



Dissertation

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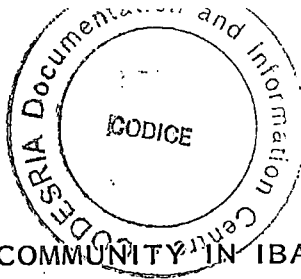
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The hausa community in Ibadan C. : 1830-1986

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THE HAUSA COMMUNITY IN IBADAN C. 1830-1986

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(B.A. Hons. History)

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to

God Almighty

who made it possible for me to commence and
successfully complete my studies against all odds.

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CERTIFICATION

I certify that this work was carried out by Isaac Olawale ALBERT (Matriculation Number 34910) under my supervision at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.



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ABBREVIATIONS

BTA	-	Bodija Traders' Association
IMG	-	Ibadan Municipal Government
NA	-	National Archives Ibadan

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ABSTRACT

There are two categories of Hausa communities: those within Hausaland and those outside it. While much has been published on the Hausa people in their traditional homeland, only little is known about those in the diaspora. This work is concentrated on the Hausa emigrants outside the traditional Hausaland, specifically in the Yoruba country southwest of Hausaland. The focus of study is Ibadan, the largest Yoruba settlement.

Oral and documentary material have been used in the study. These have shown that the presence of the Hausa people in Ibadan can be dated to the early nineteenth century when the city itself was founded. The immigrants have exploited their exclusive ethnic flexibility and cultural unity woven around the Islamic religion to impose upon some parts of Ibadan a migrant culture. They have a major quarter at Sabongari (Sabo), a livestock market (Kara) at Bodija, kolanut depot at Oja'ba and a pepper/onions market at Sasa.

This study which readily complements others done on the city of Ibadan and on Hausa migration, seeks to examine how the Hausa emigrants came to the city of Ibadan, how they were received into it, their initial problems and challenges, how these were surmounted and how Sabo and the other Hausa settlements and markets in Ibadan were established.

The work is divided into six chapters. The introductory chapter sets out the theoretical background of the study. An attempt is made within it to review the existing literature on Hausa migration and the kind of enabling environment in Ibadan which facilitated the settlement of the migrants. The second chapter specifically addresses the Hausa migration into Ibadan while the third discusses the development of Hausa settlement in the city.

The fourth chapter critically examines how the Hausa people in Ibadan are organised religiously, socially, politically and economically. The impact of this organisational structure on the socio-economic condition of the Hausa women in Ibadan is discussed in the fifth chapter.

The sixth chapter concludes the work with a review of the contribution of the Hausa migrants to the growth of Ibadan; the influence of the Ibadan environment on their general lifestyle and the effects of the migrants on the cultural nuances of the Yoruba people.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The study of cities or urban communities has received adequate treatment by scholars. This is readily affirmed by the extensive literature in the field. This is probably due to the realisation that the city is a container and transmitter of culture. In this wise, the phenomenon of population migration has been recognised as being a crucial factor in the growth of cities. However, not much has been achieved by writers at sufficiently establishing the motives and patterns of migrations into some of these cities and the resultant migrant settlements in them.

Rationale of the Study

The present study is focused on understanding the Hausa factor in the history of the Yoruba town of Ibadan. Though much has been written on the city, little is known about the non-Yoruba migrant elements that have contributed to making the city one of the most populous and cosmopolitan cities in Black Africa. Of all the ethnic migrants in Ibadan¹, the Hausa appears to be unique in terms of demographic composition, settlement pattern, cultural nuances, political

¹These consist of the Yoruba (e.g. Egba, Ijebu, Ijesa, etc.), Igbo, Hausa and the other migrant elements in the city. Some of the Yoruba groups have special wards and quarters at various parts of Ibadan.

and economic organization.

It has to be stressed, however, that though the existing literature have shown that the Hausa are one of the most known and studied peoples of Africa, only little attention has been given to their migration process by historians. In Nigeria, only scanty literature exists on the history of Hausa migrants whether in Igboland or Yorubaland despite their immense contributions to the economic development of these areas. At best, the study of migrants in the Nigerian society has been left to economists, economic geographers, sociologists and anthropologists. For instance, with regard to Yorubaland, the most outstanding of the writers is Professor Abner Cohen who has produced an extensive work on the Hausa migrants in Ibadan. But Cohen's work is basically an anthropological one which does not only lack a historical outlook but is also limited in time scope. The present study is an attempt to discuss the Hausa community in Ibadan from a historical perspective.

Aims and Objectives

The study seeks to establish the cultural and historical background of the Hausa people; their general migration history and how they established contact with Yorubaland. In particular, it aims at examining how the people came to Ibadan, their initial problems and how they consolidated themselves in the city. Their social, political,

religious and economic activities in the city shall also be examined.

Significance of the Study

The time covered by this study is C.1830-1986. The collected oral data which have been corroborated by written records have shown that the first batch of Hausa merchants in Ibadan settled in the town during the reign of Basorun Oluyole (C.1830-1847). The first Hausa quarter in Ibadan, Sabongari (Sabo), was founded in 1916. The second major one located at Sasa was occupied by the migrants in 1979. The year 1986 is very significant in this study because it has a far-reaching impact on the Hausa politics of cattle trade in Ibadan.

The area covered by the study is Ibadan¹ which is an important political and commercial centre in Yorubaland. It was once the capital of Western Nigeria which consisted of the present day Lagos, Oyo, Ogun, Ondo, Osun and Bendel States. It is currently the capital town of Oyo State and the headquarters of the Ibadan Municipal Government. It is the traditional capital of the nineteenth century empire of the same name, which was the most expansive state in pre-colonial Yorubaland.

¹For a geographical description of the town see A.L. Mabogunje, 'The Morphology of Ibadan', In P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje, B. Awe (eds.), The City of Ibadan, Cambridge In Association with the Institute of African Studies, Univ. of Ibadan, 1967, pp. 35-58.

Ibadan was founded around 1829 as a war camp for some Yoruba warriors involved in the nineteenth century Yoruba wars. The rapid growth of the town as a Yoruba power is owed to the fall of the Oyo empire in the 1830s¹. After this period, there was a political as well as military leadership vacuum in Yorubaland. The Ibadan warriors took this leadership mantle upon themselves and stopped the Fulani Jihadists (who had earlier pillaged Old Oyo), from making further entry into other parts of Yorubaland. The Fulani jihadists were finally defeated by the Ibadan warriors at Osogbo in C.1838².

In 1844, Ibadan was engaged in another battle with Ijaye over the question of which of the two should occupy the leadership seat vacated by Oyo in Yorubaland. So great was this war that Ibadan, at a point, had to enlist the support of Ilorin, its one-time adversary. Under the pretext of defending the Ekiti against the invasion of the

¹ I.A. Akinjogbin, "The Oyo empire in the eighteenth century - a reassessment", Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol. XIX, No. 3 1966 pp. 449-60; B. Awe, 'Ibadan, its early beginnings' In P.C. Lloyd et al (eds.), The City of Ibadan op.cit pp. 11-25; J.F. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder (eds.), History of West Africa vol. 2, London, Longman, 1975, pp. 129-166; J.F. Ade Ajayi and S.A. Akintoye, "Yorubaland in the Nineteenth Century" In Obaro Ikime (ed.), Groundwork of Nigerian History, Heinemann/Historical Society of Nigeria, 1982, pp. 280-302.

² For the details of the Ibadan military exploits and imperial activities see B. Awe, 'The rise of Ibadan as a Yoruba power, 1851-1893', D. Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1964; S. Akintoye, Revolution and Power Politics in Yorubaland, 1840-1893, Longman, 1971; B. Awe "Ibadan, its early beginnings" op.cit.

jihadists, Ibadan established an imperial rule in Ekitiland in the 1850s. The excesses of the Ibadan representatives, ajele, in areas controlled by this imperial power led to the Ekitiparapo or Kiriji war which was only stopped with the British intervention in 1893.

At various points in its history, Ibadan played host to all kinds of migrants – from within and outside Yorubaland. The present day heterogeneity of the city has been attributed to its open-door policy to the receipt of migrant elements¹. So heterogeneous was the demographic composition of Ibadan that a European traveller in the 1880s described it as the 'London of Negroland'². The city has continued to have a magnetic effect on migrants. One reason for this is that Ibadan has many markets. The most important of these markets is Oja'ba (Ojo Iba)³, founded by and named after Basorun Oluyole. The Oja'ba market used to be a convergent point for all kinds of traders in Ibadan. The earliest Hausa migrants in Ibadan settled around the market. Many of them are still there as wholesale kolanut traders. The other traditional markets in Ibadan include

¹ B. Awe, 'Ibadan, its early beginning', pp. 15-16; Toyin Falola, 'From Hospitality to Hostility: Ibadan and strangers, 1830-1904', *Journal of African History*, 26 (1985), pp. 53-54.

² A. Milson, 'The Yoruba Country, West Africa', Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, XII, 1891, p. 26.

³ B. Awe, 'Ibadan, its early beginnings', p. 16; A.L. Mabogunje, 'The Morphology of Ibadan', op.cit pp. 44-45; B.W. Hodder and U.I. Ukwu, Markets in West Africa, Ibadan Univ. Press, 1969, p.102.

Ayeye, Oje, Oritamerin etc. Until the recent time, these latter markets have not been attractive to Hausa migrants. Some of them are, however, now engaged in the markets as porters.

Research Methodology

The information presented in this study was collected in a variety of ways. The project, however, adopted both the historical and anthropological research approaches. Apart from the book written by Professor Abner Cohen, information collected from written sources about the Hausa migrants in Ibadan was meagre. To this end, the research was largely based on oral sources which were corroborated by some archival records collected from the National Archives Ibadan, the Mapo Office of the Ibadan Municipal Government and the library or the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research in Ibadan.

The interviews conducted especially with the Hausa migrants were both in Yoruba and Hausa. In most cases, the migrants were interviewed in their homes or business places, so that they could talk under the most relaxed atmosphere. The interviews also took place as informal conversations which in some cases involved more than an interviewee at a time. This made it possible for the informants to cross-check each other, improve upon earlier supplied information and supply logical reasons why certain incidents took

place at a discussed time by another informant. In some cases, some of these informants, especially those presumed to be well-informed, were later interviewed individually.

For a thorough comprehension of the socio-political, religious and economic activities of the migrants, several visits were paid to Sabo, Ago Ilorin, Bodija, Sasa and Oja'ba - all major locations of Hausa migrants. At the last three places, the traders were joined to conduct their businesses. This did not only improve my relationship with the Hausa traders but also helped to further understand their business antics and the extent to which the Yoruba environment has affected their trading pattern.

The field work was, however, not without some problems. The first two months were spent trying to convince the migrants that there was any need for the study. They could not easily see the reason why their exclusive life-style in Ibadan should be exposed to the 'contamination' of academic inquiry. The other frustrating problem the researcher had to face was whether he had sufficient knowledge of the Hausa history, their traditional life-style and the Islamic principles that condition their daily living, to be able to really write about them. For instance, when the attempt was made to inquire into the on-going feud between Bodija Traders' Association (BTA) and the other Hausa cattle dealers, some of them reacted negatively.

They wondered why such an issue which has defied all government solutions should interest a student who claims not to have any vested interest. An attempt to probe too deep into the religious organization of the migrants attracted equal reaction.

I owe the successful completion of this project to my unflagging determination and an above average understanding of the Hausa language and culture. These helped me to win the confidence of the migrants in such a way that copious oral data were collected from them. In most cases, they talked to me in the Hausa language and proceeded to speak the Yoruba language especially when there was the need to emphasise any particular statement. This freedom made the best to come out of them. In situations where deliberate attempts were made to deny me certain vital information, the Hausa rather than the Yoruba language was used to explain to the informants why such information should be given out and the extent to which the researcher should be expected to hold such information in confidence thereafter.

The information collected from these different sources were then critically analysed in such a manner that they could be used for an objective reconstruction of the Hausa history in the city of Ibadan.

Literature Review

The literature related to the thrust of this project is rather limited, but there are two very significant ones which are readily complemented by a few others, of peripheral importance. The first of these major works on the Hausa migrants is that of Professor Abner Cohen¹. This anthropological work which was published on the Hausa migrants at Sabo, Ibadan was based on a field work conducted between 1962 and 1963. Closely related to this is another work by Professor Mahdi Adamu².

Professor Cohen tried to examine some of the major processes involved in the formation and functioning of the Hausa communities in Yoruba towns, with the Sabongari (Sabo) in Ibadan as his case study. He successfully established how Sabo was founded, but could not account for the migration trends that brought the Hausa to Ibadan, how they were initially received into the town and the problems that paved way for the establishment of Sabo. This lack of depth and some unnecessary historical projection made in the work led the author into making some ill-founded historical generalizations which have to be corrected. That Cohen did not write as a historian

¹Abner Cohen, Custom and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns, Berkeley, Univ. of California Press, 1969.

²Mahdi Adamu, The Hausa Factor in West African History, Zaria/Ibadan, OUP 1978.

but as an anthropologist is to excuse some of the lapses noticed in his work, it however supports the fact that an anthropological publication cannot be a substitute for a historical one¹. Also, Cohen could not have been able to project beyond 1963 when his research was conducted. Yet, much has happened since then that is worthy of historical examination.

On the other hand, the scope of Professor Adamu's work is so wide that he could only provide fragmentary information on the activities of the Hausa migrants in the area he studied - West Africa. It however provides a consideration of the general migration processes of the Hausa people outside their traditional homeland, Kasar Hausawa. This is an improvement on Abdullahi Smith's discussion of the Hausa migration within the present-day northern Nigeria². Professor Adamu's discussion of the Hausa migration in Yorubaland is briefly focused on the Hausa slaves, scholars and merchants of the nineteenth century. This has, however, helped to establish the thesis that the Hausa people had had effective contacts with Yorubaland before Ibadan was founded.

¹For a thorough discussion of some problems often faced by anthropologists when handling historical information see C. Levi-Strauss, Structural Anthropology, New York: Basic Books Inc., 1963, Chap. 1.

²Abdullahi Smith, A Little New Light: Selected Historical Writings of Abdullahi Smith, Zaria, 1987.

An attempt to relate Adamu's work with that of Fyfe¹, Goody and Mustafa², Wilks³ and Lovejoy⁴ has shown that Yorubaland used to be one of the routes of the long-distance Hausa traders going to the Gold Coast (modern Ghana). Up to the late nineteenth century, traders from Kano and Katsina had links with the Asante Country from where kolanut was imported into Hausaland. The economic freedom of the Hausa people in the Asante Country was not long-lasting. According to Wilks, the Hausa merchants began to experience hostility from the Asante starting from the early nineteenth century. In the period before 1874, they were prevented from entering into the Asante farther than Salaga⁵. This could help to explain why some of them had to come to Ibadan around this time, as evident in some oral sources. The importation of kolanut production into Yorubaland

¹ Christopher Fyfe, 'West African Trade, A.D. 1000-1800', in J.F. Ade-ajayi and Ian Espie (eds.), A Thousand Years of West African History, Ibadan Univ. Press/Nelson, 1965, pp. 238-252.

² J. Goody and T.M. Mustafa, 'The Caravan Trade from Kano to Salaga', JHSN, 111, 4, 1967.

³ I. Wilks, 'Asante Policy towards the Hausa trade in the nineteenth century', in C. Mellassoux (ed.), The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa, London, OUP, 1971.

⁴ P.E. Lovejoy, Caravans of Kola: The Hausa Kola Trade 1700-1900, Zaria, ABU/OUP, 1980.

⁵ I. Wilks, 'Asante policy towards the Hausa trade', op.cit, p. 135.

during the first decade of the twentieth century, as discussed by Anjorin¹ and Lovejoy² increased the Hausa contact with the Yoruba people. The introduction of the railway system³ around this period must have heightened the degree of trade contact between the peoples of the forest region and those from the Savanna and Sahel belts. Oral data has however shown that before this period there were Hausa slaves in Ibadan who were later joined by other Hausa traders engaged in cattle trade. Prominent among these people were Muhammadu Na Garke Sarkin Pawa and Abdullahi Makama Sarkin Zango⁴.

Awe⁵, Akintoye⁶ and Falola⁷ have provided the historical baseline for understanding how the Hausa, like the other migrants, were

¹A.O. Anjorin, 'Notes on kolanut production in Yorubaland', African Notes, Vol. VII, No. 1, 1971/72.

²P. Lovejoy, Caravans of Kola: The Hausa Kola Trade 1700-1900, Zaria/Ibadan, OUP, 1980.

³See T.N. Tamuno, 'Genesis of the Nigerian Railway', Nigerian Magazine, No. 83, 1964.

⁴Oral communication with Alhaji Ahmadu Bature, 2 Dec. 1990; Alhaji Saibu Dikko, 15 Dec. 1990; Alhaji Hassan Isiaka Omo-Oba, 7 Dec. 1990.

⁵B.A. Awe, 'The Rise of Ibadan as a Yoruba Power', op.cit.: 'The End of an experiment: The Collapse of the Ibadan Empire, 1877-1893', JHSN, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1965.

⁶S.A. Akintoye, Revolution and Power Politics in Yorubaland op.cit.

⁷T. Falola, 'The Foreign Policy of Ibadan in the nineteenth century', Oou, XXIII-XXIV, 1981; 'From hospitality to hostility', op.cit.

received into Ibadan and the kind of ethnic politics that led to the establishment of Sabo as described by Cohen. The oral data¹ as well as data collected from the Ibadan Municipal Government office at Mapo especially the Akinyele and Akinbiyi Papers have corroborated some others at the National Archives in Ibadan to establish the circumstances under which Sabo was established in 1916.

If the Hausa people have actually made any far-reaching impact on the history of Ibadan, it is in the area of their control of trade in kolanut (Cota nitida)² and cattle in the city. Though Cohen³, Hodder and Ukwu⁴ have written on this, there is still the need to update some records about the economic activities of the migrants, especially since the 1960s when the writers published their findings. While Cohen discussed the nature of the competition

¹ Alhaji Ahmadu Bature, Alhaji Shaibu Dikko, Alhaji Hassan Omo-Oba.

² This kind of kolanut is called goro by the Hausa people. It is known as gbanja in Yorubaland. The name gbanja is believed to have been coined from the product in reference to Gwanja (Gonja), the Asante countryside from where it was imported until the twentieth century when its production commenced in Yorubaland. See A.O. Anjorin, 'Notes on kolanut production in Yorubaland', op. cit.

³ Abner Cohen, Custom and Politics in Urban Africa, 'The social organization of credit in a West African cattle market', Africa, XXXV, No. 1, 1965, pp. 8-19; 'Politics of the kola trade', Africa, XXXVI, 1966, pp. 18-35.

⁴ B.W. Hodder and U.I. Ukwu, Markets in West Africa, Ibadan, 1969.

between the Hausa and Yoruba people to control the cattle, beef and kola trade, Hodder and Ukwu briefly glossed over how the cattle fair which was originally at Oja'ba got moved to Sabo and from there to Mokola and Oyo road. Sango, an important ward in Ibadan got its name from the Hausa migrants. It was originally called 'Zango', i.e. transit camp for migrant traders. Sango was used by the migrants as livestock market. From there, the cattle market moved to Bodija in 1978.

Akinpelu¹ and some oral sources² have been useful at reconstructing, historically, how the Hausa people were integrated into the Sasa community along Oyo road. The Hausa migrants who now dominate the pepper and onions trade at Sasa were moved there from Oja'ba in 1979.

The Hausa community in Ibadan is organised under the Sarkin Hausawa (King of the Hausa Community) who exhibits a combination of the Hausa and Yoruba political culture. The traditional Hausa political system which has been modified at Sabo, Ibadan

¹L.A. Akinpelu, 'Background History of Ibadan - Parapo (Sasa) Town'. 2nd edition. Private Project, Ibadan, 1988.

²Mr. L.A. Akinpelu, Ibadan, 4th May 1991; Alhaji Haruna Mai Yasin Katsina, Sarkin Hausawa Sasa, 2nd Feb. 1991; Alhaji Shaibu Dikko, 15 Dec. 1990.

has been discussed by Abdullahi Smith¹. It provides for power sharing between the Sarki and the lesser chiefs. In the case of Ibadan, the Sarkin Hausawa himself is a lesser chief who is subordinated to the Olubadan. The Sarkin Hausawa is therefore no more than a ward head (Bale in Yoruba or Mai angwa in Hausa), but in the characteristic Ibadan manner², he has his own chiefs who are accountable to him.

This brief review of the existing literature on Ibadan and the Hausa migrants resident in it has helped to provide the justification for the present study. Considering the social, political, religious and economic activities of the Hausa in Ibadan, it is obvious that they have contributed immensely to the phenomenal growth of the city and have become a force to reckon with in local affairs.

¹ Abdullahi Smith, 'The Early States of Central Sudan'. In J.F. Ade-Ajayi and Michael Crowder (eds.), History of West Africa Vol. 1, 2nd ed., London, Longman 1976, pp. 179-181.

² This has been well researched into by O.O. Adekola, 'Trends in Chieftancy Institution of Ibadanland: 1936-1986', M.A. dissertation, Institute of African Studies, Univ. of Ibadan, 1986.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HAUSA MIGRATIONS INTO IBADAN

It is necessary to state from the on-set that the 'Hausa migrants' studied in this work are not a homogeneous group. They are, however, not too different from the Hausa migrants studied by Cohen¹ at Sabo, Ibadan between 1962 and 1963; neither are they different from those studied by Adamu² in some West African cities. Mahdi Adamu has noted in his work that it is difficult to precisely define an Hausa person. According to him:

To decide who was Hausa and who was not, some people used purely historical claims to Hausa ethnicity, others used cultural traits and social values as their yardstick, while still others used religion plus language³.

Historically, The Bayajidda legend⁴ which is popular among the Hausa people states that there are seven legitimate Hausa states. They are Daura, Kano, Rano, Zazzau (Zaria), Gobir, Katsina and Biram. There are also seven illegitimate others (Banza bakwai)

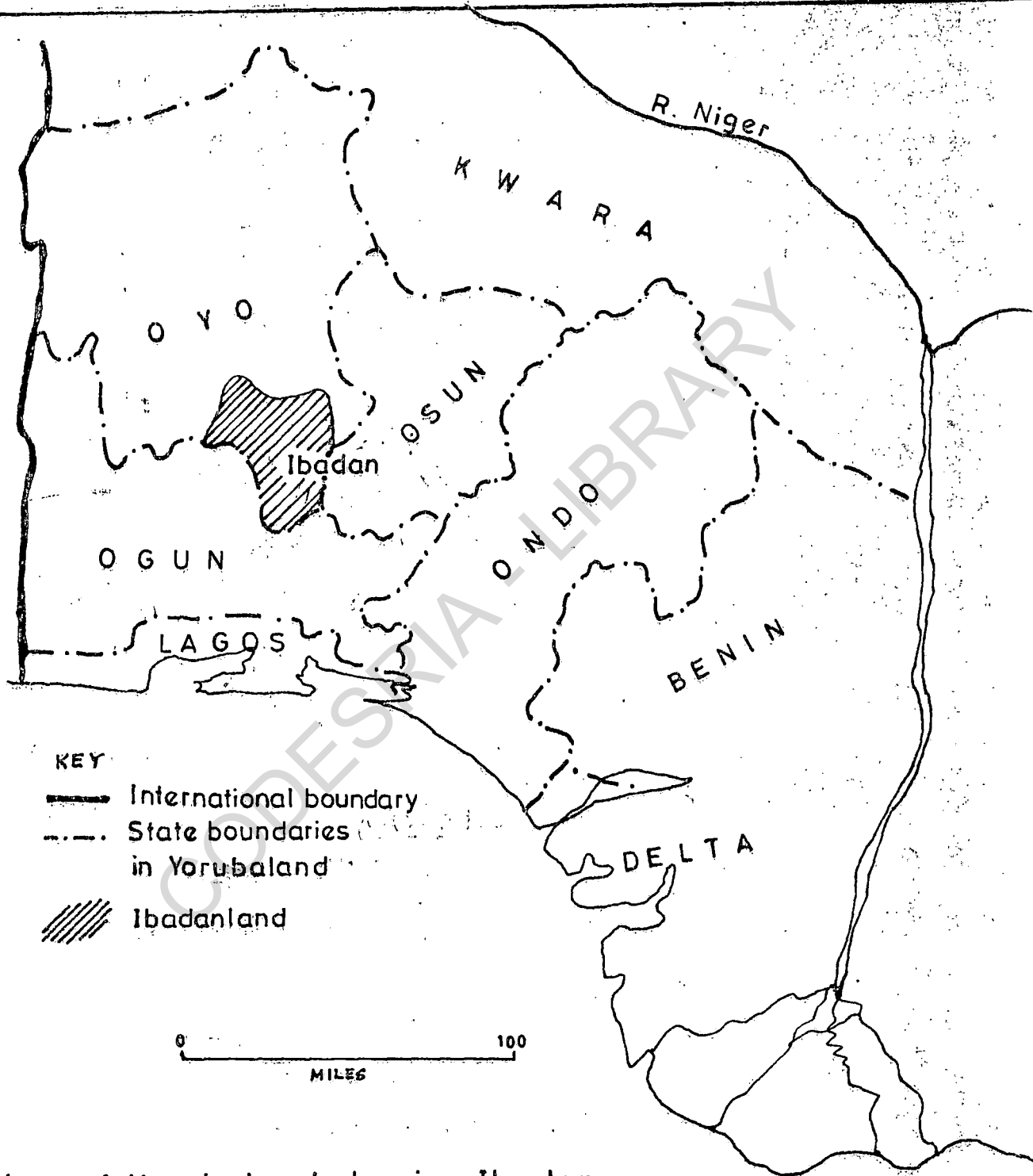
¹ A. Cohen, Custom and Politics in Urban Africa, op.cit.

² M. Adamu, The Hausa Factor in West African History, op.cit.

³ Ibid, p.3.

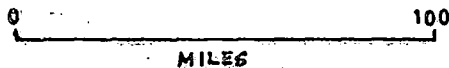
⁴ For the details of this tradition see H.R. Palmer Sudanese Memoirs, Vol. III, p.133; S.J. Hogben and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, The Emirates of Northern Nigeria, London, OUP 1966, pp. 145-6; Thomas Hodgkin, Nigerian Perspectives, London, 1975, pp. 74-76.

REPUBLIC OF BENIN



KEY

- International boundary
- - - State boundaries in Yorubaland
- ▨ Ibadanland



Map of Yorubaland showing Ibadan.

namely, Zamfara, Kebbi, Nupe, Gwari, Yauri, Yomba (Ilorin) and Kwararafa. The latter states are Banza bakwai because they did not descend directly from Bayajidda though they were under the influence of the Hausa states and Borno and also speak the Hausa language though not in its originality¹.

The first logical deduction that could be made from the Bayajidda legend is that both the seven legitimate Hausa states and the illegitimate ones could technically refer to themselves as Hausa. The two groups have, however, been observed not to exhaustively consist of all the Nigerian peoples that are described as Hausa, especially outside the traditional Hausaland, Kasar Hausawa. The explanation for this largely consists in the pre-nineteenth century expansionist warfare of the Hausa states² and the nineteenth century Fulani Jihad³ which led to the proliferation of the Hausa civilization and traditions in most parts of the present-day northern Nigeria. This is probably why Cohen in one of his works has concluded that the word 'Hausa' is a generic term that refers to those who speak Hausa as their first language⁴. Mahdi Adamu went further on his

¹S.J. Hogben and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, The Emirates of Northern Nigeria, op.cit., p. 149.

²M. Adamu, The Hausa Factor in West African History, pp. 23-4.

³For a detailed examination of the Jihad and its consequences, see M. Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, London, Longman, 1967.

⁴Abner Cohen, op.cit. p.49.

other hand, their migration to Yorubaland is a product of the trans-Saharan trade whose origin in Western Sudan has been dated back to the seventh century¹. This was closely assisted by trans-Atlantic slave trade in which the Yoruba people featured as middlemen between the European slavers and the hinterland sources of slave supplies. Through the southern routes linking Hausaland with Gonja, Yorubaland benefited from the trans-Saharan trade and later the Hausa markets for the trans-Atlantic slave trade².

As part of the trans-Saharan and trans-Atlantic trade, the Hausa merchants dealing in slaves and kolanut passed through Yorubaland, especially on their way to Salaga and Gonja in the Gold Coast (Modern Ghana). Until early twentieth century when kolanut production was fully introduced to Yorubaland, the Hausa people got their kolanut from the Gold Coast³. Though its major consumers

¹E.W. Bovill, The Golden Trade of the Moors, Oxford, 1961, p.62.

²E.A. Oroge, 'The Institution of Slavery in Yorubaland, with particular reference to the nineteenth century'. Ph.D. thesis, Birmingham 1971; J.F. Ade-Ajayi & S.A. Akintoye, 'Yorubaland in the Nineteen Century', Groundwork of Nigerian History, pp. 280-302.

³See C. Fyfe, 'West African Trade 1000-1800', In J.F. Ade-Ajayi and Ian Espie (eds.), A Thousand Years of West African History, Ibadan Univ. Press/Nelson, 1965, p. 241; J. Goody and T.M. Mustafa, 'The Caravan Trade from Kano to Salaga', JHSN, 111(4) 1967; P. Lovejoy, Caravans of Kola: The Hausa Kola Trade 1700-1900, Zaria/Ibadan, 1980, pp. 1-10.

live in the African Sahel and Savanna regions, kolanut, especially Cola nitida known as goro to the Hausa and gbanja in Yorubaland, has been particularly produced in the forest belts of West Africa. Kolanut is believed to have been introduced to Hausaland and consequently became very important during the second half of fifteenth century. According to the Kano Chronicle, this was the period around which a trade route linking Kano with Gonja was established¹.

Oyo was connected to the Hausaland - Gonja trade at about the same fifteenth century. Morton-Williams has even argued that the trade contributed to the growth of Oyo, as the Yoruba kingdom played an important role of middleman in the economic relationship between the Hausa and Mande people. Hausa traders unavoidably had to pass through Oyo². There was also an economic relationship between the Hausa and Yoruba people at Oyo up to the nineteenth century. By the early nineteenth century, the economic activities of Hausa traders had become well felt as far as the Coast of Lagos

¹J.O. Hunwick, 'Shonghay, Borno and Hausaland in the sixteenth Century'. In J.F. Ade Ajayi and M. Crowder (eds.), History of West Africa Vol. I.

²P. Morton-Williams, 'The Influence of Habitat and Trade on the Politics of Oyo and Ashanti'. In M. Douglas and P.M. Kaberry (eds.), Man in Africa, London, 1969, p. 82-9.

and Badagry¹.

Bashorun Oluyole with whom the Hausa in Ibadan later came to be connected featured prominently at Oyo between C.1800 and 1830 in the Hausa slave trade with the European merchants at the Coast². His relationship with the migrants therefore predated his contact with them in Ibadan. The first two Hausa migrants who settled in his compound (Ile Iba) at Oja'ba, Ibadan were said to be Muhammadu Na Garke Sarkin Pawa³ and Sarkin Zango⁴ Abdullahi Makama⁵. They however came into Ibadan not as slaves, slavers but as merchants interested in cattle and beef trade. Apart from these two prominent businessmen, there must have been other Hausa migrants either from Oyo or directly from Hausaland involved in the cattle and even kola trade, over whom the two were recognized titleholders. Both Na Garke

¹S.Cock (ed.), The Narrative of Robert Adams, London 1816, XXXVI; H. Clapperton, Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa, London, 1829, p.13; J.F.A. Ajayi, 'Christian Missions and the Making of Nigeria, 1841-1891' (Ph.D dissertation, London, 1958) p.43.

²J.F.A. Ajayi, 'Christian Missions and the Making of Nigeria', p.43.

³Sarkin Pawa is the official Hausa title for head butcher.

⁴Sarkin Zango is the official Hausa title for the head of a transit camp (for migrants).

⁵Oral communication with Alhaji Ahmadu Bature and Alhaji Shaibu Dikko.

and Abdullahi Makama came to Ibadan from Kano.

It is necessary to state, however, that before the arrival of these two merchants in Ibadan there must have been some Hausa migrants in the town - the voluntary migrants from Oyo who wanted to take the economic advantage of Ibadan at its formative years and also some slaves. The work of Professor Mahdi Adamu is highly revealing here. He has used the evidence provided by E.A. Oroge¹ to draw the conclusion that there were many Hausa slaves in various Yoruba homes before the beginning of the nineteenth century². A good number of them are said to have constituted the Jama'a army that aided the secession of Ilorin by Kakanfo Afonja from the Oyo empire. It is also not unlikely that some of them fought on the side of their masters during the nineteenth century Yoruba warfare. The role played by Ibadan in the civil disorder and its eventual role as the most reliable refugee camp after the war must have attracted a good number of Hausa people either as refugees or bonded slaves to some Yoruba owners.

¹E.A. Oroge, 'The Institution of Slavery in Yorubaland with particular reference to the nineteenth century', Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Birmingham Univ., 1971.

²Mahdi Adamu, The Hausa Factor in West African History, op.cit., pp. 128-129.

With the British incursion into Yorubaland some of them began to desert their masters. From 1852, many of them ran to Lagos where they were not only assured of protection but also recruited into the anti-slavery Police force of the British administration¹. This promoted the image of the Hausa people to the annoyance of the Yoruba who had hitherto held all of them in great contempt. This later had a negative effect on Ibadan/Hausa relationship. According to Cohen, some of these ex-slaves were fondly referred to as Kaka gida (grand-parents of the house) at Sabo in the 1960s. They were at least bilingual, speaking both the Hausa and Yoruba language. They could no longer identify their respective places of origin in Hausaland presumably because of their long contact with Ibadan or Yorubaland in general. They were, however, much elated to join the Hausa community at Sabo when it was established in 1916².

It is most likely that this first generation of Hausa settlers in Ibadan were joined by those from the Gold Coast when the economic policy of the area became too harsh for them in the nineteenth century³.

¹Ibid. p. 128.

²A. Custom, Custom and Politics in Urban Africa, pp. 30-31.

³For the details of the kola trade in the Gold Coast and the activities of the Hausa traders from Kano and Katsina, see Ivor Wilks, 'Ashante Policy towards the Hausa trade in the nineteenth century', In C. Meillassoux (ed.), The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa, Oxford 1971, pp. 124-144.

The introduction of kolanut production to Yorubaland¹ in the early twentieth century must have equally attracted some of them to Ibadan. By 1901, the colonial railway whose construction begun at Lagos in 1898 reached Ibadan and extended to Kano in 1915². This combined with the colonial policy of free trade and movement facilitated the movement of more Hausa migrants to Ibadan.

The settlement pattern of these earliest migrants in Ibadan itself is a stimulus to further migration of others. The settlers had agents in northern Nigeria who brought cattle for them on hoofs for sale. They also had other agents who helped them to sell their kolanut in Hausaland. Later on, some of these northern based traders themselves travelled down to join the trade in Ibadan. As early as the first decade of the twentieth century, the Hausa settlers at Sabo, especially the ones at Sabo when it was founded, had constituted themselves into paid landlords (Masu gida, Sing. mai gida) to their colleagues in the itinerant kola and cattle trade³.

The itinerant traders brought herd of cattle to Ibadan and

¹See A.O. Anjorin, 'Notes on kolanut production in Yorubaland', African Notes, Vol. VII, No. 1, 1971/72.

²S.O. Onakomaiya, 'Overland Transport', In J.S. Oguntoyinbo et al (eds.) A Geography of Nigerian Development, Ibadan, Heinemann 1978, p. 350.

³Oral communication with some of the migrants at Sabo.

entrusted them to the mai gida who helped him to see on credit to the local butchers. The landlord provided accommodation to the cattle dealers, fed them and provided for their safety in Ibadan until their stock of cattle became exhausted. Those engaged in kola trade also travelled down to Ibadan, entrusted their money to the local landlords who helped them to buy the kolanut. The mai gida in Ibadan charged some commissions (lada) for his services to the itinerant traders from the North. Some of these itinerant traders themselves soon became settled in Ibadan thus becoming landlords and using their old connections in the North to get business associates who regularly come to them¹.

Apart from those engaged in the long-distance trade in kola and cattle, Adamu has identified other categories of Hausa migrants who could help our discussion of those in Ibadan. There were yan koli (the small scale itinerant traders) some of whom could still be found in Ibadan markets selling a few packets of cigarettes, kolanut, sugar cane, etc. There were also those engaged in yawon almajiranchi ranci (i.e. roving islamic studentship/teachership). All these people must have been attracted to Ibadan by the successes recorded by the

¹A. Cohen, Custom and Politics in Urban Africa, pp. 73-9.

²M. Adamu, The Hausa Factor in West African History, pp. 15-16.

early long-distance traders in the town. Their movement to Ibadan must have been easily facilitated by the railway system, which up to the present times is generously patronized by the Hausa people.

The muslim clerics engaged in the yawon almajiri occupied an exalted position in the scheme of things at Sabo when Cohen conducted his research between 1962 and 1963. According to him, no Hausaman at Sabo got himself launched into any business or venture without consulting the Malam. For successes in business, marriage, journeys and even recovery of lost items, the divinitive power of the Malam was relied upon¹. Therefore, with the growth of trade in Ibadan, the Hausa needed more and more of the services provided by the Malam and greater number of these people migrated to the city. In the present time, their importance has relatively reduced. They, however, run private koranic schools which are well attended by Hausa children still learning how to recite the verses of the Quran.

The latest of the Hausa migrants in Ibadan are those engaged in such businesses as the sale of grains (beans, maize) and some others engaged in the sale of dried fish, onions, pepper, tomatoes, etc. Some of these people, especially those from Sokoto and Borno states were forced out of their original homes by ecological problems², and so

¹A. Cohen, Custom and Politics in Urban Africa, p. 166.

²Personal communication with Alhaji Audu Alli Bukar, 14th Feb., 1991. Alhaji Bukar is the Vice-President of Bodija Traders' Association, Ibadan.

were in Ibadan to create economic enterprises for themselves. They therefore brought to Ibadan anything cheap in the North which could attract higher prices in the city.

The last but not the least category of Hausa migrants to Ibadan are those that Gould and Prothero¹ have described as "labour migrants". This set of migrants came to Ibadan not to market any visible goods but to engage in paid employment. While some of them provide auxiliary services to the established migrants in the kola and cattle trade, some of them are porters (alaru) in the various Ibadan market places. According to Gould and Prothero, it is a common occurrence in every economy to find people moving away from their homes to areas of superior economic gains for personal or paid employment. The Hausa porters at Bodija, Agbeni, Ogunpa, Oritamerin markets are seasonal migrants. As earlier discussed by Prothero², such migrants usually come to work in Ibadan after the harvest seasons in their villages. They usually return to their homes during the planting seasons to continue their normal farming

¹W.T.S. Gould and R.M. Prothero, 'Population Mobility in Tropical Africa', In R.P. Moses and R.J.A. Rathbone (eds.), The Population Factor in African Studies, London, 1975, pp. 101-102.

²R.M. Prothero, 'Migratory labour from north-western Nigeria', Africa, 27, 1957, pp. 251-266, R.K. Udo, 'The Migrant Farmer of Eastern Nigeria', Africa, 34, 4, 1967, pp. 326-339.

activities. Some of these people are sometimes engaged in farm works in the rural parts of Ibadan under Yoruba landlords.

The migration of the Hausa people to Ibadan is an on-going process just as more Yoruba people are migrating northwards to better their economic lot. Some of the established traders in Ibadan are more likely to still bring more of their kinsmen into the city, to practice whatever trade that interests them. This readily complements the migratory process of those Hausa people who come into Ibadan, not relying on any old ties in the city. This migration process is characteristic of many B.T.A. members, who come to Ibadan on their own to trade. Bodija Traders' Association, a cattle cartel is largely made up of some Fulani, Kanuri and Yoruba traders who believe that the time has been reached when the Hausa monopoly over the cattle trade in Ibadan should be broken. The trade security that these people have been able to assure cattle exporters from Niger, Tchad Republic, Cameroun, etc. has provided a magnetic force to many migrants from northern Nigeria and far beyond, especially since 1985.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HAUSA SETTLEMENTS IN IBADAN

The events leading to the establishment of the first Hausa quarter in Ibadan (Sabongari) can be dated to 1893 when the imperial ambition of Ibadan became frustrated with the imposition of the British colonial rule on the town. The British factor on the town's history at this moment was consequent on the former's intervention in the Ekitiparapo war¹. This changed the attitude of the Ibadan people to strangers. The plans were therefore hatched at the end of the war to drive the Ijesa, Ekiti, Egba and Ijebu away from Ibadan because of the role they played in the frustration of the town's imperial scheme. The plans, however, never yielded any tangible result. The Ibadan were however successful in 1895 at totally expelling the Fante from the town and taking over the rubber industry the latter had been controlling since 1893. Thereafter, the Ibadan shifted their attention to the Hausa people who were by this period controlling the cattle, beef and kolanut trade in the town².

¹S.A. Akintoye, *Revolution and Power Politics in Yorubaland*, pp.

²Akinyele, Historical Papers, file 110/1740/AKP8 pp. 36-39.

The circumstances under which the Fante were driven out of Ibadan and the later politics of kola trade in the town easily suggest that the hostility against the Hausa by the Ibadan people had some economic undertones. The military retrenchment of 1893 must have culminated in the joblessness of many Ibadan people hitherto employed as soldiers. These people and their relatives who depended on war booties must have considered it imperative to take over some economic activities in the town controlled by foreigners. Until the Southern and Northern Protectorates became amalgamated in 1914, the Hausa in Ibadan could not have been considered less strangers than the Fante that were expelled in 1895.

The Ibadan, however, provided three principal reasons why they wanted the Hausa migrants out of their town. First, they had lost a lot of their Hausa slaves as a result of the British anti-slave laws. Most annoying to the Ibadan people, these ex-slaves became enlisted in the colonial police and army and behaved arrogantly in the society. The Hausa traders in the town were also often accused of threatening the Ibadan people with punishment in the hands of their kinsmen in the colonial constabulary¹.

Colonial records and newspaper reports between 1897 and 1940s

¹Akinyele, Historial Papers, pp. 36-45.

graphically illustrate how the Hausa people in the police and army actually used their newly found freedom in Yorubaland. The records are replete with complaints about the migrants from different parts of Yorubaland. For example, in his entry for October 22nd, 1897, the District Officer of Ibadan himself noted that:

The Hausas I sent to Odo-Otin arrived at noon today ... they had taken $4\frac{1}{2}$ days, although I told them to hurry. I got a letter from Mr. Vaughan complaining of their conduct on the way down ... that they raided and forced people to carry their loads. I therefore direct Captain Green to fine them 5/-. There were 27 of them so that amounted to £6.15/- which I immediately sent to the Oluwo for distribution as the Iwos had been the worst sufferers¹.

On January 10, 1898, when the Resident visited Iseyin, the Aseyin asked him to do something about the Hausa migrants who had constituted themselves into a bandit in the area plundering the natives. The Resident had to give the migrants three days within which to vacate the area with the warning that their exit from Yorubaland should be through Oyo - Ogbomosho towards Ilorin². On January 20, 1898 the Resident's messenger returned from Oke-Ifo with an emissary of the town's ruler asking that the Hausas stationed

¹ National Archives Ibadan, Ibadan Prof. 3/6: The Resident's Travelling Journal, entries for 24th July 1897; 20th Jan. 1899 and 21st Jan. 1899.

² Ibid. entry for Jan. 10, 1898.

at Iganna were cheating and molesting his subjects. He asked for their immediate withdrawal¹.

The Hausa migrants were also accused of being responsible for the increasing wave of burglary in Ibadan, especially since the last decade of the nineteenth century when the Kiriji War ended². This problem lasted into the 1950s. According to Alhaji Bature, one of the greatest problems faced by his administration before resigning in 1948 was on how to completely stamp out criminal activities in Sabo. With the assistance of the police and the young men in Sabo, he established a vigilante committee (Kunjiya) within the Quarter as a result of which many of the criminals were arrested and convicted³. It is however possible that this problem was exaggerated by the Yoruba who were already having other grouse with the Hausa people. It is not unlikely that there were relatively as many Yoruba thieves in Ibadan at this time as the Hausa's. It is normal after most warfare to have people engaging in criminal activities. The Hausa people must have received exclusive treatment in the hands of the anxious Yoruba law enforcement agents, hence the frequent

¹ Ibid. entry for January 20, 1898.

² I.B. Akinyele, Iwe Itan Ibadan at Die Ninu Awon Ilu Agbegbe Re bi Iwo, Osogbo, at Ikirun, Exeter; 1950, pp. 137-138.

³ Oral communication with Alhaji Ahmadu Bature.

mentioning of the problems in the available Ibadan records.

The problems of the migrants could have been easier handled had they not attempted to monopolise the kolanut trade¹ as they had done to the cattle business in Ibadan. The Yoruba intermediaries in the kola trade who had been helping the Hausa people to procure the nuts from farmers began to feel threatened economically when Hausa agents tried to establish direct contact with the villages producing the important article of trade. The crisis between the Hausa and Yoruba kola agents began to assume a political importance in March 1896 when the latter decided to cut the Hausa in Ibadan off the kolanut trade by refusing to have any business transaction with them. The few farmers among them had their farmland confiscated and reduced to wage earners under Ibadan farmers. The information was passed round that any Hausa thief caught in Ibadan would be sentenced to death with his Yoruba collaborator. This hostile policy against the Hausa people continued until the Resident intervened in 1897².

The Resident could not see any need to expel all the Hausa

¹Akinyele Historical Papers, file 110 pp. 41-42.

²See National Archives Ibadan, Ibadan Prof. 3/6, Resident's Travelling Journal, entry for 24th July 1897.

migrants from Ibadan as its indigenes had been clamouring for. Rather, he asked the few of them that had been identified with no legitimate enterprise in the town to leave¹. He issued permits to all those who could convince him that they were in Ibadan to perform honest trade. He also instructed all of them to surrender their arms. For the enforcement of all these injunctions, the Resident appealed for the support of the Bale of Ibadan². On 30th January 1899, the Resident forwarded a request to the Bale that a quarter should be built for the Hausa people³. This was the first move towards the establishment of Sabo in 1916.

As a way of permanently settling the Ibadan/Hausa hostility the Resident later convened series of meetings attended by the Ibadan chiefs and representatives of the Hausa people. The following decisions were reached at one such meetings:

- (i) that the Hausa should pledge their loyalty to the Chiefs of Ibadan every year;
- (ii) that they should also pledge their loyalty to the Resident every year;

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., and entries for 20th Jan. 1899 and 21st Jan. 1899.

³ National Archives: Ibadan, The Resident's Travelling Journal. op.cit entry for 30th Jan. 1899.

- (iii) that they should have a leader recognised by the Resident and the Ibadan Chiefs. This leader would be held responsible for any offence committed by the migrants;
- (iv) that they should not engage in farming but could work and earn wages from Ibadan farmers;
- (v) that they should buy kolanuts from Ibadan traders and must not scout round for them in the villages; and
- (vi) that they should not participate in trades except in goods which their members needed¹.

Promising as this agreement seems, it was unable to provide a permanent solution to the Hausa/Ibadan hostility. It, however, did pave way for the establishment of Sabongari (Sabo), the first Hausa Quarter in Ibadan.

Sabongari (Sabo)

On 22nd June 1899, the British passed a law which placed all strangers in Ibadan under the Chiefs of the town². This provided better atmosphere for the Ibadan people to address the Hausa question

¹Mapo Hall, Akinyele Historical Papers, file 110, p. 45; and T. Falola, *op.cit.* p. 66.

²National Archives Ibadan, Lagos Annual Report, 1899, pp. 88-89.

in the administration of the town. Between 1907 and 1913, series of discussions were held by the Olubadan-in-Council on the need to confine the Hausa people to a place where their movements could be properly monitored. The Hausa themselves, who by this moment became fed up with the persistent hostility against them by the Ibadan people, were enthusiastic about having a Quarter of their own¹. As their numerical strength in the town became gradually improved due to the increased importance of Ibadan as the administrative and economic headquarters of Yorubaland, the Hausa became motivated to increase the volume of their cattle trade.

The Hausa migrants were by this time facing some additional problems from the Yoruba landlords engaged in the cattle business. Because of the increased volume of cattle trade, the Yoruba landlords began to exploit the cattle traders. They collected high rents from the traders and made them to pay exorbitant taxes on their sold cattle. The bulk of the profits in the trade therefore went to the Yoruba landlords with whom the Hausa traders lodged rather than to the migrants who bore the brunt of the business. Coupled with this was the accusation against the cattle dealers that they were messing up the town with animal droppings and that the animals were obstructing free flow of traffic. All these made the migrants the more

¹Abner Cohen, pp. 104-105.

to crave for their own secluded settlement where they could be left to themselves. To make well their case, the migrants reactivated the waning debate on the Hausa thieves in Ibadan and argued that they needed a separate settlement where they could check one another and preserve their religious and socio-cultural exclusiveness¹.

Sabo was eventually established within the walls of Ibadan by 1916 on a land donated to the Hausa migrants by Bale Irefin², who ruled between 1912 and 1914. It started with simple cottages until later when people began to have the money to build better structures. Some of the professional builders employed to construct the structures came directly from northern Nigeria³. The migrants at this period still found it difficult to adequately adjust to the Ibadan situation. Probably because of the availability of sufficient land at Sabo around this time, they found it necessary to make do with the traditional Hausa architectural designs that take the purdah (women seclusion) question into consideration. Such structures which stand in sharp contrast to the modern ones later constructed at Sabo, have an ante-room for receiving of visitors and spacious backyards that make for free movement of women within the compound. Sabo is however

¹ Ibid.

² Alhaji Ahmadu Bature.

³ Abner Cohen, Custom and Politics, pp. 225-6. (See footnotes 28 and 29).

characterised by contrasting architectural designs today - the Hausa, Yoruba and Western patterns. Though the houses are built very close to one another due to the problem of land scarcity that later confronted the migrants, Sabo is still better planned than some parts of the present-day Ibadan especially the heartland of the city where houses are built in clustered forms.

The Mokola Extension of Sabo (Ago Ilorin)

The general development of Mokola as a principal ward in Ibadan has been closely associated with the phenomenal growth of Sabo. When it was established in 1916, Sabo had about 400 Hausa residents. By the 1930s the settlement had become so congested that once more several hundreds of Hausa migrants and other new settlers either found their ways back to Oja'ba where kolanut was sold or became accommodated by the Yoruba landlords in the town¹.

The **Sarkin Hausawa** and the other Hausa migrants were irked by this development. They were worried that the migrants outside Sabo were outside the moral and political influence of the Sarki and could therefore conduct themselves in a manner that could injure the common economic interest of the Hausa people in Ibadan. The 'floating Hausa population' for example could buy kolanut at higher

¹A. Cohen op.cit. p. 115; Abner Cohen, 'Politics of the kola trade: Some processes of tribal community formation among migrants in West African towns', Africa 36, 1966, p.30; Oral communications Alhaji Bature and Dikko.

prices from the Yoruba producers and collect lower commission (lada) from the northern dealers they served as buying agents to. Therefore by the early 1940s, the Sarkin Hausawa and some prominent Hausa merchants in Ibadan had written several petitions to the Olubadan and the District Officer asking that all the Hausa migrants be returned to Sabo. They accused the dissident migrants of harbouring thieves and evading taxes by living in areas where the Sarki could not monitor their activities. The British administration was not enthusiastic about forcing the migrants to where they did not like but advocated that the Ibadan Council should persuade Yoruba landlords not to let rooms to the Hausa people. They were equally outlawed from sleeping in public places such as mosques, markets, sheds, etc.¹

There was however, a cattle and kolanut market at Sabo which the migrants could not totally afford to ignore. Therefore as the condition became harder for the Hausa people in the town, the market at Sabo became more and more important. Business activities within this market blossomed to a degree that it soon started threatening traffic flow at the present Mokola junction. It was therefore decided that the cattle market in particular should be moved away from Sabo to create space for other activities. It became shifted to

¹ Ibid.

Oremeji as Oja'ba once more regained its lost glory as major kola market. The vacated cattle market at Sabo became a daily market which soon began to threaten the survival of the main Sabo market which had now been reduced to an insignificant night market¹. The growing business activities at the Mokola market and probably the difficulty faced by the Hausa migrants at securing accommodation within Ibadan gradually led some of them to establish a permanent colony around the Mokola area. The colony is now known as Ago Ilorin (Ilorin's camp). Though the area was formally given to the Hausa community since 1935 during the reign of Olubadan Okunola Abasi, it never became well inhabited until the early 1940s. There was a botched attempt between 1942 and 1944 to allocate more land to the migrants at Mokola by the District Officer². Nevertheless, the Hausa community has continued to gain access to more land in the area, which they now share with the Nupe (Tapa) and Igbira people. There is now at Mokola not only Ago Ilorin (dominated by the Hausa) but also Ago Tapa (Nupe camp) and Ago Igbira (Igbira camp). The two migrant camps are headed by Oba Tapa and Oba Igbira respectively.

¹This area is today called Sango elewure (that is the Zango for goats)

²Oral communication with Alhaji Ahmadu Bature and Chief Francis Olaniyan, Bale Onimalu Ibadan, 19th Jan. 1991.

Bodija (Kara)

The development of the present livestock market (Kara) at Bodija and the peripheral Hausa settlement has been connected with the general drive between 1898 and 1970s by the Hausa people to find a suitable location for their cattle trade in Ibadan. It has been discussed earlier that in 1916 the cattle market was moved to Sabo and then Oremeji from Oja'ba where the Hausa migrants first settled. At Oremeji, the Hausa traders were endlessly attacked by bandits in the evenings who snatched away the money made from the livestock business. An appeal was then made to Ibadan authority and the cattle market was moved to Ogunpa. Later on, the traders were moved back to Oyo road (Oremeji area) only to start facing, once more, the old ordeals of the bandits. Further appeals to the authority made the market to be shifted to Sango (originally pronounced 'Zango' by the Hausa people), near the railway line¹.

When the livestock market at Sango began to threaten free rail passage, it was reduced to a specialised market for cattle while the other livestock traders were moved to Bodija in the 1940s².

¹This area is today called Sango elewure (that is the Zango for goats).

²Oral communications with Alhaji Ahmadu Bature and Chief Francis Olaniyan, Bale Onimalu Ibadan, 19th Jan. 1991.

By 1973¹, the government had completed the construction of the Bodija livestock market and abattoir. The cattle traders therefore moved from Sango to the new market which has been described as one of the biggest and most modern in Yorubaland. A good number of the migrants had to hire houses around the area to be as near as possible to their articles of trade as well as the market. The Hausa livestock traders at Bodija had since been joined by the others interested in building planks trade as well as young seasonal migrant porters from the eastern part of Hausaland. The number of these people at Bodija has continued to increase, especially since the establishment of the main Bodija market in 1988.

Sasa

Sasa, an Ibadan settlement popularly known all over Yorubaland for the Hausa dominated pepper and onion trade came into existence in 1967 as part of the scheme to establish the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA). It played host to the Hausa traders in July 1979².

¹Oral communication with Chief Francis Olaniyan, 19th Jan. 1991.

²L.A. Akinpelu, 'Background History of Ibadan-Parapo (Sasa) Town', Unpublished private project, Ibadan, 1988, pp. 32-33.

The Hausa migrants who were left behind at Oja'ba when Sabo was founded in 1916 were joined by some others interested in live-stock and kolanut trade. These people were also later joined by pepper and onion traders especially in the early 1970s. Oja'ba therefore became congested with the Hausa and other traders that they started obstructing free movement of motorists. To ease the problem around Oja'ba, the traffic arm of the police resorted to occasional arrest and detention of the traders, most of who were Hausa people. The Hausa traders under the leadership of one Alhaji Yaro approached Colonel Paul Tarfa, the then Governor of Oyo State who through the then Commissioner of Police asked the Chairman, Ibadan Municipal Government, Alhaji Kola Balogun to find a permanent market for the traders. When they were asked to choose a suitable site for their business within the city, the Hausa traders chose to be settled along Oyo road¹. This was probably to ease the transportation of their trade items to Ibadan. The traders used to have problems driving their trailers and lorries to Oja'ba which is the heartland of Ibadan². Oyo road is the main entry point into the Ibadan city from Hausaland. The traders also chose to be settled outside the city probably to

¹Ibid. p. 33-34.

²Oral communication with Alhaji Ahmadu Bature; Alhaji Haruna Oba Sasa.

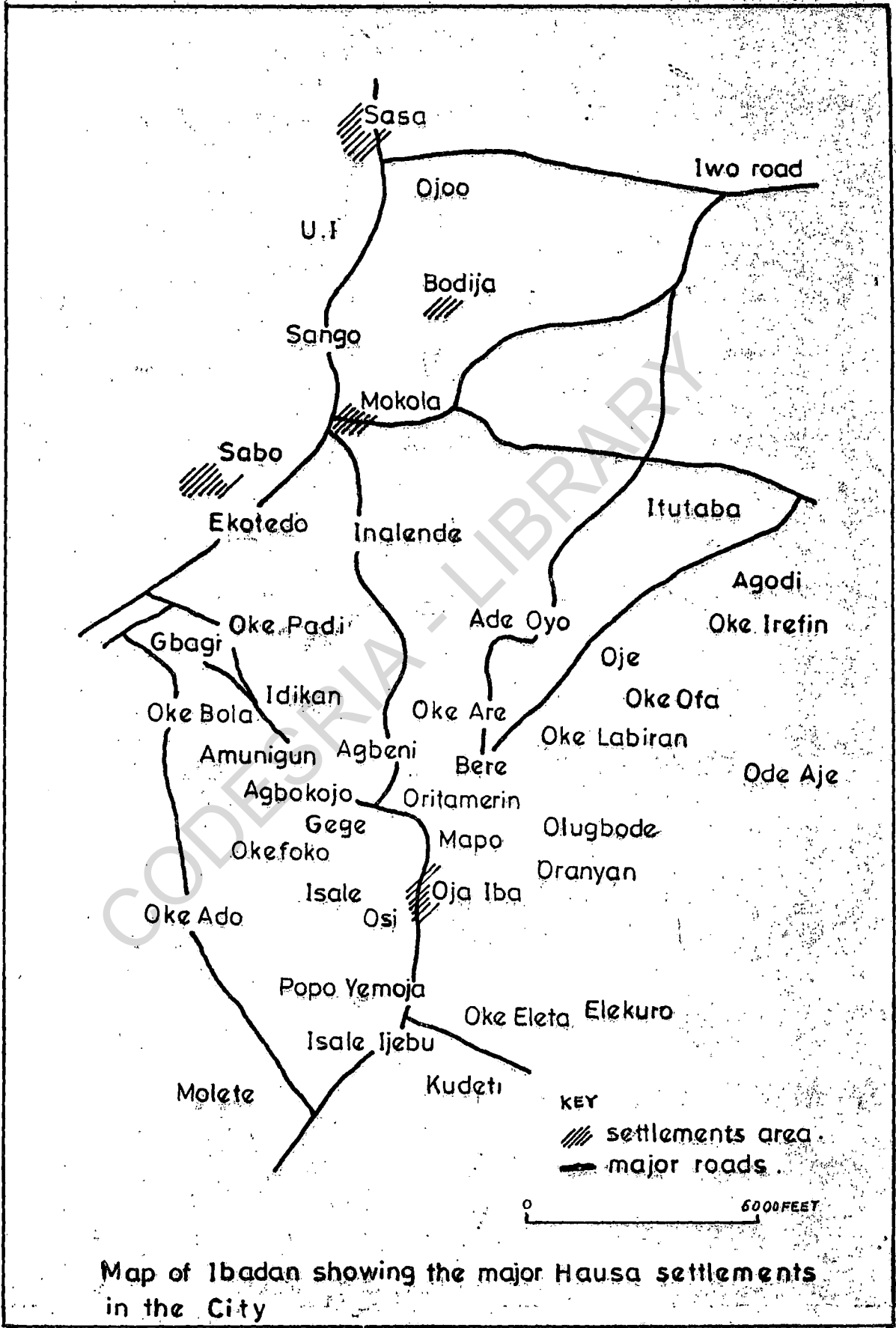
reduce the rate of their harrassment by the police and to make for future expansion of their businesses as Oyo road happens to be one of the most feasible locations in Ibadan where virgin land could be found for economic activities.

In line with the choice made by the traders, the IMG Chairman contacted the Chairman of Akinyele Local Government¹, Mr. J.A. Aderibigbe who approached the Bale of Sasa, Chief Fijabi. The Hausa traders were therefore received into the community under the leadership of Alhaji Haruna Mai Yasin Katsina.

At the initial stage, Alhaji Haruna lived outside Sasa but was given a land in 1980 by the Sasa community over which he built his house with the assistance of members of the community. Since then, more Hausa people especially those interested in pepper and onions trade have settled in Sasa. It is now generally acknowledged as a major pepper market throughout Yorubaland. The Hausa traders who engage in the importation of pepper and onions into Ibadan from Hausaland have since then formed a mini migrant settlement in Sasa. In 1983, the Sarkin Hausawa at Sabo, Alhaji Shaibu Dikko with the permission of the Olubadan Oba Yesufu Oloyede Asanike turbaned Alhaji Haruna Katsina as Oba Sasa.

Since the establishment of the Hausa settlement at Sasa in 1979, it has become relatively easier for subsequently Hausa settlers in

Ibadan to decide where to live in the city of Ibadan. But in most cases each settler takes into consideration whatever trade he seeks to take to in the city. For example those who seek to be involved in the kola trade have no other option than to live near Oja'ba where the Hausa market is located. Bodija market is known for the Hausa livestock trade, though some of the livestock traders live at Sabo. At Sasa live the bulk of the Hausa onions and pepper traders. Yoruba people willingly come to transact businesses with these migrants at their designated markets and settlements.



Map of Ibadan showing the major Hausa settlements in the City

CHAPTER FOUR

ORGANIZATION OF THE HAUSA MIGRANTS IN IBADAN

As discussed in the preceding chapters, Ibadan is a cosmopolitan polity that has played host to different categories of migrants. The administrative organization of the town as well as its socio-economic stratification seem to have been patterned to accommodate the diverse interests of these migrant elements. In most parts of the city, the migrants have organized themselves in such coherent forms that it becomes not too difficult for them to maximise the use of the economic, political and social opportunities available to them.

Probably more than any other non-Yoruba groups in Ibadan, the Hausa have established a niche for themselves. This is readily affirmed by their exclusive political structure at Sabo; their economic activities at Oja'ba, Bodija and Sasa, and of course their social and religious characteristics in the city. Sabo has acquired a fledgling influence in the history of Ibadan as "a town within a town". The socio-political organization of the other Sabongari (Sabo) in other Yoruba communities has in fact been patterned after that of Ibadan which was established in 1916. The political system in Ibadan has to

¹Oral communication with Alhaji Ahmadu Bature; Alhaji Shaibu Dikko and Alhaji Shaibu Gomina, the Babalaje of Osogbo and Managing Director of Shaibu Gomina Transport Company, Osogbo, 24th Feb. 1990.

a large extent accommodated the vestiges of both the Yoruba and Hausa political culture. The economic organization of the migrants has also been noticed to be of great historical importance. This has not only helped to determine the scope of Hausa-Yoruba relations in Ibadan but has also dictated where certain markets are located in the city.

Two points must really be emphasised in order to appreciate how the Hausa migrants are organised in Ibadan. In the first place, they easily recognised the latent problems and challenges associated with their status as migrants in the city. Ibadan has its own socio-political organization, the people speak Yoruba and have economic system that could not be said to be totally similar to the ones known to the Hausa people. Therefore, the migrants needed a central forum through which they could organise themselves against the rival interests of their host community. They also needed centrally organised forums through which peaceful co-existence could be achieved with the Yoruba people. To this end, there is a high degree of socio-political, religious and economic understanding among the different northern Nigerian groups that pride themselves as Hausa in Ibadan.

A statement from a Luo migrant in Kampala has been cited by Marguerite Jellicoe to illustrate the ease with which migrant elements organise themselves in the city. According to the Luo migrant:

Urban life does not draw relatives apart, it draws them together. In our country brothers quarrel over land and property, but in the town there is none to quarrel over and they come to each other for protection¹.

In Ibadan, the Hausa migrants needed to protect themselves against the Yoruba people who are equally interested in the cattle and kolanut trade that attracted the former to the city. To understand the details of how the migrants have organized themselves in Ibadan, it is necessary to examine their religious, socio-political and economic activities in the city.

Religious Organization

The Hausa migrants in Ibadan, as in most other Nigerian communities are muslims. The reasons for this need not be repeated here in view of the widespread relationship between the Hausa people and the Islamic religion. According to Wakili of Sabo Ibadan, Alhaji Ahmadu Zungeru, about 95% of the inhabitants of Sabo, if not the entire Hausa community in Ibadan profess to be muslims. He however suggested that of this number, only about 80% actually practise the religion as it ought to be practised², i.e. observe all

¹Marguerite Jellicoe, "Indigenous Saving Associations in Eastern Africa", Economic Commission for Africa, E/CN.14 HOU 21, p.7.

²Alhaji Ahmadu Zungeru, contribution during the UNESCO/Institute of African Studies, U.I. Seminar on "Stages of Life",

the necessary tenets of the religion. The 5% left after the 95% muslim population had been taken out presumably consists of christians and animists. The latter group could hardly be identified in Sabo during this field work. Everybody in the quarter, except those met at the Bishara Baptist Church Sabo claims to be a muslim. Not even a member of the Bori cult that Cohen referred to in his work¹ could be found in Sabo or any other Hausa settlement in Ibadan.

Bori², a spiritualist cult whose origin antedated the introduction of the Islamic religion to Hausaland is closely associated with the Maguzawa (i.e. the non-muslim Hausa people). It used to be the original religion of the Hausa people that became very difficult to totally eliminate by the muslim, christian and British colonial interests³. According to Horn, its survival within the muslim dominated northern Nigeria was probably because of its syncretic nature and ability to accommodate certain Islamic practices. It is the

¹See Abner Cohen, *op.cit.* pp. 10, 58, 163-4, 164.

²For detailed discussion of this cult see M. Onwuejeogwu, 'The cult of the Bori spirits among the Hausa', In John Beattie and John Middleton (eds.) Spirit Mediumship and Society in Africa, London, 1969, pp. 279-305; H.R. Palmer, "'Bori' among the Hausa", Man, XIV 52, July 1914.

³See A.J.N. Tremearne, The Ban of the Bori, London 1914; Alhaji Hassan and Shaibu Na'ibi, A Chronicle of Abuja, translated and edited by F. Heath, Lagos, 1962.

belief of the members that the human life is directly controlled by unseen spirits known as iskoki ("winds", sing iska) or aljannu (ijinns). These individualised bodies that could be placated and used to the advantages and disadvantages of man are considered to have specific powers, a defined personality and articulated functions in the earthly affairs of man¹.

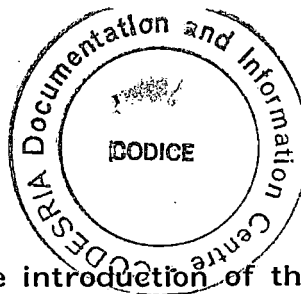
Even when the Islamic religion became firmly rooted in Hausaland, bori still harboured some muslim members (Yan bori). But most members of the cult were women and so it was easily associated with prostitution among the Hausa people. This was probably why all Hausa societies, especially the islam-dominated ones worked towards its ban as discussed by Tremearne², Alhaji Hassan and Shaibu Na Ibi³.

Cohen has noted in one of his works that there was an on-going crusade against the Yan bori ('children of bori') or Masu bori ('owners of bori') when he was conducting his field work at Sabo in 1963. According to him, until about the mid-1950s there was a well-organised bori cult members at Sabo with a chieftainess recognised

¹ Andrew Horn, 'Ritual Drama and the theatrical: The case of Bori Spirit Mediumship', In Yemi Ogunbiyi, Drama and Theatre in Nigeria: A Critical Source Book, Lagos, Nigeria Magazine, 1981, p. 185.

² A.J.N. Tremearne, The Ban of the Bori, op.cit.

³ Alhaji Hassan and Shaibu Na Ibi, A Chronicle of Abuja, op.cit, pp. 63-66.



by the Sarkin Hausawa. But with the introduction of the Tijaniyya Order¹, the system became less patronised and people began to take their problems to the Islamic Mallams. With the death of the Bori chieftainess in the 1950s, the position ceased to exist as no other person was appointed to fill the vacancy². The success of the crusade launched against the bori members by the Tijaniyya order is probably accountable for the total elimination of Yan bori from Sabo.

Alhaji Ahmadu Zungeru has also referred to some traditional practices within Sabo that could have discouraged membership of the bori cult among the Hausa migrants in Ibadan. According to him, if a person belongs to another religion from the one practised by his parents (usually Islam), he is obligated not to live in the same compound with them after marriage. He also needed to get most things done in the quarter through his muslim parents. A good number of Yan bori must have dropped the membership of the cult and wholeheartedly embraced the Islamic religion, as not to get themselves so publicly disgraced.

The demise of the role of the bori cult in Sabo brought into

¹The Tijaniyya Order was founded towards the end of the eighteenth century. For its detailed history see J.M. Abu-Nasr, The Tijaniyya. A Sufi Order in the Modern World, London, OUP, 1965.

²Cohen, op.cit, p. 164.

prominence the role of the Malams in the affairs of the Hausa migrants in Ibadan. They served as the principal channel of communication between the Sarkin Hausawa and his subjects, the cattle and kolanut landlords and their clients and the different age groups in the quarter¹. They still occupy a prominent position at various Hausa quarters today. Before businesses were conducted, before journeys were made, before the property of a deceased person were shared and the like, the Malams were consulted. The Malams are also responsible for the training of the young Hausa children how to recite the verses of the Quran as expected of every zealous muslim. The leading Malam at a point in time is usually the Imam of the mosque at Sabo.

Fridays are usually the busiest days at Sabo where most of the migrants usually come to say their Jumat prayer. Because of the large crowd of worshippers at Sabo mosque, the road cutting across the quarter from Mokola junction up to Onireke-Jemibewon junction is usually closed to traffic at certain hours every Friday.

Very significant in the religious organization of the Hausa people in the city of Ibadan is the position of the Malam (islamic scholars). The malams lead the Hausa congregations in prayers and

¹Abner Cohen, op.cit, pp. 165-170.

were generally looked upon as the custodians of Islamic virtues. The leading malam at any of the quarters, especially at Sabo is the Chief Imam who leads the observance of Islamic rituals in the area. Malams are also consulted by the migrants for guidance not only on issues bordering on religious dogma but also on matters related to economics and politics. The malam is also consulted as a diviner and healer. The most noticeable of these Islamic scholars are those that sit in front of their residences daily reciting verses of the Quran to the admiration of the passers-by who offer them alms not only in appreciation of the eloquence of these malams but also because of the divine blessings associated with alms giving (Zakat) in the Islamic belief system. Some of these malams have private Quranic schools where children are taught how to recite the verses of the Holy Book (Quran) and live according to the Islamic principles.

At the eastern end of Sabo, near the Mokola junction, is the only Hausa church in the city of Ibadan - Bishara Baptist Church, Sabo. It is separated from the main Hausa quarter (Sabo) by a small stream that flows into the Ogunpa river at Adamaṣingba. The church was built in 1952 on a land granted the Christian worshippers by Sarkin Hausawa Audu Zungeru. The church was, however, not meant to serve the Hausa migrants at Sabo when it was built but rather was founded to serve as a place of worship for some Christian

military men in Ibadan¹. Such soldiers were said to have originated from the present day Kogi, Benue, Plateau, Gongola, Niger, Bauchi and Kaduna States.

The first leader of the church was Pastor Alkali Yero. He left Ibadan for the north after his retirement in 1979 having served in the city for 35 years. Pastor J.B. Magaji took over the leadership of the church in 1984 having graduated from the Baptist Seminary at Ogbomoso. Because of the increasing number of Tiv worshippers in the church, a Tiv pastor Rev. Ndolough was posted to Ibadan in 1970. This marked the division of the church into two worship groups - Hausa and Tiv.

Despite the fact that the Hausa in Sabo do not attend Bishara Baptist Church, the relationship between them and the worshippers in the church has been very cordial. The worshippers who come from different parts of the Ibadan city are usually treated with love by the Hausa settlers at Sabo. This is probably because of their common place of origin - northern Nigeria. According to Pastor Magaji there has never been any incident in which there was a disagreement between the Hausa settlers and their christian counterparts in Bishara Baptist Church. The pastor himself lives right inside Sabo in a mansion

¹Oral communication with Rev. J.B. Magaji, the Pastor-in-charge Bishara Baptist Church, Sabo, Ibadan, 10th Feb. 1991.

owned by a prominent Mai gida (landlord) in the quarter. Despite the seclusion of his wives from the outside world, the landlord still allows the pastor to freely mix with all members of his family within the compound. In return, the pastor attends all social functions involving the muslim settlers and even serve as caretaker to one of the landlords in the quarter. In the same manner, the Bishara Church has also been allowed to provide spacious accommodation to the Hausa beggars at Sabo. The frontage of the church has now become a permanent depot for the beggars.

When a stranded Hausa man in Ibadan is brought down to Sabo, the people would ask for his religion. While the muslim is usually taken to the Sarki's house for attention, the pastor of Bishara Church is usually contacted in case of the christians.

Bishara is a relatively small church. The few number of worshippers in it has been explained in light of the development of army barracks in Ibadan. Before both the Mokola and Ojoo army barracks were established, the Hausa soldiers in Ibadan used to worship at Sabo. But after this moment, the military men began to worship within their barracks so that those left behind at the Sabo church are no more than Hausa students and workers in Ibadan. The congregation in the church therefore intermitently increases as more people are transferred to Ibadan and reduces as some are

transferred out of the city. It has been consistently difficult for members of the church to win any convert amongst the Hausa settlers in Ibadan. To sustain the growth of the church and boost the morale of the worshippers therein, the other Baptist Churches in Ibadan and members of the ECWA Church usually send some of their members to worship at Bishara Baptist Church, Sabo or offer material assistance to the church. The average attendance register during some of my visit to the church is as follows:

- 27 Hausa worshippers - from the old Plateau, Kaduna and Gongola States
- 15 Tiv worshippers - from Benue State
- 17 Others - consisting of Yoruba worshippers especially from Mokola Baptist Church, Ibadan.

Letters of solidarity and encouragement are usually read from the other Baptist Churches at Ogbomoso, Oyo, etc. every Sunday at the church.

Socio-Political Organization

Socially, the Hausa migrants in Ibadan are organised in households (gidaje - sing. gida). Each household is made up of a male head (mai gida), his wives (mata), children (yara) and dependants (dangogi). The dependants are usually related to the mai gida through his immediate family, he could be a relative of any of his wives or an adopted child. In most cases, the dangogi help in the administration of their

guardians' businesses. The responsibility in return, is that of the mai gida to ensure that the male dependants under him marry at the appropriate time. He is also expected to support them in the capitalization of their businesses when the time comes.

Politically, the entire Hausa community in Ibadan look unto Sarkin Sabo for political and sometimes, economic leadership. The Sarki in turn has title holders within and outside Sabo who assist him in administration. Just as evident in the other Hausa societies¹, the Sarkin Hausawa who owes his appointment to the Olubadan of Ibadan has such title holders as Turakin gari, Madaki, Gamja, Sarkin Shanu, Sardauna, Wakili, Magajin gari, Liman, Ciroman, Tafidan gari etc.

When the Sarki wants to take any decision affecting the generality of the Hausa migrants in Ibadan, he brings together all the title holders and a number of old men collectively referred to as Uban gari (i.e. elders or fathers of the town) and constitute them into a "town council"². They are collectively responsible for administration of the Hausa community in Ibadan. The Sarkin Hausawa also have

¹ For an introductory discussion of the Hausa political structure, read Abdullahi Smith, A Little New Light: Selected Historical Writings of Abdullahi Smith, Vol. 1, Zaria, 1987, pp. 102-103.

² Oral communication with Alhaji Bature and Alhaji Shaibu Dikko, op.cit.

ward heads (Masu angwa) within and outside Sabo. Sabo is divided into eight wards, each under the control of a mai angwa (ward head). The wards are Gangare, Tudun, Oke Hausa, Oke'su, Ghana, Garajin Kano, Turumansawa and Wagadugu. In addition to the ward heads, the Sarkin Hausawa has a head man for the Fulani people. He is entitled Sarkin Fulani (King of the Fulani). Outside Sabo, the head of the Hausa community also has some ward heads who are more influential than those within Sabo. For example, the Hausa community living at Sasa is under the control of Sarkin Sasa. The one at Oja'ba is entitled Sarkin Kusuwan Sarkin (King of the king's market).

The institution of Sarkin Hausawa in Ibadan can be dated to 1899 when it was thought necessary to establish a quarter for the Hausa migrants in the town under a leader recognised by both the British Resident and the Bale¹. The first Hausa head in Ibadan was Abdullahi Mai Kandini². He was however not long in the office before he was removed for some misdemeanour and expelled from Ibadan. He was succeeded by Audu Zungeru, a well known trader and motor transport owner. He too was found guilty of receiving and keeping

¹See National Archives Ibadan, the Resident's Travelling Journal op.cit. entry for 30th Jan. 1899 and Mapo Hall Ibadan, Akinyele Historical Papers, File 100 p.45.

²Alhaji Ahmadu Bature.

stolen property and removed from office¹. He was however not banished from the town so that he was able to come back to the throne at a later date. When Audu Zungeru was removed from office, Bature Hausa who had contested the post of Sarkin Hausawa in the past was eventually appointed. He died seven months later and so his son Alhaji Ahmadu Bature was appointed the Sarki by Olubadan Okunola Abasi in 1944 at the tender age of sixteen. Alhaji Bature had to resign from office in 1948 when the migrants refused to support his administration. The deposed Alhaji Zungeru is believed to have mobilised the Hausa people in Ibadan against both Bature Hausa and his son, Alhaji Ahmadu Bature. At this stage, Audu Zungeru had to be returned to the throne. He was succeeded by one of his sons, Muhamadu Dikko in 1968. When the latter died in 1982, he was succeeded by Alhaji Shaibu Dikko, the current Sarkin Hausawa in Ibadan².

The Sarki as the recognised head of the Hausa community in Ibadan is responsible for the internal administration of the migrants within Sabo and the other places where the people are found in the

¹See Mapo Ibadan, Council Minutes, 18th Dec. 1929, pp. 120-1, and Daily Times, August 13, 1942 for details of the two incidences.

²Oral communication with Alhaji Bature and Shaibu Dikko.

city. He arbitrates in all kinds of cases - divorce, theft, minor disagreement among traders, etc. When any of the migrants dies, the Sarki is duly allowed to have a say in how the property of the deceased person is shared. The Sarki's salary which was £2 in 1942¹ has now been increased into an 'honourable honorarium'² by the Ibadan Municipal Government, though the remuneration is still insufficient to meet the demands of the office. The office, according to the current Sarki, Alhaji Shaibu Dikko is not for a person hoping to make money but those who think the exclusive lifestyle and cultural peculiarities of the Hausa people need to be given political protection.

In addition to all kinds of daily visitors to the Sarki's house for one problem or the other, the Hausa people collectively pay him a regular call at the end of every Jumat prayer on Fridays. The Sarki is seen back home at the end of the Jumat prayers. Prayers are said for him at home by young men before the people disperse for their respective homes. In return, the Sarki freely gives out alms (Sadaka) to his subjects (especially young men and the professional beggars).

¹Daily Times, Oct. 17, 1942.

²Oral communication with Alhaji Shaibu Dikko.



Alhaji Shuaibu Dikko,
Sarkin Hausawa, Ibadan.

Economic Organization

If the Hausa have at all been able to establish themselves as a non-negligible migrant community in Ibadan, it has largely been due to their economic influence on the city. Since the nineteenth century when they introduced Ibadan to cattle trade, the Hausa people in Yorubaland (not only in Ibadan) have continued to wax stronger in various areas of economic endeavours. They now control the Ibadan trade in livestock, kolanut, onions and pepper. They have been able, in recent times, to successfully gain entry into the trade in building planks and even in the textile business that was once dominated by the Yoruba and Ibo people in Ibadan. Both the Ibadan Municipal Government as well as the Oyo State Government have benefited greatly from the economic activities of the migrants in terms of the personal tax, sale tax and tenement rates paid.

The economic organization of the migrants in Ibadan has much been conditioned by the nature of the trade each of them is engaged in. For example, the earliest Hausa settlers in Ibadan were engaged in both kolanut and cattle trade. They first settled at Oja'ba. With the establishment of Sabo in 1916 the cattle market shifted from Oja'ba, some kolanut traders were however left behind. Not all of them moved to Sabo. Today, the main Hausa kola depot in the city of Ibadan is at Oja'ba. The cattle trade is conducted at Bodija. Sasa

which is the youngest of the Hausa settlements in Ibadan now dominates the wholesale trade in onions, pepper and other northern-oriented agricultural products. People come to all these markets from far and wide to sell to the migrants all kinds of forest products and to buy cheaply from them articles of trade imported from the northern parts of Nigeria.

For clarity purpose, the organizational structure of each of these markets shall be discussed.

Livestock Trade: The Hausa livestock market in Ibadan is located at Bodija and known as Kara. Most of the Hausa migrants in Ibadan are connected with this market as the livestock trade plays a prominent role in the lives of the people. As indicated in the earlier chapters, both Muhamadu Na Garke Sarkin Pawa and Sarkin Zango Abudullahi Makama who are believed to be the first Hausa migrants in Ibadan came from Kano purposely for the trade in cattle. The bulk of the Fulani settlers in Ibadan have no other businesses than to take care of livestock and organise their sales. To this end, the largest concentration of the Hausa people is often noticeable at the Bodija livestock market.

As the economic head of the Hausa people, the Sarkin Hausawa at Sabo, Alhaji Shaibu Dikko has a far-reaching control over the cattle market at Bodija though he is himself involved in livestock

trade. The Hausa chief however does not interfere directly with the market operations at the market. Rather, he delegates some power to some of his title holders especially Alhaji Dan Male, the Sarkin Fulani and Alhaji Garba Lekum who help to allocate trading zones to new entrants into the cattle market at Bodija and collect some levies from the traders¹. To moderate business activities at the market, Alhaji Saibu Dikko appointed some Yoruba chiefs under whom the other Yoruba people involved in livestock business are placed. The Yoruba cattle chieftains are Chief Francis Olaniyan, Bale Onimalu of Ibadan and Chief (Alhaja) Muniratu Adenihun, the Iyaloja Onimalu of Ibadan. The two people who have long been in the livestock business were appointed in 1987 with the permission of Olubadan Oloyede Asanike. The Bale Onimalu has some deputies which include Balogun Onimalu, Otun Balogun Onimalu, Osi Balogun Onimalu, etc.²

Each livestock trader has a specific space allotted to him at where he stores his cattle, goats or sheep. Clients come here to buy from him or her. Outside the main livestock markets³ are located some

¹Personal communication with Alhaji K.B. Yusuf, 14th Feb. 1991, and Alhaji Audu Alli Bukar, 14th Feb. 1991.

²Personal communication with Chief Francis Olaniyan, 19th Jan. 1991; Chief (Alhaja) Muniratu Adenihun, 19th Jan. 1991 and Alhaja Wulemotu Tiamiyu, 19th Jan. 1991.

³There are two major livestock markets at Bodija. The first which is devoted to cattle trade is adjacent to both Bodija market and the Ibadan Amusement Park. The second, devoted to goat and sheep trade is near Bodija Planks market.

traders who serve as intermediaries between the livestock traders and members of the public. Such people are usually those with no substantial money with which a normal livestock trade could be capitalised. They earn their living by helping the established livestock traders to get customers. They could also serve as interpreters between the Hausa traders and their Yoruba clients when there is the need for it. In some cases, these people also engage in baranda. Baranda is the term used by livestock traders in Ibadan (Hausa and Yoruba) to describe the informal process through which livestock are marketed without going through the normal process. It is possible here for an intermediary in the trade to by-pass the retail traders to buy directly from the Hausa wholesalers for his client. He collects commission (lada) from both the clients and the wholesalers, to the disadvantage of the established retailed traders in the market.

Under normal circumstances, every livestock trader in Ibadan travels to the northern parts of Nigeria, even as far as Niger, Tchad, Mali, Cameroun etc. to buy their articles of trade. But in some cases, some of the traders from these places directly bring their cattle and goats to Ibadan. The livestock traders at Ibadan therefore buy from them either in cash or on credit. The credit trade is usually conducted between the wholesale traders and their trusted

"landlords" (mai gida) in Ibadan. Business transactions here could take two different forms. The wholesale trader from the north could entrust the livestock to the mai gida and come back to Ibadan at a later date to collect the money while delivering another batch. He could bring the livestock to Ibadan, entrust them to the mai gida and hang around to be reimbursed for his homeward journey after the sale must have been completed¹.

In the latter case, the mai gida has the responsibility of housing and feeding the wholesale trader throughout his stay in Ibadan. He is also responsible for the proper feeding of the livestock while still in Ibadan. Therefore, most of the Hausa livestock traders engaged in this kind of business have rented houses where the livestock traders are housed and fed. In some cases, the livestock traders are given a fixed sum of money² as their daily feeding allowance so that what the mai gida is left with is just how to house them.

Whatever amount of money a particular Hausa landlord (mai gida) spends on his clients from the northern Nigeria is collected from the retail livestock buyers as either price increase or lada (commission). Payment of lada is compulsory in all Ibadan livestock markets in which

¹This kind of credit trade has been discussed by A. Cohen, 'The Social Organization of Credit in a West African Cattle Market', Africa, XXXV No. 1, 1965, pp. 8-19.

²Some cattle traders at Ibadan pay six Naira feeding allowance per day to their clients.

one pays a token sum of money in addition to what has been charged as the price of a livestock. The current lada is twenty Naira per cattle head in Bodija.

The credit phenomenon in the livestock business in Ibadan is solely based in mutual trust which in some cases are abused. In some cases, the mai gida could complain to the wholesale traders that he too sold on credit and had problems recovering the debt meaning that the former could not collect his money at the appropriate time. In some cases, the money is not outrightly paid and so the wholesale traders (largely made up of the Fulani and Kanuri traders) might have to go back with infinitesimal percentage of the money owed them. It was to redress this anomaly that the Bodija Traders' Association (BTA) was founded in 1986.

BTA and the Cattle Trade Politics: Bodija Traders' Association is generally considered by the established livestock traders in Ibadan as damnable force in their business¹. Therefore, much effort has been made since 1986 when it was founded to totally eliminate the body or disorganise its leadership. This has culminated in two different bloody riots at the Bodija livestock market. Cases are still being

¹Most of the cattle traders interviewed at Bodija complained about the nuisance value of the BTA. They blame the current ₦20 lada paid on cattle on the body which controls wholesale cattle traders.

heard at different courts, Ibadan Municipal Government Office and the Oyo State Secretariat on issues related to the livestock cartel. In all, the body has been found to be a stabilising force in the livestock business in Ibadan. To a large extent, it has been able to moderate the livestock market forces in the city and other Yoruba towns.

BTA, which has members in all countries importing cattle into Nigeria, (Libya, Mali, Tchad, Niger, etc.) was established in 1986 "to reduce cheating, nepotism, dictatorship and feudalism in the cattle and related trade in Yorubaland"¹. The body, made up of Fulani, Kanuri and Yoruba livestock traders, has about 3,500 members spread across Oyo and Osun States. Its leadership is dominated by some retired military officers who consider themselves too enlightened to operate under the existing trade mechanisms in the Ibadan livestock markets.

The basic argument of BTA is that it is the Fulani and Kanuri rather than the 'Hausas' who actually produce livestock. They therefore wonder why the livestock trade in Ibadan should be dominated by the Hausa people and why they should keep putting impediments on

¹Personal communication with Alhaji K.B. Yusuf, Secretary General, BTA. He is also a cattle trader and retired in the Nigerian Army in 1984 as a Regimental Sergeant Major.

the path of new entrants into the business. To make well its case, the BTA capitalised on the existing irregularities in the Ibadan livestock trade. They levied series of allegations against the existing cattle trade oligarchies in Ibadan. So strong were these allegations that some new entrants into the Ibadan livestock trade and the wholesalers from northern Nigeria had to team up with the BTA. The body now controls the livestock traders coming to Ibadan not only from northern Nigeria, but also other traders from the neighbouring Niger, Tchad, Cameroun, etc.

The BTA accused the Hausa community in Ibadan of imposing several kinds of levies on the wholesale livestock traders as well as their retail counterparts in the Ibadan markets. Specific amount of money had to be paid by new entrants into the trade before space could be allocated to them at Bodija. In addition, some of the traders said they had to pay some occasional levies to sustain their membership of the livestock business. The incidence of some wholesale livestock traders losing their money to the Ibadan landlords is considered by BTA to be a calculated effort to dupe these "unenlightened" businessmen. Most of the traders are believed to have been intimidated by the mai gida (landlords) in Ibadan to sell their stock to unidentifiable people on credit. The traders are then asked to travel back home and come back for their money later on, with the Ibadan mai gida serving as a guarantor. In some cases,

the traders came back only to be told that the person who bought the livestock from them on credit had died¹.

While there could be some elements of sentiment or exaggeration in the above allegations against the leadership of the Hausa livestock markets in Ibadan, the modicum of facts in them can however not be totally ignored. That the wholesale livestock traders from the northern parts of Nigeria have chosen to operate through a far-reaching influence of the BTA is to suggest that they have a better treatment under it. It is also a common occurrence in Yoruba markets to find market unions imposing all kinds of levies on their members. The Hausa people at Bodija must have learnt this from the Yoruba people. What is done with the collected money could however be the major bone of contention between the BTA and the other livestock traders.

In all, it appears that the main objective of the BTA is to permanently break the Hausa monopoly of the livestock trade in Ibadan and thus pave way for an economic climate in which the influence of each trader will depend on his business ingenuity rather than any inherited privileges and rights. On the other hand, the Hausa traders who are the beneficiaries of the existing economic

¹Personal communication with Alhaji Y.B. Yusuf; Alhaji Audu Alli Bukar at Ibadan, 14th Feb. 1991.

structures in the livestock trade tried to work against the informal reforms introduced by the BTA. Therefore, the body (BTA) is accused of harbouring thugs and responsible for the incessant increase in the price of cattle in Ibadan. The disagreements between the two bodies led to bloody riots at Bodija Cattle Market in 1987 and 1988.

Kola Trade

The Hausa kola market today is located at Oja'ba near Basorun Oluyole's compound. The market serves retail and wholesale purposes. Kolanut producers from different parts of Ibadan bring their kolanut to sell to the Hausa traders who do not only arrange for their sale within Ibadan but also get substantial percentage of their stock exported to northern parts of Nigeria. The Hausa politics of kola trade is comparable to the one earlier described of the cattle trade. Before the trade finally stabilised, there had always been disagreement between the Hausa kola traders and some Yoruba middlemen in the trade. The disagreement centred around the question of whether or not Hausa traders should be allowed to buy their kola directly from the Yoruba producers in the rural areas. As discussed in Chapter Three, this problem dates back to 1893 after the Ekitiparapo war when the Ibadan people needed other economic enterprises to earn their living from. In an attempt to force a central urban kola market

on the Hausa community in Ibadan, the Ibadan Native Authority Council in 1934 established a kola market named Aleshinloye market at Sabo. The Hausa traders were asked to buy from this market directly and were forbidden from going to the rural area. The device was however not successful as the traders kept on having contact with the rural kolanut producers who preferred to deal directly with the Hausa people rather than their Yoruba middlemen¹.

The kola business in Ibadan stabilised in the early 1960s. There were many other economic ventures around which both the Ibadan and Hausa people could engage in and so the frictions between the two groups subsided. It was after this period that the Hausa people established a permanent kolanut market at Oja'ba market². The market is located opposite the present-day Olubadan palace. Here, Yoruba kolanut producers from various Ibadan villages bring their kolanut to Hausa people to buy. As in the case of cattle trade, the kolanut market at Oja'ba also has some masu gida (landlords) who help others to arrange the sale and purchase of kolanut. Some

¹See Abner Cohen, "Politics of the kola trade: Some processes of tribal community formation among migrants in West African towns", Africa, 36, 1966, pp. 18-35.

²Personal communication with Alhaji Sadique Mai Fari: Goro, 27th March 1991.

wholesale kolanut traders from the North could approach any of them for assistance to purchase kolanut. They collect lada (commission) for whatever services rendered to such person. On the other hand, some Yoruba traders could entrust some kolanut to them for sale. But in most cases, the masu gida have their large stock of graded kolanut which they send directly to northern Nigeria or which northern Nigerian traders came to buy from them.

Most of these landlords have several servants around them. Some of them are engaged in the grading of the kolanut. This involves sorting of the nuts in different sizes and colours. Some are engaged in the packing of the nuts into paper bags and tying them up. Some are engaged in the rural task of fetching the diversified leaves with which the kolanuts are tended and packed. The money paid to each of these servants depend on his relationship to the mai gida. If he is a permanent resident with the mai gida, he is only given daily feeding allowance. But at a later date, the mai gida is obligated to help him financially to start his own kola business too¹.

¹Personal communication with Alhaji Sadique Mai Farin Goro, one of the leading kolanut traders at Oja'ba. I also had informal discussions with some of the servants in the kola business at Oja'ba.

Around the market, other Yoruba people are also engaged in kola trade. But while the Hausas are most identified with the sale of cola nitida (called goro in Hausa and gbanja in Yoruba), the Yoruba people engage in the sale of cola acuminata (Obi abata in Yoruba). Some of them also sell the first brand earlier associated with the Hausa people. There is cordial relationship between the kolanut traders in the market. This makes for easy entry and exit of kolanut into it.

The Sasa Trade in Pepper and Onions

Sasa market is today dominated by Hausa traders and the settlement is most easily identified with pepper and onions trade. People come from far and wide to buy from the wholesale Hausa traders at relatively cheaper prices.

Because of its strategic location outside the Ibadan township, and along Ilorin-Ibadan road, Sasa plays daily host to trailers and lorries loaded with fresh tomatoes, pepper, onions, carrots, etc. from the various fadama complexes and irrigation farms in the northern parts of Nigeria. The wholesale traders from the North directly sell their stocks to the Masu gida (landlords) in the Sasa market. These people in turn sell at wholesale prices to the retailers from the different markets in Ibadan. It is therefore a usual occurrence to find hundreds of women at the Sasa market every

morning struggling to buy their basketful of tomatoes, pepper etc. from the Hausa traders. Other people having social functions that require large usage of these soup ingredients also usually come to the market to buy at wholesale prices.

The Trade in Building Planks

The Hausa people in Ibadan joined the trade in building planks around the early 1970s. Their depot at Bodija was however not established until 1981. The Hausa traders engaged in this business are per se not planks traders but commission agents (yan commission). They simply serve as intermediaries between northern Nigerians wishing to buy planks and the major Yoruba and Ibo planks traders at Bodija¹.

When such wholesale Hausa buyer from the North arrives at Bodija, he approaches a local Hausa mai gida in the planks trade. The latter in company of the northern-based trader approaches an appropriate trader known to have sufficient planks in stock. Prices are reached and the planks are then moved from the main Bodija sawmill to the Hausa planks depot. Here, the Hausa mai gida receives lada from the bulk buyer from the North. In addition,

¹Personal communication with Mallam Sule Muhammed, a leader in the Bodija planks trade. Mr. Godfrey Chima, a planks trader closely related to the Hausa people was also interviewed.

the trader in Ibadan gives some commission to him for bringing the buyer to him.

The mai gida engaged in the planks trade at Bodija do not only assist their colleagues from the North to buy the needed stock but also helps them to get the planks loaded and the driver well catered for while his vehicle was being loaded for the homeward journey.

The peaceful co-existence of the Hausa migrants in Ibadan has been found to be due to their organizational structure in the city. In most of the places where they are found, they have a working relationship with members of their host community to the extent that frictions between the two groups were reduced to the barest minimum. As indicated above, the political structure at Sabo, Oja'ba and Sada has the express support of the Olubadan. In the same manner, the Hausa livestock, onions, peper and planks trade in Ibadan are organised in such a manner that enough accommodation is provided for the Yoruba people interested in them. This is a great lesson for students of inter-group relations.

CHAPTER FIVE

HAUSA WOMEN MIGRANTS IN IBADAN: CONTINUITY AND
CHANGE IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORIENTATION

Morokvasic¹ has drawn from the existing literature on the migrants in Europe, America and Latin America to argue that in most cases women migrants usually outnumber their male counterparts and that sex plays a major role in the migratory process. Writers on the African dimension of the problem² have not been so assertive at supplying enough data from which the numerical strength of the women migrants could be determined. The information and data however assembled by Professor Cohen on the Hausa migrants at Ibadan as of 1963³ has complemented the current field data to show that most Hausa migrants in the city are women. Just as the number of the female migrants born in Ibadan are increasing⁴, so also are new women coming to settle in the city either on their own or with

¹ M. Morokvasic, 'Migrant women in Europe: A comparative perspective', In UNESCO, Women on the Move, Paris 1984, p. 113.

² Some of these writers are M. Adamu, The Hausa Factor in West African History op.cit.; A. Cohen, Custom and Politics in Urban Africa op.cit.; J. Eades, 'The Growth of a Migrant Community: The Yoruba in Northern Ghana', In Jack Goody (ed.), Changing Social Structure in Ghana, London, 1975; J. Goody and T.M. Mustapha, 'The Caravan from Kano to Salaga', JHSN, Vol. 3, No. 4, June 1967, pp. 611-631.

³ See A. Cohen, Custom and Politics in Urban Africa op.cit. pp. 216-219.

⁴ Ibid.

their husbands.

It is the aim of this chapter to examine the migratory process of Hausa women to Ibadan and the extent to which the migration has brought about changes and continuity in their socio-economic lifestyle. The salient questions to answer are: to what extent has the Hausa women migrants in Ibadan been able to perpetuate the traditional socio-economic characteristics of the Hausa woman? Is she actually different from any other Hausa woman? If so, to what extent and why?

The Traditional Hausa Woman

Much has been written on the socio-economic characteristics of Hausa women¹, especially in their traditional homeland, Kasar Hausawa. Most of these writers have brought to limelight the far-reaching effect of the Islamic religion on the women - their mode of dressing, marital relations, freedom of movement, participation in income-generating ventures etc. The consensus of most of these writers is that the purdah (seclusion) factor has had a serious impact on Hausa women generally. The whole idea of purdah is based on the

¹E. Schildkrout, 'Dependence and autonomy: The economic activities of secluded Hausa women in Kano, Nigeria', In Edna G. Bay (ed.) Women and Work in Africa, Westview Press, Colorado, 1982, pp. 55-81; P. Hill, 'Hidden Trade in Hausaland', Man, 4(3), 1969, pp. 392-409; I.A. Ogunbiyi, 'The position of Muslim women as stated by Uthman b. Fudi', Odu, No. 2, Oct. 1969, pp. 47-50.

assumption that unrestrained movement of married women could give rise to unlicentious mannerism in them which in turn could have a contaminating influence on the religious faithfulness of the people in general. Purdah is therefore strongly supported by the Quran.

The religion of Islam to which most Hausa people are adherents has greatly influenced the degree to which the purdah system is practised in northern Nigeria. Therefore, most women except the maguzawa¹ are in seclusion. Dorothy Remy² has clearly distinguished between auren kulle (marriage of seclusion) and aure tsare (marriage of limited freedom) which makes it possible to explain the few number of Hausa women that one still finds on the streets in most northern States of Nigeria. Auren kulle according to Remy³ is the marriage in which a woman is totally secluded and prevented from going outside the matrimonial home for anything. Under such marriages the woman is provided with servants who help her in all kinds of household chores. In cases where she needed to do anything outside, she has to depend on her friends or relatives. On

¹These are the pagan Hausa tribes.

²Dorothy Remy, 'Underdevelopment and the experience of women: A Nigerian case study', In R.R. Reuter (ed.) Toward an Anthropology of Women, New York, Monthly Review Press 1975.

³Ibid. pp. 363.

the other hand, auren tsare is a system whereby the married woman is allowed to maintain a considerable contact with the outside world. She is allowed to visit health centres, relatives, friends, etc. This system of partial seclusion is today most popular among the educated women in Hausaland and their counterparts in the diaspora.

The need for seclusion of women in Hausaland is so strong that any woman of marriageable age found therein to be wandering aimlessly on the street is at best regarded as karuwa (prostitute)¹. Of course, this category of people are treated as social irritants in most Hausa societies. To avoid their female wards from bringing them to social and religious ridicule therefore, most Hausa people give their daughters out in marriage as soon as they attain the age of puberty. It is even considered an abnormal thing among the Fulani for the young girl to start undergoing her menstrual circles in her parents' home before getting married². As soon as a marriage is contracted, the woman goes into seclusion so that she had little or no time to engage in any extra-marital affairs.

Marriage in Islam is recommended only to those who could

¹ See Maria Rosa Cutrufelli, Women of Africa: Roots of Oppression, London, Zed Books Ltd. 1983, pp. 34 & 35.

² This disclosure was made by Hajia Awa Muhammed during the UNESCO/Institute of African Studies Seminar on "Stages of Life" 23-26 Oct. 1990, Ibadan.

properly take care of their wives¹. The woman has to be properly fed, clothed and sheltered. Aisha Lemu has argued that the inability of a husband to provide for the needs of his wife could serve as enough excuse for divorce among muslim women². Most Hausa women are therefore secluded in purdah by men who are already aware of the obligation to provide all that such women might need. To this end, the Hausa woman in the economy of her immediate environment is more of a consumer than a producer. This greatly narrows down the woman's right to ask her husband for freedom to walk around or engage in any economic venture outside her matrimonial home.

However, studies carried out in most Hausa communities have shown that behind the curtains of the purdah system, Hausa women still engage in different kinds of petty trade³. In most cases, they use their children to maintain the necessary economic links with the

¹Qu'ran 4:34.

²B.A. Lemu, 'Muslim women and marriage under the Shariah: Rights and problems faced', In Awa U. Kalu and Yemi Osunbajo (eds.) Women and Children under Nigerian law, Lagos, Fed. Ministry of Justice 1990, p. 108.

³See E. Schildkrout, 'Dependence and autonomy: The economic activities of secluded Hausa women in Kano, Nigeria'. In Edna G. Bay (ed.), Women and Work in Africa, Westview Press, Colorado, 1982, pp. 55-81.

outer world. Lemu has noted that money made from such ventures is the personal property of the woman over which the husband could establish no legal claim¹ under the Shariah.

Hausa women, like their male counterparts, have the right to ask for the dissolution of a marriage. If the divorce was sought by the woman, she could be asked to refund all or part of the dowry collected on her head. This applies most when the woman has not accused the man of any legal fault but only just wished to be relieved of the marriage². This kind of divorce is known as Khul³. A waiting period, Iddah of three months is recommended by Sharia for muslim women after which they become entitled to enter into another marriage contract. The Iddah for a widowed woman is four months and 10 days at the expiration of which she could equally remarry⁴.

¹B.A. Lemu, op.cit. pp. 108-109.

²B.A. Lemu, pp. 109-110 for issues relating to divorce under the Sharia.

³Qu'ran 2:229.

⁴This could be for economic or emancipatory reasons.

Migration and Social Change in Ibadan

Nermin Abadan-Unat has in one of her works identified three main modalities of women migration. The first is the trend in which a woman or girl leaves her community of origin together with the male head of her family. The second is induced migration whereby a woman is encouraged to migrate as an indirect way of facilitating the migration of other male members of the family. The third is autonomous migration under which the girl chooses out of her own volition¹ to migrate to a new community². The migratory process of Hausa women into Ibadan could be explained from these three grounds.

It is to be assumed that the first batch of Hausa migrants in Ibadan came down with their wives or briefly settled and then travelled to Hausaland to fetch their wives or get for themselves suitable women as partners (in the case of the bachelors). Some of these earlier settlers must have equally come down to the city with their children and dependants, some of whom must have been

¹This could be for economic or emancipatory reasons.

²N. Abadan-Unat, 'International Labour Migration and its effect upon women's occupational and family roles: a Turkish view'. In UNESCO, Women on the Move, Paris, 1984 pp. 138-139.

females. This set of earliest female Hausa migrants gave birth to a large number of Hausa men and women who prefer to be addressed as Ibadan indigenes at Sabo¹.

According to Cohen, women play an important role in the stabilization of any migrant community:

Those tribal migrant groups who suffer imbalance between the sexes, usually resulting from shortage of women, are highly unstable and their men maintain a restless existence in the centres of migration, until after a short period, they go back to their tribal settlements².

Another writer, J. Rouch has used the balanced male-female ratio of the Hausa migrants in Ghana to explain the stability of the Hausa settlements in the region³. Comparative study of the existing literature on migration in Nigeria have equally suggested that the Hausa are the most settled in Nigerian cities, outside their traditional homeland. In most parts of the country, they have well defined settlements. This is attributable partly to the corresponding migration of women with their male counterparts.

¹ A large number of my informants including Alhaji Ahmadu Bature, Alhaji Shaibu Dikko, Alhaji Hassan Isiaka Omo-Oba etc. see themselves as Ibadan citizens because of their birth in the city.

² A. Cohen, Custom and Politics in Urban Africa, p. 51.

³ J. Rouch, 'Migration and Ghana', Journal de la Societe des Africanistes, XXVI, 1956.

The data supplied by Cohen in 1963 indicates that 1,753 of the total 4,184 Hausa migrants at Sabo in Ibadan were women. Out of this number, 950 were housewives, 250 *kqruwai* (prostitutes), 70 old widows and recent divorcees and the remaining, young girls below 15 years of age¹. Out of the total number of females in Sabo at this time, 891 (more than the males) were born in Ibadan leaving behind a total number of 3,293 original women immigrants - 473 from Kano province; 70 from Katsina province; 94 from Sokoto province; 76 from Zaria province; 146 from other parts of the north². Until the on-going census in Nigeria is concluded it might be difficult to categorically state the number of women Hausa migrants in Ibadan. It is reasonable to suggest that they still outnumber their male counterparts, especially at Sabo where a great number of them could be seen, apart from those kept in *purdah*.

It is most likely that the earliest women migrants went back home to bring more of their female relatives. According to Alhaji Bature, some young Hausa girls, on their own, ran to Ibadan from the north. During his period (1942-1944) as the Sarkin Hausawa of

¹See A. Cohen, Custom and Politics in Urban Africa, Tables III and V on p. 217; also pp. 54-55; p. 217.

³See Tables III, IV and V. Ibid. p. 217.

Sabo, he played host to many parents from the northern parts of Nigeria looking for their run-away daughters. Some of these young girls usually run away from home after marriage in somewhat attempt to reject the conservative marital traditions in Hausaland whereby a girl's parents play a dominant role in the decision of who she should marry. Banton¹ and Little² have written to state that this kind of migratory process is common in most African towns. Apart from the unfavourable marriage traditions cited by Alhaji Ahmadu Bature above, Banton and Little have also noted that harsh economic conditions could make a girl to leave her home for the cosmopolitan towns. But in most cases, such girls (especially if unaccompanied) end up in the cities as prostitutes.

In the case of the Hausa women in Ibadan, such young girls settled down under atmosphere easily viewed as karuwanchi (prostitution) by the islamic religion. Here the young unattached girl is found engaged in all kinds of friendship¹ with their male counterparts in the quarter. The lucky ones among them could end up finding willing husbands among these men. Before then, the

¹Michael P. Banton, 'Tribal headmen in Freetown', Journal of African Administration, Vol. 6, No. 3, 1954, pp. 140-144.

²Kenneth Little, Urbanization as a Social Process. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1974, pp. 15-18.

girl's relatives could travel down to Ibadan to return her home.

To ease the process of such retrieval, the Sarkin Hausawa Ahmadu Bature had to appoint a Magajiya for Sabo in 1942¹. The appointment of the Magajiya (law enforcement woman) was not to give legal recognition to prostitution (karuwanchi) within the quarter but to have a leader who could help the Sarki to fish out any girl (among the prostitutes) whose parents wanted to take back home.

J. Nicholas has however written on the universality of the incidence of prostitution in most Hausa communities, to the extent that the situation in Ibadan should not be seen as an exclusive development. According to him, prostitution is associated with the bori cult. The concerned girls as discussed in this chapter often leave home in protest against forced marriage or other problems of which she might not be accorded good respect in her native home. But the kind of prostitution discussed here has been said to be "a provisional status between to marriages"². It is in this light that Alhaji Bature's explanation becomes clearer that most of the "prostitutes" soon became married in the quarters, thus obliterating

¹ Personal communication with Alhaji Bature and Alhaji Omo-Oba.

² J. Nicholas, *Senso di Colpa, Somatizzazione e Catarsi in un culto di possessione: il Bori Hausa*, in *La Donna - un problema Aperto* (ed./da Magli) Firenze, Vallenci, 1974. Quoted in M. Rosa Cutrufelli, Women of Africa, op.cit. pp. 34-35.

their inglorious past.

There are however some women at Sabo, Bodija and Sasa who are in the permanent business of Karuwanchi. Such women who pose as Hausa are from Ivory Coast, Ghana, Togo etc. They dress like Hausa women and speak Hausa fluently as much as some of them speak both French and English. This set of "Hausa" people deliberately migrated to Ibadan to function as prostitutes and thus minister to the sexual needs of the male Hausa settlers, especially the itinerant ones among these people. The prostitutes play a parasitic role in the migrants' quarters as they live on the resources of the economically vibrant male migrants.

Characteristics of the Hausa Women Migrants

Reviewing some existing literature on women up to the early 1980s, Schildkrout¹ identified two important phenomenon to which most writers have concerned themselves on the West African women. The first is their participation in the market economy and the purdah system. The condition of the Hausa women migrants in Ibadan graphically illustrates this two contrasting pictures. Surdakasa²

¹Enid Schildkrout, 'Dependence and autonomy: The economic activities of secluded Hausa women in Kano, Nigeria' In Edna G. Gay (ed.), Women and Work in Africa, Colorado; Westview Press, 1982.

²N. Sudarkasa, Where Women Work: A Study of Yoruba Women in the Market Place and in the Home. Anthropological papers, Museum of Anthropology No. 53. Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan, 1973.

has succinctly discussed the length to which the market place could be said to be the home of most Yoruba women. She explains this in the light of the role expected of a typical Yoruba housewife. She is expected to augment the resources of her husband in keeping her matrimonial home. This is in sharp contrast to the Hausa social system which makes the provision of the financial retinue for the upkeep of the home the sole responsibility of the man. This has therefore had a far-reaching impact on the extent to which married Hausa women could show up in a public place like a Yoruba woman; how she is expected to comport herself generally and how her children, especially the female ones are brought up.

To a large extent, the Hausa woman migrant in Ibadan is not too different from her counterpart in Kasar Hausawa (Hausaland). Her behaviour is expected to be based on the same Islamic codes as the others in the north. In practice, there has however been some changes in the socio-economic lifestyles of these women migrants in Ibadan. Such changes are ones that the Ibadan environment has imparted on them. According to Schildkrout, such changes as noticed in the Hausa women in Ibadan occur through various processes of social integration in the different behavioural fields encountered by the women. It emerges through gradual "accommodation and

adjustment of traditional values"¹.

As practised in the northern parts of Nigeria, the Hausa girl in Ibadan marries between the ages of 13 and 15 – just at the point of her puberty. She immediately goes into seclusion whereby she is well fed and clothed by her husband. She spends her 24 hours cooking, eating, praying and sleeping². At regular intervals, the husband brings home to her bags or sacks of raw food. On daily basis the man also brings home fish or meat for the daily preparation of the household soup. The money spent on this is different from the kudin cefane (money for soup ingredients) which the woman collects on daily basis. In some cases, the man gives his wife Kudin abinchi (feeding allowance) in the morning, if the woman is not expected to prepare breakfast at home. This is also different from the spending money (Kudin batarwa) or gifts (kwauta) the woman receives from her husband from time to time. The woman could save a lot from all these sources of funding her seclusion and the use to which she puts the money is her personal business.

¹Enid Schildkrout, "Economic and kinship in Multi-ethnic dwellings", In J. Goody (ed.) Changing Social Structure in Ghana, International African Institute London 1975, p. 168.

²Oral contributions of Hajia Awa Mohammed and Mallama Aishatu Mai Angwa to the UNESCO/IAS Seminar on "Stages of Life", 23-26, Oct. 1990.

In principle the Hausa woman is expected to be in seclusion and seldomly seen in the public. Quoting from the works of Usman Dan Fodlo, Professor Ogunbiyi has argued that the kind of Yoruba system whereby 'wives go to market where they struggle and rub shoulders with men ... is a forbidden innovation according to ijina and it is an imitation of Europeans (al-ifrang), which is forbidden by the Sharia'¹. To this end, only few Hausa women could be seen in the Ibadan markets buying and selling. Even in cases where they become evident in the markets, such women are usually old women of post-menopausal age, divorced women (easily derided as karuwai), few married women who had singularly been permitted by their "deviant" husbands to engage in economic activities and also young girls below the age of fifteen.

Since the married woman in seclusion (partial or complete seclusion) hardly have the permission of her husband to go out, she largely depends on her young children and old relatives to get her needs from the market. When she has a meritable reason to go out, she is expected to cover her head with veil to avoid men from seeing her face or any part of her body. The position of Sharia on

¹I.A. Ogunbiyi, 'The position of muslim women as stated by Uthman 6. Fudi', Odu No. 2, Oct. 1969, pp. 47-50.

this as discussed by Ogunbiyi is very strict¹. The Hausa migrants in Ibadan are however divided as to the extent to which this could be put into perfect practice within their host community. While a good number of them put their wives under complete seclusion, others have theirs in partial seclusion. To some, the seclusion ends with the firm prevention of the woman from going to the market to perform economic functions. She could however go about places of her choice.

Under normal circumstances, men who have their wives in complete seclusion usually cover the entrance of their houses with jute bag or tarpaulin, to prevent smooth entry into such houses. Some of these women still engage in moderate economic activities in their secluded places. They prepare cooked food which other women come to buy from them; some fry kulikuli (groundnut cakes) and groundnut oil, fried and baked cakes, etc. In some cases, the women depend on their children to market these items².

Though these secluded women have been shielded from the outer world through the purdah system, extensive field data have

¹ *ibid.*

² The ethnographic data presented in this chapter were collected at Sabo, Bodija and Sasa through the assistance of Alhaji Isiaka Hassan Omo-Oba as most of the women could not be directly reached.

are sewn and the kind of fashionable shoes worn with the dresses have suggested that at all times, the Hausa women in Ibadan keep pace with the fashion - craze in the city.

The partially secluded Hausa women is the second category of those noticeable in the Hausa quarters in Ibadan. Such women could be easily seen at Sabo, Bodija, Oja'ba, Sasa and other parts of Ibadan. They usually cover their heads with veils wherever they go. Two important factors have been found to be responsible for this partial rather than complete seclusion of women by some Hausa people. To some of them, Kulle (purdah) is considered to be a thing of the mind rather than a thing that everybody has to practicalise by locking their wives from the outer world¹. According to Alhaji Zorro, a building contractor born at Sabo, the essence of Kulle consists largely in the extent to which a woman is able to respect her womanhood by not getting herself unduly attracted to men or engaging in promiscuous behaviour. This rationalization is comparable to the evidence of some other Hausa migrants at Bodija and Sasa². According to them, the restricted accommodation for strangers

¹ Oral communication with Alhaji Audu Zorro, Ibadan, 24th Oct. 1990.

² Oral communication with Alhaji Jubril Dan Male, Bodija, Ibadan, 14th Feb. 1991; Mallam Sadiq Muhammadu, 14th Feb. 1991 and Alhaji Kadiri Sale, Sasa Market, 22nd Feb. 1991.

in Ibadan can hardly sustain the complete seclusion of their wives, as easily practised by some Hausa landlords at Sabo.

In the northern parts of Nigeria where the purdah system is easily observed, houses are deliberately built putting into far-reaching consideration, the purdah factor. Therefore, the house is fenced round in such a way that sufficient space is left for secluded women to exercise themselves. But in Ibadan, the rented houses are either one room apartments or bedroom flats that have no space for the seclusion of women. What is more, in most of the rented houses, the Hausa people have to share the facilities with either the landlord or other tenants which easily defeat the objective of the purdah system.

Hausa men who find themselves in this kind of paradoxical position often end up giving freedom to their wives to move around while depending on her independent ability to behave like a respectable muslim housewife. Therefore, the woman goes out when necessary and ensured that her head was covered with veils when doing so.

As discussed earlier, a few Hausa women could be seen in the market place (especially those markets to which Hausa migrants are connected) selling one thing or the other, especially cooked food. The group is largely made up of old women, divorcees, a few married women and young girls. In the morning, a number of such

women and girls could be seen at Sabo, Bodija, Sasa and Oja'ba selling masa (millet cake), kamu da kosai (pap and beans cake) or even cooked rice (Shinkafa) to their male counterparts, especially the bachelors among them. While some of them such as the sellers of masa, kamu and shinkafa are stationed at a place where people come to buy from them, the young girls carry the food to specific areas to where their customers had been earlier identified. Most of these young girls are aware of the quantity of food needed by each of their customers and so they bring the food down in small plates to such people. Field data has shown that most of these young girls who merely represent the economic interests of their secluded mothers often get their future husbands through the aforementioned interaction with their male customers.

Between 10.00 a.m. and 11.00 a.m. the women and girls engaged in the early morning food business clears off from the market scenery to create room for another round of female traders. This time around, the economic atmosphere is dominated by young girls who hawk all kinds of snacks, cold water, kunnu zaki (gruel), kolanut (goro), groundnut etc. These girls roam from one Hausa trading post to the other selling their articles and exchanging pleasantries with the traders. A comparative assessment of the age of these girls and the length of the time they spend hawking around

suggests that female education is yet to be popular among the Hausa migrants in Yorubaland.

The last batch of Hausa women noticeable in the public place in Ibadan are those engaged in the sale of evening meals. Such women could be found at nights selling food at Sabo, Mokola, Oja'ba, Bodija and Sasa. Some of them cook and sell their food at a designated place while others cook at home and bring the food for sale in a public place. The latter group usually start their cooking between 4.00 p.m. and 5.00 p.m. They largely sell tuwo - tuwo shinkafa (rice morsel), tuwon masara (maize morsel) etc. The tuwo is usually moulded into morsels or balls of 50K or ₦1.00 each. The women engaged in this business at Bodija are most patronised. Bodija market has the largest concentration of young Hausa men engaged in the portering business. Most of them are from the Sokoto parts of northern Nigeria. They migrate to Ibadan during the dry seasons to serve as porters and go back home during the annual planting seasons. While in Ibadan, they sleep wherever they could find a convenient public space and largely depend on the Hausa food sellers for their daily meals, especially the supper. They converge every evening around the women food sellers to get themselves fed.

A large number of Hausa beggars in Ibadan are women. The

stationery ones are most noticeable in front of the Bishara Baptist Church at Sabo area. At a time, more than 30 of such women could be counted, sitting to the left and right of the lane cutting across Sabo from the Mokola junction. There is also a small team that usually goes about the town singing all kinds of sonorous songs composed in both Hausa and Yoruba. Until recently, such women were usually followed from one compound to the other by some playful Yoruba kids who prefer to see the beggars more as public entertainers.

On a general note, it has been observed that the Hausa women in Ibadan enjoy all kinds of liberty that has been assessed to be alien to the Islam-dictated Hausa culture. The most important of this is the occasional attendance of night parties by some of them. According to Alhaji Hassan Omo-Omoba, good neighbourliness between the Hausa and Yoruba people implies that the two groups should share in the joy and sadness of one another. To this end, Yoruba people especially those engaged in livestock trade usually invite their Hausa counterparts to burial, child-naming and marriage ceremonies. Most Hausa people now take their wives to such public gatherings where they necessarily dance to the available music, especially Fuji. There are even some of such functions attended by the women alone when there is a direct invitation to them by the Yoruba woman. This is

against the practices in the North, but there seems too little the Hausa community in Ibadan could do about it¹.

The other problem is that of the women properly covering their heads in the public place as dictated by Islam. In the northern parts of Nigeria, any girl of about 12 years is expected to always cover her head with veil irrespective of whether she was married or not. A woman in purdah no matter the circumstances is not expected to come out to dance or watch people dancing to the tunes of Kalangu drummers. In Ibadan, the rules relating to the woman's proper covering of her head are not well observed. Some women still allow their head-dress (dan kwali) to expose some part of their hair as practised by the Yoruba people. Some young Hausa girls especially the divorcees even jerry-curl and perm their hair. During their naming ceremonies, Hausa women come out to celebrate with each other publicly, sometimes to a dimension that the purdah culture is threatened.

It is necessary to conclude this chapter by stating that the Hausa woman in Ibadan is not a carbon reproduction of her other colleagues from northern Nigeria. She is rather a product of symbiotic

¹Oral communication with Alhaji Hassan Omo-Oba; Alhaji Dan Dauda, 24th Oct. 1990.

relationship between the Hausa and Yoruba nuances. This fact has been stated by Cohen in another language when he stated that: 'Hausa culture in Sabo is in many ways a new culture and a Hausa newcomer from the North has to learn it and adjust to it'¹. Just as a new Hausa woman coming into Ibadan from the North would be derided as "unenlightened" by her colleagues in the city, the latter too is more likely to be condemned back home in the North for exhibiting the "corrupting influence" of the Westernised urban lifestyles.

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CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Two important lessons are contained in the history of Hausa migrants in Ibadan. The first is the resilient process through which they were able to integrate themselves to the development scheme of the Ibadan city since the early nineteenth century up to the present time. Through a gradual process of accommodation and concessions they were able to endear themselves to members of their host communities that the Broadcasting Corporation of Oyo State now has Hausa news on its radio programme. The second lesson is evident in the degree to which the Ibadan environment has affected the socio-cultural orientation of the migrants and how the Hausa people too have affected the Yoruba people.

It has been discussed in the third chapter that Ibadan people became hostile to the Hausa when their imperial ambition became frustrated in 1893 with the establishment of the British rule over the town. The hostility took various forms. The migrants were barred from going to the rural areas to buy kolanut, some of them had their farmlands confiscated and the thieves among them were threatened with death. These did not, however, scare them away from the town. They went on with their cattle and kola trade. The

were equally assisted by the British administration which refused to accede to the request of the Ibadan people to expel the Hausa traders from Ibadan.

With the establishment of Sabo in 1916, the migrants did not only have a quarter to themselves where their privacy and religious exclusiveness would be respected, they also established a political system adequate for the protection of their economic interests in the city.

Though the influence of the Sarkin Hausawa has continued to dwindle among the migrants as there are now diversified institutions through which the individual interests of the people could be protected, the Sarki institution is still much respected by the Hausa and Yoruba people. To the Hausa, it is a living testimony of the respect that the Yoruba people have for them. The Sarkin Hausawa in Ibadan was the first to be so appointed in Yorubaland. That is, probably why the Sarkin Hausawa in Ibadan is still recognised as the Chairman of the Councils of other Sarkin Hausawa in the entire Yorubaland. Just as he meets regularly with the Sarkuna of the other Yoruba States, those in Oyo State usually meet at his place once every three months to review the developments of their respective domains as it affects the economic interests of their

¹Alhaji Ahmadu Bature.

subjects¹.

It is of great importance to note that the basic interest of the Hausa people in Ibadan is purely economic. To this end, the institution of Sarkin Hausawa should be expected to have some economic importance. It is a political instrument for protecting the economic interests of the Hausa people. The events between 1893 and 1916, of course, graphically explains why the Hausa people should need such a leadership. The Sarkin Hausawa still has a far-reaching influence at the Ibadan livestock markets today. In other Yoruba towns, the Sarakuna Hausawa are most identified with livestock trade.

The recent activities of the Bodija Traders' Association is an indication, however, that the influence of the Sarki on the migrants and their economic enterprises cannot be everlasting. The migrants now seem to have come of age to individually take their destinies in their own hands rather than falling back on any exclusive political mentor, which the BTA believes is feudalistic in orientation. The extent to which the migrants could maintain their total freedom is to be determined by the ultimate outcome of the on-going BTA/ 'Hausa' power tussle in the Ibadan livestock markets.

¹Alhaji Shaibu Dikko.

The economic activities of the Hausa which have greatly contributed to the growth of Ibadan must have equally contributed to the development of northern Nigeria from where the traders got their livestock, pepper, onions and other savanna products for the Ibadan markets. Kolanut must have played vital role in the development of the northern communities where the Ibadan traders take them to. This economic relationship between the Ibadan based Hausa and Yoruba traders and their colleagues in Hausaland has a positive but quite unnoticeable effect on the Nigerian process of nation-building. The huge profits made by both the Hausa and Yoruba traders from their trade contact is enough to engender goodwill and friendly relations between them, to the extent that they would not want to support anything that could generate conflict between the two groups.

Towards achieving better inter-group relations in Nigeria, the Hausa in Ibadan have often made themselves to be used to bring about peaceful ties between Southern and Northern political interests in the country. This they do in most cases by belonging to the ruling parties in Ibadan and using their influence within the party to attract supporters from northern Nigeria. The Hausa in Ibadan initially came into party politics in 1948 as avowed members of the Northern People's Congress (NPC) which represented the Hausa-Fulani interests in the ethnic politics of the Nigerian First Republic.

Between 1950 and 1951, series of complaints were made by the Sabo branch of the Party to the colonial authority about the problems they were facing under the Yoruba people. Then, the Sarauta of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello visited the quarter in the early 1950s. He advised the migrants to support the ruling political party in Yorubaland to get their problems solved. Therefore, a good number of them at Ibadan joined the Action Group (AG)¹. One of them was Alhaji Ahmadu Bature, who had earlier resigned in 1948 as the Sarkin Hausawa of Ibadan. He served as the Organising Secretary of the AG between 1953 and 1957, travelling round the country with Chief Obafemi Awolowo. He was instrumental to Joseph Tarka's entry into the Action Group.

All in all, this essay has demonstrated that the Hausa people have been much affected by the Ibadan environment just as they too have imposed on the city a migrant culture.

Basically, the Hausa settlements have become the outposts of Islamic culture as well as savanna-forest trade. Though there have not been any religious uprising at Sabo since it was founded, it has obviously been a centre of Islamic activities and propaganda. The Central Mosque at Sabo is as important as the other majors ones in

¹Oral communication with Alhaji Ahmadu Bature.

the city of Ibadan. Therefore, the road cutting across the quarter is usually closed to traffic for some hours every Friday to facilitate the weekly Jumat prayers at the Sabo mosque.

At Sabo and Sasa, there exist many tailors who design all types of robes that give the Hausa people a peculiar Islamic identity. Some Yoruba people who have made some fashions out of these robes, especially the lavishly embroidered babanriga (flowing gown), often patronise the tailors. Some Hausa craftsmen also weave all kinds of caps as practised in the northern parts of the country. In the same vein, Hausa men and women within and outside their settlements sell assorted kinds of Hausa food and snacks. The 'suya culture' which is now popular in Yorubaland was introduced by the Hausas. Some Yoruba families, especially those living around the Hausa settlements now prepare tuwon masara (maize morsels) in their homes. This can be easily made from the cheaply available maize in their localities. To give the meal the desired starchy texture as modestly manifested in amala (yam flour morsel) or Semovita (which compares very well with tuwon masara), some amount of cassava flour is added to the maize flour by the Yoruba people in Ibadan before stirring them all in hot water to provide the tuwon masara.

At the livestock market at Bodija (Kara), the Hausa people have provided means of livelihood to several hundreds of Yoruba

people. Some of them are engaged as Hausa-Yoruba interpreters (masu biyane) by those whose knowledge of the local language is not adequate for the volume of their business. At the end of every transaction, such interpreters are usually paid some money. While some of these Yoruba people permanently stay with the Hausa livestock traders to help them attract customers and sell their trade items, others help buyers in the market to slaughter their purchased cattle. The animal could be slaughtered at the nearby abattoir or any any designated place by the client so long as he could settle the charges of the butchers. At Sasa, Yoruba traders buy bags and basketsful of onions and pepper from the wholesale Hausa traders on credit and get the money paid in the evenings when their retail businesses had been completed. This has not only boosted business activities around Sasa area but has in no small way also helped to cement Hausa-Yoruba relations in the area. The Sasa Traders' Association is today headed by Alhaji Audu Yaro, one of the earliest Hausa settlers at Sasa.

The Hausa porters (alaru) who operate in most of the markets in Ibadan have greatly influenced the psyche of the average Yoruba man. To the Yoruba man, the portering business was such a degrading one that was resisted by all and sundry, irrespective of their economic conditions. The dignity with which the business has however been

conducted by the Hausa people in Ibadan has reversed this unhealthy thought in the minds of many Yoruba people. This is to such a magnificent extent that the Yoruba people themselves now compete with the Hausa in the porterage trade. While the Hausas call themselves alaro, the Yorubas call themselves alaru. They could visibly be seen in virtually all the Ibadan markets. The young Hausa men, engaged in the trade however specialise in the carriage of heavy loads (bags of beans, rice, etc.) leaving the relatively lighter ones to their Yoruba counterparts, who are normally women and children.

It is necessary to conclude this work by stating that the Hausa migrants in Ibadan and other parts of Yorubaland are the major links between peoples of the Nigerian forest region and those of the African Sahel and Savanna. Just as the Ibadan people cannot do without the livestock and other savanna products supplied from the latter region, these people too have found the forest region to be indispensable source of kolanut supplies among many other products. As long as there exists marked vegetational difference between the two regions, there shall always be a viable interaction between the peoples. The Hausa migrants in Yoruba towns and cities shall continue to play a prominent role in the interaction.

GLOSSARY FOR HAUSA AND YORUBA WORDS

Hausa Words

Alaro	-	Porter
Aure	-	Marriage
Auren kulle	-	Marriage of total seclusion
Auren tsare	-	Marriage limited seclusion
Banza	-	Illegitimate
Banza bakwai	-	The seven illegitimate
Gida	-	House
Gidaje	-	Houses
Goro	-	kolanut (<u>Cola nitida</u>)
Iska	-	Wind or spirit
Iskoki	-	Spirits
Jumat	-	That which is related to Friday
Koko gida	-	Fathers of the house
Kamu	-	Pap
Kara	-	Livestock market
Karuwa	-	Harlot
Karuwai	-	Harlots
Karuwanchi	-	Prostitution
- Kasar	-	Land
Kasar Hausawa	-	Hausaland

Kosai	-	Beans cake
Kudi	-	Money
Kuduṅabinchi	-	Feeding allowance
Kuduṅbatarwa	-	Spending money
Kudin cefane	-	Money for soup ingredients
Kulle	-	Seclusion (purdah)
Kulikuli	-	Groundnut cake
Magajiya	-	Head of women
Maguzawa	-	Hausa pagan tribes
Mai augwa	-	Ward head; (pl. Masu anguyoyi)
Mai gida	-	Landlord (pl. <u>masu gidaje</u>)
Malam	-	Islamic teacher or scholar
Masa	-	Millet cake
Mata	-	Wife
Sarki	-	King
Sarkin Hausawa	-	King of the Hausa people
Sarkin Kasuwan Sarki	-	King of the king's market
Shinkafa	-	Rice
Tuwo	-	Food
Tuwon shinkafa	-	Rice morsel
Tuwon masara	-	Maize morsel
Uban gari	-	Elders of the community

Yan bori	-	Bori cult member (pl. <u>masu bori</u>)
Yan koli	-	Retail traders
Yara	-	Children (sing. Yaro)
Yawon almajiranci	-	roving Islamic teachership or scholarship
Zakat	-	Alms

Yoruba Words

Alaru	-	Porter
Bale	-	Traditional title for an uncrowned king
Bale Onimalu	-	the Head chief of the cattle market
Gbanja	-	Kolanut (<u>Cola nitida</u>)
Iba	-	the title by which Bashorun is fondly addressed
Ile Iba	-	Oluyole's house or compound
Iyaloja	-	the woman head of a market
Iyaloja Onimalu	-	the woman head of cattle market
Oba	-	King
Olubadan	-	the king of Ibadan

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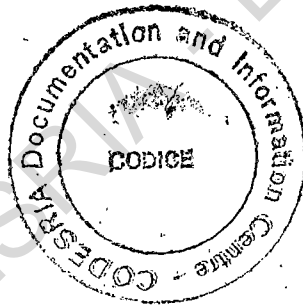
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