

**KALUBALEN
DA MATA KE
FUSKANTA DANGANE DA
Neman Ilimi da Kuma Aiki**

**Gender, Knowledge
and Labour:**

**Challenges Facing Hausa Muslim
Women**



**Edited by:
Rahina Muazu**

Awatan Disamba 2024, manazarta, malamai da shugabannin al'umma sun taru a Jos domin tattaunawa ta ilimi kan Musulunci, Jinsi, da Al'adar Hausa taron da ya dauki Hausa a matsayin harshen tunani da nazari. Wannan littafi ya fito ne daga wannan muhawara. A cikin babi goma sha daya tare da takaitaccen bayani a Turanci masu bada gudummawa sun binciki yadda addini da al'ada ke hadiwa wajen fahimtar matsayin mata, sannan sun duba maudu'ai kamar haka: mace ta gari, kiwamah, ilimi a matsayin wajibi, aiki da nauyin kulawa, da kuma jagorancin mata. Littafin yana nuna cewa addini da al'ada ba a daskare suke ba, ababe ne masu rai.

In December 2024, scholars, practitioners, and community leaders met in Jos for the first all-Hausa conference on Islam, Gender, and Hausa Culture an event that treated Hausa not as an object of study but as a language of theory. This volume grows from that gathering. Across eleven chapters published in Hausa with English summaries, contributors trace how scripture, culture, and everyday life intersect around questions of mace ta gari (the "righteous woman"), qiwamah (marital authority), education as religious obligation, work and care, and women's leadership. The result is a portrait of a living Islamic tradition in Northern Nigeria: rigorous, locally grounded, and reshaping debates on justice, dignity, and the common good.



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KE FUSKANTA DANGANE DA
*Neman Ilimi da Kuma Aiki***

Gender, Knowledge, and Labor: Challenges
Facing Hausa Muslim Women

Edited by:
Rahina Muazu

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Dedication

Ga mata masu bin tafarkin neman ilimi, a fili da boye, Allah Ya karba mana, ya sanya ilimin mu ya zama haske ga al'umma.

For the women who walk the path of knowledge, often quietly, often against the grain, may your courage shine, your questions endure, and your wisdom light the way for generations to come.

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Da Sunan Allah Mai Rahama Mai Jin Kai. Tsira da amincin Allah su tabbata ga Annabi Muhammadu (SAW).

Wannan littafin ya kunshi makalu guda goma sha daya game da Musulunci, jinsi, da al'adun Hausa. A watan Disamba (Jos, Najeriya, 28–30 Disamba, 2024), mun gabatar da babban taro tare da tallafin Cibiyar Nazari kan Afirka ta Jami'ar Kansas a Amurka, da haɗin gwuiwar Jami'ar Abubakar Tafawa Balewa Bauchi a inda muka tattauna kan Jinsi (*gender*), al'adun Hausa da kuma matsayar Musulunci. Wannan babban al'amari ne: masana, dalibai, masu fafutuka, da shugabannin al'umma sun taru domin tattauna tambayoyi kan Musulunci, jinsi, da zamantakewa a cikin harshen da ake rayuwa da shi. A karon farko, taron ilimi ya dauki Hausa ba a matsayin abin da ake nazari akai ba, amma a matsayin harshen bincike da muhawara. Sakamakon ya kasance abin burgewa. Mun lura cewa da zarar da mahalarta ba su buƙatar fassara tunaninsu zuwa harshen mulkin mallaka, sai suka fara magana ta tsantsar fahimta, kwarin gwiwa, da kirƙira. Maƙalun da ke cikin wannan littafi suna ɗauke da wannan kuzarin.

Mun buɗe taron mu da koƙarin fahimtar kallon da ake yiwa mace a al'ummar Hausa. Shin wace ce mace ta gari? Wanne irin sauye sauye aka samu yanzu da mata ke zurfaffen ilimi har ma da aiki? Shin wai mace na da haƙƙin yin ilimi mai zurfi kamar digirin digirgir? Shin mai zai auku idan mijin ta ya hana ta cigaba da karatu? Mene matsayar Musulunci a kan hakan? Shin addinin Islama ya kayyade ilimin mace? Shin idan mace ta yi karatu ta kama aiki, wane nauyi ne akan mijinta? Shin mecece biyayyar aure? Waɗannan na daga cikin abubuwan da muka tattauna. Daga cikin abinda muka fahimta shine addini da al'adu ba ababe bane daskararru. Su na da rai, sannan fahimtar su na canzawa dangane

da yanayin al'umma da kuma sauye sauyen zamani. Wannan fahimta ta bamu damar yin nazarin sabbin abubuwa.

Abin da ya bambanta wannan kundin ba kawai batutuwan da ya dauka ba ne, har ma harshen da muka yi amfani da shi. Buga makalun a Hausa, tare da samar da takaitattun bayanai a Turancin Ingilishi, ci gaba ne na wannan hangen nesa. Aikin “*decolonizing knowledge*” ne—wato kwar da tasirin tsarin mulkin mallaka daga ilimi. Sau da yawa, an takaita harsunan Afirka a gefen harkokin ilimi, yayin da ake tsammanin “bincike na gaskiya” ya fito ne da Ingilishi, Faransanci, ko Larabci. Wannan tsari yana karfafa daukar harsunan Afirka a matsayin wanda suka dace kawai da labarai ko tatsuniya ko zancen yau da kullum amma ba da muhawarar ilimi ba. Wannan kundin ya bijirewa wannan tanadin. Yana tabbatar da cewa Hausa, kamar kowane harshe na duniya, na iya daukar nauyin muhawara ta ilimi.

Abin da ke da mahimmanci ba harshe ne kadai ba, akwai damar fayyace ilimi, zurfin tunani, hangen nesa da kirkira. Damar yin karatu a Afirka ta hanyar yantar da tunaninmu daga mulkin mallaka da dogaro da tunanin wasu. Burin wannan littafi shine ya bayar da gudummawa ga wannan kokarin. Ya tunatar da mu cewa “*decolonization*” ba magana ba ce kadai. Aiki ne—wanda yake farawa da fassara ilimi, gini akan shi, tunani a cikin harshen mu, rubutu a cikin shi, zaɓin kalmomi, da dagewa cewa “hanyoyin mu na samun ilimi” na da muhimmanci. Kamar yadda Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o ya nuna, yantar da tunanin mu yana farawa ne da yantar da harshe (Ngũgĩ 1986). A Arewacin Najeriya, Ingilishi ya dade yana rinjayar tattaunawar ilimi. Ta hanyar gudanar da bincike, tarurruka, da wallafe-wallafe da Hausa, muna fatan za a yiwa ilimi adalci (*epistemic justice*).

Mace ta gari

Daga cikin manyan makasudan da mu ka tattauna akwai mace ta gari. Fahimtar mace ta gari ba a daskare yake ba, abu ne wanda ka iya sauyawa dangane da zamani. Binciken Rahina Muazu

game da muryar mata masu wa'azi a arewacin Najeriya ya nuna yadda mata irin su Hajiya Khadija Gambo Hawaja da Malama Zahra'u Muhammad ke kawo canji ta hanyar shiga tafsirin Alkur'ani musamman a watan Ramadana, da kuma mata da yawa wanda ke aiyuka mabambamta kamar aikin asibiti ko ma aikin jarida wanda a shekarun baya, maza a ka fi sani da irin wannan aiyuka. Hakan na sake fasalta ma'anar "mace ta gari" a Afirka ta Yammacin Musulmi na karni na 21 (Muazu 2022). Watau daga "mace ta gari" wacce a gida kawai take zaune, zuwa "mace ta gari" wadda ke kula da iyali sannan kuma take da ilimi, ko aikin ofis, kuma ta na ba da gudunmawa ga al'umma a gida da waje.

Kiwama da shugabancin maza a aure

Alkur'ani mai girma ya bayyana kiwama—wanda ake fassara ta a matsayin "tsayuwa," "iko," ko "ba da kulawa" na namiji a cikin aure (K 4:34. Manyan mufassirai irin su al-Ṭabarī da Ibn Kathīr sun yi bayanin ayar da ma'anar cewa shugabancin namiji a cikin aure ya ta'allaka ne da nauyin ciyarwa da kuma zabin Ubangiji, kuma waɗannan fassarori sun yi tasiri sosai. Amma wasu masu fassarar zamani sun kawo wata fahimta domin ta yi dōri akan fahimtar baya.

Amina Wadud (1999) ta yi suna wajen cewa kiwama ba dole ba ne a fahimce ta a matsayin doka ta har abada ta rinjayar da shugabancin namiji akan mace a gidan aure, sai dai abace wadda ka iya canjawa. Ta kara da cewa Alkur'ani, idan aka karanta shi duka-dai yana dāuke da adalci da musayar haƙƙi tsakanin ma'aurata. A fahimtar ta, idan namiji ya kasa ciyarwa, zai iya yiwuwa shugabancin aure ya fita daga hannun shi. Haka kuma, Asma Barlas (2002) ta jaddada cewa Alkur'ani bai ba da izinin rinjayar maza a kan mata ba, illa nauyi da ke kan maza. A gare ta, fahimtar da ta dāuka maza sun fi mata, al'ada ce ba addini bane.

Waɗannan tattaunawa na da mahimmanci a Arewacin Najeriya, inda a yau mata da yawa suke raba dai-dai wajen ciyarwa tare da

mazansu ko ma sukan zama ginshikin gida ba ki daya ta hanyar daukan tallafin kudi. Kamar yadda Barbara Cooper (2006) ta nuna, gudummawar tattalin arzikin mata a al'ummomin Hausa sau da yawa shi ke riƙe gidaje duk da har yanzu ana kallon mata matsayin masu dogaro. Dangane da wannan kalubale na kiwama, maƙalun wannan kundin, sun zurfafa bincike kan kalubale, da kuma canje-canjen da ake samu, da kuma yadda adalci (*'adl*) da maslaha (*maṣlaha*) za su iya jagorantar sabbin fassara da suka dace da manyan manufofin Alkur'ani da Shari'a (*maqāṣid al-sharī'a*).

Neman Ilimi

Addinin Musulunci ya jaddada wajibcin neman ilimi ga kowa—namiji ko mace. Maƙalu na bayyana yadda jigon Alkur'ani na neman ilimi (*'ilm*) ke sa ilimi zama ginshikin al'umma. A tarihi, wannan ruhin ya bayyana ƙwarai a aikin Nana Asma'u, wadda ta hanyar kungiyar Yan Taru a Daular Sakkwato ta ba wa mata damar samun ilimi (Boyd da Mack 1997; 2000). Saboda haka, wasu maƙalun wannan kundin sun mai da hankali wajen nuni da cewa ilimi ba wajibi ba ne kaɗai, haƙƙin mata ne, kuma hakan ba ya tsaya ne kawai kan ilimin sanin yadda za a yi ibada ba, har da zuraffen ilimi, idan mace na da sha'awar yi.

Aiki, kula (care), da lafiya

Haɗuwar aiki, kula da gida, da lafiya ta fito fili a binciken da maƙalun wannan kundi ya gabatar. Alal misali, wasu maƙalun sun nuna cewa mata a Arewacin Najeriya suna daukar nauyi biyu—na gida da na wajen samun kudi—abin da ke haifar da damuwa, gajiya, da ma rashin lafiyar jiki da ta ƙwaƙwalwa. Waɗannan sakamakon ya yi daidai da nazarin aikin mata a fannin ilimin zamantakewa, wanda ya nuna cewa nauyin da mata ke dauka a “gida” da “wajen aiki” na da alaƙa da juna (Edwin 2016). Hasashen da maƙalun suka gabatar ya haskaka yadda mata Musulmi ke daukar nauyin gidaje, ta fannin lura, aikin gida, rainon yara da kuma tattalin arziƙi—abin da ke jawo musu matsaloli saboda nauyi da kan yi musu yawa.

Gudunmawar wannan littafin

Wannan kundin na bayar da gudummawa a kalla guda huɗu ga nazarin Musulunci, jinsi, da al’adun Hausa.

Na farko shi ne na harshe. Wannan littafi ɗaya ne daga cikin kalilan da suka gabatar da binciken ilimi a cikin Hausa, tare da takaitattun bayanai a Turanci. Dan haka, littafin ya kalubalanci tsarin da ke fifita Ingilishi ko Faransanci a matsayin sune kawai harsunan ilimi, bincike da nazari, yayin da ake tura harsunan Afirka zuwa bangaren tatsuniya ko zancen yau da kullum. Ta hanyar wallafa bincike na ilimi a Hausa, kundin ya tabbatar da cewa Hausa ba kawai harshen gida ko kasuwa ba ne, harshe ne da zai iya ɗaukar muhawara mai zurfi ta ilimi. Wannan zaɓin, aiki ne na kawar da tasirin mulkin mallaka: ta hanyar samar da ilimi a harshen da batuttukan nazari ke rayuwa da shi. Ga ɗaliban ilimi Hausawa, hakan yana sa ilimi ya je kai tsaye gare su; ga masu karatu na duniya wanda ba Hausawa ba, takaitaccen bayani na Turanci a farkon littafin da kuma kowa ce makala zai ba su damar samun sakon littafin a dinkule.

Gudummawa ta biyu ita ce ta hanyar da aka gudanar da bincike (*methodology*). Maƙalun gaba ɗaya sun yi la’akari da “nassi,” “yanayi,” “addini” da kuma “al’ada.” Sun yi nazarin matsayar addini tare da nazarin rayuwar al’umma ta yau da kullum. Alal misali, muhawarar kiwama, ba wai tarihin tafsirin ayar kawai ta duba ba, har ma ta hirarraki da mata da ke ƙoƙarin fahimtar kiwama dangane da matsayin da suka samu kan su na matan aure ma’aikata. Haka kuma, maƙalun da sukayi nazarin fahimtar mace ta gari, sun yi la’akari da cewa fahimtar addini da kuma al’ada kan iya sauyawa dangane da zamani, saboda haka suka tattauna da mata da maza dan jin mahangar su.

Na uku, kundin ya ba da gudummawa cikin nazarin sauyi da ake samu ta bangaren tallafin kuɗi da mata ke bayarwa a gidajen auren su. A addinace da al’adance, maza ne masu ciyarwa kuma shugabanni a gidan aure, mata kuma su ne a ke ɗaukar

dawainiyar su da kuma ba su kulawa. Makalun mu sun nuna canjin da aka samu. A yau, mata da yawa ke ciyar da gidajen su, sannan kuma suke aikin gida da rainon yara. To, shin wane irin canji hakan zai haifar? Me nene matsayin namiji acikin irin wannan yanayi?

A karshe, kundin ya bada gudummawa ta wajen bada shawarwari. Wasu makalun sun ba da shawarwari kai tsaye ga yadda makarantu, wuraren aiki, da shuwagabanni za su fi tallafa wa mata. Misali, binciken da ya shafi daidaita aiki da rayuwa ya nuna bukatar manufofin wurin aiki da za su magance damuwa da rashin adalci a fannoni irin su lafiya, ilimi, da kasuwanci. Binciken kalubalen ilimi na mata ya kira ga tallafin karatu, gyaran cibiyoyi, da tattaunawar cikin gida da za su ba mata damar kammala zurfaffan ilimi ba tare da samun rashin jituwa ba. Nazarin jagoranci ya nuna hanyoyin shigar da mata cikin yanke shawara a fungiyoyin Musulunci da hukumomin jama'a.

Taswirar kundin

An tsara kundin zuwa sassa huɗu na jigogi. Idan aka haɗa su, sassan suna nuna alaƙar rayuwar yau da kullum cikin rayuwar iyali, neman ilimi, aiki, lafiya, da jagoranci. Duk da cewa kowace makala na da nata hanyar binciken—daga nazarin nassi zuwa binciken filin, makalun sun tabbatar da al'umma ba a daskare ta ke ba, aba ce wadda kullum cikin canji take.

Sashi na I — Nassi da kuma tsarin dabi'u

Sashin farko ya mai da hankali kan nassi da dabi'u, kuma yana kunshe da takardu kamar haka:

- Jamila M. Abubakar, “Mace ta Gari: Tattaunawa da Malama Khadija Gambo Hawaja.” Makalar ta dɔra haske a kan wata malama-yar fafutuka, mai wa'azi kuma kwamishina, inda ta yi bayanin fahimtar kan wace ce mace ta gari.

- Yahaya Bilyaminu Yau, “Wa cece Mace ta Gari A Fahimtar Maza?” Makalar ta nuna mace ta gari a ganinsu ita ce mai ilimi na addini, kunya, biyayya, kuma uwa mai tarbiyyar yâyânta.
- Safina Garba Isa da Abdulkarim Auwal, “Kudî, Aure, da Shugabanci Maza.” Makalar ta bi diddigin tafsirin K 4:34, 2:228, da 4:128 ta kuma haɗa su da sabbin fassarar mata da shari’o’in kotuna a Najeriya domin auna yadda samun kudîn mata ke sake fasalta zaman aure.
- Nabeela Usman El-Nafaty, “Bibiya Cikin Tarihi: Matsayin Mata daga Sheikh Uthman ɗan Fodio zuwa Arewacin Najeriya na Yau.” Makalar ta yi waiwaye zuwa jaddada ilimin mata a Daular Sakkwato, har zuwa muhawarorin yau kan jagorancin mata da ikon su.

Sashi na II — Neman Ilimi

Sashin na biyu ya mayar da hankali ga ilimi a matsayin tafarkin sauyi. Ya jaddada wajibcin neman ilimi a Musulunci, tare da haskaka yadda al’ada kan tauye damar mata wajen samun zurfaffen ilimi. Sannan sashin ya kunshi makalu kamar haka:

- Rahina Muazu, “Shin Ilimin Mace na da Haddi a Musulunci?.” Ta hanyar labarin Nafisa, yarinyar da aka takaita neman ilimin ta bayan aure, makalar ta nuna yadda al’ada ke karo da haƙƙin mata wajen neman zurfaffen ilimi.
- Khadija Kabiru, “Kalubalen da Mata Musulmi ke Fuskanta a Jami’o’i.” Bisa hirarraki datattaunawa, makalar ta binciki kalubalen mata a jami’a da dabarun da suke amfani da su don jurewa.

Sashi na III — Aiki, Jinya, da kuma kula da lafiya

Sashin na uku ya mai da hankali kan aikin mata, lafiya, da daidaita nauyin gida da na waje. Makalun sun bayyana irin

tsananin damuwar da “aiki biyu” ke haifarwa—wato nauyin gida da na aikin ofis ko asibiti a lokaci guda—da rashin daidaito wajen samun matsayi a aiki, biyan kuɗin albashi, da tallafi. Amma sun kuma nuna dabarun juriya, sarrafa lokaci, da gina tattalin kula (moral economy of care) da mata ke amfani da su. Wannan sashi ya ƙunshi maƙalu kamar haka:

- Isah Dahiru da Jibrin Gambo, “Daidaiton Rayuwa: Kalubalen Daidaita Aiki a wajen mata a cikin da Rayuwarsu ta Aure.” Sun yi nazari kan dangantakar dake tsakanin tsananin damuwar da aiki kan iya haifarwa da kuma matsalolin rashin lafiya.
- Linda Kwon-Ndung, “Daidaita Ayyukan Aure da Cimma Nasarori na Kanta: Kalubale da Dabarun Mata Musulmi a Arewacin Najeriya.” Makalar ta nuna yadda mata ke dogaro da hujjojin Musulunci na neman ilimi da cigaba yayin da suke sasanta tsare-tsaren tsakanin aure da aiki.
- Fatima Ibrahim Usman, “Mata Musulmi a Cikin Aikin Jinya: Nazari Kan Kalubale.” Makalar ta nazarci shingaye na tsarin aiki—cin zarafi, yawan aiki, karancin biyan kuɗi, wariya dangane da sanya hijabi—ta kuma gabatar da shawarwarin manufofi ga sashen lafiya.
- Sadiya Sabi’u Lalo, “Kalubale Da Mata Ke Fuskanta a Dalilin Aiki a Gidajen Auresu.” Ta duba mahimmancin aikin mace, matsayinsa a Musulunci, tarihin shigar mata harkokin aiki, da kuma irin matsalolin da ke tasowa sakamakon hakan. Daga cikin manyan kalubalen akwai rashin goyon baya daga miji ko ya’nuwa, wahalar sarrafa lokaci tsakanin aiki da kula da gida, da kuma matsin lamba dangane da al’adu da ke kallon mace a matsayin mai aikin gida kawai (*housewife*).

Sashi na IV — Rayuwar Birni

Sashin ƙarshe ya fadaɗa hangen nesa zuwa birane da makarantu. Ya nuna yadda mata—musamman malamai da gwagwarmaya da rayuwar birni da kuma nauyin aiki, sannan ya ƙunshi makala ɗaya wadda kuma itace ta rufe littafin:

- Binyamin Lawal, “Fadɗi-tashi a Birnin Tarayya: Rayuwar Matan Arewa ta Karantarwa a Abuja, Najeriya.” Binciken ya duba yadda matan Arewa masu koyarwa ke tsara rayuwarsu a cikin yanayin da ya haɗa al’ada da addini da kuma ƙalubalen birni: zirga-zirga, tsaro, yanayin aiki, da cudanya da maza a wurin aiki.

A ƙarshe, muna kiran masu tsara manufofi, shugabannin addini da al’umma, iyaye, malamai, da mazaje da su dauki abin da ke cikin wannan kundi a matsayin jan hankali: su tallafa wa ilimin mata a dukkan mata kai, su tsara wuraren aiki masu tausayawa iyaye mata (da ma maza), su kuma ƙara buɗe kofofi ga jagorancin mata domin gina al’umma mai amfani da amfanarwa. Muna fata wannanan kundi ya zama tushen da za a gina sabbin bincike akai. Allah ya sanya mai albarka, ya karɓa mana, ya kuma sa ya zamo alheri ga al’umma.

Foreword to *Islam, Gender, and Hausa Culture*
by Beverly Mack

Bismillahi rahamani arrahim.

The advent of Islam held the potential for compassionate social reform. Its radically merciful guidance advocated for universal equality and consistently urged the pursuit of knowledge. Even more radical was its recognition of women as respected mediators in the divine creation process. These fundamental directives were to be the means of reforming social wrongs, and establishing a more productive, mutually beneficial community of Believers. They remain at the center of Islam, 1400 years later, and humanity continues to need to be reminded of them.

This insightful collection includes eleven chapters focused on women's conditions in 21st C Muslim northern Nigeria; they clarify that Islam's intended social remedies remain unachieved. The volume presents the testimony of more than a hundred women who struggle to pursue education, work in equitable conditions outside the home, and find domestic justice. In interviews, case studies, and autobiographical accounts, women describe "restrictive cultural norms" - a polite phrase for misogyny - that cause inequity on intellectual, soci-economic, physical, and emotional levels. The Qur'anic mandate to pursue knowledge should be respected because it is meant to enable the deepening of individual's spirituality as well as satisfying divinely endowed intellectual interests. Furthermore, it is well established that a family's standard of living is directly correlated with the educational level of the mother. Impeding girls' and women's education hinders successful social development on both a family and community level.

This volume is bilingual and locally grounded: the chapters are authored in Hausa to center Hausa women's voices, with English summaries to orient non-specialist and international readers. By

foregrounding community terms, contexts, and lived experiences from across northern Nigeria, the book invites wider audiences into conversations that remain rooted in place.

Where Hausa Muslim women are able to work outside the home, they frequently face inequity in the workplace and then are overburdened by additional domestic responsibilities that they fulfill with insufficient support from a spouse. As the studies in this collection show, workplace injustices and excessive domestic loads lead to debilitating health conditions and unhappiness. Furthermore, gender-based discrimination in the workplace and the home is not just economically and physically debilitating: it is unIslamic. Every individual is meant to fulfill her own talents. Compassionate conditions, whether in the workplace or home, afford greater productivity that benefits all, and also create the merciful environment we are meant to construct in this world.

A few studies in this volume harken back to the 19th C Sokoto Caliphate's reforms, in which Fodiawa sought to follow the principles of the first Islamic community. They advocated on the basis of Qur'anic directive for women's pursuit of knowledge. Fodiawa exemplars like Asma'u and Maryam not only were respected as political advisors, but they also created and maintained independently organized groups of grass-roots women teachers who passed knowledge on to other, rural women. Regardless of social status, these women shared what they knew and created opportunities for other women to share their learning as well. The expectation was that an educated mother would then educate her children, benefiting society as a whole, generation after generation. Their curricula at the rural levels were not solely focused on religious topics, but also included instruction about domestic activities like health care, food preparation, personal care, and other practical matters to ease daily life. Women's education in the Sokoto Caliphate was meant to improve society as well as to increase spiritual

knowledge. These women and their organizations were supported and respected by their male counterparts in 19th C northern Nigeria. Such mutual cooperation helped to repair and reshape the community of the Sokoto Caliphate.

But in the 21st C, as these studies demonstrate, contemporary Hausa Muslim women regularly are denied their rights to: the pursuit of education, domestic and workplace equity, marriage choice, property ownership, and financial autonomy. Their daily burden in the domestic sphere, compounded by their struggle to pursue educations, and engage in satisfying work outside the home, means that Hausa society is only half what it could be if women's contributions were welcomed and supported. Denying a woman agency in developing her intellectual talents diminishes her value; it prevents her from contributing to society and deepening her spirituality. As these contemporary Hausa Muslim women's circumstances demonstrate, the patriarchal inequity Islam was meant to eradicate continues to benefit one half of the population at the expense of the other half, wasting a great deal of potential that could improve society as a whole.

A clear Islamic directive like equality might sound simple, but the difficulty of putting it into practice is evident in these chapters. Although commonly cited hadiths about women are not discussed in these studies, it is curious that several pay lip-service to the rule of respect for women, while their sentiments are not followed in social practice: "paradise lies at the feet of the mother," "three times the mother, and then the father," "caring for a daughter is the gate to paradise." Even more telling is the fact that while many hadiths are cited in restricting women's roles, only some of the thousands of hadiths of Aisha – the person closest to the Prophet [pbuh] - are recognized as credible, despite her isnads being stronger than anyone else's. Hausa Muslim women continue to look to Qur'anic directive as a mercy in their situations, and wish that everyone would agree that "Women need to learn to read so they will know their rights." There

remains the need for every adult individual in Hausa Muslim society to support one another in the business of building a better society through the fulfillment of individuals' talents.

Islam was meant as a guide for humankind to establish a kinder, more merciful world. In sha Allah, the courageous research presented here will open people's eyes to the work that needs to be done in answering that call to create a more compassionate, and therefore, more productive community with equity at home and at work, ease in the pursuit of education, and justice for each individual.

Beverly Mack

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25 August 2025

Preface and Acknowledgments

This edited volume grew out of a landmark gathering held in Jos, Nigeria, at the Sharna Conference Room from December 28–30, 2024: the first conference on Islam, Gender, and Hausa Culture conducted entirely in Hausa. Convened under my direction and generously supported by the Kansas African Studies Center (University of Kansas, Lawrence), in collaboration with Abubakar Tafawa Balewa University (ATBU), Bauchi, and the Iqra Foundation for Education and Research, the conference set itself a simple but ambitious goal: to let scholars, practitioners, and community voices think, argue, and build knowledge in the language that first formed their questions.

Holding the meeting in Hausa was not merely a stylistic choice. It was a commitment to decolonizing knowledge production—removing the constant burden of translating critical concepts into European languages and thereby allowing participants to engage more precisely, confidently, and inclusively. The energy in the room confirmed that language is not a neutral medium; it shapes what is askable, sayable, and ultimately possible. Three keynotes framed our conversations—Professor Balarabe Yusha’u (ATBU), Professor Sa’adatu Abubakar (ATBU), and myself, Rahina Muazu (University of Kansas). Together with panelists and discussants, these keynotes opened space for rigorous debate on faith, power, gender, labor, family, law, and public voice.

Across sessions we confronted urgent questions for Hausa Muslim communities today: How do ideals of *mace ta gari* (the “righteous woman”) travel between scripture, culture, and lived experience? What happens to household authority when women’s incomes sustain families? Where do Muslim ethics sit in relation to workplace harassment, unequal pay, and care burdens? How can educational pathways for girls and women be protected—indeed, expanded—within marriages and under community scrutiny? And how might scholars, religious leaders, and policy makers read the Qur’an’s guidance on *qiwāmah* in

light of contemporary realities without losing sight of justice, dignity, and the common good?

The program featured three keynotes and nine research papers. This volume expands those proceedings, bringing together revised conference contributions alongside invited essays to reflect the breadth of the debates that unfolded in Jos. The result is eleven chapters, published in Hausa with English summaries, scheduled for release by Ahmadu Bello University Press in November 2025. Our aim is twofold: to serve Hausa-speaking scholars, students, and community leaders directly, and to make these analyses legible to a wider readership in African studies, Islamic studies, and gender studies. Importantly, this is not the first time Ahmadu Bello University Press has published in Hausa, but it is a continuation of their commitment to advancing scholarship in African languages.

This preface recounts the project's origins, language commitments, and editorial choices. It does not offer a literature review or a chapter-by-chapter roadmap; that work belongs to the Introduction, which situates the arguments and traces the through-lines across theology, law, history, and everyday life. Readers looking for a quick orientation to individual chapters can consult the English summaries that accompany each contribution. The chapters are written in standard Hausa orthography, with Arabic technical terms italicized at first mention in the English summaries. Qur'anic references follow *sūrah:āyah* (e.g., 4:34); *ḥadīth* citations indicate collection and number were provided by authors. In some contributions, pseudonyms are used and identifying details minimized to protect research participants; authors obtained consent consistent with local norms and institutional guidelines. English summaries are author-approved; any remaining infelicities are the editor's responsibility.

The volume ranges from conceptual re-readings of *mace ta gari* through women's and men's voices; to ethnographies of women

teachers in Abuja navigating urban life; to analyses of work–life stress, nursing, leadership, and higher education; to legal-hermeneutical engagements with *qiwāmah*, marital authority, and women’s financial rights. Together, the chapters resist simple binaries—tradition vs. modernity, religion vs. rights—and show how Hausa Muslim women and men are actively interpreting scripture, making families, earning livelihoods, and building institutions amid rapid social change.

This project owes its deepest debt to my sister, Hajiya Malama Jamila Muazu. From the first phone calls to the last chair stacked, she stood beside this project at every step—planning, travel and venue logistics, participant coordination, and closing reflections. I am equally grateful to my husband, James Ivory Jones Jr., for his love and patience, and the delicious meals he prepares for me, to my parents whose prayers and guidance have anchored me, to my siblings for their constant encouragement, and to my children, whose boundless love and steady support—through laughter, hugs, and quiet faith—carried me through long days of editing, coordination, and proofreading for this volume. I am profoundly grateful.

I extend sincere thanks to the Kansas African Studies Center (KASC), University of Kansas, especially Dr. Glenn Adams, the Director, for his steady encouragement; Abubakar Tafawa Balewa University (ATBU), Bauchi; and the Iqra Foundation for Education and Research. Their material support and institutional trust enabled us to convene the first all-Hausa conference on Islam, Gender, and Hausa Culture and to carry its momentum into publication. I also thank my home department, the Department of African and African American Studies at the University of Kansas, with special gratitude to our chair, Dr. Shawn Alexander, and Dr. Peter Ukpokodu for their support.

I warmly thank Professors Balarabe Yusha’u and Sa’adatu Abubakar for their keynotes, which framed our conversations with clarity and generosity. I am especially grateful to Professor

Yusha’u for his steadfast support before, during, and after the conference. Beyond his keynote, he chaired and held multiple discussion sessions, guided Q&A with patience and rigor, helped synthesize debates across panels, and mentored junior scholars. His presence strengthened both the spirit and the scholarship of our gathering.

I am equally indebted to all presenters, discussants, and participants who offered papers, critiques, stories, and questions. Your contributions shaped the intellectual arc of the meeting and the chapters that follow. I also thank those who prepared transcripts and translations in the weeks after the event. To the authors whose chapters appear here—thank you for revising in response to review, for meeting deadlines despite heavy workloads, and for trusting this editorial process. The peer reviewers deserve recognition for incisive and generous feedback that sharpened the scholarship across the board.

I am grateful to Dr. Beverly Mack, for her support, and for honoring us by writing the Foreword to this volume. Finally, I thank the colleagues, elders, and community members whose conversations—long before and after Jos—continue to sharpen our questions and deepen our commitments. Any remaining errors are mine alone.

As the voices gathered in Jos now find permanence on these pages, I hope this volume will travel farther than the conference hall—into classrooms, policy debates, and everyday conversations. May it encourage new generations of Hausa scholars and community leaders to ask sharper questions, to listen across difference, and to build knowledge rooted in justice and dignity. The work is not finished here; it is only beginning.

Rahina Muazu
(Editor)

Lawrence, Kansas — August 2025

Introduction

Rahina Muazu

The University of Kansas

Introduction

This volume begins from a simple but profound claim: debates on Islam, gender, and Hausa culture are not fixed by doctrine nor sealed by “tradition.” They are lived and continually negotiated in the everyday practices of Muslim communities—in the home and the classroom, in the marketplace and the mosque, in the clinic, the courtroom, and the corridors of public leadership. The question of what it means to be a righteous woman (*mace ta gari*), a dutiful wife, a mother, a leader, or a scholar is never settled once and for all. Rather, it emerges and re-emerges in the interplay between sacred texts, cultural expectations, social change, and personal aspiration. The chapters collected in this volume invite us to see Islam not as a closed archive of rules, but as a living tradition—argued over, reinterpreted, and reshaped through the daily experiences of Hausa Muslim women and men. The uniqueness of this volume lies not only in its subject matter but in its language. The chapters gathered here were first presented at the First Conference on Gender, Islam, and Hausa Culture conducted entirely in Hausa (Jos, Nigeria, December 28–30, 2024). This was a landmark event: scholars, students, activists, and community leaders came together to debate questions of Islam, gender, and society in the very language in which these realities are lived. For the first time, an academic conference treated Hausa not as an object of study, but as a language of scholarship. The result was striking. When participants did not need to translate their thoughts into a colonial language, they spoke with unusual clarity, confidence, and creativity. The essays in this book reflect that energy.

Publishing the chapters in Hausa, while also providing English summaries, is an extension of that same vision. It is an act of

decolonizing knowledge. Too often, African languages have been confined to the margins of academic life, while “serious” scholarship is expected to appear in English, French, or Arabic. This arrangement reinforces a colonial hierarchy: African languages are seen as adequate for storytelling or everyday speech but not for theoretical argument. This volume insists otherwise. It affirms that Hausa, like any global language, can sustain the full weight of conceptual debate—on Qur’anic exegesis, jurisprudence, social ethics, and the entanglements of economy and care. By publishing first in Hausa, we aim not only to expand access but also to shift the terms of scholarly conversation. Hausa is not merely a tool of translation; it is a tool of theory.

At stake is more than language. At stake is the authority to define and to imagine. To educate ourselves in Africa without freeing our minds from colonial language hierarchies is to remain half-dependent. This book contributes to the ongoing effort to think, to argue, and to build knowledge in the languages that shape our lives most intimately. It is a reminder that decolonization is not a metaphor. It is a practice—one that begins in the choice of words, the sounds of voices, and the insistence that our intellectual traditions matter.

Language shapes not only communication but also how knowledge is framed and produced. As Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o argues, decolonizing the mind begins with decolonizing language (Ngũgĩ 1986). In Northern Nigeria, academic discourse has long been dominated by English—Hausa relegated to informal or oral contexts. By conducting scholarship, conferences, and publications in Hausa, this volume enacts a form of epistemic justice, foregrounding the language of the lived, every day. This choice transforms the terms of scholarly debate: it enables conceptual categories to arise from Hausa idioms, metaphors, and categories of meaning rather than imposed colonial frames. Scholars such as Hountondji (1997) emphasize that reclaiming

endemic languages in production of thought disrupts hierarchies of knowledge. The language we choose is not merely medium—it is insurgent.

Women in Northern Nigeria are at the forefront of social transformation, as shifts in their education and economic participation recalibrate family structures and community roles. UNICEF data shows disproportionately high rates of educational exclusion among girls in the North—40.4% of females versus 29.5% of males have never attended school (Nigeria DHS 2013). Contemporary qualitative research confirms that cultural norms—such as expectations of early marriage, domestic confinement, and gendered labor divisions—continue to suppress women's educational attainment and professional engagement (Yewande and Olawunmi 2023). These restrictions are being challenged by initiatives that increase girls' access to secondary education and economic empowerment. Development reports also underscore how women's economic agency enhances household welfare, influences health outcomes, and inspires communal respect and leadership (Adeyeye 2019). As women in Northern Nigeria gain education and contribute economically—whether through agriculture, market trade, or formal employment—they negotiate authority within households and public space, subtle shifts that this volume's chapters bring into sharper focus.

A vibrant scholarly shift is underway in Islamic interpretation across Northern Nigeria. Terms such as *qiwāmah*—the concept of male authority—and ideals like *mace ta gari* (“righteous woman”) are being revisited through the lenses of justice (*maqāṣid al-sharī'a*) and contextual ethics. This intellectual renewal connects with a rich historical legacy. The Sokoto reform movement of the early 19th century exemplifies this tradition. At its core was the *Yan Taru* movement, led by Nana Asma'u, which educated and empowered women via Hausa, Arabic and Fulfulde to make Islamic scholarship accessible to

their communities (Mack and Boyd 2000). Modern scholars are reviving such models, arguing that scriptural principles must be interpreted in light of changing social realities, guided by justice and public welfare.

By situating this volume within both historical reformism and contemporary feminist hermeneutics, we see how the reinterpretation of Islamic teachings remains a dynamic, communal, and urgent project.

Mace ta Gari: A Contested Ideal

The notion of *mace ta gari*—often rendered as “the righteous woman”—is not a fixed archetype, but rather a fluid ideal continually reconstructed through divergent voices. Rahina Muazu’s analysis of the vocal nudity debates around female preachers in Northern Nigeria illuminates how women like Hajiya Khadija Gambo Hawaja challenge patriarchal paradigms by engaging in Qur’anic interpretation publicly, thus reshaping what it means to be a “righteous woman” in 21st-century Muslim West Africa (Muazu 2022). Similarly, traditional gendered discourses surface in Hausa filmic portrayals where women are cast as passive embodiments of virtue—beautiful, modest, and docile—underscoring cultural expectations, even as lived experiences resist these typecasts (Callaway 1984). This volume shows how *mace ta gari* becomes a dynamic field of negotiation, not only between sacred texts and local customs, but across gendered experiences.

Qiwāmah & Marital Authority

The Qur’anic concept of *qiwāmah*—often translated as male “authority” or “guardianship” in marriage (Q 4:34)—has been a central axis of debate in Islamic legal and social thought. Classical exegetes such as al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr read the verse as grounding male authority in financial responsibility and divine preference, interpretations that shaped centuries of legal doctrine.

Yet feminist exegetes have challenged these readings as historically contingent and deeply gendered.

Amina Wadud (1999) famously argued that *qiwāmah* should not be understood as a timeless prescription of male dominance, but rather as a contextual regulation reflecting seventh-century Arabia. She insists that the Qur'an, when read holistically, emphasizes justice and reciprocity between spouses. Similarly, Asma Barlas (2002) critiques patriarchal interpretations of *qiwāmah*, contending that the Qur'an never authorizes men to dominate women, but instead envisions equality as a theological principle rooted in *tawhīd* (divine unity). For Barlas, the persistence of hierarchical readings reflects interpretive patriarchy, not divine mandate.

These scholarly interventions resonate powerfully in Northern Nigeria, where women are increasingly co- or sole-providers in households. As Barbara Cooper (2006) shows, women's economic contributions in Hausa communities often sustain families despite legal and cultural narratives that render them dependents. When lived realities contradict the juridical model, *qiwāmah* becomes a contested category. By situating *qiwāmah* in both its exegetical history and contemporary context, the chapters in this volume demonstrate how notions of authority and duty are continuously re-negotiated, and how justice (*'adl*) and welfare (*maṣlaḥa*) may guide reinterpretations that reflect the Qur'an's higher objectives (*maqāṣid al-sharī'a*).

Knowledge as Obligation

Islamic tradition highlights the duty to pursue and transmit knowledge regardless of gender. Fayeze examines that the Qur'anic emphasis on seeking *ilm* frames knowledge as foundational, and scholars such as Amina Wadud (1999) urge re-readings of scripture to underline women's intellectual capacities. Historically, this ethos finds profound expression in the work of Nana Asma'u, whose diasporic educational

movement in the Sokoto Caliphate—via the *Yan Taru* network—enabled women to serve as teachers and spiritual guides in Hausa and Fulfulde (Boyd and Mack 1997; 2000). The essays in this volume reclaim that legacy, affirming that knowledge is not just a right but an obligation, central to women’s religious and social agency in Northern Nigeria.

Work, Care, and Health: Ethnographic Realities

The intersection of labor, caregiving, and well-being emerges repeatedly in our contributors’ ethnographic and mixed-method investigations. For example, contributors show that Northern Nigerian women routinely bear double burdens—navigating domestic responsibilities while participating in paid or unpaid labor—leading to stress, burnout, and emotional strain. These findings resonate with broader feminist labor studies, which emphasize that “home” and “work” are not separable but mutually constitutive domains (Edwin 2016). The volume’s empirical insights illuminate how Muslim women sustain families, negotiate roles, and redefine moral economies that demand holistic approaches to policy, health, and institutional reform.

What This Volume Contributes

This volume makes four distinct contributions to scholarship on Islam, gender, and Hausa culture. Taken together, they demonstrate the intellectual, methodological, and practical value of approaching these debates through Hausa as both a medium of knowledge production and a site of lived experience.

The first contribution is linguistic. This is among the very few scholarly collections to present original academic research in Hausa, accompanied by English summaries. In doing so, the book challenges the entrenched hierarchy that privileges English or French as the languages of scholarship while relegating African languages to the sphere of folklore or everyday speech. By publishing academic essays in Hausa, the volume asserts that

Hausa is not simply a vernacular of the home or marketplace, but a language capable of sustaining rigorous theoretical and analytical debate. This choice embodies a decolonial practice: knowledge is generated in the language in which the subjects of study live, think, and argue. For Hausa-speaking scholars and community members, this makes scholarship directly accessible; for international readers, the English summaries provide a bridge into a body of intellectual work that would otherwise remain invisible.

A second contribution is methodological. The chapters collectively resist the false binary that pits “text” against “context,” or “religion” against “culture.” Instead, they read scripture and legal tradition alongside ethnographic encounters, biographical narratives, and everyday struggles. For example, debates over the Qur’anic concept of *qiwāmah* are illuminated not only through exegetical history but also through interviews with women negotiating marital authority in contemporary households. Similarly, ideals of *mace ta gari* (“the righteous woman”) are analyzed not as abstract norms but as discourses lived in the voices of female scholars, teachers, and nurses. By weaving textual analysis together with lived realities, the book demonstrates that Islamic authority and Hausa culture are mutually constitutive. Theology and law shape how people act, but it is people’s actions and experiences that in turn reshape theology and law.

Third, the volume brings analytic clarity to how authority, caregiving, and financial contribution intersect in Northern Nigerian Muslim communities. Traditional models of gender relations often assume simple hierarchies: men as providers and leaders, women as dependents and caregivers. Yet the evidence presented in these chapters complicates such binaries. Women frequently contribute significantly to household incomes, sometimes as primary earners, while also carrying the bulk of domestic and emotional labor. By examining these dynamics, the

book reframes debates on gender and power: rather than asking whether women have authority, it shows how authority is always negotiated through the entanglements of money, labor, and morality.

Finally, this volume contributes to applied debates. The insights offered here speak not only to academic theory but to pressing questions of policy and practice. Several chapters provide concrete recommendations for how educational institutions, workplaces, and religious communities might better support women's participation. For instance, the findings on work-life balance suggest the need for workplace policies that address stress and inequities in professional sectors such as health care, education, and business. Studies of women's educational challenges call for scholarship programs, institutional reforms, and family-level negotiations that enable women to complete higher education without rupturing marital or community expectations. Analyses of leadership highlight pathways for including women in decision-making processes within Islamic organizations and public institutions. Religious leaders, too, emerge as critical partners: by engaging them in discussions of justice (*'adl*) and welfare (*maṣlaḥa*), reform efforts gain legitimacy and traction. In sum, this volume provides a Hausa-first scholarly archive, a methodological bridge between texts and lives, sharper analytic categories for thinking about authority and care, and policy-relevant insights for education, work, and leadership. Together, these contributions demonstrate that decolonizing knowledge production is not merely symbolic. It is a practical intervention—reshaping who participates in scholarship, how debates are framed, and how communities can act on them.

Roadmap of the Volume

This volume is organized into four thematic parts, each of which reflects a key site where debates on Islam, gender, and Hausa culture are negotiated. Taken together, these parts show how

textual ideals and lived practices intersect across history, family life, education, work, health, and leadership. While each chapter is distinct in method—ranging from textual analysis to ethnography, mixed methods, and autobiographical narrative—they speak to one another in consistent ways. They demonstrate that concepts like *mace ta gari* (the righteous woman), *qiwāmah* (marital authority), and *ilm* (knowledge) are never static. Instead, they are contested, reinterpreted, and embodied in everyday struggles.

Part I — Texts, Ethics, and Norms

The first part of the volume grounds the reader in the key conceptual frameworks that structure Hausa Muslim gender debates. These chapters examine how ideals such as *mace ta gari* and *qiwāmah* are constructed in textual and discursive traditions, and how they are reimagined in response to women’s lived realities. Together, they map the terrain of moral and legal reasoning in Northern Nigeria, showing both the weight of tradition and the space for critical reinterpretation.

- Jamila M. Abubakar, “Mace ta Gari: Rethinking the Righteous Muslim Hausa Woman through the Voice of Hajiya Khadija Gambo Hawaja.” This chapter foregrounds a contemporary Muslim scholar-activist whose reflections recast *mace ta gari* as rooted in Qur’anic authority, women’s agency, and critiques of patriarchal misreadings.
- Yahaya Bilyaminu Yau, “Mace ta Gari: Male Conceptions of the Righteous Muslim Hausa Woman.” Drawing on interviews, the chapter portrays the ideal woman as religiously learned, modest, obedient, and an attentive mother, bearing significant emotional labor. Modern urban pressures allow limited income and counsel, yet authority remains with husbands. The author urges listening to women to balance virtue with fairness.
- Safina Garba Isa and Abdulkarim Auwal, “Money, Marriage, and Authority: Financial Independence, Spousal Duty, and the Reconfiguration of Marital Authority in Islam.” This

essay traces classical *tafsīr* on Q 4:34, 2:228, and 4:128 and brings them into conversation with feminist hermeneutics and Nigerian court cases to assess how women's income reshapes marital authority.

- Nabeela Usman El-Nafaty, "Tracing Women's Status from Sheikh Uthman dan Fodio to Contemporary Northern Nigeria." This chapter recovers a long arc of reform: from pre-Islamic constraints through the Sokoto Caliphate's emphasis on women's education, to present-day debates over women's leadership and agency.

Part II — Education and Knowledge Pathways

The second part of the book centers education as both a site of tension and a path of transformation. It underscores the enduring Islamic obligation to seek knowledge, while highlighting how cultural expectations and marital authority often obstruct women's access to higher education. By placing women's lived experiences alongside juristic debates, these chapters reveal how deeply education is tied to dignity, authority, and religious duty.

- Rahina Muazu, "Beyond Permission: Negotiating Faith, Marriage, and Higher Education among Hausa Muslim Women." Through the case of Nafisa, a gifted student restricted after marriage, this chapter demonstrates that Islam's commitment to knowledge stands in tension with patriarchal norms that limit women's education.
- Khadija Kabiru, "Negotiating Barriers: Muslim Women's Educational Challenges and Opportunities in African Universities." Based on interviews and comparative analysis, this essay documents the cultural, economic, and institutional barriers facing women in universities and the resilience strategies they employ to persist.

Part III — Work, Care Economies, and Health

The third part turns to women's labor, health, and the negotiation of domestic and public responsibilities. These chapters reveal the profound stresses created by "double labor"—women's

simultaneous obligations to home and workplace—and the inequities in recognition, remuneration, and support. Yet they also highlight strategies of resilience, time management, and the creation of moral economies of care that sustain households. Together, they complicate binaries of “work” and “home,” showing them to be interdependent realms.

- Isah Dahiru and Jibrin Gambo, “Daidaiton Rayuwa: Challenges of Work–Life Balance in the Marital Lives of Women.” Using mixed methods, this study links severe work stress to adverse health and marital dissatisfaction, and considers digital health interventions as possible remedies.
- Linda Kwon-Ndung, “Balancing Domestic Responsibilities and Personal Aspirations: Challenges and Strategies of Muslim Women in Northern Nigeria.” This chapter highlights how women draw on Islamic arguments for knowledge and self-advancement while negotiating patriarchal structures such as *purdah*.
- Fatima Ibrahim Usman, “Muslim Women in Nursing in Nigeria: Navigating Gendered, Religious, and Structural Challenges.” This chapter analyzes systemic barriers—harassment, overwork, poor pay, hijab discrimination—and proposes policy reforms for Nigeria’s healthcare sector.
- Sadiya Sabi’u Lalo, “Women’s Labor and Marital Struggles in Contemporary Northern Nigeria.” Drawing on texts and interviews, this study critiques restrictive uses of Q 33:33 and highlights historical exemplars of women’s public participation, calling for equitable household and institutional support.

Part IV — Urban Lives, Institutions, and Leadership

The final section widens the lens to urban and institutional settings. It shows how women—especially teachers and leaders—negotiate seclusion ideals with the demands of city life, professional duties, and organizational authority. This chapter underscores that women’s agency is not only domestic but also institutional and political.

- Binyamin Lawal, “Precarious Lives in the Federal Capital: Northern Nigerian Women Teachers in Abuja.” An ethnography of how Abuja’s women educators reconcile cultural expectations of modesty with the realities of diverse, mobile urban classrooms, navigating dress, mobility, and professional legitimacy.

Together, the four parts form a coherent whole. Part I sets the conceptual and historical groundwork, Part II focuses on education as a pathway of empowerment and contestation, Part III explores the entanglement of work, health, and care, and Part IV shows how these dynamics unfold in institutions and leadership. Each chapter speaks to the others: the themes of authority, knowledge, care, and resilience recur across settings, reinforcing the central claim that Islam and Hausa culture are living traditions negotiated daily by women and men.

The debates represented in this volume yield several overarching lessons. The first is that norms are plural and negotiated. Concepts such as *mace ta gari* or *qiwāmah* are not settled categories handed down unchanged from the past. They are active sites of reasoning where sacred texts, cultural expectations, and social realities meet. What it means to be a righteous woman, or how marital authority is exercised, shifts across time and context—contested not only between men and women but also among women themselves, and among different schools of religious thought. This plurality is not a weakness but a sign of vitality, showing that Islam in Northern Nigeria is a living tradition, responsive to new conditions while grounded in enduring values.

A second lesson is that women’s education is foundational. Across the chapters, education emerges as the most reliable lever for expanding women’s agency in religious, economic, and civic life. It is not a secondary privilege but a core Islamic obligation, rooted in Qur’anic injunctions and embodied in historical

precedents from A'isha bint Abi Bakr to Nana Asma'u. The obstacles women face—marital restrictions, cultural suspicion, inadequate institutional support—do not negate this obligation but rather reveal the need for renewed commitment to it. To invest in women's learning is to invest in the intellectual, moral, and social flourishing of the community as a whole.

Third, the contributions demonstrate that care and income reorganize authority. Traditional gender hierarchies presuppose men as providers and women as dependents, but the lived realities documented here complicate that picture. Women often carry the double labor of earning and caregiving, sustaining households economically and emotionally. Authority within the family, therefore, cannot be understood only in terms of male provision but must account for these intertwined contributions. To take caregiving and financial labor seriously is to reimagine leadership not as a fixed entitlement but as a negotiated practice of responsibility.

A fourth lesson is that language matters for justice. Conducting scholarship in Hausa is more than symbolic; it changes how arguments are made and how they are heard. Concepts take on nuance and immediacy in the language of those who live them. This is not only a matter of accessibility but of epistemic integrity. By using Hausa as a language of theory as well as of daily life, this volume models how decolonizing scholarship can create more just and authentic spaces of debate.

Finally, the chapters collectively remind us that law, policy, and pedagogy must work together. Legal reform without educational opportunity, or pedagogy without supportive policies, cannot produce lasting change. The issues raised here—workplace inequities, early marriage, barriers to higher education, marginalization of women in leadership—require integrated responses. Religious interpretation, institutional design, and

community activism must be seen as interdependent fields of action.

This book does not offer a single prescription for resolving the tensions it documents. Instead, it models a practice: responsible interpretation, grounded evidence, and open debate. It shows how scholarship can be both rigorous and accountable to lived experience.

In closing, this volume portrays a living Islamic tradition in Northern Nigeria—one that argues with itself, listens to experience, and returns to revelation with renewed attention to justice, dignity, and the common good. It is a tradition neither static nor exhausted, but resilient, adaptive, and creative. To read these chapters together is to witness a community of scholars and practitioners engaged in the hard but hopeful work of building a future in which faith and justice, gender and dignity, move hand in hand.

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Part I
Nassi da kuma tsarin Dabi’u
Texts, Ethics, and Norms

Chapter 1

Mace ta Gari: Tattaunawa Tare da Malama Khadija Gambo Hawaja

“Mace ta Gari: Rethinking the Righteous Muslim Hausa Woman through the Voice of Hajiya Khadija Gambo Hawaja.”

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Summary

This chapter examines how the Hausa ideal of the “mace ta gari” (the good woman) is framed, contested, and reimagined when read alongside Qur’anic ethics, Prophetic teachings, and the lived voices of contemporary Muslim women. It begins with the well-known hadith of al-mar’at al-ṣāliḥa, often reduced in popular discourse to a triad of domestic virtues—serenity, lawful cooperation with one’s husband, and trustworthiness. The chapter argues that while this hadith offers a positive vision of harmony in marriage, the Qur’an situates virtue more broadly and symmetrically across genders. Verses such as 33:35, 9:71, and 16:97 emphasize shared obligations of faith, patience, charity, ritual devotion, and mutual guardianship for both men and women. Classical exemplars—Asiya and Maryam—are celebrated not for marital status but for faith, courage, and integrity, loosening the assumption that goodness is confined to wifedom.

Set against this scriptural frame, the chapter traces how Hausa moral expectations center marriage as the primary index of female virtue and how this emphasis can marginalize unmarried, divorced, or widowed women. Through interviews with five women, including an extended conversation with Malama Khadija Gambo Hawaja of Jos, the research surfaces both

affirmation and critique of prevailing norms. Malama Khadija articulates what she calls “Islamic women’s rights,” distancing herself from the label “feminist” while insisting—on Qur’an- and Sunna-grounded grounds—on dignity, education, property rights, and political participation for women. She separates classical religious leadership models from the realities of a constitutional democracy like Nigeria and concludes there is no Islamic bar to women serving as governors or presidents. She also prioritizes girls’ education, noting the life-course constraints many women face after marriage and childbirth.

The other interlocutors complicate and deepen the analysis. Malama Ami observes that communal standards often equate goodness with endurance in marriage—even when endurance becomes self-erasure—and stigmatize women who leave harmful unions, creating a moral double standard that excuses men while policing women. Malama Shatu stresses that a “good woman” remains a human being with limits; moral perfectionism is unrealistic and unjust. Malama A’i presses the symmetry further: every trait demanded of a good woman should define a good man; reform, she argues, begins with everyday language and social interaction, not only with legal pronouncements. Malama Zaina and Malama Daso name the double bind many women face: patience is praised, but women’s voice, mobility, and pursuit of knowledge or work are sometimes treated as blemishes on virtue; meanwhile, divorcees and widows can be cast outside the circle of moral esteem regardless of their piety and service.

Building from these testimonies, the chapter proposes a reframing: patience, modesty, and trustworthiness should never entail tolerating harm or silencing moral agency. Obedience in what is lawful must be paired with dignity and the protection of life and honor (*hifz al-nafs* and *‘ird*). Seeking knowledge, engaging in livelihood, and serving the community are not optional extras but integral to female virtue when measured by Qur’anic purposes. Scriptural precedents for wise female

leadership—Bilqis’ deliberation in Qur’an 27, Umm Salama’s counsel at Hudaybiyya, and Khadija bint Khuwaylid’s steadfast support—illustrate how women’s insight can de-escalate conflict, strengthen households, and steady communities.

Methodologically, the chapter integrates close reading of scripture and hadith with oral testimony and local moral vocabularies, preserving women’s intellectual contributions while testing doctrine against lived realities. It recommends linguistic and practical reforms: stop excluding widows and divorcees from the moral ideal; normalize women’s consultation and decision-making in home and public life; incorporate girls’ and women’s religious and civic education as markers of virtue; and teach a vocabulary that binds virtue to mutual rights and responsibilities across genders. The conclusion relocates “mace ta gari” from a narrow marital script to a capacious ethical horizon: a believing woman—whether single, married, divorced, or widowed—who exercises faith, integrity, and agency in the worship of God and in building just families and communities.

Gabatarwa

Idan aka ce mace ta gari, mafi yawan masu ilimi suna ambaton *mar’atul saliha*—wato “mace mai addini da kyawawan halaye”—kuma tunani yana tafiya zuwa ga sanannen hadisin da ke yabonta. A cikin Hausa kai tsaye, hadisin yana cewa: “Duniya jin dadi ce, mafi alherin jin dadinta shi ne *mar’atul saliha* (matar kirki).” Wani hadisi kuma ya yi bayani dalla-dalla game da abin da ake nufi da *mar’atul saliha*: “Mafi kyawun mace ita ce wadda idan mijinta ya kalle ta ta faranta masa rai; idan ya nemi abin da ya halatta ta bashi hadin kai; idan ya yi nesa, ta tsare kanta da mutuncinsa da dukiyarsa.” Wannan shi ne hadisin *mar’atul saliha*—halaye uku masu sauki amma masu nauyi: natsuwa, biyayya a halal, da rikon amana.

Idan muka tsaya mu ka yi tunani, wadannan hadisai suna amsa tambaya ta musamman: abubuwan da suka sanya mace ta zama

mar'atul saliha. Don haka ne suka maida hankali kan dangantakar aure—yadda mutum biyu za su gina gida na sakina, su sanya rayuwa ta yau da gobe ta zama hanya zuwa ga bautawa Allah. Ba wai labarin kwalliya ko tsari na al'ada ba ne, sai dai labarin halaye na gari: gaskiya, kame kai, ladabi, da amana. A taƙaice, hadisin yana nuna cewa “mafi alherin jin dadi” ba kuɗi ko kayan alatu ba ne, illa dai samun abokiyar zama ta gari.

Amma shin hakan na nufin *mar'atul saliha* sai wadda ta yi aure? A'a, ba haka ba ne. Kur'ani ya bayyana a fili cewa nagarta aiki ne na kowa—mata da maza—kuma lada ɗaya ake tsammani. A aya kamar K 33:35, an jera “muminai maza da muminai mata” a cikin halaye iri ɗaya: imani, gaskiya, haƙuri, salla, azumi, bayar da sadaqa, tsarkaka, da yawan ambaton Allah. Haka kuma K 9:71 ya ce “muminai maza da muminai mata abokan juna ne; su ne ke umartar alheri, suna hana mummuna...” Ma'ana, an ɗaura wa duka nauyin zama mutane na gari a gaban Allah da al'umma.

Har ma Kur'ani ya ƙara da cewa: “Duk wanda ya aikata nagarta—namiji ko mace—alhali yana da imani, za Mu ba shi rayuwa mai kyau kuma Mu cika masa ladarsa” (K 16:97; duba kuma K 3:195; 4:124). Waɗannan ayoyi suna karya ra'ayin cewa mace ta gari sai ba a samun ta sai a gidan aure. Budurwa mai ibada, bazawara mai mutunci, malamar da ke koyar da Kur'an da gaskiya, yā mace mai kula da iyaye, mata marasa aure masu sana'a, aiki, da kamun kai—duk suna cikin hoton mata na gari.

Kur'ani ma ya kawo mana manyan misalai na manyan mata na gari. Akwai Asiya, matar Fir'auna, wadda ta yi addu'a ta nemi gida a wajen Allah da tsira daga zalunci (K 66:11). Akwai Maryam, yār Imran, wadda aka yabeta saboda tsarkinta da gaskiyarta (K 66:12). Waɗannan mata, Allah ya biga misali da su a matsayin manyan mata masu daraja a wajen Allah kuma abin koyi ga dukkan muminai, maza da mata. Waɗannan mata, ba don girman matsayin aure aka ɗaukaka su ba, sai don imani, tsantseni, amana, da ƙarfin zuciyar su wajen ibada. Bayan haka, akwai

hadisai da suka fadada mana hoton mace ta gari wanda ke nuna mana cewa nagarta tana bayyana a kula da yaya, a aikin gida, a hidimar al'umma, a kyautatawa makwafu, a gaskiya a kasuwanci—ba lalle a cikin aure kadai ba.

A karshe, mace ta gari, ba suna ne na takaitacciyar rawa ba, sai dai babbar manufa: mace mai halaye masu kyau, a cikin aure ko a wajen aure. Hadisin “mafi alherin jin dadin duniya” ya nuna kyakkyawan hoto na yadda wannan yake a gidan aure—natsuwa, hadin kai a halal, da rikon amana. Amma rubutunmu ya nuna cewa Kur'ani da sauran hadisai sun buɗe kofa mai fadi: nagarta kan shafi kowacce mumina mai halaye na gari a duk matakan rayuwa.

Malama Khadija

A cikin yan shekarun baya, bincike kan mata Musulmai ya kara mai da hankali wajen bayyana muryoyinsu da gudummawar da suke bayarwa ta fannoni da yawa. Ayyukan masana irin su Amina Wadud (1999), Fatima Mernissi (1991), da Ziba Mir-Hosseini (2006) da kuma Rahina Muazu (2022) sun zurfafa bincike kan addini, tasirun al'adu da kuma zamantakewar al'umma dangane da mata. Amma har yanzu ba a ba da isasshen kulawa ga yadda su matan da kansu suka fahimta da kuma nazartar rayuwar su ba. Musamman muryoyin mata Musulmai na Afirka har yanzu ba a zurfafa bincike kansu ba, duk da dogon tarihin gudunmawar da suka daɗe suna bayarwa a ilimi, tun daga zamanin Nana Asma'u a Sokoto a karni na sha tara, har zuwa malamai mata na yau da suke koyarwa a cikin gidajen su, da makarantun Alkur'ani, jami'o'i, da kuma kungiyoyin daban-daban.

Na rubuta wannan makala ne domin nazarin tunanin mata, musamman Malama Khadija Gambo Hawaja, wata malama Musulma kuma mai fafutuka da ke zaune a Jos, Nijeriya. An horar da ita a fannin Nazarin Musulunci, inda ta yi karatun Alkur'ani, da ilimin fikihu, da hadisi, da harshen larabci a hannun

malamai da yawa wasun su sufaye, wasu kuma karkashin funkiyar Izala. Tayi kuma aiki da funkiyoyin agaji na kasashen waje, sannan kuma a halin yanzu, kwamishina ce a jahar Kadunan Najeriya. Malama Khadija ta shahara wajen koyarwa, da ilmantarwa ta hanyar darussukan wa'azi da take gabatarwa ta gidan radiyo, da talabijin da kuma tafsirin mata a lokacin watan azumi.

A tattaunawar mu, na jefawa Malama Khadija wannan tambayar: “shin wacece mace ta gari”? Ta bayyana “mace nagari” ba a matsayin akasin “namiji nagari” ba, amma a matsayin halittar da ta cika manufar ibada wadda Alkur’ani ya shimfida; a lokaci guda kuma tana tabbatar da kimomin al’adar Hausa na kamun kai, da mutunci. Malama Khadija ta kauracewa feminism a matsayin wata manufa da aka aro daga Yammacin duniya, amma tana rungumar matsayin da ta kira da “runguwar hakkin mata a Musulunci,” wanda ya ginu bisa Alkur’ani da Sunna. Yin haka ya sa Malama Khadija shiga sahan wasu mata Musulmai na Afirka wadanda suke aiwatar da rayuwarsu, da kuma gwagwarmayar su ba tare da daukar lafabin feminist ba.

Binciken da ke cikin wannan takardar ya biyou bayan tattaunawa ce da muka yi da Malama Khadija a gidan ta na Jos, inda na gabatar mata da tambayoyi masu yawa, sannan kuma na yi nazarin jawabanta. Daga cikin burin wannan makala shine adana tunanin malaman mu mata, kamar irinsu Malama Khadija, da kuma duba ga tasirin tunanin su akan canje-canjen da al’umar mu take fuskanta.

Al’ummar Hausawa da Rawar da Mata ke Takawa

Mata a la’ummar Hausawa suna taka rawa ta fannoni da dama. Ta fannin kasuwanci, renon yara, ilmantarwa, aikin jinya, da dai sauransu. Duk da wannan rawa da mata ke takawa, al’ummar ta na kallon zaman aure, da aihuwa da rainon yara a matsayin rawa mafi mahimmanci da ya kamata mata su taka. Hasalima, wasu su na ganin, babban burin mace a rayuwa shine zaman aure. A

saboda hakane a ke tarbiyyantar da yara mata tun suna kanana da kaunar aure, da kuma koya musu dabarori na riƙe iyali, kamar girki, raino da kuma lura da miji. Bayan haka, yawancin mutane a al'ummar suna ganin cewa kacokal riƙe mutuncin al'ummar ya rataya ne a hannun mata. Saboda haka, ana yawan bayyana matsayin mata a al'ummar Hausawa ta hanyar kimomi irin su *mutunci* (daraja, girmamawa), *kunya* (natsuwa/jajircewa), da *aure* a matsayin ginshikan rayuwar mace, a cikin magana, mutane su kan yawaita cewa ai, *duk abinda namiji yayi ado ne*. Irin wannan tunani, ya haifar da wani tsammani na musamman da ake yiwa mata. A dalilin haka ne na buƙaci Malama Khadija da ta warware mun wacece mace ta gari.

Mace Nagari: Tsakanin Ka'idodin Musulunci da Na Al'ada
Khadija ta bayyana “mace nagari” a cikin ma'anar Musulunci: *“Mace tagari ita ce wacce take tsoron Allah, tana nisantar abin da Allah ya haramta a boye da a bayyane, gwargwadon karfinta.”* Ta nuna cewa nagarta ba ta da alaƙa da jinsi, domin tana komawa ga manufar halittar ɗan Adam a Alƙur'ani (4:1; 17:70; 33:35; 49:13).¹ Duk da haka, ta kuma danganta ma'anar mace nagari da al'adu, da kuma fahimtar Hausawa — mace mai kunya, mai tsafta, mai kamun kai, mai biyayya ga miji bisa Shari'a, wacce take da ɗa'a, kuma ba mai shashanci ba. Wannan bayanin ya nuna yadda Malama Khadija take kallon mace tagari

¹ Alƙur'ani 4:1 – *Ya ku mutane, ku ji tsoron Ubangijinku wanda Ya halicce ku daga rai guda, Ya halitta daga gare ta ma'auracinta, kuma daga gare su biyun Ya yada maza da mata masu yawa.* Alƙur'ani 17:70 – *Kuma lalle Mun girmama 'ya'yan Adam, Mun dauke su a kan kasa da ruwa, Mun azurta su daga kyawawan abubuwa, kuma Mun fifita su a kan da yawa daga abin da Muka halitta, da fifiko.* Alƙur'ani 33:35 – *Lalle, maza Musulmi da mata Musulmi, maza mu'minai da mata mu'minai, maza masu biyayya da mata masu biyayya... Allah Ya tanadar musu gafara da sakamako mai girma.* Alƙur'ani 49:13 – *Ya ku mutane! Lalle ne Mun halicce ku daga namiji da mace, kuma Muka sanya ku al'ummomi da kabilu, domin ku san junanku. Lalle, mafi girmanku a wurin Allah shi ne mafi tsoronSa.*

ta hanyar da ta haɗa ka'idar Musulunci da kimomin al'adun Hausawa irin su kunya da mutunci.

Khadija ta jaddada cewa mata su ne ginshikin al'umma. Ta ambaci hadisin da ya ce *"ku zaɓar wa yāyānku uwa ta gari"* da kuma karin magana: *"uwa makaranta ce, idan ka horas da ɗaya, kamar ka horas da al'umma ne gaba ɗaya."* A wajen Malama Khadija, mata suna da tasiri fiye da maza wajen tsara tunanin al'umma: *"Idan matan a cikin al'umma suka gyaru, al'ummar baki ɗaya za ta gyaru; idan suka lalace, al'ummar ma za ta lalace."*

Khadija ta yi watsi da hujjar da ke cewa muryar mata ba ta da kima, tana cewa: *"Muryar mace mai karfi ce, koda kuwa shiru ta yi."* Ta ɓangaren shugabanci, ta na da fahimtar cewa mace za ta iya shugabanci. Ta ambaci shaidu daga Alkur'ani da tarihin Musulunci: labarin Sarauniya Balkis a Suratu'n-Naml (27), shawarar Ummu Salama a Yarjejeniyar Hudaibiyya, da kuma goyon bayan Khadija bint Khuwaylid ga Annabi Muhammadu tsira da amincin Allah su tabbata a gareshi.

Alkur'ani ya kawo labarin Sarauniya Balkis (surat Naml) a matsayin misalin jagoranci na mace mai hikima da dabara. Lokacin da ta karfi wasika daga Annabi Sulaiman (A.S.), ba ta mayar da martani cikin hanzari ko girman kai ba. Ta nemi shawarar manyan jama'arta, ta yi nazari da tunani, daga karshe ta gane gaskiyar sakon Allah. Balkis ta zama misali daga cikin ayoyin Alkur'ani na yadda mace ta iya aiwatar da mulki, diflomasiyya da kuma tunani mai zurfi.

A zamanin Manzon Allah (tsira da amincin Allah su tabbata a gare shi), Ummu Salama, ɗaya daga cikin matansa, ta taka rawar gani a matsayin mai ba da shawara a lokacin mawuyacin hali. Bayan rattaba hannu a Yarjejeniyar Hudaibiyya, sahabbai da dama sun nuna rashin jin dadi, kuma sun yi jinkirin bin umarnin Annabi na fitar da kansu daga haramcin ibada. Ummu Salama ta

ba shi shawara ya yi aiki da kansa—ya fara aske kansa da yanka hadaya. Da ya yi haka, sahabbai suka biyo shi nan da nan. Shawararta ta taimaka wajen kwantar da rikici, tana nuna irin tasirin da murya da shawarwarin mata suka taka wajen yanke shawarar da ta shafi al’umma.

Khadija bint Khuwaylid, matar farko ga Annabi, ta taka muhimmiyar rawa a farkon zuwan Musulunci. A matsayinta na yār kasuwa, ta bayar da goyon baya marar misaltuwa lokacin da wahayi ya fara zuwa wa Annabi. Kalaman kwarin gwiwarta—*“Allah ba zai taba wulakanta ka ba”*—da kuma tsayuwarta tare da shi suka ba shi karfin gwiwa don daukar nauyin da Allah ya dora mai. Jagorancin Khadija bai kasance a fili ba kamar na siyasa, amma ya kasance a cikin fagen gida, na goyon baya da amana.

A kan tsarin shugabancin mu na yau, Malama Khadija ta bambanta tsakanin shugabancin Musulunci (*imamat al-uzma*) da siyasar kasa mai tsarin mulki na dimokradiyya. A ganinta, Najeriya kasa ce mai tsarin mulki, ba daular Musulunci ba, don haka: *“Ban ga matsala ba idan mace ta zama gwamna ko shugaban kasa.”* Wannan hujja ta nuna cewa ta dora batun shugabanci ne bisa cancanta da tsarin kasa, ba wai iyaka na jinsi ba.

A kan ilimi, Khadija ta kalubalanci tsarin Hausawa da ya fi fifita ilimin maza. Ta ce: *“Duka suna da muhimmanci, amma idan dama ta takaita, zan fara da ilmantar da yāyā mata.”* Dalilinta shi ne cewa maza suna da damar samun ilimi a duk tsawon rayuwarsu, amma mata idan sun shiga gidan aure ko sun soma haihuwa, sau da yawa rayuwa tana hana su ci gaba. Wannan ra’ayi na Malama Khadija, na fifita ilimin mata, ra’ayi ne takaitacce a cikin al’ummar. Duk da wannan matsayi na ta na kare hakkin mata, Malama Khadija ta kara da cewa: *“Ni ba feminist ba ce, domin feminism akida ce. Akidata ita ce Musulunci, ba tare da iyaka ko nadama ba.”* Duk da

kasancewarta a tarurruka tare da masana *feminists* irin su Amina Wadud, Fatima Mernissi, da Ziba Mir-Hosseini, ta ce bata tare da su saboda sun auna Alkur'ani ne da mizani na Yamma (West).

Duk da haka, tana goyon bayan haƙƙin mata a cikin Musulunci — ikon mallaka, bawa mace cikakken zaɓi dangane da aure, gado, shiga siyasa, da sauransu. Malama Khadija ta fi so a kira ta *mai goyon bayan haƙƙin mata a Musulunci* a maimakon *feminist*. Sai dai, a zahiri ra'ayoyin Malama Khadija da dama suna kama da na *feminists* na Musulunci (Muslim feminists) da dama kamar Amina Wadud, Mir-Hosseini, Fatima Mernissi da sauransu. Abin da ya bambanta shi ne yadda ta ƙi laƙabin *feminism* saboda tana ganin ya fito ne daga Yammacin duniya. Bayan ta yi dogon bayani akan haƙƙokin da Musulunci ya baiwa mata, Malama Khadija tace ba a aiwatar da su sosai a al'ummar Hausawa. Ta danganta hakan da jahilci da kuma ƙauyanci. Ta yi zargin cewa maza da yawa sun raina mata har a cikin tattaunawa ta yau da kullum, inda ake cewa "*duk mata wawaye ne.*" Duk da haka, ta yi alfahari da matsayin ta na mace: "*Ko da za a sake haihuwa ta sau dari, zan fi so a haife ni a mace.*" Wannan kalami ya nuna alfahari da kuma adawa cikin hikima ga tsarin da ke tauye darajar mata.

Bayan tattaunawarmu da Malama Khadija, na tattauna da mata huɗu domin na ji ra'ayin su akan wace ce mace ta gari. Tambayar da na yi musu itace: shin a fahimtar ku, wace ce mace ta gari, kuma wace irin mace kuke ganin al'ummar Hausawa ta ɗauka a matsayin mace ta gari? Ga amsoshin da suka bani a kasa.

Malama Ami, yār kimanin shekaru yārba'in tace mace tagari itace mace kamila me hankali, haƙuri da juriya, wala matar aure ce, budurwa ko bazawara. Amma a cikin al'ummar Bahausha mace tagari itace matar aure. Duk kyan halin mace in bata da aure ba a ɗaukar ta a cikakkiyar mace tagari. Kuma ita wannan matar aure duk rintsi da ƙalubalen da zata fuskanta a gidan auren da zai

kaita ga halaka a rayuwar ta ko addininta, in dai tana gidan mijinta to itace mace tagari. Ta kara da cewa:

shi mallam Bahaushe be damu da addinin matar shi ba ko tana sallah ko azumi ko tarbiyar yāyā, ko mu'amalata da mutane, shi dai kansa kawai yake kallo. In dai tana yi mai biyayya, komai yadda yake so tana mai, kuma duk yanda ya yake son rayuwarta ta kasance ta na bi, to wannan itace mace ta gari. Akwai wata nasiha da iyayenmu suke dāuramu akai, wai duk sanda aka tashi aurar da yarinya sai a ce mata idan mijinta ya nuna mata bakin abu yace mata fari ne tace masa fari ne tas. Irin waɗannan nasihun su suke sa mata biyayyar da take wuce gona da iri. Amma macen da ta kasa jurewa irin wannan yanayin, daga ranar da ta bar gidan ko auren ya mutu, to ta fita daga sahan mata na gari a fahimtar Bahaushe (Malama Ami, tattaunawa tare da marubuciya, Agusta 2025).

Ita kuwa Malama Shatu, yār kimanin shekaru talatin da uku cewa ta yi, a fahimtar ta, mace ta gari itace mace mai kiyaye dukkanin dokokin Ubangiji, dokokin da ya kamata ko wanne Musulmi ya bi kuma ya kwatantu dasu. Tana daraja kanta tana daraja kowa. Tana kyautata mu'amalar ta gwargwadon iko. Tana bada shawara kuma itama tana dāuka idan aka bata. Mace ta gari kamar kowa, mutum ce, tana da rauni kuma tana iya kasawa saboda akasarin lokuta idan akace mace ta gari to ana tunanin ta kasance dāri bisa dāri wajen kyawun dābi'a, wanda hakan ba daidai bane.

Malama A'i ta jefawa kanta wannan tambayar acikin hirar mu: muna tambayar kan mu ina matayen mu na gari suke? Sannan muna tambayar kan mu waye namiji na gari? To, bari na bamu amsa:

Mata na gari da dama su na nan sun zama zaurawa saboda rashin mutuntawa, darajawa da kuma karramawa daga mazaje wanda kullum al'ummar mu su suke kallo a maza na gari. A lokacin da mace hakurin ta ya kare, zama ya gagara, har aure ya mutu, to shi kenan al'umma ta koma kallon ta wacce bata da hakuri, wadda ta cika buri, bata son zaman aure. Da zarar ta fito kuma ta fara neman yadda zata rufawa kanta asiri, babu wanda zai zo ya bata kwarin gwuiwa sai kyara da zata fara fitowa daga bakin mutane, "taki zaman aure ta fito tana gantali a titi" da surutai irin haka. A gurin Bahaushen namiji na gari shine sarki, an yarje mishi ya zuba mulki yadda yaga dama. Yayi duk yadda yaso kuma kada a yarda ayi mishi musu ko jayayya. Rayuwa dai kamar ta bawa da uban gidan shi, babu addini sai al'ada (Malama A'i, tattaunawa tare da marubuciya, Yuli 2025).

Malama A'i ta kara da cewa, ita a tunanin ta, dukkanin siffon mace ta gari haka ya kamata namiji na gari ya zama. Idan ana batun addini da kuma dokokin shari'a, ba a bambance tsakanin mace da namiji ba. Hatta a zamantakewar aure sai da Musulunci ya baiwa ko wane ɓangaren hakkin shi. A karshe, wannan tattaunawa da Malama A'i ta nuna cewa canjin da muke nema ba zai fara da manyan dokoki kadai ba, zai fara ne da yadda muke zana siffon kirki a cikin harshenmu da mu'amalarmu. Idan mu ka gyara ma'anar "ya mace ta gari" da "namiji na gari" bisa adalci, karamci, da hakkin juna, to mun buɗe kofar wannan canjin (Malama A'i, tattaunawa tare da marubuciya, Yuli 2025).

Ita kuma Malama Daso, yar shekaru talatin, cewa ta yi, a al'ummar Bahaushen mace na taka mataki uku ne a rayuwata, a matsayin ya, matsayin mata, da kuma matsayin uwa, duk da cewa

mace na iya kasancewa bazawara. Sai dai ita bazawara kwata kwata bata cikin lissafin mace ta gari a al'ummar Bahaushe saboda ganinta akeyi a wacce bata da hakuri, juriya, da sanin yakamata.

Malama Zaina da Malama Daso, wanda na tattauna da su a lokaci daya cewa suka yi:

A al'adar Bahaushe, “mace ta gari” an fi danganta ta da matar aure, mai tsananin hakuri da kau da kai—ta gani ta yi kamar ba ta gani ba, ta ji ta yi kamar ba ta ji ba—ba ta musu ko rinjayar ra'ayinsa, tana masa biyayya, tana girki, tsaftace gida, kula da yayanta har ma da yaran mijinta idan uwarsu ba ta nan, ba tare da korafi ba; tana daukar duk abin da mijinta ya yi a daidai, ba ta kalubalantar sa saboda shi ne shugaba, tana kuma daukarsa tamkar uba, ma fiye da uba a daraja; ba ta fada, ba ta hayaniya, ba ta yawan fita, kuma ma, ko da fita wajibi ce (aiki ko sana'a), ana kallon mai yawan fita a matsayin ba ta gari ba; don haka ana ganin ta fi dacewa ta zauna gida ta yi hakuri da abin da ake da shi ko abin da aka bata ko da tana cikin kunci. Amma a fahimta ta, mace ta gari lallai mai hakuri ce amma ba hakurin da ke cutar da ita ba—domin addini ya hana sarar mumini a rami daya sau biyu; hakuri ya dace ne inda ake daraja hakurin. Saboda haka, mace ta gari ita ce wacce take da kamun kai, sanin darajar kanta, kula da kanta da abin da ya kamata, ba ta bari a wulakanta ta ko a ci mata mutunci ko a danne hakinta, tana sanin kimarta a matsayin mutum bil'adama kamar kowa, tana da na ta ra'ayi, kuma tana kokarin zama wani abu a ilimi ko sana'a domin samun

ingantacciyar rayuwa (Malama Zaina da Daso, tattaunawa tare da marubuciya, Yuli 2025).

Bayanan Malama Zaina da Daso ya fito da ginshikan yadda al'ummar Bahaushe ke shimfiɗa “mace ta gari” a kan ma'aunin aure da biyayya, amma ya kuma buɗe kofa ga tambayar ko waɗannan sharuɗɗa suna ɗaukar dukkan yanayin mace a matsayinta na yā, mata, uwa, ko ma bazawara. A aikace, wannan tsari yana gindaya kyakkyawan hali da haƙuri, amma sau da yawa yana musguna wa yāncin mace na faɗar ra'ayinta, neman ilimi ko sana'a, da kuma kare mutuncinta idan aka tauye haƙkinta. Idan aka kara da kallon bazawara a matsayin “ba ta gari ba”, to an karkatar da ma'aunin daga adalci zuwa tsangwama: an manta cewa rabuwa ko mutuwar aure na iya samuwa ta dalilin zaluncin miji ko rashin jituwa tsakanin ma'aurata, ba daga rashin haƙuri kawai ba. Saboda haka, tambayar mu ita ce: ta yaya al'ada za ta ci gaba da tabbatar da kyawawan ɗabi'u ba tare da kulle kofofin ci gaban mata da kare mutuncinsu ba?

Daga nan, hanyar sulhu ita ce sake fassarar “mace ta gari” ta inda ta haɗa biyayya da amana da kuma sanin yānci da mutunci, kamar yadda Malama Zaina da Daso suka jaddada—haƙuri, amma ba haƙurin cutar da kai ba; kamun kai, amma ba shiru a yayin fuskantar wulaƙanci ba; bai kamata a ɗauki “yin magana” ko “fita aiki” a matsayin sabawa kamala ba, muddin ana kiyaye ƙa'idodin addini. Sabuwar fassarar “mace ta gari” ya kamata ta haɗa ƙa'idar addini da hujjar yakamata: kare rai da kima, karɓar shawara da fahimtar juna a cikin aure, da kuma ganin mace a matsayin cikakkiyar halitta mai ikon yanke shawarar kanta. Wannan tsari ne da zai ba mata damar zama ginshiƙi a gida da al'umma.

Kammalawa

Binciken nan ya nuna cewa fahimtar “mace ta gari” a al'adar Bahaushe a tsuke yake idan aka auna shi da ma'aunin Ƙur'ani da

Sunna. Hadisin *mar'atul saliha* ya yi nuni da ginshikai uku na aure—natsuwa, haɗin kai a halal, da rikon amana—amma ayoyin Kur'ani sun faɗaɗa nagarta zuwa ga kowacce mumina a kowane mataki na rayuwa: budurwa, uwa, bazawara, ko dattijuwa. Misalan Nana Asiya da Nana Maryam sun faɗaɗa nagarta. A gefe guda, muryoyin da aka ji—na Malama Khadija da sauran mata—sun bayyana rata tsakanin abin da addini ya shar'anta da abin da al'ada ke aiwatarwa, musamman wajen dora nagarta bisa biyayya marar iyaka ga miji, haƙuri da cutarwa marar misali, da kyamar mace marar aure.

Saboda haka, sabunta ma'anar “mace ta gari” ya zama muhimmin aikin ilimi da al'umma. Ma'anar da ta dace ita ce wadda ke haɗa ƙa'idar Musulunci da kimomin al'ada cikin adalci: haƙuri amma ba haƙurin cutar da kai ba; kamun kai amma ba shiru a gaban wulakanci da tauye haƙƙi ba; biyayya a halal tare da sanin yanci da rikon mutunci. A aikace, wannan yana nufin sauya harshe da dabi'unmu: a daina ware bazawara daga sahan mata na gari; a dauki neman ilimi ga mata, sana'a, da hidimar al'umma a matsayin sassan nagarta; a riƙa karɓar shawarar mata a gida da waje; a kuma dāure ma'anar nagarta da abin da ke kiyaye rai, hankali, da dukiyar kowa. Ta wannan fassara, mace ta gari ba ta tsaya ga matsayin matar aure kaɗai ba, illa cikakkiyar halitta mai imani da amana wadda ke ba da gudummawa ga gida da al'umma.

A ɓangaren ilimi da aiki, wannan makala ta tabbatar da muhimmancin tattara muryoyin mata Musulmai na Afirka—kamar Malama Khadija—domin tanadarwa da masu bincike turbar da za su yi gini a kai. Karin bincike ya kamata ya zurfafa a kan tasirin al'adu mara sa kyau da yadda muryar mata ya kamata ta yi tasiri a shari'a da siyasa a ƙasa mai dimokradiyya, da yadda mayar da hankali kan ilimin yā mace ke wanzar da tsarin adalci a al'umma. Idan malamai, iyaye, masu wa'azi, da masu tsara manufofi suka haɗa hannu wajen ba da horo, kare

hakkin mata, da karfafa shiga tattaunawar jama'a, za a gina tsarin da ke goyon bayan nagarta ba tare da tauye yanci ba.

A karshe, manufar mu ta sabuntawa ita ce mu daidaita ma'aunin "mace ta gari" da abin da Kur'ani ya riga ya tabbatar: "muminai maza da muminai mata abokan juna ne" kuma "duk wanda ya aikata nagarta—namiji ko mace—za a ba shi rayuwa mai kyau." Idan aka kulla biyayya da adalci, hakuri da mutunci, tarbiyya da ilimi, to mace ta gari za ta fito fili a matsayin abin koyi—ba saboda an takaita ta, sai don an ba ta dama ta zama cikakkiyar y'an adam.

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Chapter 2

Wace ce Mace ta Gari a Fahimtar Maza?

Mace Ta Gari in Contemporary Hausa Society:
How Men Define The “Ideal Woman”

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This chapter explores how Hausa men today conceptualize the “mace ta gari”—the “good” or “ideal” woman—through a set of semi-structured interviews conducted in Hausa with men in different everyday occupations (grain-porridge seller, motorcycle mechanic, bread seller, driver, vegetable trader, shoe vendor, and a tailor). It finds strong continuity with long-standing religious and cultural ideals, while also revealing tensions introduced by urbanization, schooling, cash-economy pressures, and mixed-gender marketplaces. Across testimonies, four recurring pillars dominate: knowledge (especially religious knowledge), character and decorum, obedience to the husband and respect for elders/parents, and childrearing with attentive domestic management. Around these pillars orbit additional virtues: modest dress and restricted mobility, fear of God expressed in visible worship, trustworthiness and fulfilling promises, skillful social conduct, and patience—especially in polygynous households.

Framing the inquiry

The chapter poses four guiding questions: what men today mean by “mace ta gari”; what in that vision is new or old; how economy, education, and urban life have reshaped or reinforced it; and how these views interact with Islamic normativity and Hausa custom. Methodologically, the author foregrounds the men’s voices as data in their own right, focusing on what

qualities they praise, which behaviors they proscribe, and how they justify those judgments.

What the interviewees say

1. Knowledge, character, and the obedience nexus. For multiple respondents, knowledge (*ilimi*) matters most when it produces discipline and compliance rather than autonomy. Hamisu (dusa seller) insists that knowledge without good manners is incomplete; true learning should yield humility, refined behavior, and especially obedience to the husband, which in turn secures a woman's dignity. Several interlocutors conflate the cognitive and moral: education's highest fruit is a woman's docility, patience, and endurance in marriage. Ibrahim (bread seller) likewise links knowledge to measured speech, respectful address, and careful self-presentation in public, all culminating in obedience not only to the husband but also to his parents and kin.
2. Piety, modesty, and public comportment. Zakari (mechanic) begins with religion before all else. A "good woman" is legible through her adherence to Islamic dress and comportment, marked by reserve in speech and avoidance of frivolous socializing. He stresses guarded interactions with unrelated men. While he does not declare women's economic work impermissible, he prefers home-based work or women-only spaces, and he frames such preferences as flowing from religious knowledge that sets boundaries on social mixing.
3. Domestic stewardship and emotional labor. Respondents consistently praise women who manage the household prudently: protecting the husband's property, keeping order, training children in Islamic etiquette, and maintaining cordial relations with neighbors and in-laws. Yet beyond material management, they celebrate a highly gendered emotional labor. Men extol "silence," "not talking too much," gentleness, patience under offense, and the capacity to soothe a husband's worries. In Abubakar's (driver) account, the ideal woman offers principled advice in crises—even when it

is hard to hear—grounds that counsel in religious norms, and treats co-wives with generosity rather than rivalry. She nurtures not only her own children but also a co-wife’s children, ideally effacing competitive maternal boundaries.

4. Moral reliability and public trust. Muhammadu Sani (vegetable trader) and Umar (shoe vendor) emphasize trust (amana), promise-keeping, fairness, and avoiding matters that “do not concern her.” Here the “good woman” is a social exemplar whose honesty and discretion encourage others to confide in her. She neither divulges her husband’s secrets nor seeks quarrels; she greets with warmth; she is consistent in worship—prayer, voluntary fasting, remembrance—and grounded in God-consciousness even in the husband’s absence.
5. A space for counsel, but bounded authority. Several voices open a door—narrow but meaningful—to female agency. A “good woman” can admonish a straying husband gently, propose solutions, and, when she has means, offer financial help to stabilize the household. Hassan (tailor) underscores her role as counselor, morale-builder, and arbiter of household calm; she “knows your troubles and makes them hers.” Yet even where women are authorized to advise, the locus of final decision-making remains explicitly with the husband. The result is a model of relational authority without formal power.

Where consensus hardens—and where it cracks

The analysis section distills a strong consensus: the triad of knowledge, manners, and upbringing is always yoked to obedience. Knowledge functions less as a tool for independent choice and more as a training in self-restraint; intellectual and moral formation should culminate in docility, ordered speech, and deference. Women are praised for avoiding argument, complying with instructions, and bearing hardship “whether there is abundance or scarcity.” The value of a woman is measured by her ability to maintain the husband’s tranquility and

the home's stability: keeping his confidences, protecting his property, and soothing tensions.

At the same time, the interviews reveal soft fractures. On women's economic participation, some men resist direct trade with unrelated men, preferring home-based crafts; others accept women's income generation provided religious boundaries are observed. A similar ambivalence surrounds women's counsel: several men want a wife who can offer frank, religiously grounded advice—and even correct a husband—but only within a framework of quiet diplomacy, not public challenge. In polygynous settings, the idealization of female patience stretches to urging affection and cooperative childrearing across co-wife lines—a high ethical bar that spotlights the emotional labor loaded onto women as the primary guardians of household peace.

Modern pressures and old ideals

Urbanization, schooling, and the cash economy unsettle the older presumption that the “good woman” always stays home. Markets demand mobility; education builds skills; low wages push families to welcome women's earnings. Yet the moral template has proven elastic: men re-narrate modesty as strategic mobility control, recast knowledge as a discipline toward obedience, and extend domestic stewardship to include prudent household finance. In this recalibration, the “ideal woman” remains the emotional shock-absorber of the family—smiling through stress, minimizing conflict, and absorbing friction with in-laws and co-wives.

Power, personhood, and the limits of agency

Does this portrait recognize women as full agents? The chapter argues that it does and it does not. It does insofar as men acknowledge women's intelligence, capacity to advise, moral accountability, trustworthiness, and crucial role in forming the next generation. But it does not insofar as those capacities are

tightly conditioned by silence, deference, and prioritization of the husband's preferences. Women's voice is praised when it consoles, mends, and concurs; it is discouraged when it disrupts or openly contests. The "ideal" therefore functions as both an ethic of care and a disciplinary schema: it elevates women as moral exemplars while narrowing the legitimate uses of their knowledge and speech.

Consequences for women's well-being

The men's vision can generate respect and serenity for some women, especially where husbands reciprocate with justice and appreciation. For others, the demands of near-total deference, relentless emotional labor, and limited public space can produce fatigue and self-erasure. The normative expectation to carry household peace—without equal emphasis on the husband's obligations to listen, negotiate, and share domestic burdens—risks making women responsible for harmony they cannot control.

Conclusion and implication

Taken together, the interviews sketch a resilient, deeply moral image of the "mace ta gari": learned in religion, modest in dress and speech, obedient and patient, faithful and discreet, industrious within accepted bounds, and tirelessly devoted to children and kin. Modern life has opened small corridors for counsel and economic contribution, but these are often enclosed by expectations of quietness and conformity. The chapter closes by recommending a communal pivot: if the aim is a just and tranquil home, then listening directly to women's hopes and constraints should accompany celebrating their virtues. Only then can the ideal move from a one-sided script of obedience and emotional labor to a shared ethic of mutual responsibility, where knowledge enriches women's choices as much as it refines their character, and where piety grounds not only modesty but also fairness and dialogue.

Mace ta Gari a Zamanin Yanzu: Fahimtar Maza a Cikin Al'adar Hausa

Tsakure

Wannan babi na littafi ya bincika yadda maza Hausawa ke fahimtar ma'anar mace ta gari a yau, ta hanyar nazartar tattaunawar baki-da-baki da aka yi da maza masu sana'o'i daban-daban a harshen Hausa. An gano ginshikai huɗu da aka maimaita sau da dama: ilimi (musamman na addini), ladabi/halin kirki da kamun kai, biyayya ga miji da girmama iyaye, sannan tarbiyya da kulawa da gida da yāyā. Bugu da kari, an jaddada rufe kai da kiyaye shige-da-fice, tsoron Allah da ibada, amana da cika alƙawari, kyautata mu'amala, da nuna haƙuri a zamantakewar aure musamman a mahallin kishiya. Binciken ya danganta waɗannan kimomi da tsohuwar fahimta ta “mace ta gari”, amma ya kuma fassara su a mahangar zamani, inda tattalin arziki, ilimi, zaman birni, da dandalin kasuwanci ke kalubalantar fahimtar da akawa mace a matsayin wadda ya kamata ko yausha ta zauna a gida. Haka kuma, an tattara shaidun da ke nuna sabanin fahimta a tsakanin maza—misali, tsakanin masu adawa da kasuwancin mace da maza kai tsaye, da masu ganin mace ta iya tallafawa miji da kuɗi muddin an kiyaye tsari.

Gabatarwa

Wace ce mace ta gari? Kalmar mace ta gari a ƙasar Hausa ta ratsa addini, al'ada, da zamantakewa. A mahangar yau, tambayar ta sake daukar sabon salo: me maza ke gani a matsayin alamar mace ta gari a birane da ƙauyuka, a kasuwanni da makarantu, a gidaje da wajen aiki? Makalar nan taa amsa wannan tambayar ta hanyar kawowa da kuma fassara muryoyin maza da aka yi hira da su—yān kasuwa, masu sana'ar hannu, da ma'aikata—inda suka fayyace fahimtar su da mace ta gari da dalilan sa. Mahangar su ta fito fili: “ilimi, ladabi, biyayya, tarbiyya” su ne tubalan gininsu, tare da ƙarfafa “tsoron Allah, ibada, kamun kai, da rufe kai/sanya hijabi/lullubi,” da kuma “amana, cika alƙawari, da kyautata mu'amala.”

Manufofin bincike da tambayoyi

1. Mece ce fahimtar maza game da mace ta gari a yau?
2. Menene sabo, menene tsoho, a cikin wannan fahimta?
3. Ta yaya tattalin arziki, ilimi, da zaman birni suka canza ko suka karfafa fahimtar mace ta gari?
4. Ta yaya waɗannan ra'ayoyi ke mu'amala da ka'idodin Musulunci da al'adun Hausawa?

Hanyar bincike

An yi hira da maza shida masu sana'o'i kamar haka: mai siyar da dusa; mai gyaran mashin; mai saida biredi; mai sana'ar tuki; mai harkar gwari; da mai siyar da takalma—tare da wani tela—dukansu sun danganta “mace ta gari” da kamun kai, biyayya ga miji, da tarbiyya ga yāyā.

Hamisu Isa mai Siyar da Dusa

A ganina, mace ta gari ita ce mai ilimi da ladabi. Ka san akwai masu ilimi amma ba su da ladabi. Gaskiya, mace idan ta gari ce, duk iliminta sai ta zama mai ladabi da biyayya, sannan mai tarbiyya. Ga ni, abubuwa uku ne ke tabbatar da mace ta gari: ilimi, ladabi, da tarbiyya. Kyau ko launin fata ba su sa mace ta zama ta gari ba; ilimi ba ya zaɓar kyau ko fari ko baƙi, ko wankan tarwada, ko kyawon fuska. Idan aka ce mace mai ilimi ce, da ladabi, da tarbiyya, to hakan ya fi duk wani abu muhimmanci—musamman a wannan zamanin.

Sannan dole ta zama mai biyayya da bin umarnin mijinta. Ya zama duk abin da ka ce mata, ko ka umarce ta, ta yi biyayya, kada ta yi ta jayayya. Domin shi ne ilimi: ta riga ta karanci abin, ta laƙance shi, sai ka ga biyayya ta shigo. Domin duk macen da ba ta da ilimi yana wahala ka same ta mai biyayya; nan take darajarta kan taɓu. Idan mace ba ta da daraja, to ba ta zama ta gari ba kenan.

Sannan mace dole ta kasance mai tarbiyya; domin ilimi idan babu tarbiyya, to an samu nakasu. Dole ta zama mai tarbiyya, sannan

za ta zama ta gari; wannan tarbiyya ce za ta taimaka mata wajen rayuwa, da tarbiyyar yāyānta, da kuma haƙurin bin umarnin mijinta. Sannan mace ta gari sai ta zama mai haƙuri a zamantakewar yau da kullum—musamman ga mijinta—na farko wajen bin umarninsa, da ko akwai ko babu (a halin rayuwa). Haƙuri zai sa ta samu juriya da ƙarfin zuciya, ta yi ladabi da biyayya. Duk inda aka samu mace da waɗannan abubuwa guda uku, to ta zama mace ta gari.

Zakari Abdullahi mai Gyaran Mashin

A ganina, mace ta gari ita ce wacce ta haɗa addini—ma’ana ta yi karatu na addini. Na farko, sai ta zama mai kamala, mai girmama na gaba da ita. Idan tana da wannan, sauran abubuwa za su biyo baya, kamar kyautatawa da sauransu. Addini shi ne gaba da komai, shi ne farko kafin kyautatawa. Duk inda ka ji an ce mace ta gari, ka fara duba addininta. Idan mace ta tsai da addininta, ka yi dacen mace ta gari.

Sannan a yanayin fitarta, za ka gan ta da shiga ta kamala, tana rufe duk abin da ya kamata a rufe. Hakan ma yana nuna mace ta gari ce. A mu’amalarta da mutane kuma, ba za ka gan ta tana yawan magana ko surutu ba.

Sannan za ka same ta da tarbiyya da biyayya ga mijinta. Idan ka ɗauki tarbiyya, za ka ga duk inda ta samu kanta, tana mai maida hankali kan abin da yake gabanta; duk abin da ba ya shafinta ba, ba ta kai kanta wurinsa. Biyayya ga umarnin mijinta: misali, idan mijinta ya dawo gida, za ka ga tana tarbarsa, tana masa sannu da zuwa cikin fara’a da annashuwa, da gaisuwa, har da rarrashi. To ka ga ita ce mace ta gari.

Sannan za ka same ta tana lura da tarbiyyar yāyānta, tana maida hankali wajen tabbatar da sun samu tarbiyya irin ta koyarwar Musulunci, kuma mai kiyaye duk haƙƙin da ke kanta. Game da mu’amalarta da mutane a waje—kasuwa ko masana’anta—za ka same ta faram-faran da jama’a, tana kiyaye haƙƙin duk wanda

wani abu ya shiga tsakaninsu, kuma tana kiyaye kanta daga abin da ba ya shafinta—musamman da maza.

Wani abu daya: ba na cewa ba a samun mace ta gari mai kasuwanci da maza ba; amma gaskiya abu ne mai wahala ka ga mace, idan ta gari ce, tana kasuwanci da maza; domin mace ta gari tana tsantseni a alaƙa da maza waɗanda ba muharramai ba. A yadda muka sani, mace ta gari idan ba aikin asibiti take yi ba, to a gida take. Hakan ba ya hana ta sana'a, domin akwai sana'o'in da mace za ta yi waɗanda sun alaƙanta da gida. Za ka ga duk mace ta gari ta fi yin irin waɗannan sana'o'i—saboda kame kanta da kiyaye duk wata alaƙarta da maza a waje.

Saboda duk wata sana'a da mace za ta yi kuma tana da alaƙa ta kai tsaye da maza, za ka ga mace ta gari ba ta irin wannan sana'a—saboda kamun kanta a duk inda take. To ka ga, a wannan bangaren, ba a ce ba za ta yi sana'a ba; amma idan za ta yi, akwai irin wadda za ta yi. Wannan kiyayewar dalilin ilimin addininta ne, wanda ya shar'anta mata ka'idojin zamantakewa. Idan mata ne (aiki da mata), to ba ta da wani tsoro sosai akan hakan. Saboda haka, kamun kai a gurin mace ta gari dole ne, domin shi ne zai tabbatar maka da cewa tana da mutunci.

Sannan kuma za ka ga mace ta gari tana fuskantar kalubale daga wasu mata yaƙan uwanta waɗanda tarbiyarsu ba ta kai tata ba—kamar kyashi ko hassada. Saboda wani matsayi ne wannan tarbiyyarta da kamun kai. A yadda take rayuwa—kamun kanta—wasu kan dauka girman kai take musu, ko kiyayewa. Shi ya sa za ka yawaita ganinta mai kamewa a tsakaninsu. Amma idan kuma ka sameta cikin mata na gari, za ka ga suna jin daɗin mu'amala da junansu.

Ibrahim Abubakar mai Siyar da Biredi

Mace ta gari ana ganeta daga yanayin shigarta, kamun kanta, da yanayin maganarta da mutane. Za ka same ta a shigarta akwai kamala, tana kame kanta a cikin jama'a, kuma tana kiyaye

maganarta da harshenta wajen magana da mutane. Sannan za ta zama mai biyayya da tarbiyyar yāyānta. Ba wai ga kai kadai ba, har ma ga iyayenka ko yān uwanka za ta kasance mai biyayya—irin tarbiyyarta ce ta sa tana girmama mutane. Za ka same ta mai bai wa na sama da ita girma, kuma mai kiyaye hakkin na kasa da ita.

Haka kuma za ka samu mace ta gari mai matuƙar biyayya ga mijinta: idan ka hana ta, za ta hanu; idan ka sa ta, za ta yi abin da ka umarta ba tare da musu ko jayayya ba. Sannan mace ta gari za ka same ta mai kula da dukiyar mijinta da kayayyakinsa—ba za ta taɓa barin abin mijinta ya lalace ko ya tawaya ba.

Game da tarbiyyar yāyānta kuma, tana matuƙar kiyaye ta, ta ba su tarbiyya yadda addini ya koyar. A duk wata alaƙa da mutane za ta tabbatar da gaskiya, rikon amana, da kyautatawa. Idan wani abu zai haɗa ta da mutane, za ta yi gaskiya ko da hakan zai sa ta takura, domin tarbiyyarta ba ta son zuciya kan abin duniya. Za ka same ta mai sassauci a duk abin da zai haɗa ku. A ganina, wannan ita ce mace ta gari.

Abubakar Danladi mai Sana’ar Tuki

Mace ta gari ita ce wadda za ta iya ba ka shawarwari masu kyau—musamman idan ka shiga wata matsala—kuma ba wai sai wadda za ta yi maka daɗi ba; za ta ba ka shawara bisa shari’ar addini. Za ta zama mai kiyaye tarbiyyar yāyānta ko da a bayan ka—wato ba sai a gabanka ba. Gaskiya, wannan zan kira mace ta gari.

Haka kuma za ka sami mace ta gari mai bada tarbiyya a duk inda ta samu kanta. Idan tana gidan aurenta tare da kishiya, ba za ka ga tana nuna zaman kishi ko gaba da ita ba. Galibi, za ka ga tana nuna farin ciki game da yār uwarta a gidan aure; ta ɗauke ta tamkar yār’uwarta. Idan ka gansu ma, za ka ɗauka tamkar ya da kanwa ne. Sannan za ka same ta mai yin shawarwari da ita

musamman kan abin da ya shafi zamantakewarsu a gidan miji, tana ba ta shawarwari kan abin da ya shafi rayuwar duniya.

Game da tarbiyyar yāyān kishiyarta, tana kiyaye ta kamar yadda za ta ba wa nata yāyān: za ta ja su jiki, ta riƙa lura da su akai-akai—saboda ta karanci ilimin addini, tana kuma aikata shi.

Sannan ga mijinta, za ka same ta mai iya yin nasiha idan ya tsinci kansa wajen yin abin da bai yi daidai da addini ba—ta hanyar shawarwari da jan hankali—domin dawo da shi hanyar da ta dace. Idan kuma wani abu ne ya shafi kuɗi, za ta iya ba mijinta domin ta tallafa masa idan tana da shi, don ya fita daga halin da yake ciki—su gudu tare su tsira tare. Mace ta gari dole a same ta da iya taimakawa da abin da take da shi—musamman kuɗi—kada ta zama mai rowa ko son abin hannunta. A ganina, wannan ita ce mace ta gari.

Muhammadu Sani Abdullahi mai Harkar Gwari

A ganina, mace ta gari ita ce kamar yadda Annabi (SAW) ya bayyana cewa duniya arziki ce, daga cikin jin dadinta akwai mace ta kirki. Ita ce wadda za ta yi biyayya a abin da ka umarta cikin alheri, ta bari abin da ka hana, ta kasance mai tsoron Allah ko da ba ka nan. Bayan hakan, ta kiyaye haƙƙinka, ta kula da tarbiyyar yāyānta, ta kula da kai da sauran yān uwa baki ɗaya. Wannan na daga cikin ƙa’idojin mace ta gari.

Sannan ta kasance mai kiyaye duk wani abu da ka so wanda zai kai ga farin cikin ka. Mace ta gari a koda yausha tana guje wa duk abin da zai bata maka rai, tana ƙoƙarin kusantar duk abin da zai faranta maka. Za ta cika maka duk wani haƙƙinka da ke kanta wanda aka shar’anta mata. Haka kuma ta kasance mai jin dadin mu’amala da waɗanda take mu’amala da su—ta kiyaye gaskiya da amana, ta bar abin da ba nata ba, ta yi sassauci wajen umarni. Mace ta gari dole ka same ta a kula da sallah da ibada: tana aikatawa cikin nutsuwa, tana bin sunnah, tana ibadu kamar azumin nafi; a kullum cikin azkari da neman gafara; tana miƙa

al'amuranta ga Allah, tana sanin duk abin da take yi Allah yana gani. Don haka, mace ta gari dole ta bi dokokin Allah, tana tsoronsa a al'amuran rayuwarta.

Umar Haruna mai Siyar da Takalma

Mace ta gari kalma ce da duk wata mace ke so a alaƙanta da ita. A ganina, mace ta gari ita ce wadda take da tarbiyya daga gidansu; ta san mutuncin iyayenta, ta san mutuncin kowa—idan ɗan Adam ne, ta san yāncinsa. Ba za ka ji cewa wani ya yi ƙorafi a kanta ba, balle idan aka aure ta ta yi wa mijinta wani abu ba bisa ƙa'ida ba. Duk abin da ta san na addini ne, tana aikata shi a rayuwa; wannan ce mace ta gari.

A koda yausha, tana bin umarnin mijinta a duk abin da ya umarce ta da shi, kuma tana iya aikata abin da ta san haƙƙinta ne ta yi tun kafin a umarce ta—tana tabbatar da hakan cikin tsoron Allah. Sannan ta kasance mai fara'a da sake fuska wajen bin umarnin da aka sa ta, tana ganin kamar umarnin Allah take cikawa.

Za ka same ta mai riƙe amanar da aka ɗora mata: tarbiyyar yāyanta —ganin sun samu tarbiyya yadda shari'a ta zo da shi; mu'amalarsu a kan gaskiya a duk al'amuransu da na sauran jama'a; mai ƙwaɗaitar da su da yin ibada yadda aka horar. Sannan ta ja su a jiki don nuna musu soyayya. Haka kuma ta kula da shige-da-ficen yāyanta kada su zama masu yawo ko zuwa inda bai dace ba. A ganina, wannan ita ce mace ta gari—mai tabbatar da tarbiyya a ko'ina.

Mace ta gari dole ne ka same ta da sanin ƙwaɗaitar wasu kan abin da yake daidai bisa koyarwar addini—ba tare da son kai ba ko nuna bangaranci—kuma ta dakile kanta a kan hakan, domin ta san ita abin kwaikwayo ce ga sauran mutane. Dole duk abin da take aikatawa ya zama yadda aka koyar. Idan ba haka ba, to ba ta zama ta gari ba.

Hassan Yusuf mai Sana'ar Tela

Idan aka ce mace ta gari, a ganina ita ce wadda ta san ya kamata, ta san matsalarka, ta san damuwarka, ta mai da ita tata. A koda yausha tana neman maka mafita ko ba ka shawara don a samu maslaha. Tana zaman tofa albarkacin baki, tana rarrashinka cikin duk wata damuwa, tana ba ka kwarin gwiwa.

Game da yāyānka, tana himma gurin ba su tarbiyya—haƙƙi ne a kanta, kuma abin tambaya ne a kanta. Hakan zai sa ta tabbatar ta kai kololuwar ƙoƙari wajen ba su tarbiyya, har kai ma koda bayan ranka za ka ga albarka. Daga inda aka ce mace tana da tarbiyya da biyayya ga mijinta, sai yadda ta tarbiyyantar da yāyānta — kamar ta bar irin ta bayan ba ta nan.

Ga sauran jama'a kuma, tana lura da kiyaye haƙƙinsu, ta bar abin da ba sa so ko da zuciyarta na so. Idan wani abu ya haɗa ta da wani, za ta fitar da haƙƙinsa kamar yadda ya kamata, har ta zama abin koyi ga jama'a—abin kyakkyawan kwaikwayo. Tana iya danne zuciyarta idan wani ya mata laifi, ko da da gangan. Za ka same ta mai tsananin haƙuri, sanyi da sauki—musamman ga ƙanana. Kamar yadda aka ce, murmushi sadaka ne—za ka same ta mai fara'a a kowane lokaci.

Sannan mace ta gari dole ta riƙe amana da cika alƙawari. Ya zama duk wani sirrinka ba ta fitar da shi ga kowa idan ba ka ba ta dama ba; hakan zai sa mutum ba zai ji kunyar bayyana mata sirrinsa ba. Idan aka zo ga cika alƙawari, za ka same ta tana tabbatar da kowa ya samu haƙƙinsa; wannan hali zai sa duk abin da kuka ƙa'idanta da ita ba za ta saɓa ba. A gaskiya, a ganina, duk macen da ta riƙe waɗannan halaye, ita ce mace ta gari duk inda take.

Nazari: Me hirarrakin suka faɗa game da fahimtar “mace ta gari” a idon maza?

Dukkan masu ba da amsa sun haɗa “ilimi” da “ladabi” da “tarbiyya” a matsayin ginshikan mace ta gari. Amma an haɗe

ilimi da biyayya: “ilimi” a nan ya fi zama kayan gyara hali fiye da kayan fadada ikon zaɓi a wajen mace. Wato, a fahimtarsu, babban sakamakon ilimi shi ne mace ta kara yin biyayya ga miji, ta kuma kara kamun kai da da’a.

Sun maimaita bukatar “kada ta yi jayayya”, “ta bi umarni”, “ta yi hakuri ko akwai ko babu”. Ya bayyana a hirar cewa auna darajar mace ya ta’allaƙa da yadda take sarrafa kanta don kwanciyar hankalin miji da gida. An gabatar da biyayya a matsayin alamar hikima, amma mizani ya karkata zuwa abin da miji yake so. Mace kuma ana yabonta ne muddin ta tanadi kwanciyar hankalinsa, ta riƙe sirrinsa, ta kula da dukiyarsa, ta yi rarrashi.

An kuma dora muhimmanci ga “yin shiru”, “ba yawan surutu”, “sanyi da sauƙi”, “juriya idan an mata laifi”, da “rarrashi”. Wannan yana nuna cewa aikin zuci (*emotional labor*) an dora shi a wuyan mace: ita ce mai rage zafi, mai daure zuciya, mai murmushi. Wannan ya karfafa tsarin fahimtar juriyar zuci na mata a matsayin “halin kirki.”

A wani ɓangare kuma, an fi ganin kimar mace a cikin zaman gida da tarbiyyar yāyā. Sana’ar mace ba laifi bane, amma ta fi kyau ta kasance ta gida ko ta mata kadai, a kauce wa hulɗar maza da ba muharramai ba. Duk da haka, ana yabawa mace idan ta tallafa da kuɗi ko shawara.

A ɓangarori da dama, an buɗe kofafin wasu damarmaki ga mace. Za ta iya ba da shawara mai daɗi ko mara daɗi “bisa shari’a”, ta iya yi wa miji nasiha idan ya karkace, ta iya tallafa masa da kuɗi idan tana da shi, ta iya riƙe amana da tarbiyar yāyā, har ma na kishiya. Amma wannan ikon yawanci na cikin gida ne (*domestic/relational*), ana tsammanin ta yi shi cikin nutsuwa ba tare da hayaniya ba. Wato ikon nata yana da iyaka: an yarda ta shawarci miji, amma tushen hukunci na ci gaba da kasancewa a hannunsa.

An kuma gina mutuncin mace ta hanyar rikon amana, gaskiya, adalci, kauce wa abin da bai shafeta ba, da cika alkawari. An dora mata nauyin zama “abin kwaikwayo” ga kowa—yāyā, kishiya, da al’umma. Wannan yana kara nauyin zamantakewa a wuyanta.

Haka kuma an yi ishara da kalubalen da mace mai kamun kai ke fuskanta daga wasu mata, kamar kyashi da hassada. Amma ba a buɗe sarari sosai ga yadda tunanin macen yake ba, ko ga abinda ta ke so, da kuma wanda ba ta so. Tsammanin shine ta so duk abinda mijin ta yake so.

Shin wannan hangen yana daukar mata a matsayin mutane masu cikakken ikon kai? A wani bangare, eh; amma a mafi yawan bangarori, ikon ya takaita. Eh, saboda an amince mace na da hankali, ilimi, iya ba da shawarwari, har ma gyara kuskure ga miji; tana iya rike amana, tsara tarbiyya, da daukar matakin taimako. Amma an daure wannan ikon da sharadda da yawa kamar shiru, da natsuwa, tare da fifita bukatun miji da gida kan na mace.

Shin mata za su yi farin ciki da irin wannan hangen? Wannan ya dogara da mace, muhalli, da matsayin zamantakewa. Ga wasu matan, wannan hangen na iya kawo musu natsuwa da, girmamawa. Amma ga wasu, nauyin da aka dora musu—makauniyar biyayya ba tare da jayayya ba, aikin zuci, iyakar fili—na iya haifar da gajiya, takura, da boye muradun su. Rashin sarari don sabani ko neman canji na iya rage farin ciki, musamman idan babu adalci da tattaunawa.

Kammalawa

Hirarrakin sun zana hoton “mace ta gari” a idon wasu mazan a matsayin wadda ta haɗa ilimi, ladabi, tarbiyya, da biyayya; wadda take rikon amana, kamun kai, hafuri, da kyakkyawar mu’amala; wadda ke gina gida ta hanyar tarbiyyar yāyā, kulawa da miji, da ba da tallafin zuci. An buɗe wata kofa ga mace—na

ba da shawara, nasiha, da taimako—amma an dāure ta da sharuɗɗan shiru, tsari, da fifita muradin miji/gida. Wannan hangen na iya samar da natsuwa da daraja ga wasu mata, amma ga wasu kuma nauyin da aka dōra da iyakokin da aka gindaya na iya takaita farin cikin su. Don neman daidaito, zai yi kyau al’umma ta fara mai da hankali wajen sauraron tunani da kuma muradin mata.

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Chapter 3

Nazarin Matsayin Mace a Al-Kur’ani: K 4:34, 2:228, 4:128 da Hakkin Kudin Mata a Arewacin Najeriya

Money, Marriage, and Authority: Financial Independence,
Spousal Duty, and the Reconfiguration of Marital Authority in
Islam

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Summary

The chapter interrogates the classical and contemporary meanings of *qiwamah*—men’s “stewardship” or authority in marriage—in relation to women’s economic rights, with special attention to current social realities in Northern Nigeria. Anchored in three Qur’anic loci (Q 4:34, Q 2:228, Q 4:128), it traces how premodern exegetes grounded marital hierarchy in divine preference (*fadl*) and financial maintenance (*naafaqa*), how jurists translated these ideas into positive law, and how modern scholars and changing economies now challenge and recalibrate those premises. The authors’ thesis is that *qiwamah* is best understood as a fiduciary trust conditioned by just leadership and material support, not as an unconditional license; when its underlying conditions fail, so too does its claim to binding authority.

Classical foundations: *fadl*, *naafaqa*, and marital hierarchy
Early exegetical readings of Q 4:34 located men’s precedence over wives in two pillars: God’s conferral of a certain advantage (*fadl*) upon men and men’s obligation to maintain women financially (*naafaqa*). Figures such as Muqatil b. Sulayman linked “with what they spend of their wealth” chiefly to the dower (*mahr*), while many others broadened it to continuing support. Several exegetes also widened *fadl* beyond spending to include

domains like testimony and inheritance, reinforcing asymmetries that jurists then normalized. Over the second and third Islamic centuries, the commentarial tradition deepened these claims: Ibn Wahb read a cognitive superiority into *fadl*; al-Zajjaj added discernment and knowledge; later authors such as al-Tha'labi and Abu al-Layth al-Samarqandi enumerated men's supposed comparative strengths in commerce, physical power, and social roles; al-Zamakhshari catalogued religious and legal prerogatives (leadership, jihad, preaching, evidentiary and inheritance advantages) as manifestations of that divine preference.

Importantly, the chapter notes that not all authorities spent equal energy justifying why men were assigned stewardship. Al-Tabari, for instance, emphasized the function—men's care of women—over the metaphysics behind it. Still, the premodern consensus pictured a divinely ordered gender hierarchy in which wives' obedience (and the management of *nushūz*, Q 4:34) helped secure conjugal harmony, while Q 4:128's recourse to *sulh* (reconciliation) supplied a pragmatic tool for marital repair. Read together with Q 2:228, which upholds reciprocal rights and duties, these verses formed a lattice that both differentiated roles and acknowledged mutual claims.

From *fadl* to *nafaqa*: medieval juristic consolidation
By the high medieval period, attention in some schools shifted from theorizing *fadl* to operationalizing *nafaqa*. Al-Qurtubi is central here: he ties the validity and ongoing integrity of the marriage to the husband's provision, arguing that failure to maintain can justify dissolution—an approach he aligns with Maliki and Shafi'i positions. In contrast, Hanafi doctrine is presented as more reluctant to make non-maintenance an automatic trigger for dissolution. Even so, al-Qurtubi does not reduce male stewardship to money alone; for him, claims about men's innate traits (reason, physical strength) underwrite a baseline presumption of male leadership that economic change does not easily unsettle. The upshot is a complex, partly elastic

framework: while the duty to maintain can be adjudicated and even determine remedies, the higher-order rationale for male headship often remained insulated from social variation.

Modern re-readings: disentangling text from interpretation
The chapter situates twentieth- and twenty-first-century debates in two waves of reformist energy: an earlier period linked to colonial codification and emergent nation-state courts, and a later, global conversation intensely focused on gender. Drawing on scholarship like Judith Tucker's, the authors show how "law on the books" replaced much case-by-case juristic reasoning, pulling family law into governmental arenas and inviting fresh scrutiny of inherited norms.

Within this modern frame, Amina Wadud and Asma Barlas argue that premodern exegesis was largely male, producing interpretive horizons that naturalized male authority as moral norm. Wadud, reading Q 4:34's *faddala* clause through its second pillar—spending—treats stewardship as contingent: where maintenance, protection, and just leadership lapse, the warrant for authority lapses too. Barlas underscores women's moral agency and proprietary rights, resisting any reading that permanently infantilizes wives. Fazlur Rahman adds a historical-ethical angle: if the original formulation recognized and disciplined a then-dominant male-provider model, evolving economies and women's autonomy logically invite an ethic in which spouses stand as equals before God, with material contributions shared. In short, these modern readings distinguish revelation from human interpretation and re-anchor marital governance in Qur'anic objectives of justice (*'adl*), compassion (*rahma*), and domestic tranquility (*sakina*).

Northern Nigeria today: changing economies, new questions
Turning to Northern Nigeria, the chapter documents a rapid reconfiguration of household economies. The once-prevailing model—husband as sole breadwinner, wife as homemaker—now

coexists with diverse realities: many women complete higher education, earn incomes, sometimes surpassing their husbands, and often shoulder significant or primary household expenses. These shifts sharpen practical and legal questions that classical texts do not answer directly: If a working wife earns more, does the husband's duty to maintain diminish? If he marries a non-earning second wife, may he reallocate support away from the first? If the wife declines to share her salary, is she blameworthy or simply exercising her Qur'anic proprietary right? And if the husband cannot or does not provide, does his claim to stewardship retain its force?

The chapter does not pretend that one doctrinal formula resolves all cases. Instead, it invites a purposive application of *usul al-fiqh*—*maslaha* (public interest), *sadd al-dhara'i* (blocking harm), and *'urf* (local custom)—so that legal responses track lived realities without abandoning Qur'anic aims. It encourages premarital education, explicit financial clauses in marriage contracts (clarifying maintenance responsibilities and contributions), and robust, Shari'a-grounded mechanisms for *sulh* when conflicts arise.

Reframing the three anchor verses

A key hermeneutical recommendation is to read Q 4:34 in the light of Q 2:228 and Q 4:128. The first anchors stewardship as responsibility, not entitlement; the second safeguards reciprocal rights and duties and affirms women's standing; the third normalizes negotiated settlements that repair or recalibrate relationships. Across this triad, the chapter stresses that women's financial rights—ownership, control, and immunity from spousal appropriation—are Qur'anically guaranteed and should be practically protected even as couples cooperate economically.

Implications and conclusion: *kiwamah* as trust

The chapter's concluding claim is concise and policy-oriented: *kiwamah* should be treated as an *amanah* (trust) predicated on demonstrable care—maintenance, protection of dignity, fair

leadership—not as a fixed male privilege irrespective of performance. Historically, classical exegesis blended theological premises about divine preference with socio-economic assumptions about men’s provider role. Jurists like al-Qurtubi then operationalized maintenance in ways that could empower remedies for non-performance. Contemporary circumstances in Northern Nigeria expose both the strengths and the limits of those inherited logics: where wives demonstrably sustain households, the moral and legal relationship between spending and authority requires re-specification.

Practically, the authors urge: educate spouses before marriage; write clear financial terms; protect women’s proprietary rights; and prefer reconciliation procedures that honor dignity and fairness. Methodologically, they call for using recognized legal maxims—*maslaha*, *sadd al-dhara’i*, and *urf*—to align rulings with present facts while remaining faithful to Qur’anic ends. Substantively, they propose that when the conditions that once justified a unilateral model no longer obtain, a partnership model better realizes the Qur’an’s ethics of *‘adl*, *ihsan*, and *sakina*. Read together, Q 4:34, Q 2:228, and Q 4:128 authorize precisely such a recalibration: authority becomes accountable responsibility; obedience becomes cooperative commitment; and women’s money remains inviolably their own. In this synthesis lies a path toward equitable Muslim family life attuned to Northern Nigeria’s changing social landscape.

Gabatarwa

Mas’alar mafhumin kiwamah (ikon namiji ko shugabancinsa) a cikin addinin Musulunci, musamman dangane da tsarin matakin jinsi (*gender*) da yancin samun kudin mata, ya dade yana jawo muhawara. A wannan karnin nan na asirin da daya, Musulmai suna fafutukar daidaita koyarwar Musulunci da kalubalan da canjin zamani ya kawo musamman game da haƙƙoƙin mata: Shin mace tana da haƙƙin tayi ilimi mai zurfi kamar namiji? Shin namiji har yanzu yana da alhakin kula da matarsa wacce take aiki

kuma tana samun albashin da zai iya yiwuwa ya fi nasa yawa? Me zai faru idan matar da take aiki mijinta ya auri wata mace ta biyu wacce ba ta aiki? Shin yana da hakkin ya rage daukar nauyin matar da take aiki? Me zai faru idan mace ta ki ba mijinta damar anfanuwa daga albashinta?

Wannan makalar za ta yi la'akari da mas'alar mafhumin kiwamah da haɓakar yancin samun kuɗin mata a Arewacin Najeriya. Za a yi amfani da kalmar kiwamah a nan wajen nuni da ikon shugabanci da kuma alaƙa da abubuwan da suke biyo bayan shugabancin, wanda aka ba maza saboda daukar nauyin matansu da suke yi. Za a fara duba fassarar da magabata suka yi wa kalmar kiwamah kamar yadda ta bayyana a cikin ayyukan manyan malamai na Musulunci irin su al-Kurtubi, Abubakar ibn al-Arabi, al-Jassas, da al-Tabari, tare da mai da hankali kan yadda waɗannan fassarorin suka taka rawa wajen tsara haƙƙoƙin jinsi a cikin tsarin Musulunci.

Ta hanyar duba mafhumin kiwamah daga fahimtar Alkurtubi a tafsirinsa mai suna *al-Jami li-Ahkam al-Kur'an*, da na Abubakar Ibn al-Arabi a tafsirinsa mai suna *Ahkam al-Kur'an*, tare da fahimtar Al-Jassas a tafsirinsa mai suna *Ahkam al-Kur'an*, sannan da fahimtar Al-Tabari a tafsirinsa mai suna *Jami al-Bayan an Tawil Ay al-Kur'an*. Wannan makalar za ta binciki yadda magabata, malaman farko suka tabbatar da tsarin matakin jinsi da kuma tasirin hukuncinsu a cikin fiqhu (shari'ar Musulunci), musamman a cikin makarantun fiqhu irin su Malikiyya da Hanafiyya. Gudunmawar malamai mabiya, daga baya kamar Ibn Rushd a cikin *Bidayat al-Mujtahid* za ta ba da ƙarin haske game da ci gaban mafhumin kiwamah da yadda ake amfani da shi a cikin mahallin shari'a daban-daban.

Bayan haka, wannan makalar za ta yi nazari kan sukar fahimtar zamani game da tsari da fahimtar magabata akan mafhumin kiwamah, tare da mai da hankali kan ra'ayoyin masana masu fafutukar kare haƙƙoƙin mata (*feminists*) da kuma kalubalen da

wasu malamai ke yi wa tsarin magabata na matakin jinsi. Za a yi kiyasin yadda kiwamah ke tsara ikon maza akan matan da suke da aure a musulunci, da kuma yadda wannan iko yake fuskantar kalubale a wannan zamani sakamakon haɓakar ilimin mata da kuma yancin samun kudinsu a Arewacin Nijeria.

A karshe, makalar za ta gabatar da damar sake dubawa da kuma kimanta tsarin kiwamah bisa ga yanayin zamantakewar zamani da shari'a. Za a binciki fassarori daban-daban, duka dangane da nassoshi na magabata da kuma waɗanda suka kasance masu zaman kansu, kamar yadda aka gani a cikin shari'o'in kotu daga Arewacin Najeriya.

Tsarin Matsayin Jinsi

Akwai tsarin matsayi da mu'amala na jinsi wanda Allah ya tsara, wanda yake da tushe a nassi kamar yanda Q 4:34 ya bayyana. A wajen mafi yawan malamai magabata, ikon maza akan mata da biyayyar mata gare su ya kasance abun da babu banbancin ra'ayi akai. Mayar da hankali kan ikon da maza suke da shi akan matayensu, ya rinjayi fassarar magabata, musamman duba da yanayin kamanceceniyar rayuwar zamantakewa da suke da.

A takaice, fahimtar tsarin matsayi na jinsi a lokacin magabata, wato matsayin miji a dangantakarsa da matarsa, ya yi kama da wanda ke matsayin wakili da halifa na Allah wajen gudanar da rayuwar da Allah ya aminta da ita. Bisa wannan, samun yardar Allah yana da nasaba da matakin biyayyar mace ga mijinta da miƙa wuya gare shi. Duk da haka, samun nasarar wannan, yana da iyaka ga ayyukan da suka dace da umarnin Allah.

Domin ɗaukar cikakken nauyin wakilci, maza sun kasance “masu kula da ɗaukar nauyin mata ta amfani da kudinsu” kamar yadda aka ambata a Q 4:34. Wannan yana nufin mazaje suna kula da buƙatun matansu da kuma tabbatar da kyawun halayensu da ladabi cikin al'amuransu. A wasu kalmomi, matsayin miji a matsayin mai kula da kudi da ɗabi'a yana nufin tabbatar da cewa

matarsa tana da walwala ta kudfi kuma kowanne hali mara kyau ya nisanci gidansa. Wannan alhakin na nafaƙa, a wajen magabata, shine dalilin da yasa aka baiwa maza iko (*kiwamah*) da fifiko (*fadl*) akan mata wajen kula da gidajensu.

A wannan fuskar, magabata sun fassara duk wani abun da mace za ta yi, wanda zai iya kawo barazana ga tsarin daraja na jinsin da Allah ya tsara, a matsayin kin biyayya (*nushuz*). Saboda tabbatar da zaman lafiya na aure shine mafi kyawun mafita cikin rikicin aure, kamar yadda aka bayyana a Q 4:128. Alhakin miji idan aka samu rashin biyayya shine bibiyar matakan da aka tsara a Q 4:34. Dangane da ra'ayin magabata akan dangantakar miji da mata, an bayyana cewa ta hanyar wannan tsarin daraja na jinsi wanda Allah ya tsara, za a iya samun abokantaka da jituwa tsakanin ma'aurata (Bauer 2015, 166).

Wannan yana nuna cewa, bisa ga fassarar magabata, ikon maza akan mata wani abune babu shakka akai kuma babu inkari. Duk da haka, hujjar da ke bayan wannan ikon maza akan mata, kamar ba dalili ne da ya dangantu da jinsi ko halitta kawai ba. Wato, ba wai saboda jinsi na haihuwa bane aka bai wa maza iko, amma saboda fifikon da aka ba su ne (*fadl*) kamar yadda aka bayyana kai tsaye cikin Q 4:34 da kuma Q 3:32. Ayar ta ƙarshe tana bayyana cewa Allah shine wanda yake zaɓan wanda ya so, kamar yadda yazo a wasu ayoyi na Al-Ƙur'ani. Batun fifiko (*fadl*) na Allah akan maza fiye da mata, da alhakin ɗaukar nauyi (*naƙaƙa*), suna daga cikin manyan dalilai na nassoshi da ke tabbatar da kiwamar maza akan mata.

Bisa alamu, a cikin ɗaya daga cikin fassarar farko, Muqatil b. Sulaiman (d. 150/767), ya bayyana cewa “da abin da Allah ya fifita wasu akan wasu (*fadl*)” yana nufin cewa maza suna da ƙarin haƙƙi akan matansu. Amma, “da abin da suka kashe na dukiyarsu (*naƙaƙa*)” yana nuna ikon mazaje saboda sadakin da suka biya.² Abin mamaki anan, shine, duk da cewa Muqatil ya haɗa ikon

² Muqatil, *Tafsir*, 370–71.

maza da kudaden da suke kashewa, bai ambaci wani nauyin kashe-kashe na kudade ba sai dai sadaki lokacin da yake fassara Q 4:34. Haka nan, wasu daga cikin malamai magabata, sun fadada ma'anar "da abin da Allah ya fifita wasu akan wasu (*fadl*)" har ya shafi mas'alar shaida da gado.³ Bisa ga wannan, shaida ta mata biyu tana daidai da ta namiji daya, kuma mace tana samun rabin abin da namiji ke samu daga gado.

A karshen karni da biyu da farkon karnin na uku, a cikin aiyuwa tafsiri, an samu fadadawar ma'ana inda "da abin da suka kashe na dukiyarsu (*nafaqah*)" ya kara fadaduwa har ya kai matakin daukar nauyin bukatun mata ya rataya akan maza a kari ga sadakin da aka ambata a lokutan baya.⁴ Kamar yadda Karen Bauer (2015) ta bayyana, Ibn Wahb (d. 197/813) yana daga cikin malaman farko da suka kara ra'ayin fifikon hankali na maza akan mata zuwa sashin "da abin da Allah ya fifita wasu akan wasu (*fadl*)" na Q 4:34.⁵ Al-Zajjaj (d. 311/923) ya kara fifikon ilimi da mizanin hukunci (*tamyiz*) zuwa abin da maza suke da shi fiye da mata (Al-Zajjaj, Ma'ani, v. 2, 48).

Fahimtar ma'anar "da abin da Allah ya fifita wasu akan wasu" dangane da wannan aya yana da muhimmanci. Magabata sun fahimci kalmar "wasu" da nufin maza. Ma'ana, Allah ya bawa maza fifiko fiye da mata, sabida haka, Allah ya fifita maza akan mata. Wannan ya sa ayar ta dace da ra'ayin fifikon maza akan mata saboda abin da Allah ya fifita musu na *fadl*. La'akari da haka, za'a iya cewa ikon maza akan mata yana da tushe a kan abubuwa biyu masu muhimmanci; fifikon Allah da ya bawa maza fiye da mata da kuma nauyin "kula da kariya" da aka ba su kamar yadda aka bayyana a Q 4:34.

³ Hud b. Muhakkam, *Tafsir*, 377.

⁴ al-Qummi, *Tafsir*, 1:137; Ibn Wahb, *al-Wadih*, 1:151; al-Zajjaj, *Ma'ani al-Qur'an*, 2:48; al-Tabari, *Jami' al-Bayan*, 8:290.

⁵ Ibn Wahb, *al-Wadih*, 1:151.

Duk da cewa, wasu daga cikin malaman wannan zamanin, suna yiwa wannan fahimtar raddi, amma su malamai magabata, ba haka kawai suka fassara wannan bangaren na ayar ba. Kamar yanda nazari akan ayoyin al-Kur'ani zai bayyana, kalmar *fadl* ta zo a sigogi daban daban da kuma ma'anoni daban daban (Misali, a sigar. *Faddala*, wadda ita ce a wannan ayar, kamar yanda tazo a: Nisa 4/32, Nahl 16/71, Nisa 4/95 da Baqara 2/47, duk suna nufin fifikon wani bangaren akan wani bangare. Duk da cewa nau'in fifikon kan iya canjawa.). Wanda tantance ma'anar da tafi dacewa da ko wane wajen da kalmar tazo na bukatar wani dalili na daban, da ya shafi hadisi, larabci ko wani dalili na tarihin saukar wahayi. Kamar yanda yazo a ayar da ta gabaci Q 4/34, wato Q 4/32, Allah ya ce "Kuma kada kuyi kwaɗayin abin da Allah Ya fifita wasu akan wasunku." Cikin dalilan da suka shafi saukar wannan ayar a wajen magabata, shine kuka da Ummu Salama ta kaiwa fiyayyen halitta Muhammad (S.A.W) akan samun da maza suka fi mata, kamar na ganima da kuma kason da suke samu a gado wanda yafi na mata. Akan haka ne, Allah ya saukar da ayar da ta gabata, tana nuni da cewa Allah ne ya zaɓi yayi hakan. A bisa wannan ne, magabata suka dogara akan cewa, bangaren da aka fifita kuma suke da fifiko, sune maza. Kamar yanda aka yi bayani.

Malaman da basu gamsu da kimar da aka kafa ba, sun yi kofarin kafa wata nazariyya akan ka'ida game da dangantakar aure da ta haɗa yanayin zamantakewa da tsarin wahayi. A cikin neman wannan ka'idar, malaman sun nemi karin dalilai na ilimi, zamantakewa, da tarihi don goyon bayan ra'ayin da suka kafa akan ikon maza. An bayyana cewa, ikon miji ya samo asali ne daga fifikonsa a kan abubuwan da suka haɗa da hankali (*aql*) da karfi (*quwwa*). Al-Tabari (d. 310/923) ya saukaƙe fassarar ta hanyar mai da hankali kawai kan rawar da maza ke takawa wajen kula da mata, ba tare da zurfafaƙa cikin wata rarrabewa ba.⁶ Al-Tabari, kamar magabatanshi, bai mai da hankali kan dalilin da yasa aka ba maza wannan nauyi ba.

⁶ al-Tabari, *Jami' al-Bayan*, 4:59.

Ko da yake malamai kamar Al-Tha‘labi (d. 427/1035)⁷ ya bayyana kwarewar maza a kasuwanci da kashe kudi a matsayin dalilan da suka sa aka ba su ikon shugabanci a kan mata, haka kuma Abu al-Layth al-Samarqandi (d. 373/983)⁸ ya yi nuni da cewa dalilan da suka sa maza suka sami ikon shugabanci a kan mata sun haɗa da fifikon hankali, kula da dukiya da kuma ƙarfin halittar maza. Sun ƙara dalilai na musamman don nuna dalilin da yasa aka ba maza iko akan mata, al-Zamakhshari (d. 538/1144) ya jera bambance-bambance masu game da fifikon Allah akan maza don basu ikon tallafawa mata. Ya ambaci nau’uka uku na halaye da ke tabbatar da fifikon maza akan mata. Nau’in farko ya shafi halaye na asali kamar hankali, hakuri, ƙarfin zuciya, da ƙarfi na jiki, wanda yace ya fi ƙarfi a cikin maza fiye da mata. Nau’i na biyu ya shafi abubuwan zamantakewa, waɗanda suka haɗa da rawar da maza ke takawa a cikin al’umma kamar ilimi, kwarewar soja, jagorancin addini (annabci), da tsarin iyali na uba da aka karɓa a cikin Musulunci. Haka nan, akwai fa’idojin shari’a, kamar bai wa maza damar jagoranci a wuraren addini (halifanci), shiga jihadi, yin wa’azi, da fa’idodi a cikin gado, shaida, da haƙƙin aure.⁹

Game da mas’alar *kiwamah* a lokaci na gaba, ya shafi yanayin zamantakewa na zamani wanda ya canza ko ya samu ci gaba. A lokacin al-Kurtubi (d. 671/1273), tattaunawa ta canza daga abin da ya ƙunshi “da abin da Allah ya fifita wasu akan wasu (*fadl*)” zuwa yanayin “da abin da suka kashe na dukiyarsu (*nafaqa*)”. Wato, yayin da tattaunawar da ta gabata ta yi ƙoƙarin tantance abin da ake nufi da *fadl*, al-Kurtubi ya fi mayar da hankali kan batun nafaqa da tasirinsa. A takaice, batun fifiko an ɗauka cewa an riga an kafa shi kafin lokacin al-Kurtubi kuma malamai na wancan lokacin sun amince da shi. Don fahimtar hanyar da aka ɗauka a wannan lokacin, tambayoyi masu muhimmanci sune:

⁷ al-Tha‘labi, *al-Kashf wa-l-bayan*, 3:302.

⁸ Abu’l-Layth al-Samarqandi, *Bahr al-‘Ulum*, 1:151.

⁹ al-Zamakhshari, *al-Kashshaf*, 1:496.

menene halayen miji da ya dace ya riƙe matsayin iko (*kiwamah*)? Me yake nufi ga miji ya kula da *naƙaƙa* ga matarsa?

Malamai kamar al-Kurtubi da Abubakar ibn al-Arabi (d. 534/1148), a cikin *Ahkam al-Kur'an*, sun bayyana cewa, za a iya hango tsarin auren ta yadda za a yi biyayya ga maza don samun kulawa da ɗaukar nauyin harkokin mata.¹⁰ Wannan, kamar yadda aka ambata a wurare daban-daban, ya haɗa da biyan sadaki. Domin Ibn al-Arabi ya fi mai da hankali kan sashin “da abin da Allah ya fifita wasu akan wasu (*fadl*).” A nan, za’a fi mai da hankali kan al-Kurtubi wanda ya jaddada rawar da “da abin da suka kashe na dukiya (naƙaƙa)” yake takawa wajen tabbatar da ko soke yarjejeniyar aure. Dangane da ra’ayin al-Kurtubi kan wannan zance, a kari ga ra’ayinsa game da fifikon maza (*fadl*) wajen riƙe iko akan mata, shine cewa ya kafa dangantaka tsakanin *naƙaƙa* da saki. A wajen Al-Kurtubi, muhimmancin yarjejeniyar aure ta ta’allaƙa ne akan kula da mata a madadin/don samun biyayya. Saboda haka, gazawar samar da kulawa da *naƙaƙa* yana karya maƙasudin yarjejeniyar gaba ɗaya. Wannan yasa mace na iya neman saki. A cewar shi, wannan shine ra’ayin makarantar Malikiyya da Shafi’iyya. Amma game da Abu Hanifah, ya sabawa wannan ra’ayi.¹¹

Tambaya mai ma’ana a nan itace: Shin yaya sassauci da karko na ma’anar “da abin da Allah ya fifita wasu akan wasu (*fadl*)” da “da abin da suka kashe na dukiya (naƙaƙa)” yake kasancewa? Saboda, duk da cewa akwai jituwa akan ikon da aka ba maza akan mata, akwai wasu canje-canje da sassauci a cikin fahimtar waɗannan sassan na Q 4:34. Musamman ga al-Kurtubi, wanda ya kafa dangantaka tsakanin rashin *naƙaƙa* da saki. Tambaya ana ita ce: Me zai faru, misali, idan mace ta zama ita ce mai kula da gida? Shin namiji zai rasa ikonsa na shugabanci? A cewar al-Kurtubi, dalilin ikon maza akan mata ba ya ta’allaƙa kawai ga *naƙaƙa* ba ne. Yana kama da wani abu wanda aka ɗauka kai tsaye daga

¹⁰ Ibn al-‘Arabi, *Ahkam al-Qur'an*, 1:416.

¹¹ al-Kurtubi, *al-Jami‘ li-Ahkam al-Kur'an*, 5:169.

halayen asali da suke cancantar maza su zama shugabanni akan mata. Daga cikin waɗannan halaye akwai halaye na hankali da ƙarfi na jiki, waɗanda, saboda kasancewarsu na asali, ba za a iya canzawa ba. Saboda haka, maza ne kawai zasu iya zama shugabanni (*qawwam*). Babu sassauci a cikin iko, saboda abu mafi muhimmanci, shine Allah ya fifita maza don ɗaukar nauyin kula da gida. Yayin da al'umma ke ci gaba da canza zamantakewa, ciki har da sauye-sauye a cikin rawar da mata da miji suke takawa a zamantakewa, yaya ya kamata mu fassara rawar kowane ɗayan ma'aurata dangane da ayoyin da ke magana kan aure?

Fassarar Zamani game da Tsarin Matsayi na Jinsi/Aure

Mafassaran addinin musulunci na zamani sun yi ƙoƙarin nsake duba batutuwan jinsi cikin mahangar Al-Kur'ani da fikihi, ta hanyar kalubalantar fassarori na magabata. Kalmar “zamani” tana da nasaba da mata kai biyu wajen ci gaban sake fassarar fahimtar wasu abubuwa a Musulunci, musamman ɓangaren fikihi a Musulunci. Mataki na farko, wanda ke nuna ƙarshen fassarori a bisa fahimtar magabata, ya fara daga ƙarshen ƙarni na goma sha tara zuwa tsakiyar ƙarni na ashirin. Mataki na biyu kuma ya fara daga ƙarshen ƙarni na ashirin zuwa yanzu. A dukkan lokutan nan, wani abu ɗaya da ke haɗa waɗannan fassarori shine ƙoƙari na bambance tsakanin Al-Kur'ani a matsayin littafi mai tsarki da tafsirin da aka gina ta hanyar fahimtar ɗan adam.

Tucker (2008), ta danganta samuwar wannan matakin farko na fassarar zamani zuwa haɗuwar Musulunci da tasirin mulkin mallaka. Yayin da Musulmai sukayi ƙoƙarin ƙirƙiro amsoshi domin kawo mafita ga sabbin matsalolin da suka taso da suke da alaƙa da hukunce-hukunce. Wannan ƙoƙarin ya bayyana a wurare daban-daban inda ake gudanar da Musulunci, daga Daular Usmaniyya ta ƙasar Turkiyya, Iran har zuwa Afirka ta yamma.

Mataki na biyu na fassarar zamani game da Musulunci shine ƙoƙari na sanya Musulunci cikin muhawarar al'ummomin duniya

da suka fara karshen karni na ashirin. Daga cikin muhawarorin nan na zamani, wadda ya fi tasiri shi ne batun jinsi. A matakin farko na fassarar zamani, batutuwan jinsi sun kasance a cikin abubuwan da aka ba muhimmanci sosai. Tucker (2008, 13–19) ta bi diddigin yadda a karshen karni na sha tara da farkon na ashirin, “tsarin rubuce-rubuce game da dokokin Musulunci ya shafi batutuwa kamar aure, saki, da nauye-nauyen iyali – ba kawai a Daular Usmaniyya ba har ma a Masar, Sudan, da yankunan Afirka ta yamma.” Kafin wannan lokacin, dokokin Musulunci sun kasance “ba a rubuce ba kamar shari’ar turai ba, amma ana kallonsu a matsayin dokoki na Allah da suka wanzu da kansu akan kowanne Musulmi” (Tucker 2008, 20).

Wannan tsarin rubuce-rubuce na dokokin Musulunci yana nufin cewa, “a maimakon shari’a wadda malamai da alƙalan Musulunci ke fassarawa, yanzu an samu shigowar jami’an gwamnati da kotuna wajen gudanar da dokokin” (Tucker 2008, 20). Wannan tsarin ne mataki na biyu da fassarar zamani yake kalubalanta, musamman game da batutuwan jinsi da tsarin matsayi na jinsi. Wannan fofarin ya samu tallafi daga muhawarar ilimi wadda ta taka muhimmiyar rawa wajen kirƙirar tunanin ɗan adam na zamani.

A cikin littafinta, *Qur’an and Woman*, Amina Wadud, farfesar musulunci a Amurka, ta bayyana cewa: “ba kamar sauran maganganun zamanin magabata da na zamani ba, ra’ayin cewa mutum namiji shine babban tsarin da ke wakiltar dan Adam ya toshe mata daga kowane la’akari wajen gina tsarin tunani na dabi’a-da-addini da na zamantakewa, da siyasa a cikin tunanin musulmai.” (Wadud 1999, xi). Wadud ta jaddada cewa wannan ya samo asali ne daga rinjayar fassarorin magabata, waɗanda mafi yawancinsu maza ne, kuma aiyukan da suka rubuta ya ƙunshi tunanin maza ne kaɗai. Sakamakon hakan shine samar da “tsarin/yanayin tunani” da ke fassara Alƙur’ani da ma’anarsa “ba tare da wakiltcin tunanin mata ba.”

Karen Bauer (2015) ta goyi bayan wannan ra'ayi inda ta ce malaman Musulunci maza ba su fassara AlKur'ani don tabbatar da daidaito tsakanin mace da namiji ba, sai dai don su fassara shi yadda zai ba su damar kirkirar dokoki da adalci bisa fahimtarsu. Bayaninsu game da adalcin rashin daidaito yana nuna matsayin fifikonsu: a matsayin maza, sun amfana daga wannan rashin daidaito da suka karfafa. Malamai maza ba su da sha'awar kirkirar tsarin da zai kawo karshen wannan riba da suke samu; duk da haka, yana da muhimmanci a gare su su bayyana irin wannan tsari a matsayin adalci.

Kiwamah da Rashin Matsayin Jinsi

Watakila babu wata aya a cikin AlKur'ani da ta haifar da mahawara mai zafi da jayayya kamar ayar Q 4:34. A cewar Amina Wadud, "ana kallon wannan aya a matsayin mafi muhimmanci dangane da dangantakar namiji da mace." (Wadud 1999, 70). Wannan ayar ana daukarta a matsayin ayar da ke bayyana tsarin matsayi na jinsi a Musulunci ta hanyar fifita namiji akan mace.

A cikin aikinta, *Themes in Islamic Law* (2008), Tucker ta yi bayani cewa malamai magabata suna danganta fassarar *kiwamah* da "dokar *nafaka* (kulawa) da *nushuz* (kin biyayya)." (Tucker 2008, 52). Ta bayyana *nafaka* a matsayin kulawa da miji Musulmi yake daukar nauyi don bayarwa ga matarsa, kuma *nushuz* shine rashin biyayyar da ake tsammanin mace za ta yi. Wannan tsari ya kafa yanayin fifikon namiji da biyayyar mace a aure, bisa ga fassarorin magabata na Q 4:34 gaba daya.

Wadud ta bayyana cewa dangane da alaƙar da ke tsakanin ba da *nafaka* da biyayya, ana iya lura cewa maza waɗanda ba su da ƙarfin hali ko kuma ba su da niyyar kula da matansu sukan ɗauka cewa duk da wannan rashin ba da kulawar, dole ne matansu su yi musu biyayya. A haƙiƙa, wannan yanayi da ake samu a cikin aure misali ne na yadda ake ɗaukar maza a matsayin shugabanni na ɗabi'a (1999, 77).

Malaman da suka yi yinkurin sake fassara na zamani sun yi kofarin sake duba wannan aya ta fuskar mahanga daban-daban. Sun yi kira ga sake fassara ma'anar *kiwamah*, sun kuma yi kofarin tsinkayar da ma'anar da ta bambanta da wadda malamai magabata suka kafa. Ba kamar na baya ba, waɗanda suka fassara *kiwamah* a matsayin fifiko da ikon namiji akan mace, malaman zamani irin su Wadud (1999) da Barlas (2002) sun yi kira ga sabuwar fassara wadda ta dace da gaskiyar zamantakewar mu ta yau.

A cikin fassarar su game da ma'anar *kiwamah* kamar yadda aka kafa ta cikin aya, Wadud ta fara mayar da hankali kan kalmar *faddala*, wato fifiko, wanda AlKur'ani ya ce Allah ya bai wa namiji akan mace. A cewarta, malamai magabata waɗanda suka fassara *faddala* a matsayin fifiko na gaba ɗaya na namiji akan mace suna fassara *kiwamah* ta hanyar wakiltar maza a matsayin halittun da suka fi fifiko, da mata a matsayin masu dogaro. Wannan fassarar ta zama tushe na matsayin iko na namiji da biyayyar mace wanda wannan fassarar ke samarwa. Barlas (2014), ta yi watsi da wannan fassarar, ta hanyar bayar da hujja cewa mace tana da hurumin kanta kuma tana da yancin kanta duk da matsayin ta na uwa ko matar aure duk da cewa tana karɓar kulawa daga mijinta. A cewar Wadud, wannan fifiko yana ta'allaka ne kan "abin da aka bayar da kuma abin da suke kashewa daga dukiya (don kulawar mata)" wato matsayi na zamantakewa da al'adar kuɗin tallafi (Wadud 1999, 70).

Ta hanyar yin wannan, Wadud ta samar da sharadi na fifikon namiji da kuma matsayin iko da kulawar da ya kamata ya bayar. Ta kuma bayyana cewa idan ɗayan waɗannan sharuɗɗan ya gaza ko bai samu ba, to namiji zai rasa matsayin *qawwam* (shugaba) akan mace. Wannan ra'ayi ya kafa hanyar kalubalantar fahimtar ma'anar *kiwamah* dangane da matsalolin tattalin arziƙi na zamani, inda:

1. Mata da dama ba sa zama a gida kawai, amma suna da ayyukan yi kuma suna dogaro da kansu.
2. Mata kan samu kuɗi fiye da mazajensu.

3. Namiji ya rasa karfin kudi na kula da matarsa.

Fazlur Rahman, ɗaya daga cikin malaman zamani da suka yi tsokaci kan ayar ta Q 4:34 ya bayyana cewa: “masu ra’ayi irin na magabata suna ganin wannan furucin na AlKur’ani [game da namiji a matsayin mai kula da al’amuran mata] a matsayin abin da ya dace, cewa mace, duk da cewa tana iya mallakar dukiya har ma da samun kudi, ba a buƙatar ta kashe komai don kula da gida. Wannan dole ne ya kasance abin da namiji kawai zai yi, don haka namiji yana da fifiko a wani mataki. Masu fahimtar zamanayya (*modernists*) suna bayar da hujja cewa furucin AlKur’ani bayani ne, cewa, tare da canjin al’umma wanda ba makawa, mata na iya kuma ya kamata su zama masu yāncin kudi kuma su bayar da gudummawa ga gidan, don haka ma’aurata su zama daidai gaba ɗaya.” A cikin tsarin wannan ra’ayi, Rahman (1980, 49) ya ƙara da cewa:

“dogaron mace da kanta a ɓangaren kudi da gudunmawarta ga gidan yana rage fifikon miji “saboda a matsayin ɗan Adam, ba shi da fifiko akan matarsa.” Abinda yake nufi anan zai iya zama cewa mutane duka dai-dai suke a wajen Allah, wanda yafi wani, shine kaɗai wanda yafi taƙawa, kamar inda AlKur’ani ya sanar da mu.

Tsarin Matakin Jinsi A cikin yanayin Arewacin Najeriya

Har zuwa kwanan nan, mafi yawan tsarin aure a cikin rukunin masu matsakaicin ƙarfi da kusan duka rukunin ƙananan masu ƙarfi ya ta’allaka ne akan al’adar namiji a matsayin mai samar da dukiya yayin da mace ta kasance mai kula da gida. Wannan, a gefe guda, ya rinjayi kuma ya ƙarfafa wasu tunani da fahimta kamar fifikon namiji akan mace, dogaron mace ga namiji, da kuma buƙata ko sharadin da ake tsammanin mace ta yi biyayya gaba ɗaya ga namiji. Duk da haka, hauhawar ilimin mata ya sa, sabanin da can, mata da yawa na iya samun yāncin kudi ko dai ta

hanyar samun takardun shaidar karatu da ke basu damar samun aiki ko kuma ta hanyar shiga ayyukan kasuwanci.

Sakamakon wannan shine juyin halaye a cikin dangantakar aure inda ake samun lokuta da dama inda mace ke da kudinta kuma ta zama mai dogaro da kanta, takan samu fiye da mijinta, tana daukar nauyin wasu daga cikin dawainiyar gida, ko kuma ita kadai ke tallafawa gidan da kuma mijin. Wannan ya samar da canji a cikin tsarin zamantakewar aure. Wasu tambayoyi sun taso waɗanda ke buƙatar amsoshi da suka dace da yanayin zamanin mu a yau. Misali:

1. Shin yāncin samun ilimi abu ne da ya wajaba ga mace?
2. Idan mace tana da hanyar samun kuɗi mai yawa fiye da tallafin da mijinta ke iya bayarwa, shin mijin zai ci gaba da ba da tallafi?
3. Me zai faru idan namiji ya auri mata ta biyu wadda ba ta da wata hanya ta samun kuɗi banda tallafin da yake bayarwa? Shin yana da ikon rage tallafin mata ta farko wadda ta fi samun kuɗi?
4. Ta yaya duk waɗannan abubuwan ke shafar *kiwamah* na miji akan mace a tsarin aure?

Waɗannan tambayoyi na kawo su ne dan masu karatu su zurfafa tunani akan su.

Kafin farkon ƙarni na ashirin da ɗaya, arewacin Najeriya ta kasance ɗaya daga cikin yankuna da ke da ƙarancin adadin masu ilimin boko a ƙasar, kuma adadin ya fi muni a tsakanin mata. A cikin birane inda masu matsakaicin ƙarfi suka fi rinjaye, yara mata galibi ana aurar dasu ne bayan, ko ma kafin gama makarantar sakandare. A ƙauyuka, da yawa ba sa zuwa makaranta ko kuma ana basu damar kammala makarantar firamare ne kawai. Wannan yana nufin cewa mata da yawa a Arewacin Najeriya ba su da damar amfani da damar da ilimi ke bayarwa.

A gefe guda, a matsayin ta na mace, ana tsammanin mijin zai kula da ita ta hanyar biyan bukatunta na kudi. Wannan ya haifar da tsari inda aka jaddada matsayin mace a matsayin mai dogaro da namiji, yayin da aka dauki namiji a matsayin mai kula da gida da mai kula da tarbiyya. Wannan tsari ya rinjayi kuma aka rinjayar da shi ta wasu fassarorin nassoshi na Kur'ani dangane da ikon namiji. Duk da haka, a cikin kwanakin nan, an samu sauyi inda mata da yawa ke nuna ikon kai cikin dangantakar maza-da-mata, musamman a cikin tsarin aure.

Tashin hankalin samun ilimi, musamman a tsakanin rukunin kananan masu karfi, ya sa mata da yawa ba sa son karɓar matsayin dogaro da aka danganta da mace. A gefe guda kuma, matsalolin tattalin arziki da suka mamaye zamani sun sa mata dole su dauki rawar jagoranci wajen kula da iyali. Duk da cewa a da, ana ganin namiji a matsayin wanda ke daukar duk nauyin kula da gida, yanzu ya zama ruwan dare a ga mata suna bayar da gudummawa a matsayin masu kula da iyali ta fuskar kudi. Wasu matan da yawa ma su ke daukar nauyin gidan baki daya.

Kammalawa

Wannan nazari ya nuna cewa ma'anar kiwamah a al'ada da fahimtar fikihun magabata ta tashi ne daga ginshikai biyu: fifikon da Allah Ya ba maza (*fadl*) da kuma alhakin *nafaka*. A cikin tafasiran zamanin farko da na gabatar a sama, wadannan ginshikai sun haɗu da hujjojin da suka jingina da rawar maza ke takawa a iyali, sadaki, da daukar nauyi; daga baya kuma malamai irin su al-Kurtubi suka zurfafa alaƙar *nafaka* da ingancin yarjejeniyar aure, har ma da yiwuwar saki idan hakan ya rushe. A gefe guda, ayoyi uku da suka zama ginshikai a tattaunawar—Q 4:34, Q 2:228, da Q 4:128—sun buɗe hanya ga fahimtar da ta haɗa iko da daukar nauyi, da kuma sulhu lokacin rikici, da sauransu. Idan Q 4:34 ya ayyana ikon miji a matsayin amanar daukar nauyi, Q 2:228 ta karfafa daidaiton haƙƙi da nauyin, sannan Q 4:128 ta buɗe kofa ga islahi da sulhu. Haka kuma,

ayoyin sun yi nuni da tabbacin haƙƙin kuɗin mace da ikon mallakarsa ba tare da kutse ba.

Malaman zamani sun yi kira da a fahimci kiwamar maza a dalilin nauyin da ke kansu, ba wai domin halitattir su kawai ba—watau kasancewar su maza. Idan sharuɗɗan da suka kafa ikon (kamar nafaka, kariya, da jagoranci cikin adalci) suka karye, ikon ya rasa hujjar da ya jingina da ita. Sun gina wannan hangen na su ne bisa manufar Alkur’ani ta adalci, rahama, da tsari a gida, ya kuma yin kira da a bambance tsakanin nassin Alkur’ani da hanyoyin ɗan adam na fassara shi.

A Arewacin Najeriya, inda tsohon tsari na “namiji mai samar da kuɗi/mace mai kula da gida” ya yi tasiri, sauye-sauyen ilimi, tattalin arziki, da kasuwanci sun haifar da sabbin yanayi: mata na samun kuɗi, wani lokaci ma fiye da mazajensu; suna ɗaukar nauyin gida ba ki ɗaya, ko kuma su na ba da gudunmawa ta kuɗi mai kauri, banyan sauran gudunmawar da suke badawa ta lura da gida da rainon yara.

Darasin da ya fito daga wannan makala shine: kiwamah amanace ce, ba lasisi ba. Amanar ta ta’allaƙa da cika nafaka, kare martaba da walwala da jagoranci cikin hikima. Daga bangaren shari’a da manufofi, wannan nazari ya nuna muhimmancin amfani da ƙa’idojin *usul* kamar *maslaha*, *sadd al-dhara’a*, da *’urf* domin daidaita hukunci da yanayin yau, tare da riƙe manufar Alkur’ani. Ya dace a inganta ilimin ma’aurata kafin aure, a fayyace alhakin kuɗi da rabon nauyi cikin yarjejeniyar aure, a kuma ƙarfafa hanyoyin sulhu da sasanci bisa shari’a. A ƙarshe, karanta Q 4:34 a hasken Q 2:228 da Q 4:128—tare da tabbacin haƙƙin kuɗin mata—ya nuna hanyar da ta haɗa ɗa’a da adalci: iko a matsayin nauyi da kuma biyayya a matsayin haɗin gwiwa. Idan aka haɗa waɗannan da manufofin addini na *’adl*, *ihsan*, da *sakina*, al’umma za ta iya gina tsarin aure mai daidaito wanda ya dace da Alkur’ani kuma ya magance ƙalubalen zamani a Arewacin Najeriya.

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Chapter 4

Waiwaye Cikin Tarihi: Binciken Matsayin Mata Tun Zamanin Sheikh Uthman dan Fodio Har Zuwa Yanzu

Tracing Women's Status from Sheikh Uthman Dan Fodio to
Contemporary Northern Nigeria

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Summary

This chapter traces a *longue durée* history of women's status from pre-Islamic societies through the advent of Islam and into the nineteenth-century Sokoto reform movement, arguing that Islam's scriptural and historical legacy constituted a decisive corrective to entrenched patriarchal practices. The chapter's central aim is both historical and programmatic: to recover Islamic foundations for women's dignity and participation that are often obscured by custom, and to mobilize this inheritance for contemporary Muslim women—especially in Northern Nigeria—in an age marked by cultural flux and digital possibility.

Problem statement and intervention Despite Islam's early reforms for women's rights, public discourse and even scholarly treatments frequently downplay or misconstrue this contribution, allowing resilient cultural norms to stand in for religious teachings. The chapter intervenes by reconstructing a historical arc that highlights how Qur'anic revelation and Prophetic practice disrupted pre-existing hierarchies; how those gains were modeled and extended by women scholars and leaders; and how the Sokoto movement under Uthman dan Fodio revived these norms in a West African context. This historical recovery is intended to furnish contemporary Muslim women with precedent, language, and strategies for claiming education,

community engagement, and economic participation within an Islamic frame.

Women before Islam: a comparative backdrop

The chapter surveys several pre-Islamic milieus to show that women's marginalization was widespread though locally inflected. In some Arab tribal contexts of the Jahiliyya, practices such as female infanticide (*wa'd al-banāt*), coerced marriage, and denial of inheritance prevailed; women could be treated as inheritable property. Parallel forms of degradation are adduced from other civilizations: sati-like widow immolation and social shunning of widows in parts of South Asia; civic and political exclusion in classical Greece and Rome; and theological or cultural narratives in strands of late antique Christianity that cast woman as morally suspect. The point is not to homogenize all societies, but to mark a baseline of structural subordination against which the Islamic transformation can be measured.

Islamic transformation: scripture, ethics, and practice
Against this backdrop, the Qur'an is presented as instituting a moral and legal order that affirms women's full religious personhood and protects concrete rights. Key themes include moral parity and accountability before God (for example, the promise of good life for any believer, male or female), the grounding of human dignity in a shared origin, and explicit prohibitions against pre-Islamic abuses such as inheriting women against their will. Legally, the text normalizes women's independent ownership of property and access to inheritance, and it sanctions women's economic activity. Ethically, both Qur'an and Sunna command good conduct toward women, as epitomized in the Prophet's Farewell Sermon.

The chapter then turns from norm to history, showing how early Muslim women inhabited public religious, scholarly, and social roles. Exemplars include A'isha as a premier transmitter of knowledge; 'Amra bint 'Abd al-Rahmān and the large, well-

documented cohort of female hadith scholars across centuries; and figures active in communal welfare and conflict, such as Rufayda al-Aslamiyya's medical care and the battlefield courage of Nusaybah bint Ka'b and Umm Sulaym. The text also recalls women's political authority in Islamic history (Shajar al-Durr, Sitt al-Mulk, Arwa al-Sulayhiyya), highlighting that governance by women, while context-dependent, is not alien to the tradition. Collectively, these cases rebut reductionist images of Muslim women as confined to private spaces and instead situate them as agents within Islamic intellectual, social, and even political life.

Revival and localization in Sokoto

Moving to nineteenth-century West Africa, the chapter argues that the Sokoto movement led by Shehu Uthman dan Fodio effectively revived the early Islamic paradigm in a setting where localized customs had constrained women's learning and mobility. Through his writings and leadership, dan Fodio insisted that women's education and their participation in community life are not only permissible but necessary for communal flourishing. The chapter foregrounds his daughters—especially Nana Asma'u, along with Nana Khadija and Nana Maryam—as architects of an enduring women's educational infrastructure. Nana Asma'u's network of women teachers and her didactic corpus exemplify how reform articulated with local realities to produce a distinctly West African, yet recognizably Islamic, model of female scholarship and social service.

Continuities, distortions, and contemporary stakes

A throughline of the chapter is the tension between religion and culture: when cultural habits are conflated with Shari'a, women's rights secured by revelation are eroded. The author contends that recovering the scriptural and historical record corrects such slippage. For contemporary Northern Nigerian contexts, this recovery offers three kinds of capital. First is symbolic capital: the knowledge that Muslim women's participation is rooted in canonical sources and precedents counters claims that advocacy

for women's learning is an imported agenda. Second is institutional capital: Sokoto's example demonstrates scalable models of women-centered pedagogy, mentoring, and outreach that can be adapted today. Third is technological capital: digital platforms can extend access to learning, amplify women's voices, and sustain communities of practice, provided they are guided by Islamic ethical norms.

Analytical payoffs

Historically, the chapter reframes Islam not as a latecomer to women's dignity but as an early, textually grounded intervention that restructured family law, property rights, and public ethics. Sociologically, it shows how women's authority circulates not only through offices but also through knowledge transmission, caregiving, and moral leadership. Methodologically, it models a comparative approach: assess pre-Islamic baselines, identify scriptural reforms, and then track regional revivals such as Sokoto that re-activate those reforms within specific cultural matrices. Politically, it underscores the risk of allowing customary patriarchy to masquerade as religion, thereby legitimizing exclusion and foreclosing the very resources within the tradition that could remedy it.

Practical implications and recommendations

The chapter closes with a concise agenda derived from its historical analysis. First, invest in textually grounded education—across Qur'anic schools, Islamiyyah programs, and universities—that trains learners to distinguish between authoritative sources and cultural accretions, using concrete female exemplars from the tradition. Second, design and protect institutional pathways for women's dignified participation in mosques, schools, and civil society, so that their contributions are structured, safe, and durable. Third, leverage digital tools to curate open curricula, archives, and training that expand women's access to knowledge, health, entrepreneurship, and

community leadership without compromising religious commitments.

Conclusion

El-Nafaty's argument is ultimately both historical and normative. Historically, Islam's arrival marked a substantive shift in women's moral standing and legal rights; early Muslim societies produced women who taught, adjudicated, healed, advised, and at times ruled. Normatively, the Sokoto revival demonstrates that returning to those sources is not regression but reform—an insistence that the justice-oriented core of the tradition be made operative again. For today's stakeholders—religious leaders, educators, parents, community organizers, and policymakers—the chapter is a call to translate a well-documented legacy into living institutions. In this vision, the *yā mace* is not a peripheral beneficiary of outside benevolence but a constitutive subject of an Islamic ethic of justice that has been present from the beginning and, with intentional effort, can be renewed now.

Gabatarwa

Matsayin mata a cikin al'ummomi daban-daban na duniyar da ta gabata ya fi fitowa fili ta hanyar wariya, danniya, da kuma rashin yanci. A cikin al'ummomin da suka gabata, kama da zamanin jahiliyya, mata galibi ana kallonsu ne a matsayin abin da aka mallaka. A yawancin al'ummomi, mata ba su da cikakken dama wajen samun ilimi, damar tattalin arziki, ko halartar harkokin siyasa. A mafi yawan lokuta, ana dora musu nauyin kula da gida, inda a ke auna kimarsu ta hanyar iya yi wa maza hidima ko haifar da yāyā. Ayyuka masu cutarwa kamar kashe jarirai mata, auren dole, da hana gado sun yi yawa, tare da wasu dokoki da suka raina kimar mata.

Zuwan addinin Musulunci a karni na 7, wanda ya fara a kasar Larabawa, ya kasance wani muhimmin lokaci na sauyi ba kawai ga mata Larabawa ba, har da sauran yankuna da suka samu tasirin koyarwar Musulunci daga baya. Musulunci ya gabatar da tsarin

da ke girmama martabar mata da kuma ba su hakki, wanda ya kalubalanci tsarin mulkin maza da ya riga ya ginu. An ba mata hakkin gado, mallakar dukiya, neman ilimi, da shiga cikin ayyukan tattalin arziki—wannan ya kasance sauyi mai girma idan aka kwatanta da sauran al’ummomi na wancan lokaci. Shari’ar Musulunci ta haramta munanan ayyuka a kan mata tare da kafa bayyanannun dokoki dangane da yadda za a bi da su cikin al’umma.

Shekaru masu yawa bayan haka, a karni na 19 lokacin daular Sokoto, Shehu Uthman dan Fodio ya dawo da wannan ruhun yantar da mata. Wannan motsi nasa da ya samo asali daga koyarwar Musulunci, ya maida hankali ga ilimantar da mata, saka su cikin rayuwar al’umma da kuma ba su damar shiga harkokin tattalin arziki—kafin wannan lokacin, al’adun gargajiya sun hana hakan. Uthman dan Fodio ya bayyana karara cewa neman ilimi da shiga al’umma ga mata ba haramun ba ne a Musulunci, a maimakon haka, wajibi ne domin ci gaban al’ummar. Yayansa mata kamar su Nana Asma’u, Nana Khadija da Nana Maryam, sun zamo abin koyi ta hanyar kafa hanyoyin ilimantar da mata da suka karfafa su ta fuskar ilimi da kuma karantarwa.

Wannan zamani na sauyi ba wai kawai tarihi ne a rubuce ba. Wani gado ne da mata Musulmai na zamani za su iya dogaro da shi don su fahimci gagarumin tarihin da ya gabace su kuma su amfana da shi. A wannan zamani na dijital, duniya mai cike da canje-canje da tasirin al’adu da wasu lokuta ke ketare koyarwar Musulunci, komawa ga tsarin Shehu dan Fodio na iya taimaka wa mata su daidaita tsakaninsu da sahihan koyarwar Musulunci. Fahimtar wannan tafiya ta tarihi tana da matuƙar muhimmanci, domin za ta tunatar da mata Musulmai na zamani ba kawai yadda aka dinga kallonsu ba a tarihi, har ma da yadda ya kamata su kasance yanzu. Haka kuma, wannan zai tunatar da su irin gado mai daraja da suka gada—na mutunci, ilimi, da tasiri a cikin al’umma a farkashin koyarwar Musulunci da aka kafa tun karni da dama da suka gabata.

Bayani Kan Matsalar da Ake Bincika

Duk da irin gagarumar gudummawar da koyarwar Musulunci ta bayar wajen yantar da mata a tarihi, sau da yawa ana dumashe irin wannan gudummawa saboda ra'ayoyin karya na al'adu da kuma rashin mayar da hankali sosai a tarihi. Yawancin tattaunawar da ake yi a yau kan rawar da mata ke takawa ba sa nuna yadda sauye-sauyen farko na Musulunci suka canza rayuwar mata ko yadda aka samu ci gaba a fannin ilimi musamman a zamanin Uthman dan Fodio. Saboda haka, ana rage darajar wannan gado na yantar da mata a cikin tarihi, kuma hakan yana rage karfin koyi da darasi da mata na Arewacin Najeriya za su iya samu daga gare shi a yau. Wannan bincike yana kokarin cike gabin da ke cikin fahimtar tarihin yantar da mata ta hanyar bin sawun tafiyar da mata Musulmai suka yi tun daga zamanin Uthman dan Fodio har zuwa yau. Binciken yana jaddada cewa kwarewa da nasarorin da mata suka samu a tarihi na iya zama karfafawa da kuma jagora ga mata Musulmai na zamani, yana bayyana cewa gwagwarmayar su na da zurfin tushe a tarihi kuma har yanzu tana da tasiri. Ta hanyar nazarin wannan tsarin tarihi, binciken yana kokarin zuga mata na zamani su rungumi juriya da karfin hali a fuskantar kalubalen da zamani da sauye-sauyen al'adu na duniya ke kawowa. Bugu da kari, binciken yana haskaka dama da zamani ke bayarwa ta hanyar dijital, wanda za ta iya taimakawa mata wajen cigaban karatunsu, karfafa al'umma, da kuma kiyaye ka'idodin Musulunci.

Matsayin Mata Kafin Zuwa Musulunci

A lokuta daban-daban, bisa ga irin akidar shugabanci na al'umma, namiji ya riƙa ba wa mace matsayi daban-daban—sau da yawa ƙasa da yadda ya kamata. A wasu lokuta, mace ana daukarta a matsayin sharri, ba ta da wata rawa face haihuwa da biyan buƙatun jiki. Misali, a cikin al'adar Kiristanci, ana dora wa duka Annabi Adamu da Nana Hauwa'u alhakin cin dan itacen da Allah ya hane su da ci wanda shine sanadin fitarsu daga aljannah, amma a cikin tunanin jama'a da al'adun Kiristanci, sau da yawa ana jingina babban laifi ga Hauwa'u bisa ga gurgun tunanin cewa

ita ce ta fara amincewa da Iblis sannan ta ja Annabi Adamu ya biyo bayanta. Hakan ya sa har ake kiran Nana Hauwa'u da "kofar shaidan," (the devil's gateway) abin da ya karfafa kallon mata a matsayin masu rauni a imani, tunani da dabi'u na gani (Pagels 1988). A wasu al'adun kuma, an dauki mace tamkar kaya. Saboda haka, ana binne ta idan mijinta ya mutu—tare da dukiya, kamar yadda ake yi a tsohuwar Masar da wasu kasashen Asiya (Kabir 2018, 43).

An kasar Larabawa kafin zuwan Musulunci (zamanin Jahiliyya), a wasu kabilu ana aikata *wa'd al-banat* wato kashe ko binne jarirai mata da ransu—saboda tsoron talauci, kunya, ko tsaron zubewar mutuncin iyali. AlKur'ani ya yi Allah-wadai da wannan dabi'a: ya nuna cewa za a tambayi "yarinyar da aka binne da ranta" me ne ne laifinta (Kur'ani 81:8–9); ya kuma kwatanta yadda fuskar mutum ke yin duhu idan aka yi masa bushara da ya mace, ya yi tunanin ko ya boye ta ko ya wulakanta ta (Kur'ani 16:58–59). Haka kuma ya haramta kashe ya'ya saboda tsoron talauci (Kur'ani 17:31; 6:151).

Masu nazarin tarihi da al'adu sun kuma nuna cewa a wasu al'adun Jahiliyya ana mu'amala da mace kamar dukiya—ana iya gado ta ko tilasta mata aure—abin da Musulunci ya hana kai tsaye (Kur'ani 4:19), tare da bata hakokinta na gado (Kur'ani 4:7; 4:19–25). A ta'kaice, nassosin Kur'ani sun yi tsayin daka wajen kare darajar ya mace, kuma su ne hujjar asali da ta kifar da zalumce-zalumcen da ake yiwa mata a lokacin (Ahmed 1992; Encyclopaedia of Islam, "maw'uda"). Alkur'ani ya ce game da wannan dabi'a:

"Idan aka yi wa dayansu busharar (haihuwar) ya mace, fuskarsa ta yi baki, yana cike da bakin ciki! Ya buya daga mutane saboda abin da aka yi masa bushara da shi! "Shin zai riƙe ta cikin wulakanci ne ko kuma ya binne ta a ƙasa? Kuyi la'akari da yanda suke yanke hukunci mummuna!" (Q16:58–59)

Kafin zuwan Musulunci, Larabawa mushrikai sukan tilastawa mata su riƙa rawa tsirara kusa da Ka'abah yayin bukukuwan shekara, kuma suna ɗaukar mata a matsayin bayi ko kaya, ba tare da wani haƙƙi ko daraja ba. Ana kallon mace a matsayin nauyi ga ƙabilarta saboda ana ganin ba ta da ƙwarewar da ake buƙata a cikin rayuwar noma ko tafiya. Wannan ya haɗa da rashin ƙarfi wajen yaƙi, farautar dabbobi, ko ƙwacen abinci. Sau da yawa, mata na cikin haɗarin a sace su wanda hakan babban abin kunya ne ga dangi. A Indiya ta da, matsayin mata ya ragu ƙwarai har aka fara kallon haihuwar yā mace a matsayin sabani da rashin sa'a (Kapur 2019, 3). Hakanan, haihuwa kanta ana kallonta a matsayin abin da ke rage darajar mace. Hindu da ke rayuwa a lokacin suna ƙone ko binne mace mai rai da lafiya tare da mijinta da ya mutu, ba su kuma barin bazawara ta zauna cikin al'umma ba (Nadeemullah, Zia, and Qureshi 2013, 31). An yi imani cewa ganin bazawara na iya hana mutum samun nasara, don haka ba a girmama su, ana kuma watsi da su ta fannonin rayuwa, ba a kuma barinsu su shiga cikin ayyukan al'adu, zamantakewa ko na addini ba (Kapur 2019, 4).

Mace ta koma tamkar kaya ce kawai. Idan kyanta ya zarta, ana bautar mata kamar gumaka kamar a Girka ta da. Mata ba su da yāncin shiga taron jama'a, ko kaɗa ƙuri'a, ko riƙe madafun iko. Har ma sunan mace ba a ambatar shi a bainar jama'a. Idan mace ce kaɗai ta gaji mahaifinta, sai an tilasta ta ta auri mafi kusa da ita daga cikin yān uwa maza. Mata ba su da damar rubuta wasiyya, kuma idan sun mutu, dukiya su baki ɗaya na komawa ga mijinsu (Seitkasimova 2015, 52-3).

Mata ba su da haƙƙin barin namiji, watau saki. Rayuwarsu na cikin rashin tsaro ne da dogaro da maza. Wannan mummunan halin da mata ke ciki ya yaɗu a cikin Byzantium, Farisa, Siriya da sauransu. A cikin Romawa kuwa, ana kallon mace a matsayin siffar fushin Ubangiji, kuma har ƙarshen ƙarni na 16, Faransawa ba su yarda mace tana da rai (*soul*) kamar namiji ba (Nadimullah 2018). A Masar, budurwa mafi kyawu da ake kira “Amaryar

Nilu” ana nutsar da ita a kogi duk shekara a matsayin hadaya ga kogi domin samun albarkar amfanin gona. A zamanin yau, waɗannan dabi’u sun ragu, amma mace ta ci gaba da kasancewa cikin damuwa. A lokacin rikici, yān tawaye ko sojojin mamaya za su iya yi wa mace fyade ko kuma su ɗauke ta a matsayin baiwa.

Ci gaban Tarihin Mata da Zuwan Musulunci Kasar Larabawa Tun daga karni na 7, Musulunci ya bai wa mata haƙƙoƙin da suka fi kowanne cigaba a tarihin ɗan adam. Babu shakka, lokacin da Musulunci ya zo, ya fayyace cewa babu bambanci tsakanin namiji da mace wajen dangantaka da Allah (SWT), domin dukkansu za su sami lada iri ɗaya bisa kyawawan ayyuka da hukunci iri ɗaya bisa munanan halaye. Allah Madaukakin Sarki (SWT) ya bayyana hakan a cikin Alkur’ani Mai Girma: “Duk wanda ya aikata aikin ƙwarai—namiji ne ko mace—kuma yana da imani, lallai za Mu ba shi kyakkyawar rayuwa...” (Q 16:97). Haka kuma, bambancin da ke tsakanin mutane a gaban Allah (SWT) shi ne bisa tsoron Allah da tsarkin zuciya. Saboda haka, daga waɗannan nassosi, za a iya fahimta cewa a cikin Musulunci, mace mai tsoron Allah da ɗabi’u nagari ta fi namiji da ba shi da waɗannan siffofi. Allah (SWT) ya ce a cikin Alkur’ani: “Lallai mafi daraja a cikinku a wurin Allah shi ne wanda yafi tsoron Allah...” (Q 49:13).

Littafin Allah Mai Tsarki da kuma tarihin farkon Musulmi suna tabbatar da gaskiyar cewa mata suna da muhimmanci kamar maza a rayuwa. Musulunci ya ƙi ra’ayin cewa Hauwa’u ce ta jawo wa Annabi Adamu ya saɓa wa Allah, wanda ya janyo fitar su daga aljannah. Alkur’ani ya ce dukkansu ne suka saɓa, kuma ya ƙaryata ra’ayin cewa mace ce tushen sharri. A duniya da a wancan lokacin ake kallon mata a matsayin kayan jin daɗi kawai, kuma ana muhawara ko mace ɗan adam ce ko ba haka ba, Musulunci ya bayyana da cewa: “Ya ku mutane! Mun halicce ku daga namiji da mace guda...” (Q 49:13).

Musulunci, sabanin wasu addinai da ke kallon mace a matsayin mai zunubi tun daga haihuwa, ya bayyana cewa maza da mata duk an halicce su ne daga rai ɗaya. Allah (SWT) ya ce: “Ya ku mutane! Ku ji tsoron Ubangijinku, wanda Ya halicce ku daga rai ɗaya, Ya halicce daga gare ta, matarta, sannan daga gare su Ya watsa maza da mata masu yawa...” (Q 4:1). Maza da mata dukkansu yāyā ne a cikin iyali ɗaya kuma suna da haƙƙoƙi da nauye-nauye iri ɗaya, kamar yadda Ubangiji ya bayyana a cikin Alkur’ani: “Ba zan bar aikin wani daga cikinku ya bace ba, ko namiji ko mace; dukkanku ɗaya ne da juna...” (Q 3:195). Bincike na adalci da aka gudanar a cikin manyan nassosin Musulunci da kuma nazari kan matsayin mata a cikin al’ummomin da suka rungumi Musulunci, ya nuna cewa Musulunci rahama ce ta musamman ga mata. Allah (SWT) ya bayyana a cikin Alkur’ani dangane da hana gado da auren mata da tilas: “Ya ku waɗanda suka yi imani! Ba a halatta ku ku gaji mata da ƙarfi ba. Kada ku matsa musu...” (Q 4:19).

Annabi Muhammad (SAW) ya kasance mai matuƙar ƙarfafa wa Musulmi su kasance masu tausayi da alheri ga mata. A cikin hudubar ban kwana (Hajj al-Wadaa’), ya yi wa waɗanda suka halarta umarni, tare da umartar dukkan Musulmi bayan su, su zama masu kirki ga mata. Ya ce: “Ku ji tsoron Allah (SWT) dangane da mata. Ku aure su da amana daga Allah (SWT), kun halatta jikinsu ne da kalmar Allah (SWT). Kuna da haƙƙi a kansu, kuma suna da haƙƙi a kanku dangane da abinci da sutura bisa ga ikonku...”¹² Lokuta da dama, Alkur’ani Mai Girma yana amfani da kalmar “maza masu imani da mata masu imani” don jaddada daidaito a tsakanin su wajen ayyuka, haƙƙoƙi, halaye da daraja. A cikin Alkur’ani, Allah (SWT) yana magana kai tsaye da mata, ba tare da wata ƙofa ta tsakani ba, ta hanyar maza (misali: “ya ku waɗanda su ka yi imani, ya ƙunshi maza da mata). Alkur’ani Mai Girma ya ƙunshi nassosi da dama da suka shafi mata kai tsaye da

¹² Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Sahih Muslim*, Kitab al-Ḥajj, hadith 1218a (narrated by Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh); English trans. available at Sunnah.com, accessed August 30, 2025

kuma ta hanyar nuni. Wasu surori an kebe su gaba daya don batutuwan da suka shafi mata, wasu kuma sun samo asali ne sakamakon tambayoyi ko matsaloli da suka shafi mata, ko kuma an saka sunan mace a matsayin sunan surar. Misalan wasu daga cikinsu sun hada da:

- Suratun Nisaa' – inda Allah (SWT) ya kebe gaba daya sura don mata da al'amuransu.
- Suratu Maryam – mai dauke da labarin Maryam, mahaifiyar Annabi Isa (AS), surar da aka sanya wa sunan mace.
- Suratul Mujadalah – mai dauke da labarin Khawlah bint Tha'labah wadda ta je wurin Annabi (SAW) don samun sulhu a batun aure.
- Suratun Naml – mai dauke da labarin Bilkis, Sarauniyar Sheba, wadda ta shugabanci kasar da ta wadata da arziki da iko. Bilkis ta nuna hikima da adalci, sannan tarihintar ya kalubalanci ra'ayin cewa mata ba za su iya shugabanci ba.
- Suratul Qasas – inda aka kawo labarin Asiyah, matar Fir'auna, wadda ta bijire wa zaluncinsa kuma ta tsaya kan gaskiya, sannan ta kuma ambaci mahaifiyar Annabi Musa da yar uwarsa. Har ila yau, matan Madyan guda biyu da daya daga cikinsu aka ba wa Musa aure (AS). An bayyana su da halin ladabi, biyayya ga iyaye, da mutunci.
- Suratul Tahrir – ta ambaci Maryam yar Imran, wadda ta kiyaye mutuncinta kuma ta kasance cikin bayin Allah masu gaskiya.

Wadannan misalai na daga cikin matan da Alkur'ani ya ambata. Malama Khadija Gambo Hawaja, masaniyya kuma mai fassarar Alkur'ani daga Arewacin Najeriya, ta bayyana a cikin wata hira cewa Hadisi na dauke da shaida mai yawa tun daga farkon Musulunci da rayuwar Annabi (SAW), ta hanya nuna yadda mata suka kasance cikin ayyukan addini. Ta ce: "Mata na zuwa masallaci; suna zuwa yaki tare da maza; suna ko ina. Mata Musulmi sun samu sauƙin damar zuwa ga Annabi. Tarihin Musulunci ba zai cika ba ba tare da su ba." (Muazu 2022).

Mata a farkon Musulunci suna bayyana ra'ayinsu a fili, ana kuma neman shawararsu; a fannin ilimi, A'isha (RA) ta zama babbar malama, sannan 'Amra bint Abd-al-Rahman da sauran mata sun shahara riwayar hadisi da ba da fatawa (Sayeed 2013). A lokutan ya'ki, mata sun yi aikin jinya da jin-kai. Rufayda al-Aslamiyya ta kafa tanti a gefen Masallacin Annabi a Madina; an ce Annabi (SAW) ya umurci a kai Sa'd b. Mu'adh—da aka ji masa rauni a Khandaq—zuwa tantinta don kulawa, saboda yana yawan leƙowa ya duba shi (Guillaume 1955; al-Bukhari 1997). Wasu matan kuma sun shiga fafatawar kai-tsaye. Nusaybah bint Ka'b (Umm 'Umarah) ta yi ya'ki a ranar Uhud tana kare Manzoon Allah (SAW); an kawo labarinta a sira da tabakat, ko da yake lafazin wasu kalmomi ya dogara kan isnadi mai rauni, amma an tabbatar da jarumtarta (Ibn Sa'd 1995; Guillaume 1955). An kuma tabbatar da shigar mata fagen ya'ki ta hanyar aiki daban-daban. Umm Sulaym bint Milhan (RA) ta halarci Hunayn tana riƙe da wuka domin kare Musulmi; wannan ya zo cikin Sahihu Muslim (Muslim 1976). A harkokin mulki da al'umma, tarihin Musulunci ya ba da misalai na mata masu iko: Shajar al-Durr a Masar, Sitt al-Mulk a zamanin Fatimiyawa, da kuma Arwa al-Sulayhiyya a Yaman (Mernissi 1993; Cortese and Calderini 2006).

A fannin ilimi da shari'a gaba daya, adadin mata muhaddithai ya yawaita kwarai; binciken Akram Nadwi ya tattara dubban sunayen mata da suka yi fice a ilimin hadisi tsawon karnuka (Nadwi 2007). Darajar mace a addini ta fito a Hudubar Bankwana ta Ma'aiki: "Ku ji tsoron Allah game da mata... kun ɗauke su amana ne a wajen Allah, kuma an halatta muku su da kalmar Allah... suna da haƙƙi a kanku na abinci da sutura bisa al'ada," riwayar da ke cikin Sahih Muslim (Muslim 1976).

Kammalawa

A takaice, wannan bincike ya nuna cewa tarihin mace a yankuna daban-daban kafin Musulunci ya take haƙƙin mata, amma zuwan Musulunci ya sauya mizani ta hanyar tabbatar da mutunci da haƙƙokin mata. Alkur'ani da Sunna sun shimfiɗa ginshikai na

adalci, kariya daga zalunci, haƙƙin gado, mallakar dukiya, neman ilimi, da shiga al'amuran tattalin arziki. Tarihin farkon Musulunci ya kuma nuna rawar kai tsaye da mata suka taka—daga ilimi da kiwon lafiya zuwa tallafin yaƙi da shawarwari a al'amuran jama'a—wanda ke warware kowane koƙarin rage mace zuwa matsayin “abin mallaka” ko “koma-baya” a al'umma. Binciken ya kuma fayyace cewa sake fasalta wannan adalci shi ne abin da ya faru a lokacin daular Sakkwato a karni na 19, inda Shehu Dan Fodio da yāyānsa mata—kamar Nana Asma'u—suka maido da fifikon ilimi, tarbiyya, da aikin al'umma ga yā mace. Wannan gado ya nuna cewa haɓaka ilimin mata ba sabon saƙo ba ne, kuma ba wai aro ne daga waje ba, illa kuwa dawowa ga asali. Duk da haka, ruɗanin al'adu da tunanin zamani na iya dusha wannan tarihi idan ba a bambance tsakanin al'ada da shari'a ba, ko kuma idan aka bar ra'ayoyin da ba su da tushe su mamaye mimbari da manhaja.

Saboda haka, darussan da suka fito daga wannan bincike sun haɗa da abubuwa uku: na farko, buƙatar ilmantarwa mai tushe— a makarantun allo, Islamiyya, da jami'a—wanda ke bambance sahihan nassosi da al'adu, tare da gabatar da misalan tarihi na yā mace a aikace, ba magana kawai ba. Na biyu, ƙarfafa tsare-tsaren da ke ba mata damar shiga cibiyoyin ilimi, masallatai, da ƙungiyoyin al'umma cikin mutunci, tsari, da kariya, domin gudummawar su ta kasance mai dorewa. Na uku, amfani da damar zamani—musamman na dijital—don ƙirƙiro hanyoyin karatu, tarin bayanai, da hanyoyin koyarwa da ke ba yā mace murya, ilimi, kiwon lafiya, da kasuwanci, ba tare da karya ƙa'idodin addini ba. A ƙarshe, sakon wannan aiki shi ne: yā mace a Musulunci ba an yi mata alheri ne daga waje ba, ita ce ke tsakiyar tsarin adalci tun asali. Dukkan masu ruwa da tsaki—malamai, iyaye, shugabanni, da masu tsara dokoki—su dauki wannan tarihi a matsayin abin koyi, su kuma mayar da shi a aikace.

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Part II
Neman Ilimi
(Education and Knowledge Pathways)

Chapter 5

Shin Ilimin Mace na da Haddi a Musulunci?

Is There a Limit? Rethinking Women's Educational Rights in Islam

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Summary

This chapter addresses a persistent question in Hausa Muslim societies: does Islam set a ceiling on a woman's education, and can a husband legitimately restrict his wife's pursuit of knowledge? The author argues, on scriptural, legal, and historical grounds, that Islam does not cap women's learning; rather, knowledge (*'ilm*) is a core religious value incumbent on all believers. Restrictions that many communities place on women's education emerge from custom and patriarchy, not from Qur'an, Sunna, or the mainstream legal tradition. The chapter combines doctrinal analysis with lived experience, opening with the story of Nafisa—a gifted student whose academic aspirations are repeatedly curtailed by marital demands and threats of polygyny. Nafisa's case functions as an ethnographic vignette that reveals how customary expectations can override Islamic legal ethics in practice, wasting talent and injuring families and societies.

The concept of *'ilm* is the conceptual cornerstone of the chapter. Beyond "information," *'ilm* is tied to truth, wisdom, moral transformation, and nearness to God. Drawing on classical theology, philosophy, and Sufism, the author outlines how Muslim scholars define knowledge as grasping things as they are, distinguishing certainty from mere conjecture. Qur'anic verses (e.g., 39:9; 2:31; 35:28) and widely transmitted hadiths frame knowledge as a divine gift, a communal asset, and a personal duty

that fosters humility and ethical action. Teaching is cast as an ongoing charity. On this foundation, the chapter rejects any notion that Islam prizes male knowledge while circumscribing female learning.

History supplies proof-of-concept. The chapter highlights prominent women scholars of the first Islamic centuries—especially ‘A’isha bint Abī Bakr, a prolific transmitter of hadith, juristic opinions, and intimate knowledge of the Prophet’s life; Umm al-Dardā’ al-Ṣuḡhrā, a respected jurist-traditionist who taught men and women in Damascus; and Fāṭima bint al-Mundhir, among others. This gallery undermines the myth that intellectual authority is a male preserve. In the West African context, Nana Asma’u (1793–1864) exemplifies how women’s learning and pedagogy advanced Islamic literacy and moral formation through the Yan Taru network, poetry, and vernacular instruction. The chapter then gestures to contemporary Hausa-speaking contexts, where Muslim women serve as professors, physicians, engineers, preachers, journalists, and public officials—evidence that women’s scholarship continues to serve communal welfare.

The legal-ethical framework deepens the argument. First, the chapter clarifies the distinction between *farḍ ‘ayn* (individually obligatory knowledge, such as creed, core ritual practice, and basic ethical-legal literacy) and *farḍ kifāyah* (collectively obligatory fields whose fulfillment by some lifts the duty from others, such as advanced religious sciences and socially necessary professions like medicine, mathematics, engineering, and education). Both categories apply to men and women; indeed, in settings where female professionals are needed—for reasons of privacy, access, or public welfare—women’s advanced training can become a communal or even situational personal obligation. Second, the chapter invokes a foundational juristic maxim about presumption of permissibility absent explicit prohibition, rebutting attempts to limit women’s study

without clear textual grounds. Third, the *maqāṣid al-sharīʿa* (higher objectives of the law)—protecting religion, life, intellect, progeny, and property—support women’s access to knowledge because learning advances piety, preserves intellect, saves lives, strengthens families, and contributes to economic well-being.

Applying these norms to marriage, the chapter argues that spousal authority does not extend to blocking rightful pursuits. Qur’anic ethics require living together *bi’l-ma’rūf*—through kindness, justice, and mutual respect (4:19). The prophetic and juristic principle “no obedience to a created being in disobedience to the Creator” cabins marital obedience within moral limits; injurious or arbitrary commands lack binding force. The chapter notes positions within the madhhabs that authorize a woman to seek religious knowledge even without explicit permission, especially if the husband cannot provide it, thereby centering her agency in fulfilling *farḍ ‘ayn* and, by extension, socially beneficial learning. Contemporary gender-legal debates around *qiwāmah* (household leadership) are read as frequently shaped by culture rather than revelation; scholars such as Amina Wadud and Ziba Mir-Hosseini emphasize mutuality, consultation, and justice as Qur’anic foundations of marriage rather than hierarchical control that negates women’s rights.

Contract theory provides a practical instrument for aligning ideals with lived marriage. Islamic law permits stipulations (*shurūṭ*) within the marriage contract so long as they do not contravene the contract’s essence. Conditions related to residence, work, and study are valid in the Hanbali school and broadly accepted elsewhere when they serve welfare and do not contradict core obligations. If a husband accepts a condition and then violates it, the wife may seek dissolution (*fasakh*), underscoring the legal seriousness of agreed terms. The chapter cites prophetic guidance elevating the conditions by which marital intimacy is permitted as those most deserving of fulfillment, and it notes modern fatwas (e.g., from *Dār al-Ifṭā’*

al-Miṣriyyah and the European Council for Fatwa and Research) that explicitly encourage spouses to clarify rights to education and employment to prevent conflict and preserve dignity.

From this, the chapter offers an implementation roadmap. Prospective spouses should discuss educational aspirations candidly before the *nikāḥ*, draft clear and realistic clauses (for example, timelines for degrees or the possibility to pursue study when opportunities arise), and formalize them with witnesses and, where possible, notarization or inclusion in official registries. Doing so reduces ambiguity, balances expectations, and dignifies both parties. The author also anticipates common objections—such as claims that such stipulations are “against custom,” fears of changing plans, or appeals to unconditional obedience—and answers them with evidence from prophetic practice, legal maxims, and the moral aims of the law. The chapter stresses that obedience in Islam is tethered to *ma‘rūf*, not to the perpetuation of inequity or the suppression of God-given capacity.

Nafisa’s narrative returns as a cautionary epilogue. Had Nafisa’s family and spouse recognized the religious grounding of her right to learn and planned accordingly—through shared domestic labor, childcare support, or contractual clarity—her education could have enriched her household and community rather than becoming a source of contention. Instead, customary expectations, threats of polygyny as leverage, and the absence of an agreed framework foreclosed a gifted woman’s aspirations. The loss is not merely personal: it is social, economic, and spiritual.

The conclusion reframes the initial question. Islam does not impose a ceiling on women’s education, nor does it grant husbands discretionary power to block learning that fulfills personal duty or public welfare. The task before families, scholars, and institutions is to build the enabling structures that

translate Islamic commitments into practice: robust teaching about women's religious and civil rights; premarital counseling that surfaces goals and negotiates terms; legally sound contract clauses; and communal supports that make study feasible for wives and mothers. When these pieces are in place, women's education strengthens rather than weakens marriage, and the light of *'ilm*—understood as truth, transformation, and service—shines on households and the wider ummah. The only “limit,” the chapter suggests, is the ethical discipline that orients knowledge toward God and the common good, not a cap that closes doors to half the community.

Shimfiɗa

Nafisa yarinya ce mai hazaka. Ita ce ke zuwa ta ɗaya a makarantar su ta sakandare. Mahaifin Nafisa, Alhaji Tanko, ya yanke shawarar aurar da ita da zarar ta kammala sakandare, amma kuma yana da sha'awar ya ga Nafisa ta ci gaba da karatu, domin cikiar burinta na zama likita. A dalilin haka ne lokacin da mahaifan Mukhtar suka zo nema masa auren Nafisa, sai ya sa Mukhtar ya yi masa alkawari cewa zai bar Nafisa ta tafi jami'a domin ci gaba da karatu. Mukhtar ya amince da haka a gaban mahaifansa.

Watanni kaɗan bayan auren su, Nafisa ta rubuta jarabawar JAMB inda ta samu sakamako mai kyau. Ta kuma shiga aji na farko dake jami'ar garinsu. Sai dai ba a jima ba ta haifi ɗansu na fari wanda aka sa masa suna Khalifa. Bayan Khalifa ya yi wata huɗu da haihuwa, Nafisa ta kan goya shi ta kai shi wajen yayar Mukhtar wadda ke kusa da unguwarsu, sannan kuma ta wuce jami'a. A lokacin tana cikin shekara ta biyu a karatunta.

Abubuwa sun somawa Nafisa yawa. Ga karatu, ga goyo, ga kuma aikin gida. Hakan ya sanya ba ta lura da Mukhtar inda ta saba. Abinci yakan yi latti, sannan kuma ba ta samun gyara gida kamar yadda yake buƙata. Sakamakon hakan, Mukhtar ya yanke shawarar cewa Nafisa ta dakatar da karatunta, ta mai da

hankalinta wajen nauyin aure da ke kanta. Hankalin Nafisa ya tashi. Bayan dogon sabani tsakanin ta da Mukhtar, ta yanke shawarar yin yaji. Mahaifan Nafisa basu ji daɗin shawarar da Mukhtar ya yanke ba, amma sun umarci Nafisa da ta koma ɗakinta ta ci gaba da zaman aure. Ita kuma Nafisa ta bijere lallai sai ta cigaba da karatu. A lokacin sai Mukhtar ya bata zaɓi. Ta zaɓa ko zaman aure, ko kuma karatu. Cikin kuka da takaici Nafisa ta ce ta zaɓi aure.

Bayan yaɗn shekaru da aukuwar haka, Nafisa ta sake rokon Mukhtar izinin ta shiga islamiyar da ke kusa da su. Mukhtar yai mata izini. A haka Nafisa ta kammala karatun Mutawassifa, watau kamar ƙaramar sakandare. Bayan nan sai ta ɗaura aniyar shiga NCE. A nan ma fa Mukhtar ya ƙi amincewa. Ya sake bata zaɓi. A wannan karan yace sai dai ta zaɓi NCE ko kuma yai mata kishiya, watau ya ƙaro matar da za ta dinga lura da shi yadda yake tsammani. Tsoron kar Mukhtar ya rantamo mata kishiya, sai ta ce ta haƙura da NCE ɗin. Shekaru goma sha ɗaya kenan da aukuwar haka, Nafisa da Mukhtar kuma shekarun su sha biyar da aure. Mukhtar ya yi ma Nafisa kishiyoyi har guda biyu. Su uku ne ras matan sa. Nafisa kuma har ta haifi ya'ya bakwai. Sannan ba ta samu damar cikas burinta ba, watau ci gaba da karatu.¹³

Shin menene matsayin ilimin mace a Musulunci?

Shin akwai haddi ga ilimin mace a addinin Musulunci?

Shin umarnin miji yana iya rinjayar burin mace na ta yi ilimi?

Shin mene ne matsayin auran da aka shige shi a bisa wata ƙa'idah?

Wannan maƙala tawa za ta yi zurfaffan bincike akan ilimin mace tare da mai da hankali akan tambayoyin da ke sama.

¹³ Labarin Nafisa, labari ne na gaske, amma labarin mata uku ne na haɗe su guri ɗaya. Sannan na canza sunayen su saboda sakayewa.

Mene ne ilimi?

Kalmar Larabci *‘ilm* tana daga cikin mafi muhimmancin kalmomi Musulunci. A harshen Hausa, yawanci ana fassara ta da “ilimi”, amma ma’anarta ta fi girma da zurfi fiye da wannan fassarar mai sauƙi. Ilimi ba kawai sanin abu ba ne, yana da alaƙa da fahimta, hikima, haske da tsarkake zuciya. Kalmar *‘ilm* ta samo asali daga ka’idar haruffa uku: (ع-ل-م ‘a-l-m). Alkur’ani ya ambaci kalmar a gurare da dama ta kuma hanyoyi daban-daban. Daga wannan tushen, ana samun kalmomi kamar *‘ilm* (ilimi), *‘ālim* (masani), *‘allāma* (babban masani), *al-‘alīm* (Mai Ilimi Duka – sifar Allah), *ta ‘līm* (koyarwa), *ma ‘lūm* (abin da aka sani) da *‘alāmah* (alama ko abin nuna sani). A asalinsa, *‘ilm* yana nufin fahimtar abu daidai kamar yadda yake, da samun tabbacin sani. Wannan yana nuna wani matakin bayyananniyar fahimta da tabbaci wanda ya fi zato (*ẓann*) ko kwakkwafi (*wahm*). Hakanan, tushen kalmar na nuna ikon bambance abubuwa – sanin abin da abu yake da abin da ba shi ba ne.

Malaman Musulunci sun bayar da ma’anoni da dama na *‘ilm*, musamman a fannonin aƙida, falsafa da sufanci. Malaman aƙida kamar al-Ash‘ari sun ce: “*Ilimi shi ne fahimtar abu kamar yadda yake gaskiya*,” (duba kalām a cikin al-Jurjānī, al-Ta‘rīfāt).¹⁴ Masana falsafa kamar al-Farabi da Ibn Sina sun fassara ilimi da cewa: “*Ilimi shi ne kasancewar surar abu cikin rai ko zuciyar wanda ya sani*.”¹⁵ Wato, sanin abu yana faruwa ne lokacin da mutum ya kamanta asalin abun da hankali.

Masu tasawwuf kamar al-Ghazali da Ibn ‘Arabu sun bambanta tsakanin *‘ilm al-ẓāhir* – wato ilimin bayyane na karatu da littafi – da *‘ilm al-bāṭin* – wato boyayyan ilimin wanda ake kira *‘ilm ladunī*, wato ilimin da Allah ke bayarwa kai tsaye. A ganinsu,

¹⁴ https://shamela.ws/book/7312/150?utm_

¹⁵ Duba al-Jurjānī; sannan ga bayanin gaba daya a Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy kan al-Fārābī da Ibn Sīnā: https://shamela.ws/book/7312/150?utm_.

ilimi na gaske dole ne ya kai mutum ga canji, gyara na zuciya, da kusanci da Allah, ba kawai tarin bayanai ba.¹⁶

A cikin Alkur'ani, *'ilm* yana da girma matuƙa kuma ana kallonsa a matsayin kyauta daga Allah da alama ta kima a cikin mutum. Alkur'ani ya ce: “*Ka ce: Ashe, wadanda suka sani da wadanda ba su sani ba suna daidai ne?*” (Surah az-Zumar 39:9), da “*Allah ya koyar da Adam sunayen duka abubuwa...*” (Surah al-Baqarah 2:31), da kuma “*Hakika, masu tsoron Allah daga cikin bayinsa, sune masu ilimi.*” (Surah Fāṭir 35:28). Ilimi a cikin Alkur'ani yana da alaƙa da imani (watau gasgatawa), *'amal* (aiki) da *taqwā* (tsoron Allah da tsarkake zuciya). Malaman Musulunci sun rarraba ilimi zuwa nau'o'i daban-daban. Akwai *'ilm al-shar'ī* – ilimin addini kamar Alkur'ani, Hadisi, fikihi da akida. Akwai *'ilm al-'aqlī* – ilimin hankali kamar falsafa da mandiki. Akwai *'ulūm al-dunyāwiyyah* – ilimin duniya kamar kimiyya, likitanci da taurari. Sannan kamar yadda na ambata a sama akwai *'ilm ladunī* – watau boyayyen ilimin sanin Ubangiji wanda Allah ke zubawa a zuciyar bayinsa. Akwai kuma wanda suka haɗe ilimi duka guri guda, tun da duk ilimi daga wajen Allah yake.

Addinin Musulunci ya koyar da cewa ilimi na gaskiya dole ne ya kai mutum ga tawali'u ba girman kai ba. Hadisi ya faɗi cewa: “*Mutumin da za a fi azabtar da shi a Ranar Alkiyama shi ne wanda iliminsa bai amfane shi ba.*”¹⁷ Haka kuma, bayar da ilimi, watau koyarwa na matsayin sadaka mai ci gaba – *ṣadaqah jāriyah* – wato alheri mai dorewa.¹⁸

Mata a fagen ilimi

Tun farkon Musulunci, matan Annabi Muhammad (S.A.W) kamar Nana Aisha bint Abu Bakr (ta rasu 678 Miladiyya), Hafsa bint Umar (ta rasu a 665 Miladiyya), da Umm Salamah (ta rasu a

¹⁶ Duba al-Ghazālī, al-Munqidh; bayani a kan *'ilm al-mukāshafa* a Ihyā'; da kuma isharohin Ibn 'Arabī game da *'ilm ladunī*; <https://ghazali.org/books/md/gz101.htm?utm>.

¹⁷ <https://sunnah.com/muslim%3A1905a?utm>.

¹⁸ <https://sunnah.com/riyadussalihin%3A1383?utm>.

kimanin 681–682 Miladiyya), tare da wasu shahararrun mata muminai, sun taka muhimmiyar rawa a cikin nema da kuma yada ilimin addini. Nana Aisha, musamman, ta shahara saboda iliminta mai yawa kan Hadisi. A lokacin da Annabi Muhammad (SAW) yana raye, Nana Aisha ta shahara da kwazo wajen tambaya, kaifin basira, da kwadaitar da kanta wajen neman ilimi kai tsaye daga wurin Ma'aiki. Gidanta ya kasance tushe na ilimi da ilmantarwa. Ta shaida abubuwa da dama na rayuwar Annabi (SAW) da kuma saukar wahayi, kuma wannan ya ba ta dama ta musamman da wasu ba su da ita. Ta dauki wannan damar da muhimmanci, tana yawaita tambaya. Alakar ta mai zurfi da Annabi da tambayoyi masu ma'ana ya sa ta zama daya daga cikin waƙanda suka ruwaito hadisi mafi yawa.

Nana Aisha ta rawaito fiye da hadisai 2,000, da dama daga ciki na da alaka da rayuwar iyali da kuma lamuran shari'a. Dalibanta sun hada da manyan malamai irin su 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr da al-Qāsim ibn Muhammad, kuma ta kasance wata babbar majiyar fatawa a Madina. Gudummawar da ta bayar ta kafa tushe ga sauran mata da suka biyo baya wajen koyar da ilimi (Nadwi 2007).

Bayan Nana Aisha, a cikin karnuka uku na farko na Musulunci, mata da yawa sun taka muhimmiyar rawa wajen bunkasa ilimi da adabin addini. Sun yi fice a fannoni daban-daban kamar riwayar hadisi, fassarar Alkur'ani, fikihu, ilimin harshen larabci, tauhidi dss. Wannan rawar da suka taka ya kore ra'ayoyin da ke daukar cewa maza ne kadai suka kafa harsashin ilimin Musulunci. Mata sun kasance malamai da almajiran ilimi, kuma maza da dama sun fa'idantu da iliminsu.

Wata mashahuriyar malama ita ce Umm al-Dardā' aṣ-Ṣuḡhrā (ta rasu 81 AH / 700 CE), babbar malama a fannin fikihu da hadisi a Damashku. Ta koyar a cikin masallacin Umawiyi, tana karɓar dalibai mata da maza, ciki har da alƙalai da shugabanni. Umm al-Dardā' ta shahara da tsoron Allah, hikima, da fahimta mai zurfi a fikihu da hadisi (Sayeed 2013). Haka nan, Fatima bint al-Mundhir (ta rasu 130 AH / 747 CE) ta kasance fitacciyar mai

riwayar hadisi a Madina. Ta karɓi ilimi daga kakarta Asma' bint Abi Bakr, kuma ta koyar da manyan malamai irin mijinta Hisham ibn 'Urwah. Haka kuma, 'Ā'isha bint Ṭalḥa, itama malama ce a karni na farko, ta shahara ta wajen ilimi da fasaha wajen magana. Wadannan mata a ire-iren su sun taka rawa sosai, sannan sun karɓi *ijaza* (watau lasisin koyarwa) daga malamansu. Tarihin su ya nuna cewa ilimin mata a zamanin farko na Musulunci ya kasance mai karfi, mai daraja kuma mai fadi. Malamai irin su Mohammad Akram Nadwi sun rubuta tarihin mata malamai fiye da 8,000, da dama daga cikinsu sun rayu a karnuka uku na farko, wanda ke nuni da cewa mata ginshikai ne na ilimi.

Idan muka gangaro kasar Hausa, Nana Asma'u yār Shehu Usmanu dān Fodio (1793–1864) ta kasance daya daga cikin fitattun mata malamai a tarihin Musulunci, ba kawai a Afirka ba har da duniya baki daya. Diya ce ga Shehu Usman dān Fodio, jagoran Daular Usmaniyya ta Sokoto a karni na 19. Nana Asma'u ta yi fice wajen haɗa ilimi da aikin ilmantarwa, ta rubuta waƙoƙi domin ilmantar da mata da jama'a. Ta kafa tsarin Yan Taru, watau kungiya ta malamai mata masu yawo suna koyar da mata Musulunci a kauyuka da birane. Wannan tsarin ya ba wa mata damar samun ilimi da fahimtar addini ta hanyar harshensu na uwa. Nana Asma'u ta rubuta littattafai da waƙoƙin ilimi sama da sittin, ciki har da shahararriyar waƙarta *Wakar Tarbiya*, wadda ta dora akalar koyarwa akan tarbiyya da ladabi (Mack and Boyd 2000).

A cikin karni na 20 da 21, mata Musulmai a kasar Hausa sun ci gaba da taka muhimmiyar rawa a fagen ilimin addini da kimiyya. Muna da mata malaman Jami'a farfesoshi, da kuma likitoci, da injiniyoyi da yān siyasa da marubuta da yān jarida da mata masu wa'azi kuma wanda suke riƙe da manyan maƙaman gwamnati irin su Malama Khadija Gambo Hawaja, Hajiya Bilkisu Yusuf, Dr. Amina Bashir, Engr. Fatima Kyari, Prof. Hafsat Abubakar da sauran su.

Ilimi, Aure, da Dokar Allah

Shin Musulunci ya kayyade ilimin da mace za ta iya samu? Shin mijinta zai iya dakatar da ita? Idan mace ta yunkura neman ilimi, mijinta kuma yace ba za ta yi ba, shin bijire mai karya dokar Allah ne?

Barin fara da tambaya ta farko. Shin Musulunci ya kayyade ilimin mace? Wannan tambaya, a wajan conference da mu ka gabatar ita a ka fara bijirowa da ita. Fahimtar da ake da ita a al'ummar Bahausha itace cewa ilimin da namiji bashi ba waiji, watau ba a kayyade shi ba, amma ilimin ya mace, duk da mahimmancin shi, zai iya zama kayyadajje. Duk da misalai da na bayar na mata magabata kamar irin matan Annabi (SAW) irin su Nana Aisha da Hafsa, da kuma Nana Asma'u yar Shehu dan Fodiyo, da kuma irin gagarumar gudunmawar da suka bayar, na tashi ina jin ana cewa "ita fa mace, idan aka bata ilimi sama da Alam tarakaifa, zuwa Nasi, za ta fi karfin mijinta." Watau a bisa wannan gurguwar fahimta, hatta ilimin Al-Kur'ani idan mace ta samu da yawa, ana ganin zai iya buɗe mata ido, ta fi karfin mijinta, ta ki yi mai biyayya.

"Neman ilimi wajibi ne a kan kowanne Musulmi" (Sunan Ibn Majah)

Barin yi duba zuwa ga mai shari'ar Musulunci tace game da ilimi da kuma neman shi. Addinin Musulunci ya ba da matuƙar muhimmanci ga neman ilimi, yana kallon sa a matsayin nauyin addini da kuma hanya ta ceto mutum da kuma al'umma ba ki ɗaya. A cikin Al-Kur'ani mai girma, Allah yana yabawa masu ilimi. A Suratul Zumar (39:9), Allah yana cewa: *"Ashe, waɗanda suka sani da waɗanda ba su sani ba daidai suke?"* Wannan tambaya na nuna darajar masu ilimi. A wani wuri kuma (Taha 20:114), Allah ya umarci Annabi Muhammadu (SAW) da ya ce: *"Ya Ubangijina, kara mini ilimi."* Har ila yau, Allah ya haɗa masu ilimi da mala'iku wajen shaida da cewa babu abin bautawa

sai Shi (Surah Ali Imran 3:18), alamar yadda ilimi ke da muhimmanci a addinin Musulunci.

Hadisai ma sun jaddada wannan muhimmanci. Annabi Muhammad (SAW) ya ce: “*Neman ilimi wajibi ne a kan kowanne Musulmi*” (Sunan Ibn Majah). Ya kuma ce: “*Malamai magada ne na Annabawa,*” ma’ana Annabawa ba su bar dukiya ba, sai dai ilimi, kuma malaman su ne ke gado. Haka nan, ya ce: “*Duk wanda ya bi hanya don neman ilimi, Allah zai saukafa masa hanya zuwa Aljanna*” (Sahih Muslim).

Na jefa wannan tambaya ga malaman da suka halarci tattaunawar mu: shin ilimin namiji kayyadaje ne? Amsar da na samu itace a’a, ilimin namiji ba kayyadaje bane. Namiji na da ikon neman ilimi duk tsahon lokacin da ya so. To mene ne ya kayyadaje ilimin mace? A wace aya ko hadisi a ka kayyade ilimin mace? Amsa a takaice itace babu. Babu wata aya ko hadisi da ya kayyade ilimin mace. Watau sabanin fahimtar mutane da yawa cewa ilimin da mace za ta nema shi ne kawai na sanin yadda zata aiwatar da farillan addini, wannan ra’ayi ba shi da tushe. Babu wata aya ko hadisin da yace bayan mace ta samu ilimin farillan addini, ta tsaya anan, kar ta cigaba da neman ilimi.

A fannin fikihu na Musulunci akwai ka’ida wadda tace: “*Al-Aṣl fī al-dīn al-ibāḥah*” fassara: “asali a cikin addini shi ne halaccin abu.” Wannan ka’ida tana nuna duk wata doka a cikin fikihun Musulunci da ke cewa idan babu takamaiman hani akan abu, watau babu wani hukunci karara wanda ya haramta, to ana daukarsa a matsayin halas. Wannan ka’ida tana bayyanar da muhimmiyar manufa, cewa Musulunci ba ya sanya takunkumi maras dalili a cikin ibada (ko ma rayuwa) sai dai idan akwai hujjoji bayyanannu daga Al-Kur’ani ko hadisi.

Imam Al-Ghazali a cikin *Ihya Ulum al-Din* ya jaddada wajabcin ilimi ga maza da mata domin cika ibada da gina dabi’a. Haka kuma, malamai na zamani kamar Shehu Yusufu al-Qaradawi sun

bayyana cewa Musulunci yana karfafa mata su nemi kowanne irin ilimin da zai taimaka musu wajen gudanar da al'amuran addini da na duniya (al-Qaradawi 1999). Don haka, babu wata hujja daga nassoshi ko fikihi da ke hana mace samun kowanne irin ilimi.

Shin Miji Yana da Ikon Hana Matarsa Neman Ilimi?

Kamar yadda na mabata a sama, wasu malamai kamar Imam Ghazali sun kasa ilimi gida biyu.¹⁹ Akwai nau'in ilimi da ake kira *farq' ayn*—wato ilimin da ya wajaba kan kowane Musulmi mace ko namiji. Wannan nau'in ilimi yana da matuƙar muhimmanci saboda babu uzuri ga wanda bai same shi ba. Idan mutum ya kasa samun wannan ilimi, zai kasance yana da laifi da kansa. Wannan ilimi ya haɗa da sanin tushen imani kamar yadda ake yin imani da Allah, da annabci da sauran rukunna imani. Haka kuma, ya haɗa da ilimin yadda ake gudanar da ibadu kamar sallah, azumi, zakka da aikin hajji. Hakanan, wajibi ne ga kowane Musulmi ya san abin da ya halatta da wanda ya haramta a cikin harkokin yau da kullum kamar abinci, tufafi, mu'amala da aure da kudi.²⁰

Imam al-Ghazali ya bayyana a cikin *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* cewa “kowane Musulmi wajibi ne ya koyi ilimin da ba zai iya yin ibada.” Wannan yana nufin cewa kowane Musulmi dole ne ya san abin da Allah ya wajabta masa. Imam al-Nawawī ma ya karfafa wannan ra'ayi, yana cewa duk wani baligi mai hankali (*mukallaf*) wajibi ne ya san ilimin da ya hau kansa domin ya iya rayuwa daidai da dokar Allah.²¹

¹⁹ <https://www.ghazali.org/works/bk1-sec-2.htm?utm>.

²⁰ <https://www.ghazali.org/works/bk1-sec-2.htm?utm>.

²¹ <https://shamela.ws/book/2186/25>. Al-Nawawī ya rubuta a *al-Majmū', Bāb Aqsām al-'Ilm al-Shar'ī*: “*Yalzamuhu ma 'rifat mā yahill wa mā yahrum min al-ma 'kūl wa 'l-mashrūb wa 'l-malbūs ...*” — ya lissafo ilimin halal/haram a abinci, tufafi, da mu'amaloli, gami da aure (*'ishrat al-nisā'*). Sannan Ibn Taymiyyah ya yi bayanin cewa abin da mutum ya wajaba ya koya ya danganta da abin da ya hau kansa—zakka idan yana da abin da ya hannun, hajji idan yana da iko, da dai sauransu (Ibn Taymiyyah, *Majmū' al-Fatāwā*)

Nau'in ilimi na biyu da malamai suka bayyana shi ne *farḍ kifāyah*—wato ilimi da ba wajibi ba ne ga kowane mutum, amma ya zama wajibi a samu wasu daga cikin al'umma da suka iya wannan ilimi. Idan wasu daga cikin mutane sun fware ko sun shiga wannan fanni, sauran mutane sun kubuta daga laifi. Amma idan babu wanda ya yi, to al'umma gaba ɗaya za su kasance da laifi. Wannan ilimi yana da nasaba da bukatun rayuwar al'umma da ci gaban zamantakewa da tattalin arziki.

Misalan irin wannan ilimi sun haɗa da manyan fannoni na addini kamar tafsiri, hadisi, da usuli na fikihi. Hakanan ya haɗa da ilimin zamani kamar likitanci, lissafi, injiniyanci, noma, da shugabanci. Imam al-Ghazali yace ce sana'o'in likitanci da lissafi na daga cikin *farḍ kifāyah* saboda suna da matuƙar amfani wajen kula da lafiyar mutane da ci gaban al'umma (al-Ghazālī 1962). Imam al-Shāṭibī kuwa a cikin *al-Muwāfaqāt* ya danganta wannan nau'in ilimi da kiyaye manyan manufofin shari'a guda biyar: addini, rayuwa, hankali, zuriyya, da dukiya (al-Nawawī, al-Majmū' 1:49).

Aiwatar da Wannan ga Mata

Idan mun koma ƙa'idar da mu kayi amfani da ita a sama, za mu ga cewa babu inda shari'ar Musulunci ta ambaci cewa mata ilimin *farḍ 'ayn* kawai za su nema. Ko ban ambata ba, an san cewa al'umma na buƙatar mata masu ilimi a kowanne fanni. Wannan rabon ilimi biyu—*farḍ 'ayn* da *farḍ kifāyah*—ya shafi maza da mata gaba ɗaya. Mata kamar maza na da wajibcin koyo da fahimtar *farḍ 'ayn* domin su iya gudanar da ibadu da rayuwarsu daidai da shari'a. Hana mace samun wannan ilimi zalunci ne kuma ya saɓa da manufar addini. Haka kuma, idan mace ta shiga fannin likitanci ko ma'aikaciyar jinya ko ta zama malamar Jami'a, alal misali, wannan aikin zai shiga cikin *farḍ kifāyah*. A wasu lokuta ma, idan babu mata da ke yin irin wannan aiki a cikin al'umma, wannan aiki kan iya zama *farḍ 'ayn* a kan wasu daga cikin matan da suka cancanta.

Shari'ar Musulunci bata baiwa miji ikon hana matarsa neman ilimi ba. Hujja anan, kamar inda na mabata a sama itace babu wata aya ko hadisi ya ya bayyana hakan. Litattafan fikihi na Hanafiyya da Hanbaliyya sun yarda mace na da damar fita daga gida ba tare da izinin mijinta ba domin neman ilimin addini. Malaman Shafi'iyya da Malikiyya sun kara gaba, suna cewa idan miji bai da ilimin da zai koya mata, tana da cikakken ikon fita ta je ta nema a waje.²² Wannan fahimta tana da tushe daga ayar Al-Kur'ani da ke cewa: “*Ku zauna da su cikin alheri (ma'rūf)*” (Al-Kur'ani 4:19). Aure a Musulunci ba tsarin mulkin mallaka ba ne, tsarin haɗin kai ne da mutunta juna. Babban manufar shari'ar Musulunci (*maqāṣid al-sharī'a*)—musamman kiyaye addini (*ḥifẓ al-dīn*) da hankali (*ḥifẓ al-'aql*)—suna nuna cewa ilimi abu ne mai muhimmanci. Hana mace samun ilimi yana karya waɗannan manufofi na shari'a kuma ya saɓawa ka'idar dabi'a a Musulunci.

Malaman zamani mata musulmai kamar su Amina Wadud da Ziba Mir-Hosseini sun bayyana cewa fassarar da ake wa *kiwāma* (ikon miji) mai takura wa mace, ta fi fitowa daga al'ada fiye da daga addini. Irin waɗannan fassarori sun kuskurewa manufar Al-Kur'ani na zamantakewar aure wanda ya ginu kan adalci, shawarwari da mutunta juna. Don haka, idan miji ya hana matarsa ilimin addini ko wanda zai amfaneta, hakan zai iya karya manufar nassosin Al-Kur'ani na zama da mace cikin kyautatawa.

Me Zai Faru Idan Ilimin da Ake Nema Bai Danganci Addini Kai Tsaye Ba?

Ko da ilimin da mace take nema baya da alaƙa kai tsaye da addini—misali PhD a injiniya—miji ba shi da cikakken iko ya haramta mata karatu idan ba neman ilimin ya haifar da saba wa

²² Al-Khaṭīb al-Shirbīnī, *Mughnī al-Muḥtāj ilā Ma'rifat Ma'ānī Alfāẓ al-Minhāj*, vol. 1, p. 120. Shams al-Dīn al-Ramlī, *Nihāyat al-Muḥtāj ilā Sharḥ al-Minhāj*, vol. 1, p. 358. Murtadā al-Zabīdī, *Ittiḥāf al-Sādah al-Muttaqīn bi-Sharḥ Ihya' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, *Rubā' al-'Ādāt*, “*Adab al-Nikāḥ*.” Ibn Muflīḥ, *al-Ādāb al-Shar'iyyah wa-l-Minhaj al-Mar'iyyah*, vol. 3, p. 375.

shari'a ko cutarwa. Biyayya (*tā'a*) a aure tana dāure ne da ma'rūf, wato nagarta da adalci: “ba a yi wa kowane halitta biyayya a cikin saɓa wa Allah (Bukhari 7257; Muslim 1839). Haka kuma, ka'idar shari'a ta cewa “ba cuta, ba cutarwa” (*lā ɗarara wa lā ɗirār*) tana iyakance duk wani iko da zai haifar da lahani ga ɗaya daga ma'aurata (Nawawī, 40 Ḥadīth no. 32). Al-kur'ani ya umarci maza su zauna da matansu “*bi'l-ma'rūf*” (K 4:19), wato cikin kirki, kyautatawa da adalci.

A cewar tsarin *maqāsid al-sharī'a* wanda malamai kamar Al-Ghazali da Al-Shatibi suka kafa, kowanne ilimi da ke amfanar da al'umma—kamar magani, koyarwa da injiniya—yana ƙarfafa kiyaye rai da hankali (*ḥifẓ al-nafs* da *ḥifẓ al-'aql*). Idan al'umma bata da ƙwararru a wasu fannonin, to neman wannan ilimi yana zama wajibi akan mutanen da suka cancanta. Ibn Ashur, babban malami daga Tunisiya a ƙarni na ashirin, ya nuna cewa duk wani ilimi da ke kawo amfani ga jama'a, ya zama ɓangare na hangen nesa na ɗabi'ar Musulunci (Ibn 'Āshūr 2006, 5; Auda 2008, 15–20).

Daga wannan fahimta, mace da ke karatu a fannin injiniya alal misali, tana iya kasancewa ba wai kawai tana neman abu da aka halatta ba ne, amma tana cika wani wajibcin jama'a ne. Idan wannan ilimi da take nema baya hana ta cika nauyin aurenta ko addininta, to mijinta baya da hurumin shari'a da zai hana ta.

Shin Bijerewa Umarnin Miji a Wannan Hali Zai Zama Keta Dokar Allah?

Anan zan kawo fahimta ta. Ka'idar shari'a ta ce: “*Lā tātā'ata li makhḷūqin fī ma'ṣiyat al-Khāliq*”—ma'ana “*Babu biyayya ga halitta a cikin sabawa ga Mahalicci*” (Musnad Aḥmad). Wannan yana bayyana tsarin fifiko: dokar Allah ta'fi dokar mutum. Fahimtar fikihu tana goyon bayan wannan. Idan ilimi wajibi ne domin cika ibada, mace dole ta neme shi ko da mijinta bai yarda ba. A sama, na ambaci malaman da suka ce mace za iya fita neman ilimi ba tare da izinin majinta ba. Wannan ra'ayi yana

cikin tsarin fikihi wanda ke daukar ilimi a matsayin haske ga dukan yān adam. Fahimta ta a nan itace, yiwa miji biyayya cikin abinda zai cutar da mace, kan iya zama sabon Allah. Sannan ba a yi wa dan Adam biyayya acikin abinda ya sabawa Allah.

Ra'ayoyin Malamai Kan Sharuɗɗa Cikin Yarjejeniyar Aure

Fikihi na Musulunci tun tuni yana daukar sanya sharuɗɗa cikin yarjejeniyar aure (*'aqd al-nikāh*) a matsayin abu mai yuwuwa da dauke da nauyin shari'a—musamman idan waɗannan sharuɗɗan na nufin kare haɓki da jin dadin ma'aurata biyu. A cikin mazhabar Hanbaliyya, malamai sun bayyana a sarari cewa ana iya sanya sharuɗɗa daban-daban cikin yarjejeniya—kamar batun ilimi, wurin zama da aikin yi.²³ Abu mafi muhimmanci shi ne: idan miji ya karya sharaɗin da aka amince da shi a yarjejeniyar, mace na da haɓkin neman soke auren (*fasakh*)—wannan wata babbar doka ce da ke nuna nauyin da ke cikin yarjejeniyar. Acikin sahihai guda biyu na Bukhari (2721) da Muslim (1418), an rawaito Annabi (SAW) ya na cewa — “Sharuɗɗan da suka fi cancanta a cika su su ne waɗanda ta gare su ake halatta kusanci na aure, watau sune sharuɗɗan aure.”²⁴

Malaman Malikiyya da Shafi'iyya ma suna goyon bayan sahihancin sharuɗɗa cikin aure, matuƙar ba su sabawa manufar auren gaba ɗaya ba.²⁵ A mazhabunsu, neman ilimi ba barazana bane ga zaman lafiya cikin aure, a maimakon haka yana daidaita da tsarin Musulunci na iyali da kuma babban tsarin amfani ga al'umma (*maṣlaḥa*). Saboda haka, neman ilimi ana daukarsa a matsayin manufa mai kyau wadda take karfafa tsarin aure, ba ta raunana shi ba.

²³ <https://www.islamweb.net/ar/library/content/15/4606/>

²⁴ https://sunnah.com/bukhari%3A2721?utm_

²⁵ <https://www.islamweb.net/ar/library/content/94/5307>.

<https://read.shamela.ws/book/569/2130>.

Fatawowin Zamani

Fatawowi na zamani suna goyon bayan wannan ra'ayi. *Dar al-Ifta' al-Misriyyah* a Masar ta bayar da fatawa da ke goyon bayan sanya sharuɗɗa da suka shafi haɓɓin mace na neman ilimi da samun aiki (Dār al-Iftā' al-Miṣriyyah 1981; Dār al-Iftā' al-Miṣriyyah n.d.-a). Haka kuma, *European Council for Fatwa and Research* ta karfafa ma'aurata su haɗa irin waɗannan sharuɗɗa cikin yarjejeniyarsu domin guje wa rikici a gaba, da kuma gina aure bisa fahimta da girmama juna (European Council for Fatwa and Research 2020a; European Council for Fatwa and Research 2020b).²⁶

Fa'idar Sanya Haɓɓin Neman (Zurfaffan) Ilimi a Yarjejeniyar Aure

Sanya haɓɓin neman ilimi a cikin yarjejeniyar aure na da fa'idodi da dama masu karfi. Na farko, wannan sharadi yana da karfi a shari'a: idan miji ya amince da sharadin, karya sharadin yana zama sabawa yarjejeniya. Na biyu, bayyana sharuɗɗa a farko yana rage yiwuwar rikici a gaba ta hanyar fayyace abin da ake tsammani. Na uku, wannan tsari yana ba matar karfafawa da martaba—bisa doka da tsarin Musulunci. A karshe, yana karfafa tattaunawa da haɗin kai tsakanin ma'aurata kafin aure, yana buɗe dama don bayyana ra'ayoyi, buruka, da rawar da kowane jinsi zai taka.

Yadda Ake Rubuta Sharadin Kuma A Sanya Shi

Shirye-shiryen sanya sharadin neman ilimi a cikin yarjejeniyar aure ya kamata a fara ta kafin a daura auren. Matar da za ta yi auren, ya kamata ta zauna cikin mutunci da girmamawa da mijinta na gaba da magabatan su baki daya, ta bayyana burinta da niyyarta na karatu mai zurfi, ko mai aiki/sana'a. Daga nan a rubuta waɗannan buruka da taimakon malami ko lauya. Ina mai ba da shawara ayi amfani da duka biyun: malamin da ya san wannan gurbi na shari'a da kuma lauya. Harshen da za a yi

²⁶ <https://www.e-cfr.org/en/2020/06/23/the-seventeenth-ordinary-session-of-the-european-council-for-fatwa-and-research/?utm>.

amfani da shi a sharadin ya zama bayyane, ba mai rudani ba—misali: “*Zan yi karatun PhD a fannin Injiniya cikin shekaru biyar zuwa takwas bayan aure.*”

Dole ne a samu shaidu a wajen sa hannu, kuma ma'auratan su fahimci sharuɗɗan da kyau kafin su rattaba hannu. A inda shari'a ta ba da dama, ya kamata a saka wannan sharadi a cikin takardar auren da za a kai kotu ko ofishin rijista. Idan babu wuri a cikin takardar, za a iya rubuta sharadin a wata takarda ta daban, a yi mata *notarization*, kuma a sanya hannu duka.

Amsa Ga Korafe-Korafen Da Ake Yi

Wasu daga cikin korafe-korafen da ake yi akan sanya sharadi cikin aure sun fito ne daga al'ada, ba daga addini ba. Daya daga cikinsu shine cewa: “*abun kunya ne ko ba al'adar mu ba ce*” mace ta sanya irin wadannan sharuɗɗa. Amma tarihin Musulunci cike yake da misalan mata da suka rike hakkinsu cikin yarjejeniya. Manzon Allah (SAW) ya shaida irin wadannan sharuɗɗa kuma ya ce: “*Dukkan sharuɗɗan da suka fi cancanta a cika su ne wadanda suka halatta muku jima'i.*” (Bukhari 2721; Muslim 1418). A Musulunci, bayyana gaskiya ba laifi ba ne—abin alfahari ne.

Wani korafi kuma shine: “*Me zai faru idan ra'ayinta ya canza?*” Wannan matsala za a iya warware ta ta hanyar rubuta sharadin da sauki—misali: “*Zan iya neman ilimi idan dama ta samu.*” Hakan zai kare hakkin ilimi kuma ya bar damar gyara cikin fahimta a gaba.

Na uku kuwa yana cewa: “*Aikin mace ita ce ta yi wa mijinta biyayya.*” Duk da cewa Musulunci yana karfafa hadin kai da zaman lafiya cikin aure, biyayya (*tā'a*) ba tauye hakki bane. Kamar yadda na ambata a sama, na bukatar biyayya ne cikin *ma'rūf*—wato abin da ya dace, mai adalci kuma ya yi daidai da tsarin Musulunci, ba al'adu ba. Musulunci bai amince da danniya ko tauye hakkin da Allah ya baiwa mace ba.

Kammalawa

A dukkan abin da aka tattauna a sama, hujjoji daga Al-kur’ani, hadisi, ka’idojin fikihi, tarihin mata malamai, da fatawowi sun nuna a fili cewa ba a shimfiɗa iyaka ga ilimin yā mace a Musulunci ba. Ra’ayin cewa ilimin mace kayyadajje ne al’ada ce, ba nassi ko hadisi ba. Ma’anar ilimi a Musulunci ita ce haske da gyaran rai; kuma wannan haske bai bambanta namiji da mace face da ma’aunin Allah na imani, aiki, da takawa.

Rarrabuwar *farḍ ‘ayn* da *farḍ kifāyah* ta bayyana mana cewa neman ilimi wajibi ne a kan kowa, sannan akwai ilimin da al’umma ke bukata domin maslaha. Idan al’umma na buƙatar ƙwararrun mata a fannonin addini ko na zamani, to neman wannan ilimi ga mata ba kawai halal ba ne—zai iya zama wajibi. A wannan mizani, “biyayyar aure” cikin *ma’rūf* ba ta nufin tauye haƙƙin da Allah ya haramta a tauye: babu biyayya ga halitta a inda za a safa wa Mahalicci.

Aure kuma a Musulunci yarjejeniya ce ta mutunta juna, shawarwari, da adalci. Ƙarfafa sanya sharuɗɗa a cikin yarjejeniyar aure—da nufin kare haƙƙin neman ilimi da aiki—ya yi daidai da manufar shari’a ta kiyaye addini, rai, hankali, zuriyya, da dukiya. Idan aka fayyace burin ilimi tun kafin ɗaura aure, an shimfiɗa hanya ta gaskiya da amana wanda ke rage rikici, kuma ta ɗaga martabar ma’auratan duka biyun.

Darasin Nafisa ya yi mana nuni da abin da ke faruwa idan al’ada ta rinjayi shari’a. A gefe guda, ya kuma nuna mana abin da zai iya canzawa idan aka yi shawara cikin gaskiya, aka rubuta sharuɗɗa, aka gina tsarin tallafi a gida, kuma aka fahimci cewa cikas burin mace a ilimi ba ya karya aure—sai dai ya ƙarfafa shi idan aka tsara komai cikin hikima. Idan ba a gina irin wannan tsari ba, asarar baiwa da basira da tattalin arziki ne ke faruwa—ga gida, ga al’umma, ga ƙasa ba ki ɗaya.

Saboda haka, amsar manyan tambayoyin mu ita ce: Musulunci bai kayyade ilimin mace ba; bai kuma ba wa miji ikon hana farilla

ko maslaha ta zahiri da ke cika *maqāṣid al-sharīʿa* ba. Abin da ake buƙata shi ne daidaitaccen tsari. Hakan na nufin malamai su yi wa'azi da hujja, iyaye su tallafa tun da wuri, ma'aurata su rubuta abin da suka amince da shi har ma da burikan su, sannan hukumomi da makarantunmu su sauƙaƙa hanyoyin karatu ga mata masu aure.

A ƙarshe, tambayar “Shin ilimin mace na da haddi a Musulunci?” ta juyo ta zama: “Ta yaya za mu shimfiɗa hanyoyi don ilimin mace ya zamo haske ga gida da al’umma?” Idan muka ɗaure wannan tambaya da hangen nesa, za mu ga cewa haddin kawai shi ne na ladabi—ba na toshe ƙofofin baiwa ba. Muna buƙatar aure ya zama haɗin gwiwa, ilimi amanar Allah, kuma kowa ya ci gajiyar hasken ilimin.

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Chapter 6

Kalubalen da Mata Musulmi Ke Fuskanta Jami'o'i

Muslim Women in Higher Education: Struggles, Strategies, and Resilience

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Summary

This chapter examines the layered obstacles and enabling conditions that shape Muslim women's access to, persistence in, and outcomes from higher education in Northern Nigeria. Through semi-structured interviews conducted in Hausa with anonymity preserved, the author foregrounds students' lived experiences across socioeconomic strata and academic fields. The analysis situates these narratives within capability, intersectionality, and social capital frameworks to show how family expectations, institutional arrangements, and community norms jointly produce uneven educational trajectories. While the focal geography is Northern Nigeria, the chapter's conceptual language and proposed remedies travel across African university contexts.

Scope, method, and analytic lens

The study draws on conversational interviews with seven students—Maryam, Amina, Fatima, Zainab, Rahila, Safiya, and Aisha—who differ by age, marital status, field of study (from nursing and law to engineering/technology and business), and financial background. Interviews probe home responsibilities, campus climate, religious accommodation, safety, transportation, and academic support. Analytically, the chapter deploys (1) capability theory (education as expanding substantive freedoms

and choices); (2) intersectionality (the compounded effects of gender, poverty, marital status, and culture); and (3) Bourdieu's social and cultural capital (mentorship, peer organizations, and recognition as convertible resources). These lenses illuminate how “ability” alone is insufficient without time, money, institutional flexibility, and supportive networks.

**Cross-cutting constraints in home, community, and campus
Across cases, three domains recur.**

1. Domestic and care burdens. Students navigate heavy household responsibilities, childcare, and in some cases paid side work. These demands compress study time, heighten fatigue, and create vulnerability to academic delays—especially for married students and those commuting long distances.
2. Financial precarity and access logistics. Regular costs (books, transport, exam fees, devices, internet) and episodic shocks (health, family obligations) produce stop-start attendance and threaten retention. Distance from campus compounds costs and safety risks, particularly for those traveling from peri-urban or rural zones.
3. Institutional fit and campus climate. Misalignment between course schedules and prayer times, limited women's prayer spaces, inconsistent enforcement of anti-harassment policies, and uneven awareness of available supports weaken students' sense of belonging. When present and well-communicated, counseling, schedule accommodations, and scholarship programs improve persistence; gaps in implementation are common.

Portraits of persistence: seven students

Maryam's trajectory is shaped by low initial family support and community skepticism toward women in science. Beyond attitudinal barriers, she encounters dense timetables, expensive texts, and the constant juggling of domestic labor with academic rigor. Peer-led women's groups and faculty openness to

consultation emerge as pivotal forms of social capital, sharpening time-management skills and building resilience. Her story exemplifies how aspirations (“becoming a scientist-teacher”) are realized when institutional and peer networks buffer hostile narratives.

Amina, a secondary-school student from a large, low-income household, experiences poverty as the master constraint: she crafts and tutors to finance transport and materials, often walking to school. Her mother’s moral and small financial backing, combined with teachers’ coaching on study discipline, sustain her goal of tertiary study in a service-oriented field. The case underscores that micro-resources and encouragement can keep the capability set from collapsing under economic pressure.

Fatima, a 22-year-old nursing student, faces peer-level stigmatization for wearing hijab. Familial support and a faith-based ethic of service to community transform a stigmatizing climate into a motivational resource. Participation in a women students’ health outreach group (maternal/child health, hygiene, vaccination awareness) integrates classroom learning with civic practice, reinforcing the reciprocity between higher education and local wellbeing.

Zainab, a 30-year-old master’s student in business, meets familial doubts about the value of business education for women. State scholarships and her deliberate pursuit of workshops and research mini-projects enable her to demonstrate tangible returns to skeptical relatives. She plans a women’s cooperative to diffuse financial literacy and halal micro-enterprise skills. Her story illustrates how public aid plus professional mentorship can convert academic credentials into recognized competence.

Rahila, in engineering/technology, encounters low expectations for women in lab-intensive fields. A women-in-tech association provides mentorship, portfolio development, equipment access,

and industry links, which, together with early project showcases and competitions, bring her family on board. She wants to engineer small-scale devices for agriculture and water purification and seed mini-labs for girls—a pipeline vision joining technical training to social problem-solving.

Safiya, a final-year secondary student with acute financial constraints, tutors younger pupils to fund basic school needs. She aspires to become a mathematics teacher to demystify quantitative skills and open pathways for other girls. The case demonstrates education as a strategy for mobility and community uplift even before university entry.

Aisha, a 24-year-old married mother of two studying law, struggles to balance caregiving with coursework. Detailed calendaring, study groups, and proactive negotiation of deadlines with lecturers help her stay on track. A women-lawyers' network offers internships and skill trainings, anchoring her ambition to practice in family law and rights protection. Her experience shows how flexible pedagogy and professional networks can stabilize students with complex life roles.

Thematic synthesis

The chapter distills four themes.

Capabilities depend on resources. Education expands freedom only with enabling inputs—time, money, transport, safe spaces, devices, and flexible schedules. Without these, “potential” remains inert.

Inequalities are intersectional. Gendered expectations, poverty, marital/care status, and culturally inflected norms interact to produce distinctive bottlenecks; a single-axis approach misses the compound pressures students face.

Religious practice is a strength when accommodated. For some students, faith provides meaning, persistence, and a service ethos;

when institutions provide prayer spaces and scheduling flexibility, religiosity complements rather than competes with academic engagement.

Social capital is decisive. Mentorship, student associations, and faculty accessibility convert isolated effort into durable progress. Where state scholarships or NGO grants exist and are legible to students, financial stress eases and skepticism from families can be countered with visible achievement.

Policy and practice implications

The chapter translates its findings into pragmatic recommendations for universities, governments, and civil society.

Targeted financial relief. Provide transport stipends, textbook and device grants, emergency funds, and extended library hours. These small but catalytic funds forestall dropout precipitated by cumulative minor costs.

Religious accommodation and inclusive scheduling. Ensure women's prayer spaces, coordinate course timetables with major prayer periods, and normalize make-up arrangements tied to religious observance without penalizing performance.

Safety and access. Improve well-lit pathways, reliable shuttle services on commuter routes, and harassment reporting mechanisms with protection against retaliation. Safety is a precondition for attendance, especially for off-campus students. Flexible pedagogy. Offer hybrid office hours, assignment windows that recognize care work spikes, and structured study groups. Such flexibility raises retention without diluting academic standards.

Mentorship and professional pipelines. Invest in women-focused STEM and law initiatives with labs, equipment pools,

internships, and industry partnerships; support student cooperatives and entrepreneurship clinics that translate coursework into livelihoods.

Community engagement. Involve parents, religious leaders, and local role models (especially successful alumnae) in outreach that counters restrictive gender scripts; spotlight concrete success stories to shift expectations.

Contribution and limits

By placing granular student narratives in dialogue with established theories of capability, intersectionality, and social capital, the chapter clarifies how “merit” is mediated by resources and recognition. Its contribution is to show precisely where policy levers—micro-grants, schedule design, prayer space provision, mentorship infrastructures—can have outsized effects on retention and graduation for Muslim women students. The author notes the study’s modest scope and non-representative sample; the objective is illumination rather than generalization. Still, the cases resonate with broader evidence on poverty, distance, caregiving, and hostile climates as drivers of gendered attrition in African education systems. The chapter encourages future work to incorporate longitudinal tracking, comparative campus audits, and impact evaluations of the recommended interventions.

Conclusion

The narratives collectively argue that a Muslim woman’s success at university is not a private triumph of grit alone but the outcome of aligned systems: family encouragement, material supports, institutional flexibility, and peer/professional networks. When these elements cohere, aspirations—scientist-teacher, nurse, lawyer, engineer, math educator—convert into public goods: healthier families, fairer courts, appropriate technologies, and stronger classrooms. In this sense, higher education fulfills its deepest social promise not merely by issuing certificates but by

widening the real choices and voices of women whose learning feeds back into community wellbeing.

Gabatarwa

Ilimi shi ne ginshiƙin da al’umma ke dɔra rayuwa a kai: yana ba mutum kwarewa, yana buɗe kofofin aiki, kuma yana ƙarfafa haƙƙin shiga tattaunawa a cikin al’umma. A Afirka, musamman a yankunan da al’adu ke taka rawa mai ƙarfi, mata na fuskantar ƙalubale da dama—na gida, na al’umma, da na tsarin jami’a—wadanda ke sa dɔlibai mata fuskantar matsaloli fiye da maza. A yankuna da dama, ana ci gaba da dɔra nauyin kula da gida da yɔyɔ a kan mata, alhali ga mace dɔliba mai san karatu, ta na burin ta yi koƙari a aji, ta halarci lacca, ta rubuta jarabawa, wani zubin ma ta yi aiki na wucin-gadi don tallafa wa karatun ta. Wasu matan ma na shiga jami’a ne a jinkirce saboda aure; wasu kuma sukan fuskanci katsewar karatu saboda juna biyu, yɔyɔ, ko rashin tallafin daga gida. A gefe guda, akwai mata da suka samu goyon bayan iyaye, mazajen su na aure, malamai, da ƙungiyoyi—goyon bayan da ya sa suka tsallake, suka kammala karatu cikin ƙwarin gwiwa. Wannan bambanci tsakanin labaran nasara da na cikas shi ne ainihin abin da wannan babi ke son bayyanawa.

A cikin ƙalubalen da ke fuskantar mata Musulmi a jami’o’i akwai batutuwan da suka shafi haƙƙin addini (sutura, wurin salla, jadawalin darasi a lokutan ibada), tsaro da kariya daga cin zarafi, da kuma tsarin tallafi: guraben makaranta, tallafin kudi, wuraren zama, da dabarun kula da lafiyar kwakwalwa. Haka kuma, matsalolin sufuri, nisan gida zuwa jami’a, harshen koyarwa, da amfani da fasaha (kamar intanet da na’urori) na iya ƙara nauyin ƙalubalen. Duk da haka, ba za mu manta da rawar da wasu malamai da shugabannin jami’a ke takawa ba. Akwai jami’o’in da suka bullo da ingantattun manufofi—misali, shirye-shiryen shawarwari, ko rage cunkoso a jadawali—amma har yanzu akwai gurɓacewar aiwatarwa ko rashin isar da bayani. Wannan babi zai yi duba ga rayuwar dɔlibai mata Musulmi a jami’o’in Arewacin Najeriya ta hanyar tattaunawa da dɔliban. An yi tattaunawar cikin

salo sassauke, a cikin harshen Hausa tare da bai wa kowacce mahalarciya sunan boye (anonymity).

Daliba Maryam

Maryam ta fara da bayanin cewa ba ta samu cikakken goyon bayan iyaye ta ba a farkon yunkurin ta na shiga jami'a. A cewarta, an fada mata sau da dama cewa ilimi “ba zai taimaka mata ba” saboda ita mace ce, kuma ana kallon zama malama a fannin kimiyya a matsayin abin da maza ne suka fi dacewa. Duk da irin wannan ra'ayi daga gida da kuma wasu maganganu a unguwa, Maryam ta dage, ta tsai da hankalin ta guri guda kan burinta na zama malamar kimiyya.

A gefe guda, Maryam ta fayyace cewa matsalolin da ta fuskanta ba su tsaya ga ra'ayin iyaye ko maganganu na al'umma kadai ba. Akwai bangarori na tsarin jami'a da rayuwar dalibai: tsadar littattafai da sufuri, matsin jadawalin darussa, da kuma yanayin da ake bukatar mace ta daidaita tsakanin ayyukan gida da kokarin karatu. A cewarta, wannan haɗuwar nauyin gida da na makaranta na iya janyo gajiya, rage lokaci na karatu, ko ma sa daliba ta yi jinkiri a wasu lokuta.

Sai dai kuma labarin Maryam ba na cikas kadai ba ne; akwai haske a cikinsa. Ta ambaci tasirin fungiyoyin mata a Kano wadanda ke ba da shawarwari, tarukan karfafa gwiwa, da sauran su. Ta bayyana yadda waɗannan fungiyoyi ke koyar da dabarun shawo kan matsalolin da ake fuskanta a aji da wajen aji—daga tsara lokaci, zuwa neman taimakon malamai, har zuwa yadda za a kare kai daga maganganu masu rage kima. A wurin Maryam, wannan goyon bayan juna ya zama muhimmiyar hanya ta gina karfin zuciya, ya kuma ba ta hanyar haɗuwa da wasu yaƙan mata da ke fuskantar irin waɗannan kalubale.

Hirar ta Maryam ta nuna haɗin abubuwa uku: ra'ayin al'umma game da ilimi/aikin mace, tsarin tallafi da muhalli a jami'a, da kuma jajircewa. A takaice, labarin Maryam hujja ce mai karfi

cewa nasarar yā mace a jami'a ba ta ta'allaka ga iyawarta kadai ba, amma tana dogaro da tsari da muhallin da ta tsinci kanta a ciki: goyon bayan iyaye, taimakon malamai, kungiyoyin da ke jagorantar mata, dss. Maryam ta nuna yadda hangen nesa na “zan zama malama a kimiyya” ya kore koƙarin tunanin da ke rage mata kima.

Daliba Amina

Amina, yār shekaru ashirin, tana karatu a makarantar sakandare. Ta ce babbar matsalar da take fuskanta ita ce rashin isassun kayan makaranta—littattafai, kayan rubutu, har ma da kuɗin jarabawa da kuɗin sufuri zuwa makaranta. “Iyaye na na iya koƙarin su, amma ba su da ƙarfi. Mu ishrin da biyu ne a wajen mahaifin mu,” in ji ta. A cewarta, talauci na daga cikin manyan kalubalen da ke kawo cikas ga burinta, kuma sau da dama tana shiga ɗan taba sana'a kamar saƙa hulunan sanyi na kwarashe domin tara kuɗin makaranta. Duk da haka, Amina ta nace cewa ilimi shi ne hanya mafi inganci don fitar da ita da al'umma daga kuncin rayuwa. “Yan matan da ke cikin talauci kamar ni sukan ji kamar ba za su iya samun damar ilimi ba saboda rashin kuɗi; amma ni na kuɗuri aniyar ci gaba da neman ilimi, ko da cikin yinwa da wahala ne. Sau da yawa da ƙafa na ke zuwa makaranta.”

Ta ƙara bayyana cewa mahaifiyar ta tana ba ta ƙwarin gwuiwa a kai a kai, da kuma binciko hanyoyin taimaka mata ta yār ƙaramar sana'ar da take da ita ta sai da itace da kananzir. Mahaifiyata ta koya min haƙuri, da juriya, da kuma dabarun rayuwa, wanda suke taimaka mini wajen cika burina na kammala karatun sakandare. Sannan malamai na a makaranta suma suna bada gudunmawa. Sun koya mana amfani da ɗan abin da ke hannun mu, tsara lokaci tsakanin karatu da aikin gida. “Malaman mu na goyon bayan mu sosai,” in ji ta, “kuma suna ƙarfafa ni duk da halin talauci.” Amina na fatan gama sakandare da sakamako mai kyau, sannan ta ci gaba da karatun gaba da sakandare a fannin da zai ba ta damar taimaka wa al'umma—musamman mata da yara—ta hanyar koyarwa ko aikin jinya. A ganinta, nasara ba ta ta'allaka

ga yalwar kudɓi kadai ba, illa dai tsari, jajircewa, da al’umma mai dɓaukar nauyin juna.

Daliba Fatima

Fatimah tana da shekaru 22, tana karatun ma’aikaciyar jinya. Ta ce ta taɓa fuskantar tsangwama daga wasu abokan karatu saboda sanya hijabi, musamman ta fuskar magana ko kallon raini. Duk da haka, ta dawo da karfin ta ta hanyar goyon bayan mahaifanta. “Na fuskanci tsangwama daga wasu abokan karatu saboda na sanya hijabi,” in ji ta, “amma ban bari hakan ya katse ni daga neman ilimi ba.” A cewarta, fahimtarta game da addini—wanda ke karfafa neman ilimi da hidima ga jama’a—ya sa ta ci gaba da dagewa. Ta na fatan zama ma’aikaciyar jinya mai kula da lafiyar mata da yara.

Fatima ta kuma bayyana cewa tana cikin kungiyar dalibai mata da ke tallafa wa mata. Kungiyar na gudanar da wayar da kai kan kula da lafiyar uwa da jariri, rigakafi, tsaftar al’ada, da kuma yadda za a nemi taimakon gaggawa idan an samu matsala. “Kungiyar na ba mu horo da dama,” in ji ta, “ta koya mana yadda za mu yi wa jama’a bayani cikin sauƙi, mu shirya kananan ayyukan jin kai, kuma mu karfafa sauran mata su ci gaba da karatu.” Ga Fatima, makaranta ce ginshikin canji: tana ganin cewa ilimi, tarbiyya, da hidima ga al’umma na tafiya hannu da hannu, kuma ita ma tana shirin kasancewa cikin sahan wadanda za su ba da gudummawa kai tsaye ga inganta lafiyar mata a arewacin Najeriya.

Daliba Zainab

Zainab tana da shekaru 30, sannan tana karatun digiri na biyu a fannin ilimin kasuwanci. Ta ce babban kalubalen ta na farko shi ne ra’ayin wasu daga danginta cewa ilimin kasuwanci ba zai amfane ta sosai ba saboda ita mace ce. “Duk da cewar na samu babban tallafi daga gwamnatin jaha na *scholarship*, na yi ta fama domin na canza ra’ayinsu kan cewa ilimi na ba zai taimaka min ba saboda ni mace ce,” in ji Zainab. Ta bayyana yadda ta yi aiki

tukuru ta hanyar nuna musu sakamakon karatunta, gabatar da kananan ayyukan bincike, da shiga tarukan kwarewa (*workshops*) domin su ga a aikace abin da take koya.

Ta kara da cewa tallafin kudi na gwamnati sun ba ta damar ci gaba ba tare da yawan katsewa ba. “Gwamnatin jihar Jigawa tana bayar da tallafin kudade da na’urorin karatu ga mata da ke fuskantar matsaloli, kuma wannan yana taimakawa sosai wajen samun ilimi,” in ji ta. Baya ga wannan, Zainab na amfani da kungiyoyin dalibai da kungiyoyin kwararru don samun shawarwari kan sana’ar da ta shafi ilimin kasuwanci, da hanyoyin gina kananan kasuwanci bayan kammala karatu. Burinta shi ne ta kafa kungiyar hadin gwiwar mata (cooperative) wadda za ta ba yan mata damar koyon fasahohin kasuwanci, tsara kasafi, da neman jari cikin halal don bunkasa kananan sana’o’i a unguwanninsu. A cewarta, “Abin da ya fi muhimmanci shi ne tsarin daidaiton karatu da rayuwa da kuma jajircewa.”

Daliba Rahila

Shekarun Rahila 25, tana karatu a fannin fasaha da kere-kere. Ta bayyana cewa kalubalen da ta fi fuskanta shi ne karancin goyon baya ga mata a wannan fanni a cikin yankinta, tare da ra’ayoyin da ke yi wa mata kuntatawa kan abin da za su iya yi. “Ina jin wannan fannin yana bukatar kwararru, kuma na yi imani zan iya kawo canji idan na ci gaba,” in ji Rahila. Ta ce a farkon lokaci iyayenta sun nuna shakku, suna ganin cewa mace ba za ta iya yin fice a irin wannan fanni ba, musamman a ayyukan da ke bukatar gwaje-gwaje, kayan aiki masu tsada, ko horon.

Don shawo kan wannan, Rahila ta shiga wata kungiya na mata masu fasaha da kere-kere wadda ke ba da jagoranci, horo, da hada kai da malamai da masana’antu. “Kungiyar na ba mu shawarwari kan yadda za mu gina fayil din ayyukanmu (portfolio), ta shirya mana tarukan koyon kwarewa, sannan muna samun damar amfani da na’urori a dakin aiki,” in ji ta. A gefe guda, ta karfafa amincewar iyayenta ta hanyar nuna musu kananan ayyukan da ta

kera, shiga gasa na makaranta, da samun takardar yabon halarta a wani taron kwarewa. Yanzu iyayenta sun fara ganin sakamako a aikace, suna kuma karfafa ta ta ci gaba. “Suna bani goyon baya yanzu sosai.”

Rahila na hangen tafiya mai nisa: ta na son haɗa ilimin kere-kere da warware matsalolin al’umma, misali kananan na’urorin noma, na’urorin tsabtace ruwa, ko kirƙirar yān dakin koyo (mini-labs) ga yān mata a makarantu. “A wannan zamani, yān mata masu sha’awar fasaha na samun damar ilimi,” in ji ta, “amma har yanzu akwai kalubale daga al’umma. Idan muka haɗa kai mu mata, mu ci gaba da neman horo, mu yi aiki a fili mu nuna abin da muke iya, za mu karya wannan katanga.” Burinta shi ne ta zama kwararriya da za ta ba da misali, ta kuma buɗe kofofin da wasu yān mata za su bi cikin kwarin gwiwa.

Daliba Safiya

Safiya tana da shekara 18, tana aji na karshe a makarantar sakandare. Ta bayyana cewa babbar matsalar ta a karatu ita ce kudi. “Bari na faɗi gaskiya, iyayena ba su da kuɗin da za su tallafa min wajen ci gaba da karatu,” in ji Safiya. Duk da haka, ba ta bari hakan ya karya mata gwiwa ba. Ta fara ɗan aikin yi a karshe mako, tana koyar da kananan yara lissafi a unguwa domin tara kuɗin littattafai da kuɗin sufuri.

Safiya na da buri mai karfi: tana so ta zama malama mai koyar da lissafi domin ta taimaka wa dalibai su gane cewa kwarewar lissafi tana da amfani a rayuwa. Ta ce, “Ina fatan samun wata hanya ta tallafi, ko daga gwamnati ko daga kungiyoyi masu zaman kansu, domin in kammala sakandare cikin nagarta.” A gare ta, ilimi hanya ce ta fita daga kuncin tattalin arziki, kuma hanya ce ta gina al’umma mai tushe—ta hanyar ba wa yara kananan fasahohin da za su buɗe musu kofofin ci gaba.

Daliba Aisha

Shekarun Aisha 24, matar aure ce kuma tana da yara biyu. Tana karatun digiri a fannin shari’a a Jami’a. Ta fuskanci kalubale na

hada nauyin iyali da nauyin makaranta. “A wasu lokuta iyali suna buƙatata a gida, kuma ina wahalar daidaita lokaci tsakanin su da makaranta,” in ji Aisha. Don magance haka, ta koyi tsara jadawali cikin tsanaki, ta nemi taimakon abokan karatu don yin nazari tare, sannan ta tattauna da malamai game da yadda za a sauka mata lokutan ayyuka idan ta shiga halin kunci. Ta ci gaba da dagewa saboda burinta shi ne ta zama lauya mai kare haƙƙin bil’adama, musamman mata masu karamin karfi da ke buƙatar taimakon doka a batutuwan gado, kula da yara, da kariya daga cin zarafi.

Aisha ta samu karin karfafawa daga wata kungiya ta mata lauyoyi da ke bai wa mata shawarwari, dama na rangadin ofisoshin lauya (internship), da tarukan kwarewa kan rubutun doka da fafutukar kare haƙƙi. “Kungiyar ta sa na ga cewa akwai hanya ga mace ta yi fice a fannin shari’a,” in ji ta. Yanzu tana halartar gasa ta muhawarar shari’a, tana kuma sa ido a cibiyar ba da taimakon doka ta jami’a domin kara kwarewa a aikace. A cewarta, haɗin kan iyali, jagorancin malamai, da kungiyoyin kwararru, na iya zame wa mace matattarar karfi domin kaiwa ga burinta ba tare da barin al’ada ko addini a baya ba.

Bayanai tare da Kammalawa

Wannan makala ta haskaka yadda yān mata Musulmi a Arewacin Najeriya ke fafutuka tsakanin burin ilimi da nauyin al’ada da na gida. Tattaunawa da Maryam, Amina, Fatima, Zainab, Rahila, Safiya, da Aisha sun fito da manyan ginshikai kamar haka: talauci; nauyin aikin gida, aure, da reno; buƙatar tsaro a harabar makaranta; da tasirin goyon bayan iyali, malamai, kungiyoyi, da tallafin gwamnati. Bambancin nasara ko cikas ya samo asali ne daga yadda waɗannan abubuwa ke haɗuwa a rayuwar kowacce daliba.

A ka’idar ci gaban ɗan Adam, ilimi ana gane shi a matsayin “kwarewa” wadda ke buɗe kofofin zaɓi, shiga tattaunawa, da samun martaba a cikin al’umma. Wannan hangen ya yi daidai da

Amartya Sen da Martha Nussbaum, waɗanda suka jaddada cewa ilimi ba takarda ba ce kaɗai, illa zurfin tunani, ikon yanke shawara da gudanar da rayuwa mai ma'ana (Sen 1999; Nussbaum 2011). A aikace, abin da rubutun nan ya nuna shi ne cewa wannan “kwarewu” ba ta aiki idan babu albarkatu kamar lokaci, kuɗi, da goyon bayan daga iyaye; mai bincike Naila Kabeer ta bayyana irin wannan a matsayin tallafi (resources), dama, da sakamakon da ake iya nunawa (Kabeer 1999). A gefe guda, “intersectionality” da Kimberlé Crenshaw ta bayyana ya bayyana a nan: jinsi, aji (talauci), matsayin aure, da al’adu suna haɗuwa su kirƙiri takunkumi na musamman ga mata (Crenshaw 1991). Haka kuma, ra’ayoyin Pierre Bourdieu kan “jarin al’ada da zamantakewa” watau *cultural and social capital* suna bayyana yadda *mentorship*, kungiyoyin dalibai, da shawarar malamai ke zama manyan hanyoyin samun ilimi mai inganci (Bourdieu 1986).

Bayanan daliban a sama ya goyi bayan abin da bincike ya daɗe yana nuni da shi. A ɓangaren kuɗi, Amina da Safiya sun fuskanci tsadar littattafai, sufuri, da na’urori, abin da ke jawo raguwar halartar makaranta koma rashin halartar. Wannan ya yi daidai da rahotannin UNICEF da UNESCO game da cikaski da talauci, nisa zuwa makaranta, da gazawar da albarkatun karatu ke haifarwa ga yān mata a Arewa (UNICEF Nigeria 2022; UNESCO 2020). A ɓangaren nauyin aikin gida, Aisha—matar aure mai yara—ta nuna yadda tsara jadawali, taimakon abokan karatu, da sassaucin malamai ke iya rage nauyi da raɗaɗi; wannan ya yi daidai da rubuce-rubucen da suka nuna yadda nauyin aikin gida ke tasiri ga damar mata, duk da cewa wasu matan suna kirƙirar dabarun jurewa (Smith 1954; Pittin 1984).

Batun addini da tsari a harabar makaranta ya fito fili a labarin Fatima, wadda ta jure tsangwama kan hijabi amma ta ci gaba da burinta na jinya, abin da ya tabbatar da cewa ibada na iya zama tushen ƙarfi, ba katanga ba (Mahmood 2005). Wannan ya yi daidai da muhawarar Amina Wadud cewa nassoshin addini suna

goyon bayan neman ilimi ga maza da mata gaba daya; idan aka samu cikas, to yakan fito ne daga al'adu (Wadud 1999). Idan aka duba tarihi, misalan mata kamar Nana Asma'u sun kafa tubali na ilimin mata da aikin al'umma a yankin mu Arewa, suna nuna yadda tsarin al'adu kan iya canja tunani a gida da waje (Mack & Boyd 2000; Mack 2014). Zainab ta nuna tasirin tallafin jaha da *mentorship* a kasuwanci wajen sauya ra'ayoyin danginta; Rahila ta nuna amfanin kungiyoyin mata a fasaha da kere-kere wajen gina "*portfolio*," samun horo, da damar amfani da kayan aiki—wadannan duk misalai ne na "jarin zamantakewa" (social capital) a fahimtar Bourdieu.

Daga cikin wannan tattaunawa, darussa sun fito fili. Idan ilimi kan iya zama kwarewa mai buɗe kofofin alheri da izinin Allah, saboda haka, ya kamata a tallafawa mata masu neman shi domin ci gaban al'umma. Abasu tallafi kamar taimakon sufuri da littattafai, dakunan karatu masu tsawaita lokaci, da asusun gaggawa ga wadanda ke dab da daina karatu. Ya kamata a kara sassaucin jadawali tare da tabbatar da wurin sallah na mata, damar daidaita darussa da lokutan ibada, da tsare-tsaren kariya daga tsangwama da cin zarafi. Abubuwan tsaro na jiki da hanyoyin zuwa makaranta su ma su dace da yanayin kauyuka da birane. Haka kuma, ya dace a tallafa kungiyoyin mata a fannonin da ake dauka "masu nauyi" kamar STEM da shari'a ta hanyar dakin gwaje-gwaje, shirye-shiryen *mentorship*, da hadin gwiwa da masana'antu; sannan a shigo da iyaye da shugabannin al'umma cikin shirye-shiryen wayar da kai, tare da nuna samfurin nasara na gida don karya tsofaffin zato game da abin da mace za ta iya yi. Wadannan dabarun suna maida hankali kan hadin gwiwa tsakanin iyaye, makaranta, gwamnati, da kungiyoyin farar hula, domin a juya nasarar mutum daya ta zama ci gaban al'umma baki daya (British Council 2012; Bawa 2017).

A fuskar hanyar bincike, rubutun ya dogara da hirarraki cikin Hausa tare da sunayen boye, abin da ya dace da ka'idojin dabi'a na kare sirri. Ba ma iƙirarin wakiltar dukkan Arewacin Najeriya,

Ana iya takaita abin da ya fito daga rubutun da cewa nasarar ya mace a makaranta ita ce hadin kai tsakanin jajircewarta da tsarin tallafi mai ma'ana. Idan aka sauya muhallin makaranta da manufofi suka dace da bukatun addini, tsaro, lokaci, da kudi, sannan aka gina tsarin zamantakewa, burikan da aka zayyano—malama a kimiyya, ma'aikaciyar jinya, lauya, malamar lissafi, ko kwararriya mai kere-kere—za su zamo hanyoyin samar da ci gaban al'umma. Wannan shi ne ainihin ma'anar ilimi: ba kawai samun takarda ba, illa buƙe kofofin zaɓi da martabar shiga cikin al'umma.

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Part III
Aiki, Jinya da kuma kula da Lafiya
Work, Care Economies, and Health

Chapter 7

Daidaiton Rayuwa: Kalubalen Aiki a Cikin Rayuwar Mata a Gidajensu na Aure.

Work, Marriage, and Domestic Life: The Challenges of Balance for Women

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Summary

The chapter investigates how work-related stress shapes women's physical and mental health and their marital satisfaction in northern Nigeria. It focuses on professional and self-employed women in health care, education, and commerce, and situates findings within the region's gendered division of labor and social expectations about women's primary responsibility for the home.

Problem statement and context

Work-related distress and depression are rising globally, but employed and self-employed women carry distinctive burdens because they balance paid work with disproportionate domestic and caregiving loads. In northern Nigeria, gradual cultural shifts have expanded women's access to education and skilled employment, yet residues of social stigma toward working women remain, especially in labor-intensive or time-volatile sectors like small business. The authors posit that these layered pressures—sectoral demands, gender norms, and macroeconomic constraints—co-produce elevated stress that degrades health and marital quality.

Research design and instruments

The study employs a mixed-methods design that integrates quantitative and qualitative evidence to improve validity via triangulation.

- *Sampling and participants:* approximately 100 women completed structured questionnaires; 20 individuals participated in semi-structured interviews. Participants included 10 women workers from the three focal sectors (5 health, 2 education, 3 commerce), five health professionals (including mental and women's health specialists), and five marital counselors.
- *Quantitative measures:* stress was assessed with the Perceived Stress Scale (PSS); physical health indicators included self-reports of headaches, hypertension, and sleep disturbance; mental health items captured anxiety and depressive symptoms; marital quality drew on the Dyadic Adjustment Scale (DAS) domains (communication, partner support, satisfaction). Data were analyzed in SPSS using descriptive statistics and cross-tabulations.
- *Qualitative analysis:* interview transcripts underwent thematic analysis supported by NVivo to derive recurring motifs about stress sources, coping practices, household labor arrangements, and the perceived spillovers into marital dynamics.

Key quantitative findings

Sectoral disparities in stress are pronounced. Among women in commerce, 45 percent reported severe stress, compared with 30 percent in health and 30 percent in education. Elevated stress strongly correlated with adverse health outcomes: 40 percent of those with severe stress reported significant health problems (hypertension, anxiety, insomnia) versus 10 percent among low-stress respondents. Marital satisfaction varied inversely with stress intensity: half of severely stressed women reported dissatisfaction with their marriages, against 10 percent in the low-stress group.

Occupational patterns in marital satisfaction mirrored stress profiles. Women in commerce reported the highest rates of marital dissatisfaction (30 percent), followed by health; women

in education showed comparatively higher satisfaction (about 50–55 percent satisfied). The authors attribute these differences to the irregular hours, income volatility, and multi-tasking burdens of small business, contrasted with the relatively more predictable schedules and institutional supports in education and, to a lesser extent, health.

Key qualitative findings

Interviews illuminate the mechanisms linking sectoral stressors to health and marriage. Commerce demands persistent multitasking, fluctuating cash flow, and client-driven hours; this unpredictability amplifies anxiety and compresses recovery time, especially when evening and weekend domestic work remains the woman's responsibility. Health workers described emotional labor, long shifts, and moral distress from caregiving, while educators emphasized administrative load and assessment cycles that produce spikes of pressure but also allow some calendar control.

Across sectors, women narrated a double bind: workplace expectations to perform like unencumbered workers and household expectations to perform as primary homemakers. Many perceived limited partner support for redistributing chores, and some reported community criticism of women who outsource domestic tasks. These dynamics produced chronic sleep debt, irritability, and reduced bandwidth for marital communication and intimacy—pathways consistent with the quantitative association between stress and lower DAS scores.

Physiological pathways and reproductive health
The chapter synthesizes literature on chronic stress and cortisol dysregulation to interpret the observed health patterns. Respondents with high stress reported more cardiometabolic and immune-related symptoms as well as reproductive disruptions (irregular cycles, premenstrual exacerbations), aligning with evidence that prolonged hypothalamic–pituitary–adrenal

activation can disturb hormonal balance. For pregnant participants, stress was associated—conceptually and in selected narratives—with concerns about preterm birth and low birthweight, underscoring the salience of early screening and support.

Digital health innovations and self-management

The authors examine the promise of low-cost digital tools to detect and mitigate stress in settings with constrained mental-health infrastructure. Examples include mindfulness and relaxation apps tailored for local languages, virtual counseling platforms that lower stigma and scheduling barriers, and consumer wearables that track heart-rate variability and prompt micro-breaks when strain rises. Women valued on-demand, privacy-preserving support and brief practices that could be integrated into fragmented daily routines. The chapter argues that culturally adapted, linguistically accessible designs would improve uptake in northern Nigeria.

Community programs and social support

Beyond individual tools, the chapter advocates community-based stress-management programs that combine psychoeducation, skills training (time management, boundary setting, communication), and peer support groups. Engagement with religious and traditional leaders can reduce stigma and legitimize participation. Parallel training for husbands and extended family on equitable division of labor is framed as essential to translate women's coping skills into durable reductions in household strain.

Policy implications

Structural change is necessary to convert individual gains into population-level improvements. Recommended levers include flexible work arrangements, options for remote work where feasible, protected parental leave for mothers and fathers, affordable childcare and lactation spaces, and workplace

wellness programs that normalize mental-health care. For the many women in commerce and the informal sector, the authors highlight needs for micro-insurance, predictable market access, safer trading spaces, and small-grant programs that reduce income volatility—the upstream driver of stress in this group. Public–private partnerships could expand access to vetted digital health tools while safeguarding data privacy.

Economic headwinds intensify stress by forcing women to juggle multiple jobs; thus, anti-poverty and employment policies intersect directly with women’s health and marital well-being. The chapter calls for routine coverage of mental-health services in insurance schemes, integration of stress screening into primary care, and public awareness campaigns that present aspirational but realistic models of shared domestic responsibility.

Limitations and directions for future research

The sample was purposive and region-specific, limiting generalizability. Measures relied on self-report and cross-sectional data, precluding causal inference. The authors therefore propose longitudinal designs to track stress, health, and marital trajectories over time; comparative studies across additional sectors (agriculture, technology); and intersectional analyses that disaggregate by age, education, socioeconomic status, and marital arrangement. They also recommend implementation research to test culturally adapted digital interventions, low-cost wearables, and hybrid community programs, combined with policy evaluations of flexible work and childcare provision.

Original contribution

The chapter’s principal contribution is to empirically connect a three-way nexus—women’s occupational stress, health status, and marital satisfaction—within the under-studied setting of northern Nigeria, while distinguishing sector-specific risk profiles. It elevates the particular vulnerability of women in commerce, identifies plausible physiological and social

pathways linking stress to health and relationship outcomes, and translates findings into a multi-level intervention agenda spanning personal, household, workplace, community, and policy domains.

Conclusion

Dahiru and Gambo demonstrate that reducing work-related stress among women is not solely a matter of individual resilience. It requires redistributing unpaid labor at home, stabilizing the conditions of women's paid work—especially in commerce—and expanding accessible mental-health supports, including culturally tailored digital tools. If implemented together, these measures could improve women's physical and mental health and strengthen marital relations, with spillover gains for children, workplaces, and communities.

Takaitaccen Nazari

Damuwa mai nasaba da aiki (work related depression): Matsala ce da ke karuwa wadda ke shafar maza da mata a fadin duniya. Duk da haka, mata na fuskantar kalubale na musamman, musamman wadanda ke fokarin daidaita ayyukan sana'a da nauyin gida. A Arewacin Najeriya, ko da yake an fara samun sauye-sauyen al'adu da ke goyon bayan neman ilimi da samun sana'ar kwararru ga mata, har yanzu akwai dandano na tsangwama daga al'umma kan mata masu aiki, musamman a sassa masu wahala irin su bangaren lafiya.

Wannan bincike yana nazarin tasirin damuwar da ke da nasaba da aiki a jikin lafiyar jiki, tunani, da zuciya ta mata, tare da mai da hankali kan yadda hakan ke shafar zamantakewar aure. An gudanar da binciken ne akan mata 100 masu sana'a a bangaren lafiya, ilimi, da kasuwanci a Arewacin Najeriya.

Sakamakon ya nuna cewa kashi 45% na mata yān kasuwa sun bayyana matakin damuwa mai tsanani, idan aka kwatanta da kashi 30% daga bangaren lafiya da ilimi. Wannan ya nuna

babban bambanci tsakanin sassa daban-daban. Sakamakon lafiya kuma ya kasance yana da alaƙa da matakin damuwa, inda kashi 40% na matan da ke fama da damuwa mai tsanani suka bayyana cututtuka irin su hauhawar jini, damuwa (anxiety), da rashin barci, idan aka kwatanta da kashi 10% kacal daga cikin wadanda ke da ƙarancin damuwa.

Binciken ya kuma nuna cewa gamsuwa da aure yana raguwa yayin da damuwa ke ƙaruwa. Kashi 50% na matan da ke da matakin damuwa mai tsanani sun bayyana rashin gamsuwa da rayuwar aure, idan aka kwatanta da kashi 10% daga cikin wadanda ke da ƙarancin damuwa. Mata yān kasuwa sun fi fuskantar matsalolin rashin gamsuwa da aure (kashi 30%), wanda ke nuna irin kalubalen da suke fuskanta wajen daidaita aikin kasuwanci da nauyin gida.

Binciken ya kuma tattauna rawar da fasahar kiwon lafiya ta zamani ke takawa – kamar na’urorin sawa (wearable devices), shawarwari ta yanar gizo (virtual counseling), da manhajojin natsuwa (mindfulness apps) – wajen sarrafa damuwa. Wadannan kayan aiki na dijital na iya taimakawa wajen gano matsalolin da wuri, bayar da tallafin lafiyar hankali, da kuma ƙarfafa kula da kai.

A ƙarshe, wannan takarda ta jaddada muhimmancin samar da shirin da ya dace, wayar da kan al’umma, da manufofin da ke tallafa wa mata don rage nauyin damuwa mai nasaba da aiki. Hakan zai taimaka wajen kyautata lafiyar mata da kuma ƙarfafa dangantakar aure.

Gabatarwa

Damuwa mai nasaba da aiki na ƙaruwa a matsayin wata babbar matsala da ke addabar ma’aikata a duniya baki ɗaya, musamman mata da ke da nauyin daidaita aiki da nauyin iyali. A Arewacin Najeriya, matsin lamba daga al’umma kan mata masu sana’a

yana kara nauyi a rayuwarsu, musamman ga wadanda ke aiki a fannonin lafiya da kasuwanci.

Wannan bincike yana duba yadda irin wannan damuwa ke bayyana a jikin lafiyar mata ta jiki, ta zuciya, da ta hankali – musamman a tsakanin mata da ba su da cikakken damar samun kulawar lafiya. Binciken ya takaita fahimta daga mata masu sana'a, ma'aikatan lafiya, da masu ba da shawarwari kan al'amuran aure, inda aka gano yadda ayyuka, lafiya, da rayuwar aure ke da alaƙa da juna.

A yau, damuwa mai nasaba da aiki ta zama ruwan dare a rayuwar zamani. Buƙatar daidaita nauyin aiki, kare aikin da ake yi, da kuma ƙoƙarin yin sama a matakin aiki – duk suna kara haifar da matsin lamba. Wannan damuwa na bayyana ta hanyoyi daban-daban kamar fargaba, gajiya mai tsanani (burnout), damuwa ta tunani (depression), da cututtuka na jiki irin su ciwon kai da kasala. Ko da yake ma'aikata duka na iya fuskantar wannan damuwa, binciken mu ya nuna cewa mata na fuskantar wannan matsala sama da maza, saboda rawar zamantakewa da al'adun da ake tsammani daga gare su, da kuma bambancin halittar jiki.

Tasirin damuwa mai tsanani ga lafiyar mata na da yawa – daga fargaba da damuwa har zuwa manyan matsalolin lafiya. Idan damuwa ta yi yawa, jiki na fitar da sinadarin cortisol, wanda idan ya yi yawa a jiki, yana kawo tangarda ga ayyukan jiki. Cibiyar Nazarin Harkokin Hankali ta Amurka (APA) ta tabbatar da cewa mata sun fi maza samun cututtuka na damuwa da fargaba sakamakon wannan sinadari. Tasirin jiki sun haɗa da hauhawar jini, rashin barci, da raunin garkuwar jiki, wanda ke kara tsananta cututtuka da kuma janyo yawan rashin zuwa aiki.

Haka kuma, damuwa na da matuƙar tasiri ga lafiyar haihuwa. Damuwa mai tsanani na da alaƙa da rashin daidaiton hails, matsananciyar jin zafi kafin hails (PMS), da cututtuka irin su PCOS. Bincike ya nuna cewa sinadarin cortisol idan ya ƙaru,

yana lalata daidaiton hormones, wanda ke kawo cikas ga lafiyar haihuwa. Ga mata masu ciki, damuwa na da alaƙa da haihuwar wuri da kuma ƙarancin nauyin jariri, wanda ke nuna muhimmancin samun hanyoyi na rage damuwa.

Bincike ya kuma nuna cewa damuwa daga aiki na shafar rayuwar aure – tana ƙara yawan rikici da rage jin dadin zama tare. Nazari ya nuna cewa ƙoƙarin daidaita aiki da nauyin gida na janyo sabani tsakanin ma'aurata, musamman a inda ake bin tsarin gargajiya na rabon aiki bisa jinsi. A gidajen da mata ke daukar yawancin nauyin gida duk da suna aiki, wannan yawan aiki yana janyo ƙorafi da damuwa. Bincike daga *Journal of Family Psychology* ya nuna cewa mata da ke fama da damuwa mai tsanani daga aiki na yawan nuna rashin jin dadi da rayuwar aure, suna kuma ganin rashin samun goyon bayan mazajensu a matsayin babban matsala.

A al'ummomin da tsarin jinsi ke da tsauri, irin su Arewacin Najeriya, tasirin damuwa daga aiki ga rayuwar aure na da muni. Al'adu da addini a yankin suna dora wa mata nauyi na fifita gida da iyali akan aiki. Wannan ra'ayi na janyo kalubale ga mata masu sana'a da ke ƙoƙarin bunƙasa a harkar aikin su, yayin da suke fuskantar matsin lamba daga al'umma. Bincike daga *African Journal of Social Work* ya nuna cewa mata masu sana'a a Arewacin Najeriya na fuskantar suka daga al'umma, ƙarancin goyon bayan iyalai, da kuma sa ran su riƙe aikin gida gaba ɗaya ba tare da taimako ba. Wannan matsin lamba na janyo gajiya mai tsanani da matsalolin lafiya.

Har ila yau, matsin tattalin arziki a Arewacin Najeriya na ƙara tsananta lamarin. Rashin isassun damammaki na tattalin arziki na tilasta wa mata yin ƙananan sana'o'i ko kasuwanci a gefe da aikin gwamnati ko na kamfani. Hakan yana ƙara nauyin aiki da damuwa, domin suna daidaita ayyuka da dama ba tare da cikakken goyon bayan hukumomi ba.

Don magance waɗannan matsaloli, akwai buƙatar kirƙirar tsare-tsare da suka dace da al'ada, zamantakewa, da yanayin tattalin arzikin yankin – waɗanda za su taimaka wajen rage damuwar da ke nasaba da aiki a tsakanin mata.

Kayan Aiki da Hanyoyin Bincike Tsarin Bincike

Wannan bincike ya yi amfani da tsarin binciken haɗaka, wato hanyar da ta haɗa bayanai na inganci (qualitative) da na kiɗiddiga (quantitative) domin samun cikakken haske game da yadda mata masu aiki ke fuskantar matsin lamba, da yadda hakan ke tasiri ga lafiyarsu da rayuwar aurensu.

An tattara bayanan inganci ta hanyar hira da aka tsara bisa wani tsari, da mata masu aiki a fannoni daban-daban, da ma'aikatan lafiya, da kuma masu ba da shawara kan aure. Wannan ya taimaka wajen fahimtar zurfin matsalolin da suke fuskanta. A ɗaya bangaren kuma, an tattara bayanan kiɗiddiga ta amfani da tambayoyi da aka tsara bisa tsari, inda aka mayar da hankali kan matakin matsin lamba, sakamakon lafiyar jiki da na kwakwalwa, da kuma gamsuwa da zamantakewar aure.

Haɗa bayanan da aka samo daga hira da tambayoyi yana taimakawa wajen tabbatar da sahihancin binciken ta hanyar tantance da kuma daidaita bayanai daga hanyoyi daban-daban. Wannan tsarin haɗaka ya dace sosai domin gano girman matsalar matsin lamba na aiki da kuma illolinta da dama.

Samfuri (Sampling)

Wannan bincike ya mayar da hankali ne kan mata masu aikin yi a fannonin lafiya, ilimi da kasuwanci a Arewacin Najeriya. Waɗannan fannonin an zaɓe su ne saboda suna wakiltar muhimman wuraren aiki da mata ke fama da matsin lamba, kuma suna da yanayi daban-daban: daga nauyin tunani da aiki a bangaren lafiya, zuwa rawar da malamai ke takawa wajen

tarbiyyar matasa, da kuma rawar shugabanci da yanke hukunci a kasuwanci. An yi amfani da hanyar zaɓar waɗanda za su shiga binciken (purposive sampling) domin tabbatar da cewa an samu mata masu fuskantar matsalolin matsin lamba ta hanyoyi daban-daban.

Jimillar waɗanda suka halarta:

Kimanin mata 100 ne su ka cike tambayoyin kididdiga.

Sai kuma mutum 20 da aka yi hira da su.

Bayanan waɗanda aka yi hira da su sun haɗa da:

Mata 10 masu aiki daga fannoni daban-daban:

Lafiya (5)

Ilimi (2)

Kasuwanci (3)

Ma'aikatan lafiya guda 5 waɗanda suka haɗa da masu kula da lafiyar kwaƙwalwa da kuma kwararru kan lafiyar mata.

Masu ba da shawara kan aure guda 5 da suke da kwarewa wajen magance matsalolin zamantakewa da ke haɗe da aikin aure da aikin waje. Wannan tsarin samfuri yana da isasshen girma domin samar da bayanai masu amfani wajen yin nazarin kididdiga da kuma zurfin fahimta ta hanyar batutuwa (themes), wanda hakan zai taimaka wajen samun cikakken amsa ga tambayoyin binciken.

Tarin Bayanai

Tarin Bayanai na Kididdiga

An tattara bayanai ta hanyar tambayoyi domin samun bayanan kididdiga, inda aka mayar da hankali kan matakin matsin lamba, sakamakon lafiyar jiki da kwaƙwalwa, da kuma gamsuwa da rayuwar aure. Tambayoyin sun haɗa da sikeli masu inganci kamar *Perceived Stress Scale (PSS)* domin auna matsin lamba, tare da tambayoyi kan lafiyar jiki (misali, yawan ciwon kai, hawan jini) da lafiyar kwaƙwalwa (misali, damuwa da rashin barci). Tambayoyi kan rayuwar aure sun duba abubuwa kamar yadda ake sadarwa (communication) da ma'aurata, tallafi da ake

samu daga su, da kuma gamsuwa da zamantakewa ta amfani da *Dyadic Adjustment Scale (DAS)*.

Tarin Bayanai na Inganci

An gudanar da hira bisa tsarin da aka tanada domin fahimtar cikakken tasirin matsin lamba na aiki ga lafiyar mata da zamantakewar aurensu. An duba batutuwa irin su asalin matsin lamba na aiki, hanyoyin shawo kansa, tsarin tallafi da kuma yadda rawar da mace ke takawa a wurin aiki da gida ke tasiri ga rayuwarta. Hilar ma'aikatan lafiya ta mayar da hankali kan abin da suka lura da shi dangane da matsalolin lafiyar da suka shafi matsin lamba a wajen mata, yayin da masu ba da shawara kan aure suka yi bayani kan yadda matsin lamba ke tasiri ga gamsuwar aure da rikice-rikice a tsakanin ma'aurata.

Binciken Bayanai

Bincike na Kididdiga

An yi amfani da manhajar SPSS wajen nazarin bayanai tambayoyin. An gudanar da kididdigar bayani (descriptive statistics) kamar matsakaici da karkacewa (*standard deviation*) don duba yadda matsin lamba, lafiyar jiki/kwakwalwa da gamsuwa da aure ke kasancewa tsakanin mahalarta. An yi amfani da *cross-tabulation* domin duba banbanci tsakanin fannoni (lafiya, ilimi, kasuwanci) dangane da matsin lamba da tasirinsa.

Bincike na Inganci

An gudanar da bincike ta hanyar nazarin jigogi (*thematic analysis*) domin fassara hilar da aka yi. An gano jigogi da maimaitattun abubuwa dangane da matsin lamba na aiki, dabarun shawo kansa, da yadda yake tasiri ga rayuwar aure. An yi amfani da NVivo wajen shiryawa da kuma lamba bayanai domin tantance su cikin tsari. Wannan hanyar hadaka na nazari – wato hada tambayoyi da hira – na da nufin samar da fahimta mai zurfi da cikakken bayani kan yadda matsin lamba na aiki ke shafan mata masu aiki a Arewacin Najeriya, ta fuskar lafiyarsu da rayuwar aurensu. Ta hanyar amfani da hanyoyi daban-daban na

tattarawa da kuma nazarin bayanai, binciken zai iya bayar da sahihan shawarwari da za a iya amfani da su wajen tsara manufofi da matakan rage matsin lamba da kara inganta rayuwar mata a yankin.

Sakamako da Tattaunawa

Sakamako

Sakamakon wannan bincike ya bayyana muhimmancin tasirin matsin lamba na aiki ga lafiyar jiki da kwakwalwa da kuma gamsuwa da aure a tsakanin mata masu aure masu aiki a Arewacin Najeriya. Kididdiga da *cross-tabulation* sun nuna babban bambanci tsakanin fannoni dangane da matsin lamba, lafiyar jiki/kwakwalwa da kuma gamsuwar aure, wanda ke nuni da kalubale daban-daban da mata ke fuskanta a fannonin aiki. Matsakaicin matsin lamba da aka gano tsakanin mahalarta shine 6.8 cikin 10, wanda ke nuna matsakaici zuwa babban matsin lamba.

Abin lura shi ne, mata masu aikin kasuwanci ne suka fi fuskantar matsin lamba, inda kashi 45% daga cikinsu ke fama da matsin lamba mai tsanani, idan aka kwatanta da kashi 30% a fannin lafiya da ilimi. Wannan ya yi daidai da binciken Adeyemi et al. (2022), wanda ya nuna cewa aikin kasuwanci na dauke da rashin tabbas na kuɗi, awanni marasa tsari da kuma yawan aiki – wanda ke haddasa matsin lamba. A fannonin lafiya da ilimi, tsarin aikin yana taimakawa wajen rage matsin lamba, kodayake ana samun matsakaicin matsin lamba saboda aikin kulawa da yawan nauyin aiki (Khan et al., 2023).

Sakamakon binciken ya nuna cewa akwai dangantaka mai karfi tsakanin matsin lamba da lafiyar jiki. Mahalarta da ke fama da babban matsin lamba sun fi fama da matsalolin lafiya, inda kashi 40% daga cikinsu suka ce suna da matsalolin lafiya, idan aka kwatanta da kashi 10% daga cikin wadanda ke da karamin matsin lamba. A gefe guda kuma, kashi 60% na mahalarta da ke da karamin matsin lamba sun ce suna da lafiya mai kyau, idan aka kwatanta da kashi 20% daga cikin wadanda ke da matsin lamba

mai yawa. Wannan ya goyi bayan binciken Smith et al. (2023) wanda ya danganta matsin lamba mai tsawo da hawan jini, raunanar garkuwar jiki, da cututtukan damuwa. Matsakaicin kimar lafiya da aka samu shine 3.2 cikin sikeli na 1-5, wanda ke nuna cewa matsalolin lafiya da aka fuskanta suna da nasaba da matsin lamba.

Gamsuwar aure ma na da alaƙa da matsin lamba, inda matsakaicin maki na gamsuwa da aure ya kasance 5.9 cikin 10 – wanda ke nuna yanayi na matsakaici zuwa rashin gamsuwa. Bincike ya nuna cewa kashi 50% na waɗanda ke da matsin lamba mai tsanani sun nuna rashin gamsuwa da zamantakewar aurensu, idan aka kwatanta da kashi 10% daga cikin waɗanda ke da ƙaramin matsin lamba. Wannan yana nuna irin yadda matsin lamba na aiki ke shafan zamantakewar aure, musamman idan aka ƙara da nauyin ayyukan gida da ake dora wa mata (Garcia & Ahmed, 2023).

Mata a fannin kasuwanci ne suka fi nuna rashin gamsuwa da aure (kashi 30%), wanda ke nuna cewa nauyin aikin kasuwanci da na gida na ɗaya daga cikin manyan ƙalubale da yān kasuwa ke fuskanta (Olayinka & Bello, 2023). Binciken ya kuma nuna bambance-bambance a tsakanin fannonin. Mata a fannin kasuwanci sun fi shan matsin lamba da rashin jin dadin aure, mai yiwuwa saboda yanayin aikin kasuwanci da ba ya da tabbas. A gefe guda, mata masu aiki a fannin lafiya da ilimi – kodayake suna fuskantar matsin lamba – sun fi nuna gamsuwa da rayuwar aurensu (kashi 50-55%). Wannan na iya zama saboda tsarin aikin da ke ba su damar tsara rayuwarsu da sauki a tsakanin aikin waje da na gida (Chukwu et al., 2023).

Rahoton Matakan Damuwa da Tasirinsu

Jadawali na 1: Matakan Damuwa Bisa Ma'aikata

Sashi	Karancin Damuwa (%)	Matsakaicin Damuwa (%)	Babbar Damuwa (%)
Lafiya	20%	50%	30%
Ilimi	25%	45%	30%
Kasuwanci	15%	40%	45%

Lura: Mata yān kasuwa sun fi fuskantar matsananciyar damuwa fiye da wadanda ke aiki a fannin lafiya da ilimi.

Jadawali na 2: Lafiya Bisa Matakin Damuwa

Matakin Damuwa	Lafiya Mai Kyau (%)	Lafiya Matsakaiciya (%)	Rashin Lafiya (%)
Karami	60%	30%	10%
Matsakaici	40%	50%	10%
Babba	20%	40%	40%

Lura: Matsananciyar damuwa na da nasaba sosai da matsalolin lafiya.

Jadawali na 3: Gamsuwa da Aure Bisa Ma'aikata

Sashi	Gamsuwa (%)	Tsaka- tsaki (%)	Rashin Gamsuwa (%)
Lafiya	50%	30%	20%
Ilimi	55%	25%	20%
Kasuwanci	40%	30%	30%

Lura: Mata a kasuwanci sun fi nuna rashin jin dadi a cikin auren su fiye da mata ma'aikatan lafiya da ilimi.

Sakamakon wannan binciken ya bayyana bukatar daukar mataakai na musamman don magance matsalolin damuwa da ke fuskantar mata a fannoni daban-daban na aikin yi. Mata yān kasuwa sun fi

fuskantar damuwa saboda rashin tsarin tallafi da rashin tabbas na kudi a harkokin kasuwanci (Adeyemi et al., 2022). Haka kuma, akwai dangantaka mai karfi tsakanin matsananciyar damuwa da rashin lafiya, wanda ke nuna bukatar matakan sarrafa damuwa domin inganta lafiyar mata (Smith et al., 2023). Har ila yau, rashin jituwa tsakanin damuwa da gamsuwa da aure yana nuna muhimmancin samar da muhallin tallafi a wurin aiki da kuma a gida. Shirye-shiryen tallafi daga al'umma da na'urar lafiya ta zamani za su iya rage nauyin da mata ke dauka, ta haka ne za a inganta dangantakar aure (Garcia & Ahmed, 2023). Wannan bincike ya nuna illolin damuwa na aiki ga lafiyar mata da jin dadin zamantakewar aure. Magance wannan matsala na bukatar cikakken tsari wanda ya haɗa da manufofi, tallafi daga al'umma, da kuma amfani da kayan aiki na sarrafa damuwa da suka dace da bukatun mata masu sana'a a Arewacin Najeriya.

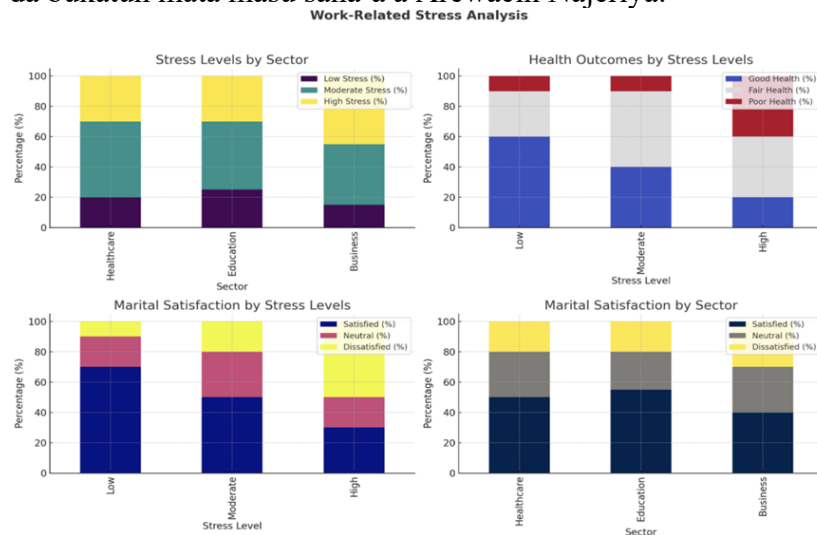


Fig. 1.1

Nazarin ya nuna canje-canje masu muhimmanci a matakan damuwa a fannoni daban-daban.

Mata masu sana'ar kasuwanci ne ke fuskantar mafi yawan damuwa idan aka kwatanta da masu aiki a bangarorin lafiya da

ilimi. Bangaren lafiya yana da rarrabewar damuwa tsakanin kasa, matsakaici, da kuma mai yawa cikin daidaito, yayin da bangaren ilimi ke fama da damuwa mai matsakaici mafi yawa, tare da karancin matsalolin damuwa mai tsanani. Wannan yana nuna cewa bangaren kasuwanci yana dauke da kalubale masu tsanani na damuwa, mai yiwuwa saboda yanayin gasa da nauyi mai yawa a wannan fannin.

Sakamakon lafiyar mutane yana da alaƙa mai ƙarfi da matakan damuwa, inda matakin damuwa mai ƙaranci ke da alaƙa da lafiyar jiki mai kyau. A yayin da damuwa ke ƙara yawa, lafiyar tana fara lalacewa zuwa matsakaici, kuma yayin da damuwa taa kai kololuwa, yawan waƙanda ke fama da rashin lafiya na karuwa sosai. Wannan yana nuna illolin damuwa mai tsanani ko na dogon lokaci ga lafiyar jiki da hankali.

Dawo da gamsuwar aure tana raguwa yayin da damuwa ke karuwa. Masu damuwa kaɗan suna nuna gamsuwa mafi yawa a aurensu, yayin da masu matsakaicin damuwa ke nuna gamsuwa ta tsaka-tsaki. Amma a lokacin damuwa mai yawa, rashin gamsuwa a aure shine mafi yawan bayyana, wanda ke nuna cewa damuwa na kawo matsala ga dangantakar aure. Wannan bayanin yana jaddada muhimmancin kula da damuwa don kiyaye kyakkyawar dangantaka a aure.

Idan aka kwatanta gamsuwar aure a fannoni daban-daban, mata masu sana'ar kasuwanci suna nuna mafi yawan rashin gamsuwa, sai masu aikin lafiya, yayin da masu aikin ilimi ke da gamsuwa mafi yawa. Gamsuwar tsaka-tsaki tana da yawa a bangarorin lafiya da ilimi, yayin da rashin gamsuwa ya fi yawa a bangaren kasuwanci. Wannan na nuna bukatar gaggawa ta hanyoyin rage damuwa, musamman a bangaren kasuwanci, domin inganta lafiyar jiki da kuma dangantakar aure.

Tattaunawa

Damuwa ta aiki da bambance-bambancen fanni

Nazarin ya nuna bambance-bambance masu mahimmanci a matakan damuwa a fannoni daban-daban, inda mata masu kasuwanci ke fuskantar mafi girman damuwa (45%) idan aka kwatanta da masu aikin lafiya da ilimi (30% kowanne). Wannan ya dace da binciken Adeyemi da sauran su (2022) wanda ya nuna cewa ayyukan kasuwanci na iya kasancewa da rashin tabbas na kudi, lokuta marasa tabbas, da rashin tsarin tallafi mai tsari, duk suna kara damuwa. Haka kuma, kasuwanci na bukatar yin ayyuka da dama lokaci guda da yanke shawara cikin matsin lamba, wanda ke kara tsananta damuwa.

A gefe guda, masu aikin lafiya da ilimi suna da tsari mai kyau na aiki wanda ke ba su kwanciyar hankali da tsaro (Khan da sauransu, 2023). Sai dai, wadannan fannonin ba su rasa damuwa ba; tsawon awannin aiki, kula da marasa lafiya, da nauyin gudanarwa na kawo damuwa mai matsakaici. Hakan ya dace da binciken Smith da sauransu (2023) da Garcia da sauransu (2023) wadanda suka nuna cewa abubuwan damuwa na musamman ga kowanne fanni suna da tasiri a kan lafiyar ma'aikata.

Bugu da kari, al'adu da rawar jinsi na kara tsananta damuwa ga mata a duk fannoni. Arewacin Najeriya, mata mazauna yankin sukan fuskanci matsin lamba na zama gwarzaye a aiki yayin da suke kula da nauyin gida, wanda ke kara wa damuwa yawa (Olayinka & Bello, 2023). Wannan ya dace da bincike daga Afirka ta Kudu da Asiya ta Kudu (Chukwu da sauransu, 2023; Ahmed da sauransu, 2024).

Tasirin damuwa ga lafiyar jiki

Sakamakon ya nuna dangantaka mai kyau da damuwa da lafiyar jiki. Mata masu damuwa mai yawa suna fuskantar rashin lafiya (40%) fiye da wadanda ke da damuwa kadan (10%). Damuwa mai tsanani na da nasaba da matsalolin jiki da na hankali, kamar hauhawar jini, raunin garkuwar jiki, rashin bacci, da damuwa na

hankali (Smith da sauransu, 2023; Ahmed da sauransu, 2024). Hakanan, damuwa na iya haifar da cututtuka masu tsawo kamar cututtukan zuciya da na metabolism (Garcia da sauransu, 2023). Wannan yana faruwa ne ta hanyar karin cortisol, kumburi na jiki, da raguwar gyaran sel (Kaur da sauransu, 2024).

Binciken ya nuna buƙatar gaggawa ta shirin rage damuwa musamman ga mata masu kasuwanci. Haka kuma, damuwar hankali kamar baƙin ciki da gajiya na da yawa musamman ga mata masu ayyuka da yawa (Adeyemi da sauransu, 2022; Olayinka & Bello, 2023).

Tasirin damuwa ga gamsuwar aure

Nazarin ya nuna raguwar gamsuwar aure yayin da damuwa ke karuwa. A cikin masu damuwa mai yawa, kashi 50% sun nuna rashin gamsuwa a aure, yayin da masu damuwa kaɗan kashi 10% ne kawai. Wannan ya dace da binciken Garcia & Ahmed (2023) wanda ya nuna yadda damuwa ke rage kusancin zuciya, sadarwa, da warware matsaloli a aure. Damuwa na aiki na rage jituwa da karuwar haushi, yana kawo matsala a cikin aure (Khan da sauransu, 2023).

Mata masu kasuwanci na nuna mafi yawan rashin gamsuwa (30%), saboda nauyin aiki da gida (Olayinka & Bello, 2023). Ayyukan kasuwanci masu rashin tabbas na kara wannan matsala, suna rage lokaci da kuzarin da za a yi amfani da su wajen kula da dangantaka. A ɓangarorin lafiya da ilimi, gamsuwa na da yawa (50-55%), saboda tsari mai kyau da yanayin aiki mai tabbas (Chukwu da sauransu, 2023).

Al'adun Arewacin Najeriya na iya kara tsananta rashin gamsuwa a aure ga mata masu aiki, saboda ana sa ran za su mayar da hankali kan ayyukan gida (Ahmed da sauransu, 2024). Wannan kalubale na biyu yana da kama da na wasu al'ummomi masu tsauri (Kaur da sauransu, 2024).

Kirkire-kirkire na Lafiya ta Dijital

Fasahar dijital na da babban rawa wajen sarrafa damuwa. Manhajojin salama da rage damuwa kamar Calm da Headspace suna taimakawa ta hanyar addu'o'i da koyarwar kwakwalwa (Garcia da sauransu, 2023). Ana iya tsara manhajojin cikin harshen Hausa da al'adun yankin don samun karbuwa a Arewacin Najeriya.

Na'urorin sawa kamar agogon zamani na iya auna alamomin damuwa kamar bambancin bugun zuciya (HRV) da cortisol, suna iya tunatar da mace game da hauhawar damuwa a lokaci guda (Kaur da sauransu, 2024). Hakanan, dandamali na bada shawara ta yanar gizo na ba da tallafi mai zaman kansa ga mata (Ahmed da sauransu, 2024). Mataimakan AI na iya bayar da shawarwari na rage damuwa da tallafi a kowane lokaci (Garcia da sauransu, 2023).

Shirin Al'umma

Shirye-shiryen al'umma na taimakawa wajen rage illolin damuwa na aiki musamman ga mata masu aiki da kulawa a gida. Wadannan shirye-shirye suna bayar da damar koyon dabarun magance damuwa da inganta sadarwa. Hadin kai da shuwagabannin al'umma, addini, da al'adu yana da muhimmanci don tabbatar da karbuwa.

Kungiyoyin tallafi na abokai suna taimaka wa mata su samu kwanciyar hankali da rage kafaici. Hakanan, horo ga maza da iyalai zai taimaka wajen raba nauyi a gida. Hadakar ilimin lafiya da sarrafa damuwa cikin shirye-shiryen al'umma zai kawo canji mai dorewa.

Manufofin Gwamnati

Manufofin gwamnati suna da muhimmanci wajen samar da tsarin tallafi na rage damuwa. Dole ne gwamnati da kungiyoyi su samar da tsare-tsare kamar sassaucin lokacin aiki, damar aiki daga gida,

da hutu na uwa da uba. Hakanan, samar da wuraren kula da yara da dakunan shayarwa.

Kammalawa

Wannan bincike ya nuna yadda dangantakar da ke tsakanin damuwar da ta shafi aikin yi, lafiyar jiki da ta hankali, da kuma gamsuwar aure a tsakanin mata kwararru. Sakamakon ya nuna cewa damuwa na tasiri sosai ba wai kawai akan lafiyar jiki da ta hankali na mata ba, har ma akan ingancin dangantakarsu ta kusa, musamman gamsuwar aure. Matsananciyar damuwa, wanda tafi yawa a tsakanin yān kasuwa mata, na da alaƙa da lafiyar jiki, kamar damuwa, hawan jini, da raunin garkuwar jiki. Haka kuma, matsin lamba na ayyukan gida da na sana'a sukan kara jefa gamsuwar aure cikin matsala, domin mata na fama da rikicin tsaka-tsaki, tsakanin buƙatu daban-daban ba tare da samun isasshen goyon baya ba. Don magance waɗannan kalubale, binciken ya nuna yadda ci gaban fasahar lafiya ta dijital da kuma manufofi kan iya kawo canji mai kyau. Kayan aikin dijital kamar manhajojin wayar hannu na tunani, na'urorin sakawa a jiki na lura da damuwa, dandalin shawarwari ta yanar gizo, da kuma mataimakan AI na iya bayar da mafita mai amfani, mai sauƙin samu, kuma mai dacewa da al'adu wajen sarrafa damuwa. Waɗannan fasahohi na baiwa mata damar lura da damuwarsu, rage ta, kara karfin juriya, da neman taimako a kan lokaci daga gidajensu ko wurin aikinsu. Idan aka yi daidai da al'adu, kayan aikin na iya rage kuntatawar samun kulawar lafiya ta hankali.

Haka nan, manufofi na matakin gwamnati suna da mahimmanci wajen samar da canjin tsarin da ya dace. Shirye-shiryen aiki masu sassauci, manufofin hutu na iyaye, kulawar yara mai rahusa, da shirin lafiya a wurin aiki za su rage damuwa sosai kuma su baiwa mata damar samun daidaiton rayuwa da aiki. Bugu da fari, shirye-shiryen musamman na taimako ga mata a fannoni masu matsanancin damuwa suna da matukar muhimmanci. Gwamnati da kungiyoyi su kuma tabbatar da doka mai tausayi ga mata a

wurin aiki, tare da wayar da kan jama'a game da tasirin damuwa a kan lafiya da dangantaka.

Tasirin wannan bincike ya zarce lafiyar mutum ɗaya, yana jaddada fa'idodin zamantakewa na magance damuwar aiki a tsakanin mata. Ta hanyar samar da rayuwa mai kyau, lafiya da daidaito ga mata masu aiki da kulawar gida, za a taimaka wajen gina al'umma mai adalci, haɗaka, da ɗorewa. Mata masu karfi a jiki da zuciya sukan iya bada gudunmawa sosai wajen aiki, karfafa iyalai, da bunkasa al'umma.

A karshe, binciken ya nuna muhimmancin haɗin kai tsakanin masu ruwa da tsaki, ciki har da masu tsara manufofi, ma'aikatan lafiya, shugabannin al'umma, da masu haɓaka fasaha, wajen tsarawa da kuma aiwatar da tsare-tsare masu zurfi don magance kalubalen da mata kwararru ke fuskanta. Magance damuwar aiki ba wai kawai batun lafiya na mutum bane — babban al'amari ne na zamantakewa wanda zai iya kara inganci, karfafa iyalai, da tabbatar da daidaito tsakanin jinsi a fannoni na aiki da gida.

A karshe, rage damuwar aiki ta hanyar fasahar lafiya ta dijital, manufofi masu tallafi, da shirye-shiryen al'umma na da matuƙar muhimmanci wajen inganta jin daɗin mata kwararru. Dole ne ƙoƙarin su ya kasance mai ɗorewa, mai dacewa da al'adu, domin tabbatar da cewa mata a dukkan sassa da wurare sun samu damar ci gaba a rayuwar su ta aiki da ta gida, ta hanyar baiwa lafiyar su da farin cikinsu fifiko.

Shawarwari don Aikin Gaba

Don magance matsalolin damuwa da mata ke fuskanta a wuraren aiki, musamman a Arewa Najeriya, binciken gaba ya kamata ya mayar da hankali kan hanyoyi masu zurfi kuma tsayayyu. Yin nazarin dogon lokaci wanda zai bibiyi matakan damuwa, lafiyar jiki da kuma jin daɗin aure a tsawon lokaci yana da muhimmanci don fahimtar yadda damuwa ke canzawa da kuma tasirinta na dogon lokaci. Wannan zai ba da damar ƙirƙirar hanyoyin

magance matsalolin da za su dawwama kuma su kai ga tushen matsalolin damuwa.

Haka kuma, bincike kan abubuwan da suka shafi rayuwa masu yawa—kamar matsayi na tattalin arziki, matakin ilimi, shekaru, matsayin aure, da al'adun gargajiya—zai ba da cikakken haske kan yadda damuwa ke shafar kowane rukuni na al'umma daban-daban. Yin amfani da hanyoyin da suka dace da waɗannan yanayi zai kara ingancin hanyoyin magance matsalolin damuwa tare da tabbatar da adalci.

Yana da muhimmanci a faɗaɗa bincike zuwa wasu bangarori da ba a daɗe ana nazarinsu ba, kamar aikin gona da fasaha, domin gano wasu nau'ikan damuwar aiki na musamman da kuma tsara hanyoyin magance su musamman ga waɗannan bangarori. Hakanan, kwatanta yanayin damuwa a fannonin aiki daban-daban zai iya bayar da cikakken fahimta kan yanayin damuwar aiki, wanda zai taimaka wajen tsara dabarun inganta lafiyar ma'aikata a fannoni daban-daban.

Bugu da fari, ya kamata a mayar da hankali kan gwaji da kuma faɗaɗa amfani da kayan aikin kiwon lafiya na zamani domin sarrafa damuwa yadda ya kamata. Haɓaka manhajojin wayar hannu da suka dace da al'adu, kayan sawa masu araha don lura da damuwa, da kuma dandamalin kiwon lafiya ta yanar gizo don samun shawara kai tsaye, za su samar da hanyoyi masu sauƙi kuma masu yawa. Haɗa kai da shugabannin al'umma domin magance tsangwama da kuma karfafa tallafin abokan arziki zai inganta karɓar waɗannan sabbin fasahohi.

A lokaci guda, haɗa shirye-shiryen lafiyar ma'aikata na tsari—kamar horon fahimtar kai, manufofin aiki masu sassauci, da shawarar ma'aikata—cikin kungiyoyi zai kirƙiri muhalli mai lafiya a wuraren aiki. Binciken ya kamata ya kuma mayar da hankali kan yadda damuwar mata ke shafar dangantakar iyali,

musamman kan yara da maza, yana mai jaddada muhimmancin fa'idodin zamantakewa na kula da damuwa.

A karshe, inganta haɗin gwiwar gwamnati da masu zaman kansu wajen faɗaɗa hanyoyin kiwon lafiya na zamani da kuma haɗa horon sarrafa damuwa cikin tsarin ilimi na yān mata da matasa zai taimaka wajen gina kaɗin jiki na dogon lokaci. Ta hanyar aiwatar da waɗannan shawarwari, aikin gaba zai iya kaɗafa mata su yi fice a fannin aiki da rayuwa, tare da haɓaka iyalai da lafiyayiyar al'umma.

Tasirin Manufofi

Sakamakon wannan binciken yana nuna muhimmancin gaggawa na ɗaukar matakan manufofi masu zurfi don magance damuwar aiki tsakanin mata, inganta lafiyar kwaƙwalwa, da kuma kaɗafa daidaito tsakanin jinsi. Masu tsara manufofi dole ne su ɗauki hanyar haɗa sassa da dama ta hanyar haɗa manufofin wurin aiki, kiwon lafiya, ilimi, da na zamantakewa domin kirƙirar muhalli mai tallafawa mata su samu ci gaba a fannoni na aiki da rayuwa. Manufofin wurin aiki ya kamata su fiɗa daidaita tsakanin aiki da rayuwa ta hanyar samar da tsare-tsaren aiki masu sassauci, kara yawan hutun iyaye, da kuma samar da kulawar yara a wurin aiki da araha, musamman a fannoni kamar kiwon lafiya da ilimi. Waɗannan mataƙai za su rage nauyin kula da iyali, rage damuwa, kuma su kaɗafa muhalli mai tallafi a wurin aiki.

Haka kuma, samar da kulawar lafiyar kwaƙwalwa mai rahusa da haɗa sarrafa damuwa cikin tsarin kiwon lafiya na farko yana da matuƙar muhimmanci. Manufofin da ke buƙatar inshora ta rufe maganin lafiyar kwaƙwalwa, tare da hanyoyin da suka dace da jinsi a kiwon lafiya, za su tabbatar da samun kulawa mai sauƙi da araha ga mata a kowane matsayi na tattalin arziki.

Zuba jari a kayan aikin kiwon lafiya na zamani, kamar kayan sawa na lura da damuwa da manhajojin wayar hannu, tare da haɗin gwiwar gwamnati da masu zaman kansu, zai iya faɗaɗa

wadannan hanyoyin zuwa wuraren da ba a isa ba, yayin da ake kiyaye tsaron bayanai masu amfani. Manufofin tallafi na ilimi da na al'umma suma suna da muhimmanci wajen shawo kan tasirin damuwar aiki na dogon lokaci.

Shigar da ilimin lafiyar kwaƙwalwa cikin manhajar makarantu da kuma ba da horon sana'o'i ga mata matasa kan sarrafa lokaci, sadarwa, da daidaita aiki da rayuwa zai taimaka sosai. Cibiyoyin lafiya na kwaƙwalwa da kuma kamfen ɗin wayar da kai za su iya samar da tallafi a gida, rage tsangwama, da kuma tabbatar da bayar da kulawar lafiyar kwaƙwalwa.

Kare haƙƙin mata daga cin zarafin wurin aiki da kuma shirye-shiryen karfafa daidaito tsakanin jinsi a harkar ɗaukar ma'aikata, albashi, da ci gaban aiki za su rage silar damuwa a wuraren aiki. Yin bincike na ƙasa baki ɗaya akai-akai da kuma samar da kuɗaɗe don binciken musamman na al'adu game da damuwar aiki zai ba da hujjojin da ake bukata don bibiyar ci gaba da inganta mata kai.

Kamfen ɗin wayar da kai da ke nuna jarumai masu iya daidaita aiki da rayuwar iyali za su iya karfafa canjin al'umma. Ta hanyar samar da muhalli masu tallafi da amfani da sababbin fasahohin kiwon lafiya na zamani, masu tsara manufofi, za su iya inganta jin daɗin mata, haɓaka jin daɗin aure, da kuma motsa ci gaban al'umma.

Gudunmawar Marubuta

Marubutan sun ba da gudunmawa tare wajen wannan bincike kamar haka: Isah Dahiru shi ne ya tsara tunanin binciken, ya tsara hanyar gudanarwa, kuma ya taka muhimmiyar rawa wajen tattara bayanai da nazari. Haka kuma, shi ne ya rubuta farkon rubutun binciken kuma ya tsara yadda za a haɗa gudunmawar sauran marubutan. Jibrin Gambo ya ba da muhimman fahimta game da kirar tambayoyin bincike, ya mai da hankali wajen fassara tasirin

damuwa a kan lafiyar mutane, sannan ya sake duba rubutun don tabbatar da daidaito da sahihancin kimiyya.

Fahimtar mawallafa

Marubutan sun bayyana cewa ba su da wata matsala ta kudi, sana'a, ko ta sirri da ka iya yin tasiri ga aikin da aka gabatar a wannan takarda.

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Chapter 8

Daidaita Ayyukan Aure da Cimme Nasarori na Kanta: Kalubale da Dabarun Mata Musulmi a Arewacin Najeriya

Negotiating Marriage and Self-Realization: Muslim Women's
Struggles in Northern Nigeria

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Summary

The chapter *Daidaita Ayyukan Aure da Cimme Nasarori na Kanta: Kalubale da Dabarun Mata Musulmi a Arewacin Najeriya* by Linda Kwon-Ndung (Federal University Lafia) examines the struggles and strategies of Muslim women in Northern Nigeria as they navigate the balance between marital responsibilities and personal achievements in education, career, and leadership. It situates the discussion within a multidisciplinary framework that draws from religion, history, culture, and law, while engaging both classical Islamic sources and contemporary feminist scholarship. The central argument is that Muslim women can pursue personal development and public engagement without contradicting Islamic principles, provided that tradition and religion are carefully distinguished and supportive structures are established.

Religious Foundations: Qur'an, Hadith, and Justice

The chapter begins by framing the Qur'an and Hadith as sources that encourage knowledge, justice, and mutual responsibility between men and women. Verses such as Qur'an 20:114 ("O Lord, increase me in knowledge") and Qur'an 4:32 ("For men is the share of what they earn, and for women the share of what they earn") are highlighted to show that Islam does not prevent women from learning, working, or owning property. Hadith

traditions, including the well-cited (though debated) narration that “seeking knowledge is obligatory on every Muslim,” are used to support women’s educational and professional pursuits. The author stresses that when a custom is mistaken for *sharīʿa* (law), social barriers emerge that restrict women beyond what the religion itself prescribes. Principles of *maslahah* (public benefit) and *taysīr* (ease) in Islamic jurisprudence reinforce the idea that balancing family and career is a matter of practical organization, not religious prohibition.

Historical and Cultural Precedents

Historical examples underscore the long presence of women in leadership, education, and activism. Figures such as Queen Amina of Zazzau in the sixteenth century, Nana Asma’u of the Sokoto Caliphate in the nineteenth century, and Gambo Sawaba in the twentieth century exemplify female agency in political, educational, and activist domains. Contemporary leaders like Amina J. Mohammed of the United Nations and Dr. Zainab Shinkafi-Bagudu in health leadership demonstrate the continuity of these traditions. These figures collectively challenge the narrative that Muslim women’s roles are confined to the private sphere.

Purdah, Economy, and Education

The chapter also discusses the practice of *kulle* (purdah), showing its dual impact: while limiting women’s physical mobility, it also gave rise to hidden forms of trade and home-based economic contributions, as documented by Barbara Callaway. The author argues that with modern tools such as digital banking, mobile communication, and online commerce, women can now overcome some of the structural constraints associated with purdah. Education, however, remains challenged by poverty, insecurity, and cultural expectations. Reports from UNESCO and UNICEF reveal that Northern Nigerian girls face greater barriers to access, including school distance, child abduction, and the absence of childcare facilities. Policy responses such as safe

transport, child-care centers, and advocacy by religious leaders are suggested as crucial interventions.

Feminist Interpretations and the Capabilities Approach

The chapter engages Muslim feminist scholars—Amina Wadud, Asma Barlas, Ziba Mir-Hosseini, and Kecia Ali—who call for rereading religious texts to emphasize justice, equity, and shared responsibility in family and society. Their work aligns with Martha Nussbaum’s and Amartya Sen’s “capabilities approach,” which measures human development not only in terms of resources but also in what people are able to “be and do.” The integration of Muslim feminist hermeneutics with the capabilities framework, the author argues, provides a strong foundation for empowering women while remaining faithful to Islamic ethics.

Legal and Policy Frameworks

In addition to religious and cultural arguments, the chapter draws on Nigeria’s constitutional guarantees of equality, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and the National Gender Policy (2006; updated 2021–2026). These frameworks provide legal and institutional backing for reforms that support women’s education, economic participation, and leadership. Policies such as workplace childcare, gender-sensitive infrastructure, and security collaboration with local communities are recommended as practical steps toward enabling women to balance family life with personal achievement.

Strategies for Balance

Practical strategies identified in the chapter include flexible household schedules, equitable division of domestic labor, use of digital tools for time management, and reliance on women’s support networks. Examples of remote or home-based income-generating activities (teaching online, tailoring, food businesses) illustrate ways women can sustain both family and career responsibilities. Religious and community education campaigns

that clarify the difference between culture and Islam are also emphasized as tools to reduce stigma and resistance.

Conclusion

The chapter concludes that balancing marriage and self-achievement need not be framed as a conflict. Instead, through careful organization, supportive networks, legal backing, and religious reinterpretation rooted in justice, Muslim women in Northern Nigeria can thrive both within their families and in society. By combining Islamic principles with feminist scholarship and the capabilities approach, the author envisions a society where women are enabled to “do” and “be” in ways that enrich not only themselves but also the wider community.

Takaitaccen bayani

Mata Musulmi a Arewacin Najeriya sun taka muhimmiyar rawa a ci gaban al’umma duk da kalubalen da suke fuskanta wajen daidaita nauyin gida da neman nasarori na kansu. Takardar nan ta haɗa hasashen addini, tarihi, al’ada, da manufofin doka domin bayyana yadda mace ke iya haɗa rayuwar aure da aikin waje ko karatu cikin hikima ba tare da kaucewa kimomin Musulunci ba. An dubi ayoyin Kur’ani da hadisai da ke karfafa neman ilimi da adalci, tare da nazarin yadda fassarori na al’ada kan iya takaita mace idan ba a bambance su da asalin shari’a ba. An yi amfani da misalan tarihi kamar Sarauniya Amina ta Zazzau, da kuma al’adu da rubuce-rubucen addini na zamani, musamman ayyukan Amina Wadud, Asma Barlas, Ziba Mir-Hosseini, da Kecia Ali, waɗanda suka yi kira kaucewa al’adu marasa kyau da sabuwar fassara mai adalci ga mata (Wadud 1999; Barlas 2002; Mir-Hosseini, Al-Sharmani, and Rumminger 2015; Ali 2016). A bangaren manufofi, an yi nazari kan CEDAW, Kundi Tsarin Mulki na Najeriya (1999, gyararru), da National Gender Policy (2006; sabuntawa 2021–2026). An dora hujjar cewa haɗa “Muslim feminism” da “capabilities approach” na Nussbaum da Sen na iya ba da kwaɓɓwaran tubali don karfafa damar mata su yi, su zama, kuma su yanke shawara cikin aminci (Nussbaum

2011; Sen 1999). An kammala da shawarwari na aikace-aikace da suka shafi iyalai, malamai, shugabannin addini, makarantu, da masu tsara manufofi, tare da jan hankali kan muhimmancin tsari, goyon baya, da rarraba nauyin ayyuka a cikin gida.

Gabatarwa

A al'adar Hausa-Fulani da sauran al'ummomin Arewa, an saba dora wa mata nauyin kula da gida, rainon yāyā, da tabbatar da zaman lafiya a cikin iyali. Duk da haka, koyarwar Musulunci ta buɗe kofa ga neman ilimi da gina nagarta ga maza da mata, kamar yadda ayoyin AlKur'ani suka nuna “Ka ce: Ya Ubangijina, kara mini ilimi” (K 20:114) da “Allah ba zai sauya halin wani al'umma ba sai sun sauya halin da ke zuciyarsu” (K 13:11) suka nuna. A aikace, dai, mata da dama na fuskantar kuntatawa ta al'ada, ta tsarin maza (patriarchy), da ta tattalin arziki, wadda ke iya rage damar su ta shiga makaranta, kasuwa, ko muƙaman jagoranci. Fahimtar bambanci tsakanin al'ada da shari'a a nan ta zama muhimmia, domin kuskuren gauraya su na iya haifar da ka'idon zamantakewa da ake dauka a matsayin “addini”, alhali asalin shari'a ba ta buƙaci hakan ba.

Mahallin addini: hujjojin Kur'ani da Hadisi kan ilimi, adalci, da daukakar martabar mace

Kur'ani ya tabbatar da adalci, neman ilimi, da bin hanyar sauƙi: “Ashe waɗanda suka sani da waɗanda ba su sani ba daidai ne?” (Q 39:9); “Kuma kada ku yi kwaɗayin abin da Allah Ya fifita wasu a kan wasu... ga maza rabonsu da abin da suka samu, kuma ga mata rabonsu da abin da suka samu” (K 4:32); “Muminai maza da mata abokan juna ne; su na umartar alheri su na hani da mummuna” (K 9:71); “Bai sanya muku wata wahala a cikin addini ba” (K 22:78). A bangaren Hadisi, ruwayar “Neman ilimi farilla ne ga kowane Musulmi” ana amfani da ita a matsayin kira ga ilimi, duk da muhawara kan isnadi; kwararru a ilimin Hadisi da fikihi sun yi bayanin hujjar wajibcin ilimin da ya zama dole domin bauta da mu'amala ta halal (Wadud 1999; Ali 2016). Abin da ya fi muhimmanci a nan shi ne ka'idar maslahah da adalci da

aka samu a cikin *usul al-fikihi*, wadda ke dōra muhimmancin abin da zai amfanar da al’umma da bangarorinta na maza da mata. Idan aka dāuki adalci da ilimi a matsayin ginshikai, to tambayar yadda mace za ta hada gida da aiki za ta koma batun tsari, ba batun haramci ba.

Tarihi, al’ada, da jagorancin mata

Harsashen tarihin Arewa ya nuna cewa mata sabon shiga bane a cikin jagoranci ko sha’anin ilimi. An san Sarauniya Amina ta Zazzau a karni na 16 da yake-yake, fadada yankinta, da gina ganuwa. Ko da yake ruwayoyi sun bambanta, tushenn labarin Sarauniya Amina ya nuna yiwuwar mace ta zama jagora a tsarin siyasa da tsaro na gargajiya (Iweze and Umosom 2024). A karni na 19, Nana Asma’u ta kasance malama, marubuciya, wadda ta assasa kungiyar Yan Taru wadda ta ba da tsarin koyarwa da tarbiyya ga mata a Daular Sakkwato—misali mai karfi na hada ilimi, addini, da aikin al’umma (Mack and Boyd 2000). A karni na 20, Hajiya Gambo Sawaba ta yi suna a fafutukar haƙƙin mata, adawa da auren wuri, da tallafawa ilimi, abin da ya nuna juriyar mace a yanayin siyasa mai cike da kalubale. A zamanin yau, matsayin Amina J. Mohammed ta Majalisar Dinkin Duniya da likita Zainab Shinkafi-Bagudu sun kara nuna yadda mace za ta iya rike mukami mai nauyi a kasa-da-kasa ko jagorancin kiwon lafiya, alhali tana rike da mutuncin ta da kuma matsayi na uwa ko uwar-gida, a kan ginshikin tsari, haɗin kai na iyali, da imani da aiki tukuru.

Kulle (purdah), da tattalin arziki

Ka’idar kulle a wasu al’ummomin Arewa ta fito daga hadaka tsakanin al’adu da kuma fahimtar addini a yankin. Wannan ka’ida tana iyakance zirga-zirga da mu’amalar mata a fili, amma ba lallai ne ta daidaita da asalin shari’a ba idan aka dōra ta matsayin tilas ga kowa. Rubutun Barbara Callaway ya bayyana yadda kulle ke haifar da sakamako biyu: takaita fitar mace a fili, amma a lokaci guda mata na gudanar da “*hidden trade*” ko sana’o’in cikin gida na neman kudi, suna kuma tallafa wa iyali

daga cikin gida (Callaway 1984; Callaway 1987). Wannan ya nuna cewa ka'ida da aiki ba su daidaita koyaushe; idan an yi fassara cikin hikima, ana iya sarrafa al'ada ta yadda za ta kare mutunci da zamantakewa ba tare da hana mace damar ilimi da sana'a ba. A nan ne sabbin fasahohi kamar waya, POS, da kasuwanci ta yanar gizo ke buɗe kofofi, saboda mace za ta iya gudanar da harkoki ba tare da tilasta mata yin hulɗa da waje ba fiye da yadda take so ko yadda iyali suka tsara. Idan aka haɗa wannan da tsarin taimako a cikin gida—misali rarraba ayyuka ko bayar da lokacin karatu—ana rage cikas da mace kan iya fuskanta.

Ilimi, tsaro, da damar zirga-zirga

Rahoton UNESCO GEM 2020 ya jaddada cewa “*inclusion*” a ilimi yana nufin cire shingayen da ke hana samun dama, musamman ga yān mata. A Najeriya, bayan UNICEF sun nuna cewa yān mata a Arewa maso Yamma da Arewa maso Gabas na fuskantar karin shingaye saboda talauci, tsaro, da al'ada, ciki har da barazanar satar yāyā, nisan makaranta, da rashin kayan more rayuwa (UNESCO 2020; UNICEF Nigeria 2022). Idan aka haɗa waɗannan da nauyin ayyukan gida da rashin cibiyoyin kula da yara, hakan na janyowa mata katsewar karatu ko aiki. A nan ma, mafita na bayyana a kan ginshikin tsari da haɗin kai: kafa cibiyar kula da yara kanana a makarantu, ko ma'aikatu; da kafa hanyoyin sufuri masu aminci da tsare-tsaren makarantu masu kariya. Duk waɗannan sun fi yin tasiri idan an haɗa su da wa'azi na malamai da shugabannin al'umma da ke bambance wa jama'a tsakanin addini da al'ada, tare da misalan mata a tarihin Musulunci waɗanda suka yi fice a ilimi da jagoranci.

Fassarar addini ta zamani: Muslim feminism da ka'idar “capabilities”

Masu tunanin *Muslim feminism* sun yi kira da akan ayi nazari kan tunanin al'umma waɗanda ke sanya a takaita mata. Amina Wadud ta “sake karanta” matani, ta mai da hankali kan adalci, shawara, da mutunta juna a cikin dangantakar aure da al'umma

(Wadud 1999). Asma Barlas ta yi bayani kan “*unreading patriarchal interpretations*” wato, janye fahimtar da ta watsu saboda al’ada (Barlas 2002). Ziba Mir-Hosseini da abokan aikinta sun sake tantance *kiwāma/wilāya* a cikin fikihi, suna ba da hujjoji na sake fasalin *patriarchy* bisa yanayin zamani da maslahah (Mir-Hosseini, Al-Sharmani, and Rumminger 2015). Kecia Ali ta yi nazari mai zurfi kan mu’amaloli na aure, jima’i, da hurumin shari’a, tana jaddada daidaito a haƙƙoƙi da wajibai (Ali 2016). Wadannan ayyuka sun yi daidai da tsarin “*capabilities approach*” na Nussbaum da Sen, wanda ya mayar da hankali ga abin da mutum “zai iya yi ko ya iya zama” ta fuskar lafiya, ilimi, damar yanke shawara, tsaron kai, shiga siyasa, da samun albarkatun rayuwa (Nussbaum 2011; Sen 1999). Idan aka dora wadannan ginshikai a kan koyarwar Musulunci na adalci, rahama, da sauƙi, mace za ta samu damar yin rayuwa cike da inganci.

Gado, dukiya, da haƙƙin mallaka

Ayoyin gado a Suratu al-Nisa’ sun kafa tsarin rabon dukiya ta yadda kowa ke da haƙƙi bisa nauyin da yake dauka da shi a cikin iyali (K 4:7; K 4:11; K 4:32). Mata kamar maza suna da gado a cikin Musulunci. Burin mu yau, shi ne a tabbatar da cewa mace ta iya mallakar dukiyarta (watau ba an ba ta gado, wani ya danne dukiyar ba), ta yi cinikayya, ta yi aiki ko ta koyi sana’a, ba tare da ta rasa martabarta a cikin aure ba. A aikace, ana buƙatar ilimin shari’a na yau da kullum da zai warware gaurayar al’ada da shari’a, kamar kuskuren daukar wasu ka’idojin al’ada a matsayin nassin addini. Idan aka yi amfani da ka’idodin *usul al-fikihi* na *maslahah* da *sadd al-dhara’i* cikin adalci, ana iya samar da mafita mai kawo sauƙi ga iyalai da al’umma.

Dabarun daidaita gida da aiki

Mace na iya farawa da kirƙirar tsari mai sassauci a cikin gida, inda aka rarraba ayyuka tsakanin ma’aurata da kuma yaƴansu, a daidaita jadawalin karatu ko aiki da lokutan gida. Tsarin “lokutan shiru” na rubutu ko nazari na taimakawa matan da ke karatu ko

aikin ofis su kammala ayyukansu. Amfani da manhajoji a wayoyi domin tsara lokaci da tunatarwa na rage damuwa, yana kuma ba da damar auna ci gaba. Goyon bayan dangi, kungiyoyin mata sukan zama abin dogaro ga shawarwari da musayar kwarewa. Aikin da za a iya yi daga gida—koyarwa ta nesa, sana'o'in abinci, dinki, ko dillanci kan-intanet—na bai wa mata damar kara kuɗin shiga ba tare da barin abin da iyali ke bukata ba. Muhawarar ilimi a masallatai da gidajen karatu akan bambance tsakanin addini da al'ada na iya rage tsangwama, ta bunkasa fahimta mai ma'ana game da abin da Musulunci ya bukata da abin da al'ada ke so.

Misalan karfafawa daga tarihi

Nana Asma'u ta kafa tsarin Yan Taru don yada ilimi da tarbiyya tsakanin mata, abin da ya nuna yadda ilimi ke kirƙirar cibiyoyi na taimakon juna da jagoranci (Mack and Boyd 2000). Labarin Hajiya Gambo Sawaba ya jaddada muhimmancin fafutukar haƙƙin yaƙ mata su koma makaranta bayan aure ko haihuwa, tare da kalubalantar al'adar aurar da yāyā da wuri. A yau, misalan mata masu riƙe muƙaman ƙasa-da-ƙasa da na kiwon lafiyar jama'a sun nuna cewa haɗa gida da aiki abu ne mai yiwuwa idan aka samu tsari, taimako, da manufofin aiki masu dacewa. Waɗannan misalan suna taimakawa wajen canja ra'ayi a cikin al'umma, su kuma ba da hujjar aikace-aikacen shawarwarin da aka gabatar.

Manufofi da doka: karfafa tubalin tsari

Najeriya ta rattaba hannu ga CEDAW wanda ke kira da kawar da wariyar jinsi, yayin da Kundin Tsarin Mulki ya gindaya yaƙcin asali da daidaito a gaban doka. *National Gender Policy* ya shimfiɗa dabaru a fannoni kamar ilimi, lafiya, da tattalin arziki, tare da jan hankali ga matakan aiwatarwa a jihohi. Sabunta manufofin cikin gida da kafa ƙa'idoji wurin aiki—kamar wajajen renon yara—na iya sauƙaƙawa mata lamuransu. Haka kuma, haɗin kai da hukumomin tsaro da na ilimi na ƙara amincewar

iyaye da makarantu, musamman a yankunan da ke fama da rashin tsaro (UNESCO 2020; UNICEF Nigeria 2022).

Haɗa addini, al’ada, da ci gaban kai

An nuna cewa idan aka dora al’ada a kan turakun adalci da maslahah, ana iya jujjuya ta zuwa silar taimako ga mata Musulmi maimakon garkuwa mai kuntatawa. Ya dace a duba *Muslim feminism* a matsayin fannin bincike mai zurfafa tunani bisa tasirun al’adu a rayuwar mata. Kiran da wannan tsari ya ke yi—mai dogaro da ilimi, damarmaki, da tsari—shi ne mafi kusanci da karantarwar addini ta adalci da rahama.

Kammalawa

Daidaita ayyukan aure da cimma nasarori ga mata Musulmi a Arewacin Najeriya ba dole ne ya kasance rikici tsakanin gida da waje ba. Idan aka gina tsari mai sassauci a cikin gida, aka karfafa goyon bayan dangi da kungiyoyi, aka buɗe kofofin ilimi da sana’a masu sassauci, aka kuma fassara al’ada cikin hikima bisa asalin shari’a, mace za ta iya haɗa nauyin gida da burinta cikin nasara. Manufofi na kasa da kasa da na cikin gida sun bayar da tubalin doka da za a jingina, yayin da misalan tarihi da na zamanin mu ke kara ba da kwarin gwiwa. Idan aka haɗa wannan da fassarar addini ta adalci da mutunta juna, tare da tura “*capabilities approach*” a matsayin ma’aunin nasara, ana iya cusa yanayi mai bai wa mata damar “yi” da kuma “zama”—abin da zai haifar da al’umma mai karfi da nagarta baki daya.

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Chapter 9

Mata Musulmi a Cikin Aikin Jinya: Nazari Kan Kalubale

Muslim Women in Nursing: An Analysis of Challenges

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Summary

The chapter investigates how Muslim women employed in Nigeria's nursing workforce navigate the intersections of professional demands, gendered expectations, and religious practice. It asks how workload and staffing patterns drive burnout; how workplace violence (verbal abuse, threats, physical assault, and sexual harassment) erodes safety and morale; how prayer, modest dress, and lactation needs can be accommodated without compromising infection-prevention standards; and how pay scales, training requirements, and career ladders shape retention and advancement. The contribution is threefold: centering the voices of Muslim women nurses; analytically linking burnout, violence, compensation/advancement, and mental health to quality of care; and mapping actionable policy options for facilities, regulators, and professional bodies.

Methods and positionality

The study employs a mixed qualitative design. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with Muslim women nurses at different career stages in public and private facilities across urban and rural settings, selected via purposive and snowball sampling. Interviews were confidential, consented, anonymized, transcribed, and thematically coded. A literature and policy review triangulates interview findings with national regulations, professional guidelines, and empirical studies on nursing

workforce dynamics, burnout, workplace violence, and religion at work. The analysis is explicitly intersectional, considering how gender, religion, and culture interact with hospital policies and state/national regulations. The author reflects on positionality and steps taken to build trust (language choice, participant review, and ethical safeguards).

Context: workforce pressures and burnout

The chapter situates Nigeria's nursing within persistent human-resources-for-health gaps: nurse-to-population ratios far below global benchmarks, maldistribution between urban and rural areas, and chronic shortages of equipment and decision latitude. Using the Job Demands–Resources (JD-R) model and Maslach's "Areas of Worklife," it explains how high workload, low control, and weak recognition produce emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and reduced personal accomplishment. Local WISN (Workload Indicators of Staffing Need) studies show many primary care facilities operate with a fraction of required nursing staff, translating directly into sustained overload and curtailed recovery time. Nigerian prevalence studies report medium-to-high burnout levels, with work–home interference amplifying risk. International evidence linking nurse staffing to mortality and length of stay underscores the clinical stakes: overextended nurses compromise patient safety culture and outcomes. The chapter recommends evidence-based staffing norms using WISN for scheduling and deployment, modest schedule flexibility, protected recovery, and expanding professional autonomy as practical mitigations.

Workplace violence: prevalence, patterns, and underreporting
Workplace violence (WPV) is defined broadly to include verbal abuse, threats, bullying, sexual harassment, and physical assaults occurring in or around work. Nigerian studies reveal high exposure, especially to verbal abuse in crowded emergency and outpatient settings, with many incidents never reported due to bureaucratic reporting burdens, fear of career repercussions, and

normalization of abuse. Perpetrators are often patients and relatives, though peer-to-peer harassment also appears. The consequences—heightened stress and burnout, deteriorating safety culture, lower job satisfaction, and turnover intentions—feed back into staffing instability. The chapter outlines a multi-level response aligned with international guidance: clear institutional policies that define WPV and responsibilities; simple, safe reporting pathways that protect reporters; environmental and security design in high-risk zones; training in de-escalation and risk recognition; routine measurement and feedback cycles; and explicit inclusion of religion- and gender-based harassment within anti-discrimination frameworks. For Muslim women, the analysis highlights how Islamophobic or religion-coded microaggressions compound gendered exposure to WPV and should be treated within the same prevention ecosystem.

Religious practice, attire, and infection-prevention compatibility
Grounding in Nigerian constitutional guarantees of religious freedom, a 2022 Supreme Court judgment validating hijab in public schools, and circulars from the Nursing and Midwifery Council of Nigeria (NMCN) affirming shoulder-length hijab with nursing uniforms, the chapter argues for “reasonable accommodation” of prayer time, modest attire, and lactation spaces. It then turns to clinical practicality: in non-theatre settings, shoulder-length, clean hijab is compatible with dress codes; in theatre/ICU, sterile or disposable theatre-appropriate hijabs and standard caps can meet infection-prevention and control (IPC) requirements. “Bare-below-the-elbows” for hand hygiene remains non-negotiable during direct care, with removable sleeves used only outside clinical moments. Dedicated, close-by prayer spaces and micro-break scheduling can be integrated without disrupting workflows. The core message is that inclusion and IPC are not zero-sum: clear policy, minor environmental provisions, and staff education reduce

friction, counter “gendered Islamophobia,” and support Muslim women’s moral well-being while maintaining patient safety.

Pay, CPD, and career progression

Compensation in public facilities follows the CONHESS structure, with variation in state implementation and the salience of call, shift, and hazard allowances. Empirical work in Nigeria links salary satisfaction to organizational commitment and lower turnover intention; conversely, active international recruitment (e.g., to the UK/US) exacerbates domestic shortages, reinforcing the need for competitive conditions and clear progression. On professional development, the NMCN’s Mandatory Continuing Professional Development Programme (MCPDP) requires a minimum of 6 CEUs over three years (with at least half through approved MCPDP offerings). In practice, fees, lack of protected CPD time, and geographic constraints limit access. The chapter aligns its recommendations with WHO’s Global Strategic Directions for Nursing and Midwifery (2021–2025): fund and protect CPD time, expand accredited e-learning and hybrid modalities, and link progression to education and leadership competencies. Recent adjustments to schemes of service (e.g., degree requirements for directorate cadre; raised entry grade for BNSc holders) clarify ladders, but equitable implementation and supportive supervision are needed. For Muslim women, scheduling CPD to avoid key prayer times, offering appropriate facilities, and minimizing overnight travel can improve participation without diluting standards.

Mental health, supports, and coping

Given cumulative pressures—high workload, resource scarcity, WPV, and discrimination—the chapter synthesizes evidence of elevated psychological distress and burnout among Nigerian health workers, with women at particular risk. It prioritizes organizational interventions: assess psychosocial hazards, fix schedules and staffing imbalances, train managers to recognize and refer, and provide confidential counseling via employee-

assistance programs or external tele-counseling. Team-based supports such as structured debriefs, peer-support programs, and Schwartz Rounds reduce isolation and moral distress, though they must supplement, not replace, professional care when indicated. Individual strategies—brief breathing/mindfulness routines, sleep hygiene, physical activity, and deliberate management of work–home boundaries—have measurable benefits. For Muslim women, religious coping (e.g., prayer, gratitude practices) is protective when supported by workplace accommodations. Anti-stigma policies, anonymous self-reporting, privacy protections, and integrating mental health into primary care referral pathways can lower barriers to help-seeking. The chapter proposes tracking well-being indicators, participation in support programs, absenteeism/presenteeism, turnover, and care quality metrics within quarterly learning cycles.

Synthesis and policy implications

Across sections, the analysis shows how structural features of Nigeria’s health system and facility-level practices produce a cumulative burden that is experienced acutely at the intersection of gender and religion. Burnout is not merely an individual resilience deficit but a predictable output of demand–resource mismatches and unsafe cultures; WPV is a system failure requiring policy, design, training, measurement, and accountability; religious accommodation is both a constitutional obligation and an operationally solvable design problem; compensation, CPD, and career ladders are essential levers for retention in the face of global pull factors; and mental-health supports must be normalized and resourced. The recommended portfolio is mutually reinforcing: WISN-informed staffing and schedule flexibility reduce overload; anti-WPV systems protect safety; hijab-IPC protocols and prayer/lactation spaces enable inclusion without compromising standards; funded, protected CPD with clear ladders fosters growth; and EAP plus peer supports protect well-being. When implemented together, these

measures improve equity for Muslim women nurses and measurably enhance patient outcomes and system resilience.

Conclusion

The chapter makes a compelling case that improving quality of care in Nigeria is inseparable from improving the working lives of the women who deliver it. Addressing workload, safety, inclusion, compensation and advancement, and mental health as an integrated agenda yields benefits for retention, morale, and clinical outcomes. Recognizing and accommodating the specific needs of Muslim women nurses is not a special interest add-on but a pragmatic, rights-consistent strategy for a safer, fairer, and more effective health system.

Gabatarwa

Sashen kiwon lafiya a Najeriya na daukar muhimmiyar rawa wajen gina jin daɗin al'umma da inganta ci gaban kasa. Duk da haka, ma'aikata—musamman mata—na fuskantar tarin kalubale da suka haɗa da karancin ma'aikata da kayan aiki, yawan aiki fiye da kima, gajiya (*burnout*), cin zarafi a wurin aiki, da bambancin wariya bisa jinsi, addini, da al'ada. Mata Musulmi a aikin jinya suna cikin tsakiyar wannan haɗin gwiwa na illa (*intersection*), domin suna kokarin cika ka'idodin aikin su da kuma bin sharuɗɗan addini da al'adu, tare da tsammanin gida da al'umma. Wannan babi yana gabatar da binciken da na zurfafa cikin waɗannan batutuwa, ya haɗa labaran gogewa na ma'aikata da shaidu daga bincike na baya don fahimtar yadda tsarin kiwon lafiya ke tasiri ga rayuwar mata Musulmi a jinya da kuma ingancin kulawa ga marasa lafiya.

Babban burin wannan babin shi ne bayyana nau'in kalubale da dama da mata Musulmi ke fuskanta a aikin jinya, da yadda waɗannan kalubale ke shafar walwala, ci gaban sana'a, da ingancin ayyukan jinya. Ina fatan amsa tambayoyi kamar: ta yaya yanayin aiki (workload, jadawalin dare, karancin ma'aikata) ke haifar da gajiya? Wane irin tasiri cin zarafi a wurin aiki (kalamam

batanci, barazana, ko tashin hankali) ke yi ga amincin wurin aiki da sha'awar aiki? Ta yaya za a iya sulhunta bukatun ibada (sallah a kan lokaci, sutura, wurin shayarwa) da ka'idodin aiki ba tare da tauye ka'idojin aiki ba? Kuma me nau'in biyan albashi, damar horo, da tsarin haɓaka matsayi ke nufi ga mata Musulmi a jinya? Hanyar bincike.

Binciken ya yi amfani da hanyoyi biyu. Na farko, na gudanar da tattaunawa (semi-structured interviews) da mata Musulmi a jinya—daga cibiyoyi na gwamnati da na masu zaman kansu—domin gano irin kwarewa da labaran da ke bayan kididdiga. Na yi amfani da tsarin zaɓen mahalarta bisa nufi (purposive sampling) da kuma alaƙa (snowball) don samun masu aiki a matakan gogewa daban-daban (ɗalibai masu koyon aiki, sabbin ma'aikata, da waɗanda suka daɗe a aikin) da kuma daga sassa daban-daban na ƙasar don samun bambancin hangen nesa. An yi tattaunawan ne cikin sirri, an nemi yardar mahalarta (informed consent), sannan an boye sunaye da duk wani bayani da zai iya gane mutum. Rubuce-rubucen tattaunawa an fassara su zuwa rubutu sannan aka yi musu lamba, aka yi nazari ta hanyar lissafin jigogi (thematic coding) domin gano jigogin da suka maimaitu, sabbin batutuwa, da bambance-bambancen yankuna.

Na biyu, an gudanar da nazarin littattafai da rahotanni (literature review) daga mujallu na ilimi, dokoki da manufofi na ƙasa, rahotannin ƙungiyoyin ƙwararru, da rubuce-rubucen da suka gabata game da aikin jinya a Najeriya, lafiyar ƙwaƙwalwa da gajiya a wurin aiki, da kuma tasirin addini a wurin aiki. Hada bayan filin (interviews) da kuma shaidun da ke cikin littattafai ya ba da damar tantancewa (triangulation), don ta haka a tabbatar da daidaito da ƙarfafa fahimta. Binciken ya yi amfani da hangen “cakuduwar zalunci” (*intersectionality*) wajen nazarin tasirin jinsi, addini, da al'ada, tare da la'akari da tsarin dokoki da ka'idojin asibiti da na ƙungiyoyin jinya a Najeriya.

Mahalarta sun fito ne daga cibiyoyi daban-daban, da sassa na birane da kauyuka, domin kama bambancin yanayi na aiki. A cikin wannan bincike, mun yi la'akari da matsayinmu (*positionality*) a matsayin masu bincike da ke da sha'awar inganta walwala da damar ci gaban mata a kiwon lafiya. Ina sane da cewa matsayi na na mai bincike na iya shafar yadda mahalarta za su buɗe zuciyar su. Saboda haka, na gina dangantakar amana, amfani da harsuna masu dacewa (Hausa/English) bisa ga zaɓin mahalarta, sannan na ba su damar dubawa ko kara bayanin da suke ganin ya dace. Na kiyaye ka'idodin dabi'a: sirri, adalci, da kariyar mahalarta.

Muhimmanci da gudummawa

Wannan makala ta bayar da gudummawa ta hanyoyi uku. Na farko, daga muryar mata Musulmi a jinya, bayyana yadda buƙatun mata ka iya shiga taƙaddama ko kuma a sulhunta su cikin hikima. Na biyu, haɗa batutuwan gajiya, cin zarafi a wurin aiki, rashin biyan albashi mai tsoka, da damar haɓaka matsayi da nuna yadda suka shafi walwala, kaunar aiki, da ingancin kulawar marasa lafiya. Na uku, zana taswirar shawarwarin manufofi masu amfani: daga tsare-tsaren kariya daga cin zarafi, zuwa tanadin wuraren ibada da jadawalin sassauci, da shirye-shiryen lafiyar kwaƙwalwa ga ma'aikata, da haɓaka hanyoyi daga karatu zuwa aiki (education-to-employment pipeline) ga matasa mata Musulmi. A karshe, nazarin yana amfanar masu tsara manufofi, shugabannin asibitoci, cibiyoyin koyon jinya, kungiyoyin kwararru, da masu fafutukar haƙƙin mata.

Tsarin babi

Sauran sassan wannan makala za ta ci gaba ta wannan tsari. Sashi na gaba zai fayyace yanayin aikin jinya a Najeriya da muhimman ma'auni, da jigogin da suka fito daga tattaunawa: (1) yanayin aiki, yawan aiki, da gajiya; (2) cin zarafi a wurin aiki; (3) yancin ibada, sutura, dangane da ka'idojin asibiti; (4) albashi, horo, da haɓaka matsayi; (5) lafiyar kwaƙwalwa, hanyoyin tallafi, da dabarun jurewa (*coping*). Sashen tattaunawa zai kwatanta

wadannan sakamakon da shaidu daga nazarin da ya gabata, ya bayyana abin da ya yi daidai da abin da ya bambanta, tare da fassarar manufofi da tasirin aikace-aikace. A karshe, sashen shawarwari zai gabatar da matakan da za su iya aiwatuwa a matakin asibiti, ma'aikata, da manufofin kasa, sannan kammalawa za ta takaita karin binciken da ya dace nan gaba.

Sashi na ɗaya: Yanayin aiki, yawan aiki, da kuma gajiya (*burnout*)

Yanayin aikin jinya a Najeriya ya kunshi manyan buƙatu da karancin tallafi (*job resources*) kamar karancin ma'aikata, kayan aiki, da ikon yanke shawara—wadanda ke hura wutar gajiya ga ma'aikatan jinya. A ra'ayin Maslach, gajiya ita ce tarin gajiya mai tsawo a wurin aiki wadda take bayyanar da gajiya ta rai da jiki, da jin rashin tasiri (*inefficacy*) (Maslach 2016). Wannan ya yi daidai da tsarin *Job Demands–Resources* (JD-R), wanda ke hasashen cewa yawan aiki da karancin tallafi a wurin aiki su ne tushen gajiya, kuma hakan ya fi tsanani a mahallin da ake da karancin albarkatu kamar sassan kiwon lafiya na kasashe masu tasowa (Nwosu et al. 2021).

Kididdigar ma'aikata a Najeriya na nuna gihin karfi mai tsanani. Sabon binciken HRH ya nuna cewa a Najeriya akwai kusan likitoci 3.95, nas/nurses 9.45, da ungozomai/midwives 6.18 a kan kowane 10,000 na jama'a—lambar da ta yi kasa da tsohon kimar MDGs (23/10,000) da kuma kimar SDGs don UHC ($\approx 44.5/10,000$) (Alawode et al. 2025). Rahoton WHO State of the World's Nursing (2020) ya kara jaddada cewa gihin nas-nas ya haɗu da rashin daidaiton rabon ma'aikata a birni—kauye, wanda ke sanya nauyin aiki ya yi yawa a kan yɓan kaɗan da ke cikin layi na gaba.²⁷

Shaidar Nigeria-tak ta hanyar amfani da hanyar *Workload Indicators of Staffing Need* (WISN) ta nuna yadda wannan gihin ke fassaruwa zuwa nauyin aiki a asibitoci. Nazari a Rivers State

²⁷[BioMed CentralICN - International Council of Nurses](#)

ya gano cewa wasu cibiyoyin PHC na da kashi 17–67% kacal na adadin nas-nas/ungozomai da ake bukata; wato WISN ratio 0.17–0.67, ma’ana suna aiki da kashi ɗaya bisa uku zuwa rabin wanda ake bukata (Okoroafor et al. 2019). Irin waɗannan kiɗiddiga suna nuni kai tsaye ga yawan aiki fiye da kima, jinkirin hutawa, da raguwar iko/ikon yin aiki yadda ya kamata—wadanda duk daidaitattu ne cikin shaidu na samuwar gajiya.²⁸

Game da yaɗuwar gajiya a cikin nas-nas na Najeriya, bincike a babban asibiti ya nuna manyan matakan gajiya: 39.1% sun nuna gajiya mai tsanani a ma’aunin *emotional exhaustion*, 29.2% a *depersonalization*, da 40% a *reduced personal accomplishment* (Lasebikan and Oyetunde 2012). Babban binciken yanki (n≈2,245) ya kuma bayyana “medium to high” matakan gajiya da rawar da rikicin aiki-da-gida (*work-home interference*) ke takawa a kara shi (Gandi et al. 2011). Waɗannan sakamakon suna daidaita da hangen JD-R da kuma samfurin “*Areas of Worklife*” na Maslach, inda yawan aiki, karancin iko, da rashin lada/ganewa a wurin aiki ke ninka haɗarin gajiya.²⁹

Illolin yawan aiki da gajiya ba su tsaya ga jin daɗin ma’aikata kaɗai ba; suna kau da kai ga ingancin kulawa da marasa lafiya. Bincike na kasashe daban-daban ya nuna cewa kara marasa lafiya guda ɗaya a kan nas yana haɓaka yiwuwar mutuwar mara lafiya cikin kwana 30 (Aiken et al. 2014), kuma kowanne karin mara lafiya a kan nas yana da alaƙa da karuwa a mutuwa da tsawon kwanciya a asibiti (Lasater et al. 2021). A mahallin Najeriya, binciken FMC Birnin-Kebbi ya nuna alaƙa mai muni tsakanin damuwar aiki da al’adar tsaron marasa lafiya—ma’ana, karin ɗora damuwa a kan nas na rage tsaron aiki (Sani et al. 2024).³⁰ Daga mahangar manufofi da aikin yau da kullum, akwai hanyoyin rage nauyin aiki da gajiya. Da farko, sabunta ka’idojin ma’aunin ma’aikata (*staffing norms*) bisa shaidu—ta amfani da

²⁸ [PMC](#)

²⁹ [PMC+2PMC+2](#)

³⁰ [PubMedPMCBioMed Central](#)

WISN don tsara jadawalai da rarraba ma'aikata—na iya rage yawan aiki ga mutum daya. Na biyu, bin tsare-tsaren da ke ba da ikon aikin kwararru (professional autonomy), kamar yadda Maslach ya nuna, na rage “*mismatch*” a wuraren aiki (*workload, control, reward, community, fairness, values*). A karshe, inganta hanyoyin hutawa (*recovery*), jadawalin aiki mai sassauci, da sanya idanu tsakanin *wards* na iya rage gajiya ba tare da tauye ka'idar kulawa ba (Maslach 2016; Okoroafor et al. 2019).

Sashi na biyu: Cin zarafi a wurin aiki

Ma'anar cin zarafi:

A nan, “cin zarafi a wurin aiki” (workplace violence—WPV) yana nufin duk wani lamari na zagi, barazana, ko hari (na jiki ko na lafiyar tunani) da ma'aikata ke fuskanta a cikin yanayin aikinsu, ciki har da hanyoyin zuwa da dawowa daga aiki (ILO/ICN/WHO/PSI 2002). Wannan ya haɗa da maganganun batanci, barazanar duka, zagi na baki, tursasawa/tsangwama (*bullying*), cin zarafin da ya danganci jima'i (*sexual harassment*), da kai farmaki na jiki. A mahallin asibitocin Najeriya, shaidun baya-bayan nan sun nuna cewa matsalar ta yadu—tare da bambance-bambancen yanki da irin cibiyar kiwon lafiya—kuma tana da alaƙa da cunkoso a sassan gaggawa, karancin tsaro, da tsarin rahoto mai wahala. A matakin duniya, WHO ta nuna cewa ma'aikatan lafiya suna cikin manyan rukunin da ke fuskantar WPV; mafi yawan nau'in shi ne zagi na baka daga marasa lafiya ko danginsu. Wannan rahoton ya yi daidai da abin da ake gani a Najeriya.³¹

Nau'ukan cin zarafi

Bincike a Jihar Osun ya gano cewa kashi mafi yawa na nas-nas sun taɓa fuskantar WPV, musamman zagi na baka da barazana, kuma galibi lamarin ba a ruwaito shi ba. Hanyoyin da lamarin ke faruwa sun fi yawa a sassan da cunkoso ya fi tsanani (ER/OPD). Hakanan, nazari a Enugu ya tabbatar da yawaitar WPV na tunani/psychological—tare da rahoton cewa galibin hare-haren

³¹ WHO AppsWorld Health Organization

jiki na zuwa ne daga dangin marasa lafiya, har ma ana samun makami a wasu lokuta. A matakin kasa, nazarin murya-biyu a Ebonyi ya tattara jadawalin yaduwar WPV daga jihohi daban-daban (misali $\approx 40\%$ – 70% a wasu *tertiary* hospitals) kuma ya haskaka matsalar karancin rahoto. Wadannan shaidu suna nuna cewa marasa lafiya da danginsu su ne manyan masu aikatawa, sai abokanan aiki (*coworkers*) a cin zarafi na juna ko na jima'i.³²

Sassan da ke da haɗari, da bambance-bambancen jinsi/addini

Ma'aikatan sashen gaggawa (A&E) da masu kula da marasa lafiya masu matuƙar buƙata (misali, a sashen lafiyar hankali) na cikin haɗari fiye da kima—nazarin asibitin tarayya ya nuna babban rabon waɗannan sassan cikin masu fama da WPV. Daga ɓangaren “*intersectionality*,” mata Musulmi a asibiti na iya fuskantar nau'in WPV na tunani da wariya mai alaƙa da addini (misali, matsin lamba kan hijabi ko sallah), abin da ke kara hatsarin tsangwama a wurin aiki. Nazarin UCH, Ibadan ya bayyana irin waɗannan kalubale ga mata Musulmi a kiwon lafiya, al'amarin da ya dace a dauka a matsayin ɓangare na WPV (*harassment/discrimination*) a ka'idojin asibiti.³³

Matsalar karancin rahoto (*underreporting*)

Babban kalubale shi ne rashin rahoton lamurra: a wani bincike na *tertiary hospital*, kashi 70% na ma'aikata sun ce sun fuskanci WPV, amma dole-ne-mataakai da bata lokaci wajen cike rahoto ($\approx 26.5\%$) da tsoron tasirin aikin gaba ($\approx 22.4\%$) sun hana su su rahoto abinda aka yi musu na batanci. Haka kuma, wasu suna ganin “illar ba mai tsanani ba ce,” ko kuma “ba su san inda za su kai rahoto ba.” Rashin rahoto yana sanya kasa gano ainihin sikeli da nau'in WPV, ya kuma hana gina tsare-tsaren kariya masu inganci.³⁴

³² [Lippincott+IPMC](#)

³³ [PMCicrjournal.org](#)

³⁴ [PMC](#)

Illolin WPV: lafiya, aiki, da ingancin kulawa

WPV yana da nauyin illa: yana kara damuwa da gajiya (*burnout*), ya lalata “*safety culture*,” ya rage gamsuwa da aiki, ya kara yiwuwar barin aiki (*turnover intention*), kuma yana iya rage ingancin kulawa—musamman a cunkosassun sassa inda ma’aikata ke daukar nauyin “*emotional labor*” mai nauyi. Nazarin adadi a Najeriya da Afirka ya nuna cewa zagi na baka shi ne mafi yawan nau’in, sannan barazana da duka; kuma sakamakon ga marasa lafiya na iya hadawa da jinkiri, kuskure, ko farin tsawon kwanciya a asibiti. Waɗannan sakamakon sun karfafa hujjar cewa WPV ba maganar “*kwarewar mutum*” ba ce kawai, illa ce ta tsari wadda ke buƙatar matakin ma’aikata da na cibiyar asibiti.³⁵

Abubuwan kariya da tsare-tsare: daga manufofi zuwa aiwatarwa

Hanyoyin magance WPV a asibiti su kan iya yin nasara idan an sanya su a cikin shiri na cibiyar baki ɗaya: (i) manufofin rigakafi da martani (*policy*) masu ma’ana, bisa jagororin ILO/ICN/WHO/PSI—sun haɗa da ma’anar WPV, rawar kowane ɓangare, hanyoyin rahoto masu sauƙi, da kariyar waɗanda suka ba da rahoto; (ii) tsaro (*security/environmental design*) a ER/OPD; (iii) horaswa kan *de-escalation*, gano alamun haɗari, da yin aiki tare da yaƙan sanda idan ya dace; (iv) sa ido da auna al’amura (*measurement & learning cycles*) ta tsarin da aka daidaita—misali, tsarin IHI na 2025—don bin diddigin yawan lamurra, wurin faruwa, da ingancin matakan rigakafi; (v) inganta sadarwa (*patient/relative communication*) game da dokokin asibiti; (vi) haɗa wariya bisa jinsi/addini cikin manufofin “*anti-harassment*,” domin kare mata Musulmi daga zagon kasa ko tsangwama. Waɗannan mataƙai suna daidaita da shawarar WHO/ILO kuma suna rage karancin rahoto da tasirin WPV.

³⁵ PMC+1

Sashi na uku: yāncin ibada, sutura, da ka'idojin asibiti

Kundun Tsarin Mulkin Najeriya ya tabbatar da yāncin ibada: Sashe na 38, 1999 ya tanadi yāncin kowane mutum ya yi ibada, ya bayyana addininsa a aikace da kiyaye al'adunsa muddin bai take haƙƙin wasu ba (National Human Rights Commission n.d.). Wannan manufa ta samu ƙarin ƙarfi a zamanance ta fuskar yanke hukunci—misali, hukuncin Kotun Koli na 17 Yuni 2022 ya tabbatar da halaccin sanya hijabi a makarantun gwamnati na Lagos, abin da ya nuna sahalewar rufe kai a matsayin wani ɓangare na bayyana addini a bainar jama'a (Premium Times 2022; TheCable 2022). A matakin ma'aikatar jinya, Hukumar NMCN ta fitar da takardar zagaye a 22 Disamba 2022 wadda ta amince da hijabin kafada (*shoulder-length hijab*) a kan kayan aikin jinya ga dalibai/ma'aikata mata Musulmi yayin aiki, tare da tunasar da tsohuwar ƙa'ida ta 2002 da ta ambaci hijabi ko hular jinya (EduCeleb 2022; Nursingworldnigeria 2022). A fannin doka ta ƙasa da ƙasa, Najeriya ta rattaba hannu kan Yarjejeniyar ILO C111 kan wariya a wurin aiki (2 Oktoba 2002), wadda ke wajabta manufofin daidaito da yānci ba tare da nuna bambanci ba a wajen shigar aiki, sharuɗɗan aiki, da ci gaban aikin (ILO NORMLEX 2024; ITUC 2011). Waɗannan tushe na doka suna samar da ginshiƙin da za a iya daidai ta buƙatun ibada da sutura da ƙa'idojin asibiti.

Duk da wannan tushe, bincike ya nuna cewa mata Musulmi a wasu cibiyoyi suna fuskantar takurawa ko ruɗani game da lokaci da wurin ibada, sutura (musamman hijabi), da tanadin wurin shayarwa—abin da zai iya zama wani nau'in tsangwama/*harassment* idan aka bar shi ba a magance shi ba (Kareem and Adeogun 2020). A matakin ƙasa da ƙasa, shaidar “*gendered Islamophobia*” a fannin lafiya ta nuna illolin ƙuntatawa kan hijabi/ibada: tsoron rashin tsaro, raguwar jin daɗin aiki, ƙarin gajiya (*burnout*), da toshe hanyoyin ci gaba (Khan et al. 2022). A sashin tiyata da ICU, akwai wannan buƙata: yadda za a daidaita hijabi da buƙatun kariyar kamuwa da cuta (IPC), “*bare-below-the-elbows*” (BBE) a lokacin kulawa kai-tsaye, da

tsaftar kayan aiki (*theatre attire*). Jagororin NHS sun nuna hanyoyin sulhu masu dogaro da shaida—misali, amincewa da “*theatre-appropriate hijabs*” ko hijabin tiyata (mai jure wanki/*sterile/disposable*), da amfani da hannun riga na wucin-gadi ko tura hannun riga sama da gwiwar hannu yayin wanke hannu (NHS England 2020; Al-Saadi 2022). Waɗannan misalan aikin na taimakawa asibitocin Najeriya su tsara ka’idoji masu dacewa da mahallinsu ba tare da tauye ka’idar IPC ba.

Daidaita ibada da sutura da ka’idojin asibiti: ginshikai huɗu

1. Tsarin lokuta da wurare: Ka’ida mai sauƙi ta “*reasonable accommodation*” na tanadar da mintuna kaɗan na hutun ibada a jadawalin aiki (musamman sallar la’asar da magariya a ranakun gaggawa), da kayyade wurin ibada mai tsaro ba tare da katse ayyuka ba. Ana iya haɗa wannan da ka’idar kananan hutu (*micro-breaks*) da ake da ita, tare da tabbacin cewa ba ta yi karo da bukatun kulawa kai-tsaye ba (Kareem and Adeogun 2020; NHS England 2020).
2. Sutura mai kariya da tsabta: A sassan da ba na tiyata ba, hijabin kafada mai tsabta, ta dace da ka’idar NMCN; a tiyata/ICU, a tanadi hijab na tiyata (*washable/disposable*) ko sanya hular tiyata a kan hijabi gwargwadon jagorancin IPC. A kulawa kai-tsaye, hannuwa su kasance a buɗe domin wanke hannu; idan an saka hannun riga na wucin-gadi saboda ladabi, a cire su kafin kulawa kai-tsaye, a wanke hannu, sannan a maido da su bayan kammalawa (NHS England 2020; Al-Saadi 2022).
3. Wurin shayarwa da suturar kariya: A tanadi daki ko wuri mai zaman kansa don shayarwa ko fitar da nono, tare da jadawalin hutu mai auna aiki. Wannan na daidaita ladabi, lafiya, da dokokin wurin aiki; ana iya haɗa shi da manufofin HR na ma’aikatar lafiya/asukali (NHS England 2020).
4. Kariyar yanci daga wariya: A sabunta manufofin HR/*anti-harassment* don bayyana addini a matsayin sifa da ke karkashin kariyar wariya; a daidaita wannan da kundin tsarin mulki da kuma ILO C111, a kuma daidaita su da tsare-tsaren

asibiti na IPC. A nan, horo kan bambancin al’adu (*cultural humility*) da “*bystander intervention*” na taimakawa wajen rage zargi/tsyangwama (ILO NORMLEX 2024; Khan et al. 2022).

Matakan aiwatarwa a asibiti

- Fayyassashen manufofi: A rubuta manufofin “ibada-da-sutura” a fili a cikin kundin aiki (staff handbook), a hada shi da ka’idojin *dress code*/IPC, a kuma bayyana rawar kowa—HR, shugabannin sassa, da ma’aikaci (NHS England 2020).
- Zane-ka’idar muhalli: Kananan abubuwa kamar alamomin hanya zuwa wurin ibada, kullewar wuri, da tanadin kayayyakin hijab na tiyata/wanke-wa (*sterile/disposable*) suna rage bata lokaci da rikice-rikice (NHS England 2020).
- Horaswa da sadarwa: Horo na gajeren lokaci game da muhimmancin ibada/sutura ga ma’aikata, da hada su da dalilan IPC, yana rage “*friction*” a aiki; sanar da marasa lafiya/danginsu kan dokokin asibiti na taimaka wa ma’aikacita aiwatar wa cikin kwanciyar hankali (Khan et al. 2022).
- Auna sakamako: A sa ido kan alamu (KPIs) kamar adadin korafe-korafe/tsyangwama da suka shafi addini, yawan rahotannin rikice-rikice kan sutura/ibada, da gamsuwar ma’aikata, tare da dubawa na lokaci-lokaci (*quarterly review*) (NHS England 2020).

Abubuwan lura na musamman ga mata Musulmi

Shaidu sun nuna cewa takurawa kan hijabi/ibada na iya haduwa da sauran kalubalen jinsi a aiki (gajiya, nauyin gida-da-aiki, karancin jagoranci), don haka kowane tanadi ya kamata ya hada da hanyar musanya hutu, tsarin taimakon ma’aikata (EAP), da hanyoyin ba da jagoranci/*mentorship* domin matasa ma’aikata su ga makoma mai kyau a aikace (Kareem and Adeogun 2020; Khan et al. 2022). A aikace, tanadin hijab na tiyata, kebabun wuraren ibada, da jadawalin da ke ba da dan sassauci sun nuna yiwuwar

sulhu mai dorewa ba tare da tauye ingancin kulawa da tsaron kamuwa da cuta ba (NHS England 2020; Al-Saadi 2022).

Sashi na huɗu: Albashi, horo, da karin matsayi

A mafi yawan asibitocin gwamnati a Najeriya, ma'aikatan jinya suna farkashin *Consolidated Health Salary Structure* (CONHESS)—taron jadawalin albashi da aka daidaita kwararrun kiwon lafiya. Bayan sauye-sauyen albashi da suka biyo bayan Dokar Mafi-karancin Albashi ta 2019, Hukumar Albashi ta Kasa (NSIWC) ta fitar da sabon jadawalin CONHESS, tare da jadawalin da aka sabunta a shafin hukuma. Wannan yana nufin matsayi da matakan kwarewa suna daidaita kai tsaye da matakin albashi da alawus, kodayake bambance-bambancen aiwatarwa na iya kasancewa tsakanin jihohi/ma'aikatun kula da asibitoci. A aikace, tsarin yana shafar sha'awar riƙe aiki: albashi mai gasa da alawus masu ma'ana (*call, shift, hazard*) na rage niyyar barin aiki, musamman a matsakaitan mataƙai inda ake da karancin ma'aikata. (NSIWC 2019; NSIWC 2024).³⁶

Shaidu daga binciken kwararru a Najeriya na nuna alaƙa mai karfi tsakanin gamsuwa da albashi, daurewar zuciya ga ma'aikata (*affective commitment*), da niyyar barin aiki. A nazarin da aka gudanar a asibitocin Ondo, karin gamsuwa da albashi ya haɗu da karin daurewar zuciya ga asibiti da raguwa a niyyar yin hijira daga aiki. Wannan yana nuna albashi mai tsoka shi ke zaunar da yawancin ma'aikata (Akinyemi, George, and Ogundele 2022).

A gefe guda, karuwar hijirar ma'aikatan jinya—musamman zuwa Birtaniya/Amurka—ya kara haskaka giɓin bambanci tsakanin abin da ake samu a gida da na kasashen waje. Rahotannin kididdiga na baya-bayane sun nuna dubban nas-nas na Najeriya sun shiga rajistar NMC (UK) a cikin shekara guda, abin da ke kara nauyi ga tsarin cikin gida kuma yana mayar da albashi/yanayin aiki a gida baya, abin da ke tasiri ga riƙe kwararru. (Punch Healthwise 2023; CGFNS 2025).

³⁶ [Scribdnsiwc.gov.ng](https://scribdnsiwc.gov.ng)

Horo da karin matsayi a aiki (CPD/MCPDP)

Kwararrun jinya a Najeriya na sabunta lasisi ne bisa cika buƙatun *Mandatory Continuing Professional Development Programme* (MCPDP). NMCN ta fayyace cewa kowane nas/ungozoma ta tara akalla kididdigar 6.0 CEUs ($\approx$ sa'o'i 60) a cikin kowane zagaye na shekaru uku, kuma akalla 3 (sa'o'i 30) su fito daga shirye-shiryen MCPDP da Majalisar ta tsara/ta amince da su. Wannan ka'ida na nufin tsare inganci da sabunta kwarewa—amma a aikace ana samun kalubale: kuɗin shiga kwasa-kwasai, ba a ware lokaci na “*protected time*” ba, da/ko iyakantaccen wuri a yankunan da ke nesa. (NMCN 2015/2019–2023; MedicalWorldNigeria 2020).³⁷

Daga mahangar manufofi, *WHO Global Strategic Directions for Nursing and Midwifery 2021–2025* ta jaddada “karfafa hanyoyin ilimi, ayyuka, jagoranci, da isar da hidima” a matsayin ginshikai huɗu da ya kamata kasashe su saka hannun jari a ciki: haɗa hanyoyin ilimi da aikin asibiti, samar da aikin da ya dace, da bunkasa jagoranci. Daidaita MCPDP da waɗannan jagororin—misali, tanadin tallafin kuɗi, lokutan hutu na CPD, da hanyoyin *e-learning* da aka amince da su—na iya rage gibi tsakanin cibiyoyi/jihohi da inganta walwala da ingancin kulawa. (WHO 2021).³⁸

Al'amuran “*intersectionality*” ga mata Musulmi: jadawalin CPD da ke faɗa da lokutan ibada (alal misali sallar Jumu'a ko sallar dare), ko tarukan horo da ba sa tanadin sutura/tsari mai dacewa, na iya rage halarta. Shirya kwasa-kwasai da “*hybrid formats*”, tanadin wurin ibada/sutura, da rage kuntatawar kwana a wajen gida—na taimakawa wajen daidaita addini–aiki–iyali ba tare da tauye ka'idojin asibiti ba (Kareem and Adeogun 2020; WHO 2021).

³⁷ Nursing and Midwifery Council of Nigeria Medical World Nigeria

³⁸ World Health Organization

Habaka matsayi (career progression)

A 2016 an amince da *Unified Scheme of Service* ga nas-nas, kuma *circular* na NMCN (22 Yuli 2021) ya sake fayyace cewa don wuce CONHESS 12 zuwa matakan darakta (*directorade cadre*), dole ne a mallaki BNSc/first degree in Nursing tare da rajista a NMCN. Wannan ya tsara matakan gogewa, ilimi, haɓaka matsayi a sarari, ya kuma karfafa buƙatar digiri da gogewar jagoranci ga manyan mukamai (NMCN 2021).³⁹

Bayan haka, *National Council on Establishments* (NCE) ta daga matakin shigar “*Nursing Officer*” daga SGL 09 zuwa SGL 10 (2022), abin da ya daidaita shiga ga masu *BNSc + internship + NYSC*; shafukan hukumomin jiha (misali Oyo) da na kungiyoyin jinya sun yada cikakkun bayanai kan wannan. A aikace, hakan na inganta daidaito da sauran kwararru da ke kan digiri daya, kuma na rage “*entry-level penalty*” da aka saba gani a baya. (Oyo State Establishments 2022/2025; NUNSA/Nursingworld 2022).

Tasirin da ake nema

Haɗa albashin da ya dace (CONHESS da alawus da aka daidaita), MCPDP mai samuwa kuma mai inganci, da matattakala taa haɓaka matsayi da ya girmama ilimi/jagoranci—tare da tanadin addini da buƙatun iyali—na iya rage gajiya, karfafa riƙe ma’aikata, da inganta sakamakon marasa lafiya. Wannan ya yi daidai da SDNM 2021–2025: saka hannun jari a ilimi, ayyuka, jagoranci, isar da hidima domin jinyar da ta dace da karni. (WHO 2021; NSIWC 2019; NMCN 2021).

Sashi na biyar: Lafiyaƙar kwakwalwa, hanyoyin tallafi, da dabarun jurewa (coping)

Lafiyaƙar kwakwalwa ta ma’aikatan jinya a Najeriya na fuskantar matsin lamba daga gurbataccen yanayin aiki (yawan aiki, karancin ma’aikata/kayan aiki) da abubuwan zamantakewa (wariya, cin zarafi), kuma hakan na haɗuwa da gajiya (*burnout*), damuwa, da baƙin ciki. Binciken ya nuna yawaitar gajiya mai

³⁹ Nursing and Midwifery Council of Nigeria+1

tsanani a sikelin Maslach, al'amari da ya haɗu da raguwar cin nasara a aiki (Lasebikan and Oyetunde 2012). Nazarin da aka yi a lokacin COVID-19 ya kuma nuna yawan damuwar tunani a ma'aikatan lafiya a Najeriya (tare da karin haɗari ga mata da masu aiki a layin gaba), yayin da bita na kasashe da dama ya nuna yawan “*psychological distress*” a ma'aikatan lafiya a Afirka (Badru et al. 2021; Ibigbami et al. 2022). Wannan yanayi na haɗuwa da rashin samuwar kulawa ta lafiyar kwaƙwalwa (karancin kwararru/tsare-tsare), wanda ya daɗe ana nuna shi a rubuce-rubuce na kasa game da tsarin kiwon lafiya, kuma shi ma yana rage karfin tallafi ga ma'aikata (Abdulmalik, Kola, and Gureje 2016; Wada et al. 2021).

Matakan tallafi a matakin kungiya/asibiti

Shawarwarin WHO na 2022 kan lafiyar kwaƙwalwa a wurin aiki sun jaddada mataakai na tsari (*organizational interventions*): tantance haɗarin aikin da ke cutar da lafiyar hankali; gyara *workload*/jadawalin dare; horas da manajoji su gane matsalolin tunani; da samar da hanyoyin samun taimako cikin sirri (WHO 2022; WHO/ILO 2022). Ga asibitoci a Najeriya, waɗannan mataakai su haɗu da: ka'idodin “*zero tolerance*” ga cin zarafi (danganta da sashin da ya gabata), hanyoyin rahoton da ba su da wahala, da shigar da manufofin tallafin ma'aikata (EAP) ko kwangilar sabis na shawara ta sirri a waje (*tele-counseling*), tare da lokutan hutu da aka kare (*protected time*) domin shiga shirin (WHO 2024; Mantracare/TCMA EAP pages). A matakin tsarin kiwon lafiya, shirin mhGAP da aka gwada a Najeriya ya nuna yiwuwar kara damar kulawar lafiyar kwaƙwalwa ta hanyar PHC (*task-shifting*), abin da ke rage cikas ga neman taimako; ana iya haɗa wannan da hanyoyin tura ma'aikata cikin sirri daga asibiti zuwa PHC/*consultation hubs* idan sun bukata (Gureje et al. 2015; Ali et al. 2022).

Tallafi a matakin kungiyar aiki (tawaga/peers)

Shirye-shiryen haɗin kai na tawaga—kamar *debriefing* na tsarin (bayan mummunan lamari), “*peer support*” da aka kware, da

kuma *Schwartz Rounds*—na taimaka wa ma'aikata su tattauna bangarorin zamantakewa na aiki ba tare da tsoro ba, su rage kebantuwa, da damuwa (*moral distress*), kuma masu nazari sun nuna hakan na da alaƙa da kyautata walwala/gamsuwa (Taylor et al. 2018; Ng et al. 2023; Golding and Cook 2024). A Najeriya, tsarin “*peer-mentoring*” a rukuni na likitoci ta nuna yiwuwar gina ƙarfin jurewa da ƙwarewar jagoranci, abin da asibitoci za su iya daidaitawa ga nas-nas (Toyin-Thomas et al. 2024). Muhimmin sashi shi ne a horar da masu jagoranci su taimaka wajen tura ma'aikaci zuwa taimakon sirri idan ya dace, da kuma tabbatar da cewa waɗannan tarurruka ba su maye gurbin kulawar ƙwararru ba idan an bukata.⁴⁰

Hanyoyin jurewa (*coping*) a matakin mutum

Bincike ya nuna mahimmancin ɗan gajeren atisayen kula da tunani da numfashi (*mindfulness-/CBT-based self-help*), tsara barci, motsa jiki, da tsara dangantaka da aiki-da-gida. Ga mata Musulmi, bincike a ma'aikatan jinya ya nuna cewa salla/ibada na iya rage tasirin damuwar aiki, a matsayin dabarar jurewa mai amfani; kuma bincike a kan ma'aikatan lafiya Musulmi ya nuna “godiyar Allah” a matsayin dabarar da ke da alaƙa da ƙarancin damuwa (Achour et al. 2019; ISPU 2022). A mahallin asibitin da ke tanadar da wurin ibada da sutura (kamar yadda aka fayyace a Sashi 3), dabarun addini na zama ɓangare mai kyau na “*coping repertoire*” ba tare da tauye ka'idodin IPC ba. Haka kuma, nazari a Najeriya ya nuna cewa sarrafa damuwa na buƙatar haɗa dabarun tunani, jiki, da muhalli (misali, *micro-breaks*, canjin yanayin aiki), bisa tsari da horo (Nwobodo and Okonkwo 2023).

Yaki da kyamar cututtukan ƙwaƙwalwa

Kyamar cututtukan ƙwaƙwalwa da tsoron abin da za a ce a aiki na hana neman taimako. Rubuce-rubucen sun daɗe suna kiran a inganta doka/manufofi, kuɗaɗe, da haɗa lafiyar ƙwaƙwalwa cikin PHC; kuma sun jaddada rawar yaƙi da kyama da cutar ƙwaƙwalwa a matsayin ginshiƙi (Abdulmalik, Kola, and Gureje

⁴⁰ [BMJ OpenPMC+2PMC+2](#)

2016; Wada et al. 2021). Don haka, tsarin asibiti ya kamata ya tanadi hanyoyin boye-suna a rahoton damuwa, tallafin sirri da shawarwari, da manufofin HR da ke fayyace yancin neman taimako ba tare da tsangwama ba. WHO ta kuma jaddada muhimmancin kare haƙƙin ma'aikaci (*privacy/anti-discrimination*) a dukkan mata kai na aikin (WHO 2024).

Don tabbatar da tasiri, shawarwarin su hada: (1) auna alamu na walwala (misali, gajerun ma'auni na damuwa/gajiya), (2) ƙidayar shiga shirye-shiryen tallafi/EAP/Schwartz Rounds, (3) alamu na aiki (*presenteeism/absenteeism*, juya aiki), da (4) alamu na kulawa. A duk zagaye, a gabatar da “*learning cycles*” na watanni 3–6 don daidaita shirye-shiryen. Wannan ya yi daidai da ra'ayoyin WHO/ILO kan tsara manufofi bisa shaidu da auna sakamako.

Nazari

Wannan makala ta duba kalubalen da ma'aikatan jinya ke fuskanta. Sashi 1 (yanayin aiki, yawan aiki, da gajiya) ya nuna cewa tsarin *Job Demands–Resources* da “*Areas of Worklife*” suna bayyana yadda yawan aiki, karancin iko da lada ke ninka haɗarin gajiya. Shaidu na cikin gida sun nuna WISN *ratio* kasa da daidai a cibiyoyin PHC, tare da matakan gajiya masu tsanani a sikelin Maslach. Hakan yana da tasiri kai tsaye ga ingancin kulawa, bisa shaidun nazarin duniya da ke danganta ƙarin nauyi a kan nas da mutuwar marasa lafiya da tsawon kwanciya (Aiken et al. 2014; Lasater et al. 2021).

Sashi 2 (cin zarafi a wurin aiki) ya fayyace yaɗuwar zagi na baka, barazana, da farmaki a ER/OPD, tare da babbar matsalar rashin samun rahotanni game da cin zarafin da ma'aikatan ke fuskanta. Marasa lafiya/danginsu su ne manyan masu aikatawa; amma ana kuma samun tsangwama daga abokan aiki. Illolin sun haɗa da ƙarin damuwa da gajiya, lalacewar “*safety culture*,” da ƙarin niyyar barin aiki. Shawarwarin sun haɗa da manufofin rigakafi/kariya, sauƙaƙe rahoto, ba da tsaro, horaswa, da auna

lamurra akai-akai (Douglas and Enikanoselu 2019; WHO/ILO/ICN/PSI 2002).

Sashi 3 (yāncin ibada, sutura, da ka'idojin asibiti) ya danganta doka da ka'ida da aiki. Kundin Tsarin Mulki, hukuncin Kotun Koli na hijabi (2022), da takardun NMCN (2022) sun samar da tushen doka don “*reasonable accommodation*.” A aikace, ana iya daidaita sutura da ka'idojin IPC ta hijab na tiyata (*washable/disposable*), BBE a lokacin wanke hannu, da tanadin wurin ibada/hutu ba tare da tauye kulawa ba. Wannan yana rage “*gendered Islamophobia*,” yana karfafa shigarwa, kuma yana taimakawa walwala (Kareem and Adeogun 2020; NHS England 2020; Al-Saadi 2022).

Sashi 4 (albashi, horo, da karin matsayi) ya nuna muhimmancin CONHESS, alawus (*shift/call/hazard*), da sake fasalin ladder (NMCN 2021; NCE feats) wajen riƙe ma'aikata. Bukatar CPD/MCPDP (≥ 6 CEUs a kowane zagaye) na tabbatar da inganci, amma tana buƙatar tallafin kuɗi, “*protected time*,” da hanyoyin *e-learning*. Hijirar nas-nas zuwa kasashen waje na kara nuna buƙatar albashi mai tsoka, ingantaccen yanayi, da hanyoyin ci gaba (WHO 2021).

Sashi 5 (lafiyar kwakwalwa, hanyoyin tallafi, da *coping*) ya haɗa matakan asibiti (*organizational interventions*), EAP/shawarwari cikin sirri, “*peer support/Schwartz Rounds*,” da dabarun mutum (CBT-/*mindfulness-based*, motsa jiki, tsara barci). Ga mata Musulmi, salla da sauran dabarun addini—idan an tanadi wurin ibada da sutura—na rage damuwa. Babban abin da ya hana neman taimako shi ne kyamar cututtukan kwakwalwa; don haka buƙatar hanyoyin boye-suna, kariyar haƙƙi, da haɗa kulawa cikin PHC (WHO 2022; Gureje et al. 2015).

Kammalawa

Wannan makala ta nuna cewa ingancin kulawa da walwala a asibitocin Najeriya ba za su iya samuwa ba ba tare da kula da

yanayin aiki, tsaron wurin aiki, shigarwa na addini/sutura, albashi/CPD/ladder, da lafiyar kwaƙwalwa a lokaci guda ba. Idan aka dauki mata kai na tsari da aka daidaita da shaida—daga WISN da *anti-WPV*, zuwa hijab-IPC *accommodation*, sabunta CONHESS/CPD, da EAP/*peer-support*—za a rage gajiya, a taƙaita cin zarafi, a bunkasa shigar da adalci, kuma a inganta sakamakon marasa lafiya. A ƙarshe, lura da buƙatun mata Musulmi a jinya ba adalci ba ne kaɗai; dabara ce ta inganta lafiyar al’umma wadda ke haɗa inganci, tasiri, da dorewar aikin jinya (Lasebikan and Oyetunde 2012; Douglas and Enikanoselu 2019; Kareem and Adeogun 2020; Gureje et al. 2015; WHO 2021).

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Chapter 10

Kalubale Da Mata Ke Fuskanta a Dalilin Aiki a Gidajen Aurensu

Work and Marriage: The Struggles of Women within the
Household

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Summary

The chapter investigates the lived realities of married, employed Hausa women who navigate paid work alongside domestic expectations within Northern Nigeria. It situates women’s labor within Islamic discourse, Hausa cultural norms, and contemporary socioeconomic shifts, asking how religious interpretation, customary ideals of a “good woman,” and household economics converge to shape women’s opportunities, burdens, and well-being. The study’s aim is both descriptive—documenting challenges—and normative—proposing remedies that harmonize Islamic principles, marital cooperation, and supportive policy.

Conceptual framing

The argument is anchored in three intertwined frames. First is the work–family conflict paradigm and the notion of the second shift: women carry simultaneous responsibilities in waged work and unpaid household labor without proportional renegotiation at home. Second is the cultural script of “mace ta gari” (the virtuous woman), which prizes patience, modesty, obedience, and domestic competence and is frequently mobilized to evaluate wives even when they are major contributors to household income. Third is Islamic textual interpretation. The chapter corrects misreadings of Qur’an 33:33 that have been generalized to all women and re-centers Qur’an 9:71 and 33:35 to affirm

men's and women's shared moral and social responsibilities. Historical precedents of active female participation in public life (A'isha bint Abi Bakr, Umm Salama, Nusaybah bint Ka'b, Rufaydah al-Aslamiyyah) are adduced to contest the idea that women's public work is religiously improper.

Methods and sources

The author synthesizes relevant literature (including Hausa women's studies and social commentaries) with qualitative insights from interviews with employed, married women across health, education, and commerce. While the chapter signals semi-structured interviews and thematic analysis, it also acknowledges the need for fuller methodological disclosure (sampling strategy, site distribution, analysis protocols) to enhance rigor and replicability. Complementary findings from a related study on work-related stress among Northern Nigerian women (Isa Dahiru and Jibrin Gambo) are incorporated to triangulate health and psychosocial outcomes.

Key findings

1. Dual workloads and time poverty

Across sectors, women report chronic strain from combining paid work with cooking, cleaning, and childcare. Even when their earnings equal or exceed their husbands', domestic expectations remain unchanged. The resulting fatigue, sleep disruption, and stress are linked to elevated blood pressure, mood symptoms, and marital friction. Commutes, inflexible hours, and irregular support for childcare intensify time poverty.

2. Financial asymmetries and shifting household contracts

Women's income often stabilizes households, paying for food, utilities, and school fees. Yet in some marriages, male partners respond to wives' earnings by withdrawing from obligatory provisioning, recasting the wife's pay as default household revenue. This "income substitution" dynamic produces resentment and power asymmetries, especially

when husbands retain decision authority over spending while external kin reduce their customary support on the assumption that an employed wife no longer needs help.

3. *Jealousy, surveillance, and reputational risk*

Employment can trigger jealousy from husbands or in-laws, especially when wives control their wages or achieve visible professional success. Gossip and online rumor—sometimes cloaked in moralistic language—question a working woman’s modesty, professionalism, or loyalty, compromising marital trust and shaping husbands’ attitudes toward wives’ continued employment.

4. *Cultural and interpretive pressures*

Enduring communal narratives portray the ideal wife primarily as a homemaker. Selective or decontextualized religious citations are sometimes mobilized to discourage women’s mobility or professional advancement. The chapter counters this with hermeneutic clarification: the verse commonly invoked to restrict women’s movement is addressed to the Prophet’s wives and condemns ostentatious display (*tabarruj*), not legitimate public presence or work. In contrast, Qur’anic passages affirm collaborative communal labor and moral responsibility for both men and women.

5. *Self-care deficits*

Given the double load, women report little time for health maintenance, rest, or restorative sociality. Neglect of personal well-being erodes confidence and satisfaction, quietly degrading household harmony.

Religious, historical, and sociocultural synthesis

The chapter’s distinctive contribution is to braid doctrinal clarification, historical exemplars, and sociological observation. It argues that Islamic ethics neither mandates women’s economic inactivity nor legitimates male abdication of financial duty. Instead, it supports cooperative marital arrangements, dignity, and mutual aid. Early Islamic history offers concrete models of women teaching, adjudicating, nursing, and even advising on political matters, undermining claims that public contribution is

a modern aberration. Within Hausa contexts, however, the valorization of modesty and domestic excellence has, in practice, been used to preserve asymmetric household labor expectations despite women's indispensable earnings.

Implications for health, marriage, and community

The second shift corrodes well-being, increases marital tension, and can precipitate burnout. Yet the author shows how women's wages reduce poverty, finance children's schooling, and stabilize families—effects that spill over into community health and education. The social question, then, is not whether women should work, but how households, employers, religious leaders, and policy makers can redesign expectations, schedules, and supports so that women's public contribution does not demand private self-sacrifice.

Recommendations

Household level

- Renegotiate domestic labor explicitly, with husbands taking routine shares of cooking, cleaning, and childcare commensurate with time availability and earnings.
- Create transparent household budgets that protect women's control over part of their income and prevent silent substitution of men's Qur'anic obligation to provide.

Religious and community leadership

- Preach and teach with textual precision, distinguishing fiqh (legal rulings) from adab/akhlaq (ethics and counsel), and resist converting cultural preferences into legal imperatives.
- Publicly highlight women's historical religious service and contemporary professional contributions to normalize women's presence in valued roles.

Workplace and sectoral policies

- Implement predictable scheduling, maternal leave, lactation accommodations, on-site or subsidized childcare, and employee wellness programs for stress management.

- Encourage digital health tools and flexible modalities where feasible, especially in education and administration, to reduce commute burdens.

Public policy

- Enact and enforce protections against workplace harassment and discrimination; support affordable childcare markets; and expand community health coverage for stress-related conditions that disproportionately affect dual-burdened women.

Research agenda and limitations

The chapter's analytical arc is compelling but would benefit from stronger methodological scaffolding: clearer sampling frames; disaggregated analysis by sector, income, education, rural–urban residence, and marital form (monogamy/polygyny); and thicker vignettes tracing how gossip, jealousy, or budgetary strain translate into concrete marital negotiations. Mixed-methods designs could quantify health outcomes and time-use while preserving narrative nuance. Comparative work with households that successfully renegotiate chores and finances could isolate practical levers of change.

Conclusion

This chapter advances a careful, theologically grounded, and socially attuned case: women's paid work in Hausa Muslim society is religiously valid, economically vital, and socially beneficial, but it currently rides on an inequitable distribution of unpaid domestic labor reinforced by cultural scripts and selective religious citation. Correcting interpretive errors, honoring Islamic commitments to justice and mutual support, and instituting concrete household, workplace, and policy reforms can reduce the second shift and enhance marital harmony, women's health, and communal prosperity. The most durable path is not opposition to tradition but its reform from within: clarifying texts, recovering precedent, and translating principles

into everyday practices that share the burdens and the blessings of women's work.

Gabatarwa

A cikin al'ummar Bahaushe, musamman a yau da zamani ke sauyawa, mata masu aiki suna fuskantar kalubale iri-iri a gidajen aurensu. Wannan bincike ya duba mahimmancin aikin mace, matsayinsa a Musulunci, tarihin shigar mata harkokin aiki, da kuma irin matsalolin da ke tasowa sakamakon hakan. Daga cikin manyan kalubalen akwai rashin goyon baya daga miji ko yan-uwa, wahalar sarrafa lokaci tsakanin aiki da kula da gida, da kuma matsin lamba dangane da al'adu da ke kallon mace a matsayin mai aikin gida kawai (*housewife*).

Har ila yau, binciken nawa ya bayyana yadda wasu al'adu ke haifar da matsin rayuwa ga mata, inda mata ma'aikata ke fuskantar cikas wajen bayyana ra'ayinsu ko yin zaɓi. Sai dai duk da waɗannan kalubalen, mata da dama na nuna jarumta da karfin guiwa wajen tunkarar su. Binciken ya kuma bayyana hanyoyi da dama da za su iya taimakawa mata wajen gyara rayuwarsu, da samun daidaito tsakanin aikinsu da kuma kula da iyali.

Na tattara bayanann wannan bincike ta hanyar duba littattafai, mujallu da wasu rubuce-rubuce masu nasaba da wannan batu, tare da jin ta bakin wasu mata ma'aikata, domin gano irin kalubalen da suke fuskanta a zahiri a gidajen aurensu.

Kalubalen matan aure ma'aikata

Mata suna taka rawar gani a harkokin kasuwanci da aikin yi a wannan zamani. Wannan ya sa su ke shiga fagen aiki ba tare da barin nauyin da ke kansu na gida ba. Sai dai wannan canji yana jawo musu matsaloli da dama a rayuwar aure. Sau da yawa, ana bukatar su daidaita tsakanin bukatun aiki da kuma al'amuran gida, wanda hakan ke haifar da gajiya, damuwa, da kuma tasiri ga lafiyarsu ta jiki da kuma ta kwaƙwalwa.

Daya daga cikin manyan kalubalen da mata ke fuskanta shi ne rashin daidaito tsakanin aikin waje da na gida. Mata da yawa suna cigaba da daukar nauyin girki, tsabtace gida, da kula da yara — duk da cewa suna yin aiki a waje kamar maza. Watau aiki biyu ne akan su. Su lura da gida kamar yadda ake tsammani duk wata mace ta yi, sannan kuma su taimaka da kudafansu ta hanyar gudanar da al'amuran gidan kamar yadda maza suke yi. A lokota da yawa, mata na ba da gudunmawar kudi dai-dai da maza ko ma sama da mazan, sannan hakan bai dauke musu nauyin aikin gida ba. Duk da mahimmancin aikin mace musamman a lokutan da miji ba ya shi da wadatar lura da nauyin iyalin, wanda shine halin da yawancin mazaje suka samu kansu a ciki, mata da kansu sukan dauka cewa kula da gida shine babban aikin mace, fiye da sauran ayyukan da take yi a wajen gida. Wannan ra'ayi yana iya hana ci gaban su a wajen aikin.

Kalubalen da mata ma'aikata ke fuskanta a gidajen aurensu na bukatar cikakken fahimta da kulawa daga al'umma baki daya. Yayin da duniya ke cigaba da sauyawa, yana da matuƙar muhimmanci a magance waƙannan matsalolin. Ya zama wajibi a karfafa raba nauyin aiki a gida tsakanin miji da mata, da kuma kirƙirar yanayi mai tallafa wa mace domin ta samu nasara duka a gida da wajen aiki. Mata ma'aikata da yawa, kamar yadda na ambata a sama, suna ba wa iyalansu tallafin kudi, me zai hana mazajensu suma su ba da tallafin wajen aikin gida? Me zai hana mazajen tallafawa wajen girgi, wanke-wanke, wanki, rainon yara da sauransu?

Nazarin Adabi

A nazarin da marubuta suka gudanar dangane da kalubalen da mata ke fuskanta sakamakon shiga aikin waje, an bayyana cewa hakan yana da tasiri mai girma ga zaman lafiya da jin dadin rayuwarsu — a gida da wajen gida. Ga wasu daga cikin ra'ayoyin da marubutan suka bayyana a cikin rubuce-rubucensu:

Mamman Muhammad, a cikin littafinsa *Matsalolin Mata da Aikin Waje*, ya bayyana cewa akwai babban sabani tsakanin nauyin aikin gida da kuma aikin da mata ke yi a wajen gida. A matsayin su na iyaye mata, su ne ke daukar nauyin kula da tsaftar gida, girki, da tarbiyyar yara, sannan kuma su na kofarin cimma nasara a wurin aiki. Wannan takaddama tsakanin nauyin gida da na waje yana janyowa mata gajiya, damuwa, da kuma karancin hutu. A wasu lokuta, nauyin da ke kansu yana zama fiye da karfin abinda za su iya dauka, har ya jefa su cikin matsalolin lafiyar jiki da ta kwakwalwa.

Aiyukan manazarta irinsu Rahina Muazu,⁴¹ Rahma Abdul-Majid,⁴² Umma Aliyu,⁴³ Balkisu Salisu Funtua⁴⁴ dss, sun taka muhimmiyar rawa wajen bunkasa adabin Hausa, musamman ta fuskar bayyana rayuwar mata da kalubalen da suke fuskanta a cikin al'umma. Wadannan marubutan sun yi amfani da rubuce-rubucensu wajen wayar da kai, karfafa mata, da bayyana ra'ayoyinsu game da zamantakewar aure, ilimi, da aikin yi. Gudunmawar da suka bayar ta nuna mana kalubalen da mata ke fuskanta. Daga cikinsu shi ne rashin cikakken goyon bayan mazajensu ko danginsu. Wasu mazan na kallon aikin mace a waje a matsayin rashin kamun kai. Wannan fahimta na haifar da sabani tsakanin ma'aurata, wanda a karshe ka iya janyo rikici ko matsin rayuwa a cikin gida, ko ma mutuwar aure. Mata da yawa sukan hakura da aikin idan tsangwama tai yawa, wanda hakan ke janyo kuncin tattalin arziki ba garesu ba kadai, har ga iyalansu, da al'umma baki daya.

⁴¹ Muazu, R. (2022). Why invite her here? Her voice is 'awra!: Vocal nudity debates and Muslim female preachers in northern Nigeria. *Africa*, 92(3), 334–353. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0001972022000286>

⁴² Rahma Abdul-Majid, *Mace Mutum* (2006); *Shekaru Ashirin; Ha'inci ko Kauna?*; *Zata Iya*; *Tuwon Kaya* (2004).

⁴³ Umma Aliyu Musa, *Emotions in Muslim Hausa Women's Fiction: More Than Just Romance* (2019).

⁴⁴ Balkisu Salisu Ahmed Funtua, *Allura Cikin Ruwa* (1994); *Wa Ya San Gobe?* (1996); *Ki Yarda da Ni* (1997); *Zabin Allah*; *Gaskiya Na Makwafinta*.

Bugu da kari, akwai al'adar gargajiya na nuna matsi ga matan da ke fita aiki. Akwai gurguwar fahimtar addini, wanda ke iƙirarin cewa mace fita uku kawai ya kamata ta yi a duniya: daga cikin mahaifiyar ta zuwa duniya, sannan zuwa dakin mijinta, sannan zuwa kabarinta. Wasu ma sun yi kuskuren fassarar ayar al-Kur'anin da ake yawan amfani da ita wajen hana mata fita. Watau Suratul Ahzab aya ta 33, wadda Allah Maƙaukakin Sarki ke cewa: *"Ku zauna a cikin gidajenku, kuma kada ku bayyana kamar yadda mata suka bayyana (tabarruj) a zamanin jahiliyya na farko."*

Wannan aya an saukar da ita ne a Madina musamman ga matan Annabi Muhammadu (SAW). An kafa dokokin da suka shafi gidan Annabi don su zama misalai na kyawawan dabi'u da tsarkin zuciya ga al'umma. Kalmar *tabarruj* a nan tana nufin bayyanar ado ko jiki da niyyar jawo hankalin maza – ba wai rashin fita ba.

Sai dai, daga baya wasu sun fassara wannan aya tare da bayyana kamar dai tana nufin hana mata fitane gaba daya. Wannan fassarar ta su ta sauya ma'anar *tabarruj* daga bayyanar ado zuwa "rashin fita daga gida" ko "fita bainer jama'a." Wannan fahimta ba ta dace da sauran ayoyin al-Kur'ani da ke nuna cewa mata suna da yancin rayuwa da ba da gudummawa a cikin al'umma ba. Misali, al-Kur'ani 9:71 da 33:35 sun bayyana cewa muminaɓi maza da mata dukkansu masu alhakin juna ne wajen aikata alheri da hana mumuna.

Bugu da kari, tarihi ya nuna cewa matan Annabi da sauran sahabbai mata ba su zauna gida kawai ba. Nana A'isha ta halarci yaƙin Jamal, kuma ta bayar da Hadisai fiye da 2,000. Nana Ummu Salama ta kasance mai bayar da fatawa kuma ta shiga tattaunawa ta siyasa. Nusaybah bint Ka'ab ta halarci yaƙi tare da Annabi a yaƙin Uhud. Rufaydah al-Aslamiyyah kuma ta kafa asibiti a filin yaƙi don jinya. Wannan yana tabbatar da cewa

kasancewar mata a fili da kuma cikin manyan ayyuka ba haramun ba ne a Musulunci a maimakon haka, abin yabo ne.

A takaice, aya ta 33:33 tana karfafa aiki da tsoron Allah a halayyar mace, amma ba ta haramtawa mata rayuwa a fili ba. Yin amfani da wannan aya don hana mata fita ko shiga al'umma ba fassarar daidai ba ce, illa dai dɔrawa ayar fahimta ce da ba ta da tushen nassosi. Tarihin rayuwar Annabi da sahabbai ya tabbatar da cewa mata suna da muhimmiyar rawa a rayuwar al'umma. Don haka, Musulunci yana goyon bayan haɗin gwiwa tsakanin maza da mata cikin tsari, imani da mutunci.

Wani kalubale da mata ma'aikata ke fuskanta shine kallon da ake musu na waɗanda suke kaucewa rawar da ya kamata su taka a gida — wato matsayin uwa, mai kula da gida, ko matar aure. Hakan kan jefa su cikin rikice-rikicen tunani, rashin kwarin guiwa, da shakkun kansu, wanda ke shafar dangantaka da iyali da kuma martabarsu a cikin gida. Hakan kuma na sa su cikin jimami, da tunanin cewa ba su ba da gudunmawar da ta dace, wanda a zahiri, hakan ba gaskiya ba ne.

Acikin wannan littafin, binciken *"Balancing Act: The Impact of Work-Related Stress on Women's Well-Being in Marriage"* wanda Isa Dahiru da Jibrin Gambo suka gabatar, ya bayyana irin yadda mata masu aiki a Arewacin Najeriya ke fuskantar matsin lamba daga nauyin da ke kan su na aiki da kuma kula da gida. Binciken ya nuna cewa wannan nauyin yana haifar da gajiya ta jiki, damuwa ta tunani, da kuma rashin jin daɗi a zamantakewar aure. Ta hanyar haɗa tambayoyin bincike da hirarraki da mata 100 daga fannoni uku lafiya, ilimi, da kasuwanci, an gano cewa mata ma'aikata sunfi sauran matsananciyar damuwa, wanda ke haifar da cututtuka kamar hauhawar jini, rashin barci, da cutar damuwa, tare da karin rashin jin daɗi a cikin auren su. Binciken ya bayyana cewa ra'ayoyin al'ada, karancin samun kiwon lafiya, da rashin goyon bayan mazajensu suna karawa waɗannan mata wahala. Masu binciken sun bayar da shawarwari kamar shirye-

shiryen kula da lafiyar ma'aikata a wuraren aiki, amfani da sabbins fasahohin kiwon lafiya (kamar na'urorin bibiyar damuwa, aikace-aikacen waya, da likitocin yanar gizo), da karfafa tallafin al'umma. Haka kuma, an bukaci a samar da ingantattun manufofi, gudanar da bincike na dogon lokaci, da kuma saka darussa a makarantu. Wannan zai taimaka wajen rage matsin lamba da inganta rayuwar mata da danginsu a Arewacin Najeriya.

Mace a Musulunci

Musulunci ya baiwa mace matsayi mai girma da daraja, inda aka tabbatar da rawar da take takawa a fannonin addini, ilimi, siyasa da kuma zamantakewar al'umma. A cikin Al-Qur'ani Mai Girma, akwai ayoyi da dama da ke bayyana darajar mace da matsayin da take da shi a gaban Allah (SWT). A Suratul Nisa'i (4:1), Allah (SWT) yana cewa: *"Ya ku mutane! Ku ji tsoron Ubangijinku wanda Ya halicce ku daga rai guda, kuma daga gare ta Ya halitta ma ta zawj(ha), kuma daga gare su biyu Ya yawaita maza da mata da dama."* Wannan aya tana nuna cewa mace da namiji sun samo asali daga rai guda, wanda ke tabbatar da daidaiton daraja da mutunci a tsakanin jinsi biyu. A wani wuri kuma, Allah (SWT) yana ce wa: *"Kada ku yi hassada ga abin da Allah Ya fifita wasu da shi akan wasu. Makusanta suna da rabonsu daga abin da suka samu, haka ma mata suna da rabonsu daga abin da suka samu"* (Qur'an 4:32). Wannan aya tana kara tabbatar da cewa mata suna da haƙƙoƙi da ke daidai da na maza, da kuma cewa kowane jinsi yana da na sa albarkar da kuma kima. Musulunci ya haramta tauye haƙƙin mace a fannoni da dama, inda ya tanada mata haƙƙin mallakar dukiya, haƙƙin neman ilimi, haƙƙin yin aure (ko rashin yin auren) da zaɓar miji, da kuma haƙƙin ba da gudunmawa a cikin al'umma, da kuma haƙƙin ilimi. Annabi Muhammad (SAW) ya ce: *"Neman ilimi farilla ne a kan kowanne Musulmi, namiji da mace"* (Ibn Majah, Hadith 224). Wannan hadisin yana nuna cewa ilimi ba na jinsi guda ba ne, kuma mata suna da cikakken ikon neman ilimi da kuma yadda shi.

A tarihin musulunci, akwai fitattun mata da suka taka rawar gani wajen yada ilimi. Nana A'isha bint Abi Bakr (RA), matar Annabi (SAW), ta kasance babbar malama kuma mai bayar da fatawa a cikin Sahabbai. Ta ruwaito fiye da hadith 2,210 kuma ta koyar da darussa ga sahabbai da tabi'ai (Rifai, 1992: 68). An san ta da hikima, fahimta, da zurfin ilimi, har manyan Sahabbai maza da mata ke zuwa neman fatawa wajenta.

Haka kuma, Nana Khadija bint Khuwailid (RA), matar Annabi ta farko, sannan kuma mutum ta farko da ta fara imani da Manzon Allah (SAW), ta kasance jaruma, yar kasuwa, kuma mai wadata wacce ta tallafa masa da dukiyarta da zuciyyarta wajen yada addinin Musulunci. Lokacin da wahayi ya fara saukowa, ita ce ta fara karfar sakon da ya zo masa da karfin gwiwa da kwanciyar hankali. Gudummawar Nana Khadija tana da matuƙar muhimmanci a tarihin Musulunci kuma tana zama abin koyi ga mata a dukkan lokaci (Wadud, 1999).

Fatima bint Muhammad (RA), yar Annabi (SAW) kuma matar Sayyidina Ali (RA), ta kasance mace mai tawali'u da kwazo a cikin gidanta, tana tarbiyyar y'aya da kula da mijinta cikin ladabi. Ta kasance misali ga mata wajen rayuwa mai sauƙi da tsoron Allah. Ummu Salama (RA) ta kasance daya daga cikin matan Annabi (SAW) da suka fi kowa ilimi. A lokacin sulhun Hudaibiyya, ta kasance cikin masu bayar da shawarwari a al'amuran siyasa da zamantakewa, kuma ta kasance mace mai hangen nesa da hikima (Al-Fituri, 2004: 72). Asma'u bint Abi Bakr (RA), yar-uwar Nana A'isha, ta taka muhimmiyar rawa lokacin hijirar Annabi (SAW) daga Makkah zuwa Madina tare da mahaifinta Sayyidna Abubakar. Ita ce ta rika kai musu abinci cikin sirri. Bayan hijira, ta ci gaba da zama mace tsayayya.

Wadannan misalai sun tabbatar da cewa mata a musulunci ba wai kawai abokan zama ba ne. A'a, jagorori ne, malamai ne, mataimaka ne, da kuma abokan shawara ne masu tarbiyyar iyali da al'umma. Musulunci bai tauyesu ba, sai dai ma karfafa su da kuma sanya su cikin tsari da martaba.

Aikin Mace a Musulunci

Aikin mace a Musulunci yana da tushe da kwarin hujja a cikin Al-Kur'ani da Hadisai. Akwai nassoshi da dama da ke bayyana cewa mace na da haƙƙin gudanar da aiki, kasuwanci, mallakar dukiya, da daukar nauyin kanta da na iyalanta. Allah Madaukakin Sarki yana cewa cikin Suratul Tauba:

“Muminai maza da mata suna taimakon juna wajen kyautatawa, yin salla, bayar da zakka, da kuma umarni da kyakkyawa da hana mummuna...” (Q9:71)

Wannan aya tana tabbatar da cewa mata suna da cikakken haƙƙi na shiga cikin al'amuran jama'a da ayyuka na zamantakewa, ciki har da kasuwanci da sauran ayyuka na halal. Haka nan cikin Suratul Ahzab, Allah yana cewa:

“Lalle maza da mata masu biyayya, da masu imani, da masu hakuri, da masu sadaka, da masu azumi, da masu kiyaye farjinsu...” (Q33:35)

Wannan aya tana nuna cewa aikin alheri da ibada da hidimar jama'a ba ga maza kadai ba ne, har da mata. Wannan yana nuni da cewa aikin mata a fannonin addini, lafiya, taimakon jama'a da sauran ayyukan alheri yana da tushe a addini. Haka zalika, cikin Suratul Mu'minun (Q23:1–11), Allah ya bayyana siffofin muminai da suka haɗa da yin aiki na halal da neman abinci cikin gaskiya. Wannan yana tabbatar da cewa neman halal da yin sana'a na ɗaya daga cikin hanyoyin tsira. Hadisai da dama sun tabbatar da matsayin ilimi da aikin mace a cikin Musulunci. Annabi (SAW) ya ce:

“Duk wanda ya fita neman ilimi, yana cikin hanyar Allah har sai ya dawo.” (Tirmizi)

A wani hadisin da Aisha (RA) ta ruwaito, Annabi (SAW) ya ce:

“Kada ku hana 'yan mata aikin gida ko aikace-aikacen da suke yi saboda Allah.” (Bukhari da Muslim).

A lokacin Annabi (SAW), mata da dama sun kasance masu aiki da hidima ga addini da al'umma. Khadija (RA), matar Annabi, ta kasance dāya daga cikin manyan yān kasuwa a Makka, kuma ta taimaka wa Annabi sosai wajen isar da sakon Musulunci. Sannan kamar yadda na ambata a sama, Nana Aisha (RA), matar Annabi, ta kasance dāya daga cikin fitattun malaman addini. Ta bayar da fatawa, ta koyar da fikihi da hadisi, kuma ta kasance jagora ga al'umma a harkokin shari'a. Wannan yana nuna cewa mata suna da damar yin aiki a fannoni da yawa.

Mata a Daular Umayyad da Abbasid

A zamanin daular Umayyad da Abbasid, mata sun taka muhimmiyar rawa a fannonin ilimi, lafiya da kasuwanci. Sun samu damar shiga makarantun addini da koyarwa a cikin masallatai. Wasu daga cikinsu sun zama fitattun malamai da masu bada fatawa. Akwai kuma shugabanni mata kamar **Sultana Raziya**, sarauniya a Delhi a karni na 13. Hakanan, mata irinsu **Benazir Bhutto**, da sauransu sun taka rawa a siyasa da shugabanci a duniya musulmi da ma gaba dāya.

A yau, mata Musulmai da dama na gudanar da ayyuka a fannonin kiwon lafiya, ilimi, fasaha, da kasuwanci. Sun kasance likitoci, injiniyoyi, malaman jami'a da shugabannin al'umma. Duk da haka, akwai bambanci tsakanin kasashe da al'adu dangane da yadda ake baiwa mata dama a aiki da shugabanci. A wasu wurare, al'adun gargajiya na ci gaba da takaita wannan dama.

Muhimmancin Aikin Mace

Musulunci addini ne da ya tanadi cikakkun haƙƙoƙi ga mace, ciki har da haƙƙinta na yin aiki da samun hanyar halastacciyar rayuwa. Duk da haka, akwai ka'idoji da dokoki da shari'a ta shimfida domin tabbatar da cewa aikinta bai sabawa addini ba, kuma ba zai zama barazana ga tsaron kanta ko mutuncinta ba. Mace da take aiki ya kamata ta kiyaye mutuncinta. Wannan ya haɗa da sanya hijabi da tufafi mai rufe jikinta yadda shari'a ta shar'anta, da kuma nisantar shige da fice ko hulɗa mara tsari da

maza waɗanda ba muharramanta ba. Haka kuma, bai kamata mace ta shiga cikin irin ayyukan da za su iya janyo zargi ko jefa ta cikin halin da zai iya cutar da martabarta ko mutuncinta ba.

Bugu da ƙari, mace ta sani cewa tana da matsayi na uwa da shugabar gida. Aiki bai kamata ya hana ta cika haƙƙoƙin mijinta da yāyānta ba. Yin aiki bai kamata ya sa ta watsi da nauyin da ke kanta a matsayin matar aure ba. Duk wata sana'a ko aiki da take yi, ya zama a ƙarƙashin tsarin lokaci, fahimta da daidaito da rayuwar iyali.

Aikin mace yana da matuƙar muhimmanci ga ci gaban al'umma. Mace ginshikin gida ce da kuma tarbiyya, aikin da take yi zai iya ƙara mata daraja da kuzari wajen gudanar da ayyukan gida da na al'umma gaba ɗaya. Misali

1. Tallafawa Iyalinta

Matar da ke aiki na taka muhimmiyar rawa wajen tallafa wa mijinta da yāyānta, musamman idan tattalin arzikin mijin bai wadatar ba. A cikin tattaunawa da mata da dama, an bayyana yadda sana'a ko aiki ke ba su damar siyan sabulu, omo, har da kuɗin makarantar yara. Wasu mata ma sun bayyana cewa su ke ɗaukar nauyin abinci da kayan masarufi gaba ɗaya, domin rage nauyin da ke kan mazajensu.

Idan mijinta ba zai iya ɗaukar nauyin makarantar yāyānsu ba, ita ke tallafa masa domin yaran su samu ilimi mai nagarta. Haka kuma, za ta iya biyan buƙatun yau da kullum kamar abinci, sutura, da magani. Wannan irin gudunmawa na haifar da zaman lafiya da fahimta a cikin iyali.

2. Gina Al'umma

Matar da ke aiki tana da rawar da take takawa wajen gina al'umma. Ko ta kasance malama ce, ko likita, ko yār kasuwa, ko ma'aikaciyar gwamnati – tana bada gudunmawa a fannin da take ciki. Ayyukan da mata ke yi a fannin lafiya da ilimi na taimakawa

wajen inganta rayuwar jama'a. Haka kuma, tana iya tallafawa matasa masu basira don ci gaba da karatu da kuma ilimantar da al'umma.

3. *Kara Kimar Kai da Daraja*

Aikin mace na kara mata kima da daraja a cikin al'umma. Yana karfafa mata guiwa, ya ba mace yancin kai, da kuma damar fuskantar rayuwa ba tare da dogaro da wani ba. Ta hanyar samun kudɓin shiga mai halacci, mace na iya dɓaukar nauyin kanta da wasu, kuma hakan yana sa ta jin dadɓin rayuwa da samun girmamawa daga al'umma.

4. *Rage Talauci*

Ayyukan mata na taka rawa wajen rage talauci a cikin al'umma. Idan mace tana da sana'a ko aiki, tana taimakawa wajen haɓaka tattalin arzikin iyali. Hakan na iya samar da wadatar rayuwa, rage dogaro da taimako daga wajen gwamnati ko jama'a, da kuma samar da ayyukan yi ga wasu. Matar da ke da kudɓin shiga na iya saka jari, buɗe shaguna, ko koyar da wasu sana'a. Wannan gudunmawa na rage fatara da kuma haɓaka ci gaban al'umma ba ki ɗaya. Idan mace ta gudanar da aikinta cikin tsafta da biyayya ga ka'idodin shari'a, ba wai kawai za ta ciyar da kanta da iyalinta gaba ba ne, har ma za ta taimaka wajen gina al'umma, raya tattalin arziƙi da kuma bunƙasa rayuwar jama'a gaba ɗaya.

Kalubalen da Mata ke Fuskanta

A cikin tattaunawar da na gudanar da mata ma'aikata, bincike ya bayyana wasu daga cikin manyan kalubalen da mata ke fuskanta a gidajen aurensu sakamakon aikin da suke yi, ko dai a ofis ko kuma cikin harkokin kasuwanci. Ga wasu daga cikin manyan matsalolin da na gano:

1. *Nauyin Aiki Biyu (Gida da Waje)*

Mafi yawan matan da na yi hira da su sun bayyana cewa haɗa aikin gida da na ofis ko kasuwanci na daga cikin manyan kalubalen da suke fuskanta kullum. Wannan na haifar da gajiya mai tsanani, har ma da gazawa wajen gudanar da al'amuran gida

yadda ya kamata. Wasu daga cikinsu sun bayyana cewa yakan yi musu wahala su gama girki da wuri, su kula da yara yadda ya dace, ko su tsaftace gida yadda ake bukata. Zirga-zirga tsakanin ofis da gida na iya sa su samu matsala da mazajensu.

2. Hassada Daga Miji ko Dangin miji

Wasu matan sun bayyana cewa samun aiki ko samun kudi daga sana'a yana iya haifar da hassada daga miji ko daga danginsa. Idan mijin ya lura da cewa matar tana samun kudi fiye da shi ko daidai da shi, kuma tana kin ba shi kudin da yake so, hakan kan haifar da jin haushi da fushin zuciya daga mijin. Wasu mazan kan fara tunanin dakatar da matarsu daga aiki, ko kuma yi mata kishiya dan su muzguna ma ta.

Haka kuma, wasu matan sun kara da cewa a lokuta da dama, mazajen su na sakar musu nauyin gidan gaba daya—baya ga ayyukan gida, ana sa ran su bawa miji kudi ko su dauki duk wata hidima ta gida. Idan ba su yi hakan ba, sukan fuskanci matsaloli kamar su yawan gori, haushi, hantara ko ma keta.

Bugu da kari, a bangaren dangi, musamman dangin miji, wasu matan sun bayyana cewa mazajen su kan dauki duk wani cigaban da mace ta samu a matsayin fariya ko izzata kai. Sukan fassara ayyukanta a matsayin nuna isa ko raini, musamman idan tana samun abin hannu.

3. *Matsalar Al'adu*

Har yanzu akwai ra'ayoyi marasa tushe da ke kallon mace me aiki da ido biyu. Wasu mutane kan dauki mace mai aiki a matsayin mara kamun kai ko maras tarbiyya. A lokuta da dama, sukan yada maganganu marasa kyau har a gaban mijinta, lamarin da zai iya shafar yadda mijin ke kallon aikinta. Wannan yakan sa wasu mazaje su fara shakku, zargi, ko kuma su sauya ra'ayinsu game da barin matarsu ta ci gaba da aiki. Akwai wasu lokuta ma da akan samu wasu da sunan malinta da za su dinga watsa labaran rashin tarbiyai barkatai a dandalin sada zumunta, da sunan cewa abinda mata yān boko ke aikatawa ke nan a jami'o'i ko kuma a wajajen aiki.

4. *Kalubalen Tattalin Arziki*

Wasu daga cikin matan da aka tattauna da su sun bayyana cewa suna fuskantar matsi na tattalin arziki duk da cewa suna da aiki. Da zarar mace ta fara samun albashi ko kudin shiga daga sana'a, wasu mazaje kan watsar da nauyin da shari'a ta dora musu. Su bar komai ya koma kan matar: abinci, kayan gida, sutura, da dai sauransu. A sakamakon haka, mace kan rasa inda kudinta ke tafiya, saboda nauye-nauye da yawa da ake dora mata. Haka kuma, wasu dangin sukan daina taimakawa matar da abubuwan da suka saba, suna dauka cewa saboda tana aiki to bata bukarar taimako. Wannan na iya jefa mace cikin tsananin damuwa da rashin iya kula da kanta da iyalinta yadda ya kamata.

5. *Rashin Samun Lokaci Don Kula da Kai*

Kalilan daga cikin matan sun bayyana cewa ba sa samun isasshen lokaci don kula da kansu saboda haɗin aikin gida da na waje. Wannan na hana su yin abubuwan da suka shafi lafiyar kansu da tsafra kamar gyaran kai, kitso, wanke-wanke, shan iska, ko hutu. Hakan na iya rage musu kwarin gwiwa da farin ciki a cikin rayuwa. A bayyane yake cewa duk da irin gudunmawar da mata ke bayarwa ta fuskar aiki da ci gaban gida da al'umma, suna fuskantar kalubale masu yawa da ke bukarar kulawa da fahimtar miji da al'umma gaba daya. Dole ne a inganta fahimta tsakanin

ma'aurata da al'umma domin samar da daidaito da adalci ga mace mai aiki. Haka kuma, akwai bukatar karfafa wa matan gwuiwa da inganta tsarin tallafi daga gida, dangi, da al'umma don rage musu nauyi da matsin lamba.

Wadannan su ne wasu daga cikin kalubalen da mata masu aiki ke fuskanta a gidajensu. Ana iya magance irin wadannan kalubale ta hanyar samar da fahimtar juna tsakanin ma'aurata. Ya kamata mace ta nemi taimako daga wasu wajen aikin gida, domin hakan zai saukafa mata wajen gudanar da al'amuran gida da kuma kula da aikinta a waje.

Sannan, mace ta nisanci kowace hanya da za ta jefa ta cikin huldar da ba ta dace ba da maza a wurin aiki, domin kaucewa zargi ko bacin rai daga bangaren mijinta. Hakazalika, ya dace maza su fahimci cewa duk kudin da mace ke samu ko take bayarwa, ba yana nufin Allah ya dauke musu nauyinta ba ne da na yayan su. Mace tana taimakawa ne domin rage masa nauyi da wahala. Ya kamata kuma mata su gujewa yawan korafe-korafe. Dole ne maza su gane cewa, ko da mace ba ta ba su kudi kai tsaye ba, tana daukar nauyin wasu abubuwa da suka shafi kanta da yayansu, wanda hakan babban taimako ne ga zaman lafiya da ci gaban aurensu.

Tantancewa

Makalar tana binciken kalubalen da matan aure yan aiki na Hausawa ke fuskanta a yau a Arewacin Najeriya, tana mai tabbatar da hujja biyu masu haɗuwa: na farko, mace mai aikin waje sau da yawa tana daukar nauyin “aiki biyu” — na ofis ko kasuwanci da kuma girki, tsafu, da renon yara a gida — ba tare da ragin nauyin cikin gida ba; na biyu, al'ada da gurguwar fahimtar addini da kuma karancin tsarin tallafi daga miji, dangi, ma'aikata, ko gwamnati na kara tafa wannan kaya. Makalar ta nemi a sake daidaita nauyin ayyukan gida tsakanin ma'aurata tare da maido da tattaunawar Musulunci kan aikin mace cikin tsari na

hujjoji da tarihi, domin tabbatar da halaccin gudummawar mace a bainar jama'a.

Tsarin hujjar ya tashi daga gabatar da matsalar zuwa bayyana yadda rikicin aiki da gida ke tasowa a zahirin rayuwa, sannan ya wuce ga fassarar nassoshi da suka shafi mata, ya kawo shaidun tarihi na mata a farko-farkon Musulunci, ya danganta da halin yau na Hausawa, kafin ya lissafo manyan kalubale a zahiri, sannan ya gabatar da shawarwari da kammalawa. Wannan ginin hujja daga ganewar matsala zuwa mafita ya haɗa mahangar addini, zamantakewa da kwarewar mace a kullum.

A bangaren ilimin zamantakewa, makalar ta dace da muhawarar “rikicin aiki da iyali” da kuma ra'ayin “aikin na biyu” da mata ke yi a gida bayan sun dawo daga aikin waje. Ta nuna yadda ka'idodin “mace ta gari” a al'adar Bahausha ke tabbatar da cewa ko da mace na samun kuɗin shiga, ana sa ran ta ci gaba da daukar nauyin girki, tsafra, da rainon yara kamar dai ba ta fita aiki ba. Hakan na haifar da gajiya, ciwo, da damuwa, tare da matsin lamba na dabi'a da mutunci a cikin gida da dangi.

A fassarar nassoshi, makalar ta fayyace kuskuren dora ayar 33:33 na Suratul Ahzāb a kan dukkan mata, alhali ayar ta shafi matan Annabi ne, kuma “tabarruj” ba ya nufin “hanuwar fita gaba daya” sai dai bayyanar ado da jan hankali ba bisa ka'ida ba. Ta alaƙanta wannan da ayoyin 9:71 da 33:35 da ke tabbatar da haɗin gwiwar muminaɗi maza da mata a ayyukan alheri. Wannan gyaran fahimta na maɗi da tattaunawa cikin mizani: abin da addini ya haramta shi ne alfahari da bayyanar ado da cin zarafi, ba halaccin aikin mace ko gudummawarta ga al'umma ba.

Makalar ta yi nuni da buƙatar ƙarin tsanaki a wuraren da aka ambaci hadisai da matsayinsu, domin ingancin isnaɗ da hukuncin malamai kan wasu ruwayoyi ya bambanta. Haka kuma ya dace a banbance tsakanin fiƙhu (hukuncin shari'a) da akhlāq/adab (ka'idojin dabi'a da kyawawan halaye), domin kada a mayar da

abin da ya shafi ladabi da shawara kamar wajibi na doka, ko a dōra abin da ya shafi hukunci na fikhū a matsayin kawai shawara ta dābi'a.

Shahidun tarihi irin su Nana 'Ā'isha, Ummu Salama, Nusaybah bint Ka'b, da Rufaydah al-Aslamiyyah sun karfafa hujjar cewa kasancewar mata a bainar jama'a, a koyarwa, a jinya, ko a hujjojin siyasa ba sabon abu ba ne a Musulunci. Amma ya fi kyau a yi nuni da asalin ruwayoyin: ko daga sīra ne, ko daga kutubus-sunan, ko biyografiyoyi; a kuma kauce wa dāure wannan kai tsaye da hukumcin fikhū na yau ba tare da an yi matakan istinbāt na zamani da maslahah ba. Hakan yana kiyaye hujja daga zamewa salon zance na ruhaniya kawai.

Babban abin kima a makalar shi ne zurfin da ta shiga wajen duba al'adun Hausawa, musamman tasirin ra'ayin "mace ta gari" a matsayin mai hakuri, mai sauƙin kai, mai kau da kai, wadda ta fi maida hankali a gida. Ta kuma bayyana siyasar dangi, hassadar miji ko danginsa, da tattaunawar martaba da ake yi a kafafen sada zumunta, waɗanda ke shafar yadda ake kallo da yardar aikin mace. Wannan ya sa tattaunawar ba ta tsaya kan nassoshi kadai ba, ta shiga cikin zahirin dangantaka da tattalin arziki a rayuwar aure.

Domin zurfafawa, ana iya kara haske kan bambance-bambancen da ke tsakanin mata: matsayi na tattalin arziki, ilimi, zama kauye ko birni, tsarin aure (monogami ko poligami), da fannonin aiki (gwamnati, kasuwanci, ilimi, lafiya). Waɗannan sukan sauya irin nauyin da mace ke dāuka, irin kalubalen da take fuskanta, da kuma dabarun da take dāuka domin daidaitawa.

Makalar ta ambaci hirarraki da mata yān aiki, amma tsare-tsaren bincike na kididdiga da hanyar tattara bayanai basu fito fili ba. Bayani kan yawan mahalarta, wuraren da aka dāuko su, yadda aka yi zaɓi, tsawon tattaunawa, tsarin nazarin bayanai, da katsalanda na kwaƙƙwaran misalan zance zai kara wa binciken

nauyi da gaskiya. Kananan labarai masu gajeren tsawo daga rayuwar mata uku ko huɗu da ke wakiltar manyan jigogin nazarin za su sa mai karatu ya ga hanyar da kalubale ke tasowa har zuwa sakamakon su a auren gida.

A bangaren tattalin arziki, an nuna yadda samun kuɗin shiga na mace ke sauya yarjejeniyar cikin gida: wasu mazaje na ja da baya daga nauyin da shari'a ta dɗora musu, suna jefa nauyin asali a kan albashin mace. Wannan yanayi na haifar da gagarumin rikici na iko da muhawarar “mai kawo ruwa a gida.” Dole a bambance iyalai da suka iya yin sabuwar yarjejeniya cikin adalci daga waɗanda ke amfani da kuɗin mace a matsayin madadin nauyin miji, domin a tantance inda tattaunawar aure ta yi tasiri kuma ina take mise ba ta yi ba.

Maƙalar ta kuma taɓo ilimin halayyar ɗan'adam: yadda mata ke daukar kunya ko laifi a zuciya idan ba su iya cikawa duk buƙatun gida da aiki, alhali nauyin ya wuce karfi. Tattaunawa kan dabarun jimrewa — taimakon dangi, ƙungiyoyin mata a masallatai, haɗin kai tsakanin makwabta, gyaran jadawalin aiki, ko taimakon gida da ake biya — zai kara nuna hanyoyin tsira da iyakokinsu.

Shawarwarin maƙalar sun dace da al'adu da addini: a raba nauyin aikin gida, a fayyace a cikin wa'azi da karatu cewa aikin mata halal ne cikin ƙa'ida, a horar da ma'aikata kan jadawalin aiki mai dacewa, hutun haihuwa da ciyarwa, da ajiyar yara, sannan a matsayi na manufofi a tura dokoki da kariyar aiki ga mata. Don sa su zama masu aiwatarwa, ya dace a bayyana su cikin harshe mai takamaiman masu aiki: me iyalai za su yi a gida; me limamai, malamai da shugabannin al'umma za su yi; me ma'aikata da cibiyoyi za su yi; me gwamnati za ta shimfiɗa da yadda za a sa ido.

Salon rubutun ya kasance mai ladabi da gina gada tsakanin addini da zahiri, yana kiran gyaran al'ada cikin hujjojin Musulunci, ba cikin ƙin al'ada gaba ɗaya ba. Domin ƙarin fasaha, ana iya rage

maimaituwa, a yi nuni a kafafun bayani idan an ambaci hadisai masu jayayya ko ruwayoyi masu rauni, a kuma ware sarai inda magana take kan fikhu ko akhlāq. Kara kananan shaidu na kididdiga ko misalan rayuwa zai sa rubutun ya fi yin nauyi a idon mai karatu na jami'a da mai karatu na al'umma.

A takaice, makalar ta gina hujja mai karfi cewa aikin mace a bainar jama'a — idan an kiyaye addini da mutunci — halal ne, kuma yana da amfani ga gida da al'umma. Ta kuma bayyana a sarari cewa daidaita nauyin aikin gida tsakanin ma'aurata, tare da tallafin al'umma, wurin aiki, da manufofin gwamnati, shi ne hanyar rage “aiki biyu” da mata ke dauka. Idan aka kara karfafa hujjar da tsari na bincike, bambance-bambancen zamantakewa, da bayanin muhalli na doka da manufofi, rubutun zai zama abin koyi a dakin karatu da kuma kayan aiki ga masu wa'azi, masu ba da shawarar aure, da masu tsara manufofi.

Kammalawa

A karshe, mata masu aiki a gidajen aurensu na fuskantar kalubale da dama wadanda ke daya daga cikin manyan wahalhalun rayuwa, musamman wajen daidaita aikin da kula da iyali. Wadannan matsaloli sun hada da rashin fahimtar mazaje game da nauyin da ke kan mace wajen gudanar da ayyukan gida da na ofis, da kuma tasirin hakan ga lafiyarta da jin dadinta.

Saboda haka, yana da matuƙar muhimmanci a inganta fahimtar juna tsakanin maza da mata, tare da samar da yanayi mai sauƙi da zai ba mace damar ci gaba da aiki ba tare da sadaukar da rayuwar iyali ko shiga cikin ƙunci ba. Hakanan, ya kamata al'umma su fahimci cewa aikin mace ba haramun ba ne a addinace, kuma yana da matuƙar muhimmanci a ci gaban al'umma—musamman idan aikin na taimakawa a fannin da ya shafi kiwon lafiya ko jinyar yara da mata.

Wannan fahimta za ta taimaka wajen rage tsangwama, kyama, da kallon matan da ke aiki a matsayin marasa kamun kai. Za ta buɗe

kofa ga girmamawa, haɗin kai da kuma karfafa mata wajen cika burinsu a gida da wajen aiki. Sannan, wannan bincike yana karfafa gwiwar al'umma da su samar da hanyoyi da za su tallafa wa mata wajen inganta matsayinsu a cikin gida da kuma a fannin sana'a. Ya kamata a kafa manufofi da tsarin aiki da zai rage musu nauyi da saukaka wahalhalun da suke fuskanta a rayuwar aure, domin samar da zaman lafiya, cigaba, da daidaito tsakanin ma'aurata.

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Part IV
Rayuwar Birni
Urban Lives, Institutions, and
Leadership

Chapter 11

Fadī-tashi a Birnin Tarayya: Rayuwar Matan Arewa ta Karantarwa a Abuja, Najeriya

Ups and Downs in the Federal Capital: The Lives of Northern
Nigerian Women Teachers in Abuja

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Summary

This chapter explores the everyday experiences of Northern Nigerian women teachers in Abuja, the federal capital of Nigeria. While much scholarship on Abuja has focused on urban planning, architecture, and politics, this work highlights the voices of women who earn modest salaries and must navigate the intersections of gender, religion, and urban challenges. By centering female teachers from Northern Nigeria, the study broadens our understanding of how women negotiate cultural and religious norms while managing demanding professional and domestic responsibilities.

Research Framework and Methodology

The chapter builds on the theoretical foundations of gender roles as social construction (Oyěwùmí 1997, 2011; Butler 1990) and Muslim women's studies that resist reductive portrayals (Abu-Lughod 2002; Mahmood 2005). It employs intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989) to analyze how gender, class, marital status, religion, and ethnicity intersect in shaping women's opportunities and constraints. Ethnographic methods—including in-depth interviews with three women teachers, participant observation in schools (Islamiyya, government, and private), and engagement with parents and administrators—form the empirical

backbone of the study. Ethical protocols of confidentiality and consent were maintained, with pseudonyms used for participants.

Defining “Arewa” and “Northern Women”

The chapter clarifies the multiple meanings of “Arewa” (North), which encompasses diverse ethnic and religious groups such as Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, Tiv, Nupe, and others. “Northern women” (matan Arewa), while often associated with Hausa Muslim women, also includes Christian women, especially in the Middle Belt. Nevertheless, this study focuses primarily on Muslim women teachers whose lives are deeply shaped by Islamic and Hausa-Fulani cultural frameworks.

Key Findings

Several major themes emerge from the narratives and observations:

1. Negotiating Gendered Norms

Northern women teachers manage expectations of modesty, restraint in interactions with men, and limited public presence, as emphasized in Qur’anic verses (e.g., Q 33:33). These norms influence their workplace choices, clothing, daily schedules, and modes of transportation. Yet, the demands of teaching and urban life often require them to modify or reinterpret such expectations.

2. Work–Family Balance

Teachers face the dual responsibility of wage labor and household care. Many rise before dawn to prepare meals and children before commuting long distances into the city, returning home late in the evening. The result is often physical and emotional strain, leaving little time for rest, religious study, or family engagement.

3. Urban Transportation and Security

Women confront serious challenges with transportation, including overcrowded vehicles, unsafe commutes, and mixed-gender encounters that contradict cultural ideals of separation. These conditions contribute to perceptions of lost

“freedom” for some, who feel constrained by the necessity of daily travel.

4. Divergent Perceptions of Work and Freedom

Participant accounts reveal contrasting interpretations of teaching. For Malama Laraba, work represents a loss of freedom due to exposure to male colleagues and long absences from home. For Malama Harira, in contrast, employment grants autonomy, income, and the ability to contribute to household expenses. Malama Hadiza stresses the strain work places on women’s ability to preserve “tarbiyya” (moral discipline), sometimes favoring non-employment despite being a teacher herself. These differences underscore how Northern women understand agency in varied and sometimes contradictory ways.

5. Institutional and Social Constraints

Teaching environments—whether government, private, or Islamic schools—structure gender relations through classroom arrangements, dress codes, and interactional rules. Moreover, the societal perception that salaried workers in Abuja are “wealthy” places additional financial demands on women teachers, who are expected to support extended kin despite modest incomes.

6. Education as Empowerment and Change

Higher education and professional advancement (e.g., women attaining professorships in Kano and Jigawa) illustrate cultural shifts. Clerical voices such as Sheikh Ahmad B.U.K. also acknowledge that women’s education should lead to employment, suggesting an evolving recognition of women’s rights to work. At the same time, many women rely on women’s associations and digital networks for solidarity and support (Larkin 2008; Masquelier 2009; Peel 2016; Fwatshak & Falola 2017).

Contributions and Implications

The study demonstrates that Northern women’s lives in Abuja cannot be reduced to simplistic binaries of “tradition” and

“modernity.” Instead, their experiences reveal constant negotiation between cultural/religious ideals and the practical demands of urban life. The narratives show how women reinterpret freedom, piety, and responsibility in ways that both challenge and reproduce dominant norms.

By foregrounding women’s voices, the chapter challenges the assumption that research on women’s everyday lives is trivial. Rather, it argues that such studies are essential for understanding broader dynamics of society, religion, and modernity in Northern Nigeria. In doing so, it contributes to African gender studies, Islamic feminist scholarship, and urban ethnography.

Conclusion

Northern Nigerian women teachers in Abuja embody the tensions of contemporary Muslim womanhood. Their stories highlight resilience in balancing work, family, and cultural expectations while grappling with structural challenges of transportation, security, and low pay. At the same time, they demonstrate creativity in using education, professional networks, and new technologies as tools of empowerment. This chapter ultimately situates women’s lives at the center of discussions on social change, showing how everyday struggles in classrooms, homes, and commutes illuminate the evolving place of women in Northern Nigeria.

Tsakure

Rubuce-rubuce kan Abuja—birnin tarayyar Nijeriya—sun fi karkata ga tsarin gine-gine, manufofin birane, da siyasa, alhali ana samun karancin nazari kan rayuwar masu karamin albashi, musamman malamai mata daga Arewacin kasar. Wannan babi ya duba yadda matan Arewa masu koyarwa ke tsara rayuwarsu a cikin yanayin da ya haɗa al’ada da addini da kuma kalubalen birni: zirga-zirga, tsaro, yanayin aiki, da cudanya da maza a wurin aiki. Duba da ra’ayoyin da suka shahara a Arewa game da kunyar mace da “zaman gida,” wannan bincike ya nuna yadda

mata ke sulhunta waƙannan ɗabi’u da buƙatun ilimi, aiki, da kula da gida (Oyěwùmí 1997; Abu-Lughod 2002; Mahmood 2005).

Hanyar bincike na ya dogara da *ethnography*: hirarraki masu zurfi da malamai mata guda biyu a sassa daban-daban na Abuja, tare da lura da muhallin makarantu (Islamiyya, na gwamnati, da na masu zaman kansu), tattaunawa da iyaye da shugabanni, da rubutattun bincike. Na yi nazarin ne ta hanyar hangen *intersectionality*—watau haɗuwar jinsi, aji, matsayin aure/mata, harshe, da addini (Crenshaw 1989). Babi na farko ya shimfiɗa harsashin ƙa’idoji: jinsi a matsayin abin da ake ginawa a mu’amala (*social construction*), ma’anar “Arewa” da “matan Arewa,” da yadda al’ada/addini ke samun ma’ana a wuri da lokaci (Oyěwùmí 2011; Wadud 1999; Barlas 2002). Daga nan sai na gina sashe na “Rayuwar Matan Arewa,” wanda ya fayyace tarbiyya, aiki, da dabarun daidaito a matsayin ginshikar na yau da kullum.

Sakamakon ya bayyana jigogi masu muhimmanci: (1) dabarun sarrafa cuɗanya da maza a aji/ofis ba tare da kaucewa al’ada/addini ba; (2) jadawalin aiki-da-gida (kulawa da yara, gida, da maigida dss) da (3) sufuri/tsaro a Abuja da tasirin su kan lafiya da kwanciyar hankali; (4) tasirin tsari na makarantu—rarraba aji, ƙa’idojin sutura da magana—wajen ba da sarari ko takaita shi; (5) amfani da ilimi a matsayin hanyar murmurewa da samun iko (misali digiri na biyu/na uku, jagoranci), da (6) sabbin hanyoyin tallafar mata ta hanyar ƙungiyoyin mata da fasahar sadarwa (Larkin 2008; Masquelier 2009; Peel 2016; Fwatshak & Falola 2017).

Gabatarwa

Abu sananne ne cewa jinsi (*gender*) ma’ana ce da ake gina ta a cikin mu’amalar yau da kullum na al’umma (*social construction*). Wato yadda ake rarrabe maza da mata, da irin nauyin da ake ɗora wa kowanne, abu ne da al’adu da tsarin zamantakewa ke ƙera shi ta hanyar lokaci da wuri (Oyěwùmí

1997; Oyěwùmí 2011). Saboda haka, fahimtar jinsi ba ta samuwa cikin lokaci dāya ko a cikin littafi kaḍai ba; sai an kalli yadda jama'a ke rayuwa, yadda suke tsara al'amuransu gida da waje, da kuma yadda suke fassara addini da al'ada. Wannan haske yana taimaka mana wajen gujewa dōrawa mutane fahimtar wasu al'ummomi, wato kaƙabawa, maimakon yin aiki da abin da ya fi to daga cikin nasu tsarin rayuwar.

A fagen nazarin mata Musulmi, masu bincike sun yi gargadi game da sauƙaƙa al'amura da gina hoton mace Musulma a matsayin wadda aka "ceto" daga wani hali, maimakon a saurari muryarta da yanayin zamantakewar da take ciki. Lila Abu-Lughod ta jaddada cewa idan ana neman amsoshi masu ma'ana, sai an sanya tunanin mata a cikin al'ada, tattalin arziki, da siyasa (Abu-Lughod 2002). Wannan manufa ta dace ƙwarai da batunmu: "matan arewa" a Najeriya, wato mata Musulmi (da wasu da ba Musulmi ba) masu rayuwa a arewacin ƙasar.

Wannan maƙala tana ɗaukar "mahanga biyu" a lokaci guda: kasancewar waɗannan mata mata ne, sannan kuma yaƙan arewa ne masu rayuwa a muhallin da ake shimfiɗa addinin Musulunci da al'adun Bahaushe/Arewa cikin fannoni da dama na rayuwa. Saboda haka, bincike kan rayuwar su ba zai taɓa zama mai ma'ana ba sai an haɗa mahallin addini, tarihin yankin da sauye-sauyen zamani (ilimi, ƙaura zuwa birane, aikin gwamnati/masu zaman kansu). A yau, adadin mata masu kammala sakandare da matakin gaba ya ƙaru, wanda ke buɗe ƙofofin aikin makarantu da ma'aikatum gwamnati—amma har yanzu akwai ƙalubale na al'adu wanda ke tare hanyar shigarsu aiki da kuma daidaituwar aikin da rayuwarsu ta gida.

Akwai wata tambaya da ake yawan yi min a lokacin da na fara wannan binciken: "Mene abin bincike game da rayuwar mata?" A zahiri, tambayar tana boye tunanin da ake yi game da muhimmancin ilimi kan jinsin mace da matsayin mata. Idan aka fallasa ta, tana nuna yadda jama'a ke kallon aikin ilimi kan mata:

ko ana daukar shi a matsayin abin ketare haddi ko kuma a matsayin hanyar fahimtar muhimman tsari na al'umma. Wannan makala za ta amsa tambayar ta hanyoyi biyu: na farko, ta bayyana me ya sa nazarin rayuwar mata a Arewa yake da muhimmanci dangane da fahimtar al'umma baki daya; na biyu, ta nuna yadda mata kansu—musamman malamai mata a makarantun Abuja—ke fassara kansu, aikinsu, da addininsu a aikace.

Manufar bincike

1. Tabbatar da cewa fahimtar jinsi a Arewa ba tsayayye ba ne, tana sauyawa da zamani da mahalli (Oyèwùmí 1997; 2011).
2. Gano yadda malamai mata a Abuja ke sarrafa daidaiton aiki da gida, da yadda addini da al'ada ke tasiri a kan zaɓuɓɓukansu, muradunsu, da hanyoyin da suke magance kalubale.

A aikace, makalar za ta karkata ga manufa ta biyu, yayin da ta kafa harsashi mai karfi daga na farko.

Tambayoyin bincike

- Ta yaya malamai mata a Abuja ke fassara 'aiki' da 'tarbiyya', kuma ta wane hali suke hada su?
- Wace rawa addini da al'ada ke takawa wajen tsara aiki ga mata a makarantun Musulmi?
- Menene manyan shingaye (iyali, jigilar sufuri, renon yara, albashi, cudanya) da dabarun shawo kansu?
- Ta yaya bambance-bambancen aji, kabila, aure/bazawara, da shekaru ke kalubalantar mata?

Hanyar bincike

Na yi amfani da *ethnography*: hirarraki masu zurfi da malamai mata guda biyu, lura da muhalli (*participant observation*) a wasu makarantu, da nazarin rubuce-rubucen da suka shafi jinsin mace a Arewa da Musulunci. Na tattaunawa da iyaye, shugabannin makarantu, da wasu ma'aikata domin samun bayanai. Na boye sunaye (*pseudonyms*), na karfi izinin rubuta bayanai tare da kiyaye ka'idonin dabi'a: sirri, yardar mai magana, da kare

martaba. Na dauki bayanai cikin Hausa/Turanci, na kuma fassara su inda ya dace. Tsarin nazari ya bi jigon “*thematic analysis*” bisa hangen *intersectionality* (Crenshaw 1989), wato a haɗa jinsi da aji, kabila, addini, da matsayin mata a al’umma. Iyakokin aiki na sun haɗa da karancin lokacin zuwa wasu makarantu, da kalubalen samun izini a wuraren da ke da tsaurin matakan ziyara, da kuma tasirin kasancewar mai bincike a matsayin namiji.

Mahanga

Tsarin mu na hangen jinsi ya dogara da ra’ayin cewa jinsi ana “aikata” shi a aikace (*performative*) ta hanyar dabi’u, tufafi, murya, da mu’amala (Butler 1990), kuma ya ta’allaƙa da tsarin mahalli (Oyëwùmi 1997). A fagen addini kuma, na yi la’akari da yadda al’ada kan iya tasiri wajen fahimtar shi (Mahmood 2005). Saboda haka, abin da ake kira “al’adar Arewa” ba dutse ba ce; tana motsi, tana amsa sauye-sauyen zamani, birane, ilimi, kafofin sadarwa, da sauransu (Larkin 2008; Peel 2016; Fwatshak & Falola 2017).

Me ake nufi da Arewa? Da “Matan Arewa”?

“Arewa” a siyasar Najeriya yanki ne mai faɗi da ya haɗa kabilu da dama: Hausawa, Fulani, Kanuri, Tiv, Nupe, Jukun, da sauransu. A al’ada akwai abin da ake kira “ma’anar al’ada” ta Arewa—salon kunya, tarbiyya, tsarin aure, nau’in abinci, waƙa, ladubban cudanya dss (Fwatshak & Falola 2017). Idan na ce “Matan Arewa” ba ina nufin Hausawa Musulmi kawai ba. Akwai mata Kirista a Arewa, musamman a “Middle Belt,” waɗanda ke da nasu salon rayuwa wadda wani lokaci ta yi daidai ko kuma ta sha bambam da na mata Musulmi yān Arewa. Muhimmancin fayyace wannan shi ne gujewa ɗaukar Arewa tamkar abu ɗaya. Amma wannan binciken nawa ya karkata kan mata Musulmi domin su ne waɗanda na tattauna da su.

A cikin tsarin magana na Arewa, “aiki” na nufin aikin albashi da kuma “aikin gida.” Mata malamai suna koƙarin daidaita su biyu. “Tarbiyya” kuma, musamman ga mata, tana ɗauke da dabi’u:

sutura, nutsuwa, kau da yawan mu'amala da maza, kula da yara, girmama miji/iyaye. Wadannan ka'idoji sukan yi tasiri akan malamai mata wajen zabin makarantar da za su yi aiki, lokacin koyarwa, hawa abin sufuri., da lokutan fita daga gida. Mutane da yawa su na da tunanin cewa bai kamata mace mai mutunci ta cika yawan fita ba, ko zurga-zurga a waje. A nan ne ayar Al-Ahzab 33:33 ke yawan fitowa a tattaunawa: "Ku zauna a gidajenku, kada ku yi yawaita "tabarruji" irin ta jahiliyyar farko." "ku kuma ku zauna a cikin gidajenku, kuma kada ku riƙa fita (da bayyana ado) irin ta jahiliyyar farko; ..." al'adar mutanen arewa ta gudana kan cewa mata ana son su kasance a cikin gidajen iyayansu ko kuma na mazajensu. Shi yasa cikin bayanai na malaman a Arewa da kuma rubuce-rubucen su suna ƙarfafa cewa rayuwar mata ya wajaba ta kasance a cikin gida sai inda dalili. A rayuwa ta yau da kullum ana aiwatar da fahimtar wannan ayar ta hanyar nisantar da mata daga duk abunda zai kai ga cudanya da maza waɗanda ba muharramansu ba. Shi yasa a galibin makarantu na Musulmai a Arewa ana samun sashi na mata daban da na maza daban. Yana daga cikin wannan kudiri na keɓance mata aka samu musamman shekarun da aka kafa shari'a a wasu garuruwa na arewa aka yi wani yanayi na banbance inda maza zasu zauna da inda mata zasu zauna a ababan hawa na safarar jama'a. Wannan al'ada duk da tayi rauni sabida yanayi na rashin aiwatar da shari'a kamar yadda akayi a da, amma tana da tasiri har yanzu a garuruwan arewa. Dori akan wannan keɓance kai, shi ne rashin daga muryar mace a lokacin magana da kuma gujewa cudanyuwa da maza. Wadannan na daga cikin dabi'u dake nuna tarbiya da kuma kunyar mace a al'adar Arewa. A wannan makalar matan da suka taso cikin wannan al'ada su nake nufi da 'matan arewa'.

Canje-canje a Rayuwar Matan Arewa

Duba da cewa yanayi na keɓance mata shine abu mafi tasiri da shahara a bainal jama'a, amma cenje-canje a rayuwar mutane: misali cudanyuwa da mutane masu al'adu daban dakuma yanayi na karatu mai zurfi: kama abinda ya shafi karatu na gaba da sakandare dakuma digiri na biyu da na uku harma abun da ya kai

ga matakin zama farfesa, yasa yanayin mace da ala'adu da suka jibinceta a arewa suna canzawa. A ranar 27 ga watan Disemba, Jam'iyar Bayaro ta Kano ta wallafa sunan malaman jami'ar da suka samu cigaba zuwa matakin farfesa da kuma mataimakin farfesa; a cikinsu goma matane; bakwai farfesoshi 3 mataimakin farfesa. Dukaninsu tsakanin yān Kano ne da Jigawa. Wannan wani misaline dake nuna canji a rayuwar matan Arewa wanda yake zuwa da canji a ala'adu da suka shafi mata. Macen da tayi karatu mai zurfi, kamar zama farfesa, keɓance ta zai yi wuya, ko ba dan komai ba dan buƙatuwar ala'uma da iliminta.

Wasu bayanai na malamai ma na nuna faɗaƙuwa da wannan canji da aka samu. Zamu iya tsinkayo fahimtar da ake yiwa mace da kuma canji daya auku, ko kuma yake aukuwa, a rayuwar mata daga wani bayanin da marigayi Sheikh Ahmad B.U.K. ya taɓa yi. A cikin wani darasi da yake karantar da maza yana mai nuskar dasu cewa rayuwar mace wacce tayi karatu abu ne wanda yakamata ayi la'akari da shi. Yace ya kamata macen da ta kammala karatu kuma take buƙatar ta yi aiki, a barta tayi. Ya ƙara da cewa bayan wahalar karatu kuma hidima da iyayen ta suka yi bai dace a hana ta aikin irin wanda ya dace ba. Yin hakan tamkar anyi asarar wannan wahalar da tayi da kuma hidima da akayi a kanta. Wannan bayani na Sheikh Ahmad yana ƙunshe da wasu ma'anoni da zasu ƙara fito mana da canji da ya auku ga rayuwar mata. Anan Sheikh Ahmad yana nunawa ala'umma cewa yanayi na karatu mai zurfi a mataƙai na jami'a ya kawo wa rayuwar mata canje-canje wanda ya kamata a lura dasu. Waɗannan canje-canje za'a lura dasu ne ba ta hanyar watsi da ala'adu da kuma tarbiyar ta Musulmai ba.

Kuma in muka duba a ruyuwata yau da kullum, ƙoƙarin mata na a samu daidaito tsakanin waɗannan canje-canje da kuma ala'adu da suka jibinci matan Arewa na zuwa da ƙalubale da dama. Misali rashin daɓi'antuwa da waɗancan daɓi'u dana ambata abaya, na keɓance mata dss, yana iya zuwa da tuhuma na cewa mace ta bijirewa ala'adu da ala'umarta ta tsare mata. A wani

ɓangaren kuwa, wasu lokutan, bin tsarin da al'uma ta tsara yana zuwa da dakile burinta na zaman wani abu a rayuwa. Bugu da kari, macen da tayi karatu take kuma aiki, a tashin farko tana fama da kalubalen yadda zata gudanar da al'amuranta na aiki da kuma na cikin gida: abunda ya shafi mijinta da yara.

Wadannan kalubalen suna karuwa ga mace yar Arewa a irin gari na Abuja 'garin ka zo na zo' mai al'adu da mutane daban-daban, daka sassa daban-daban na Najeriya. A rayuwa irin ta Abuja, a cudanyu tsakanin maza da mata wajen misali shiga mota, ko zama cikin mota, ko kuma cudanyuwa a guraren aiki, ba abu bane sabo ko kuma abun damuwa. Sabi da haka macen da ta taso cikin yanayi da ake kebanceta ake bukatar ta siffatu da kunya, tabbas zata fuskanci kalubale sosai wajen zuwan ta gurin aiki da kuma gudanar da aikin. Bugu da kari zata fuskanci kalubale wajen tsara rayuwarta ta aiki da gudanar da gidanta. A wannan makalar ina kokarin na fahimci yaya mace yar Arewa ke gudanar da rayuwarta a wannan yanayi da dukkan abunda ke kewaye da ita ya sabawa dabi'un da al'umma ke bukatar ta siffatun da su?

Mace Yar Arewa a Birnin Taraiya

Manazarciya kan rayuwar mata, Oyèrónké Oyèwùmi (2011), ta jaddada muhimmancin la'akari da lokaci da wuri wajen binciken rayuwar mata. In muka dubi rayuwar matan Arewa ta wannan mahangar: la'akari da lokaci da kuma wuri zamu iya tambayar cewa: to yaya rayuwar mace take a wannan zamani da kuma Abuja? Yaya rayuwarsu ta aiki take? Dubi da cewa, a al'adun yankin Arewa kuma a tsakankanin Musulmai, mazaje ne ya kamata su dauki alhakin kulawa da mace, imma a mastayinta na uwa, ko mata, ko ya: shin akwai wani tasiri da rayuwar Abuja ke dashi kan wannan al'ada? Cikin tattaunawa da nayi da mata a Abuja, zamu iya samun amsoshin wasu daga wadannan tambayoyi.

Malama Laraba daya ce daga cikin mata masu aikin karantarwa a cikin Abuja. Tana zama a Mararraba, wani yanki dake tsakanin

Abuja da jihar Nasarawa. Matsalar da ke cikin tafiya tsakanin Mararraba da Abuja bai takaita akan nisa ba kawai, dori akan nisan akwai matsalar cunkoso na mutane da kuma jimawa a hanya sabida cunkoso na motoci. A kullum takan yi tattaki ta shigo cikin Abuja tayi aikin karantarwa. A cikin wata hira da nayi da ita tayimini bayani kan yanayin rayuwarta ta aiki da kuma ta gidanta. Tace a matsayinta ta mace, matar aure, Musulma, yar Arewa, tana fuskantar kalubale wajen gudanar da ruyuwar cikin gida da ta aiki. A fadān Malama Laraba kalubale na farko ya shafi addinin ta: kamar yadda addini ya karantar cewa mace Musulma ya kamata ta kasance cikin gidan mijinta: mijin yana daukan nauyin abun da take bukata ita kuma tana lura da cikin gida. Amma abun da ke faruwa shine mutun na fara aiki ya sarayar da wannan yāncin. Yanda Malama Laraba ta wasafta yin aiki da sarayar da yānci abu ne wanda ya ja hankalina; har na fara tambaya, to ta wacce hanya hakan zai zama sarayar da yānci?

Tayi bayanin cewa da zarar mace ta fita zuwa wajen aiki, zata cudanyu da maza a hanyar zuwa aiki da kuma wajen aikin. Wani abu da Malama Laraba ta ambata na kalubale shine wajen shiga motar kasuwa inda basu da zabin inda zasu zauna sa'annan da wa zasu zauna. Wasu kalubale kuma sun jibanci cikin gida ne: mace da take zuwa gurin aikin da bata barin gurin aiki saida yamma kuma bazata isa gida ba sai kusan dadaddare. Bayan haka ta tashi karfe huu ta fara shiri sabida tayi sammako dan kar tayi latti. Wadānnan sune abubuwan da Malama Laraba take nufi da rashin yānci. In muka lura zamu iya cewa ababan da Malama Laraba ta ambata anan zasu iya zama sune yānci a wajen wasu da kuma wasu al'adu.

A wata hira da nayi da wata malamar, malama Harira, wacce take karantar da harshen Turanci a wata makaratar firamari a cikin Abuja, ta baiyana yanayin da take gudanar da aikin ta na karantarwa da kuma gidan ta. Ta kuma baiyana fahimtar ta ga aikin mace. Akasin mahangar malama laraba, malama Harira tana ganin yin aikin mace shine zai gadan mata da yānci. A

matsayinta na wadda ta kwashe shekaru sama da ashirin tana koyarwa, malama Harira ta fahimci cewa aikin mace zai bata yancin yiwa kanta abubuwa ba tare da ta buƙaci mijinta yayi mata ba. Tace a zamanin da abubuwa suka yi tsanani, jiran miji yayiwa mace dukkan abubuwa ba abu bane daya dace, kuma yin haka zai sa ta kasa samun abubuwa da dama da zata buƙata na rayuwa. Sabida haka yancin ta shine ta samarwa kanta abunyi da sata rinka samin kudi. Buguda kari zata samu daman tallafawa mijinta.

Kaman sauran mamalai mata, malama Harira ta ambanci wasu kalubale da take fuskanta. Tace tana fama da wahalar gudanar da aikin ta da kuma lura da mijinta da yāyānta. Duk da cewa ta doshi shekaru hamsin, kuma yawancin yāyānta sun girma, wasu ma suna jami'a, amma lura da autar ta da mijinta da kuma aikin ta yana bata wahala. Tace tsakanin gidanta da kuma gurin aikin ta, tana daukan awa daya ko abun daya kusa da awa kan ta isa gurin aikin ta. Kuma dole ne ta yi sammako wajen zuwa gurin aiki. Wannan yanayi baya bata daman kasantuwa da mijinta da yaranta yadda ya dace.

Wani kalubale da ta ambata shine, ma'aikata a Abuja suna fama da nauyin yān uwan su dake wasu garuruwa. Tace a matsayinta ta ma'aikaciya a Abuja, yān uwan ta dake wasu garuruwa suna buƙatar ta tallafa musu. Tace duk ma'aikaci a Abuja ana ganinshi mai kudi ne. Sabida haka ana kawo mai buƙatu sya tallafa. Har mata malaman makarantu waɗanda basu da albashi mai yawa kamar wasu ma'aikatan suna fama da wannan kalubalen biyawa yān uwa buƙatunsu. Ta ambaci waɗannan abubuwa ne sabida ta nuna yadda rayuwar mata a Abuja, musamman mata masu sana'ar koyarwa, ke fama da kalubalen rayuwa ta yau da kullum: buƙatu na gurin aiki, gida da kuma yān uwa.

Malama Hadiza kuma, saɓanin yawancin malamai a Abuja waɗanda daga wasu garuruwa a wajen Abuja suka zo, ita ta taso ne a Abuja. Inda anan tayi karatu tun daga matakin firamare har

jami'a. Bayanin ta ya karkata wajen tarbiya. Mace dake aiki acikin yanayi irin na Abuja na fama da matsalar kokarin tsira da tarbiyan ta. Tun daga yanayi na shiga ababan hawa da yanayi na cudanyuwa da maza da kuma cudanyuwa da ake samu tsakanin mata da maza a guraren aiki. Tace sabida yanayi na Abuja zaka samu mace ta shiga mota ko wani abun hawa amma gefanta na dama dana hagu duk mazane. A irin wannan yanayi za a samu wasu lokutan an bige da hira tsakanin maza da mata wadanda ba muharraman juna bane. Wasu lokutan ana samun mace tana fitowa daga wani yanki na Abuja kuma wani namijin yana fita daga wannan anguwar da abun hawarsa. Sai ya taimaka mata ya rage mata hanya, daga nan kuma sai a samu lambar juna ana hira. Wannan yana iya haifar da samun alaƙa wacce bata dace ba.

Malama Hadiza ta karfafa cewa a wannan mataki na rayuwa (bayan karatun jami'a) ilimi da take bukata shine na addini. Amma duk da karfin wannan kudiri da take dashi, bata samun aiwatar dashi sabida yanayin aikin yana cinye lokacin ma'aikaci. "Da sassafe an fita, ba'a dawowa kuma sai can da yamma ko lokacin da gari ya fara duhu. Baki samun lokacin ma na isashshen bacci balle na karatu". La'akari da wadannan kalubalen, malama Hadiza ta karfafa bayanin ta da cewa rashin aikin mace da zamanta a gidanta yafi zuwanta gurin aiki sai dai inda bukata. Duk da cewa itama ma'aikaciya ce, tayi bayanin cewa, rashin yin aikin mace yafi alkairi sama da yin aikin ta.

Kammalawa

Bincike kan fadɔ-tashin matan arewa a Abuja ya fito da wasu bangarori na rayuwa, al'adu, da mahangar musulmai a arewacin Najeriya. Duk da cewa arewacin Najeriya guri ne mai fadɔ kuma ya kunshi mutane daban-daban, a wannan binciken nayi kokarin bayani kan kalubalen da mata yān arewa ke fuskanta wajan hada aikin karatarwa a makarantu, lura da gida da kuma, wasu lokuta, daukan nauyin yān uwa a wasu garuruwan. Bayanai na wadannan matan da nayi hira dasu yana nuna tunani da ake dashi kan mata da kuma ma yadda su kansu matan suka fahimci rayuwarsu.

Akwai gurare da ra'ayoyin matan da nayi hira dasu suka zo dai-dai: bawa aiki da gida isashshen lokaci abune muhimmin amma mai wuya, ababan sufuri basu la'akari da al'adu irin wadda ya dace da yƙar arewa dss. A wani ɓangaren kuwa, suna da mabanbantan ra'ayoyi: menene zai gadarwa da mace yanci? Shin aiki ne ko kuma zaman ta a gida? A cikin bayanan nasu sun bayyana min cewa, a dalilin ƙoƙarin rayuwa bisa al'adun daya dace yƙar arewa ta siffatun dashi, aiyuka da dama bazasu yi su ba: aiyukan da tufafin da ake buƙatar mace ta saka ya sabawa addini, aiyuka waɗanda akwai cudanya tsakanin maza da mata dss. Waɗannan bayanai na nuna yadda mata ke ƙoƙarin samun daidiao tsakanin ɓangarori daban daban na rayuwarsu. Wannan maƙalar tayi ƙoƙarin bada gudummawa kan rayuwar musulmai a arewacin Najeriya ta hanyar bincike kan rayuwar mata.

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