

5. Covered Bodies, Moral Education, and the Embodiment of Islamic Reform in Northern Nigeria

ELISHA P. RENNE

1. O You, enfolded in your mantle (of reform),
 2. Arise and warn,
 3. Glorify your Lord,
 4. Purify your inner self,
 5. And banish all trepidation.
 6. Do not bestow favours
in expectation of return,
 7. And persevere
in the way of your Lord.
- Qur'an, Sura 74 (The Enfolded)

In the Qur'an and in several hadith, women and men are enjoined to cover their bodies with cloth.¹ As proper Muslims, men should cover their heads with turbans or caps, while women should wear veils. This injunction has been widely observed, but distinctive forms of dress and head coverings are associated with different Islamic reform groups, as in the city of Zaria in northern Nigeria. In Zaria there are numerous Islamic institutions and mosques, which reflect these distinctive affiliations, as well as many schools that support different forms of Islamic education, which include the Abubakar Gumi College of Higher Islamic Studies and the Centre for Islamic and Legal Studies at Ahmadu Bello University.² How leaders of different Islamic groups have

considered moral bodily comportment and being in the world is reflected in their critical evaluations of the bodily covering of others (or its lack). This critique was evident in the establishment in February 1978 of the Islamic reform movement Jama'atu Izalat al-Bid'a wa Iqamat al-Sunna—the Society for the Removal of Innovation and the Reinstatement of Tradition, colloquially known as Izala. In Zaria, Izala leaders sought to focus followers' practice on the Qur'an and hadith and to counter the practices of other Islamic orders, such as the reformed Tijāniyya, whose performance of *zhikr*—ritual communication with the group's founder—they considered to be un-Islamic.³ Izala leaders, such as Isma'ila Idris in Jos, Sheikh Abubakar Gumi in Kaduna, and Malam Aminu d-Din Abubakar in Kano, also emphasized the importance of Islamic education for both girls and married women, as well as simplicity in dress and demeanor. As discussed later on, these new aspects of comportment for followers of Izala led to a new form of women's body covering, the hijab, which allowed Izala women to leave their family compounds to attend evening classes at local Islamiyya schools for study of the Qur'an. Similarly, Izala men mainly wore simply styled kaftans with caps (*hula*) or small turbans. Such dress did not encumber them as they moved about town or traveled to Mecca for the hajj. Aside from enabling movement, these body and head coverings conveyed a sense of modesty and simplicity, which have characterized Islamic reform movements in northern Nigeria. Indeed, Shehu Usman dan Fodio, the leader of the nineteenth-century jihad that led to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate (Last 1967), was said to have had one robe, one set of trousers, and one turban (Hiskett 1973, 31).

This chapter focuses on the significance of cloth coverings in the embodiment of Islamic religious practice in Zaria, Kaduna, and, to some extent, Kano, cities in northern Nigeria. Such an approach clarifies how the covering of women's bodies through the use of hijab may represent the distinctive beliefs of one Islamic group but also how cloth coverings may be used to present a unified, international Islamic community, as when the two pieces of white, undifferentiated *ihram* cloth are worn by men, and hijab is worn by women, during the performance of hajj in Mecca. For followers of the reformist Izala movement, these embodied practices have been closely related to particular forms of Islamic education—as in Islamic classes for married women—and classes for intending pilgrims, who are required to learn basic hajj prayers and practices before they are given permission by state pilgrimage boards to fly to Mecca (Tangban 1991). The Izala movement's approach, which underscores the interconnectedness of spiritual, bodily, and material religious practice (Covington-Ward 2016; Meyer and Houtman 2012; Ware 2014), is framed by a particular

understanding of moral education that characterized the founding of the Izala movement.

The chapter begins with a discussion of moral education and specifically considers the differences and intersections between the views of Sheikh Abubakar Gumi (1992), one of the founders of Izala, on Islamic education; of Aisha Lemu, former director the Islamic Education Trust; and of Émile Durkheim (1961), the founder of the first department of sociology in France. The implications of religious and secular moral education are then considered. The chapter continues with a brief history of the founding of the Izala movement and its leaders' belief in the importance of teaching knowledge of Islamic texts, including the Qur'an and hadith, as well as proper body techniques in the performance of prayer and ablution. In Zaria City the establishment of Islamic education classes for married women (known as Islamiyya Matan Aure) is examined from the perspective of several Zaria City women who attended these classes when they began in the 1980s. These women explain their experiences when they first attended these classes wearing hijab, as well as the consequences that their acquisition of knowledge of the Qur'an, hadith, and other Islamic texts has had for their lives. Some of these women have gone on to perform the hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca, which is discussed below.

Abubakar Gumi was also involved in the introduction of registration procedures for Nigerian pilgrimage boards in 1982 (Loimeier 1997, 161). For those registering with the pilgrimage board in Kaduna State, written materials are provided and classes held to prepare pilgrims for proper comportment and prayers during hajj. In Kano State knowledge about performance of the hajj can be acquired in various ways, from classes taught by members of the Muslim Women's Association of Kano to booklets on prayer and performance of the hajj available from local bookshops and state pilgrimage boards, as well as information on the National Hajj Commission of Nigeria website.⁴ The experiences of men and women who have performed the hajj suggest the powerful impact of what is referred to by Sunni Muslims as the fifth pillar of Islam.⁵ While men's white ihram dress, consisting of two pieces of unsewn cloth, worn with heads uncovered, and women's long, mainly white gowns and hijab, which cover their heads during the ihram period of the hajj, emphasize distinct gender identities, these overwhelmingly white garments nonetheless emphasize Islamic unity. Indeed, during the period of ihram, men and women pray together, unlike the usual separation by gender practiced in mosques in northern Nigeria. The chapter concludes with a consideration of the importance of embodied techniques and the associated use of religious materials such as particular types of cloth in one's comportment as a proper Muslim, practices that "are governed

by education, and at least by the circumstances of life in common, of contact” (Mauss 1973, 86).

Moral Education and Islamic Reform

The word *moral* derives from *mos*, a way of comporting oneself.

—T. O. Beidelman, *Moral Imagination in Kaguru Modes of Thought*

In his memoir, *Where I Stand*, Abubakar Gumi (1992, 104) recounted his consternation during the 1962 hajj after seeing some Nigerian pilgrims beating the *jamra* (the image of Satan) with their shoes, rather than throwing small stones as is prescribed (see also Loimeier 1997, 136). He consulted with Ahmadu Bello, then the premier of the Northern Region of Nigeria, whom he had accompanied on hajj, and they determined upon returning to Nigeria to improve Islamic education in northern Nigeria. Later that year, they brought northern Nigerian Islamic leaders together in Kaduna to discuss the establishment of a new organization, Jamā'atu Nasril Islam (Association for the Support of Islam), to foster Islamic unity in the north as well as to provide resources for the building of new mosques and schools to improve Islamic education in the region. In Kaduna, Gumi began holding classes in the garage of his house, with teachers initially paid by him and Bello (Gumi 1992, 105). Through support from local businessmen and Saudi and Kuwaiti donors, Jamā'atu Nasril Islam subsequently was able to sponsor the building of numerous schools and mosques as well as of its headquarters in Kaduna. Gumi's insistence on the importance of Islamic education and dress for both women and men reflected his views about countering earlier British colonial intentions: “One has to be taught the inadequacy of one's language, food or dress, for instance, before one is made to appreciate the glory of that brought to one by the colonial master” (78). As he noted, “There had been quite an established intellectual tradition among the Muslims, dating back several centuries before the coming of the European colonialists. We had an indigenous form of writing and a developed system of education, based on our long association with Arabic and Islamic learning. . . . This explains why European colonialists were regarded with suspicion from the very beginning. They were considered symbols of foreign conquest and domination, and whatever programme they introduced was seen as another ploy to enhance their domination and the spread of their religion and culture” (15).

Thus, Gumi viewed Islamic education for women as a means of countering Western intellectual hegemony and as the basis of moral education.⁶ In the book *Tahdhib (Moral Education) and Sirah*, the late B. Aisha Lemu (1986)

provides students with chapters on preparation for prayer, cleanliness, respect for others, Islamic manners, and dress. She concludes that “every Muslim boy or girl, man or woman—who tries in this way to obey Allah and behaves well will be helped and guided by Allah. He will be on the Right Path (*as-siratul mustaqim*). Allah will give him or her a great reward in life and greater reward in the Hereafter. Thus *Tahdhib* (Moral Education) is very important for every Muslim. It guides him or her to happiness and peace of mind in this world and in the Hereafter” (15).

This view differs considerably from that of Durkheim, who discussed the importance of developing a new basis of moral education distinct from religion in France in a series of lectures given in 1902–1903. Durkheim sought to replace religion with secular rationalism as the moral basis for the betterment of modern French society, although he recognized that this would not be easy (Durkheim 1961, 20). Essentially, he proposed to uncover the fundamental rules of morality in French society and then to develop them in children through instruction in French primary schools. Three main rules emerged in his conceptualization of moral education: discipline, attachment to society, and autonomy based on secular knowledge, particularly science (264). Such moral education, Durkheim believed, not only was critical to the functioning of the French nation-state but also reflected the particularities of French history and society (Beidelman 1997, 7). Durkheim emphatically excluded religious knowledge and things associated with it, such as the hijab. Indeed, since 2004 it has been illegal for girl students to wear hijab to French public school classes, which continues to be an issue for the children of African migrants in the country. This way of thinking about proper comportment and moral education has also affected educational practice in southwestern Nigeria in particular, where the wearing of hijab in schools continues to be disputed.⁷

Pierre Bourdieu (1967, 338) made a related but somewhat different observation in his discussion of how an educational system not only imparts such “fundamental rules of morality” but, in the process of doing so, also “modifies the content and spirit of the culture which it transmits,” an observation with which Gumi would agree. In other words, the mode of transmission of this knowledge (through examinations and competitive grading) and the setting (the presence of desks and chairs, to which some Muslim scholars objected; Bray 1981, 61) affect what is learned in school, aside from the actual curriculum presented there. Thus, one northern Nigerian *waziri* (vizier), when asked whether he thought Western education was destructive of Muslim morality, told Jean Trevor that “it was not the knowledge which was disruptive but the

attitudes and individual competitiveness that went with it” (quoted in Trevor 1975, 250).⁸ For Muslim scholars such as Gumi and Lemu, failure to properly cover the body was another aspect of the disruptiveness of Western education.

Islamic education (and later Western education) was not necessarily seen as a moral dilemma for men. However, a complication for urban Hausa Muslim women living in Zaria City centered around the practice of seclusion (*kulle*), which prescribed that married women remain within their compounds and precluded their daily, unaccompanied attendance at Islamic schools. Covering the body with a hijab provided a means for addressing this dilemma.

Yet discussions over whether and how married Muslim women in northern Nigeria should receive an Islamic education have taken place over the past two centuries and have often been associated with various Islamic reformist movements (Ogunbiyi 1969). In the early nineteenth century, the religious reformer Shehu Usman dan Fodio, the founder of the Sokoto Caliphate, wrote about the importance of women’s education as part of proper Islamic practice: “Most of our educated men leave their wives, their daughters, and their captives morally abandoned like beasts, without teaching them what God prescribes should be taught them” (1975, 254). His daughter, Nana Asma’u, was instrumental in establishing women’s groups for reading the Qur’an in Sokoto in northwestern Nigeria (Boyd 1989; Boyd and Last 1985; Mack and Boyd 2000). (Such reading groups were not available for married women in Zaria City until the introduction of *Islamiyya Matan Aure*.) Later, during the colonial period, from 1903 to 1960, British education officials were initially loath to encourage girls and women to attend secular government schools because they were concerned about offending local Islamic sensibilities (Boyd 1997; Graham 1966) and because women were not being groomed for the native administration positions (Tibenderana 1985). Thus, Islamic schooling for boys and girls, but not married women, continued through this period in Zaria City. Children’s Islamic education consisted of *allo* and *ilmi* schools, the former based on memorization, recitation, and writing of the Qur’an on small boards (*allo*), the latter based on expository lectures and reading of the Qur’an and hadith, as well as texts that discuss Islamic law and theology (see Hiskett 1975b; Tukur 1963). While young girls often attended *allo* schools, few continued on to *ilmi* instruction, because of marriage.

The advent of the Izala movement in the late 1970s led to a reassessment of the importance of education for women of all ages. Indeed, Islamic education for married adult women was an important aspect of the Izala reformers’ agenda. For them, basic knowledge of the Qur’an and hadith among married women was critical for raising proper children, which parallels Jean-Jacques

Rousseau's explanation for why he wrote his treatise on education reform, *Émile, or On Education*, for women: "The first education is the most important, and the first education belongs incontestably to women" (1979, 37).⁹

This position on the married women's Islamic education distinguished Izala followers from those supporting the prevailing Qādiriyya and Tijāniyya Islamic Sufi brotherhoods in Zaria City (Muhammed 1997; Renne 2012; Umar 1993), despite a number of sura (chapters) in the Qur'an that emphasize the importance of the pursuit of knowledge.¹⁰ Yet the ability to read the Qur'an and other Islamic texts learned through these Islamiyya classes had other implications, both personally for the women attending them and for marital relations within Hausa households, potentially unsettling them. Thus, Izala leaders and teachers (Gumi 1992) were careful to emphasize the importance of this training not only for Islamic education but also for women's domestic roles as wives and mothers.

While the particular answers of these Izala reformers differed from Durkheim's (they did not want to separate religion and education), they shared a general concern with teaching women to read and understand the texts. Indeed, some Islamiyya schools provided instruction in secular as well as Islamic subjects in order to prepare individuals to work for the material and moral betterment of society. While suspicions persisted about these classes (they were sometimes referred to as "adultery education" in Zaria), such classes have been widely attended in Zaria, Kaduna, and Kano in recent years (Bray 1981; Lawson 1995). Yet the fact that some Islamiyya schools have incorporated subjects taught at Western-style schools (and are taught on these schools' premises) undermines assumptions about a strict shift from religious "traditional" to secular "modern" education and illustrates how local efforts to construct a moral education are culturally and historically grounded.

Islamic Education: Izala and the Introduction of Classes for Married Women in Zaria City

151. Even as We sent a messenger from among you to convey Our messages to you and cleanse you, and teach you the Book and the wisdom, and what you did not know;

152. So, therefore, remember Me, and I shall remember you; and give thanks and do not be ungrateful.

153. O you who believe, seek courage in fortitude and prayer, for God is with those who are patient and persevere.

—Sura 2, Qur'an

In the early 1980s, Izala began to attract followers in Zaria City, the old walled portion of the larger town of Zaria.¹¹ Izala leaders focused on primary Islamic texts, particularly the Qur'an and the hadith, and rejected "all bid'a [innovations] which are not in concordance with the Sunna of the Prophet" (Funtua 1980, 5, quoted in Loimeier 1997, 229). Initially, Izala teachers (*malamai*) as well as their students faced considerable resistance to the introduction of classes for married women in Zaria City. Owing to this, several schools with classes for married women had their start in the entryways (*zaure*) or garages of private houses whose owners permitted *malamai* to use the space to teach married women. Some of these classes grew out of allo Islamic schools for young children, which may be seen in the entryways of compounds throughout the old city. One such school was established in the early 1970s in a garage attached to the main compound of the titled royal official, the Magajin Gari Zazzau (the late Alhaji Nuhu Bamalli), in the quarter of Zaria City known as Anguwar Kwarbai. As the school, known as Madarasatul Anwarul Islam, expanded, a separate structure was built to accommodate the school's growing population of primary-school-age children. However, in 1981, with the growth of the Izala movement, the school's teachers introduced classes for married women. A small number of married women, wearing hijab, began attending classes, which focused on portions of the Qur'an and hadith, as well as *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *tajwid* (recitation of the Qur'an), and *tawhid* (Islamic belief, theology of the unity of God), conducted by teachers at this school. Because of the early opposition to women going outside of their homes to attend Islamic education classes, these women students primarily consisted of the wives of the Islamiyya teachers themselves, who accompanied them to class (see Loimeier 1997, 238).¹²

Initially, some husbands refused to allow their wives to attend classes, arguing that they could learn to read the Qur'an in their homes. However, some married women insisted on attending Islamiyya Matan Aure classes despite their husbands' disapproval, which in some cases led to divorce (Loimeier 1997, 254; Renne 2012; Yandaki 1997, 50). Yet, with time, these classes for married women came to be widely accepted in many *anguwoyi* (quarters or wards) of the old city and consequently led many people to see the value of this new way of thinking about their religion (Umar 2001). By 2002 over twenty-six Islamiyya schools with classes for married women had opened in nineteen different *anguwoyi* of the city, which reflected both a widespread acceptance of the importance of married women's education and a broader acceptance of the Izala movement there (Renne 2012).¹³

While established to improve women's knowledge of the Qur'an and hadith, seen as beneficial to women themselves, who as better Muslims "will train all society" (Malam Muhammed Bello, quoted in Renne 2012, 55), Islamiyya Matan Aure classes have also provided women in Zaria with the moral authority to challenge domestic strictures associated with seclusion in order to attend classes in the pursuit of Islamic knowledge.¹⁴ Furthermore, some educated Muslim Hausa women's distinctive readings of certain passages of the Qur'an—that all should be educated, including women—have lent ideological support to new behaviors, which included the wearing of a new form of body covering, the hijab, in order to attend Islamiyya classes.

The Introduction of the Hijab

Me ake nufi da hijabi?
Hijabi shi ne shamaki, watau
tufafin da ke rufe jiki duka.

What is the purpose of the hijab?
The hijab is a partition, that is to say, it is
wrapped around a person and covers all the body.
—Sa'idu Yunus Ibrahim, *Matsayin Hijabi a Musulunci*, 1996

The booklet *Matsayin Hijabi a Musulunci* (The place of the hijab in Islam [Ibrahim 1996]), written in Hausa and published in Zaria in 1996, is an excellent example of the so-called ephemeral literature that is sold in market stalls and by itinerant booklet sellers throughout northern Nigeria. In it the author provides readers with an explanation of the importance of Muslim women's wearing of the hijab, followed by specific reasons and references to the Qur'an and other Islamic texts to support the author's position.

Although women had been covering themselves with *gyale* (a long, rectangular cloth used as a veil) at that time and earlier with handwoven *zane* (a large cover cloth or wrapper) when leaving their family compounds (Mahdi 2013, 170; Smith 1954), women began wearing the more body-encompassing and tailored hijab in order to protect themselves and their respectability when entering public spaces to attend Islamiyya classes. Nonetheless, some women faced problems when wearing this form of body covering because of its association with the reformist Izala movement: "When the hijab was first introduced, people said a lot of bad things about it. I can give you an example [from my own experience]. I have a hijab that goes to my feet. When people saw me with it,

they said a lot of bad things. Some would say *tazarce* [like the long robes worn by the former president Sani Abacha]; some would say *takunkunmin Gumi* [shackles of Gumi]; some would say *rakata jahannama* [it will escort her to hell], and many bad things. This kind of thing happened to those who are wearing hijab” (interview, Zaria City, June 10, 2001).

As with other aspects of the Izala reforms, which became internalized as proper Islamic belief and practice by the movement’s followers, Zaria City women began to reevaluate what was considered proper modest Muslim comportment in their community.¹⁵ Indeed, the Izala malamai (teachers) encouraged the married women coming to their classes to wear the hijab because of their teaching of Qur’anic sura, which instructed women to cover themselves. They also supported the hijab for their students’ protection, particularly when schools first began, as one Izala malam explained: “There are some schools, if the women went to school, if they lived nearby, some men used to stop them on their way. . . . The thing was serious. It was at that time that women were asked to wear hijab and to come to school in it. Because at the beginning, [we at] the school didn’t care if women were [just] going out—they could wear any cloth they wanted. But if she’s coming to school, she must be wearing a uniform—the hijab. But we didn’t choose a specific cloth; she must just wear her hijab” (interview, Zaria City, September 1996).

This shift from the gyalé veils, which could easily slip off and reveal parts of a woman’s body, to the hijab reflects the tendency of religious reformers to represent themselves as purifying past practices (El Guindi 1999). Wearing a hijab allowed married Muslim women to extend their mobility by delineating what constituted a covered moral space outside of their homes so that they could acquire an Islamic education, taught by their Izala teachers (Renne 2013). Indeed, these teachers instructed them on the importance of wearing the hijab as part of Muslim moral practice. These teachings were explained by another Zaria City woman: “The Prophet Muhammad instructed us to wear the hijab because it completes the Islamic religion. . . . Sometimes the parents don’t want [her to wear the] hijab. They may accuse the daughter because of the hijab, but if her husband agreed for her to wear it, she should not mind about what the father is saying” (interview, Zaria City, May 9, 2001).

As this woman’s comments suggest, women’s wearing of the hijab at times led to conflict within families. As the woman cited earlier explained, when she wore a long hijab, she was taunted with the phrase *shackles of Gumi*. By referring to the hijab in conjunction with Gumi, one of the founders of the Izala movement, those belonging to Qādiriyya and Tijāniyya groups expressed their dislike of Izala and its followers. This conflict was sometimes across generations,

sometimes between spouses, and sometimes among women themselves. For example, when going to Islamiyya class, one woman was unable to put on her hijab until she had left her house because her father “didn’t like hijab.” Additionally, some husbands did not want their wives to wear hijab because they did not want them going out unaccompanied to attend Islamiyya Matan Aure classes. One woman who was married began to wear the hijab only when she moved back to her parents’ home: “Really, my husband, he didn’t like hijab, but since I came back home [to her parents’ house], I sewed a hijab and started wearing it. It is three years now since I started wearing it. Nothing happened when I started wearing it. It only improved my respect. Hijab makes a woman appear more respectable [*kwarjini*]; bad people will not approach her” (interview, Zaria City, May 7, 2001).

Yet despite these initial confrontations, many women persisted in wearing the hijab when in public, when attending Islamiyya classes, and when praying in their houses (figure 5.1). Indeed, as women became accustomed to wearing the hijab, they became less and less comfortable wearing the gyle head covering or veil, with some women rejecting the gyle altogether: “Hijab protects a woman’s body because it covers her back and front; any woman who shows her body has no respect. If she wears gyle and puts it on her neck, a small boy can come and talk to her. Everywhere I put my foot, everywhere I am going, I am going with hijab, not only if I am going to school. *I don’t even know how to use gyle*” (interview, Zaria City, May 2, 2001; my emphasis).

For one woman, the idea of proper covering was internalized to the extent that she felt undressed in public if she was not wearing a hijab; she noted, “Wherever I go, I wear hijab because the time I attempted to wear gyle and cover my body, *I felt like I was going naked*” (interview, Zaria City, June 11, 2001, my emphasis; see also Meneley 2007, 231). This woman’s comments also point to the particular gendered dynamics of public space and marriage, which are defused by wearing a hijab. Without proper covering of their bodies, women “invite” men to make sexual advances, which devalue her.

Aside from the shift away from wearing the gyle, which could slide off the head, revealing the neck and arms, to covering oneself securely with the hijab, the different types of gyle and hijab worn by women had different connotations. For example, several women mentioned certain sizes of hijab and gyle as being more proper than others: “If I am going to school, I wear hijab. If I am going someplace and there isn’t a definite reason [to wear it, such as school], if I go out with gyle, I wear a big gyle that I think will not attract anyone to me” (interview, Zaria City, November 12, 2001). Thus, while gyle veils were seen at the time as sufficient for protecting women’s modesty, they came to be seen as



FIGURE 5.1. Islamic book shop in Zaria City, with wall painting of a Muslim woman wearing hijab. By depicting the woman reading an Islamic text titled *Hijab*, the artist makes reference to the connection between her Islamic education and wearing the head covering in order to attend school. Zaria City, April 14, 2009. Photograph by author.

insufficient covering when women were attending Islamiyya classes and when they were saying their prayers. Eventually, even the short hijab came to be seen as inadequate covering; the long hijab, which covered a woman from head to toe, became required for women attending Islamiyya classes who were practicing modest Muslim comportment: “If you see a respected woman, you will recognize her by the way she dresses and the way she walks. She will dress as is accepted in Islam—she will wear hijab. . . . And she will walk calmly. At home, if she speaks, she will not raise her voice, and she will not talk of things that are not proper” (interview, Zaria City, June 10, 2001).

The women who attended Islamiyya Matan Aure classes described the many benefits of their attendance—for themselves and for their families—and explained why these classes are important to them. Knowing how to pray and knowing how to bathe and to perform one’s ablutions properly were important, as was learning how to get along with husbands, cowives, other relatives, and neighbors with patience and without anger, which they also mentioned as benefits of attending Islamiyya classes.

Modesty, Comportment, and Gender

Wearing hijab when attending Islamiyya classes underscored the importance of women covering their bodies, as many, citing the Qur’an, have noted: “Tell the believing women to lower their eyes, guard their private parts, and not display their charms except what is apparent outwardly, and cover their bosoms with their veils and not to show their finery except to their husbands or their fathers” (Qur’an 24:31). Yet the preceding verse in the Qur’an, Sura 24:30, prescribed similar behavior for men: “Tell the believing men to lower their eyes and guard their private parts. There is for them goodness in this. God is aware of what they do.”

Men’s dress may reflect this admonition as well as other Qur’anic verses such as Sura 33:35, which praises men and women who are modest. For men, this choice of dress is exemplified by Gumi’s “taste in clothing”: “It was in the Sudan that I learnt to appreciate simple and functional clothing, as against very conspicuous and expensive ones. Since my return from Bakht-er-Ruda my clothes have been simple and inexpensive. I have always strived to wear clothes that, although decent, would never discourage a prospective student from approaching me, because he is scared by their flamboyance” (Gumi 1992, 67–68; see also Renne 2018, 160–161).

Thus, men associated with the Islamic reform group Izala cover their heads with a cap, which may or may not have a small strip of cloth wound around

it—a type of head covering known as *hizami*, or “little turban”—while wearing a simple kaftan with pants. The women cover themselves with a hijab over a zane wrapper. As Gumi put it, “In fact, the total rejection of ostentation came to be the hallmark of Izala” (1992, 162). This embodiment of the Qur’anic prescriptions taught in Izala classes, reinforced through simplicity in dress, is also associated with performance of the hajj, particularly when pilgrims are in the state of *ihram*. As with Islamiyya classes, northern Nigerian Muslims learn new techniques of the body for the proper performance of the hajj through this form of moral education.

Pilgrimage Education, Techniques of the Body, and Dress in Mecca

One of the most important objectives of the Hajj is for us to learn how to do without all the lawful comforts and luxuries that we are accustomed to indulging in. This is why a pilgrim wears the sparest of clothing—a waistcloth and a shoulder cloth without any decoration or embellishment.

—Salman bin Fahad al-Oadah, *Alleviating the Difficulties of the Hajj*, 2006

While the ignorance reflected in some Nigerians’ practices while on hajj catalyzed Bello and Gumi’s initial establishment of Islamiyya schools in Kaduna (Gumi 1992), they also worked together to organize procedures for northern Nigerians’ travel to Mecca (Loimeier 1997; Tangban 1991). After his appointment as *amir al-hajj* (leader of the pilgrimage) in 1975, Gumi sought to improve not only prospective pilgrims’ knowledge of Islam but also their preparedness (*istita’a*) through administrative procedures associated with local government pilgrimage boards. “In 1984 the Buhari administration . . . introduced a ‘test’ for . . . all aspiring pilgrims [who] were required to demonstrate their command of a number of the essential prayers and knowledge of how the prayers were correctly performed” (*New Nigerian*, June 6, 1985, quoted in Loimeier 1997, 161).¹⁶

In Kano a school was established in 1982 by the Muslim Mothers’ Association to train women in preparation for the hajj. Hajiya Rabi Wali, one of the woman founders of the association, explained this program:

One of the things that they were taught was the use of the hijab, especially during hajj. They had been wearing *gyale*, but the *gyale* can come off during prayers. The school training hours were as follows: From 8 am to 10 am, the women were given training in the necessary prayers. Then at the time

of the Zuhir prayer, we called malamai and people from the Pilgrim Welfare Ministry to come see how we are helping these women and also so that the women would see the difference between men's and women's prayers. (We needed to involve men in the training; otherwise, they might say that we women were doing something radical or feminist.)

The practice Ka'aba we used in the hajj training school was made new every year. We used cardboard boxes to construct it. We also used a small oil drum to serve as jamra, where they learned how to stone Shaitan [Satan]. I continued teaching at the hajj school for women until the former governor Shekarau was elected in April 2007. Then he had the government do it at the transit camp near the Kano airport before they left for hajj. (interview, Kano, June 16, 2011; see also Renne 2018, 145)

With many more people performing hajj, each state provided pilgrims with printed cotton textiles for garments, which along with government flags would identify them, at least when they were not in the state of ihram, when men uniformly wore untailed white *harami* dress and women wore hijab and loosely tailored white *jellabiya* gowns (Okenwa 2016). Beginning in the mid-1960s, intending pilgrims followed a series of steps in order to travel to Mecca. They first obtained medical and vaccination certificates, after which they met with approved hajj agents (or their subagents) to pay and receive receipts for their transport costs (by air or, less frequently, by road). After these documents were obtained, pilgrims were given passports and visas for their travel. When traveling by air, they were expected to come to Kano airport a few days before the flights were to depart, where they stayed in a transit camp located at the airport grounds (Tangban 1991, 246). There they received printed materials and further instruction in hajj procedures.

Pilgrims' dress was one topic covered in this orientation, which had different stipulations for men and women. During the period of ihram, men pilgrims were not allowed to wear sewn garments but rather changed into the two-piece waist and shoulder cloths, also known as ihram (*harami* in Hausa) dress, along with open sandals (figure 5.2; Okenwa 2016). According to the author of a Saudi-produced booklet, *Alleviating the Difficulties of the Hajj*, which was distributed to Nigerian pilgrims: "The basis for the prohibition of wearing of sewn articles of clothing is the hadīth where a man asked the Prophet (peace be upon him) what a pilgrim must wear in the state of ihrām, to which he replied: 'He should not wear a shirt, nor a turban, nor pants, nor a cloak. He should not wear cloth that has been dyed with woad or saffron'" (bin Fahad al-Oadah 2006, 35).

Salman bin Fahad al-Oadah goes on to explain that this prescription for unsewn cloth does not preclude sewing a torn cloth nor even wearing a pair of pants with the seams cut open. He cites "Ibn Taymiyah [who] wrote in *Sharh al-'Umdah*: 'If a pair of pants is cut open, it becomes the equivalent of a waistcloth.' What is most important is that the cloths worn 'are not sewn in the shape and size of the limb'" (36; see also Ahmad 2000). Indeed, for many men pilgrims, the removal of tailored, sewn clothing and the donning of white ihram dress was "what truly meant hajj for us":

For both my companions and myself it was the ihram that made the real transition from simple visit to pilgrimage. We helped each other don the two white cloths, the first tight around the hips and reaching the calves, the second thrown over the torso, leaving the right shoulder and arm free. The others helped me to fasten mine with a wide belt, also white, with pockets for keys, money, and papers. My head had to remain bare. On my feet, as prescribed, I put lightweight sandals with neither laces or buckles. After a major ablution of the body . . . I thus entered the state of ihram. (Hammoudi 2006, 120–121)

While the white ihram cloth might consist of several different types of textiles (except silk) in various states of repair, being present in Mecca among Muslims from all over the world dressed in the same simple way was a moving experience for many.

Yet wearing the ihram cloth is not always easy for men accustomed to wearing fitted, sewn garments, as Usman Liman explains with regard to the performance of *tawâf* as they circled around the Ka'aba:¹⁷ "For us males, we were constantly struggling with our wrappers lest they get loose and fall off. One had no pants beneath. To stop moving with the flow of human traffic on the excuse that one want[ed] to retighten his wrapper is very dangerous. One may get knocked down and trampled underneath" (1996, 56).

While he describes the discomfort that he and other pilgrims wearing ihram dress experienced as they approached Mina, he also observed that it was countered by the profound joy of performing the hajj: "Sweat was pouring down our backs and we were still not familiar with wrappers therefore it ought to have been uncomfortable for us. But the religious zeal in us was overpowering. The emotion was choking. The actual Hajj rituals have begun at last. How can one feel any discomfort?"

While women are also exposed to the extreme heat of the Saudi sun, there are no such specific prescriptions for women pilgrims' dress, except that they should cover their heads and bodies, without a veil touching their face. As Saleh



FIGURE 5.2. Nigerian men from Kaduna State wearing ihram during the 2008 hajj. Image courtesy of Alhaji Samaila Nabara (third from right).

Okenwa (2016) noted in his essay “Practical Steps in Performing the Hajj Rites,” which is published on the National Hajj Commission of Nigeria website, “A woman can wear whatever she likes as long as it does not display her adornments or resemble men’s clothing.” The National Hajj Commission of Nigeria and other websites advise women on how to properly perform the hajj and what to wear while at Mecca. For example, in an article by Asma bint Shameem, “Common Mistakes Women Make during Hajj or Umrah,” she addresses questions about appropriate dress. Women pilgrims are advised to dress modestly, wearing white garments, often *abaya* (gowns) and hijab, that do not cover their faces.¹⁸

Once pilgrims are no longer in the state of ihram, they may wear tailored clothing, which includes outfits that are sewn from printed cotton cloth (*at-amfa*) given to them by their state Pilgrim Welfare Board (figure 5.3). These outfits represent another aspect of the regularization of hajj procedures for pilgrims as well as the organization for the increasing numbers of Nigerians traveling to Mecca.¹⁹ According to the 2016 Kaduna State Pilgrim Welfare Board overseer, Alhaji Habib Umar Mahmud, earlier *atamfa hajji* (printed hajj) cloths



FIGURE 5.3. Kaduna State hajiya pilgrim wearing hijab made from the cloth used during the 2008 hajj in Shika, Nigeria. Photograph by author.

were produced by some of the textile mills in Kaduna, such as Arewa Textiles, Finetex, and United Nigerian Textiles Limited (UNTL) (interview, Kaduna, March 7, 2016). Owing to the closure or reduced productivity of these mills after 2010, the board has ordered these cloths from a textile firm in Kano, the African Textile Manufacturers Ltd. While the date printed on the cloth and the colors differ from year to year, the main patterning for each state is essentially the same, which helps pilgrims from different Nigerian states to identify each other among the many other pilgrims performing hajj.²⁰

For both men and women, the performance of hajj can be one of the most significant events of their lives. For men, the donning of ihram dress represents a period of sanctity as well as prohibition of many worldly things: “*Ihram*’: a noun of action, the root, *h-r-m*, usually translated as ‘sacred.’ But it contains the sacred and the forbidden simultaneously. By shedding my ordinary clothes, I was entering into a state of forbidden sanctity” (Hammoudi 2006, 122). This echoes, in a way, Sa’idu Yunus Ibrahim’s reference to the hijab as “a partition” (1996, 5). The Nigerian pilgrim Usman Liman explains his own transformative experience this way:

In less than thirty minutes, we were at Zui-hulaifa. . . . We halted, took our bath, donned the *Ihram* garb, assumed the formal intention of the Umra and in less than one hour rowdy people were transformed into pious looking pilgrims. It was white dress upon white dress for everybody. It became difficult to recognise people. There was a strange uniformity. The cry of Labbaika! was all over the place. . . . Everytime I uttered that cry of Labbaika! I felt an exhilarating feeling run through me, I felt a strange closeness to my creator, the like of which I had never felt before. (1996, 54)

This sense of being at one with Allah and with one’s fellow Muslims through the hajj was materialized through one’s bodily movements and dress during the performance of ihram. As Abdellah Hammoudi explains, “*Ihram*, donning *ihram*, entering the state of *ihram*: that was the point. The ‘visit’ [*ziyara*, initially to Medina] had not required this treatment of my body and my self—surely better to say my body-self. Praying and going to mosque, sanctuary, and cemetery had required ablutions, but one could wear ordinary dress” (2006, 121). For Muslim men, the two pieces of white cloth worn during ihram—which for some will be used as the shroud when they are buried—materially contributed to a sense of unity.²¹

Embodied Religion and Techniques of the Body in Northern Nigeria

O, My servants, all of you are naked except for those I have clothed, so seek clothing of Me and I shall clothe you.

—Hadith 24 in *An-Nawawī*, 40 *Hadith*

I would never stop if I tried to demonstrate to you all the facts that might be listed to make visible this concourse of the body and moral or intellectual symbols.

—Marcel Mauss, “Techniques of the Body,” 1973

Connections among bodies, cloth (material), and religion have long been made in practice, even while those who distinguish between the things of this world and spiritual beliefs often situate them in different spheres (Morgan 2010). Much as the body and its movements and gestures have often been ignored in the study of religions, which focuses on theological questions and conceptions of belief, there has also been a tendency to disregard associated material things. Yet as Birgit Meyer and Dick Houtman have noted with respect to more recent studies, “the antagonism between religion and things, spirituality and materiality, is a legacy of the ‘religious past’” (2012, 2). Indeed, assumptions reflecting “a broader secularist idea of religion as interiorized and private” have tended to discount public expressions of religious belief as inappropriate or disingenuous (Meyer and Houtman 2012, 2; see also Moors 2012, 276). Replicating Durkheim’s view of moral education as a secular process in France (known as *laïcité*), a wider view of state secularism may be seen in the French disapproval of Muslim women wearing the hijab in public.²² Yet such public expressions and their bodily and material manifestations enable an understanding of the succession of Islamic reform movements in northern Nigeria. Meyer and Houtman suggest that “we can ‘know’ religion only, though not completely, through its past and present manifestations” (2012, 4). However, they also note the importance of examining “the particular forms and elements through which religion . . . materializes” (2012, 4). Both are useful frames for understanding Islamic reform movements in northern Nigeria. Islamic reformers there, from the nineteenth-century Shehu Usman dan Fodio to Abubakar Gumi in the twentieth century, have been concerned with material things such as veils and turbans, dress and bodily comportment. These things have long been part of the public sphere of religious expression of belief and of moral Islamic education.²³ Even in the distinction between this world (*duniya*) and the afterlife in Paradise (*Lahira da Aljannat*)—a critically important matter in the writings of northern Nigerian Muslim scholars—this contrast was represented at times by material things, specifically through textiles, clothing, and the body. Thus, the nineteenth-century Fulani writer Muhammadu Tukur, in his poem “Black Leg-Irons,” described both the transience of life in this world and the eternal life in Paradise in terms of cloth. In the former, “the weaver of fine black and white cloth [*saki*] and the weaver of open-work cloth too, are today no more, only the spider who weaves to give [to] the monkey” (Tukur, quoted in Hiskett 1975a, 33). In Paradise, however, “fine clothes will be bought and will be laid out for the Believers, that we may mount, horses and camels, clothes of silk” (35). This poetic connection among moral states, bodily comportment, and textiles underscores the spiritual and material intersections with which

Islamic reformers in northern Nigeria have historically conceptualized a proper Islamic path.

Such beliefs and actions are learned—intentionally or by imitation. As Marcel Mauss has observed, “The teaching of techniques being essential, we can classify them according to the nature of this education and training” (1973, 78). Mauss makes this point more clearly in his discussion of techniques of the body and moral education: “In all these elements of the art of using the human body, the facts of *education* were dominant. The notion of education could be superimposed on that of imitation. . . . What takes place is a prestigious imitation. The child, the adult, imitates actions that have succeeded, which he has seen successfully performed by people in whom he has confidence and who have authority over him. . . . The individual borrows the series of movements of which he is composed from the action executed in front of him, or with him, by others” (73). Indeed, Mauss noted the relationship between bodies and belief, between moral education and bodily practices, which has implications for observant Muslims, when he remarked that “a pious Muslim can easily be recognized . . . [as] he will go to any lengths to avoid using anything but his right hand” (1973, 78).

In northern Nigeria this connection between learned body techniques and Islamic education may be seen clearly in the practices of men performing hajj and their wearing of ihram dress and in women’s attendance at Islamiyya Matan Aure and their wearing of hijab. Furthermore, the importance of modesty of demeanor for both women and men, as prescribed in the Qur’an and in Lemu’s introduction to the *Tahdhib (Moral Education) and Sirah*, suggests Mauss’s point that particular techniques of the body that subject the body to “tests of stoicism” may serve as a measure of moral education: “I think that the basic education in all these techniques consists of an adaptation of the body to their use. For example, the great tests of stoicism, etc., which constitute initiation for the majority of mankind, have as their aim to teach composure, resistance, seriousness, presence of mind, dignity, etc.” (1973, 86).

The many restrictions on body covering, movement, bathing, and intercourse expected of those performing ihram during the hajj pilgrimage would seem to contribute to the internalization of composure and seriousness, as when “rowdy people were transformed into pious looking pilgrims,” as Liman (1996, 54) described.²⁴ Similarly, women who have attended Islamiyya Matan Aure classes in Zaria City associate postures of piety (“she will walk calmly”) and modesty with covering their bodies with cloth (“you will recognize her by the way she dresses . . . as is accepted in Islam—she will wear hijab”).

Conclusion

The historian Yedida Kalfon Stillman has observed the importance of covering the body in accordance with prevailing Islamic precepts as well as the ways changing beliefs and practices associated with Islamic reform are reflected in Muslim women's veiling practices: "One important force contributing to reveiling in one form or another has been the Islamist movements, both militant and non-militant. These movements . . . represent an alternative to secularism on the one hand and institutional Islam on the other. Irrespective of their political activities, all of these groups advocate a return to a holistic Islamic way of life and to Islamic traditional values, which include inter alia a traditional code of modesty and gender differentiation. One of the primary external markers of the latter is *al-zayy al Islami* or *al-zayy al-Shari'i* (Islamic or Shar'i attire)" (2000, 158).²⁵

In northern Nigeria successive Islamic reform movements have supported distinctions in body coverings among their followers. For example, Shi'a Muslim men of the Brotherhood Movement of Nigeria wear round turbans, while Izala men wear "little turbans," caps wound round with hizami cloth. Yet the hijab has become more widely worn by Muslim women from several Islamic reformist groups—both Shi'a and Izala—although they may differ in style and color (Renne 2013). Indeed, the hijab is no longer strictly associated with the followers of these two Islamic movements but is also prescribed as the proper dress for northern Nigerian women during the performance of the hajj pilgrimage. Thus, covering the head and body with the hijab has become an important expression of their identity for many Muslim women from different Islamic groups in northern Nigeria. Similarly, Muslim men from a range of Islamic groups, ethnicities, and national backgrounds cover their bodies with two ihram cloths in particular specified ways during hajj. In both cases, the intimate connection between Muslim bodies and cloth evokes broader embodied meanings, as Hammoudi explains. During his experience of entering "the 'sacred-forbidden' territory" associated with the state of ihram, "the body—when it foregoes its limits, the clear configuration bestowed on it by tailored clothing—projects itself into a transforming time and space" (2006, 123–124).²⁶ His sense that his body "might be absorbed in bits and pieces, or dissolve," suggests his feeling of being in a space without boundaries and out of time, of merging with his fellow pilgrims of whatever background, while also suggesting the intimate relationship between his body and its cloth covering. However, the gendered differentiation favored by Islamic reformers may be seen clearly in the uncovered heads of men wearing ihram cloths and the covered heads of women wearing hijab and

jellabiya gowns. Yet despite these distinctive gendered body coverings, the particular actions performed while in the state of ihram reflect the piety and humility of all human beings before Allah. Learned in hajj preparatory classes, such actions are related to everyday ideals of modest comportment—taught in Islamiyya classes as well as incorporated through “prestigious imitation,” as described by Mauss (1973, 73). These bodily practices are prescribed in the Qur’an for both women and men. That leaders of Islamic reform movements, such as Izala in northern Nigeria, frequently aspire to a return to particular forms of moral education that are associated with the fundamentals of the Muslim faith and that support simplicity in dress and comportment suggests the importance of cloth in this process (Schneider and Weiner 1986). By both internalizing and visually expressing these beliefs, the comportment of covered bodies contributes to the material embodiment of Islamic reform, as the verses from Sura 74 (The Enfolded) that began this chapter suggest they should.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the women of Zaria City for their cooperation and helpful interviews and Hassana Yusuf for her assiduous research assistance over the years. I also thank the late Emir of Zazzau, Dr. Shehu Idris CFR, and the present Emir of Zazzau, Ambassador Ahmed Nuhu Bamalli, for their permission to conduct research in Zaria City as well as the vice chancellor of Ahmadu Bello University for research affiliation over the years. Finally, I am grateful for funding from the National Science Foundation for research on women’s Islamic education and to the Pasold Foundation for research on the history of head coverings in Zaria.

NOTES

1. According to An-Nawawī (1991, 7), the hadith are a collection of the “recorded words, actions and sanctions of the Prophet Muhammad,” which represents one of the two main sources of Islamic knowledge (the other is the Qur’an). The passages from the Qur’an cited in this chapter come from Ali Ahmed’s translation, published in 1993.

2. Zaria is also the home of the emir of Zaria, whose palace is located in Zaria City, the old walled portion of the larger city of Zaria. As such, Zaria is a center of both traditional Hausa practices—evidenced by the annual Sallah durbars associated with the Muslim holidays of Eid-el-Fitr and Eid-el-Kabir—and extensive Islamic learning.

3. The Tijāniyya Brotherhood (*tariqa*) is one of the two main Sufi brotherhoods in northern Nigeria (Mustapha 2014, 4). It was founded by Sheikh Ahmad al-Tijani, who later established a *zawiyah* (prayer group) in Fez, Morocco, in 1781 (Mustapha and Bunza

2014, 61). Tijāniyya doctrine later spread to northern Nigeria through the teachings of al-Hajj ‘Umar al-Futi, who first visited Sokoto in 1825 on his way to and from Mecca (Hiskett 1984, 251). Later, the reformed Tijāniyya leader Sheikh Ibrahim Niass, from Senegal, first publicly visited Kano in 1945. His first large public appearance in Kano then took place in 1951, when “thousands of followers of the Tijāniyya from all over Northern Nigeria had come to Kano to meet him” (Loimeier 1997, 40).

4. The National Hajj Commission of Nigeria website can be found at <http://nigeriahajj.com.gov.ng/> (accessed April 25, 2016).

5. The five pillars of Islam are *shahāda* (faith), *salāt* (prayer), *zakāt* (charity), *sawm* (fasting), and *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca).

6. This is not to say that Gumi and other Izala officials—unlike later Islamic reformers associated with the group *Jamā’atu Ahlus-Sunnah Lidda’Awati Wal Jihād*, more commonly known as Boko Haram (translated as “Western education is forbidden”)—were opposed to Western education. However, they believed that Islamic education was the basis of a moral education in northern Nigeria.

7. See Jeremiah Oke, “Hijab Crisis Hits LAUTECH International School,” *Daily Trust*, January 14, 2019, <https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/hijab-crisis-hits-lautech-international-school.html>.

8. In a related way, Susan O’Brien (2006, 302) notes that Michel Foucault (in volume 1 of his *History of Sexuality*) “has suggested that modern state power is not so much imposed on populations as absorbed into society through the capillary ‘actions’ of the human sciences and social techniques that permeate the conduct of everyday life.”

9. The connection between mothers’ Islamic education and the early training of their children has been a concern in other Muslim reformist communities, as Omnia Shakry notes regarding the moral education of mothers and children in Egypt: “Islamist reformers were able to draw upon resources indigenous to the Islamic discursive tradition that emphasized the proper pedagogy for children, the cultivation of the body, and the constitution of a rightly guided Islamic community” (1998, 128).

10. For example, Qur’an 20:114 reads: “Exalted then be God, the real King; and do not try to anticipate the Qur’an before the completion of its revelation, but pray: ‘O Lord, give me greater knowledge’” (see also Hadith 36, An-Nawawī 1991, 104). The Qādiriyya tariqa, the other main Sufi brotherhood in northern Nigeria, is associated with the founding of the nineteenth-century Sokoto Caliphate (Last 1967).

11. For more detailed accounts of the Izala movement and its founding in Nigeria, see Gumi (1992, 156), Kane (2003), Loimeier (1997, 212), Mustapha and Bunza (2014), and Umar (1993, 167).

12. Some of this resistance reflected the responses of Qādiriyya and Tijāniyya Muslims, who predominated in particular wards of the old city and resented the implicit (and at times scathingly explicit) criticism of their practice of Islam by Gumi and other members of Izala. This tension was evident in control over Friday mosques and the affiliation of imams leading the Friday prayer. Roman Loimeier (1997, 271) notes that control of Friday mosques by Qādiriyya and Tijāniyya leaders within Zaria City led Izala supporters to construct new Friday mosques outside of the old city; see also Kane (2003, 90) and Umar (1993, 174).

13. Elsewhere in northern Nigeria, Muslims are more likely to be associated with Tijāniyya and Qādiriyya groups, while many simply identify themselves as Muslims, according to a poll conducted in 2008–2009 (Ostien 2018, 42–45).

14. Qur'anic literacy also potentially enables alternative readings of this text. For example, one Islamic woman scholar in Jos uses her considerable knowledge of the Qur'an and hadith to support her more liberal view of women's place in public life; see Umar (2004, 117–118) and also Yusuf (1991, 95).

15. Jeanette Jouili (2015) examines the challenges of veiling for Muslim women born in France and living in a secular society that forbids the wearing of headscarves in school and, as of 2011, the full-face veil, niqab, in public. See Scott (2007) and Matthew Weaver, "Burqa Bans, Headscarves and Veils: A Timeline of Legislation in the West," *Guardian*, March 14, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/mar/14/headscarves-and-muslim-veil-ban-debate-timeline>. However, some of the same challenges may be faced by Muslim women living in other societies, even those with large Muslim populations, such as northern Nigeria. For example, in March 2009 a controversy arose at Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital, Zaria, when a nurse was dismissed for wearing a hijab that was longer than the prescribed shoulder length. Several people in the Zaria community saw her dismissal as anti-Islamic, while others argued that the hospital had accommodated Muslim women's request to wear a hijab as part of the nursing uniform. In April 2009 the nurse was reinstated and allowed to wear her breast-length hijab. Isa Sa'idu and Aliyu Yusuf, "Hijab: ABUTH to Reinstate Nurse," *Daily Trust*, April 22, 2009, www.dailytrust.com.ng.

16. Abdellah Hammoudi (2006, 41–52) described in some detail his attendance at the "training program for pilgrims of the year A.H. 1419/1999," organized by the Moroccan Ministry of Islamic Affairs in Rabat.

17. The *tawāf al-Ifādah* is "the second essential pillar of Hajj." According to bin Fahad al-Oadah, "the Qur'ān clearly states: 'Then let them complete the rites prescribed for them, perform their vows, and circumambulate the Ancient House' [Sūrah al-Hajj: 29] The verse makes the tawāf the last of these rites" (2006, 47).

18. Asma bint Shameem, "Common Mistakes Women Make during Hajj or Umrah," *Muslim Matters*, October 20, 2011. Accessed March 22, 2018, <https://www.muslimmatters.org/2011/10/20/common-mistakes-women-make-during-hajj-or-umrah/>.

19. One sticking point for Saudi officials was the issue of the many undocumented Nigerian pilgrims (known as *tikari* or *takari*; Liman 1996, 39; Peters 1994, 96) who had overstayed the hajj period and were working in Mecca, Medina, and Jeddah. However, another perspective on the at times fraught relations between Saudi citizens and Nigerian workers is examined in the novel *From Fatika with Love* (Giwa 2012). In Sudan, undocumented Nigerian pilgrims who either chose to remain to work until they could afford the return journey or chose to remain in Sudan are referred to as *fellata*, "a term with some negative connotations used by the Sudanese to denote West African Muslims" (Yamba 1995, 204). (The term *fellata* derives from the names Fula, Fulah, Fulani, or Fulbe, referring to an ethnic group in West Africa.) Bruce Hall (2011) discusses the social hierarchy among Muslims in West Africa and its historical background associated with race.

20. This distinction by state rather than simply by nationality is unusual, as Liman (disapprovingly) observed: “I noticed that we Nigerians come in all colours of uniform. Red, Blue, Brown, Grey, Pink etc. Every state has its own different colour and style of sewing. So much so that we now look at only pilgrims from our own particular state as our ‘people’. Whereas all other countries come in one single uniform colour. . . . But we Nigerians . . . carry the issue of stateism to a ridiculous extent” (1996, 42–43).

21. Some men in Zaria told me that they have kept their ihram cloths to be used as their shrouds when they are buried. Hammoudi (2006, 43) quotes the scholar leading the training program for pilgrims in Rabat, Morocco: “At Arafat you are before God, and *ihram* is your shroud. Between the hands of the All Powerful, the Eternal, nothing can help you, not riches, not prestige!”

22. For example, in February 2019, plans by Decathlon, Europe’s largest sporting goods retailer, to sell a sports hijab were stopped after the company received many negative calls and emails, while some Decathlon salespeople were threatened. Elian Peltier and Aurelien Breeden, “A Sports Hijab Has France Debating the Muslim Veil, Again,” *New York Times*, February 28, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/28/world/europe/france-sports-hijab-decathlon.html>.

23. Shehu dan Fodio wrote and spoke on several occasions about the evils of ostentatious wealth in his work *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijra ‘ala ‘l-‘Ibad* (1978), while Gumi insisted that members of the reform group Izala desist from bowing down “in front of the shuyukh of the turuq because this act of veneration violated the principle of equality among the faithful” (Loimeier 1997, 254–255).

24. Liman (1996, 28) provides a detailed description of the daily activities and interactions of the Nigerians in his pilgrimage group, which included an elderly Izala sheikh: “We had a ‘Mallam’—a Shayk [Sheikh] in the room. He was the one we used for translation services when we were looking for the accommodation. He was fairly elderly with more than half his face covered by thick, bushy, grey beard. Always ready and eager to preach, he belonged to the extreme Izala group. Any little thing, they say: ‘Ai, wannan kafirci ne’ [Ay, that is un-Islamic]. We all unanimously agreed to call him ‘Allaramma’” (an honorific form of address to important malams; see Skinner 1993, 1230). Liman’s remark provides another perspective on Izala Muslims.

25. See also Ahmed (2011), Jouili (2015), Mahmood (2005), and Tarlo (2010) for discussions of women’s increasing use of veils in the United States, France, Egypt, and the United Kingdom.

26. A pilgrim must enter into this state of ihram before crossing the pilgrimage boundary, known as *Miqat*.

REFERENCES

- Ahmad, Sa’id. 2000. *Teacher of the Hajj Pilgrims*. Translated by Rafiq Abdur Rehman. Karachi: Darul-Ishaat.
- Ahmed, Leila. 2011. *A Quiet Revolution: The Veil’s Resurgence, from the Middle East to America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Al-Qur’an*. 1993. Translated by Ali Ahmed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- An-Nawawī. 1991. *40 Hadith*. Translated by Ezzeddin Ibrahim and Denys Johnson-Davies. Kaduna, Nigeria: Kauran Wali Islamic Bookshop.
- Beidelman, T. O. 1986. *Moral Imagination in Kaguru Modes of Thought*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Beidelman, T. O. 1997. *The Cool Knife: Imagery of Gender, Sexuality, and Moral Education in Kaguru Initiation Ritual*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- bin Fahad al-Oadah, Salman. 2006. *Alleviating the Difficulties of the Hajj*. Riyadh: Islam Today.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1967. "Systems of Education and Systems of Thought." *International Social Science Journal* 19 (3): 338–358.
- Boyd, Jean. 1989. *The Caliph's Sister: Nana Asma'u, 1793–1865, Teacher, Poet, and Islamic Leader*. London: F. Cass.
- Boyd, Jean. 1997. "We Teach Girls That It Is Wrong to Carry Babies on Their Backs! Or How Inappropriate Policies Damaged Girls' Education in Colonial Era." In *Islam and the History of Learning in Katsina*, edited by Ismaila Abubakar Tsiga and Abdalla Uba Adamu, 105–117. Ibadan, Nigeria: Spectrum Books.
- Boyd, Jean, and Murray Last. 1985. "The Role of Women as Agents Religieux in Sokoto." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 19 (2): 283–300.
- Bray, Mark. 1981. *Universal Primary Education in Nigeria: A Study of Kano State*. London: Routledge.
- Covington-Ward, Yolanda. 2016. *Gesture and Power: Religion, Nationalism, and Everyday Performance in Congo*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- dan Fodio, Shehu Usman [Uthman]. 1975. "Islam and Women." In *Nigerian Perspectives: An Historical Anthology*, edited by Thomas Hodgkin, 254–255. London: Oxford University Press.
- dan Fodio, Uthman [Usman]. 1978. *Bayan Wujub al-Hijra 'ala 'l-Ibad*. Edited and translated by F. H. El Masri. Khartoum: Khartoum University Press.
- Durkheim, Émile. 1961. *Moral Education: A Study in the Theory and Application of the Sociology of Education*. New York: Free Press.
- El Guindi, Fadwa. 1999. *Veil: Modesty, Privacy, and Resistance*. Oxford, UK: Berg.
- Funtua, S. A. 1980. "Jama'atu Isalatil Bidia wa Ikamatis Sunna Society in Nigeria." BA thesis, Kano.
- Giwa, Audee. 2012. *From Fatika with Love*. Kaduna, Nigeria: Bookmakers International.
- Graham, Sonia. 1966. *Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria, 1900–1919*. Ibadan, Nigeria: University of Ibadan Press.
- Gumi, Abubakar. 1992. *Where I Stand*. With Ismaila Abubakar Tsiga. Ibadan, Nigeria: Spectrum Books.
- Hall, Bruce. 2011. *A History of Race in Muslim West Africa, 1600–1960*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hammoudi, Abdullah. 2006. *A Season in Mecca*. Translated by Pascale Ghazaleh. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Hiskett, Mervyn. 1973. *The Sword of Truth: The Life and Times of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hiskett, Mervyn. 1975a. *A History of Hausa Islamic Verse*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

- Hiskett, Mervyn. 1975b. "Islamic Education in the Tradition and State Systems in Northern Nigeria." In *Conflict and Harmony in Education in Tropical Africa*, edited by Godfrey N. Brown and Mervyn Hiskett, 134–152. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Hiskett, Mervyn. 1984. *The Development of Islam in West Africa*. London: Longman.
- Ibrahim, Sa'idu Yunus. 1996. *Matsayin Hijabi a Musulunci*. Zaria, Nigeria: HudaHuda.
- Jouili, Jeanette. 2015. *Pious Practice and Secular Constraints: Women in the Islamic Revival in Europe*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Kane, Ousmane. 2003. *Muslim Modernity in Post-colonial Nigeria*. Leiden: Brill.
- Last, Murray. 1967. *The Sokoto Caliphate*. London: Longman.
- Lawson, Fatima. 1995. "Islamic Fundamentalism and Continuing Education for Hausa Muslim Women in Northern Nigeria." PhD diss., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.
- Lemu, B. Aisha. 1986. *Tahdhib (Moral Education) and Sirah*. Junior Islamic Studies, bk. 3. Minna, Nigeria: Islamic Education Trust.
- Liman, Usman. 1996. *Hajj 91: Travel Notes of a Nigerian Pilgrim*. Zaria, Nigeria: Ashel Enterprises.
- Loimeier, Roman. 1997. *Islamic Reform and Political Change in Northern Nigeria*. Chicago: Northwestern University Press.
- Mack, Beverly, and Jean Boyd. 2000. *One Woman's Jihad: Nana Asma'u, Scholar and Scribe*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Mahdi, Hauwa. 2013. "Invoking Hijab: The Power Politics of Spaces and Employment in Nigeria." In *Veiling in Africa*, edited by Elisha P. Renne, 165–185. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Mahmood, Saba. 2005. *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Mauss, Marcel. 1973. "Techniques of the Body." *Economy and Society* 2 (1): 70–88.
- Meneley, Anne. 2007. "Fashions and Fundamentalisms in Fin-de-Siècle Yemen: Chador Barbie and Islamic Socks." *Cultural Anthropology* 22 (2): 214–243.
- Meyer, Birgit, and Dick Houtman. 2012. Introduction to *Things: Religion and the Question of Materiality*, edited by Dick Houtman and Birgit Meyer, 1–23. New York: Fordham University Press.
- Moors, Annelies. 2012. "Popularizing Islam: Muslims and Materiality—Introduction." *Material Religion* 8 (3): 272–279.
- Morgan, David. 2010. *Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief*. New York: Routledge.
- Muhammed, A. Y. 1997. "Contemporary Islamic Learning in Katsina: The Contributions of Riyadhul-Qur'an Islamiyyah School." In *Islam and the History of Learning in Katsina*, edited by Ismaila Abubakar Tsiga and Abdalla Uba Adamu, 191–199. Ibadan, Nigeria: Spectrum Books.
- Mustapha, Abdul Raufu. 2014. Introduction to *Sects and Social Disorder: Muslim Identities and Conflict in Northern Nigeria*, edited by Abdul Raufu Mustapha, 1–15. Woodbridge, UK: Currey.
- Mustapha, Abdul Raufu, and Mukhtar Bunza. 2014. "Contemporary Islamic Sects and Groups in Northern Nigeria." In *Sects and Social Disorder: Muslim Identities and Conflict in Northern Nigeria*, edited by Abdul Raufu Mustapha, 54–97. Woodbridge, UK: Currey.

- O'Brien, Susan. 2006. "Spirit Discipline: Gender, Islam, and Hierarchies of Treatment in Postcolonial Northern Nigeria." In *Discipline and the Other Body: Correction, Corporeality, Colonialism*, edited by Anupama Rao and Steven Pierce, 273–302. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Ogunbiyi, I. A. 1969. "The Position of Women as Stated by 'Uthman b. Fudi.'" *Odu*, n.s., 2:43–60.
- Okenwa, Saleh. 2016. "Practical Steps in Performing the Hajj Rites." National Hajj Commission of Nigeria (NAHCON). Accessed April 25, 2016, <http://nigeriahajj.com.gov.ng/>.
- Ostien, Philip. 2018. "The Muslim Majority in Northern Nigeria: Sects and Trends." In *Creed and Grievance: Muslim-Christian Relations and Conflict Resolution in Northern Nigeria*, edited by Abdul Mustapha and David Ehrhardt, 37–82. Woodbridge, UK: Currey.
- Peters, F. E. 1994. *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Renne, Elisha P. 2012. "Educating Muslim Women and the Izala Movement in Zaria City, Nigeria." *Islamic Africa* 3 (1): 55–86. <https://doi.org/10.5192/21540993030155>.
- Renne, Elisha P. 2013. "The Hijab as Moral Space in Northern Nigeria." In *African Dress: Fashion, Agency, Performance*, edited by Karen T. Hansen and D. Soyini Madison, 92–107. Oxford, UK: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Renne, Elisha P. 2018. *Veils, Turbans, and Islamic Reform in Northern Nigeria*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. 1979. *Émile, or On Education*. Translated by Allan Bloom. New York: Basic Books.
- Schneider, Jane, and Annette Weiner. 1986. "Cloth and the Organization of Human Experience." *Current Anthropology* 27 (2): 178–184.
- Scott, Joan. 2007. *The Politics of the Veil*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Shakry, Omnia. 1998. "Schooled Mothers and Structured Play: Child Rearing in Turn-of-the-Century Egypt." In *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*, edited by Lila Abu-Lughod, 126–170. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Skinner, A. N. 1993. "Supplement." In *A Hausa-English Dictionary*, edited by G. P. Bargery, 1230. Zaria, Nigeria: Ahmadu Bello University Press.
- Smith, Mary. 1954. *Baba of Karo: A Woman of the Muslim Hausa*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Stillman, Yedida Kalfon. 2000. *Arab Dress: A Short History from the Dawn of Islam to Modern Times*. Edited by Norman A. Stillman. Leiden: Brill.
- Tangban, O. E. 1991. "The Hajj and the Nigerian Economy, 1960–1981." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 21 (3): 241–255.
- Tarlo, Emma. 2010. *Visibly Muslim: Fashion, Politics, Faith*. Oxford, UK: Berg.
- Tibenderana, Peter Kazenga. 1985. "The Beginnings of Girls' Education in the Native Administration Schools in Northern Nigeria, 1930–1945." *Journal of African History* 26 (1): 93–109.
- Trevor, Jean. 1975. "Western Education and Muslim Fulani/Hausa Women in Sokoto, Northern Nigeria." In *Conflict and Harmony in Education in Tropical Africa*, edited by Godfrey N. Brown and Mervyn Hiskett, 247–270. London: Allen and Unwin.

- Tukur, B. 1963. "Koranic Schools in Northern Nigeria." *West African Journal of Education* 7 (3): 149–152.
- Umar, Muhammad. 1993. "Changing Islamic Identity in Nigeria from the 1960s to the 1980s: From Sufism to Anti-Sufism." In *Muslim Identity and Social Change in Sub-Saharan Africa*, edited by Louis Brenner, 154–178. London: Hurst.
- Umar, Muhammad. 2001. "Education and Islamic Trends in Northern Nigeria: 1970s–1990s." *Africa Today* 48 (2): 127–150.
- Umar, Muhammad. 2004. "Mass Islamic Education and Emergence of Female 'Ulamā' in Northern Nigeria: Backgrounds, Trends, and Consequences." In *The Transmission of Learning in Islamic Africa*, edited by Scott S. Reese, 99–120. Leiden: Brill.
- Ware, Rudolph T., III. 2014. *The Walking Qur'an: Islamic Education, Embodied Knowledge, and History in West Africa*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Yamba, Bawa. 1995. *Permanent Pilgrims: The Role of Pilgrimage in the Lives of West African Muslims in Sudan*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Yandaki, A. I. 1997. "The Izala Movement and Islamic Intellectual Discourse in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of Katsina." In *Islam and the History of Learning in Katsina*, edited by Ismaila Abubakar Tsiga and Abdalla Uba Adamu, 40–52. Ibadan, Nigeria: Spectrum Books.
- Yusuf, Bilkisu. 1991. "Hausa-Fulani Women: The State of the Struggle." In *Hausa Women in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Catherine Coles and Beverly Mack, 90–106. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.