunities of Muslim women have not been growing at the same rate. Thus, the economic position of Muslim women in Mangu relative to that of Christian women may at best be remaining constant, or, it may be actually deteriorating.

One must keep in mind, however, that although the new opportunities to earn money are fewer for Muslim than for Christian women in

Mangu, Muslim women also have far fewer financial obligations vis-a-vis their families. Christian women are generally obliged to contribute most, if not all, their earnings to the communal support of the family whereas the earnings of Muslim women are not connected with the welfare of their families and, moreover, they may often receive much financial assistance from their husbands.

In conclusion, then, the future of the economic role of Christian women seems relatively clear; they seem to be responding to the economic changes in Mangu and there is no reason to believe that they will not continue to do so. How Muslim women will respond to future economic development remains, on the other hand, an open and unanswered question.

Theoretical Implications of the Research Findings

(a) Introduction

In the statement of the problem of this research it was emphasized that this study was not designed to test any particular theoretical propositions but to be an exploratory study. However, the purpose of this section of the conclusion is to show that the research findings can be interpreted through and do have implications for several theoretical frameworks. The data will first be considered in the context of the role theory, in particular, in the context of Bruce's "role-cluster" model. This discussion will be followed by a look at a few theories concerned with the determinants of female status, specifically, those of Engels and Sacks and by the application of Sacks' model to the Mangu data.

(b) Role Theory

(i) Various Approaches to Role Analysis

The concept of status and role was first introduced by Ralph Linton in his book "The Study of Man" in 1936, and since then many sociologists and anthropologists have attempted to develop this concept in a variety of ways. For example, several different classifications of roles have been put forward. Linton himself discusses the distinction between ascribed and achieved roles (1936), as does Dahrendorf (1968). Southall has suggested a classification according to the principle domains in which roles are exercised - economic, political, religious, etc. (1959). Nadel differentiates between relational and non-relational roles and bases his classification of roles on their content, i.e. "on the particular conduct they are meant to imply" (Nadel, 1957, cited by Banton, 1965:30). Banton has

devised a system of classifying roles according to their degree of differentiation, i.e. "the extent to which incumbency in one role is independent of incumbency in other roles" (1965:32).

Status and role has also been developed as a concept through the discussion of the content of various roles in different cultural settings (Linton, 1936). This concept has been further enriched by Merton's major contribution to the field -- the idea of the role-set. Merton begins with the premise that "each social status involves not a single associated role but an array of roles" (1957:110). A role-set, then, is "that compliment of role-relationships in which persons are involved by virtue of occupying a particular social status" (1957:110). Dahrendorf also devotes some attention to this idea of role-sets (1968:33-34), and both Merton and Dahrendorf proceed from this concept to discuss the potential for role conflicts which arises out of this structural property of roles.

Aiden Southall adds a further dimension to the concept of role with his idea of the variation in the density of role relationships which corresponds with different socio-economic environments (1973). Finally, the concept of role has been developed through discussions of the ranking of roles and of the relationship this ranking has to stratification systems (Banton, 1965).

From this brief survey of the treatment of role and status by earlier writers, one can see that this concept has received considerable and varied attention. It is noteworthy, however, that one common perspective runs throughout the work on role, this being that most theorists tend to look at roles in isolation; there seems to be the implicit assumption that roles are isolateable phenomena and can be analyzed as such. However, more recently, an alternative approach to role analysis is being developed which stresses the need to look at roles in the context of their relationship with other roles. Keesing and Belshaw are two authors who have published work incorporating this new perspective, but it is perhaps Bruce who has gone furthest in clarifying this model of role analysis (Keesing, 1973; Belshaw, 1969; Bruce, forthcoming unpublished paper). For this reason emphasis here will be on Bruce's model, although mention will be made of the contributions of Keesing and Belshaw to this line of thinking.

Bruce suggests that any particular role is a part of a cluster of

related roles. In other words, roles have an affinity for each other and are found in clusters which fit together in logical, meaningful ways. Thus, he states that it is only within a cluster of roles that "problems of [role] performance, recruitment, definition and perception can be understood" (Ibid.). He argues further that these role clusters are at least somewhat mutually exclusive and that "the actors who perform within a particular role cluster perceive themselves and are perceived by others as forming a particular category with a known social identity" (Ibid.). Role clusters, then, represent significant social categories within the society.

Although this idea of the clustering of roles was not discussed directly by earlier writers on role theory, it is interesting that both Banton and Linton touched upon this issue, though only in passing. And, as mentioned, both Keesing and Belshaw employ the concept of the clustering of behaviours, although in a way somewhat different from Bruce. Before turning to apply Bruce's model to the findings of this study, let us first briefly trace the presence of this concept of role clusters in the works of these other theorists.

Linton hits upon this idea of the clustering of roles when he speaks about classes and castes. He states that:

> "when the class system is strong, each class becomes almost a society in itself. It will have a series of sex, age, and relationship statuses [and roles] which are peculiar to its members. These will differ from the statuses [and roles] of other classes even when both are determined by the same biological factors". (1936:127)

This could be correctly rephrased in terms of the present model, saying that classes represent significant social categories, the clusters of roles making up each class being mutually exclusive.

Linton goes on further to discuss the limitations which exist on the competition for achieved statuses, saying that only certain people have the ability to move into certain roles. He gives the example that a woman cannot become the President of the United States (Ibid.: 128). Here again he is brushing upon the idea that roles are found in clusters, that they are not randomly distributed, that certain roles imply certain other roles.

Although Banton's main concern is with the interrelationship between roles, he too only touches upon the role-cluster idea in an

indirect way. As mentioned above, Banton focuses upon the "differentiation" between roles and develops a scale of roles in terms of this differentiation which ranges from basic roles, which are least differentiated, through general roles to independent roles which are most differentiated. Age and sex roles are his examples of basic roles, occupational roles examples of general roles, and he suggests that leisure roles are independent roles (1965:33-34).

Benton only goes as far as differentiating between general and specific roles and does not analyze the interrelatedness of roles in terms of clusters which include both general and specific (or "differentiated and undifferentiated") roles. He does however get close to the idea of role clusters forming significant social categories in his discussion of the ranking, or as he calls it, the "prestige" of roles. He speaks about the horizontal congruency of roles, giving the example that the English nobleman had more in common with a Frenchman of equivalent rank than with many of his English followers (Ibid:179). Banton also speaks about "characteristic role combinations", stating, for example, that a stockbroker is unlikely to be the son of a miner, is likely to have attended boarding school, is likely to live in a particular neighbourhood, and is likely to shoot grouse in August (Ibid.:173). Here again he is giving an example of a role cluster.

From the above paragraphs we can see that both Linton and Banton were at least somewhat aware of the fact that roles tend to form clusters; nevertheless, they did not address themselves directly to this issue in their writings. As mentioned above, this concept of clustering of behaviours has been discussed directly by Keesing and Belshaw, but they have applied it somewhat differently from the way it is used in the "role-cluster" model outlined above.

Keesing takes as the basis of his model the concept of a social identity, which he defines as "the lowest-level position [in society] with invariant behavioural entailments" (1973:434). He then goes on to say that "our familiar 'roles' often represent the coalescence of whole series of social identities, both general and specific, and a merging of their behavioural entailments" and he uses Goodenough's term "social persona" to label these clusters of social identities (1973:434). (Keesing gives as an example of this clustering of

behaviours the role of doctor which he states implies maleness and adult status.) He argues further that interaction is between these combinations of social identities, these "social persona"; not between single social identities. Keesing's main interest lies, however, not in the understanding of the interrelationship between roles or "social personas", but in the analysis of the combination of social identities to make up particular roles; his focus is on the "grammatical" rules for the combination of social persona.

Keesing, then, does not really go far enough to use the concept of clustering of behaviours to describe the relationships between roles; he limits his analysis to the level of the combination of behaviours which make up any one particular role. He could, for example, have extended his example of doctor, saying that this role implies not only maleness and adult status, but also that doctors tend to come from a particular class background, to live in particular types of neighbourhoods, to be members of certain categories of social clubs and so on. He could have gone even further to say that all these behavioural patterns are common to lawyers and other professionals, and that men in these occupations all belong to a significant social category which might be labelled the "upper-middle class".

Belshaw is the other theorist who talks directly about clustering of behaviours. He, like Keesing, begins at the level of one particular role, stating that:

> "roles are not 'natural' phenomena in the sense that stones and individuals are discreet objects. They are clusters of behaviour which observers, both in the society itself and as social scientists, identify as significantly integrated, and which, as totalities, give meaning to and provide a basis for relationships with other roles" (1969:76).

Here, then, Belshaw is using the concept of clustering to analyze any one role, but in a later chapter he comes to the idea of the clustering of roles themselves with his concept of the "role-complete group". In his discussion of the grouping of roles he states that groups can be identified which contain within their boundaries all the roles of the relevant members and these groups he calles role-complete groups (Ibid.:81). He suggests that classes, castes or lineages are examples of role-complete groups because "in most instances, although not in all,... [they] are made up of individuals who exercise their

various roles as members of the relevant group during all their activities (Ibid:81). Belshaw's concept of role-complete group corresponds to the "significant social category" of Bruce's model, for they are both describing social groups in which the behavioural possibilities of members cover the same range. In other words, all members of the group or category live within the same "social world".

Belshaw makes an important contribution to this idea of clustering of roles when he stresses the variability of inclusiveness of groups over roles (Ibid.:82). Translating this into the terminology of Bruce's model, the issue here is not of the complete mutual exclusiveness of social categories, but rather a question of the degree of exclusiveness. As we shall see below, there are and probably always will be areas of overlap between significant social categories. This does not however negate the fact that these categories can be seen as relatively separate.

(ii) Application of the "Role-Cluster Model" to the Mangu Data

Having traced the idea of clustering of roles in the literature on role theory, let us now turn to examine the findings of this research from the perspective of this role-cluster model. If this model is applicable to the Mangu data and if the data provides a successful empirical test of the model, then we should be able to show the following things: first, that certain roles of women do cluster together in logical, patterned ways; secondly, that these role clusters represent significant social categories which are perceived by the women themselves and by others as having clear social identities; and, thirdly, that these significant social categories are at least somewhat mutually exclusive. If this is so, then knowing a woman's occupation, for example, should allow us to predict certain other of her roles. Finally, if this "role-cluster model" is a useful one, it should be able to generate some insights from the data which would not have been achieved had the data not been looked at from the point of view of the model.

In the first part of this section it will be shown that significant social categories can indeed be found amongst women in Mangu, and these categories will be mapped out. Attention will then be turned to the discussion of certain implications for occupational mobility and social stratification amongst women which the application of the model to the Mangu data generates.

Significant Social Categories Amongst Women in Mangu

Women in Mangu can be divided into two main categories on the basis of role-clustering -- Christian and Muslim women. However, amongst Christian women four separate sub-categories can be discerned. Thus, there are in fact five significant categories of women in Mangu, the first of these comprising all Muslim women and the other four being made up of Christian women. The distinctiveness of the roles of Muslim women as compared to those of Christian women will be discussed first and then attention will be turned to the four categories of Christian women.

Christian/Muslim Comparisons

Christian and Muslim women in Mangu inhabit almost entirely separate social worlds. The physical separation of these women due to the Muslim practice of wife seclusion but exemplifies the extent to which they represent mutually exclusive social categories. Christian women have a wider range of occupational choice than Muslim women. While Christian women in Mangu may be mat-makers, food processors, beer brewers or traders, Muslim women are limited to the first two occupations. The majority of Muslim women are mat-makers but this is the least important occupation amongst Christian women. Although both Christian and Muslim women do food processing, the patterns of behaviour associated with this occupation are quite different for the two groups of women. Christian women sell their products themselves directly to the buyer in the market, whereas Muslim women carry out this occupation from within their homes, using children as their links with their buyers, the majority of whom purchase from within private households. Christian women are active in farming; Muslim women do not farm.

Muslim women tend to be polygynously married, Christian women to be monogamously married. The husbands of the former tend to be of high status and to have no western education whereas the husbands of Christian women tend to be of low status but to have some western education.[1] Christian women are more likely than Muslim women to have received some

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1. Recall that, as discussed in Chapter 2 above, the wealthy men in Mangu are mainly Muslim traders or transporters who have in general received no western education. Those Christians who have achieved high socio-economic status through education do not live in Mangu but have moved to larger urban areas for employment.

western education.

Muslim women earn very small incomes as compared to Christian women, and whereas the latter typically use their earnings to help provide the basic subsistence needs of the family, most Muslim women use their earnings to buy "extras" for themselves and their children as well as for the exchange of gifts with friends and relatives. Most Muslim women in Mangu, be they Sura, Pyem or Hausa, participate in bond-friend relationships with other women which involve elaborate systems of gift giving at ceremonial times. Christian women also do have special friends but their interaction is less regularized and the gift exchange is at a much simpler level. It is highly unlikely that any Muslim would have a Christian as a bond friend, and vice versa, but friendships amongst Muslim women cut across ethnic boundaries.

From this we can see that Christian and Muslim women live, to a great extent, in mutually exclusive social worlds. The roles open to them are different, their social networks are quite separate. It is interesting to note, however, that some (although not much) overlap between the social worlds of Christian and Muslim women may result from kinship ties. This is due to the fact that Islamyation is a very recent and ongoing process in Mangu and therefore families may be part Christian, part Muslim. As time goes on, however, one could predict that the overlap between these two categories of women due to kinship ties will gradually be reduced, unless other forces arise which could counteract this process (e.g. Universal Primary Education).

Muslim women themselves represent a fairly homogeneous group. We have seen that they do differ with respect to their primary occupations -- the majority being mat-makers, a minority being food processors. Although women doing these two occupations do differ with respect to age, profits and possibly husband's status, these differences are overshadowed by the vast number of roles which these women have in common. Here, clearly, the religious identity is dominant, differences such as ethnic group being relatively unimportant. For this reason, Muslim women in Mangu represent one single social category. When considering Christians, on the other hand, the situation is quite different, for amongst these women roles appear to cluster to form four significant categories, although two of these categories are more distinct than the others.

Significant Social Categories Amonst Christian Women

The most distinctive social category amongst Christian women consists of those women who brew beer for sale. If married, brewers tend to be polygynously married and both they and their husbands tend to have received no western education. It is noteworthy that many brewers live alone, separate from their husbands and this accounts for both the fact that they tend to be self-supporting and that beer brewing is associated with prostitution. Many brewers are in fact divorced or widowed women. Brewers also tend to be more than thirty years of age and tend to earn high profits.

Many brewers are members of some church other than the EKAS Church, usually the CMS Church. And, one might correctly consider those brewers who call themselves EKAS members as actually being non-EKAS women because due to their brewing of beer they are clearly seen as "second class" members of the EKAS Church. They are not allowed to take communion, they cannot become executives in the Women's Fellowship, and it is in fact even unlikely that they participate in the Fellowship activities, if indeed they attend church services at all. Another point to be made here is that although all women in this category say they are Christians, there is reason to believe that some of them are actually followers of traditional religion; these women probably refused to admit this because of the negative evaluation put upon this form of religion by both Christians and Muslims in Mangu.

Women in this category tend to live in the area of the town near the market, most of the big brewing compounds being located there. Brewers seem to have their friends amongst other brewers and women in this category also form their own savings groups.

All in all, it appears that brewers live very much in a social world of their own and that their social networks overlap relatively little with women in any other categories. Women in this category are considered as "traditional" in their life style because they are polygynously married, they may be followers of traditional religion, and because beer-brewing is a tradition Sura/Pyem female occupation. And, because of this traditional orientation they probably have more interaction with women in the fourth category, mat-makers, than with any other category of women. This will be discussed further below.

The second most distinctive category amongst Christian women is

made up of those women who are traders. These women are all members of the EKAS Church and although they are not necessarily on the executive, most of them are active in the Women's Fellowship. Their husbands may be considered as very dedicated Christians both because they are all monogamously married and because most of them live in the area near the EKAS Church.

Traders tend to be high earners. They are also the only women in Mangu who travel to surrounding markets buying up foodstuffs for resale in Mangu. They make these journeys together in groups and they also sit together in one particular part of Mangu market on Fridays, selling their goods. These women are also the only Christian women in Mangu who are in direct economic competition with men. It appears that traders most often participate in savings groups with other traders, and that many of these women have other traders as their closest friends. Interaction between traders is also enhanced by the fact that most of them live near the EKAS Church and are therefore neighbours.

Thus, trading women represent a significant social category amongst Christian women in Mangu; they have certain behavioural patterns which are exclusively theirs, they live at least to some extent within their own social world. However, although they, like brewers, are a clearly identifiable group, traders have more interaction with other women. In particular, there is considerable interaction between traders and those women who do food processing; the discussion of this overlap follows below.

Women doing food processing occupations comprise the third significant category of Christian women in Mangu. Most of the women in this group make kunu for sale, although a few woman prepare snacks or basic meals such as rice, yams, tuwo, etc. All these women are members of the EKAS Church but only a portion of them are active members of the Women's Fellowship. Although some of these women do live near the EKAS Church, most live in areas nearer to the market. Women in this category tend to be young, and to be married to high status men with some western education. Unlike trading women, they may be either monogamously or polygynously married and may earn either high or low profits. Again, food processors, and more especially, kunu makers, tend to have their own savings groups and these groups often represent friendship networks.

Although food processors form a somewhat distinct social category, there is considerable interaction between these women and women in other social categories. The food processors who are active members of the Women's Fellowship have much in common with traders through the activities of the Fellowship — meetings, communal work parties, etc. Those food processors who live near the EKAS Church may also be friends with traders due to their proximity as neighbours. Food processors who are not active in the Women's Fellowship would be unlikely to have much contact with traders. However, if they drink beer, (which they are more likely to do than the active EKAS members), their social worlds are likely to merge somewhat with those of brewers and mat-makers, interaction between these groups of women being generated by their meeting in the beer-drinking houses. Finally, one must note that kinship ties probably link traders, food processors, and mat-makers.

The last significant social category amongst Christian women, then, is made up of women whose primary money-making occupation is mat-making. These women tend to be married to low status men who are farmers, and the women themselves almost all farm. It is likely that these women see farming as their chief occupation and consider mat-making as a secondary activity, for they earn extremely low profits from their mat-making. Women in this category also tend to have lived in Mangu for less than ten years. Mat-makers, like food processors, may be either monogynously or polygynously married. And, finally, they may or may not be members of the EKAS Church.

Mat-makers, like brewers, can be considered to have a somewhat "traditional" orientation. Mat-making is a traditional Sura/Pyem occupation; these women may be polygynously married, and again, like brewers, some of them may actually be followers of traditional religion although they say they are Christians. These women can be looked upon as having a "rural" orientation in that they are very active in farming and are only marginally involved in the modern commercial economy. This may be at least somewhat explained by the fact that they have not been long in Mangu. It is this "rural-traditional" identity which distinguishes these women from other Christian women in Mangu.

In terms of the overlap of their social world with that of other categories of women, it is unlikely that mat-makers would have much interaction with traders, except for the possibilities of contact through

active membership in the Women's Fellowship or through kinship ties. As mentioned above, it is probable that the social networks of mat-makers and some food processors overlap through the common activity of frequenting the beer-drinking houses and this activity obviously brings mat-makers into contact with beer brewers as well, creating the potential for friendships and other forms of interaction. There are two other factors which might tend to draw mat-makers and beer brewers together. First, some women in both categories are members of the CMS Church and secondly, for the reasons discussed above, these two groups of women might be considered as being somewhat "traditionally orientated". Finally, it appears that some food processors share the "rural" orientation of mat-makers in that for some of them, farming is their most important activity and they make kunu for sale on only a very small scale. These women may well interact with each other, being friends and sharing in activities such as joining communal work parties called by some farmers. Here again, beer-drinking is another link because payment for work done often follows the traditional pattern of a beer-drinking party.

From the above we can see that the findings of this research do indeed provide a successful empirical test for the "role-cluster" model, for distinct categories of women can be discerned, each of which is defined by an at least somewhat exclusive cluster of roles. That overlap exists between these categories does not negate the applicability of the model. It merely indicates that the model is not perfect and points out once again the difficulties that any one simple model will have in capturing the incredible complexities of social reality.

(iii) Implications of the Role-Cluster Model for the Mangu Data

Having mapped out the significant social categories amongst women in Mangu, attention will now be turned to a discussion of the insights which are generated by applying this role-cluster model to the Mangu data. As mentioned above, comments will be made about the implications of this model for occupational mobility and social stratification amongst women in Mangu.

Looking at the research findings from the perspective of this model allows us to make certain predictions about occupational mobility patterns amongst women in Mangu. First, the use of this model makes it clear that Muslim women cannot become traders or beer brewers as these

occupations both imply a variety of roles outside those open to Muslim women. Secondly, the model helps us to predict that it is highly unlikely that any beer brewers would become traders or vice versa, for they too operate in such completely different social worlds and movement between these categories would require changes in many roles.

A third prediction which this model allows us to make is that women who move into beer brewing from another occupation are most likely to have come from the category of mat-makers, especially from the non-EKAS section of this category. These two groups of women share a "traditional" orientation, have common religious roles, and mat-makers may well use some of the grain from their farms to set themselves up in brewing. Finally, it is through applying this model to the research findings that we are able to predict that women entering trading from another occupation are most likely to have come from the group of food processors who are active in the Women's Fellowship, and in particular, who live near the EKAS Church.

Certain insights concerning stratification amongst Mangu women are also obtained by looking at the Mangu data from the "role-cluster" perspective. This model enables us to see that no one simple system of stratification applies to all women in Mangu. Given the almost complete separation of the social worlds of Christian and Muslim women, one can predict that these two categories of women would have separate ranking systems. Such is the case. One might have thought, for example, that all women in Mangu could be ranked according to earnings, placing most Christians above most Muslims in terms of prestige. However, this is not applicable because high and low income seem to have almost reverse implications for prestige amongst Muslim and Christian women. As will be discussed below, there is ranking amongst Christian women according to earnings, with high earners being given more prestige than low earners but amongst Muslim women in Mangu the opposite is true. It appears that the most important determinant of a Muslim woman's prestige is the socio-economic status of her husband, these two factors being positively correlated. (This is assuming, of course, that the wealth of the husband is transferred to the woman in terms of gifts, money, and general standard of living.) The low earnings of the Muslim woman represents her total dependence upon her husband and this in turn indicates the husband's ability to support

his wife or wives. For this reason, then, low earnings are associated with high status amongst Muslim women. Conversely, if a Muslim woman has high earnings, this tends to imply that her husband is not wealthy enough to cater for her needs and therefore the woman received low prestige.[1]

When looking only at Christian women, the role-cluster model helps us to predict here again that there must be more than one simple system of stratification at work amongst these women. As one would naturally expect, there is ranking amongst Christian women according to earnings. However, because of their beer brewing and because of the association of this occupation with polygyny and prostitution, it is highly unlikely that brewers and traders would be accorded the same prestige, for these behavioural patterns associated with brewers are negatively valued by the majority of the Christian population. (Remember that approximately 80% of all Christians in Mangu are members of the EKAS Church.) Thus, the prestige which brewers might have been given because of their high incomes is somewhat offset by their non-adherance to the norms of the EKAS Church.

Amongst the brewers themselves there is clearly stratification according to earnings. As for the other Christian women, most of whom are members of the EKAS Church, income is also an important principle of stratification. Thus, traders are given more prestige than food processors and mat-makers. Here again, however, prestige from high earnings can be offset by deviance from the teachings of the EKAS Church; and, vice versa, a woman with very low earnings may be given high status because of her extreme dedication and hard work within the Christian community. Nevertheless, as most, if not all, traders are active members of the Women's Fellowship, are monogamously married and

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1. It must be stresed that these comments apply to the Mangu situation only. Data from large urban areas such as Kano and Katsina indicate that there may well be ranking amongst Muslim women according to earnings. In these areas high income is associated with extensive friendship ties which give women prestige and influence (Pittin: Personal Communication). Two reasons why this is not so in Mangu are that, first, as discussed above, the economic setting is quite different, and secondly, Islam is relatively new in Mangu. There is the desire amongst men and women to show that they are "good Muslims" and within the Mangu context, a "good Muslim woman" is defined as a woman who is totally dependent upon her husband.

live near the EKAS Church, it is unlikely that their prestige from high earnings would be reduced by non-adherence to the teachings of the church. Thus, traders score high in terms of prestige on all counts.

Approaching the findings of this study from the point of view of this role cluster model also offers some insights about power relationships amongst women in Mangu. Here, "power" is being used in its broadest sense to include social influence. Not surprisingly, it appears that in Mangu social influence amongst Christian women is associated with high income. Beer brewers and traders, as the two high earning categories of women, are the most influential. However, the role-cluster model allows us to predict that the range and avenues of influence of brewers and traders are likely to be quite, if not totally, separate as these two groups of women live in such separate social worlds. Beer brewers are influential amongst those men and women who frequent the beer-drinking houses. They can extend credit, and their position keeps them in constant contact with many people and in the flow of much information. Traders, on the other hand, exercise their influence through the EKAS Church and the Women's Fellowship.

The role-cluster model allows us to predict further that although beer brewers and traders may be powerful amongst Christians, it is most unlikely that they would have any influence over Muslim women.

(iv) Conclusion

In this section we have seen that the data of this study provides a successful empirical test of the role-cluster model. And, the usefulness of this model has been demonstrated by the fact that its application to the data generates certain insights concerning occupational mobility and stratification amongst Mangu women which would not have otherwise been obtained. This is not, however, to say that this model explains all, and in fact, there are certain important issues over which the model has no explanatory value. The role-cluster model does not help us to understand, for example, why some women have access to relatively large amounts of capital and others do not. Neither does it offer any explanation of the effect western education has upon female occupations in Mangu. On a more general level, one major limitation of this model is that it does not begin to answer the question of why certain roles cluster with certain other roles in one cultural context

but not in another. This issue can only be understood in terms of a more general theoretical framework.

(c) Economic Roles as Determinant of Female Status in Society

The role-cluster model presented above emphasizes the interrelatedness of roles. There are several theories which are concerned with whether or not one role is in fact the determinant of other roles. In particular, certain models have been proposed which suggest that the economic role of women is important in determining the status of women vis-a-vis men in society. In this section several of these models will be discussed and one of these will be applied to the findings of this research.

(i) The Current Debate

Much of the recent writing on this topic takes as its point of reference certain ideas presented by Engels in his book "The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State". Engel's theory has been criticized by authors such as Gough (1975) and Sacks (1974). The major points of Engel's theory will be summarized here[1] and the support and criticism of his ideas by Gough will be discussed. However, the data of this study will be looked at from the perspective of Engel's theory as revised by Sacks.

As Sacks well summarizes:

> "Engels presents a historical dynamic by which women are transformed from free and equal productive members of society to subordinate and dependent wives and wards. The growth of male-owned private property, with the family as the institution that appropriates and perpetuates it, is the cause of this transformation" (1974:208).

According to Engels, in the early stages of society productive resources were controlled communally by the tribe or the clan and the larger household, not the nuclear family, was the unit of production and consumption. The context of both male and female labour was, thus, this larger group based on kinship or residence in a common territory. Engels reasoned that both sexes were equal members of the group

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1. Although Engel's book "The Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State" was consulted, this summary of Engel's ideas was condensed from Sack's reconstruction of Engel's theory (1974: 208-211).

because both made crucial contributions to the economic life of the group.

> "Engels concludes that the absence of private property made men's productive work and women's household work of equal social significance. Men and women were simply involved in different stages of the production of the same kinds of goods -- the production of subsistence" (Ibid:209).

For Engels, then, the public rights of women were based on their performance of public or social labour.

Engels argues that the material base for the transformation of women from equal members of society to subordinate wives lay in the development of private property, initially the domestication of large animals, and he assumes that these were male owned. According to him, this growth of private property destroyed the political economy of the tribe or clan which had been based on the communal ownership of productive resources. With the private ownership of productive property in the form of domesticated animals, the nuclear family emerged as the key economic and decision-making group (Ibid.:210). Engels argues further that the new wealth in domesticated animals gave rise to surplus goods which could be exchanged and eventually production (by men) for exchange came to overshadow household production for use (Ibid.:211).

Engels suggests that this overshadowing of production for use by production for exchange changed the significance of women's work and, consequently, their position in society. Women now worked for their husbands rather than for the society as a whole while their husbands were involved in the production for exchange, in social production. Women's labour became "a necessary but socially subordinate part of producing an exchangeable surplus. Women became wards, wives and daughters instead of adult members of society" (Ibid:211).

In her article "The Origin of the Family", Gough criticizes Engels (and Morgan) for believing that the earliest mating and economic patterns of humans were entirely collective, pointing out that all known hunters and gatherers live in families, not in communal arrangements (1975:66). She also states that in hunting and gathering societies women are always, in some sense, the "second sex", with greater or less subordination to men (Ibid.:69). However, she does provide some support for Engel's theory when she suggests that

"women have greater power and independence amongst hunters when they are important food providers than when they are mainly processors of meat or other supplies provided by men" (Ibid.:69).

She goes further to say that in hunting societies one cannot speak of a class division between men and women for although men are more mobile and lead in public affairs, still land and other resources are held communally. She suggests that there is rank difference, role difference, and some difference with respect to degrees of authority, between the sexes, but says that the relationship between men and women is one of reciprocity rather than domination or exploitation (Ibid.:70).

Gough, like Engels, identifies the growth of private property as bringing about the subordination of women to men, although she includes within the early forms of private property not only domesticated animals but also durable craft objects and trade objects, as well as stable, irrigated farm sites (Ibid.:75). Thus, although Gough provides a clearer and more accurate description of early human societies, she does not really question Engel's major proposition that the root cause of the subordination of women to men lies in the development of private property.

It is Sacks who, in her article "Engels Revisited", makes some revisions to Engel's theory (1974). First of all, Sacks extends the concept of social labour to include any work done for use or appropriation by someone of another household. She points out that Engels uses this term "social labour" in his discussion of nonclass societies to refer to work for and in the context of one's own corporate property owning group, but draws attention to the fact that women were often not working within the context of their own natal group and yet their labour was considered by Engels as being "social" (1974:211). Hence the need to stretch the concept of social labour.

A second difference between her analysis and that of Engels is that Sacks does not accept male property ownership as the basis of male supremacy. The reasons she gives for this are as follows: first, not all males own productive property and secondly, "in many class societies women as well as men own productive property and a wife's ownership of property gives her a substantial amount of domestic power vis-a-vis her husband" (Ibid.:219). She does stress, however,

that this domestic power is not translateable into social power in the public sphere (Ibid.:219).

Like Engels, Sacks argues that public or social labour is the material basis for social adulthood, but she does not agree that women in class societies are denied this social adulthood by virtue of male ownership of productive property. The reason she offers as to why women were relegated to domestic work for family use while men were channeled into production for exchange is as follows: males tended to be selected by the ruling class as labourers "partly because they are more mobile, but probably more significantly because they can be more intensively exploited than women, not having to nurse or rear children" (Ibid.:220).

In differentiating between the public and domestic statuses of women vis-a-vis men, Sacks adds yet another new dimension to Engel's model. She suggests that these two aspects of female status may vary independently but she also indicates their interrelatedness when she says that even though "property ownership seems important for women's domestic position vis-a-vis a husband, the exercise of domestic power, particularly in class societies, is limited by whether or not women have adult status in the social sphere" (Ibid.:222). Thus, Sacks' main conclusion is that "the key aspect of women's position, especially in class societies, is social adulthood, and this comes from participation in social production" (Ibid.:222)

(ii) <u>The Application of Sacks' Model to the Mangu Data</u>

Let us now turn to the question of whether or not the findings of this research support Sacks' proposition as stated immediately above. Her model will be applied to the data of this study on the three following levels: first, in the context of traditional Sura society; secondly, on the level of comparisons between Christian and Muslim women; and thirdly, on the level of comparisons amongst Christian women. As we shall see, the Mangu data do provide some support for Sacks' model but also suggest some alterations.

In terms of the traditional Sura situation, we have seen above that both men and women had important, complimentary roles to play in the provision of the subsistence needs of the family. There was in fact very little exchange between households and consequently one could say that, in terms of Sacks' model, both male and female labour was

concentrated in the domestic domain.

Considering, then, the status of women vis-a-vis men in traditional Sura society, one might say that this society was male dominated because, for example, women were excluded from political and religious office. However, women were given considerable respect both in public and in the home and did have some say in both public and domestic affairs. Women, for example, might physically assault the home of a man who was mistreating his wife, thereby putting pressure upon him to change his behaviour. The relationship between men and women in traditional Sura society seems to have resembled that which Gough describes as existent in hunting societies — a relationship of reciprocity rather than domination or exploitation. (1975:70).

Thus, although women were not involved in public production in traditional Sura society, they still enjoyed a relatively high status vis-a-vis men. This would indicate that female status may not simply depend upon public production, but depend upon the relative degree of involvement of women as compared to men in this form of production. In other words, it may be that when the involvement of men and women in public production is equal, (regardless of whether both are marginally or heavily committed to this form of production), then women will have a higher status vis-a-vis men than if men were more active in public production than women.

When comparing Christian and Muslim women in Mangu, Christian female involvement in production for exchange is much greater than that of Muslim women. And, Christian women appear to have a higher status vis-a-vis men than Muslim women in both the public and domestic spheres. Thus, the data seems to clearly support Sacks' proposition. The case of Muslim women raises, however, two interesting questions. Is it that Muslim women do not have adult status because they are excluded from public production? Or, is it that women are excluded from public production because they are defined as non-adults in the ideology of the Islamic faith? If the latter were the case, then one might expect that active involvement in public production would not necessarily improve the status of Muslim women vis-a-vis men in either the domestic or public domains.

In order to begin to sort out this problem, information about, for example, the status of large-scale Muslim female traders in areas

like Kano and Katsina would be necessary; unfortunately data about this is at present scarce. However, the little information that is available indicates that although large-scale involvement in public production may give high public status to Muslim women vis-a-vis men in general, this is not necessarily transferred to the domestic domain. Pittin holds that even though a Muslim Hausa woman in Katsina may earn large sums of money and this may give her high status in the society at large, she will remain in a subordinate position vis-a-vis her husband if she depends upon him for her upkeep (which some, if not many women appear to do) (Pittin:Personal communication).

Obviously, much further research is necessary before this issue can be resolved, but this information about women in Katsina indicates two things. The first is that as Sacks suggests, the public and domestic statuses of women vis-a-vis men may vary independently of each other. And, secondly, this information suggests that involvement in public production will give domestic status to women if and only if they contribute to the upkeep of the domestic unit.[1] Further support for this idea will be given in the discussion which follows concering the status of Christian women.

When analyzing just the Christian female population in Mangu, once again the evidence upholds Sacks' proposition. It appears that women who are more active in public production are given higher public and domestic status than women who are less active in this form of production. However, two qualifications must be made concerning the determinants of the domestic status of Christian women. First, as in the case of Muslim women, here again domestic status appears to be linked to the contribution women make to the support of the family; the greater a woman's contribution relative to that of her husband, the higher her domestic status. It is important to note, however, that this does not mean a strong economic position

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1. This is indeed the major proposition of Sanday's model of female status which was cited above in the literature review. However, she qualifies this proposition by saying that subsistence production will give rise to high female status if and only if production and control are linked within the society. In Mangu there is no variation in terms of the basis of control; control appear to be linked to production, and thus, the Mangu setting provides no real test of Sanday's ideas. For this reason her model was not applied to the data of this research.

allows women unlimited power in the domestic sphere. A Christian woman who uses her wealth to flaunt the authority of her husband is held in disrespect by both the men and the women of the community. Another indication that the role of the husband as head of the family is still being upheld is that Christian women are more likely to give money to their husbands to buy sacks of grain for the family or to pay for school fees rather than to publicly make such major expenditures themselves.

Secondly, amongst Christian women it is not only women heavily involved in public production who enjoy a relatively high domestic status. If both a woman and her husband devote most of their resources to farming (as seems to be the case with many Christian mat-makers), the woman's essential contribution does indeed give her, as in the traditional situation, relatively high domestic status, although such a woman may have lower public status vis-a-vis men than a woman more involved in public production. This is not to say, however, that the woman who helps support the family through her farming activities is in exactly the same position vis-a-vis her husband as a woman who does so through some form of public production such as trading. An important distinction must be made here. A farming woman is dependent upon her husband for land and usually cannot sell the produce of the major part of her labour without his permission. Women who are active in public production earn money independently of their husbands and it appears that this gives them higher status in the domestic sphere.[1]

In conclusion, the data from Mangu do lend some support to Sacks' proposition that the public and domestic statuses of women are linked to participation in public or social production. The application of her ideas to this data does however suggest some alterations to her model. The first of these is that it is the degree of involvement of women in public production relative to that of men which has important implications for female status vis-a-vis men in both the public and domestic spheres. And secondly, the contributions of women to the subsistence of the domestic unit is an important determinant of female

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1. Banton comments upon this same distinction in his discussion of the effect of urbanization upon female roles (1973:54).

status in the domestic domain. Finally, the data of this study confirms Sacks' suggestion that female status in the public and domestic domains may vary independently and that this is therefore a necessary and useful distinction to make.

(d) Conclusion

From the above discussion we can see that the findings of this study have implications for several theoretical frameworks. Firstly, the Mangu data provides a successful empirical test of Bruce's "cluster" approach to role analysis, more interestingly so because the research was not designed and carried out with this "role-cluster" model in mind. And, viewing the data from the perspective of this model generates some interesting insights about occupational mobility and social stratification amongst women in Mangu. Secondly, the research findings do lend some support to Sacks' proposition that the status of women vis-a-vis men is dependent upon their participation in social or public production; the findings of this study support as well her contention that the status of women vis-a-vis men in the domestic and public spheres may vary independently. However, several alterations to Sacks' model are suggested by the Mangu data.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

RANKING OF MALE OCCUPATIONS IN MANGU

Category	Occupations	
Low 1	farmer	drummer
	mat-maker	conductor on a vehicle
	hoe-maker	unemployed
	hat maker	
	rope-maker	
	pot-maker	
Low 2	messenger in the court	butcher
	motor-park petty official	tailor
	market-place petty official	carpenter
	bicycle repairer	blacksmith
	watch repairer	builder (small scale)
	road worker	washerman
	painter (white-wash)	mattress maker
	grinding engine operator	cloth dyer
	hospital worker	evangelist
	trader - trades on ground	
	has a table	
	has a shed	
Medium	Chief of Mangu	
	Ward Head	
	vehicle driver	
	commissioner in motor park	
	salaried employee of mining company or sugar factory	
	owner of grinding engines	
	dispenser of local and modern drugs	
	hotel owner	
	trader - has market stall	
	contractor	
	Koranic teacher	
	pastor	
	priest of indigenous religion	
	primary school teacher	
	forest guard (salaried)	
	judge	
	policeman	
	veterinary assistant	
	secretary	
	Post Office attendant	
High	Chief of Sura/Pyem	
	transporter	
	shop owner	
	owner of petrol station	
	headmaster of primary school	

APPENDIX B

B1 CALCULATION OF PROVISION SCORES FOR THE FOUR MAJOR GROUPS OF CONSUMER ITEMS

For each item consumed by the family, a score was assigned in terms of the six-point scale shown above. Then, the average score of items used by the family within each of the four categories was calculated. Thus, if a family ate only rice and beans, for example, as their basic foods, and if a woman provided the same amount of each of those as her husband did, her provision score for "basic foods" would be 4.

B2 FINE CODING FOR HOUSE-LOCATION

Section 1	20
Section 2	20
Section 3	15
Section 4	5
Section 5	45
Section 6	22
Section 7	35

APPENDIX C FREQUENCIES FOR RELATIONSHIPS SHOWN IN TABLES 34 AND 35 ABOVE

VARIABLE	CATEGORY CONTROLLED FOR	RELIGION	PROFIT LEVEL		PRIMARY OCCUPATION			
			LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	MATS	BEER	FOODS	TRADE
1. ETHNIC GROUP	SURA	CHRISTIAN	41	24	14	13	19	17
		MUSLIM	36	6	33	0	10	1
2. AGE	a YOUNG	CHRISTIAN	13	5	5	3	8	3
		MUSLIM	39	2	37	0	5	1
	b OLD	CHRISTIAN	33	24	11	17	14	14
		MUSLIM	54	8	32	1	23	2
3. HUSBAND'S SES	a LOW SES	CHRISTIAN	36	17	15	11	14	13
		MUSLIM	39	6	29	1	15	1
	b HIGH SES	CHRISTIAN	10	12	1	7	9	4
		MUSLIM	52	5	42	0	10	2
4. WESTERN EDUCATION	a NONE	CHRISTIAN	39	18	14	18	15	12
		MUSLIM	86	10	64	1	26	3
	b SOME	CHRISTIAN	9	11	2	2	8	5
		MUSLIM	8	1	7	0	2	0
5. MONOGAMY/ POLYGYNY	a MONOGAMOUS	CHRISTIAN	36	21	13	9	18	17
		MUSLIM	20	0	13	0	4	0
	b POLYGYNOUS	CHRISTIAN	11	8	3	10	5	0
		MUSLIM	72	10	58	0	22	3
6. HUSBAND'S WESTERN EDUCATION	a NONE	CHRISTIAN	24	17	7	14	8	13
		MUSLIM	77	8	59	1	22	2
	b SOME	CHRISTIAN	18	12	5	6	13	4
		MUSLIM	11	2	7	0	5	0
7. NUMBER OF CHILDREN (OLD WOMEN)	a FEW	CHRISTIAN	13	8	6	8	4	3
		MUSLIM	30	4	19	1	12	1
	b MANY	CHRISTIAN	20	16	5	9	10	11
		MUSLIM	24	4	13	0	11	1

TABLE D.1 FREQUENCIES FOR RELATIONSHIPS SHOWN IN TABLE 47 ABOVE

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	CATEGORIES	DEPENDENT VARIABLES					
		PRIMARY OCCUPATION		PROFIT LEVEL*		PROVISION*	
		MATS	FOODS	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	LOW PROVISION	HIGH PROVISION
1. AGE	YOUNG	37	5	35	6	41	4
	OLD	32	23	46	16	52	10
2. ETHNIC GROUP	HAUSA	14	14	27	4	28	4
	PYEM	18	1	16	7	21	2
	SURA	33	10	32	10	37	7
3. NUMBER OF CHILDREN (OLD WOMEN)	FEW	19	12	26	8	Table Not Formulated	
	MANY	13	11	20	8		
4. MONOGAMY/ POLYGYNY	MONOGAMOUS	13	4	17	3	Table Not Formulated	
	POLYGYNOUS	58	22	63	19		
5. WESTERN EDUCATION	NONE	64	26	75	21	Table Not Formulated	
	SOME	7	2	7	2		
6. RESIDENCE/ MANGU	SHORT	40	13	48	10	Table Not Formulated	
	LONG	31	14	34	12		
7. WIFE RANK	SENIOR	24	11	26	12	Table Not Formulated	
	NOT SENIOR	32	11	35	7		
8. HUSBAND'S SES	LOW	29	15	35	10	41	7
	HIGH	42	10	45	12	53	5
9. HUSBAND'S WESTERN EDUCATION	NONE	59	22	68	17	Table Not Formulated	
	SOME	7	5	9	4		
10. AMOUNT OF INITIAL CAPITAL	LOW	45	22	53	17	Table Not Formulated	
	HIGH	26	6	29	6		
11. PRIMARY OCCUPATION	MATS	--	--	60	7	65	6
	FOODS	--	--	18	10	23	5
12. PROFIT LEVEL*	LOW	--	--	--	--	71	11
	HIGH	--	--	--	--	20	3

* Recategorized. See Text

TABLE D.2

PRIMARY OCCUPATION BY ETHNIC GROUP
(CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	MATS	BEER	FOODS	TRADE	TOTAL
HAUSA	—	—	—	—	—
FYEM	1	1	1	0	3
SURA	14	13	19	17	63
TOTAL	15	14	20	17	66

TABLE D.3

PRIMARY OCCUPATION BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN
(YOUNG CHRISTIANS ONLY)

	MATS	BEER	FOODS	TRADE	TOTAL
FEW	5	2	6	2	15
MANY	0	1	2	1	4
TOTAL	5	3	8	3	19

TABLE D.4 FREQUENCIES FOR RELATIONSHIPS SHOWN IN TABLE 96 ABOVE

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	CATEGORIES	DEPENDENT VARIABLES					
		TRADERS/NON-TRADERS		PROFIT LEVEL (ALL CHRISTIANS)		PROFIT LEVEL (NON-TRADING CHRISTIANS ONLY)	
		TRADERS	NON-TRADERS	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT
1. DENOMINATION	EKAS	21	47	38	26	33	12
	NON-EKAS	0	13	10	3	10	3
2. AGE	YOUNG	6	14	13	5	11	2
	OLD	15	44	33	24	30	13
3. NUMBER OF CHILDREN (OLD WOMEN)	FEW	3	19	13	8	Table Not Formulated	
	MANY	12	25	20	16		
4. WESTERN EDUCATION	NONE	14	47	39	18	35	10
	SOME	7	13	9	11	8	5
5. HUSBAND'S SES	LOW	15	41	36	17	33	6
	HIGH	6	17	10	12	8	9
6. HUSBAND'S WESTERN EDUCATION	NONE	16	29	24	17	20	7
	SOME	5	25	18	12	17	8
7. RESIDENCE - MANGU	SHORT	9	33	28	10	27	4
	LONG	10	27	19	18	16	11
8. FARMING	YES	14	35	31	15	29	5
	NO	7	25	17	14	14	10
9. PROVISION	LOW	10	33	26	13	24	7
	HIGH	11	27	22	16	19	8

TABLE E.1 RELIGION BY STUDY VARIABLES - FREQUENCIES

VARIABLES	CATEGORIES	RELIGION (TOTAL SAMPLE)			RELIGION (NON-TRADERS ONLY)			GRAND TOTALS	
		CHRISTIAN	MUSLIM	INDIGENOUS	CHRISTIAN	MUSLIM	INDIGENOUS	TOTAL SAMPLE	NON-TRADERS
1. ETHNIC GROUP	ANGAS	8	2	0	8	2	0	10	10
	HAUSA	0	32	0	0	32	0	32	32
	PYEM	3	23	1	3	21	1	27	25
	SURA	68	44	1	47	42	1	113	90
	OTHER	2	8	0	2	8	0	10	10
2. NO. CHILDREN (YOUNG WOMEN)	FEW	16	40	0	12	39	0	56	51
	MANY	4	5	0	2	5	0	9	7
3. NO. CHILDREN (OLD WOMEN)	FEW	22	34	2	19	32	2	58	53
	MANY	39..	30..	0	27..	29..	0	69	56
4. MONOGAMY/ POLYGYNY	MONOGAMOUS	61	21	0	40	21	0	82	61
	POLYGYNOUS	19	85	2	19	81	2	106	102
	D.K.,N.A.	1	3	0	1	3	0	4	4
5. WIFE RANK (POLYG. WOMEN)	SENIOR	10	39	1	10	37	1	50	48
	NOT SENIOR	9	44	1	9	42	1	54	52
	D.K.,N.A.	0	2	0	0	2	0	2	2
6. AGE	YOUNG	20	45	0	14	44	0	65	58
	OLD	59	62	2	44	59	2	123	105
	D.K.,N.A.	2	2	0	2	2	0	4	4
7. WESTERN EDUCATION	NONE	61	100	2	47	96	2	163	145
	SOME	20	9	0	13	9	0	29	22
8. RESIDENCE-MANGU	SHORT	42	59	1	33	59	1	102	93
	LONG	37	49	1	27	45	1	87	73
	D.K.,N.A.	2	1	0	0	1	0	3	1

TABLE E.1 (continued)

VARIABLES	CATEGORIES	RELIGION (TOTAL SAMPLE)			RELIGION (NON-TRADERS ONLY)			GRAND TOTALS	
		CHRISTIAN	MUSLIM	INDIGENOUS	CHRISTIAN	MUSLIM	INDIGENOUS	TOTAL SAMPLE	NON-TRADERS
9. HUSBAND'S SES	LOW	56	48	2	41	47	2	106	90
	HIGH	23	58	0	17	55	0	81	72
	D.K.,N.A..	2	3	0	2	3	0	5	5
10. HUSBAND'S WESTERN EDUCATION	NONE	45	88	2	29	85	2	135	116
	SOME	30	14	0	25	14	0	44	39
	D.K.,N.A.	6	7	0	6	6	0	13	12
11. INITIAL CAPITAL	LOW	51	74	2	42	70	2	127	114
	HIGH	30	35	0	18	35	0	65	53
12. NO. OF OCCUPATIONS	NONE	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
	ONE	28	64	1	24	64	1	93	89
	2 OR MORE	52	45	1	35	41	1	98	77
13. FARMING	YES	49	7	2	35	6	2	58	43
	NO	32	102	0	25	99	0	134	124
14. PROVISION	LOW	43	101	2	33	98	2	146	133
	HIGH	38	8	0	27	7	0	46	34
TOTAL		81	109	2	60	105	2	192	167

** Includes two women whose ages were not ascertained.

TABLE E.2 PRIMARY OCCUPATION BY STUDY VARIABLES - FREQUENCIES

VARIABLES	CATEGORIES	CHRISTIANS ONLY					MUSLIMS ONLY					TOTAL SAMPLE					GRAND TOTAL
		MATS	BEER	FOOD	TRADE	MISC.	MATS	BEER	FOOD	TRADE	MISC.	MATS	BEER	FOOD	TRADE	MISC.	
1. DENOMINATION	EKAS	12	11	23	17	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	68
	NON-EKAS	4	9	0	0	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13
2. ETHNIC GROUP	ANGAS	0	6	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	6	3	0	0	10
	HAUSA	—	—	—	—	—	14	0	14	0	4	14	0	14	0	4	32
	PYEM	1	1	2*	0	0	18	1	1	2	1	19	2	3	2	1	27
	SURA	14	13	20*	17	5	33	0	10	1	0	47	13	30	18	5	113
	OTHER	1	0	1	0	0	5	0	2	0	1	6	0	3	0	1	10
3. NO. CHILDREN (YOUNG WOMEN)	FEW	5	2	6	2	1	34	0	3	1	2	39	2	9	3	3	56
	MANY	0	1	2	1	0	3	0	2	0	0	3	1	4	1	0	9
4. NO. CHILDREN (OLD WOMEN)	FEW	6	8	6**	3	1	19	1	12	1	1	25	9	18	4	2	58
	MANY	5	9	11•	11	3•	15••	0	11	1	3	20	9	22	12	6	69
5. MONOGAMY/ POLYGYNY	MONOGAMOUS	13	9	18	17	4	13	0	4	0	4	26	9	22	17	8	82
	POLYGYNOUS	3	10	7**	0	1	58	0	22	3	2	61	10	29	3	3	106
	D.K.,N.A.	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	4
6. WIFE RANK (POLYG. WOMEN)	SENIOR	1	5	5*	0	0	24	0	11	2	2	25	5	16	2	2	50
	NOT SENIOR	2	5	2*	0	1	32	0	11	1	0	34	5	13	1	1	54
	D.K.,N.A.	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
7. AGE	YOUNG	5	3	8	3	1	37	0	5	1	2	42	3	13	4	3	65
	OLD	11	17	16**	14	3	32	1	23	2	4	43	18	39	16	7	123
	D.K.,N.A.	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	4
8. WESTERN EDUCATION	NONE	14	18	17**	12	2	64	1	26	3	6	78	19	43	15	8	163
	SOME	2	2	8	5	3	7	0	2	0	0	9	2	10	5	3	29
9. RESIDENCE - MANGU	SHORT	11	9	12*	7	4	40	1	13	0	5	51	10	25	7	9	102
	LONG	5	11	13*	8	1	31	0	14	3	1	36	11	27	11	2	87
	D.K.,N.A.	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	3

TABLE E.2 (continued)

VARIABLES	CATEGORIES	CHRISTIANS ONLY					MUSLIMS ONLY					TOTAL SAMPLE					GRAND TOTAL
		MATS	BEER	FOOD	TRADE	MISC.	MATS	BEER	FOOD	TRADE	MISC.	MATS	BEER	FOOD	TRADE	MISC.	
10. HUSBAND'S SES	LOW	15	11	16**	13	3	29	1	15	1	2	44	12	31	14	5	106
	HIGH	1	7	9	4	2	42	0	10	2	4	43	7	19	6	6	81
	D.K.,N.A.	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	5
11. HUSBAND'S WESTERN EDUCATION	NONE	7	14	10**	13	3	59	1	22	2	4	66	15	32	15	7	135
	SOME	5	6	13	4	2	7	0	5	0	2	12	6	18	4	4	44
	D.K.,N.A.	4	0	2	0	0	5	0	1	1	0	9	0	3	1	0	13
12. INITIAL CAPITAL	LOW	10	11	20**	8	4	45	1	22	3	3	55	12	42	11	7	127
	HIGH	6	9	5	9	1	26	0	6	0	3	32	9	11	9	4	65
13. NO. OF OCCUPATIONS	NONE	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	ONE	0	13	11*	4	1	50	1	9	0	4	50	14	20	4	5	93
	2 OR MORE	16	7	14*	13	3	21	0	10	3	2	37	7	33	16	5	98
14. FARMING	YES	13	10	15**	11	2	4	0	2	1	0	17	10	17	12	2	58
	NO	3	10	10	6	3	67	1	26	2	6	70	11	36	8	9	134
15. PROVISION	LOW	9	6	21**	6	3	71	0	23	2	5	80	6	44	8	8	146
	HIGH	7	14	4	11	2	0	1	5	1	1	7	15	9	12	3	46
16. PROFIT LEVEL	LOW	14	12	18**	3	3	62	0	24	3	5	76	12	42	6	8	144
	HIGH	1	8	6	13	1	5	1	4	0	1	6	9	10	13	2	40
	D.K.,N.A.	1	0	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	5	0	1	1	1	8
TOTAL		16	20	25	17	5	71	1	28	3	6	87	21	53	20	11	192

* Includes one follower of an indigenous religion.
** Includes two followers of indigenous religions.
• Includes one woman whose age was not ascertained.
•• Includes two women whose ages were not ascertained.

TABLE E.3 PROFIT LEVEL BY STUDY VARIABLES - FREQUENCIES

VARIABLES	CATEGORIES	CHRISTIANS ONLY			MUSLIMS ONLY			TOTAL SAMPLE			GRAND TOTAL
		LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	D.K.,N.A.	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	D.K.,N.A.	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	D.K.,N.A.	
1. DENOMINATION	EKAS	38	26	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	68
	NON-EKAS	10	3	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	13
2. ETHNIC GROUP	ANGAS	5	3	0	2	0	0	7	3	0	10
	HAUSA	—	—	—	29	2	1	29	2	1	32
	PYEM	2*	2	0	21	2	0	23	4	0	27
	SURA	42*	24	3	36	6	2	78	30	5	113
	OTHER	1	0	1	6	1	1	7	1	2	10
3. NO. CHILDREN (YOUNG WOMEN)	FEW	12	3	1	35	1	4	47	4	5	56
	MANY	1	2	1	4	1	0	5	3	1	9
4. NO. CHILDREN (OLD WOMEN)	FEW	15**	8	1	30	4	0	45	12	1	58
	MANY	22••	16	1	25•	5•	0	47	21	1	69
5. MONOGAMY/ POLYGYNY	MONOGAMOUS	36	21	4	20	0	1	56	21	5	82
	POLYGYNOUS	13**	8	0	72	10	3	85	18	3	106
	D.K.,N.A.	1	0	0	2	1	0	3	1	0	4
6. WIFE RANK (POLYG. WOMEN)	SENIOR	5*	6	0	32	6	1	37	12	1	50
	NOT SENIOR	8*	2	0	38	4	2	46	6	2	54
	D.K.,N.A.	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2
7. AGE	YOUNG	13	5	2	39	2	4	52	7	6	65
	OLD	35**	24	2	54	8	0	89	32	2	123
	D.K.,N.A.	2	0	0	1	1	0	3	1	0	4
8. WESTERN EDUCATION	NONE	41**	18	4	86	10	4	127	28	8	163
	SOME	9	11	0	8	1	0	17	12	0	29
9. RESIDENCE - MANGU	SHORT	29*	10	4	53	5	1	82	15	5	102
	LONG	20*	18	0	40	6	3	60	24	3	87
	D.K.,N.A.	1	1	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	3

TABLE 5.3 (continued)

VARIABLES	CATEGORIES	CHRISTIANS ONLY			MUSLIMS ONLY			TOTAL SAMPLE			GRAND TOTAL
		LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	D.K.N.A.	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	D.K.,N.A.	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	D.K.,N.A.	
10. HUSBAND'S SES	LOW	38**	17	3	39	6	3	77	23	6	106
	HIGH	10	12	1	52	5	1	62	17	2	81
	D.K.,N.A.	2	0	0	3	0	0	5	0	0	5
11. HUSBAND'S WESTERN EDUCATION	NONE	26**	17	4	77	8	3	103	25	7	135
	SOME	18	12	0	11	2	1	29	14	1	44
	D.K.,N.A.	6	0	0	6	1	0	12	1	0	13
12. INITIAL CAPITAL	LOW	37**	14	2	62	8	4	99	22	6	127
	HIGH	13	15	2	32	3	0	45	18	2	65
13. NO. OF OCCUPATIONS	NONE	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	ONE	20*	9	0	61	1	2	81	10	2	93
	2 OR MORE	30*	20	3	33	10	2	63	30	5	98
14. FARMING	YES	33**	15	3	6	1	0	36	16	6	58
	NO	17	14	1	88	10	4	18	24	92	134
15. PROVISION	LOW	28**	13	4	87	10	4	115	23	8	146
	HIGH	22	16	0	7	1	0	29	17	0	46
TOTAL		50	29	4	94	11	4	144	40	8	192

* Includes one follower of an indigenous religion.
** Includes two followers of indigenous religions.
• Includes one woman whose age was not ascertained.
•• Includes two women whose ages were not ascertained.

TABLE E.4 PROFIT LEVEL BY STUDY VARIABLES (NON-TRADERS ONLY) - FREQUENCIES

VARIABLES	CATEGORIES	TOTAL SAMPLE				CHRISTIANS ONLY			
		LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	D.K.,N.A.	TOTAL	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	D.K.,N.A.	TOTAL
1. DENOMINATION	EKAS	--	--	--	--	33	12	2	47
	NON-EKAS	--	--	--	--	10	3	0	13
2. ETHNIC GROUP	ANGAS	7	3	0	10	5	3	0	8
	HAUSA	29	2	1	32	--	--	--	--
	PYEM	21	4	0	25	1	2	0	3
	SURA	71	16	3	90	36	10	1	47
	OTHER	7	1	2	10	1	0	1	2
3. NO. CHILDREN (YOUNG WOMEN)	FEW	44	2	5	51				
	MANY	5	2	0	7				a
4. NO. CHILDREN (OLD WOMEN)	FEW	43	10	0	53				
	MANY	43•••	12•	1	56				b
5. MONOGAMY/ POLYGYNY	MONOGAMOUS	51	7	3	61	31	7	2	40
	POLYGYNOUS	81	18	3	102	11	8	0	19
	D.K.,N.A.	3	1	0	4	1	0	0	1
6. AGE	YOUNG	49	4	5	58	11	2	1	14
	OLD	83	21	1	105	30	13	1	44
	D.K.,N.A.	3	1	0	4	2	0	0	2
7. WESTERN EDUCATION	NONE	119	20	6	145	35	10	2	47
	SOME	16	6	0	22	8	5	0	13
8. RESIDENCE- MANGU	SHORT	81	9	3	93	27	4	2	33
	LONG	53	17	3	73	16	11	0	27
	D.K.,N.A.	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

TABLE E.4 (continued)

VARIABLES	CATEGORIES	TOTAL SAMPLE				CHRISTIANS ONLY			
		LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	D.K.,N.A.	TOTAL	LOW PROFIT	HIGH PROFIT	D.K.,N.A.	TOTAL
9. HUSBAND'S SES	LOW	73	12	5	90	33	6	2	41
	HIGH	57	14	1	72	8	9	0	17
	D.K.,N.A.	5	0	0	5	2	0	0	2
10. HUSBAND'S WESTERN EDUCATION	NONE	96	15	5	116	20	7	2	29
	SOME	28	10	1	39	17	8	0	25
	D.K.,N.A.	11	1	0	12	6	0	0	6
11. INITIAL CAPITAL	LOW	93	16	5	114	33	8	1	42
	HIGH	42	10	1	53	10	7	1	18
12. NO. OF OCCUPATIONS	NONE	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
	ONE	81	6	2	89	19	5	0	24
	2 OR MORE	54	20	3	77	24	10	1	35
13. FARMING	YES	36	6	1	43	29	5	1	35
	NO	99	20	5	124	14	10	1	25
14. PROVISION	LOW	110	17	6	133	24	7	2	33
	HIGH	25	9	0	34	19	8	0	27
TOTAL		135	26	6	167	43	15	2	60

* Includes one woman whose age was not ascertained.
*** Includes three women whose ages were not ascertained.
a and b - These tables were not formulated.

TABLE E.5 TRADERS/NON-TRADERS BY STUDY VARIABLES - FREQUENCIES

VARIABLES	CATEGORIES	CHRISTIANS ONLY			EKAS CHRISTIANS ONLY			TOTAL SAMPLE		
		TRADERS	NON-TRADERS	TOTAL	TRADERS	NON-TRADERS	TOTAL	TRADERS	NON-TRADERS	TOTAL
1. RELIGION	CHRISTIAN	--	--	--	--	--	--	21	60	81
	MUSLIM	--	--	--	--	--	--	4	105	109
	INDIGENOUS	--	--	--	--	--	--	0	2	2
2. DENOMINATION	EKAS	21	47	68	--	--	--	--	--	--
	OTHER	0	13	13	--	--	--	--	--	--
3. ETHNIC GROUP	ANGAS	0	8	8				.0	10	10
	HAUSA	--	--	--				0	32	32
	PYEM	0	3	3				2	25	27
	SURA	21	47	68				23	90	113
	OTHER	0	2	2			a	0	10	10
4. NO. CHILDREN (YOUNG WOMEN)	FEW	4	12	16	4	9	13	5	51	56
	MANY	2	2	4	2	2	4	2	7	9
5. NO. CHILDREN (OLD WOMEN)	FEW	3	19	22	3	13	16	5	53	58
	MANY	12	27••	39	12	23••	35	13	56::	69
6. MONOGAMY/ POLYGYNY	MONOGAMOUS	21	40	61	21	34	55	21	61	82
	POLYGYNOUS	0	19	19	0	13	13	4	102	106
	D.K.,N.A.	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	4	4
7. WIFE RANK (POLYG. WOMEN)	SENIOR	0	10	10	--	--	--	2	48	50
	NOT SENIOR	0	9	9	--	--	--	2	52	54
	D.K.,N.A.	0	0	0	--	--	--	0	2	2
8. AGE	YOUNG	6	14	20	6	11	17	7	58	65
	OLD	15	44	59	15	34	49	18	105	123
	D.K.,N.A.	0	2	2	0	2	2	0	4	4
9. WESTERN EDUCATION	NONE	14	47	61	14	34	48	18	145	163
	SOME	7	13	20	7	13	20	7	22	29

TABLE E.5 (continued)

VARIABLES	CATEGORIES	CHRISTIANS ONLY			BKAS CHRISTIANS ONLY			TOTAL SAMPLE		
		TRADERS	NON-TRADERS	TOTAL	TRADERS	NON-TRADERS	TOTAL	TRADERS	NON-TRADERS	TOTAL
10. RESIDENCE-MANGU	SHORT	9	33	42	9	25	34	9	93	102
	LONG	10	27	37	10	22	32	14	73	87
	D.K.,N.A.	2	0	2	2	0	2	2	1	3
11. HUSBAND'S SES	LOW	15	41	56	15	34	49	16	90	106
	HIGH	6	17	23	6	13	19	9	72	81
	D.K.,N.A.	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	5	5
12. HUSBAND'S WESTERN EDUCATION	NONE	16	29	45	16	20	36	19	116	135
	SOME	5	25	30	5	21	26	5	39	44
	D.K.,N.A.	0	6	6	0	6	6	1	12	13
13. INITIAL CAPITAL	LOW	9	42	51	9	36	45	13	114	127
	HIGH	12	18	30	12	11	23	12	53	65
14. HOUSE LOCATION	SECTION 8	14	5	19	14	5	19	14	5	19
	NOT SECTION 8	6	46	52	6	36	42	10	152	162
	D.K.,N.A.	1	9	10	1	6	7	1	10	11
15. NO. OF OCCUPATIONS	NONE	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
	ONE	4	24	28	4	18	22	4	89	93
	2 OR MORE	17	35	52	17	28	45	21	77	98
16. FARMING	YES	14	35	49	14	27	41	15	43	58
	NO	7	25	32	7	20	27	10	124	134
17. PROVISION	LOW	10	33	43	10	27	37	13	133	146
	HIGH	11	27	38	11	20	31	12	34	46
18. PROFIT LEVEL	LOW	5	43	48	5	33	38	9	135	144
	HIGH	14	15	29	14	12	26	14	26	40
	D.K.,N.A.	2	2	4	2	2	4	2	6	8
TOTAL		21	60	81	21	47	68	25	167	192

••Includes two women whose ages were not ascertained.
:: Includes four women whose ages were not ascertained.
a This table was not formulated.

TABLE E.6 PROVISION BY STUDY VARIABLES - FREQUENCIES

VARIABLES	CATEGORIES	CHRISTIANS ONLY		MUSLIMS ONLY		TOTAL SAMPLE		
		LOW PROVISION	HIGH PROVISION	LOW PROVISION	HIGH PROVISION	LOW PROVISION	HIGH PROVISION	GRAND TOTAL
1. DENOMINATION	EKAS	37	31	—	—	—	—	68
	NON-EKAS	6	7	—	—	—	—	13
2. ETHNIC GROUP	ANGAS	6	2	2	0	8	2	10
	HAUSA	—	—	30	2	30	2	32
	PYEM	1*	3	21	2	22	5	27
	SURA	36*	33	40	4	76	37	113
	OTHER	2	0	8	0	10	0	10
3. AGE	YOUNG	15	5	45	0	60	5	65
	OLD	29**	32	54	8	83	40	123
	D.K.,N.A.	1	1	2	0	3	1	4
4. HUSBAND'S SES	LOW	29**	29	43	5	72	34	106
	HIGH	15	8	57	1	72	9	81
	D.K.,N.A.	1	1	1	2	2	3	5
5. HUSBAND/ WIFE RESIDENCE	WITH HUS.	38**	30	97	1	135	31	166
	LIVES ALONE	7	7	4	6	11	13	24
	D.K.,N.A.		1		1		2	2
TOTAL		45**	38	101	8	146	46	192

* Includes one follower of an indigenous religion.
** Includes two followers of indigenous religions.

APPENDIX F

The Questionnaire

NOTE: Not all questions which were asked of the women in Mangu are listed here, although all questions which pertain to the analysis are included. Also the format shown here is not the format of the original questionnaire.

A Study of Women's Occupations in Mangu, Benue/Plateau State, Nigeria

Introduction

Kate is a student at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. As part of her work she has come to Mangu to learn about the life and work of the women here. She wants mostly to find out about the ways in which women are earning money, and, about how they spend their money. We have come to ask you some questions about this. Kate is doing this work so that others will know what women are doing; then they can help women more. We are grateful for the way you have received us today. Don't be ashamed and keep silent.

SECTION 1

First we want to ask you some questions about your life and your family.

1. For how long have you been living in Mangu?

2a. What is your religion?

2b. (If Christian) What Church do you attend?

3a. What is your husband's religion?

3b. (If Christian) What Church does he attend?

4a. Is this your first marriage?

4b. (If no) Is this your second, third, fourth marriage?

5. Are you living with your husband?

6. How many of your own children do you have?

7. How many successful pregnancies have you had?

8. What is your tribe?

9. What is your husband's tribe?

10a. How many wives does your husband now have?

10b. (If more than one) Are you his first, second, third, fourth wife?

11. Did you attend primary school?

12. Have you attended "Woman's School"?

13. Did you attend Koranic school?

14a. Did your husband attend primary school?

14b. (If yes) At what class did he finish?

14c. (If yes to 14a) Did he go to school after that?

14d. (If yes to 14c) At what type of school did he receive further education?

15. Did your husband attend Koranic school?

16a. What is your husband's occupation?

16b. (If trader) Does he own a shop, a market stall or does he have a table in the market?

17. Does he do any other part-time work to earn money? (If yes) what?

18. What is (was) your father's occupation?

19. What is (was) your mother's occupation?

SECTION 2

1. We know that many women help their husbands in providing food for their families when they can. Do you regularly provide any of the following items? - acha, millet, guinea corn, maize, rice, beans, yams, sweet potatoes, cocoa yams, salt, oil, vegetables, other soup ingredients, kunu, other.

2. (If yes for any item) Is what you provide more, less, or the same as what your husband provides?

3. Who pays for the following items in your family, you or your husband? - your clothes, your children's clothes, your children's school fees, firewood; transport money if you travel, medicines for you or your children, pomade, soap, other cosmetics, plaiting threads, grinding engine charges.

4. (If both) Who pays for more of this (these), you or your husband?

5. Do you ever do farm work for yourself or for your husband?

SECTION 3

1. Now we want you to tell us all the work you do at any time throughout the year to earn money.

2. Which types of work are you doing at present?

SECTION 4

Mat-making

1. How long does it take you to make one mat?

2. For how much can you usually sell one mat?

3. How much *gain* do you usually make from one mat?

4a Do you sell these yourself?

4b (If no) Who sells them for you?

5. Where are they sold?

6. Do you do mat-making more in the dry season or the rainy season?

Beer Brewing

1. On what days of the week do you sell beer?

2. How much worth of grain did you use last week for brewing beer?

3. How many pounds or shillings[1] worth of beer did you sell last week?

4. How much gain did you make last week from selling beer?

5. Do you brew beer more in the dry season or in the rainy season?

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1. This refers to Nigerian pounds; the change-over to naira took place during the period in which the interviews were carried out.

Kunu-making

1. On what days of the week do you sell kunu?

2. Do you sell this yourself or do you send someone out to sell it for you?

3. Where is it sold?

4. How much worth of grain did you use last week for making kunu?

5. How many shillings (or pounds) worth of kunu did you sell last week?

6. How much gain did you make last week from selling kunu?

7. Do you make kunu more in the dry season or in the rainy season?

Food Processing

(a) Fried Meats and Pepper Soup

1. On what days of the week do you sell this (these)?

2. What type of meat do you sell?

3. Do you buy the animals and have them slaughtered or do you buy the meat in the market?

4. How many shillings (or pounds) worth of this (these) did you sell last week?

5. How much gain did you make last week from selling this (these)?

6. Do you sell it (them) yourself or do you send someone out to sell it (them) for you?

7. Where is it (are they) sold?

8. Do you sell this (these) more in the dry season or in the rainy season?

(b) Other Food Items

1. What item(s) do you produce and sell?

2. On what days of the week do you sell this (these)?

3. Do you sell this (these) yourself or do you send someone to sell it (them) for you?

4. Where is it (are they) sold?

5. How many shillings (or pounds) worth of this did you sell last week?

6. How much gain did you make last week from selling this (these)?

7. Do you sell this (these) more in the dry season or in the rainy season?

Trading

1. What items do you trade in?

2. On what days of the week do you sell this (these)?

3. Do you sell this (these) yourself or do you send someone out to sell it (them) for you?

4. Where is it (are they) sold?

5a. Where do you get the items you sell?

5b. (If outside Mangu) How often do you travel there?

6. How much worth of this (these) did you buy last week?

7. How long does it take you to sell this quantity of it (them)?

8. How much gain do you make from selling this much of it (them)?

9. How much gain did you make last week from the sale of foodstuffs?

10. Do you trade more in the dry season or in the rainy season?

SECTION 5

1a. Did your husband give you money (or grain) to start to earn your own money?

1b. (If no) Where did you get the money (or grain) you started with? - relatives, friends, - other?

2. How much did he/she/they give you?

3. When did he/she/they give it to you?

SECTION 6

Finally, we want to ask you some questions about how you spend the money you earn.

1. On what things do you spend the money you earn?

2. Do you have any friends you give gifts to?

3. We know that women always want to help their parents and relatives when they can. Did you give anything to your parents or relatives in the past year? (If yes) what?

4. Did you receive anything from your parents or relatives in the past year? (If yes) what?

5a. Are you a member of a savings group?

5b. (If yes) How often do you contribute? How much do you contribute?

SECTION 7

1a. Do you think women are trying harder now than before to earn money?

1b. (If yes) Why are they trying harder?

2a. Do you think women are wiser now about earning money than they were before?

2b. (If yes) Why are they wiser?

SECTION 8

1. House Construction

(a) Walls
- mud bricks
- mud bricks, mud plaster
- mud bricks, cement plaster
- cement bricks, cement plaster
- painted or unpainted

(b) Floors and yard
- earthen
- mud plaster
- cement plaster

(c) Roof
- grass
- zinc

2. Researcher's estimate of the woman's age
Interpreter's estimate of the woman's age.

3. Alone
Others present

4. In woman's room
In common sitting-room
Outside

5. Length of interview

6. Comments on interview

APPENDIX G LIST OF TABLES

BLE MBER	TITLE	P	V	PAGE
1	The Study Sample	--	--	43
2	Ranges of Cramer's V	--	--	45
3	Categories of Provision of Household Needs	--	--	51
4	Coding Decisions Showing Frequencies	--	--	56-7
5	Primary Occupation by Religion	.00	.58	60
6	Profit Level by Primary Occupation	.00	.48	60
7	Profit Level by Religion (Mat-Makers Only)	--	--	63
8	Profit Level by Religion (Food Processors Only)	.56	.11	63
9	Profit Level by Religion	.00	.31	76
10a	Profit Level by Religion (Non-Traders Only)	.02	.18	77
10b	Profit Level* By Religion (Non-Traders Only)	.00	.32	77
11	Primary Occupation by Number of Occupations	.00	.28	79
12	Profit Level by Number of Occupations	.00	.25	79
13	Profit Level by Initial Capital	.15	.11	82
14	Primary Occupation by Initial Capital	.10	.19	82
15	Initial Capital by Religion	.58	.04	84
16	Number of Occupations by Religion	.00	.22	91
17	Profit Level by Number of Occupations (Christians Only)	.62	.06	91
18	Primary Occupation by Number of Occupations (Christians Only)	.00	.49	92
19	Profit Level by Primary Occupation (Christians Only)	.00	.52	92
20	Profit Level by Number of Occupations (Muslims Only)	.00	.32	94
21	Primary Occupation by Number of Occupations (Muslims Only)	.00	.33	94
22a	Profit Level by Primary Occupation (Muslims Only)	.52	.07	95
22b	Profit Level* by Primary Occupation (Muslims Only)	.00	.27	95
23	Farming by Religion	.00	.58	98
	Provision by Religion	.00	.45	98

APPENDIX G (continued)

LE BER	TITLE	P	V	PAGE
3	Provision by Profit Level	.01	.20	100
26	Provision by Profit Level (Christians Only)	.58	.06	100
27	Age by Religion	.03	.16	107
28	Ethnic Group by Religion	.00	.54	107
29	Husband's SES By Religion	.00	.24	108
30	Monogamy/Polygyny by Religion	.00	.55	108
31	Woman's Western Education by Religion	.00	.21	110
32	Husband's Western Education by Religion	.00	.29	110
33	Number of Children by Religion (Old Women Only)	.08	.16	111
34	Relationship Between Profit Level and Religion	--	--	112
35	Relationship Between Primary Occupation and Religion	--	--	113
36	Number of Children by Religion (Young Women Only)	.58	.07	115
37	Residence - Mangu by Religion	.96	.00	115
38	Primary Occupations of Muslim Women	--	--	118
39	Primary Occupation by Ethnic Group (Muslims Only)	.00	.37	119
40	Primary Occupation by Age (Muslims Only)	.00	.30	119
41	Primary Occupation by Husband's SES (Muslims Only)	.15	.15	123
42	Profits of Muslim Women	--	--	124
43	Profit Level* by Number of Occupations (Muslims Only)	.00	.47	126
44	Profit Level* by Ethnic Group (Muslims Only)	.28	.16	126
45	Profit Level* by Wife Rank (Muslims Only)	.19	.15	128
46	Provision* by Husband/Wife's Residence	.00	.42	132
47	Relationships amongst Selected Variables (Muslim Women Only)	--	--	133
48	Primary Occupations of Christian Women	--	--	135
49	Primary Occupation by Denomination (Christians Only)	--	--	137
50	Primary Occupation by Monogamy/Polygyny (Christians Only)	--	--	137
51	Primary Occupation by Age (Christians Only)	.34	.21	139

TABLE NUMBER	TITLE	P	V	PAGE
52	Primary Occupation by Husband's SES (Christians Only)	.09	.29	139
53	Primary Occupation by Husband's Western Education (Christians Only)	.07	.32	140
54	Primary Occupation by Western Education (Christians Only)	—	—	140
55	Primary Occupation by Initial Capital (Christians Only)	.20	.25	142
56	Traders/Non-Traders by Profit Level (Christians Only)	.00	.39	145
57	Traders/Non-Traders by Profit Level (Ekas Christians Only)	.00	.40	145
58	Traders/Non-Traders by House Location (Christians Only)	.00	.58	146
59	Traders/Non-Traders by Monogamy/Polygyny (Christians Only)	.01	.30	146
60	Traders/Non-Traders by Husband's Western Education (Christians Only)	.12	.18	149
61	Traders/Non-Traders by Husband's Western Education (Ekas Christians Only)	.07	.23	149
62	Traders/Non-Traders By Initial Capital (Christians Only)	.05	.22	150
63	Traders/Non-Traders by Initial Capital (Ekas Christians Only)	.01	.30	150
64	Traders/Non-Traders by Number of Children (Old Christians Only)	.19	.17	151
65a	Profits of Christian Women	—	—	152
65b	Profits of Non-Trading Christian Women	—	—	152
66	Profit Level by Primary Occupation (Christians Only, Traders Excluded)	.08	.29	155
67	Profit Level by Husband's SES (Christians Only)	.12	.18	156
68	Profit Level by Husband's SES (Non-Trading Christians Only)	.01	.35	156
69	Profit Level by Monogamy/Polygyny (Christians Only)	.89	.02	157
70	Profit Level by Monogamy/Polygyny (Non-Trading Christians Only)	.11	.21	157
71	Monogamy/Polygyny by Husband's SES (Christians Only)	.91	.01	158
72	Monogamy/Polygyny by Husband's SES (Non-Trading Christians Only)	.93	.01	158
73	Profit Level by Woman's Western Education (Christians Only)	.11	.18	160
74	Profit Level by Woman's Western Education (Non-Trading Christians Only)	.58	.11	160

APPENDIX G (continued)

BLE MBER	TITLE	P	V	PAGE
75	Profit Level by Residence-Mangu (Christians Only)	.08	.20	161
76	Profit Level by Residence - Mangu (Non-Trading Christians Only)	.03	.28	161
77	Residence-Mangu by Age (Christians Only)	.05	.22	162
78	Primary Occupation by Residence-Mangu (Christians Only)	.52	.18	163
79	Profit Level by Initial Capital (Christians Only)	.05	.22	163
30	Profit Level by Initial Capital (Non-Trading Christians Only)	.16	.18	165
31	Primary Occupation by Initial Capital (Christians Only, Traders Excluded)	.26	.21	165
32	Participation in Farming by Christian Women	—	—	166
33	Woman's Farming Response by Husband's Farming Response (Christians Only)	.00	.44	168
34	Farming by Profit Level (Christians Only)	.62	.10	168
35	Farming by Profit Level (Non-Trading Christians Only)	.04	.26	169
36	Farming by Primary Occupation (Christians Only - Traders Excluded)	.14	.26	169
37	Farming by Primary Occupation (Christians Only)	.25	.23	170
38	Primary Occupation by Number of Children (Old Christians Only)	.26	.27	170
39	Provision scores of Christian Women	—	—	171
90	Provision by Primary Occupation (Christians Only)	.00	.44	173
91	Provision by Profit Level (Christians Only)	.58	.06	173
92	Provision by Profit Level (Non-Trading Christians Only)	.75	.04	174
93	Provision by Husband's SES (Christians Only)	.26	.13	174
94	Provision by Age (Christians Only)	.04	.23	177
95	Provision by Husband/Wife's Residence (Christians Only)	.99	.00	177
96	Relationships Amongst Selected Variables (Christian Women Only)	—	—	178

APPENDIX G (continued)

TABLE NUMBER	TITLE	P	V	PAGE
TABLE C	Profit Level by Religion (Sura Women)	.02	.23	195
	Profit Level by Religion (Young Women)	.04	.27	195
	Profit Level by Religion (Old Women)	.00	.31	195
	Profit Level by Religion (Women with Low Status Husbands)	.05	.20	195
	Profit Level by Religion (Women with High Status Husbands)	.00	.47	195
	Profit Level by Religion (Women with No Western Education)	.00	.25	195
	Profit Level by Religion (Women with Some Western Education)	.07	.34	195
	Profit Level by Religion (Monogamously Married Women)	.00	.33	195
	Profit Level by Religion (Polygynously Married Women)	.01	.27	195
	Profit Level by Religion (Women Whose Husband Have No Western Education)	.00	.36	195
	Profit Level by Religion (Women Whose Husbands Have Some Western Education)	.22	.19	195
	Profit Level by Religion (Old Women with Few Children)	.05	.26	195
	Profit Level by Religion (Old Women with Many Children)	.02	.29	195
	Primary Occupation by Religion (Sura Women)	.00	.58	195
	Primary Occupation by Religion (Young Women)	--	--	195
	Primary Occupation by Religion (Old Women)	.00	.56	195
	Primary Occupation by Religion (Women with Low Status Husbands)	.00	.48	195
	Primary Occupation by Religion (Women with High Status Husbands)	--	--	195
	Primary Occupation by Religion (Women with No Western Education)	--	--	195
	Primary Occupation by Religion (Women with Some Western Education)	.00	.57	195
	Primary Occupation by Religion (Women with Some Western Education)	.00	.57	195
	Primary Occupation by Religion (Monogamously Married Women)	--	--	195
	Primary Occupation by Religion (Polygynously Married Women)	--	--	195
	Primary Occupation by Religion (Women Whose Husbands Have No Western Education)	.00	.69	195

APPENDIX G (continued)

TABLE NUMBER	TITLE	P	V	PAGE
	Primary Occupation by Religion (Women Whose Husbands Have Some Western Education)	--	--	195
	Primary Occupation by Religion (Old Women with Few Children)	--	--	195
	Primary Occupation by Religion (Old Women With Many Children)	--	--	195
D.1	Primary Occupation by Number Of Children (Old Muslims Only)	.79	.04	196
	Primary Occupation by Monogamy/Polygyny (Muslims Only)	.97	.00	196
	Primary Occupation by Western Education (Muslims Only)	--	--	196
	Primary Occupation by Residence-Mangu (Muslims Only)	.62	.05	196
	Primary Occupation by Wife Rank (Muslims Only)	.75	.04	196
	Primary Occupation by Husband's Western Education (Muslims Only)	.50	.07	196
	Primary Occupation by Amount of Initial Capital (Muslims Only)	.22	.12	196
	Profit Level* by Age (Muslims Only)	.27	.11	196
	Profit Level* by Number of Children (Old Muslims Only)	.87	.02	196
	Profit Level* by Monogamy/Polygyny (Muslims Only)	.63	.05	196
	Profit Level* by Western Education (Muslims Only)	.69	.04	196
	Profit Level* by Residence-Mangu (Muslims Only)	.60	.08	196
	Profit Level* by Husband's SES (Muslims Only)	.92	.01	196
	Profit Level* by Husband's Western Education (Muslims Only)	.61	.05	196
	Profit Level* by Amount of Initial Capital (Muslims Only)	.57	.06	196
	Provision* by Age (Muslims Only)	.57	.08	196
	Provision* by Ethnic Group (Muslims Only)	.71	.08	196
	Provision* by Husband's SES (Muslims Only)	.52	.06	196
	Provision* by Primary Occupation (Muslims Only)	.68	.10	196
	Provision* by Profit Level (Muslims Only)	.76	.03	196
D.2	Primary Occupation by Ethnic Group	--	--	197
D.3	Primary Occupation by Number of Children (Young Christians Only)	--	--	197

APPENDIX G (continued)

R	TITLE	P	V	PAGE
	Traders/Non-Traders by Age (Christians Only)	.91	.01	198
	Traders/Non-Traders by Western Education (Christians Only)	.56	.09	198
	Traders/Non-Traders by Husband's SES (Christians Only)	.82	.02	198
	Traders/Non-Traders by Residence-Mangu (Christians Only)	.75	.04	198
	Traders/Non-Traders by Farming (Christians Only)	.68	.05	198
	Traders/Non-Traders by Provision (Christians Only)	.74	.04	198
	Profit Level by Denomination (Christians Only)	.62	.10	198
	Profit Level by Age (Christians Only)	.58	.09	198
	Profit Level by Number of Children (Old Christians Only)	.84	.03	198
	Profit Level by Husband's Western Education (Christians Only)	.90	.01	198
	Profit Level by Provision (Christians Only)	.58	.06	198
	Profit Level by Denomination (Non-Trading Christians)	.92	.01	198
	Profit Level by Age (Non-Trading Christians Only)	.51	.09	198
	Profit Level by Husband's Western Education (Non-Trading Christians Only)	.85	.03	198
	Profit Level by Provision (Non-Trading Christians Only)	.75	.04	198
	Religion by Study Variables - Frequencies	—	—	199-200
	Primary Occupation by Study Variables - Frequencies	—	—	201-2
	Profit Level by Study Variables - Frequencies	—	—	203-4
	Profit Level by Study Variables (Non-Traders Only) - Frequencies	—	—	205-6
	Traders/Non-Traders by Study Variables - Frequencies	—	—	207-8
	Provision by Study Variables - Frequencies	—	—	209