

Contents

INTRODUCTION: POLITICAL CULTURE AND THE KANO CASE STUDY	I
The Concept of Political Culture	I
The Kano Context	14
Fulani and Hausa Orientations Toward Authority and Community	31
PART I. PATTERNS OF RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY AND COMMUNITY	
1. RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AND STRUCTURE	43
Ethnicity and Religious Identity	45
The Mallam Class in Kano	56
The Structure of Islamic Law	61
Mysticism and Brotherhood Identity	65
Patterns of Islamic Reform	70
2. THE TRANSITION FROM TRADITIONAL TO REFORMED TIJANIYYA	73
The Authority and Community of Umar Futi	74
The Realignment of the Fulani Mallam Class	82
The Realignment of the Hausa Mallam Class	86
Salgawa Doctrines of Authority and Community	90
Early Linkages Between Fulani and Hausa Mallam Classes	94

3. THE CONSOLIDATION OF REFORMED TIJANIYYA	105
The Structure of Authority in Kano	106
The Structure of Authority Beyond Kano	120
Functions and Doctrines of Authority	124
Structures and Doctrines of Community	137
4. QADIRIYYA, MAHDIYYA, AND USMANIYYA	146
Early Ethnic Structures of Authority and Community in Qadiriyya	147
The Transethnic Authority Structure of Reformed Qadiriyya	152
Doctrines of Authority and Community in Reformed Qadiriyya	160
Authority and Community in Mahdiyya	169
Authority and Community in Usmaniyya	179
5. COMPARATIVE ORIENTATIONS TOWARD AUTHORITY AND COMMUNITY	190
Orientations Toward Authority	190
Orientations Toward Community	196
Epilogue: Religion in Kano State	204
PART II. PATTERNS OF POLITICAL AUTHORITY AND COMMUNITY	
6. EMIRATE AUTHORITY AND COMMUNITY	213
Doctrines of Emirate Authority and Community	213
The Structure of Emirate Authority	226
The Structure of Emirate Community	238
The Emergence of Emirate Identity	251
Crises of Emirship Legitimacy	260
7. THE IDEOLOGICAL BASIS OF EARLY EMIRATE REFORM	273
The Reformers	273
The Ideological Basis of Authority Reform	278
The Ideological Basis of Community Reform	291
The Style and Symbols of Reform	294
Interpretation of the Qur'anic Paradigm	298
8. THE TRANSITION TO KANO STATE	306
The Continuity of Authority in the Era of Party Politics	307
The Growth of the Sabon Gari Community	313
The Idea of a Northern Regional Community	322
The Emergence of Kano Nationalism	329
The Crisis of Community	333
9. AUTHORITY AND COMMUNITY IN KANO STATE	337
The Restructuring of Authority	338
The Restatement of Emirship Legitimacy	345
The Reconstruction of Community	354

The Growth of National Identity	366
10. COMPARATIVE ORIENTATIONS TOWARD AUTHORITY AND COMMUNITY	373
Comparative Orientations Toward Authority	373
Comparative Orientations Toward Community	378
The Nature of Crisis and Reform	381
CONCLUSION: RELIGION AND POLITICAL CULTURE IN KANO	387
The Authority Dimension of Political Culture	388
The Community Dimension of Political Culture	390
Conclusions	396
APPENDIXES	
1. Bakin Ruwa Ward (Kano City) Religious Survey, 1965	399
2. Succession to Selected Clan and District Headships in Kano Emirate	405
3. Electoral Succession in Kano	410
4. Kano State Movement Debates	412
5. Authority Structures in Kano State, 1969-1970	416
GLOSSARIES	
1. Hausa Terms Used in Text (with Arabic and English Equivalents)	423
2. Hausa Muslim Names (with Arabic Equivalents)	429
3. Kano Emirate Titles Mentioned in Text	432
BIBLIOGRAPHY	436
NAME INDEX	443
SUBJECT INDEX	451

Figures

1. Dynastic Succession to Authority of Umarian Tijaniyya in Kano Province, ca. 1860-1960	81
2. Ibrahim Niass: Dynastic Succession to Authority	96
3. Ethnic Integration of Reformed Tijaniyya Authority Structure in Kano, 1935-1965	114
4. Authority Structure of Reformed Tijaniyya in Kano, 1960-1965	115
5. International Authority Structure of Reformed Tijaniyya, 1960-1965	116
6. Qadiriyya: Ethnic Integration of Sa'adian Authority Structure in Kano, 1903-1933	153
7. Qadiriyya: Ethnic Integration of Sa'adian Authority Structure in	
SUBJECT INDEX	451