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**URBAN MIGRANT SETTLEMENTS IN NIGERIA: A
HISTORICAL COMPARISON OF THE 'SABON
GARIS' IN KANO AND IBADAN, 1893-1.991.**

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URBAN MIGRANT SETTLEMENTS IN NIGERIA: A HISTORICAL
COMPARISON OF THE 'SABON GARIS' IN KANO
AND IBADAN, 1893-1991.

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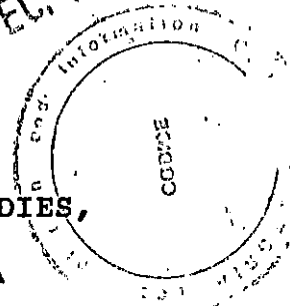
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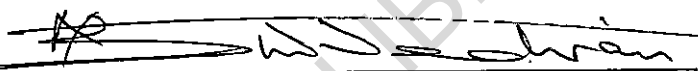
DEDICATION

In deep appreciation of His continuous support and protection, this work is dedicated to God Almighty. Unto HIM be the Glory for the great things HE has done.

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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, Univerisy of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria.



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ABBREVIATIONS

ABU	- Ahmadu Bello university (Zaria)
AG	- Action Group
BTA	- Bodija Traders' Association
CAN	- Christian Association of Nigeria
CMS	- Church Missionary Society
C.O.	- Colonial Office
CODESRIA	- Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa (Dakar)
C.S.O.	- Chief Secretary's Office
DIV.	- Division
D.O.	- Divisional Officer
IAI	- International African Institute
IAS	- Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan. (Ibadan)
ICA	- Ibo Community Association
IFRA	- Institute Francais de Recherche en Afrique
ILO	- International Labour Organization
IUSSP	- International Union for the Scientific Study of Population
JHSN	- Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria
NCNC	- National Council for Nigerians and Cameroun
NPC	- Northern People's Congress
OUP	- Oxford University Press
SNP	- Secretary, Northern Provinces
U.I.	- University of Ibadan
Prof	- Provinces.
UNN	- University of Nigeria (Nsukka)
UPL	- University Press Limited

ABSTRACT

Migration has been a major contributor to the development of urban centres in Nigeria since the colonial times. In some cases, the urban immigrants just inter-mixed with their host population. In others, they aggregated themselves within certain quarters in their host communities imposing their cultures on such areas. In some other cases, the immigrants settled within certain places in the city because of the urban planning or other deliberate policies of their host government. The Sabon Gari kind of settlement focused in this study is typical of the last type. It was established to mitigate the alien influence of urban immigrants on their host population. 'Sabon Gari in Hausa means 'new town'. The typical Sabon Gari was therefore expected to be a town (not just a settlement) within the major city where it is located. The origin and growth of the ones in Nigerian cities are closely connected with both the precolonial and colonial phases of migrations in Nigeria.

Between the mid-nineteenth century when the British effectively established their contacts with Yorubaland and the early twentieth century when the entire geographical area now known as Nigeria was totally colonised, there were great demographic exchanges between the different Nigerian peoples. These included the merchants and labourers who wanted to take advantage of the ever-increasing economic opportunities offered

by the trade with the Europeans in imported goods after the abolition of the obnoxious trans-Atlantic slave trade. After the 1914 amalgamation of the Southern and Northern Protectorates more people migrated cross-regionally most especially between the North and South.

One of the problems that confronted the colonial authorities at this time was how to settle the christian dominated Southern Nigerian labour Immigrants in muslim dominated Northern Nigeria. Here, the assurance had earlier been given to the Emirs in Hausaland that the colonial administrators would help to check the incursion of Christians into their territories. It was towards the fulfilment of this pledge that the Sabon Gari system was started in Kano around 1911. The system later spread to other parts of Nigeria. This study systematically discuss how the Sabon Garis in Kano and Ibadan originated and were nourished to maturity.

The two were the very first of such settlements to be established in Northern and Southern Nigeria respectively. The two are also the best organised in the two regions. They, like many others in the country have been found in demographic records, socio cultural and economic nuances, religious characteristics and inter-ethnic relations to be very unique within their host communities. Each of them represents a meeting and melting point for certain Nigerian cultures and also promises

to be a viable unit for the scholastic study of the questions of national integration and economic growth in the country.

The study is divided into seven chapters. The first is a general introduction of the work, incorporating the rationale of the study, its methodology and significance. The second chapter reviews the antecedents of the Sabon Gari system in Kano and Ibadan by indicating the precolonial attitude of the Hausa/Fulani and Yoruba to stranger elements. In the third chapter, the beginnings of the Sabon Gari in the two cities are discussed emphasising the political and socio-economic factors that made this possible. The physical structure and growth of the two settlements are focused in the fourth chapter while the fifth is devoted to the discussion of the social political, economic, and religious organization of the Sabon Gari immigrants. The question of inter-group relations is raised in the sixth chapter with a view to explaining why Sabo Ibadan has been more peaceful than Sabon Gari Kano. The seventh chapter generally concludes the work emphasising the lessons of history in the two settlements.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Migration and urbanization, as generally used, are two complementary terms in the social sciences. The former often leads to the latter. Operationally, the United Nations considers migration to be a permanent change of residence. To this end, rural-urban migration, according to the U.N. models, is the permanent shift of residence from the village to the city.¹ This model, which is easily used by statisticians and formal demographers has been challenged by some social scientists who argue that not all demographic movements are on permanent basis. Zelinsky for example talked about:

... variety of movements, usually shortterm, repetitive or cyclical in character, but all having in common the lack of any declared intention of a permanent or long standing change of residence.²

Chapman and Prothero also talked of the situation in which there are reciprocal flows ... of individuals and small groups between places (with) such movement ultimately (concluding) in the place or community in which it began.³

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1. United Nations, statistics on Internal Migration: A Technical Report, Dept. of International Economic and Social Affairs, New York: United Nations, 1978.
 2. W. Zelinsky, 'The hypothesis of the Mobility transition' Geographical Review, Vol. 61, No. 2, 1971, p.266.
 3. N. Chapman and R.M. Prothero, 'Themes on circulation in the Third World', International Migration Review, 17, 1983 pp. 597-8.

Zelinsky as well as Chapman and Prothero described the short-term demographic movements as "circulation" rather than 'migration' per se. The difference between the two is that whereas migration is a permanent phenomenon, circulation on the other hand is non-permanent. It is however still difficult within the context of the former to generalise the definition of the word "permanent". How many years of residence in a particular place qualifies one to be regarded as a migrant. This stalemate led McGee to come up with the term "mobility" which, according to him, encapsulates "all types of geographic, social and economic" movements' thus reducing the need for the conflicting typology earlier discussed.

All these conceptual frameworks and definitions are best suited for the social scientists, who of course dominate the field of population studies. They need to create theories / generalizations from their work and so could afford to deal with complex concepts. It might however be difficult for the professional African historian to partake in this conceptual arguments relating to the study of migrations. Except in the precolonial times when people permanently evacuated their homes

-
1. T.C. McGee, 'Rural-Urban Mobility in South-Southeast Asia: Different formulations, Different Answers', in William H. McNeill and Ruth S. Adams (eds.) Human Migration and Policies, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978, p. 219.

to new locations due to environmental degradation or warfare, Africans leave their places of origin to other places with the hope that they would ultimately return there some day. This observation is typically illustrated by a Yoruba adage:

Ba rokun, ba rosa
Ile labo simi oko¹

Which literally means,

If we travel across the seas and the lagoons
The home is the final resting place.

Ray Ofoegbu made a comparable observation about Igbo migrants when he noted that:

Their emotional and sentimental attachments are not with the urban communities but with their home towns. Hence, they are willing to endure any hardships, deprivations and sufferings in the town without protesting because they feel their stay is temporary and essentially instrumental.²

The term 'migration' is therefore used in this work to simply mean the demographic mobility from one place to another on a more or less permanent basis. Within this context, one could

-
1. The Yoruba consider their places of origin no matter how rustic as the sweet 'home' against foreign land which is regarded no more than a 'farm' where you go to fetch your food.
 2. M.R. Ofoegbu, 'Urban Politics Among the Igbo of Nigeria Ph.D. Thesis, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, 1977 p. 16.

therefore talk of rural-rural migration, rural-urban migration, urban-urban migration and urban-rural migration.

Rural-urban and urban-urban migration also bring to the forefront the possible contribution of migration to urbanization. The urban explosion in most parts of the world is usually as a result of continuous rural-urban migration and unchecked natural population increase like high fertility rate. People largely come to the cities from the rural areas to improve their socio-economic conditions and status. In her study of migrations and family interdependence in the Philippines, Trager noted that:

rural-urban migration implied that a migrant became urban or became an urbanite, with the implication of adopting new life-styles and behaviour, while at the same time presumably breaking ties or at least moving away from the views and behaviour patterns appropriate in the rural home.¹

The perspective taken by Trager is not too different from that of Kenneth Little who generally defined urbanization as:

process whereby people acquire material and non-material elements of culture, behaviour patterns and ideas that originate in or are distinctive of the city.²

-
1. Lillian Trager, The City connection: Migration and Family Interdependence in the Phillipines, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1988, p. 5.
 2. Kenneth Little, Urbanization as a Social Process: An Essay on Movement and Change in Contemporary Africa, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974, p. 7.

Dattari and Raj,¹ Breese,² Okin³ and Olusanya⁴ variously see urbanization as the process of demographic agglomeration in urban settlements. Okin goes further to note that modern urbanization is a cycle through which nations go in their transition from agrarian to industrial society.⁵ The modern urban centres in Nigeria are therefore easily identified by their demographic and geographic sizes, non-agricultural occupational patterns, statutory local government systems and other distinctive evidence of urbanism like motorable roads, water and electricity supplies.

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1. G. Dattari and S.D. Raj, "Urbanization in India: Planning for a Balanced Urban Pattern and Structure", in R.P. Misra (ed.), Regional Planning: Concepts, Techniques, Policies and Case Studies, Prasara: The University of Mysore, 1969, p. 531.
 2. Gerald Breese, Urbanization in Newly Developed Countries, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1966, pp. 4-5.
 3. T.A. Okin, The Urbanised Nigerian: An Examination of the African and his new environment, Jericho, New York: Exposition Press Inc, 1968, p. 65.
 4. P.O. Olusanya, Socio-Economic Aspects of Rural-Urban Migration in Western Nigeria, Ibadan NISER, 1969, p. 4.
 2. T.A. Okin op. cit., p. 66.

Demographic movements can be categorised into two types: the economic and non-economic types.¹ While the former includes movements occasioned by religious, political and other related factors, the latter are migrations caused by the desire of the migrant to improve his economic condition or status. The two categories make it easy to understand the three types of population movements that Udo² identified in Nigeria as in other tropical African countries. These are precolonial migrations, colonial migration and those of the post-colonial period. While the pre-colonial migrations were largely dictated by non-economic factors, the colonial and post-colonial types were induced by the improved transportation systems in the country and the increased monetization of the nation's economy both of which stimulated regional economic specialization. Both the colonial and post-colonial types of migrations are largely rural-urban in character. Mabogunje,³

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1. A.L. Mabogunje, 'Migration and Urbanization', in J.C. Cadwel (ed), Population Growth and Socio Economic Change in West Africa, New York: Columbia University Press, 1975.
 2. R.K. Udo, 'Migration and Urbanization in Nigeria', in J.C. Cadwell (ed.), Population Growth and Socio Economic Change in West Africa, p. 298.
 3. A.L. Mabogunje, Urbanization in Nigeria, London, 1968.

Hance,¹ Ajaegbu², Adepoju³ and some other experts in population studies have also identified three phases of urbanization in Nigeria which help to illustrate the complementarity of migration and urbanization. These are the precolonial, colonial and postcolonial urbanization processes. It is possible within the above migration and urbanization phases to understand how most Nigerian cities (be they Ile-Ife which the Yoruba consider to be the cradle of their race, the Nri-Awka-Orlu axis considered to be the core migration point of the Igbo, Kaduna which was created by the British or Abuja which is still being built) originated and grew to become what they are.

The wrong impression often created in the mind of anybody reading through western literature on urbanization is that there were no urban centres in precolonial Nigeria. Urbanization is often presented by such writers as an exclusive product of modern paraphernalia of development: high demographic composition of the town, well tarred and motorable roads, modern buildings and

-
1. William A. Hance, Population, Migration and Urbanization in Africa, New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1970.
 2. H.I. Ajaegbu, Urban and Rural Development in Nigeria, London:Heinemann 1976 p. 34.
 3. A. Adepoju, 'Population Growth and Urbanization', in I.O. Orubuloye O.Y. Oyeneye (eds.), Population and Development in Nigeria, Ibadan: 1983, p.17.

industries, generous supply of water and electricity etc. Reiss, however, noted in his own study that "Only when a larger proportion of the inhabitants in an area come to live in the cities is urbanization said to occur".¹ Breese also discussed urbanization from the physical and social contexts² which make it easier to appreciate the level of urbanization in precolonial Nigerian society. Hance for example credited the urban character of some precolonial African polities to "morphological architectural, functional, demographic and cultural" factors.³ Most precolonial Nigerian urban centres were determined from these perspectives.⁴ Kano and Ibadan focused in this study were precolonial urban centers.

Three categories of migrant elements are identifiable in Nigerian cities. The first are the indigenes of a particular city who believe themselves to be migrants from a distant ecological zone before they acquired their ethnic identity. Such people

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1. A.J. Reiss, 'Urbanization', in J. Gould and W.L. Koeb (eds.), A Dictionary of the Social Sciences, London: Tavistock, 1964, p. 100.
 2. Gerald Breese op. cit., p. 100.
 3. William A. Hance, op. cit., p. 249.
 4. For example see Robin Law, "Towards a History of Urbanization in pre-colonial Yorubland", In African Demography, proceedings of a Seminar held in the center of African Studies University of Edinburgh, 29th and 30th April, 1977 pp. 260-71.

abound all over Nigeria and include all those who claimed to have migrated to their present settlements from the "east", "west", Mecca, Meroe, Egypt etc. For example, a tradition claimed that the Yoruba first migrated to Ile-Ife from the northeastern part of Africa.¹ The Bayajidda legend also claimed that the progenitor of the Hausa people migrated to Hausaland from Baghdad.² There are many other Nigerian peoples that belong to this category. In each case, it was after such migration that organised and structured societies emerged. The second category of migrant elements in Nigeria consists of those who came to settle among (and were accommodated by) those who had evolved organised and structured society. A typical example of this is the Oyo-Yoruba elements in Ife (i.e. the Modakekes). They migrated into the city from northern Yorubaland during the nineteenth century warfare in Yorubaland.³ The third category of

-
1. See I.A. Akinjogbin and E.A. Ayandele, "Yorubaland up to 1800" in O. Ikime (ed.), Groundwork of Nigerian History, Ibadan: Hist. Society of Nig./ Heinemann 1980, pp. 121-2.
 2. See H.R. Palmer, Sudanese Memoirs Vol. III p. 133; S.J. Hogben and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, The Emirate of Northern Nigeria, London, OUP 1966 pp. 145-6; Thomas Hodgkin, Nigerian Perspectives, London, 1975 pp 74-76.
 3. J.F.A. Ajayi, "The Aftermath of the Fall of Old Oyo" in J.F. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder (eds), History of West Africa Vol. 2. London: Longman 1975 p. 150; O.Olaniyan, "The Modakeke Question in Ife Politics and Diplomacy" In I.A. Akinjogbin (ed.), The Cradle of a Race: Ife from the beginning to 1980, Port-Harcourt: Sunray Publication, 1992 pp. 266-86.

migrant elements in Nigerian cities are the colonial migrants i.e. those who migrated to the cities during the colonial period, to advance their economic interests.¹ In the last two cases highlighted above, the immigrants often have well recognised settlements in which they reside. The name of such settlements, their demographic composition and socio-cultural characteristics often bear the immigrants out as belonging to certain original groups.

The Sabon Gari which is the main focus of attention in this study is most related to the second and third categories of immigrants identified above. Therefore, the typical Sabon Gari resident finds himself in the settlement not because he has blood relationship with the founders or natives of the city, but simply because the urban environment offered him the chance of advancing his economic interests within it. It should therefore be less surprising that economic factors play a leading role in the affairs of most Sabon Garis in Nigeria. The first Sabon Gari in Nigeria was established in Kano around 1911.² The first in the southern part of Nigeria was founded in Ibadan in 1916.³ British

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1. These included the Igbo and Yoruba in northern Nigeria and the Hausa in Southern Nigeria.
 2. E.P.T. Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*, London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1975 p. 57
 3. A. Cohen, *Custom and Politics in Urban Africa*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974.

colonialism induced-migrations and economic interactions between Southern and Northern Nigerians as well as, Islam and Christianity played leading roles in the establishment and growth of the two migrant settlements. The two, have in no small measure, been significant in the stimulation of community identities in the other Nigerian cities, especially among peoples engaged in cross-regional migrations.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Of all the urban migrant settlements in Nigeria, the Sabon Garis are the most conspicuous considering their contrasting socio-cultural characteristics when compared with what obtains in their host communities. In the northern parts of Nigeria where the Sabon Gari system first started, the settlements are largely inhabited by Christian dominated Southern Nigerians easily identified by their spoken languages, dressing patterns and distinct facial marks. Though they are outside of their own cultural areas, these immigrants behave within the Sabon Garis as if they are in Ibadan, Enugu etc. The story is the same with the Sabon Garis in the Southern parts of Nigeria. Here, the residents are largely Hausa speaking and Muslim dominated. They are organised socially, economically and politically as if the settlements are located in Hausaland. The contrasting cultural features between Southern and Northern Nigerians are most easily exhibited at any of the Sabon Garis.

To this end, the Sabon Gari, wherever it is found in Nigeria represents a different world from the city where it is found. What are the implications of this?

While the Sabon Gari in Ibadan has been relatively peaceful, the one in Kano has always been crisis-ridden. Is this because the factors that made for the origin of the ones in Northern Nigeria differ from that of the South? Is it because the Hausa immigrants resident at Sabo Ibadan are better behaved to members of their host community than the Igbo/Yoruba residents at Sabon Gari Kano? Is it because the Yoruba people of Ibadan are not so much of religious fanatics as their counterparts in Kano. A host of these and other questions need to be answered to explain why things are the way they are today at the Sabon Gari in Kano and Ibadan.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This review of literature is not meant to be an exhaustive listing of various studies vaguely related to the proposed study. Rather it is an attempt to describe the perplexing nature of the topic under review and the current state of knowledge on it. The literature review will also help to demonstrate how the proposed study will contribute to a better understanding of the Sabon Gari phenomenon in Nigeria and how this could be achieved.

Migration and Urbanization in Nigeria

Migration and urbanization processes have formed an important component of the literature of the social science in

Nigeria. This is hardly surprising, considering the fact that one of the major transformations in the history of the country has been the shift of populations from rural to urban centres. The rise and fall of the precolonial states in the country were due to in-migrations and out-migrations of people from one point to the other. As a result of migrations, such polities of great importance like Oyo-Ile of the precolonial times went out of existence giving rise to the development of modern Oyo township;¹ it was through related process that Ibadan which used to be a small Egba settlement rose into prominence to become a large indigenous city.² As a result of the colonial induced migrations, such Nigerian cities like Kaduna,³ Port-Harcourt,⁴

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1. J.A. Atanda, 'The Fall of the Old Oyo Empire: A Reconsideration of its cause', JHSN, IV No. 4 1971; Wande Abimbola, 'The Ruins of Oyo Division', African Notes, Vol. 2 No. 1 1964/5 pp. 16-19; S.O. Babayemi, 'Oyo Ruins; Research Report' African Notes, Vol. 5 No. 1, Oct. 1968, pp. 8-11.
 2. Kemi Morgan, Akinyele's Outline History of Ibadan, parts 1-3. Caxton Press, n.d.1 P.C. Lloyd et. al. (ed) The City of Ibadan, op. cit.
 3. See E.O. Oydele "Colonial Urbanization in Northern States: Kaduna 1913-60" Ph.D Thesis, Ahmadu Bello Univ. Zaria, 1987.
 4. C.N. Anyanwu, "Port-Harcourt, 1912-1955; A Study in the rise and development of a Nigerian Municipality", Ph.D (Ibadn) Thesis (1971), W. Ogionwo (ed.), The City of Port-Harcourt; A Symposium on its Growth and Development, Ibadan: Heineemann 1979.

Jos¹ and others were founded and nourished to maturity.

Despite the acknowledged contributions of migrations to the historical growth and development of Nigerian cities, only few historians exist in Nigeria today who could describe themselves as either urban or migrant historians. Studies of rural-urban migrations in the country, as earlier established, have been largely left to the social scientists. This is not to suggest however that the work of Nigerian historians never really touched on issues related to migration and urbanization, these were done as footnotes in the discussion of other "more important" topics like warfare, political developments, rise and fall of kingdoms etc to which they concentrated their attentions.

On the other hand too, social science experts in migration and urban studies have largely concentrated their attention on the dynamics of population movements and how these contributed to the growth of cities. Only a few of them have cared to say anything on the special quarters within the urban structure where these immigrants are sometimes settled. The recent developments in Nigeria have brought to the forefront the need to critically study these urban migrant settlements which abound all over the

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1. L. Plotnicov, Strangers in the City: Urban Man in Jos, Nigeria, Pittsburgh, Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1967.

country. Empirical observations and the developments within some of these urban migrant settlements have indicated that they are not only meeting and melting points for the different Nigerian cultural attributes, they also hold an important promise for the determination of future state of inter-group relations in the country. Many of the inter-group protests and rebellions in Nigeria often revolve around these settlements. A few examples are the frequent Ife/Modakeke crises in Ile-Ife, Osun State, 1991 Zango Kataf bloody riots in Kaduna state and the frequent blood-letting conflicts at the Sabon Gari in Kano, since 1953, to mention just only two.

The general focus of this study is to explain the reasons behind, and the implications of the heterogeneity of the city's population. It is therefore apt to refer to Louis Wirth who in one of his publications defined the city sociologically as a relatively dense and permanent settlement of heterogenous individuals.¹ Johnson too, proceeds to state that the urban heterogeneity

produces cultural islands, wherein persons share ethnic, social class, religious or occupational similarities which buttress the influence of the geographical neighbourhood in making residents feel a sense of common interest.²

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1. Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a way of Life", op.cit., p.1.
 2. Elmer H. Johnson, Social Problems of Urban Man, Homewood: The Dorsey Press, 1975, p. 75.

The need to have different groups with distinct interests within the urban structure has given most cities plural characters. Here, the different groups falling on their narrow areas of interest often engage in acrimonious competitions. Such are the situations found to be characteristic of many Nigerians cities where the Sabon Gari system has been established.

The available data in the two Sabon Garis studied in this work are better understood in the light of the submission made by Oscar Lewis that the forms and meanings urbanization assumes in any particular place will depend on the prevailing historic, economic, social and cultural conditions of the affected city and its residents.¹ Therefore, because of the cordial economic, social and religious interactions between the Hausa immigrants in Ibadan and the Ibadan people,² they have been able to live under a more peaceful atmosphere than their Yoruba/Igbo counterparts at the Sabon Gari in Kano.

The present study draws methodological and empirical lessons from the urban studies carried out in other parts of Africa in view of the earlier remark made that only little exists in Nigeria on urban and settlement studies. The outstanding work to

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1. Oscar Lewis, "Urbanization without breakdown: A case study" The Scientific Monthly, Vol. 75, No. 1, July 1952.
 2. This dates back to the precolonial times.

which reference could be made here is that of Banton on Freetown.¹ The study is on the large scale immigration into the Sierra Leonean capital city from the rural areas of the hinterland. In a comparable manner to the focus of the present study, Banton examined the administrative problems which resulted from such rural-urban immigration, the way the immigrants adjusted to urban life and the tribal politics that accompanied their changing environments. The writer concluded his work with a far-reaching discussion of the social consequence of the "westernization" which resulted from the immigrant's contact with the urban centre; the one that resulted from the urbanization process as well as the social change that resulted from the contact between the different cultures in Freetown.

As if taking off from where Banton stopped, Schildkrout² graphically illustrated the process through which ethnic identities are transformed in the city as a result of the contact

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1. Michael Banton, West African City: A Study of Tribal Life in Freetown, London: OUP for the International African Institute, 1957.
 2. Enid Schildkrout, People of the Zongo: The Transformation of Ethnic Identities in Ghana, Cambridge Univ, Press, 1978.

between migrant elements and other cultures. In her study of the immigrant community in Kumasi, Ghana Schildkrout concentrated her enquiries on the issues of inter-regional migrations; the role of "stranger" elements in the organisation and disposition of the city; the question of citizenship and national identity among immigrants etc. Among the immigrants studied in Ghana by her were the Hausa and Yoruba people from Nigeria. The publication attempts a general overview of the West African urban life in such an enlightening manner that whatever data that come up at the Sabon Garis in Kano and Ibadan could be easier and more productively interpreted. The work of John Works¹ on the Hausa communities in Chad and that of Jeremy Eades² in Northern Ghana greatly complements the research methodology and empirical data exhibited in Schildkrout's publication.

Our Comprehension of the development of "ethnic communities" in the cities has been further sharpened by both the theoretical and empirical analysis of Nnoli.³ He discussed ethnicity at both

1. John A. Works, Jr., Pilgrims in a Strange Land: Hausa communities in Chad, New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.
2. Jeremy Eades, "The Growth of a Migrant Community; The Yoruba in Northern Ghana", in Jack Goody (ed.) Changing Social Structure in Ghana, London: International Institute, 1975, pp. 37-58.
3. Okwudiba Nnoli, Ethnic Politics in Nigeria, Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1978.

the national and city levels and noted that the contemporary phenomenon of ethnic sentiments in Nigeria is a product of the colonial urban setting.¹ This submission has been generally supported by historical facts that it was during the colonial phase in Nigeria's development that the ethnic components of the Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo groups were aroused through the people's competitions for the limited opportunities offered by the colonial environments. According to Nnoli, the British colonialists worsened inter-ethnic rivalry in Nigeria by providing separate residential areas for stranger elements in Nigeria cities. It was through such process that the Southern and Northern Nigerian immigrants in the northern and southern parts of the country were settled in the Sabon Garis. Later on, the other Northern Nigerian immigrants were moved away from the Sabon Garis to Tundun Wada, leaving the Christian dominated Igbo/Yoruba people at the former settlements.² Better light is also thrown on how inter-ethnic conflicts develop in cities when Professor Nnoli defined ethnicity as "a social phenomenon associated with

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1. Ibid, p. 35.
 2. Ibid, pp. 3-4

interactions among members of different ethnic groups."¹

Ethnicity is usually characterised by conflicts as members of these different ethnic groups find themselves competing for related things, positions and honours.

Another important publication relevant to the proposed research is one written by Schwerdtfeger² on the traditional housing systems in three African cities: Timbuktu, Zaria and Ibadan. Three other volumes were produced by Dmochowski³ on traditional architecture in Nigeria. These publications are invaluable in some specific ways. First, they offer the characteristic comparative methodology that could be used in the discussion of the Sabon Garis in Kano and Ibadan. Secondly, they offer useful information about the traditional housing systems of Nigerians in their original homelands. This could help to

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1. Ibid, p. 5.
 2. F.W. Schwedtfeger, Traditional Housing in African Cities: A comprehensive Study of Housing in Zaria, Ibadan and Marakesh, Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 1982.
 3. Z.R. Dmochowski, An Introduction to Nigerian Traditional Architecture Vol. 1. Northern Nigeria, Lagos; Ethnographica in Association with th National Commission for Museums and Monuments, 1990; Vol.2. South-Eastern Nigeria: The Igbo Speaking Areas, Lagos: Ethnographica in Association with the National Commission for Museums and Monuments 1990.

provide the base-line with which to assess the extent to which the urban immigrants have altered or taken to their traditional housing systems in their new environments of Kano or Ibadan.

Knowledge on the Sabon Gari

The reviewed publications so far, could provide the solid foundation upon which the information on the focused Sabon Gari in this study, could be rested. It is now necessary to examine what is the state of knowledge on the Sabon Gari system in Nigeria. The little light that has so far been shed on the settlements by any professional historian was from Olusanya¹ who wrote a pioneering but rather general article on the Sabon Gari system in northern Nigeria. The article sheds light on how C.L. Temple, a man who "interpreted Islam far more rigidly than many of the Emirs would have approved"², decided in the early 1900s to institute the policy of separate development for the different ethnic groups resident in northern Nigeria. The original plan was to use this device to shield the Islamic religion from external influences. It was through this decision that the Sabon Gari system started. The lapse in this article is that in its bid to generally review the origin of the Sabon Gari system in northern

1. G.O. Olusanya, "The Sabon Gari system in Northern States of Nigeria", Nigeria Magazine, No. 94 Sept. 1967, pp. 242-48.
2. E.A. Ayandele, "The Factor in Northern Nigeria 1870-1918", Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol. 3. Dec. 1966, p. 517.

Nigeria, it ended up offering no concrete information on the systematic approaches through which any of the settlements was established. For example, the first Sabon Gari in the country was established in Kano. No reference whatsoever was made to this in the work. To this end, the article was only successful at reviewing the socio-cultural circumstances under which the British conceived the Sabon Gari policy. The other neglected but pertinent questions to which answers need to be supplied in the present study are: when and how was the first Sabon Gari established; why was it established in Kano; who were the first batch of residents in the settlements and what were their migratory processes into the city of Kano; under what circumstances did the settlement acquire its present heterogeneous character; why is the Sabon Gari in Kano now crisis-ridden?

Like the Sabon Gari in Kano, only little is known historically about Sabo, Ibadan. But for Professor Abner Cohen¹ who produced a major anthropological work on the Hausa migrants in Ibadan there would not have been any knowledge of what transpired at Sabo Ibadan. The author discussed within the limit

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

of sources and resources available to an anthropologist the role of ethnicity in the origin and organization of the Sabon Gari up to the early 1960s when his fieldwork was conducted in the city of Ibadan. In the anthropological traditions, Cohen's work is a masterpiece. But judged from the context of historical scholarship, the work is technically inadequate at explaining the origins and development of the Hausa community in Ibadan.

The major problem with Cohen's work is the limited nature of its time-scope. The analysed data in the study spread between 1900 and 1962. His anthropological analysis hardly take into consideration the ethnic politics between the Hausa and the Ibadan people from 1893 to 1916, which ultimately gave rise to the establishment of the Sabon Gari. Because Cohen's research took place between 1962 and 1963, his publication could not include the post-1960 development in Sabo. That Cohen wrote as an anthropologist and not as a historian is another issue. Though in some cases, the anthropologist might find himself treating related subjects with a historian, the work of one cannot be substituted for the other, though they are complementary.¹ All these make the present study the more necessary.

It has to be pointed out, however, that Cohen's work is a

1. This has been thoroughly discussed by C. Levi-Strauss, Structural Anthropology, New York: Basic Books Inc. 1963, Chap. One.

pioneering one which can only in a little way be faulted.

Cohen's work becomes better understood when corroborated with another one written by Professor Mahdi Adamu¹ on Hausa migrants in West Africa. It sheds more light on the general migration pattern and processes of the Hausa people outside their traditional homeland, Kasar Hausawa. The work is an improvement on Abdullahi Smith's thesis on Hausa migration within the geographical areas now known as northern Nigeria.² Though Professor Adamu did not make any particular reference to the migration of the Hausa people to Ibadan, not to even mention their settlement at Sabo, his general discussion of the migration processes of the people could provide clues to how they came to the city.

The work of Cohen and Adamu leave certain gaps which have to be filled, in addition to the other more important issues slated for discussion in the present study. As indicated earlier, Cohen's work lacks sufficient information with which one could determine how, when and why the Hausa people came to Ibadan before they were settled at Sabo in 1916. The scope of Adamu's work on the other hand, has been found to be so wide that the

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

2. Abdullahi Smith, A little New Light: Selected Historical Writting of Abdullahi Smith, Zaria, 1987.

publication could hardly present any concrete information on the Hausa immigrants in Ibadan. The latter publication is more useful at understanding the influence of the Hausa people in other West African societies. The work, however, suggests that the Hausa were already an important part of the population in many Yoruba towns at the time the British occupied Southern Nigeria.

RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

Though there is a plethora of literature on the different Nigerian peoples, only little has been documented historically about the demographic exchange among them. Only little is equally known about the exclusive settlements some of the migrant groups have established outside their traditional homelands. What are the implications of such settlements not only on the contemporary character of Nigerian cities but also on inter-group relations in the country?

It has been noted that the few acknowledged authorities in migration and urban studies in Nigeria are geographers, demographers, sociologists and economists. Migration and urban studies like contemporary history are yet to be accorded any serious or popular acceptance by professional historians in Nigeria. Yet the city, apart from being a unit of the Nigerian federal, state and local governments has come to be recognised as the powerhouse of various nation building questions in the

country. The armed robbers, religious fanatics, ethnic chauvinists do not reside in the rural areas but in the cities where there are lots of opportunities to compete for. What happens within the city should therefore interest professional historians as the Social Scientists.

The present effort is aimed at pushing forward the frontiers of historial scholaship through the application of social science methodologies to historically analyse the characteristics of the Sabon Garis in Nigerian cities. The central focus of the research is on the interactions of migrations, urban development and inter-group relations. The choice of Kano and Ibadan is partly due to their importance as some of the most populated and economically vibrant urban centres in Nigeria, and partly because the major migrant settlements (Sabo Garis) in them were the very first of such settlements in Nigeria¹ The one in Kano is as important to Southern Nigerians as that of Ibadan is of vital importance to northern Nigerians. The two Sabon Garis exhibit different elements of the Nigerian question of national integration: north-south dichotomy, economic rivalries, religious chauvinism etc.

1. There are also other Sabon Garis at Zaria, Kaduna, Ogbomoso, Oyo, Osogbo, Ile-Ife, Ondo, Shagamu, Lagos etc.

A study of this nature would make it possible for policy makers to be familiar with issues relating to the process of tribal formation in Nigerian cities and its implications on inter-group relations. The data from the Sabon Garis will familiarise the government with the problems related to migrant settlements in Nigerian cities and the appropriate measure that could be taken to ameliorate their undesirable effects or consequences.

This study would contribute to an important field that has been vastly neglected. As such, the aims and objectives of the study are;

- (a) to identify at a general level, the nature, types and origins of the urban migrant settlements in Nigeria;
- (b) to examine the nature and directions of the migrations that attended the European incursion into Nigeria;
- (c) to examine the contexts in which the first sabon Garis in Nigeria (kano) was founded and how this gave impetus for the establishment of the one in Ibadan.
- (d) to examine the physical organization of the settlements and the social, economic, religious and political organisation of the immigrants resident in them;
- (e) to examine the extent and consequences of inter-group relations between the residents of the Sabon Garis and the natives of the environments where they are found;

- (f) to assess the extent to which the Sabon Garis could be said to have lived up to the expectations of their founders.

SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The urban areas covered in this study are Kano and Ibadan while the migrant settlements focused in them are the Sabon Garis. Kano, the current capital of Kano State has since the early nineteenth century been a well known urban centre in Western-Central Sudan. It is the third largest urban centre in Nigeria. It is also the second largest industrial centre in the country. According to Mortimore in 1968, Kano province "contains one of the densest concentrations of population on the African continent".¹ Its history could be divided into three phases; the Habe, Fulani and post 1903 eras.² During each of these historically distinct periods in Kano, the city played host to different kinds of immigrant elements from within and outside Nigeria. Among such immigrant groups were the Beriberi (Including Kanuris), Nupawa, Arabs et. al.

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M.J. Mortimore, "Population distribution, settlement and soils in Kano Province, Northern Nigeria 1931-62", In J.C. Cadwell and C. Okonjo (eds.), The population of Tropical Africa, London: Longman, Green and Co. Ltd. 1968 pp. 298-306.

2. Alan Frishman, "The Population Growth of Kano, Nigeria". in African Historical Demography: Proceedings of a Seminar held in the Centre of African Studies, University of Edindurgh 29th and 30th April 1977, p. 213.

The highest degree of immigration into Kano was witnessed in the twentieth century as a result of the British colonialism and capitalism.¹ To make for the adequate segregation of these immigrants, Kano had to be carved into three distinct parts. The first is the walled Kano city (birni) where the muslim indigenes are settled. The second is 'Waje' (outside) which consisted of Fagge (a nineteenth century camp for North African caravans), Sabon Gari (for Southern Nigerian immigrants), Tundun Wada and Gwagwarwa which both house the recent northern Nigerian (Muslim) immigrant groups in Kano. The third is the township, the former Government Residential Area (GRA) now inhabited by top civil servants and expatriate businessmen.²

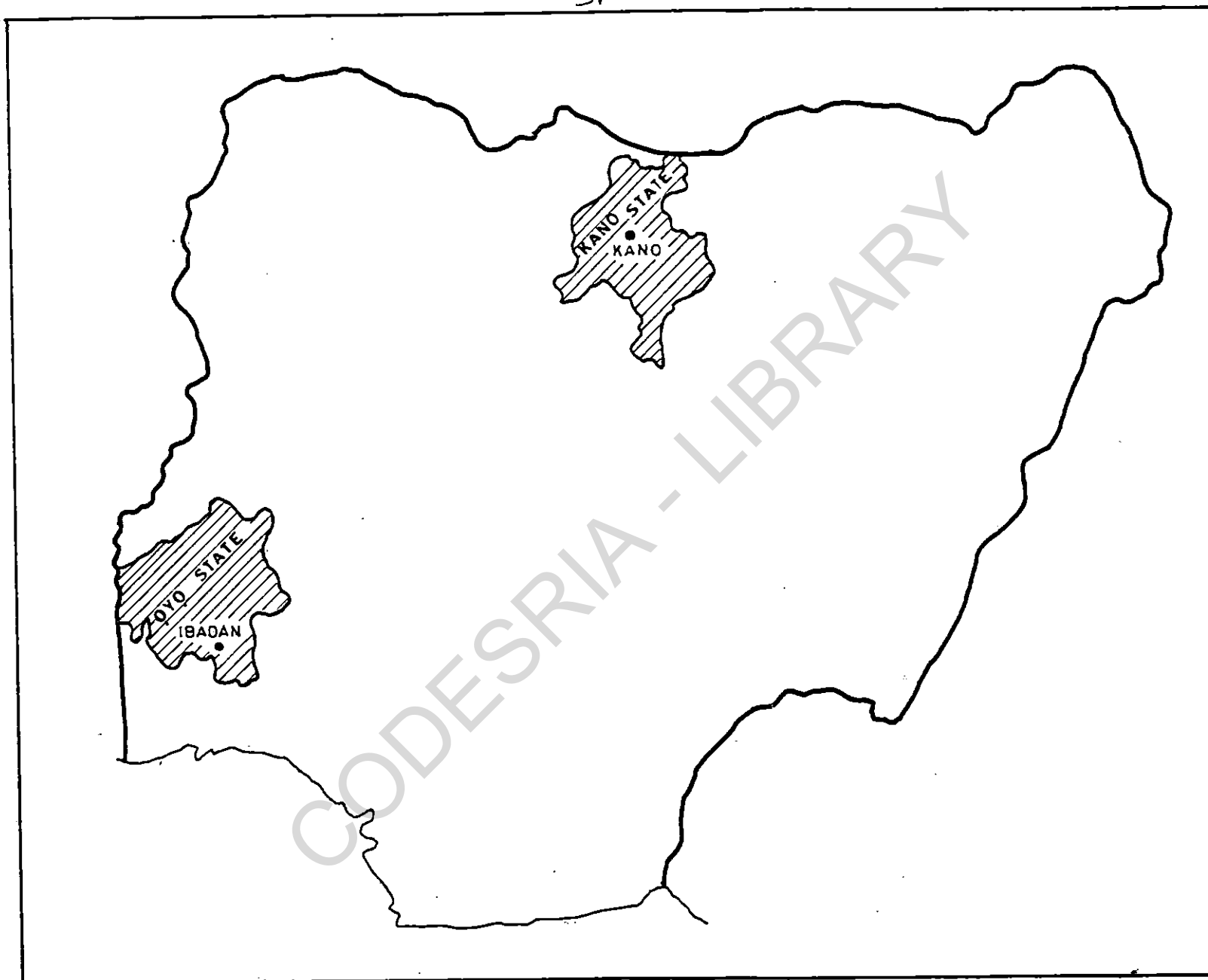
The Sabon Gari in Kano is one of the most economically vibrant parts of the city. It is largely inhabited by Christian dominated Southern Nigerians who exhibit socio-cultural traits that are quite different from the traditional ones in Kano. The Sabon Gari in the city is the largest of such settlements in Nigeria; the first to be founded and the best planned. It is about ten times the size of the one in Ibadan.

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1. John N. Paden, Religion and Political Culture in Kano, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973, pp. 19-22.
 2. Ibid, p. 18; Alan Frishman "The impact of Islam on the urban Structure and Economy of Kano, Nigeria", Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, vol. 7, No. 2 July 1986, pp. 468-9.

Ibadan on its own is as economically and politically important to the western parts of Nigeria as Kano is to northern Nigeria. It was the most expansive state in pre-colonial Yorubaland, the capital of the defunct western Region and presently the capital of Oyo state.

The city rose to eminence around 1829 having been established as a war camp for some warriors of the nineteenth century internecine warfare in Yorubaland. The growth of the town is owed to the fall of the Oyo empire in the 1830s.¹ Just like the city of Kano, Ibadan also played host to different kinds of immigrant elements during the different courses of its history. Because of the heterogenous composition of its founders, Ibadan could not but embrace an open door policy towards immigrants.² So heterogenous was the demographic character of the city that a European traveller in the 1880s described it as the 'London of

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1. I.A. Akinjogbin, "The Oyo empire in the eighteenth century are assessment", 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, Cambridge in Association with the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, 1967; B. Awe, "The Rise of Ibadan as a Yoruba Power 1851-1863", D. Phil. thesis, Oxford 1964.
 2. B. Awe, 'Ibadan, its early beginning' op. cit., pp. 15-16; Toyin Falola, 'From Hospitality to Hostility: Ibadan and strangers, 1830-1904', Journal of African History, 26 (1985) pp. 55-54; A. O. Sanda, "The Ethnic Factor in Urban Social Relations" In A.O. Sanda (ed.), Ethnic Relations in Nigeria, Ibadan: Dept. of Sociology, University of Ibadan, 1976 pp. 179-81.



Map of Nigeria showing the locations of Kano and Ibadan.

FIG. 1

Negroland'.¹ Ibadan has since then continued to have a magnetic attraction to immigrants. This was due to the city's strategic administrative importance, conducive economic environments and appreciable level of industrial growth. Among the earliest migrants to be settled in Ibadan were the Hausa people. They first settled around the Oja'ba area before the Sabon Gari settlement was established for them in 1916.

The time-scope of the study is 1893-1991. The point has been made earlier that the Sabon Gari phenomenon is connected with the colonial activities of the British in Nigeria. It was in 1893 that the British intervened in the internal through the Ekitiparapo war affairs of Ibadan thus making the people to embrace start a policy of hostility against the stranger elements in their midst. It was the hostility against the Hausa immigrants which started in 1893 that led to the establishment of the Sabon Gari in the city in 1916. 1991 is important to this study because it was during the year that the last inter-ethnic conflict (between the Hausa and Igbo/Yoruba) took place in Kano, with the Sabon Gari serving as the battle front. The gap between 1893 and 1991 would provide sufficient platform to assess the different phases of development at the Sabon Garis in the two cities.

1. A. Milson, "The Yoruba Cuntry, West Africa", Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, XII, 1891, p. 26.

The problems related to the study of the Sabon Garis in Nigeria are largely cultural. The methodological ones are not as serious. The inabilities of historians to work on the field are probably because of these problems. Some of the immigrants, especially those at Sabo in Ibadan found it difficult to understand why their private lives should be exposed to the 'contamination' of academic inquiry. The story became worse when the researcher was found to be a christian. The Hausa immigrants found it difficult to believe that the researcher had sufficient knowledge of the Hausa cultural practices and the Islamic religion which moderate their day-to-day activities. At Kano too, the immigrants were not willing talk to "outsiders" about their predicaments at the Sabon Gari. The last Inter-group conflict in the settlement took place in 1991 as a result of which many of them were killed and their properties looted or burnt. The immigrants are yet to be compensated for their losses since then despite the pledge of government to do so. Some of the immigrants therefore considered their cases to be too fluid to be discussed with any researcher for now. It was at this stage that the relevance of open-ended interviews to historical studies became confirmed; informants ended up saying all they had declined to say, through casual discussions in the languages they understand best and under the most relaxed atmosphere.

Research Methodolgy

This study was organised within a multidisciplinary framework. It therefore involved both historical and social science methodologies. Only meagre information were available on the early disposition of the two Sabon Garis studied. To this end, the research was largely based in oral sources which were corroborated by some archival records or vice versa. The archival records were collected from the National Archives in Ibadan and Kaduna. Some materials were also collected from the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research in Ibadan as well as from Kashim Ibrahim Library of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

The oral interviews conducted were in Yoruba and Hausa at Sabo Ibadan and Yoruba and English at Sabon Gari Kanó. In some cases the immigrants were interviewed in their homes or places of work, 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. The recorded interviews were later transcribed, translated into English and synthesised with the collected archival and other written sources to arrive at the conclusions reached in this work.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ANTECEDENTS OF THE SABON GARI SETTLEMENTS.

'Sabon Gari' are today household words in Nigeria, most especially in Northern and South-western parts of the country. The Hausa words simply mean 'new town'. The label was presumably coined during the early twentieth century by the Hausa, first to refer to the secluded settlement where the 'stranger' elements in their midst are accommodated. The Sabon Gari system is a legacy of the British colonial administration in Nigeria. Before the advent of the system, precolonial Northern Nigerians had their unique immigrant settlements with each bearing the name of the dominant ethnic groups or trade specialists resident in them. Such settlements in precolonial Kano, for example, included Lokon Makera for blacksmith immigrants, Tudun Nufawa for the Nupe, and Angwan Zaitawa for the followers of Zaita, a muslim leader¹. The criteria for determining the category of immigrants settled in the Sabon Garis by the British in the formative years of their administration was dominantly religious. In the Northern parts of the country where the system was first introduced, the Sabon Gari was meant to accommodate christian dominated Sierra Leonian and Southern Nigerian immigrants, so that they would not influence their muslim host population with christianity and

1. Alan Frishman, 'The impact of Islam on the Urban Structure and Economy of Kano, Nigeria', Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, Vol.7 No.2 July 1986 p. 469.

western civilization. In the South-western parts of the country where the system was replicated on the other hand, the settlement was meant to accommodate the muslim dominated Northern Nigerian immigrants engaged in kolanut and livestock trade. To the end, the religion of Islam played a great role in the origin, growth and character of the Sabon Garis in Nigeria, whether in the North or South.

The Sabon Gari system in Nigeria is comparable to the Zongo system in Ghana. Zongo, another Hausa word simply refers to the camping or lodging place of caravans or travellers¹. The Zongos in Ghana like the Sabon Garis in Nigerian cities are dominantly immigrant communities. The Ghananian Zongo like the Sabon Gari, is generally dominated by islamic practices. The one in Kumasi for example is a settlement for immigrant elements from northern parts of Ghana, Burkina Fasso, Nigeria, Mali, Niger, Benin and Togo Republics. The Zongo system, as equally evident of the Sabon Garis in Nigeria, grew through the support and machination of the British colonial authorities.

Of the two Nigerian cities focused on in the study, Ibadan was the first to be colonised by the British. This took place by treaty in 1893 as a result of the British intervention in the Ekitiparapo war (1877-1893). On the other hand, the incursion

1. R. C. Abraham, Dictionary of the Hausa Language, University of London Press, 1962 p. 967. For detailed information on the Zongo System in Ghana see Enid Schildkrout, People of the Zongo: The Transformation of Ethnic Identities in Ghana, Cambridge University Press, 1978.

of the British into Kano took place in 1903 by conquest. After the occupation of the two cities, the British authorities set in motion a chain of developments which eventually culminated in the establishment of the Sabon Gari system, first in Kano around 1911 and later at Ibadan in 1916. This chapter seeks to examine the urban and economic characters of both Kano and Ibadan before the British incursion into them. What were their policies towards strangers in the precolonial period ? Did they have special settlement patterns for the immigrants in their midst at the time? If yes, in what degrees were such precolonial settlement patterns different from the Sabon Gari type?

The Ibadan Experience.

Though Ibadan only rose to military and political prominence in the nineteenth century, the antecedents of the city date back to about sixteenth century when an Ife warrior, Lagelu, led some immigrants to found it. Before then, the settlement used to be known as Igbo Ipara (the forest of Ipara) and belonged to the Egba Agura people who farmed on the land¹. It however soon began to be referred to as Ilu Eba-Odan meaning the town on the edge of the grassland. This later became contracted to be called Ibadan². By the early seventeenth century, three other immigrant groups settled in Ibadan. They came from Iseri, Ile-Ife and Owu respectively.

1. Kemi Morgan, Akinyele's History of Ibadan, part one, Ibadan: The Caxton Press, n.d. p. 28

2. Ibid. p. 30

Ibadan became more cosmopolitan in the nineteenth century with the fall of Old Oyo. The collapse of the empire led to great movement of people towards the Southern parts of Yoruba land. Before the eventual collapse of the empire, some Yoruba immigrant groups, most especially the warrior class, had been roaming around engaging in different kinds of insurgent activities. These people, however, steered clear of Ibadan¹. The city, because of its defensible position, became respected as the "main camp of the allied warriors and a location for uprooted Oyo, Egba and Owu"². The immigrants that came to settle in Ibadan around this time also included some slaves who had escaped from their masters in Lagos³.

After the fall of Old Oyo, Ibadan warriors took over the military leadership of Yorubaland. The extent to which this was successfully done could be deciphered from how they were able to stop the incursion of Fulani jihadists from Ilorin into

1. J. F. Ade Ajayi, 'The Aftermath of the fall of Old Oyo', in J.F.Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder (ed), History of West Africa Vol. Two, London: Longman 1974 pp. 145-6.
2. Ibid. p. 46
3. See Kemi Morgan op.cit. pp. 28-55; B. Awe, "Ibadan, its early beginnings", In P.C. Lloyd, A. L. Mabogunje and B. Awe (eds.), The City of Ibadan, Cambridge in Association with the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan 1967 pp. 11-25; S. A. Akintoye, 'Yorubaland in the Nineteenth Century', In O. Ikime (ed), Groundwork of Nigerian History pp. 280-302.

Yorubaland at the battle of Osogbo in C. 1838¹. Between 1877 and 1893, the Ibadan warriors were at war with the combined Ekiti-Ijesa forces. The war was stopped in 1893 as a result of the interventionist role of the British which in turn led to the establishment of the colonial authority in the city.

Who were the strangers in Ibadan in the years preceding 1893? How were they settled? What were the Ibadan policies towards them?.

The first attempt to define strangers in Ibadan took place in the 1830's when the Oyo-Yoruba in the Ibadan war camp successfully expelled the Egba and Ife in their midst. At this time, the bona fide Ibadan indigene was defined to be the Oyo-Yoruba population expelled from their homelands by the Fulani jihadists from Ilorin. The affected people were limited to only those people from metropolitan Oyo and the surrounding villages, some parts of the Osun and Oke-Ogun. Some other Yoruba subgroups from Ede, Iwo, Osogbo, Ikirun, Ilora, Ogbomoso and peripheral settlements were recognised as kinsmen to the 'Ibadan indigenes' and so were not to be discriminated against as strangers². The Ife, Egba,

1. For the details of 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. A. Akintoye, Revolution and Power Politics in Yorubaland.
2. Toyin Falola, 'From Hospitality to Hostility : Ibadan and Strangers, 1830-1904', Journal of African History, 26 1985 p. 54.

Ijebu, Ijesa, Ekiti, Igbomina, Akoko and all non-Yoruba groups were however categorised as stranger elements in the city¹. Among the non-Yoruba group of strangers in Ibadan at this time were the Hausa people who settled in the compound of Basorun Oluyole at Ojaba². Two things were very important in precolonial Ibadan society: wealth and power. The latter, at this time was measured in terms of one's chieftaincy title and possession of efficient and disciplined army. Promotion to the exalted titles like Balogun³ and Seriki⁴ depended much on a person's image as an accomplished warrior. Successful warriors in the state were usually wealthy considering the booty of war constantly available to them⁵. One's wealth was at this time measured in terms of his farmland, slaves, compound, children and harem. The stranger elements in Ibadan had limited

1. As a result of the discrimination against the Ife leaders in Ibadan, the Oyo immigrants in Ile-Ife began to be treated with hostility by their host population. This was the background to the incessant Ife-Modakeke crisis. See J.F. A. Ajayi, 'The Aftermath of the fall of Old Oyo' op. cit. p. 150.
2. K. Morgan op. cit. p. 86.
3. The Balogun was the highest title for warriors in Ibadan. The Balogun was therefore considered as the head of Ibadan army.
4. The Seriki was the next to the Balogun in the leadership of Ibadan army.
5. See S. A. Akintoye, 'The Economic Foundations of Ibadan's power in the Nineteenth Century', In I. A. Akinjogbin and S. O. Osobu (eds), Topics on Nigerian Economic and Social History, Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press Ltd., 1980 pp. 56-7.

access to both wealth and power. The Oyo-Yoruba provided most of the leading political leaders in the state. The best some of the strangers like Ogedengbe from Ilesha and Fabunmi from Okemesi could do in Ibadan was to join the private armies of the Ibadan Chiefs. They were not rewarded with any title despite their efforts and achievements. They had to return in frustration to their respective states where they finally became accomplished warriors. The strangers in Ibadan also had limited land to farm. They depended on the little their hosts could give them. The Egba and Ijebu had to take to trading as their alternative economic activity. They were the only category of strangers granted such rights in the city because they, in their homelands, controlled the trade routes to Lagos from where European manufactured goods were imported to Nigeria. The other groups in Ibadan, except the indigenes were excluded from selling any imported goods. This was necessary to ensure that the strangers did not have access to the supply of weapons into Ibadan. The leadership position of Ibadan at this time depended on its ability to monopolise or control the supply of physical instruments of warfare into Yorubaland¹.

There were three major settlement patterns for the newcomers in Ibadan during the precolonial period.

1. T. Falola op.cit. pp. 55-62.

Such a person could settle with any person or a group of persons from his subgroup who had been firmly established in the city. An Ijebu for example could settle at Isale-Ijebu where his kinsmen had already established a small quarter; the Egba could settle with his kinsmen at Yeosa or Agbeni and so on for the other groups. Alternatively, the stranger could settle down with any Ibadan Chief, who of course would not readily reject him. Every Ibadan Chief at this period needed to expand the population of his household, army and hence his access to wealth. Those who attracted the greatest number of newcomers to their compounds among the chiefs were those who had distinguished themselves as accomplished warriors, generous and brave Ibadan citizens. The third settlement option available to newcomers in the city was with the Babakekere (i.e. small father or guardian). These were military chiefs and patrons appointed to be in charge of certain Ibadan colonies by the town's traditional council. Different categories of immigrants put up with the Babakekere. They paid him some tributes, part of which the Babakekere transmitted to the Ibadan authorities. In return, the chief was obliged to protect those under him against any act of terrorism.

Where each of these stranger elements settled had implications on his socio-economic status and future in Ibadan. Those who settled with warriors for example, could be integrated into the army of their hosts. Those settled with commoners

automatically became commoners like their hosts.¹

The Ibadan people embraced a completely hostile policy towards the strangers in their midst after the cessation of Ekitiparapo war in 1893. The British which forced the two warring parties to stop the war immediately established a colonial government in Ibadan. The 15th August 1893 treaty signed with the British forced the Ibadan to recognise the Alafin of Oyo as Head of Yorubaland; it made it compulsory for the Ibadan to secure, rather than prevent, free passage of all persons coming into their kingdom either from the interior to Lagos, or from Lagos to the interior. It also forced the people to surrender all matters relating to the maintenance of law and order in Ibadan to Hausa constabulary from Lagos.² The treaty was signed by Bale Fijabi and his chiefs. The Balogun of Ibadan, Akinsola was represented at the fuction by one Oyeniyi. The Balogun could not personally attende because of his disillussionment about the fact that he would no longer be able to go to wars again.³ The Ibadan generally blamed their predicaments on the Ekiti, Ijesha and Egba people who were their arch-adversaries during the Ekitiparapo war. They therefore

1. Ibid. pp. 58-61; S.A. Akintoye op.cit. p. 63.

2. For details of the treaty see appendix II of Kemi Morgan, Akinyele's Outline History of Ibadan, Part Three, Ibadan: The Cacton Press, n.d. p. 175-6.

3. Marginal note on the treaty by Kemi Morgan p. 176.

sought after the 1893 treaty to expel the immigrants from these and other areas from their midst not only as the "cold" continuation of the Ekitiparapo war, but also to create new economic opportunities for the Ibadan indigenes who had been compulsorily retrenched from the warfare profession. The inability of the Ibadan to successfully expel the stranger elements in their midst was due to the refusal of the British authorities to support such moves which negated the colonial policy of free trade and movement.¹ It was within the context of this general hostility against the strangers in Ibadan that the Hausa immigrants in the city were later resettled at the Sabon Gari. The Ibadan wanted the strangers to be settled in an exclusive place. The Hausa themselves had to demand for their own Sabon Gari when they could no longer cope with the increasing hostilities from their host population. The settlement was established in 1916.

The Kano Situation

The British occupied Kano in 1903, not through any treaty as in the case of Ibadan but by violent means as a result of which Emir Aliyu was killed. Before this period, the city had acquired all the

1. T. Falola op.cit. pp 62-68.

characteristics of an Islamic city.¹ It resembled "the hundreds of Medinas in North Africa and the Middle East" and was "almost a mirror image of Marrakech in Morroco".²

Kano is one of the most ancient cities in Nigeria. The Radio-Carbon dates supplied by Frank Willet indicate that the settlement had been in existence before the seventh century. It started as a settlement of immigrant blacksmiths called (Abagayawa) who smelted iron from the ironstone out-crop at Dalla hill.³ In 999 A.D., a Daura migrant called Bagauda established himself in Kano as a political head of the settlement. His grandson, Gigi, who succeeded him in 1095 is reputed to have started the construction of the mud walls round present-day Kano city. The project was however not completed until the twelveth

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1. A typical Islamic city was most specifically surrounded by an external wall, endowed with royal palace, central mosque, divided into quarters, characterised by mixed land uses, had a bifurcated city tradition and residetial housing system that could support the seclusion of women. See C. Brown, "Introduction", in C. Brown (ed.), From Medina to Metropolis, Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1973; R.B. Serjeant (ed.), The Islamic City, Paris: UNESCO, 1980.
 2. Alan Frishman, "The Impact of Islam on the Urban Structure and Economy of Kano, Nigeria. "Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs Vol. 7. No. 2 july 1986 p. 473.
 3. Frank Willet, "A Survey of Recent Results on the Radio Carbon Chronology of Western and North Africa", Journal of African History, Vol. XII No. 3 1971 p. 368.

century. By the fifteenth century during the reign of Muhammad Rumfa (1463-1499), the walls were extended.¹

The Kanawa² had various liberal policies for the integration of stranger elements into their midst in precolonial times. This was largely because of their exposure to the other parts of the world as immigrants.³ The migratory pattern of the Kanawa at this time included plain mobility from one place to the other (Kaura), seasonal migration (cin rani), long-distance trade (fatauci), roving Islamic studentship or scholarship (yawon almajiranci), pilgrimage (haji) and flights from one oppressed environment to the other (dandi).⁴ All these equally attracted many immigrant elements to Kano. According to Frishman, the original Kano settlement was small until the fifteenth century when the pressure for expansion intensified due to the activities of immigrants, especially those engaged in trans-saharan trade. In 1432, a Bornu prince Dagachi came to take refuge in the city

1. See Alan Frishman, "The impact of Islam on the urban structure and Economy of Kano" p. 468; H.L.B. Moody, The Walls and Cities of Kano City, Lagos: Fed. Department of Antiquity, 1969.
2. "Kanawa" is used here as the collective name for the Hausa Fulani indigenes of Kano.
3. Philip J. Shea, Approaching the Study of Production in rural Kano, in Bakuro M. Barkindo (ed) Studies in the History of Kano, Studies in the History of Kano, Dept of History Bayero Univ. Kano/Heinemann Ibadan, 1983. p. 107.
4. Ibid. p. 106.

with his followers but could not find a place within it to settle. A settlement had to be set aside for him outside the city wall. To ensure the incorporation of this settlement into the walled city (birni) and to provide accommodation for more immigrants, Muhammed Rumfa had to increase the size of the city by fifty four percent towards the end of the fifteenth century.¹

The Kanawa featured prominently in the trans-Saharan trade. They exported to other African and Mediterranean countries locally woven clothes and imported into Hausaland kolanuts, copper, Zinc, needles, gunpowder, salt, sword blades, mirrors, red coral beads and Arab dresses.² The most outstanding article of trade sought after by the Kanawa was kolanut (i.e Cola nitida which the hausa refer to as goro). This they chiefly imported from the Akan countryside of Salaga and Gonja.¹ It was through the Southern routes linking Hausaland with Gonja that the Kanawa, like some other Hausa merchants, established contacts with the Yoruba people.

1. Alan Frishman, "The population Growth of Kano, Nigeria". In African Historical Demography, Proceedings of a Seminar held in the Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, 29th and 30th April, 1977 p. 217.
2. See J. Goody and T.M. Mustafa "The Caravan Trade from Kano to Salaga", JHSN, 111(4) 1967; P. Lovejoy, Caravana of Kola: The Hausa Kola Trade 1700-1900, Zaria/Ibadan. UPL, 1980.

Islam which has a great impact on the urban structure of Kano was introduced to the city by Wangara traders² during the reign of Sarkin Yaji (1359-1385). The Wangara whose original homeland is believed to be Old Mali had among their leaders to Kano Abdurrahman Zaite and Mandawari Sarkin Yaji was therefore the first muslim ruler of Kano while Madawari was the first chief Imam of the City. The practice of Islam later became consolidated during the reign of Muhammad Runfa. He was visited by the celebrated Islamic Scholar, Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Abdulkarim al-Maghili of Tlemcen towards the end of the fifteenth century.³ This increased activities of various Arab scholars in Kano, at this time, facilitated the overthrow of the Maguzawa (i.e. the traditional animists) in the city. Yet as the Fulani Jihadists claimed in the nineteenth century, the practice of Islam in Kano, even within the royal court-yards, was not pure. The political structure of the city was believed to have tolerated a good measure of Maguzawa theocratic practices.⁴ This was one of the reasons adduced by the Sokoto Jihadists for invading Kano.

1. Ibid. p. 106.

2. Muhammed A.al-Hajj, "A Seveenteenth-century Chronicle on the Origins and Missionary activities of the Wangarawa", Kano Studies, Vol. 1. No. 4 1968. pp. 7-16.

3. Ibid.

4. J.N. Paden, Religion and Political Culture in Kano, Berkeley; University of California Press, 1973 p. 48.

Four principal factors are accountable for the immigration of people into Kano before the nineteenth century: iron melting around the Dalla hill, the trans-Saharan trade, Islam and warfare. Allusion has been made to the first three factors in the preceding discussions. The most important enemies of the Kanawa in the pre-colonial times with whom many wars were fought, were the Kwararafa. At various times, the Kwararafa attacked Kano just as the Kanawa attacked the Middle Gongola valley where the Kwararafa were concentrated. As a result, many Kwararafa slaves became gradually assimilated into the Kano society.¹ Kano was conquered by the Fulani Jihadists in 1807.² This further increased the cosmopolitan character of the city. It consequently played a dominating role in the various expeditions launched by the jihadists. It also served as the collection and distribution centre of goods originating from outside the Central Sudan in particular the Caliphate.³ Because

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1. Saad Abubakar, "The Kwararafa Factor in the History of Kano", In B.M. Barkindo (ed.), Kano and Some the Neighbours: Dept of History, Bayero University/Ahmadu Bello University Press Ltd, 1989.
 2. J. Paden op.cit. p. 49, H.I. Said, Notes on taxation as political issue in the Nineteenth Century Kano," In B.M. Barkudo (ed) Studies in the History of Kano p. 121.
 3. Abdullahi Mahadi, "The Military and Economic Nerve of the Sokoto Caliphate: An Examination of the position of Kano within the caliphatee", in B.M. Barkindo (ed), Kano and some of their Neighbours pp. 202-203.

North Africa.¹ The settlement is now dominated by the of its military and economic importance during and after the nineteenth century Sokoto jihad, Kano played host to new categories of immigrant elements-war captives, Islamic Scholars and students, traders etc. An important immigrant group that probably became assimilated into Kano city as a result of the nineteenth century jihad was the Banbadawa. They specialised in Fulfude praise-singing and pottery making. They are located in Kano city at Jingan, Wudil, Lambu and Shanono as potters.¹ The practice in precolonial Kano was for the Sarki (i.e political head of the community) to offer land to immigrant elements in the city within which to settle. The Wangarawa were the first major group to be so settled apart from the original migrants that established the settlement. They were settled in an eastern ward within the walled city called Sharifai. Some other Arabs engaged in the trans - saharan trade and the propagation of Islam were settled at Durimin Turawa (White man's field). The ward called Tudun Nufawa was carved out for Nupe immigrants; Zaitawa was the settlement for the devotees and co-immigrants of Zaite, a muslim scholar. Fagge (field) was established outside the city walls in the fifteenth century as a caravansary for Tuareg merchants

1. P.J. Shea, "Approaching the Study of Production in rural Kano", In B.M. Barkindo (ed), Studies in the History of Kano p. 112.

who came into the city from North Africa.¹ The settlement is now dominated by the "modernised" Hausa/Fulani Kano indigenes who could no longer cope with the conservative life-styles in the old city, Birni.

Before the incursion of the British into Kano and even long after then, the Hausa/Fulani Kanawa saw the population of the world as divisible into only two groups: the Muslims and the infidels. As evidenced in different developments the Kanawa saw both the christians (Nasara) and the Maguzawa (i.e. the pagan tribes in precolonial Hausa Society) as belonging to the infidel class. They are therefore referred to as either kafir or harna both of which are the popular Hausa labels for infidels or pagans. Probably operating from this perspective, a plebeian Muslim is reported to have argued in 1824 that the intelligence of an infidel should not be valued more than that of an ass.² This graphically illustrates the degree to which the average Kanawa had (and still has) contempt for non-muslims. When some British missionaries, Bishop Tugwell and Dr. Miller, visited Kano in 1901 they were disgraced out of the city by Emir Aliyu who warned them never to enter his kingdom again.³

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1. Alan Frishman op.cit. 1986 p. 463.
 2. Denham and Oudney, Narrative of travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa in the Year 1822, 1823 and 1824, London, 1826 p. 75.
 3. E.P.T. Crampton, Christianity in Northern Nigeria, London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1975 pp. 39-40.

Both Crampton and Ayandele noted that the two clergymen who began to sing christian hymns as they entered Kano would have been killed by the fanatics in the city but for the divine providence on their side.¹ The desire of the kanawa to keep non-muslims away from their midst was later to be stoutly supported by the colonial administrators in the city. It was within this that the Sabon Gari settlement system was conceived and nourished to growth in Kaduna, Zaria and Kano most especially.

The Kanawa and Ibadan people had well articulated policies towards the settlement of immigrants in their midst in the precolonial period. In Ibadan, the strangers were allowed to live within their host population but under restricted socio-political and economic conditions. There were certain political offices which the strangers could not aspire to even when they enrolled in the army. They were also proscribed from engaging in economic activities which had the potentials of threatening the military supremacy of the Ibadan. In Kano on the other hand, the immigrants were simply allowed to settle in some special quarters. They were however left to themselves in such quarters to peacefully practise their economic activities. The precolonial immigrants in Kano were largely muslims. There were, therefore, little or no frictions between them and the Kanawa.

1. Ibid. P. 39; E.A. Ayandele, "The Missionary Factor in Northern Nigeria, 1870-1918", JHSN, Vol. III No. 3 Dec. 1966 p. 511.

The sentimental attachment of the latter to the religion of islam would have made them in no way to have a hospitable policy towards any christian immigrants in their midst. They had no such people in any substantial number until after the British occupation of their city in 1903.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SABON GARIS

The origin of the Sabon Garis in Kano and Ibadan are discussed in this chapter with a view to situating them within the Urban development contexts of the two cities. The latent advantage in such a venture largely consists in the extent to which the chapter could go towards explaining how the Sabon Garis in the two major cities acquired their present heterogenous character. To make for logical sequence, the Sabon Garis in Kano shall first be discussed because of its influence on the origin of the one in Ibadan.

Sabon Gari, Kano

The history of the Sabon Gari in Kano is closely connected with the British occupation of Northern Nigeria in 1903 and the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern parts of the country in 1914¹. The Sabon Gari phenomenon was a product of the political dilemma in which the British colonial authorities and the missionaries found themselves in the Muslim dominated Northern Nigeria after the Military campaigns of the former in the area between 1902 and 1903.²

1. See R. Heussler, The British in Northern Nigeria, London, 1968.
2. Ibid, C.N. Ubah, 'Problems of Christian Missionaries in the Muslim Emirate of Nigeria, 1900-1928', Journal of African Studies, Vol. 3. No. 3 Fall 1976. pp. 351-71

The Protectorate of Northern Nigeria came into existence by an Order-in-Council on 27th December, 1899.¹ It was in January 1900 that Lord Frederick Lugard actually took over the political administration of the territory as the High Commissioner. Lugard's struggle to effectively occupy the entire Northern Nigeria was however not completed until 1903 when he established his control over the traditional Muslim rulers of Kano, Katsina and Sokoto through a continuous military expedition², that lasted thirty-eight days. Throughout the three years between 1900 and 1903, the authority of Lugard was incessantly threatened by insurgent activities of the Northern Emirs, who refused to recognize the British administration. The first major expedition by the British was undertaken in 1902 against the Emir of Abuja who unilaterally closed the trade route to the North. The next was the Magaji of Keffi who openly engaged in slave trade in defiance of the British anti-slavery legislation passed in 1901. The case against the Magaji of Keffi became more serious to the British when he murdered Captain Moloney, the local British Resident, who dared to caution him against illegal transactions in slave.³ He therefore fled to Kano whose Emir

1. Sonia F. Graham, Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria 1900-1919, Ibadan University Press 1966 p. xxiii

2. R.A. Adeleye, Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1804-1906, London, 1971 p. 274.

3. Annual Report for Northern Nigeria, 1901.

had equally maintained a hostile policy towards the British.¹

In 1901, Emir Aliyu of Kano turned back the Christian missionaries (Bishop Herbert Tugwell and Dr. Walter R. Miller) who ventured into his territory. He addressed them in the following terms:

We do not want you: you can go,
I give you three days to prepare:
a hundred donkeys to carry your loads back to Zaria and we
never wish to see you here again.²

The attitude of both Sokoto and Gwandu³ towards the British incursion into the geographical area popularly known as Sokoto Caliphate was also a hostile one.⁴ In a communication with Lord Lugard in 1902, the Caliph of Sokoto warned:

1. For the details of this and other related issues see J. E. Flint, Sir Goldie and the Making of Nigeria, London, 1960; R. Houssler, The British in Northern Nigeria, London, 1911; R.A. Adeleye, Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, Op. cit.
2. W.R. Miller, Walter Miller: An Autobiography, Zaria, 1949, p. 35.
3. Sokoto and Gwandu were the imperial capitals of the Sokoto caliphate in the east and west respectively. Sokoto however had a supreme status as the seat of the Al-mu'minin, (i.e. the Caliph who was recognised as the commander of the faithfuls). See D.M. Fasi, The Sokoto Caliphate, London 1967; R.A. Adeleye, Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria,
4. See Margery Perham, Lugard: The years of Authority, London 1960.

I do not consent that any one from you should ever dwell with us. I will never agree with you. I will have nothing ever to do with you. Between us and you there are no dwellings except as between Mussulmans and unbelievers - war, as God Almighty has enjoined on us. There is no power or strength save in God on high.¹

Lugard conceived the letter from Sokoto as an express notice of warfare from the Caliph. Mindful of the influence of the caliph as head of Muslim communities in Northern Nigeria, Lugard decided to take military action against him and his associated Emirs.² Kano, where the insurgent Magaji of Keffi had been granted asylum was the first place to be attacked by Lugard. The city capitulated to the British forces while Emir Aliyu was in Sokoto trying to raise more soldiers. The Emir having heard the news of what happened to his kingdom fled and a new one was installed by the British on 26th February, 1903³. The former was later captured and killed by the British forces. Katsina thought it wise at this stage to submit to the British invaders. As the latter were moving towards Sokoto, they took over Gwandu. Sokoto was also occupied on 14th March 1903 with 'Sultan' Muhammad Attahiru (1903-15) appointed to replace "Caliph" Attahiru Ahmadu (1891-1902). At this stage, the

1. D.M. Muffet, Concerning Brave Captains, London, 1964, pp. pp. 34-51.

2. R.A. Adeleye op.cit. p.274

3. Sa'ad Abubakar, "The Northern Provinces under Colonial Rule: 1900-1959", In O. Ikime (ed), Groundwork of Nigerian History, Ibadan. Heinmann p. 450.

pockets of resistance against the British rule in Northern Nigeria were considerably driven underground.¹

Lugard seemed to have learnt two important lessons from the resistance of the Hausa-Fulani communities in Northern Nigeria. First, it brought to the awareness of the British officials, the domineering place of the Islamic religion in the psyche of the people. Their fanatical attachment to the religion manifested at different stages of the British's contacts with them. Closely related to the question of the Islamic religion was the great

respect that the Hausa-Fulani had for their traditional political leaders, especially the Caliph of Sokoto. It was realised by Lugard that it might be difficult to govern the people without involving these traditional authorities in any political arrangement in Northern Nigeria. To solve the latter problem, Lugard evolved the indirect rule system of administration in the area. This involved the British ruling the people through their local rulers.²

This he espoused further in his Amalgamation Report as follows: The system of Native Administration in the separate Government of Northern Nigeria had been based on the authority of the Native Chiefs. The policy of the Government was that these Chiefs should govern their people, not as independent but dependent Rulers. The orders of Government are not conveyed to the people through them, but emanate from them in accordance. Where necessary, with

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1. C.W.J. Orr, The Making of Northern Nigeria,
op.ct.
 2. For the details see F. D. Lugard, Instructions to Political and other officers on Subjects Chiefly Political and Administrative, 1906 (later known as Political Memoranda) P. 191.

instructions received through the Resident. While they themselves are controlled by Government in matters of policy and of importance, their people are controlled in accordance with that policy by themselves--The taxes are raised in the name of the native ruler and by his agents, but he surrenders the fixed proportion to Government ... The attitude of the Resident is that of a watchful adviser not of an interfering ruler ...¹

As early as 1900, Lugard seemed to have recognised the potential threat that the Islamic religion could pose to political administration in Northern Nigeria if not respected by the British colonial officials. He recommended to the colonial office in that year that the religion propaganda of the Christian missionaries should be restricted in the formative years of British administration in northern Nigeria. The suggestion was approved by the British government.² It was within this context that the policy of Sabon Gari system was conceived to shield the Muslims from being proselytised by Christian immigrants from Southern Nigeria. In 1901 and 1903, Lugard pledged to the Lamido of Adamawa and the Sultan of Sokoto respectively that his administration would not interfere with the practice of Islamic religion in their territories. To the Lamido, Lugard promised in 1901,

I do hereby in the name of the majesty promise you protection and I do guarantee that no interference by Government shall be made in your chosen form of religion, so long as the same does not involve acts contrary to the laws of humanity and oppression to your people.³

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1. Report by Sir F. D. Lugard, on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, 1912-1919, cmd 468, London, 1920, pp. 14-15.
 2. See Sonia F. Graham, op. cit. p. 14
 3. C.O. 446/16 No. 37793, Wallance Jebba, 26 Sept. 1901 cited by Sonia F. Graham p. 14-15.

And to the Sultan of Sokoto, Lugard assured in 1903 that: Government will in no way interfere with the Mohammedan religion. All men are free to worship God as they please, mosques and prayers will be treated with respect by us.¹

These pledges especially the one to the Sulta, later became a bone of contention between Lugard and his successors on the one hand and the British political officials and the missionaries on the other hand. Crampton asked two questions on this problem which have bearing on the discussion here: 'How far did Lugard and his successors honour this pledge? How did they interpret it?'²

To the British political officers in Northern Nigeria who were most concerned with self preservation, the pledge was interpreted as a licence to prevent Christian missionaries from operating in any Muslim area of Northern Nigeria. Some of the British administrations said any attempt to admit the missionaries into muslim areas as an act of ingratitude for the support given the British by the emirs during the world war I.³ The non-interference pledge as conceived by Lugard was however not to outlaw the missions from operating in the area. It was rather a pledge of non-interference in the people's religious activities, to the extent that Muslims would not be

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1. NAK, F.D. Lugard, Annual Report, 1903, p. 164.
 2. E. P. T. Crampton, op. cit Christianity in Northern Nigeria: Geoffrey Chapman, 1975 p. 45.
 3. C.N. Ubah, "Administration of Kano Emirate Under the British 1900-1930", Ph. D. Ibadan 1973. p. 386.

Christianity.¹ Lugard himself had to throw more light on the controversy:

I hold that it will be a misuse of the power and authority of the Government if that power were used to compel natives of the country to accept a mission which they resented and which they could not accept unless compelled by superior force.²

Lugard's conception was that without the superior support of the British, it might be difficult for the Hausa/Fulani communities in Northern Nigeria to be converted to christianity. He therefore expected British officials not to get involved in the religious venture of the European missionaries. At the initial stage of their presence in Kano for example the Kanawa addressed the British administrators as Nasara (Christians) rather than Turawa ("light skinned" people or Europeans). The colonial administrators rejected this label and preferred to be called Turawa to separate themselves from the missionaries. Lugard simply wanted the missionaries to operate on their own in areas where the people chose to tolerate them, independent of the colonial administrators. In another memoranda, he said:

I myself am of opinion that it is unwise and unjust to force missions upon the Mohammedan population, for it must be remembered that without the moral support of the Government these missions would not be tolerated. And if they were established by order of the Government the people have some cause to disbelieve the emphatic pledges I have given that their religion shall in no way be interfered with.³

1. G.O. Olusanya, 'The SabonGari System in Northern States of Nigeria', Nigeria Magazine.
2. CMS A3/L5/1898 - 1905 p. 479; Lugard to Baylis, 27 Oct. 1903.
3. F.D. Lugard, Political Memoranda, London, 1918 p. 24.

According to Crampton, the Muslims in Northern Nigeria received Lugard's pledge of non-interference as the freedom of non-Muslims to practice their religion without the Christians proselytising the muslims. On the other hand, the missionaries saw it no more than their freedom to practice and propagate their faith among people ready to listen to them.¹ They reiterated this during the first Internominal Missionary conference held in 1910 at Lokoja.² They reviewed the problems faced in northern Nigeria by Christian missionaries and passed various resolutions aimed at alleviating them. One of these emphasised that Lugard's pledge to the Emirs should not in any way violate "the presence of Christian Missionaries peacefully and tactfully setting forth the claims of their faith".³

While it was very easy for the British political officials to cite Lugard's pledge to Northern Nigerian Emirs to restrict the activities of the Christian Missionaries, it was difficult to apply the same strategy on the Southern Nigerian labour migrants and traders who endlessly poured into Hausaland after the British occupation of the North. Any attempt to impede the movement of the Southern Nigerians to the north would have inevitably affected the policy of free trade and

1. E.P.T Crampton, op. cit., p. 47.

2. CMS G3/A9/1910, No. 74, Resolutions of United Missionary Conference, No. 7.

3. E.P.T. Crampton, p. 60.

which the British professed. Most of these Southerners who had contacts with the British civilization and education since the nineteenth century were largely Christians.¹ They were therefore as 'dangerous' to the systems in the North as the missionaries. The British themselves realised this, but it seemed there was little they could do. In his first Annual Report,² Lugard expressed his reservation for the influx of these immigrants, most especially the petty traders among them who served no direct purpose for the colonial administration. He expressed his fears about some of the immigrants, especially the Yoruba who he described as 'trouble-makers' and people having great 'fondness for litigation'. He suggested that the local Hausa people should be encouraged to become petty traders themselves so as to be able to displace their counterparts from Southern Nigeria economically. This was however difficult to achieve and so, many Southern Nigerian petty traders like their colleagues in the colonial civil service remained in the North.

More aggressive than the activities of these Southern Nigerians in Northern Nigeria were those of the European firms whose presence in the region predated the occupation of Hausaland by the British colonialists. With some of these firms came some European barristers and administrators who the colonial authorities saw as a threat to their

1. G.A. Olusanya, "The SabonGri System..." op.cit., p. 244.

2. F.D. Lugard, Annual Report for 1900-1901, p.20.

political agenda in northern Nigeria. By 1904, three of such European companies had already been well established in Kano. They were the London and Kano Trading Company, the Niger Company and John Holt.¹ The number of such companies increased in quick succession during the first decade of the twentieth century attracting a large number of Southern Nigerians to the North as clerks, artisans, salesmen etc. The British administrators in the Northern Nigeria were at no time happy with the activities of these European firms and private individuals. In a memoranda dated 1913, Lugard warned that "they might have a more disintegrating effects than a mission station"².

The Mahdist movements³ during the first decade of the twentieth century could probably explain the apprehension of the British colonial authorities in Northern Nigeria against the incursion of the Christian missionaries and Southern Nigerian migrants into the area. In one of his reports, Lugard noted that a year hardly passed between 1900 and

1. B.A.W. Trevallion, Metropolitan Kano: Report on the Twenty Years Development Plan, 1963-1983, Oxford: Pergamon Press 1966, p. 4.
2. C.L. Temple, Native Races and their Rulers Cape Town, Argus Printing Co., 1918, p. 213.
3. See R.A. Adeleye, "Mahdist Triumph and British Revenge in Northern Nigeria: Satiru 1906." JHSN, Vol. 6 No. 2. June 1972. pp. 193-214; M.A. Al-Hajj, "The Mahdist Tradition in Northern Nigeria", Ph.D. Thesis, ABU 1973.

1906 without an anti-British Mahdist movement.¹ These movements usually involved some popular Islamic Mallams professing to be the expected Mahdi who would terminate the infidel regime of the whites in Northern Nigeria. The most dreadful of this to the British colonialists was the Satiru rebellion of 1906 as a result of which some British officials (including an Assistant Resident, Mr. A.G.M. Scott) and some of their soldiers were killed.² In the 'punitive expedition' that followed, the British inflicted heavy casualties on the religious fanatics. The rebellion would have easily spread round the Sokoto Caliphate but for the support given the British by the Sultan of Sokoto who was equally opposed to the fanatics. Writing further on this, Adeleye noted, that:

The story of muddle and panic which was Satiru is indeed a testimony to the Sokoto Caliphate from 1900--3. The rebellion demonstrates the dilemma of a new alien administration which viewing itself in a Messaianic role - as the apostles of humanism and enlightenment was pitched against the hostility of a conquered people with a resilient political culture, a world view and pattern of relations of which the conquerors were largely ignorant.³ The rebellion undermined the myth of British invincibility.

Though the latter organised a counter-insurgent expedition as a result of which Satiru, the small village about fourteen miles South-west of Sokoto and its inhabitants were destroyed, the lesson must have been imparted on the British administrators that unless they were careful with the

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1. F.D. Lugard, Colonial Reports - Annual No. 516, Northern Nigeria 1905-6 (HMS stationery office, London, 1907, p. 16).
 2. R.A. Adeleye, 'Mahdist Triumph and British Revenge in Northern Nigeria: Satiru 1906', p. 202.
 3. Ibid, P. 163.

muslims, their lives were unsafe in Northern Nigeria. It was partly from this perspective that the colonialist decided to maintain a safe distance from the Christians who were seen as potential catalysts of other Mahdist uprisings.

Ayandele has however dismissed the Mahdist argument for the proscription of the Christians from Northern Nigeria. He noted that the anti-European sentiments of the Mahdists were not created by the missionaries but by the Hausa/Fulani's aversion for the intruding Whites into their land. He noted also that the Mahdist movements started since the nineteenth century under the Sokoto caliphate and that the Christian missions had nothing to do with Sokoto and Burmi which were the most volatile enclaves of the fanatics.¹ Ubah² disagreed with Ayandele's stand. He noted that the activities of the Mahdists at the time were strong enough to make any alien government watch its fraternity with the Christians. Ubah's stand becomes more meaningful in the light of the analysis of Ayandele himself. He noted that the missionaries had been operating in Northern Nigeria since the eighteenth century. Between 1870 and 1888, they recorded some successes because of their ability to convince the people that they were not imperialists. Between 1888 and 1900 however, they had become identified as having related missions with the British imperialists apart from propagating christianity. They

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1. E.A. Ayandele, 'The Missionary Factor in Northern Nigeria, 1870-1918' JHSN, vol. 3. No. 3, Dec. 1966, p. 517.
 2. See C.N. Ubah, 'Problems of Christian Missionaries in the Muslim Emirates of Nigeria, 1900. 28', Journal of African Studies. California: Vol. 3, No. 3, Fall 1976, p. 363.

therefore began to be treated with contempt.¹ If this same people could be hostile to the British imperialists in the early 1900s, it becomes logical that any Christian missionaries left to freely operate in their midst could have more easily ignited their anger. It was probably within this context that the British colonial officials who preferred the success of their political administrator to the spread of the Christian gospel decided to keep away from the missionaries. The issue has also been earlier glossed over of how the British administrators protested against being called Nasara ("Christians") by the northerners but Turawa (Europeans) to show that they and the missionaries were not the same. Writing on this, Sonia Graham noted,

Lugard had already decided that there was a danger to peace of the protectorate of the christian missionary and the Resident were thought to be fellow-agents of the administration by the Emirs and their peoples.²

Beyond the shopworn religious excuses usually given, Olusanya and Hesketh Bell have produced same logical perspectives for further understanding the bias of the British political authorities against the Southern Nigerians, Christians missionaries and European trading houses. Statements made by some of these colonial officials at different times also betray their hidden intentions and agenda. The British interest seemed not to have been towards the protection of the sanctity of the Islamic religion as they often claimed formally. Rather, they saw the religion and feudal political system as a platform
t h r o u g h w h i c h t h e y

1. E.A. Ayandele, op. cit. pp. 503-10
2. S.F. Graham op. cit. p.18.

could successfully execute the indirect rule policy unchallenged by Northern Nigerians. Lugard aptly bared his mind on this when he noted that:

Whatever threatened the Muhammedan religion threatened the authority of the Emirs and so imperilled the organisation of indirect 'Rule'.¹

The British did not actually want the Southern Nigerians who had been exposed to Western legal and educational systems to threaten the success of the indirect rule in Northern Nigeria with what they considered to be the people's "ill-digested ideas of liberty and justice" imbibed from the schools in Sierra Leone and Southern Nigeria.² This was probably one of the reasons why Lugard referred to the Yoruba people as trouble-makers " with fondness for litigation". The contradiction here is very apparent. It was through the "civilising mission" of the British that the Southern Nigerians with whom they established their earliest contacts came to appreciate the ingenuity of the English legal system and education. It therefore becomes puzzling when the people were later blamed for having fondness for litigation, when they had been well schooled to believe that the best way to get justice dispensed was by taking their adversaries to the British courts. When the British could no longer conceal their aversions for the Southern Nigerians, they came

1. Quoted by E.P.T. Crampton p. 60.

2. G.O. Olusanya, op. cit., p. 244.

up with the following statement:

We want no violent changes, no transmorgification of the dignified and courteous Moslem into a trousered burlesque with a veneer of European civilization. We do not want to replace a patriarchal and venerable system of government by a discontented and irresponsible democracy of semi educated politicians (emphasis mine).¹

The carefully selected adjectives used by the British administrators in the above statement easily betrays the intention of those who made it. It does show that the British had other problems with the Southern Nigerians than they made the Northern Nigerian Muslim communities to realise. Such biases were successfully used to place a gulf between the Southerners and Northerners. It was within the framework that the Sabon Gari system was conceived and nourished. The Sabon Gari was meant to be a settlement where the activities of Southern Nigerians and Christian missionaries could be confined so that they would have the least contacts with their northern Nigerian, host population.

Trying to explain the rather strange attitude of the British officials to the Southern Nigerians, the European firms and Christian missionaries, Nicholson described Lugard who at most of the times controlled the affairs in Northern Nigeria as a class-conscious authoritarian who was apprehensive of a situation whereby the Christians would make the Northerners to have less respect for the Europeans

1. Sir Hesketh Bell, 'Recent Progress in Northern Nigeria', Journal of African Sociology, 10, (1910-11), p. 391.

who were considered to belong to a superior race.¹ This has also been put in another language by Heskett Bell, one of the British administrators, who could see no reason for the interference with the activities of the Christian missionaries. He observed that: Many a European with his strong race prejudice does not like the native to have the same religion as the Europeans.²

Lugard himself confirmed the applicability of this to the Nigerian environment when he accused the Christian missionaries in the country of preaching

... the equality of Europeans and natives, which however true from a doctrinal point of view, is apt to be misapplied by people in a low state of development, and interpreted as an abolition of class distinction.₃

(emphasis mine)

Those the British could easily control were considered to be good citizens and the recalcitrant, bad ones. This was probably why the colonial officials in the North thought it expedient to differentiate between the "dignified and courteous Moslem" from the North and "the discontented and ... semi educated politicians" from the South.⁴

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1. F.N. Nicholson, The Administration of Nigeria, 1900-60, London, 1969, pp. 124-5; E.P.T. Crampton op.cit., p. 47.
 2. Gotfried Simon, The Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra London, 1912, p. 30, cited by Crampton p. 49.
 3. Parliament Paper 1907. LIV report on Northern Nigeria for 1905-1906, (Cd. 3285-3) p. 119.
 4. Sir Hesketh Bell op.cit p.391.

The human rights activities of some of the Christian missionaries in Nigeria¹ also made them to be thorns in the flesh of the colonial administrators. Regular reports were sent to Britain of the illegal and extra-legal activities of the latter. Miller who featured most in this regard was labelled a "dangerous man" in 1908.² After Lugard's departure from Nigeria in 1906, there was a zealous effort on the part of the British colonial officials to prevent the infiltration of further Western ideas into Northern Nigeria, most especially through the missionaries, Sierra Leonians and Southern Nigerians. When he too could no longer contain the "nuisance value" of these people, Lugard proposed in 1913 after returning to the North that there should be a proclamation making it obligatory for any stranger passing a night in any Northern Nigeria city to obtain a permit from the colonial administrator of the affected area.³ In 1916, C.L. Temple clearly told the missionaries in Kano that his objection to their activities was not because of their propensity to convert the natives, but rather not to get the

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1. E.A. Ayandele, "The missionary factor in Northern Nigeria, 1870-1918", Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol 3 No.3 Dec. 1966 p.516
 2. Ibid. op.cit.
 3. NAK, SNP 18 Gen. P. 34/1913, Frederick D. Lugard to Lord Harcourt, 21 April 1913. p.3.

"spoiled" by European styles of education.¹ Temple clarified this better when he noted that:

The policy (indirect rule) I have outlined certainly does not admit the institution of schools where young natives are to be taught to read and write in English, and, as a natural corollary, European habits and customs because practically every young native who has passed through a school is divorced from his people.²

It was in the midst of these various questions and issues surrounding the British administration that C.L. Temple, who Professor Ayandele described as "a man who interpreted the Muslim religion more rigidly than the Emirs",³ started the Sabon Gari system in Kano.

The administrative policies that finally culminated in the founding of the Sabon Gari in the city could be said to have begun in 1904 when the cantonment proclamation No. 28 was made.⁴ Under it, legal sanction was given for urban planning in Northern Nigeria. The proclamation was later classified under part XI of the Laws of the Protectorate of

1. CMS 1916(Y), No. 82 Jones, Oyo, 19 July 1916 cited by Sonia F. Graham, Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria, 1900-1919, Ibadan Univ. Press 1966, P.162-163.
2. C.L. Temple, Native Races and Their Rulers, Cape Town: Argus Printing Co. 1918, p.219.
3. E.A. Ayandele, The Missionary Factor in Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914, New York: Humanities Press, 1966, p. 139; 'The Missionary Factor in Northern Nigeria, 1870-1918', Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol. 3, No. 3, December 1966, p. 517. For more information on Temple's aversion for the Christian missionaries and the Southern Immigrants in northern Nigeria see C.L. Temple Native Races and their Rulers, London: Frank class & Co. Ltd. 1968.
4. See A.W. Urquhart, Planned urban Landscapes in Northern Nigeria, Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1977 p. 26.

Northern Nigeria, August 1, 1910.¹ The law empowered the High Commissioner to create crown colonies (cantonments or geovernment stations) within the Northern Nigerian Protectorate in which the British Colonial authorities and their staff could live independent of the native laws in the cities. Lugard conceived these settlements to consist of at least two parts - a section for the colonial administrators and the other for the native traders, artisans etc. While each of the seventeen provinces in Northern Nigeria around this time had government stations, only three native quarters existed in the Protectorate by 1906. The latter were in Lokoja which was the first capital of Northern Nigeria; Zungeru which in 1906 replaced Lokoja as capital and Kano which was largest urban centre in the region.²

Lugard specified the following regulations for the building to be constructed in the native quarters.

- (1) They must be built with grass but with burnt or mud bricks and roofed with iron sheets.³
- (2) Each house was to be built on a plot separated from the other with little distance.

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1. F.J.D. Lugard, Instructions to Political Officers on Subjects Chiefly Politcal and Administrative, London, 1906, pp. 268-271. When republished in 1970, a revised edition of the Publication with an introduction by Kirk became entitled Political Momoranda.
 2. Ibid; p.258.
 3. This was probably to discourage the Kanawa from acquiring land at the settlement. Traditionally, these people normally fence their residences with grass to ensure the adequate seclusion of their wives from the public. Their buildings were also roofed with grass.

- (3) Plot owners in the area were to pay rents proportionate to the value and permanency of their built houses etc.¹

The cantonment Proclamation of 1904 was amended in 1911 in such a manner that the Native Reservation was devoted to non-indigenes of the townships where they were located. This was more or less as a result of the meeting attended by some of the British political officers in Northern Nigeria at London. At the meeting, Hesketh Bell, Probably expressing the opinion of most of the British officials in Northern Nigeria, announced the proposal to build aliens' towns (Sabon Garis) outside all walled cities in the region. There, all non-Muslims and foreigners would be settled Under magisterial rule.²

Under this arrangement, the native quarters now referred to as the Sabon Garis in both Zaria and Kano were by 1911 handed over to the Native authorities. This was to enhance the effective administration of the settlements under the indirect rule system. But this led to another problem. The Southern Nigerians who the British had intended to segregate from Muslim Northerners now found themselves under the Emirs rather than under the direct control of the British authorities. To solve this problem, the colonial authorities in 1914 balkanised the population in the settlements into two. While the Southern Nigerian and other Christian West African settlers were retained in the Sabon Garis ,

1. F.J.D. Lugard op.cit p. 272

2. CMS 1911 (N.N) No. 68 Memo of meeting of Hesketh Bell and CMS Representatives, London, 27 June 1911 cited in Sonia F. Graham, Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria p. 121.

the non-native Northern Nigerian muslims were shifted to a newly founded settlement called Tudun Wada.¹ While the former now had the laxity to operate under British rule, the latter who no longer had the right to live in the Sabon Gari came under the Native Authorities.

What has been attempted above is no more than a review of the factors that shaped the urban development policies under which the first batch of Sabon Garis in northern Nigerian (Kaduna, Zaria and Kano) were formally founded. Each of the Northern Nigerian towns however had specific problems that led to the formation of its Sabon Gari. The issues leading specifically to the formation of the one in Kano could be dated back to the inception of the British administration in the city. The Southern Nigerians that initially settled in Kano after the British incursion into the city in 1903 were of two categories. Those who came with the colonial officials lived very closed to them in the Government reserved areas. The traders among them settled inside the walled Kano city near the central market (Kasuwan Birni) where they came to sell their goods. As said earlier on, the British colonial authorities were suspicious of the activities of these Southern Nigerian immigrants and so would have preferred to have them settled in a place where they could be easily controlled. The opportunity came later.

In 1907, the London and Kano company was formally granted the licence to operate in Kano.² The Church Missionary Society (CMS) also began at this time to agitate that it should be allowed to establish in the city, arguing against all the past p l o y s o f t h e B r i t i s h

1. A.W. Urquhart, Planned Urban Landscapes, p.29

2. E.P.T. Crampton p. 57.

administrators to keep the Church out of Kano.¹ This led to the eviction of the London and Kano Trading company from the city in 1908.² This set in motion a litigation between the company and the British authorities. Temple immediately commenced the Sabon Gari system and ordered all Southern Nigerians out of the walled Kano city.³ The settlement was meant at this time to be an abode place for the Sierra Leonians, Southern Nigerians (traders and government officials) and agents of the European merchant houses and Christian missions in Kano. The CMS therefore had no better option than to acquire for itself land at the Sabon Gari in 1911. The certificate of occupancy of the land was later revoked with the CMS asked to move to the European quarters to make the Sabon Gari an exclusive settlement of alien natives foreigners.

In 1912, the Emir of Kano proscribed non-Muslims from living inside the walled city,⁴ thus helping to force some of the deviant Southern Nigerians to the Sabon Gari where they were supposed to be living. The Emir might have been disturbed by the increased migration of the Southerners into Kano after the 1912 extension of the railway system to the city from Lagos. Some Yoruba people whose parents were born in Kano and so considered themselves to be Kano citizens refused to pack out of the walled city (Birni). The case of these "deviant" settlers

1. Ibid

2. CMS. G3/A2/013, Alvarez to Baylis, 5 Feb. 1908.

3. E.A. Ayandele, The Missionary Factor in Northern Nigeria, 1842-1914, p. 139.

4. J.N. Paden, Region and Political Culture in Kano, p. 31.

were left to the Emir of Kano to settle by the colonial administrators. In 1914, it was decided that these Yoruba people who agreed to submit themselves without question to Mohammedan law and the executive authority of the Emir should be left to stay in the Walled city. They were however proscribed henceforth from wearing European dresses which portended them to be part of the "despicable" western civilization.¹

The Sabon Gari was demarcated by the colonial town planning agents in 1913 with 250 plots allocated to the alien natives and native foreigners.² The non-native Northern Nigerians were proscribed from living in the settlement by 1914.³ They were made to move to Tudan Wada where they could be easily administered under the indirect rule system. All the developments at Sabon Gari around this time were due to the arrival of the railway in Kano in 1912.⁴ This increased the rate of migration of Southern Nigerians into Kano and exerted more pressure on the British administration to shield the natives from the 'intruders'. By 1914, the Sabon Gari in Kano had become an exclusive settlement for the labour immigrants from Southern Nigeria, Sierra Leone and other related places serving the colonial offices, European firms etc. To

1. NAK, SNP 10, 139P/1915, Kano Province Report by A.C.G. Hastings p. 13.
2. NAK, SNP 10/2, No. 98p/1914, Annual Report kano province 1913 p. 13.
3. This was because the Sabon Gari settlement was meant for those "notordinarily subject to the jurisdiction of the Native Authority" See NAK, Kano. Prof. 5/1, 4292 Report on the Native Reservation.
4. NAK, Kano Province Annual Report, 1913; NAK, SNP 11/5, 256M 1914, A. Collard, Director of Surveys: to Chief Secretary Northern Provinces, 24th March 1914.

reinforce its identity as a settlement for 'strangers' an order was made in 1914 by the Governor General stating that:

Any person who is directly subject to the Native authority who should reside within a native reservation in the township should be guilty of an offence and on conviction shall be liable to a fine most exceeding #5.¹

The establishment of the Sabon Gari system in Northern Nigeria was finally given the sanction of law in 1917, a year after the Sabon Gari in Ibadan was established.

Sabon Gari - Ibadan

It is instructive to begin here by stating that it was the successful inauguration of the Sabon Gari system in Northern Nigeria, that gave some impetus to the establishment of Sabo, Ibadan. It is also necessary to state from the outset that the Islamic religion played a significant role in the formation of the Sabon Gari in Ibadan, though not much as it did in Kano. As observed in the case of Sabon Gari Kano, the origin of Sabo Ibadan is also closely connected with the history of the British colonial activities. Therefore, the events leading to the establishment of the settlement could be dated back to 1883 when the British established their colonial enterprise in the city of Ibadan. Unlike the Southern Nigerians that were settled at Sabon

G a r i K a n o i n

1 NAK, SNP 9/1 No. 1914 p. 13. Also see NAK, SNP 10/2 98p/1914 Kano Province Annual Report 1913 p. 9. for the earlier decision reached on the need to proscribe Northern Nigerians from living in the Sabon Gari but the native city where they could be governed by the native judiciary and executive. The Southern Nigerian immigrants were also kept outside the birni to ensure that Mohammedan laws and Hausa-Fulani customs were not forced on them.

the early twentieth century, the Northern Nigerians who inhabit Sabo Ibadan have been part of the Ibadan population before the European incursion into Yoruba land. The first batch of Hausa settlers in Ibadan are believed to have settled in the city as early as the 1830's.¹ It was however through the machinations of the British that they were latter settled at the Sabon Gari in 1916 as practised for the Southern Nigerians and other West Africans in Kano.

Before discussing the origin and peopling of Sabo Ibadan by Hausa immigrants it is necessary to define who these people are. This becomes necessary when the fact is faced that even within the traditional Hausaland (Kasar Hausawa), it has been a rather difficult task for writers to precisely say who is a Hausa person. Writing on this, Mahdi Adamu noted that:

It is impossible to give a simple definition of a Hausa person because different criteria were, and still are, used by different people at different times and places to define who was or should be regarded as Hausa. 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 language.²

The Bayajidda legend which is very popular among the Hausa people recognises seven legitimate Hausa (Hausa Bakwai) states. These are Daura, Kano, Rano, Zazzau (Zaria), Gobir, Katsina and Biram.

T h e l e g e n d

1. See I.O. Albert, 'The Hausa Community in Ibadan c. 1830-1986', M.A. Dissertation, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, 1991.

2. M. Adamu, The Hausa Factor in West African History, p.3

also identified seven other illegitimate Hausa states (Banza

Bakwai) of Zamfara, Kebbi, Nupe, Gwari, Yauri, Yoruba (Ilorin) and Kwararafa.¹ A combination of the Hausa bakwai and the Banza bakwai does not however contain an exhaustive list of Northern Nigerian groups who now refer to themselves as Hausa, most especially outside Kasar Hausawa. The Fulani for example are not Hausa but have largely become Hausanised as a result of the nineteenth century Jihad. The expansion of the Hausa influence in the present-day Northern Nigeria has been explained by Adamu and Smith in such a manner that could help to illuminate the problem under review.² The original states i.e. the Hausa bakwai engaged in different expansionist expeditions that made the Hausa influence to spread to many parts of Northern Nigeria. In the same manner, the nineteenth century Sokoto Jihad helped to spread Hausa civilization and traditions in the area but now with the Islamic religion playing very important role in the socio-cultural integration of the people. The implication of these developments is that most Northern Nigerians speak Hausa as their first language; practise the Islamic religion; and, exhibit a homogenous dressing pattern reflecting the Islamic civilization. It is within the framework of these many sides of the Hausa

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1. See H.R. Palmer, Sudanese Memoirs Vol. XXX, p. 133; S.J. Hogben and A.H.M. Kirk Greene, The Emirates of Northern Nigeria, OUP, 1966, pp. 145-6; Thomas Hodgkin, Nigerian Perspectives, London, 1975, pp. 174-6.
 2. M. Adamu op.cit.; The Estate of Abdullahi Smith, A little New Light: Selected Historical Writing of Abdullahi Smith Vol. 1., Zaria 1987.

that Mahdi Adamu defined the Hausa as:

... those who historically issued from Hausaland or their descendants through the male line, or those who became closely associated with Hausa culture by adopting its language, its customs and religion. Allowance should, however, be made for the nomadic Fulani resident in Hausaland.¹

It is within this context of "Hausaness" by blood or assimilation that one could successfully study the 'Hausa' immigrants in Ibadan. It was within such framework that John Works too studied the Hausa in Chad.² The Hausa community in Ibadan is not an ethnically homogenous group but rather a coterie of Northern Nigerians who have chosen to be uniformly identified with Hausa cultural practices as an instrument of competition with members of their host community. To this end, the Hausa community in Ibadan include people from Kano, Zaria, Maiduguri, Sokoto, Yola etc.

Unlike the case of the Southern Nigerian immigrants in Kano, the effectual presence of the Hausa in Ibadan predated the European colonialism. Their migrations to the city has been noted by various scholars to be a continuation of their larger presence in Yorubaland as merchants, Islamic scholars and slaves.³ But most important was their involvement in the trans-Saharan and trans-volta trade as well as

1. M. Adamu. p.

2. See John A. Works Jr., Pilgrims in a Strange Land: Hausa Communities in Chad. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976, pp. 1-3.

3. S. Johnson, The History of the Yoruba, Lagos, 1956; M. Adamu, The Hausa Factor in West African History; E.A. Oroge, 'The Institution of Slavery in Yorubaland, with particular reference to the nineteenth century', Ph.D. Thesis, Birmingham 1971.

the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The primary connection of the Hausa merchants with Yorubaland was through the Southern route of the trans-Saharan trade from which the Yoruba people benefited. The route connected Hausa land with Gonja (in Modern Ghana).¹ The principal article of trade along the route was kolanut, most especially cola nitida which is goro in Hausa and gbanja in Yoruba. The producers of the nuts have always been in the forest belt of West Africa though the major consumers are in the African Sahel and Savanna regions. Until the early twentieth century when the production of cola nitida began in Yorubaland, the Hausa merchants procured their supplies from the Volta region, most especially from Gonja, Salaga² etc. Kolanut was introduced to Hausaland and presumably became an important article of trade by the second half of the fifteenth century. It was at this time that Kano became linked up with Gonja³, Oyo too was linked up

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1. E.O. Oroge op.cit., J.F. Ade-Ajayi and S.A. Akintoye, 'Yorubaland in the Nineteenth Century', Groundwork of Nigerian History, pp. 280-302.
 2. See 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', Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria, III () 1967; P. Lovejoy, Caravans of Kola: The Hausa Kola Trade 1700-1900, Zaria/Ibadan, 1980, pp. 1-10; B.A. Agiri, 'Trade in Gbanja Kola in South Western Nigeria, 1900-1950', Odu, No. 30, July 1986, p. 25.
 3. J.O. Hunwick, 'Shonghay, Borno and Hausaland in the sixteenth century', in J.F. Ade Ajayi and M. Crowdes (eds), History of West Africa, Vol. 1.

with Hausaland¹ in the trans-Saharan trade. Morton-Williams has even argued that the trade contributed in no small measure to the growth of Oyo, as the Yoruba kingdom played a middle-man role in the economic relationship between the Hausa and Mande people. The traders from Hausaland unavoidably passed through Oyo to Ghana. This lasted up to the nineteenth century when Lagos sea port became the major entry point for imported goods into Nigeria.

After the annexation of Lagos by the British during the second half of the nineteenth century, the Port of Lagos became a major point through which kolanuts were imported into Nigeria from Gold Coast and Sierra-Leone. The nuts were then taken hinterland either through the river or across Yorubaland through Abeokuta, Eruwa, Iseyin and Ilorin to Northern Nigeria. The Niger route was closed after 1886 as a result of the activities of the Royal Niger Company. It was replaced in 1900 by another from Lagos through Sagamu, Ibadan, Oyo Ilorin to the North.² In addition to the Kola trade, the Hausa migrants in Yorubaland around this time were engaged in cattle trade.

The first two Hausa migrants to settle in Ibadan are said to be engaged in cattle and beef trade. The two immigrants from K a n o w e r e

1. P. Morton-Williams, 'The influence of Habitat and Trade in the Politics of Oyo and Ashanti' in M. Douglas and P.M. Kaberry (eds), Man in Africa, London, 1969 pp. 82-9.
2. B.A. Agiri, 'Trade in Gbanja in South Western Nigeria 1900-11950' op.cit., p. 25.

Muhammadu Na Garke Sarkin Pawa and Sarkin Zango Abdullahi Makama.¹ They first settled at Bashorun Oluyole's compound (Ile-Iba) at Oja'ba. The available data however suggest that Na Garke and Abdullahi Nakama were probably not the very first set of Hausa people to settle in Ibadan.

Oroge² and Adamu,³ for example, have both shown that before the beginning of the nineteenth century when Ibadan became a refugee-camp, there were many Hausa slaves in various Yoruba homes. These were in addition to the merchants earlier discussed, some of who settled in different parts of Yorubaland. Some of the Hausa slaves were part of the Jama'a army used by Kakanfo Afonja in the Ilorin revolt against Oyo empire.⁴ Some of them might have equally fought on the side of their masters during the nineteenth century internecine Yoruba warfare. It is therefore most likely that some of them, either as bonded slaves or free men, settled in Ibadan after the war in view of the city's reputation as the most reliable refugee-camp at this moment. Na Garke and Abdullahi Makama probably came to settle in Ibadan after the city had become well established. Their titles of Sarkin Pawa and Sarkin

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1. Oral communication with Alhaji Ahmadu Bature, Alhaji Shaibu Dikko and Alhaji Ahmadu Zungeru; See also K. Morgan, Akinyele's Outline History of Ibadan.
 2. E.A. Oroge, 'The Institution of Slavery in Yorubaland with particular reference to the nineteenth century', unpublished Ph.D thesis, Birmingham, 1971.
 3. Mahdi Adamu, The Hausa Factors in West African History, op. cit., pp. 128-9.
 4. Ibid. p. 128.

Zango indicate respectively that they were leaders of a set of other Hausa immigrants. The title Sarkin Pawa indicates that Na Garke was a leader of Hausa butchers. This also suggests that cattle and beef trade must have played a significant role in the economic lives of the earliest Hausa settlers in Ibadan. Sarkin Zango is also the official Hausa title for the head of a transit camp for immigrants. This does show that while Abdullahi Makama functioned as the political head of the earliest Hausa immigrants in Ibadan, Na Garke provided the needed leadership for the economic activities of the people. It was probably around these premises that the Hausa community in the city came to recognise them both as the first Hausa settlers in Ibadan.

The first generation of Hausa settlers in Ibadan, as different from the slaves (who Cohen described as Kaka gida)¹ were later joined by other categories of Hausa immigrants which included those from the Gold Coast when the economic policy of the area became too harsh;² the demobilised Hausa sldiers after the world War II; the small scale itinerant traders (yan koli); those engaged in Yawon almajiranchi (that is, roving Islamic studentship and scholarship); the seasonal labour immigrants from Sokoto and Borno areas reacting to the ecological problems in their homelands³.

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1. Abner Cohen, Custom and Politics in Urban Africa, pp. 30-1.
 2. 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; Oral communication with Sabon Gari, Ibadan settlers.
 3. See I.O. Albert, 'The Hausa Community in Ibadan, C. 1830-1986, pp. 23-28.

Up till 1893 when the posture of the Ibadan people to strangers began to change, the Hausa immigrants in the city had little or no problems living with members of their host community. They largely lived in Yoruba compounds paying rents to their landlords. It was however within the contexts of the Ibadan hostility against them after the Ekitiparapo war that they started thinking of having their own exclusive settlement.

The Ekitiparapo war in which the Ekiti/Ijesha coalition was pitched against Ibadan forces ended in 1893 through the intervention of the British who immediately established colonial rule¹ over Ibadan city. This incident which permanently terminated the imperial ambition of the Ibadan changed the people's attitude to the non-indigenes in their midst. First, the Ibadan wanted to settle old scores with their enemies, real and imaginary, by driving them away from their city (Ibadan). They also needed to create new economic opportunities for those who had been retrenched from military service as a result of the British colonial system. After the establishment of the British colonial government in 1893, some of the Ibadan soldiers who now

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1. S.A. Akintoye, Revolution and Power Politics in Yorubaland 1840-1893, London: Longman, 1971.

nothing worthwhile to do roamed the city's streets engaging occasionally in some insurgent activities like looting and tuggery. They were however soon taught some lessons by Resident Bowen and his Hausa soldiers. An historical example was set in 1894. Some prominent Ibadan chiefs who were found to be disturbing the public peace were arrested and beaten up by the anxious Hausa soldiers, on the order of the British Resident.¹ This was signal to all and sundry that the era of militarism and rowdiness in Ibadan was gone for good. Many Ibadan citizens hitherto engaged in professional warfare now had to concentrate their thoughts on the question of what legitimate economic activities to earn their living from. Some of them thought it fit to take over the economic activities of the stranger elements in their midst.

First to be attacked by the Ibadan were the Ijesa, Ekiti, Egba, and Ijebu² who were considered to be the principal conspirators against the Ibadan in the Ekitiparpo (Kiriji) War. Fruitless efforts were made to drive these people out of the city. The Ibadan however succeeded in 1895 to expell the Fante who dominated the rubber industry, from the city.³ The Ibadan protested to the local Resident, Captain Bower, that the foreigners were exploiting their forest resources
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1. Olufemi Omosini, 'The Rubber Export Trade in Ibadan, 1893-1904: Colonial Innovation of Rubber Economy', Dept. of History University of Ife Seminar Papers, 1978-79, p. 205.
2. T. Falola "From Hospitality to Hostility: Ibadan and Strangers", 1830-1904", Journal of African History, 26, 1985 p. 62-3
3. Ibid. P. 64; O. Omosini Opicit p. 206

disadvantage of Ibadan citizens.¹ The Resident therefore acceded to the request to expel them from the city. The Ibadan consequently took over the people's rubber trade. Then they shifted their attention to the Hausa immigrants who at this time controlled both the cattle and kola trade in the city. The Ibadan wanted the Hausa people out of their city for many reasons. They, like other Yoruba people at this time lost many Hausa slaves as a result of the British laws against slavery and slave trade.² Some of these exslaves later surfaced in Ibadan as enlisted policemen and soldiers under the colonial system and started behaving in manners which the already embittered local people considered arrogant.³ The Hausa traders in the city were often accused of threatening the Ibadan with punishment in the hands of their colleagues in the colonial constabulary.⁴

Colonial records and newspaper reports between 1897 and the 1940's could be easily used here to illustrate how some of these Hausa immigrants conducted themselves after the British incursion into Yorubaland. Many people at this time complained about their troublesome disposition. The District Officer of Ibadan who himself could no longer

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1. O. Omosini op cit p. 206.
 2. See E. Adeniyi Oroge, 'The Fugitive Slave Question in Anglo-Egba Relations, 1861-1886', Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol. VIII, No. 1 Dec. 1975, pp. 61-80.
 3. Mapo Hall Ibadan, Akinyele Historical Papers, File 110/1740/AKP8, pp. 36-45.
 4. Ibid.

cope with the activities of those under him noted in his entry of October 22, 1897 that:

The Hausas I sent to Odo-Otin arrived at noon today...they had taken 4 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 directed 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 sufferers.¹

Similar reports were received by the Resident of Oyo Provinces during his visits to different parts of Yorubaland about the activities of the Hausa police and army from Iseyin, Oke-Ifo, Iganna.² In some cases, he had to take drastic action against the immigrants. In the others, he declined to carry out the stern measures suggested by the local people or their traditional leaders. Summarising the excesses of these Hausa law enforcement agents in one of his publications, Ayandele described them as "the first major disturbers of the Nigerian Society".³

The other grouse the Ibadan people had against the Hausa in their midst was that they (Hausas) were responsible for the increased rate of burglary in Ibadan since the end of the Kiriji War.⁴ It is most likely that this accusation was made to lend strength to the earlier ones.

1. National Archives Ibadan, Prof. 3/6, The Resident's Travelling Journal 1897-1899 entry for Oct. 22, 1897.
2. Ibid; entries for Jan 10, 1898 and Jan. 20, 1898.
3. E.A. Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1908: A political and social Analysis, London, 1966 p. 338.
4. I.B. Akinyele, Iwe Itan Ibadan ate Die Ninu Ilu Agbegbe Re Bi Iwo, Osogbo ate Ikirun, Exter, 1950, pp. 137-8.

Closely tied to the two complaints already made against the Hausa immigrants was the more serious one that they wanted to monopolise the kolanut trade in Ibadan as they had already done to the cattle business.¹ The Ibadan people began to feel uncomfortable when the Hausa people they had hitherto been helping to procure kolanut from the villages on commission basis, began to visit these villages themselves to get their supplies directly from farmers. The Hausa traders wanted to get rid of the middleman role of the Ibadan in the system, so that they could buy more cheaply and make higher profits. This led to crisis between the concerned Ibadan people and the Hausa kola traders. By March 1896, the Yoruba kola agents cut the Hausa off the Ibadan kolanut trade by refusing to have any transaction with them, having blocked the rural markets of the product. Some of the immigrants who had farmland had them confiscated and reduced to wage labourers under Ibadan farmers. Those considered to be thieves among them were threatened with death penalty.²

The hostility against the Hausa in Ibadan continued until 1897 when the Resident could no longer resist the urge to intervene. He could not see any need to extradict the immigrants to their homelands as clamoured for by the Ibadan. Rather, he asked the few of them with no legitimate business in the city to leave and issued permits to those who could convince him that they were in Ibadan to engage in honest trade. The first batch of Hausa immigrants to get the permits were those born in

1. Akinyele Historical Papers, file 110 pp. 41-2.

2. Ibid.

Ibadan and then the other qualified settlers that applied for them. He instructed all the immigrants to surrender the arms in their possession and then appealed for the support of the Bale on these measures taken.¹

The first move towards establishing the Sabon Gari in Ibadan was made on 30th January 1899 when the Resident suggested to the Bale that a quarter should be built in which the Hausa people could be accommodated.² The British Resident held series of meetings on the Ibadan/Hausa hostility. During one of such meetings attended by the Ibadan Chiefs and representatives of the Hausa people, the following decisions were reached:

- (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;
- (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 for them in the villages; and

1. NAI, Ibadan Prof. 3/6, Resident's Travelling Journal, Entries for 24th July 1897, 20th Jan. 1899, and Jan. 1899.

2. Ibid.; entry for 30th January, 1899.

- (vi) that they should not participate in trade except in goods which their members directly needed.¹

Though this agreement could not provide permanent solutions to the Hausa/Ibadan hostility, it does provided the framework on which the Hausa migrants in Ibadan were later organised. It became easier for the Ibadan Chiefs to address the 'Hausa question' when the British passed a law on 22nd June 1899, placing all strangers in the city under their direct control.² Between 1907 and 1913, series of meetings were held by the Olubadan-in-council on how to establish a permanent settlement for the Hausa immigrants. The task before the Ibadan Chiefs however became easier when the Hausa themselves indicated their willingness to have an exclusive settlement of theirs.

Apart from the manifest Ibadan hostility against them, the Hausa immigrants had other problems to contend with. As Ibadan grew in economic and political importance, more people came to settle in it. The Hausa people took advantage of this development by increasing their cattle supplies to the city. Then the Yoruba people began to exploit them by charging high rents and sales tax on their cattle.³ To this end, only little profits went to the Hausa people who actually travelled to the North to bring the cattle to Ibadan. Closely tied to this

1.
[Akinyele Historical papers, File 110, p.45 and T. Falola, 'From Hospitality to Hostility: Ibadan and Strangers 1800-1892. Journal of African History, Vol. 26, 1985 p.66

2. NAI, Lagos Annual Reports, 1899, pp. 88-89.

3. Abner Chohen, Customs and Urban Politics in Africa, pp. 104-105.

problem was the incessant accusation against the Hausa cattle dealers that they were messing Ibadan city up with animal droppings and that the careless movement of their animals was threatening free flow of traffic in the city. All these problems greatly disillusioned the immigrants who then began to ask for their own exclusive settlement.¹ To make well their case, they reactivated the waning debate on the Hausa thieves in Ibadan by arguing that they needed a separate settlement where it would be possible to closely check the movements of one another and also preserve their religious and socio-cultural exclusiveness.² Consequently Sabon Gari (Sabo) was established for them in 1916 on a land donated to the immigrants by Bale Irefin³ who was the political head of Ibadan between 1912 and 1914. The fact that it was the Bale himself that donated the parcel of land on which they were settled indicated the determination of the Ibadan elites to get the Hausa out of the city.

It is clear from the foregoing that the circumstances under which the Sabon Gari in Kano was founded is different from that of Ibadan, though the former provided the precedent for the latter. In Kano, the major reason for the establishment of the settlement was to ensure that the Southern Nigerian immigrants did not infect the local population

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Oral communication with Alhaji Ahmadu Bature.

with Christian religion and western civilization. The British needed this to ensure that the Kanawa were easily administered under the indirect rule system. In Ibadan on the other hand, both the Ibadan and Hausa strangers asked for the establishment of the settlement. The Hausa immigrants needed to be settled at a place where they could easily control the movement of their cattle. The argument later raised by the immigrants that they needed a settlement (Sabon Gari) where they could enjoy their religious exclusiveness like their Southern Nigerian counterparts at the Sabon Garis in Northern Nigeria, was a secondary one. They needed such an argument to accelerate the process through which the settlement was founded, due to some other economic problems faced in Ibadan at this time.

What is important to note here is that in the early years of British colonial administration, it was found desirable to accomodate stranger elements in the large commercial urban settlements seperately from indigenes. The successful establishment of the Sabo Gari in Kano and Ibadan did not however completely resolve the culture shock or culture contact as envisaged by the British; nor did it finally solve the problem of economic independece envisaged by the indigenes in Ibadan and the Southern Nigeria elements in Kano or of religious purity desired by the Muslims in both cities. The fact is that the growth and organisation of the Sabon Garis introduced new dimensions and brought to the fore new problems which compounded the conflicting interests of the migrant and indigenous elements in Kano and Ibadan.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PHYSICAL GROWTH OF THE SETTLEMENTS

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the different phases of physical development at the Sabon Garis in both Kano and Ibadan so that a thorough insight could be gained into how they evolved to be what they are. As pointed out in the preceding chapters, the two settlements came into being during the first two decades of the twentieth century as a result of the British colonial urban policies in Nigeria. This had a great impact on their physical structure and phenomenal growth. Though the settlements are in "indigenous" urban centres, they easily exhibit different features of the modern times. For example, unlike the Old walled Kano city and the core Ibadan heartland where mud houses were built in clustered forms, the Sabon Garis in the two leading Nigerian cities, most especially the one in Kano, have modern buildings and well-planned streets.

Sabon Gari Kano

The physical growth of Sabon Gari Kano could be said to have started in 1912 when the railway system reached Kano necessitating the influx of more Southern Nigerian traders and labour immigrants into the city¹. The Emir of Kano had to

1. A. W. Urquhart, Planned Urban Landscapes in Northern Nigeria, Zaria: Ahmadu Bello Univ. Press 1977
p. 28

proscribe non-muslims from living in the walled city¹. By 1913, the colonial authority had to set some plots aside as the Baro-Kano railway terminal, the Sabon Gari and the industrial/ commercial areas in conformity with Lugards Standard. 250 plots were formally allocated to Southern Nigerian immigrants by this time². Clarifying the position of the colonial authority on the category of people to live in the Sabon Gari, C. L. Temple said:

The SabonGari in Kano should be occupied by Non-Native Africans. And such natives as might cause trouble if they lived in Kano city. On the whole, Natives should not be encouraged to live in the Sabon Gari³.

The 1914 amalgamation of Southern and Northern Nigeria brought more people from the former region to the city of Kano to the extent that the settlement became totally reserved for the Christian West African and Southern Nigerian immigrants. The Muslim Northern Nigerians in the area who were not indigenes of Kano were shifted to a new settlement called Tudun Wada⁴. The new settlement was sited east of the Sabon Gari. The development

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1. J. Paden op. cit. p. 316.
 2. NAK, SNP 10/2, nO. 98P 1914 Kano Province Annual Report, 1913 p. 13
 3. NAK, SNP 11/4 204 M/1913, comments by C.L. Temple on Resident Gowers' Memoranda of 24th Dec. 1913 to Chief Secretary Zungeru.
 4. A. W. Urquhart op. cit. p.68.

of Tudun Wada was as a result of the refusal of the Hausa-Fulani indigenes of Kano to take up any appointment with their European guests. Because of the manner in which the British occupied Kano in 1903, the Muslim population in the city only saw them as victorious invaders of a muslim community. The Kanawa therefore viewed the British or Whiteman's paid employment with great contempt. Taking up any employment with the Europeans was considered "an invidious and servile relationship to christian conquerors"¹. It was within this context that the few Northern Muslims that agreed to work with the Europeans were settled with their masters or among the Southern Nigerians immigrants before having their own settlement in 1914.

The refusal of the Kanawa to work with the British colonial officials and the European trading houses in Kano² must have increased the tempo of Southern Nigerians' immigration into the city. About 320 plots were allocated to new settlers at the Sabon Gari between 1913 and 1918³. More people came to settle in the Sabon Gari with the industrial growth of Kano city at Bompai. Both the Sabon Gari and Tudun Wada greatly expanded as a result of the industrial growth of the city.

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1. Paul M. Lubeck, Islam and Labor in Northern Nigeria, Cambridge, 1986 p. 137
 2. See Ibid.
 3. J. Paden op. cit. p. 315.

The number of allocated plots at Sabon Gari in 1936 rose to 560 and 1,472 by the outbreak of the Second World War until it became highly exploded with immigrants in the 1930s¹. Most of these immigrants were engaged in economic activities related to the railway system. Tables one to three below indicate the demographic characteristics of the Southern Nigerian immigrants in Kano. As indicated earlier, the Sabon Gari was Yoruba/Igbo dominated. In 1921, there were 1471 Yoruba and few Igbo people in the settlement - By 1948, the population of the Igbo (6680) had surpassed that of the Yoruba (4514). Between 1945/50, the number of Igbo settlers had increased to 7303 and that of the Yoruba 5167.² Table 2 which contains data on ethnic composition of the Sabon Gari indicates that the settlement was 59.05% Igbo dominated, while the Yoruba constituted just 23.92% of the total Sabon Gari population. The total number of people in the settlement at this time, including the Hausa-Fulani (48%) was 21,624. This brief review could help to illustrate the pressure that was exerted on the Sabon Gari settlement over the years. Economically, the vibrancy of the Sabon Gari market led to the decline on the business opportunity at the Kano city market which had been in existence since the tenth century.³

1. Ibid., Many new industries were established in Kano during this time. This attracted labour migrants from Southern Nigeria. See Bryan Sharwood-Smith, Kano Survey Zaria: Gaskiya Corporation, 1950 p. 39.

2. See table I

3. See table 3

Table 1

Statistics of the Yoruba and Igbo population
in Kano between 1921 and 1955.

	Year	1921	1948	1945/50	1954/5
1	Yoruba	1471	4514	5167	5174
2	Igbo	Few	6680	7303	12770
	Total		11,194	12,460	17,994

Computed from NAK Kano Prof 5/1, 5908 Tribal Population
Statistics pp. 5-44.

Table 2
Detailed Statistics of the 1954/55 Ethnic
Composition of the Sabon Gari(kano)

Ethnic Group	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	Percent
bo	3,670	3,758	2,844	2,496	12,770	59.05
oruba	1,484	1,710	928	1,046	5,174	23.92
robo and Itsekiri	360	400	108	67	935	4.32
fik and Ibibio	279	530	48	49	906	4.18
enin, Ishan and Kukuruku (Edo)	168	144	74	60	446	2.06
ja (Okirika and Kalabari)	195	101	33	20	349	1.61
upe and Igala	105	210	40	24	379	1.75
doma and allies	80	131	16	8	235	1.08
old Coast, Togo and ahomean	48	34	20	15	117	.54
ausa and Fulani	16	74	8	6	104	.48
amerounian	20	30	15	8	73	.37
ierra Leonean	10	20	10	8	48	.22
ripolitanian and Sudanese- rab	12	3	21	5	41	.18
hadian	18	10	6	4	38	.17
anuri	3	4			7	.03
est Indian	2	-	-	-	2	.01
	6,470	7,165	4,171	3,814	21,624	100.00

Tribal population statistics op. cit. p. 41

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Table 3

The Socio-Economic Characteristics of the
Sabon Gari Compared to other Settlements in Kano

	Variable	Kano City	Fagge	Tudun Wada	Gwagwarwa	Sabon Gari	Township
1	Population (1964)	165,455	21,190	7,980	10,800	40,000	9,250
2	Ethnic Identity	Hausa/ Fulani	Hausa/ Arab/ Lebanese	Hausa	Hausa/Ibo	Ibo and South- ern	European/ Lebanese/ Northern/ Civil Servant
3	Income level	Mixed	Mixed	Low	Low	Mixed	High
4	Date of found- ing	10th cen- tury	Late 19th Century	Post WW II	Post WW II	Early 20th Cent.	Early 20th Century.
5	Population growth p.a (1958-62)	11.5%	14.5%	28.9%	33.0%	5.6%	11.5%
6	Number of houses (1964)	27,000	3,325	1,160	920	1,700	1,550
7	Persons per room (1964)	1.4	3.0	1.8	2.0	7.0	1.4

Source: B.A.W. Trevallion, Metropolitan Kano: Report on the Twenty
Year Development Plan 1963-1983.

The original Sabon Gari in the city was laid out in 1913 into plots in a rather uncoordinated manner to the east of the present-day Roman Catholic Mission. The land in which the settlement was built was owned by some talakawa (members of the peasant class) who farmed on it.¹ The land was acquired from the Kano native authority by the British colonial administrators which paid to the former some unspecified amount of money as compensation. No rent was however paid by the occupants who built temporary structures on the land. The increased demand for land made the government to set aside new land to the north of the original Sabon Gari. The former therefore became evacuated with the demarcation of the latter in 1914. But this time around, each plot holder had to pay #20 which entitled him to build a house of any type on the land.² It was at this moment that the Sabon Gari in Kano began to acquire its rectangular grid pattern. There was a Native Authority Public Notice (No.3) in 1917 which specified that each land owner at the settlement must have an approved building plan before commencing the building of his house.³ There were two other Public Notices in 1918 and 1924 regarding how houses should be built in the settlement. The

1. C.N. Ubah Ph. D. thesis pp. 173-4.

2. NAK, Kano Prof 5/1 42923, R. L. B. Maiden to Resident Kano,
'Report on the Native Reservation', Aug. 1939 pp. 2-3

3. NAK, Kano Prof 5/1 5804 Kano Sabon Gari Plot Holders Petition by p. 11.

latter was however significant as it had far-reaching implications on the relationship between Sabon Gari plot-holders and Kano authorities.

The 1924 building regulations at the Sabon Gari was brought about by overcrowding and consequent health implications at the settlement. Sabon Gari was originally meant to be a settlement for the strangers in Kano and used for the common benefit of the natives. According to the report written by R.L.B. Maiden, the class of persons for whom the Sabon Gari was originally established were clerks, artisans and others employed by the Europeans. Each occupant of the settlement was admitted only on the ability to produce a permit from the station Magistrate. Temporary labours and natives of Kano found it impossible to obtain such a permit. During the groundnut boom of the 1920s, the rule guiding tenancy in the settlement, however, became relaxed. Those who could afford to live in the Sabon Gari became admitted into it between 1917 and 1922, the settlement was taken over by absentee land-lords whose primary goal for building houses was to make money from the other immigrants in the city.¹ The building constructed by the latter category of land owners at Sabon Gari were found to contain small and ill-ventilated rooms with filthy sanitary conveniences. The 1924 building

1 .NAK, Kano Prof. 5/1 6122, Overcrowding as Sabon Gari, "Notes on an interview by the Resident Kano provinces (Mr. J.R. Patterson) with members of the Sabon Gari Representatives Board Delegation, 30 Sept 1935 p. 27.

regulations stated that not more than one-third of the area of any plot acquired at the settlement should be covered with buildings. It also stipulated that a clear space of not less than five feet in width should be left along any boundary of a plot contiguous with another plot. These regulations were however not adhered to by plot holders at the Sabon Gari. They continued to build houses ridden with small rooms as to be able to accomodate more settlers who paid exorbitant rents. In 1926, there were other building regulations which stipulated that no building should be constructed in any Northern Nigerian city without an approved plan drawn to scale showing the position of the proposed one to other buildings. The land-owners were required to have at least one window to a room, opening into the external air. Houses to be let out to lodgers were to be certified fit by the Local Authority before such building could be occupied.¹ To ensure that these rules were observed, the Engineer of Public Works and the Health Officers in the different areas were designated as the Inspection Officers of the buildings. Many people however still continued to construct unapproved buildings at the Sabon Gari.

The population of Kano dramatically increased in the 1930s, most especially as a result of the world war II. Barracks were constructed for military men from America, Britain and France. The trade in European goods also experienced a boom. The

1. N.A.K, L.A./77, Kano Province:"Building Rules for Township in the Northern Provinces".

Southern Nigerians were the best suited to exploit the economic advantages resulting from these developments. Therefore, more migrants from Southern Nigeria came to Kano.¹ This led to the problem of overcrowding at the Sabon Gari.

By the mid 1930s, the overcrowding in the Sabon Gari had reached crisis point of far-reaching health implications. There were reported cases of tuberculosis, pneumonia, cerebro-spinal meningitis, typhoid fever and dysentery in the settlement to the extent that the authorities in Kano became disturbed.² The Kano Local Authority saw the overcrowding in the Sabon Gari and its attendant health problems as an evidence of the Sabo Gari plot holders' disregard for law. In a memorandum to the residents Kano province, Mr. R.L.B. Maiden of the Kano Local Authority asked:

How much of this over-building is due to genuine ignorance, and how much is due to a calculated disregard for the law, it is now impossible to say, and in the past it would appear that the attitude adopted by the Authorities was that, once a building had been erected, it would be harsh on the plot holder to make him knock it down again and the law was not strictly enforced. Holders were not slow to take advantage of this conditions and it seems that they adopted the principle of build first, apologise afterwards, and all will be well.³

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1. Alan Frishman, "The population Growth of Kano, Nigeria" In African Historical Demography p. 237.
 2. N.A.K, Kano Prof. 5/1, 6122 Memorandum from the Secretary Local Authority Kano to the Medical Officer Kano, 27 March, 1935. p. 1.
 3. N.A.K. Kano Prof. 5/1, 6122 Memorandum from R.L.B. Maiden to the Resident, Kano Province 3 April, 1935. p.2.

Against this background, the colonial authorities in Kano wrote to plot holders at Sabon Gari that those with overbuilt plots should be ready to have them demolished. A deadline date of 1st May 1938 was given to them to put their buildings in order and have them provided with the necessary amenities.¹ At the Sabon Gari, this threat which the colonial authority in Kano were prepared to carry out with reckless abandon, aroused diverse reaction from the land-owners who could easily see the ultimate implications of the government's action.

On 20th September, 1936, the land owners at the settlement took their case to the Resident of Kano Provinces, Mr. J.R. Patterson. The government team that received these members of the "Sabon Gari Representatives Board" which claimed to represent all sections and ethnic groups resident in the settlement, consisted of the Resident, agents of the Kano Local Authority and President of the Sabon Gari Mixed Court. The Sabon Gari representatives on the other hand consisted of Messrs G.E.F. Brown, D.O. Sanyaolu, K.F. Hamid, T.P. Barlatt Hughes, R. D. Agbakoba and Rev. S.O. Odutola. The paramount issue discussed at the meeting was the demolition exercise billed for 1st May 1938. They blamed the government for the overcrowding in the

1. N.A.K. Kano Prof. 5/1, 6122 "General Notice to Sabon Gari Plotolders", 12 April 1935; and later, "Second General Notice to Sabon Gari Plotolders, 14 Jan. 1936.

settlement pleading ignorance of the laws that made it mandatory for their houses to be constructed in a given manner. They claimed that their losses would be colossal if the government failed to rescind its decision to pull their houses down in 1938 as threatened. The Resident told his guests that the overcrowding at the Sabon Gari was because the plot owners had non-challantly turned their plots into revenue-generating investments. They were told that the settlement was originally laid out for civilised strangers in Kano and therefore urged them to behave in civilised manner by not obstructing a policy that was meant to improve the sanitary conditions of the environment where they lived. He therefore advised them to be prepared for the demolition of some of the structures at the settlement. The Resident however assured that the demolition exercise would not be a wholesome affair but limited to the one-third space requirement of the 1924 building regulations. Each building was to be treated according to its merit.¹ The demolition exercise actually started in 1938 as warned but not in strict compliance with the 1924 regulations. Some of the plot owners had some rooms pulled out of their buildings. This was in such a manner that their income as landlords became drastically reduced.²

1. NAK, Kano Prof 5/1, 6122 'Notes on an Interview by the Resident with Sabon Gari Representative Board.

2. NAK, Kano Prof 5/1, 6122 'Letter from T.B. Amosu to Resident, 15th Feb. 1939.

With a view to giving Kano a better face-lift, another bye-law was passed in 1940 specifying how houses, most especially at the Sabon Gari, should be built. Sections 3 and 4 of this bye-law entitled Native Authority (Kano, Zaria and Kaduna Sabon Gari) Building Bye-Laws, 1940 read:

- (3) No new building shall be erected until the plans of the proposed building together with a block plan showing the position of other buildings and erections on the same and immediately adjoining plots and a description in writing of the building material and drawings shall have been submitted to the Native Authority and his sanction in writing obtained.
- (4) Not more than one third of the area of a residential plot or not more than one-half of the area of non-residential plot shall be built.¹

After this moment, the Medical Officer of Health in Kano, Mr. Eric C. Grilles, who had, for quite long time, been the advocate of good sanitary conditions in the Sabon Gari began to deal more ruthlessly with erring plot-holders in the settlement. He, in concert with the Local Authorities in Kano threatened to break down the older houses in the settlement not built in conformity with the 1940 regulations. The affected plot-owners who could not see how the new regulations applied to them wrote a petition to the Senior Resident of Kano Provinces. This was the first time in the colonial records of Kano that the Sabon Gari residents organised parochially to fight what was considered to be a common problem. The November 1, 1944 petition was written by the

1. NAK, Kano Prof. 5/1, 6121 Sabon Gari Legislation Under N.A. p. 87.

following associations and groups:

- (i) Plot Owners' Association
- (ii) Pito Brewers' Union
- (iii) Yoruba Welfare Central Association
- (iv) Ibo Central Union
- (v) The Benin Union
- (vi) Ijaw Tribal Union
- (vii) The Gold Coast League
- (viii) The Urhobo Progressive Union
- (ix) The Jekri National Society
- (x) The Nigerian Youth Movement.

Though the petition was purported to have been written by the ten groups identified above, it appeared from the content that it was solely the handiwork of the Plot Owners' Association who needed to establish the aura of popular support around itself to fight the battle against the Kano authorities. The petitioners demanded that the tribal groups in the Sabon Gari should be represented at the Sabon Gari Advisory Board¹ They discredited the Sarkin Sabon Gari, who was incidentally the president of the essential laws under which the Sabon Gari settlers ought to have been administered judicially. They asked that the power of the Sarki should be separated from that of the mixed Court President. They asked for the removal of Dr. Eric C. Grilles who was considered to be the unrepentant exponent of house demolition at the Sabon Gari. They also demanded that some houses should be excluded from the demolition exercise. Such buildings were those that did not conform with the required regulations because they were built before the 1940

1. This was supposed to be the medium through which the rights and demands of the non-natives at the Sabon Gari were articulated.

regulations. These houses were considered by the petitioners to be "tolerably liveable". On the account of such houses, they pleaded that a special committee consisting of the Sabon Gari representatives should be constituted under the leadership of the Medical Officer of Health to go round to determine which of the houses should be affected by the town planning sanctions of the Kano authorities.¹

Reacting to a query from the District Officer of Kano over the petition from the Sabon Gari residents, Mr. Crilles dismissed the petitioners as:

...mushroom unions which have sprung into being overnight, the originators of which are a group of landlords calling themselves caretakers who have acquired plots in Sabon Gari illegally...They own most of the squalid dwellings from which they obtain a lucrative revenue.²

Oral data³ indicates that just as these "caretakers" who operated under the banner of the "Plot owners Association" were not in the good book of the Kano authorities, they were equally much hated by the tenants who rented houses from them. The name "caretaker" was synonymous with oppression and exploitation at the Sabon Gari. Most of the caretakers were not among those living in the endangered buildings where the helpless tenants were exposed to health hazards. A large section of the Sabon Gari residents at this time therefore, considered the town

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1. NAK, Kano Prof. 5/1, 5826 Sabon Gari Affairs-Petition from inhabitants through Mr. O. Ishola, Petition Written on Nov. 1, 1944 to the Senior Resident p. 1.
 2. NAK, Prof. 5/1, 5826, Mr. Grille's reply to a query from the District Officer Kano p. 13.
 3. Oral communication with Mr. Raji Salami and other members of the Yoruba Community at the Sabon Gari.

planning policies of the Kano authorities to be in their favour. The enmity between the caretakers and the tenants at the Sabon Gari kano lasted, even beyond the exit of the British in Kano. In the 1970s, when members of the Yoruba community at the Sabon Gari were to elect their political head, they refused to vote for a caretaker who asked for their mandate. They rather went round to convince an uninterested candidate, Salisu Olowo who eventually became the Sarkin Yorubawa in the settlement.¹ Salisu was an hotelier in the settlement. He won the heart of the Yoruba people through his generosity to them in times of need at Kano.

The response of the Resident, Kano Province to the 1944 petition from Sabon Gari was not forthcoming until 6th April 1945. He spoke to the petitioners in clear terms that tribal considerations would have no role to play in the constitution of the Sabon Gari Advisory Board. He dismissed as irresponsible, the call for the removal of Dr. Grilles from office, as the Medical Officer of Health in Kano.² He, however, assured the petitioners that the position of Sarkin Sabon Gari would soon be separated from that of the mixed court President. The Sabon Gari plot-owners were left with no better alternative at this stage than to engage

1. Ibid. Mr Raji came to the Sabon Gari in the early 1960s but had a lot of information about the pre 1960s handed down to him by old immigrants some of whom had left Kano.

2. NAK, Kano Prof. 5/1, 5826 Sabon Gari Affairs-Petition from inhabitants through Mr. O. Ishola p. 18

the services of a Lagos legal practitioner to plead their major case before the Governor-General of Nigeria. Barrister O.A. Alakija in a petition to Sir Arthur Richards through the Acting Chief Commissioner of Northern Provinces argued that the decision to demolish the buildings of his clients was illegal as the 1940 regulations were not in existence when they built their houses. He also faulted the manner in which the 1940 regulations were interpreted by the Medical Officer of Health. Should the authorities in Kano feel unconstrained to carry on with the demolition exercise, Barrister Alakija asked that his clients should be compensated.¹

The question of compensation to plot holders whose houses at Sabon Gari were billed for demolition had been raised as far back as 1935 by the Medical Officer of Health in Kano. It was decided by then that the case was not a valid one as the landowners must have already made huge profits from the land and would have, since 1924 when a major building regulation was enacted, repaired their houses if they really desired to respect the law.² Therefore, when compensation was later to be paid in the Sabon Gari settlement, it was to those whose farmland were acquired for the expansion of the settlement.

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1. NAK, Kano Prof. 5/1, 58404 Kano Sabon Gari Plot Holders - Petition by "Memorandum from Barrister O. A. Alakija to Sir Arthur Richards.
 2. R.L.B. Maiden to Resident Kano, 3 April 1935 p.2.

Sabon Gari reached the brink of its expansion in 1945¹. Therefore, the suggestion was made for the laying out of a new Sabon Gari in which the increasing southern Nigerian immigrants in Kano could be settled. It was however difficult to find a suitable site for this except the colonial administrators were prepared to allow the immigrants to be settled in the birni and areas occupied by muslim northern Nigerians. Within the immediate vicinity of the Sabon Gari, it was difficult to identify possible directions in which the settlement could expand. In a communication with the Secretary Northern Province at Kaduna Mr. John H. Carrow the Resident, Kano Province expressed his dilemma on where to site the new settlement:

Extension to the north and west is impossible... To the South, it would take in an open space which is a "lung" for the area. Whilst in the east it is shut in by the Catholic, Church Missionary Society, and Sudan interior Mission sites... some new Sabon Gari must be laid out. Where? To the South of the city? But that may be needed for the overflow from the city. To the north east of the present Sabon Gari? But here one is approaching the stream beds of the Jakara and Jetsi and the siting of a village here might lead to considerable erosion. And yet a new settlement will soon be urgently required.²

It was later decided in 1949 to expand the settlement between the west side of pre-existing Sabon Gari and the Jekara which was the western boundary of the settlement. A total compensation of #1299 8/- was arranged for the farmers in the area. Other category of farmers were

1. NAK, Kano Prof. 5/1 5920/S.2 Sabon Gari Layout and Town Planning of Resident Kano Province to Secretary Northern Provinces, 20th August 1945. p.1.

2. Ibid.

prohibited from operating on the land between the France road which was the Southern edge of the old Sabon Gari and the main Katsina road. The total compensation for this set of farmers was calculated to be #227 7/-¹. The acquired land was thereafter allocated to the deserved applicants. Up to 1954, land was still being allocated at the Sabon Gari. This was probably because of the increased demand for factory and other kinds of skilled labour, which only southern Nigerians could adequately supply in Kano: More Southern Nigerians also came to settle in Kano at this time as small-scale traders.² It was also during this year that the Native Administrators in Kano decided that canteens and shops should be attached to the buildings along the south eastern end of the Ibo road while the single plots north east of the settlement were reserved for residential purposes only. The available plots at this time were allocated to members of the different ethnic groups that applied for them rather than members of the exclusive groups that the Sabon Gari was established for³. By 1955, most of the roads in the settlement had been tarred⁴ and then the settlement began to wear attractive look, most

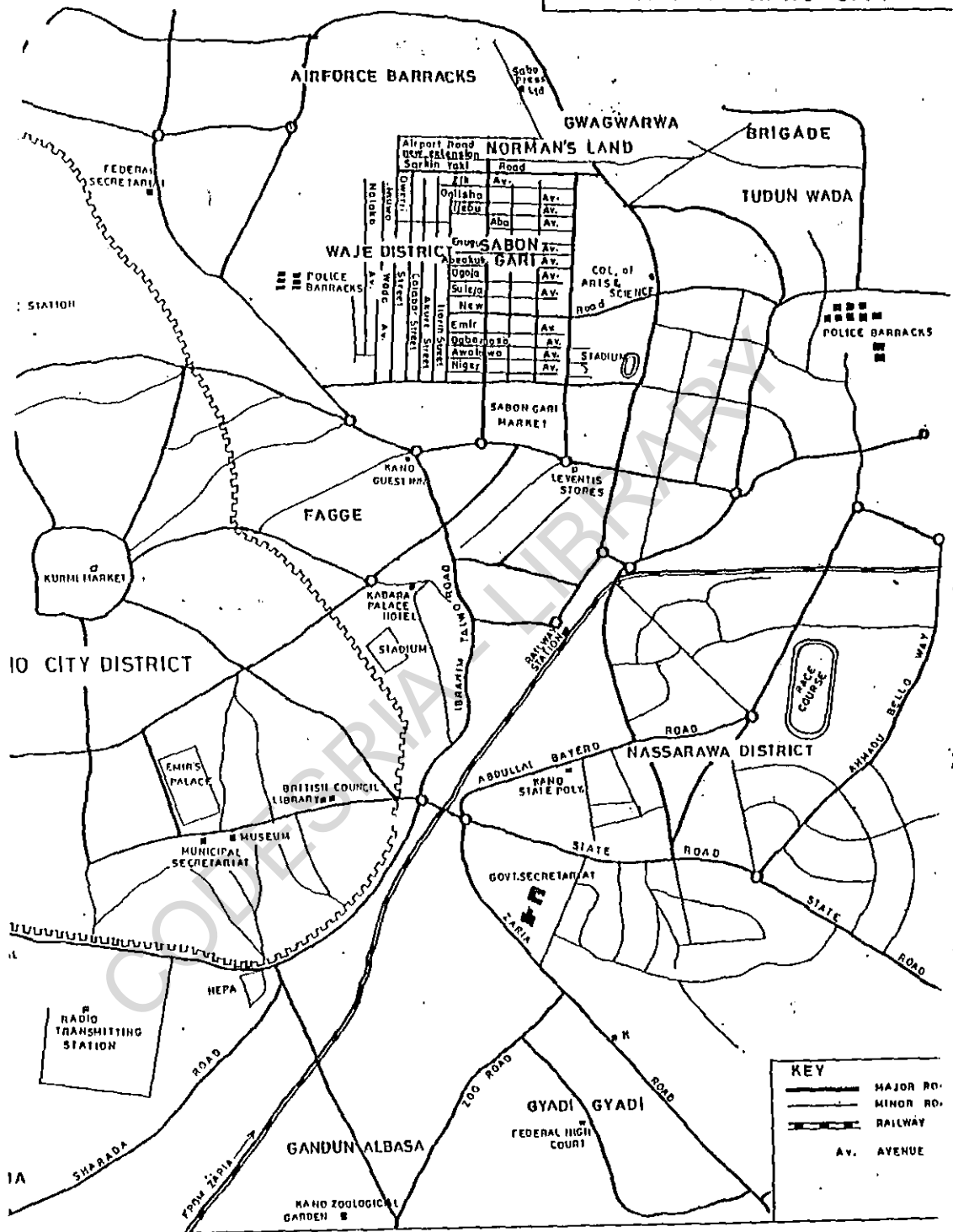
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1. Kano Prof. 5/1, 5920/s.2 "A.R. Bailey to the The Secretary Northern Provinces Kaduna", April 1949 p. 20.
 2. Alan Frishman, 1977 p. 239.
 3. Kano Prof. 5/1 5920/S.2 "Extract from the minutes of the Wage Council meeting held on 14/08/54 p. 535.
 4. Kano Prof. 5/1, 6118A. Sabon Gari Improvements p. 8.

especially as the plot developers in the area began to comply with the specified building instructions by town planning and health authorities. The basic intention of the British administrators in Kano was to make Sabon Gari a model settlement which others could emulate in the future.¹

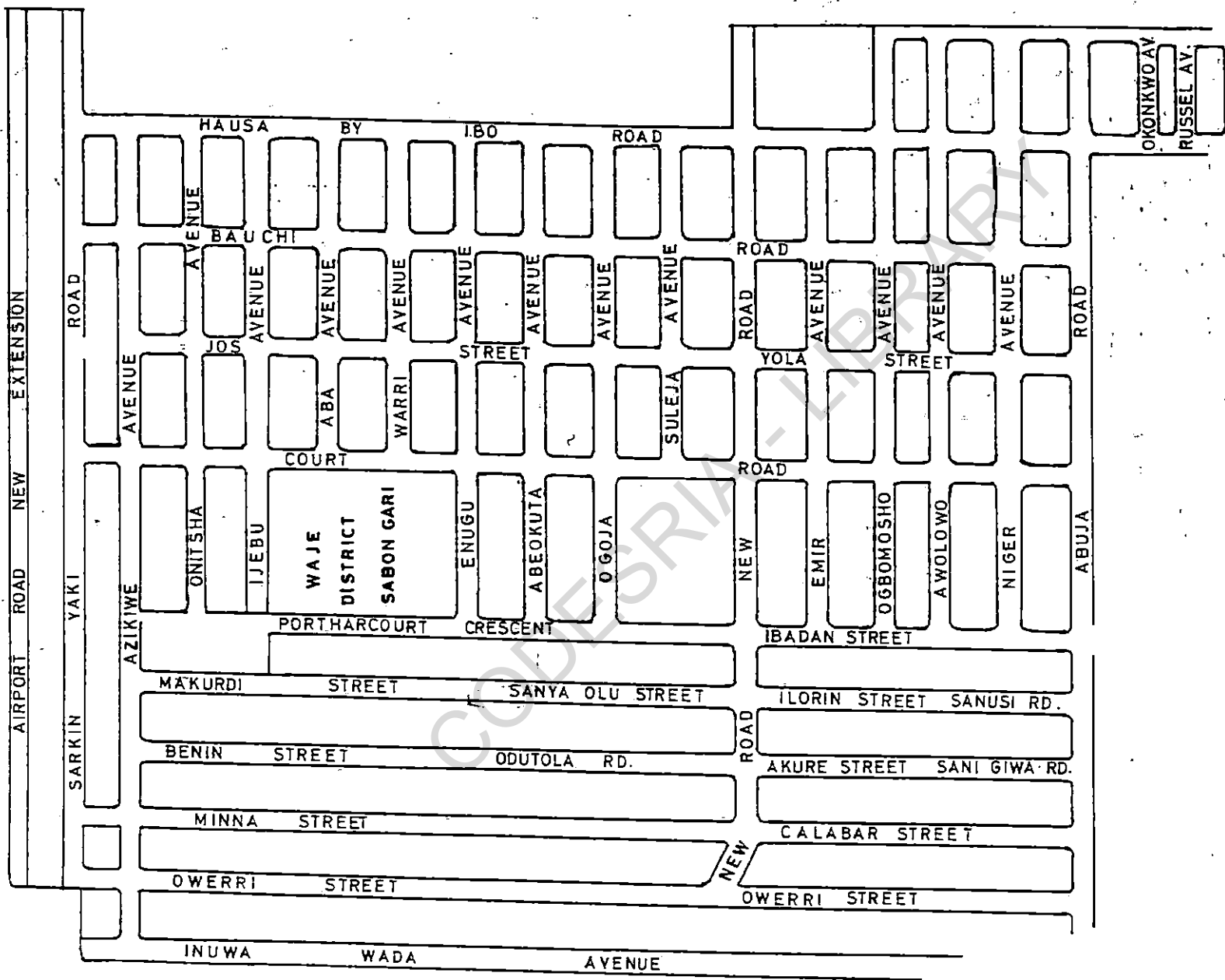
The Sabon Gari in Kano is one of the largest and best planned of such settlements in Nigeria. It is one of the biggest wards in the city of Kano. The settlement is under the control of the Nassarawa Local Government Council of Kano state. It is bounded in north by Sarkin Yaki road and in the south by Murtala Muhammed way. The border of the settlement in the west is Nalako avenue and the Catholic/Anglican Mission houses down the Ibo road in the east. The settlement is encircled by three religiously sensitive quarters of Gwagwarwa in the north, Tudun Wada in the east and Fagge in the west. The implications of this on inter-group relations between the Sabon Gari residents and the muslim community in Kano shall be discussed in chapter six. It suffices for now to state that the settlements that sorrounded the Sabon Gari are peopled by the muslims who in some cases often find it difficult to tolerate the religious impulse emanating from the christian dominated southern Nigerian settlement. Fagge, a settlement which was established in the pre-colonial period has now emerged to become a new settlement for Hausa merchants and youths who in their crave for modernization could no longer live in the old walled city of Kano during the close of the British presence in the area. The southern part of

1. See the maps on pages and

MAP OF KANO CITY



3 REE 3 OF 5 BUN CAR, 10-10-10



Courtesy of Kano Tourist Camp

Fagge settlement is however inhabited by some Lebanese traders.

Tudun Wada and Gwagwarwa on the other hand are settlements for the muslim Northern Nigerians who were non-natives of Kano.

The original Sabon Gari in the city was laid out in 1913 into plots in a rather haphazard manner to the east of the present-day Roman Catholic Mission. The land was acquired from the Kano Native Authority by the Colonial authority for an unspecified amount of money. No rent was however charged on the immigrants who acquired land at the settlement until 1914 when the original Sabon Gari was evacuated in Kano. It was after 1914 that the Sabon Gari in Kano began to have rectangular grid patterns. The grids were separated from one another by wide and well-tarred streets which variously cut across the settlement. Some of these streets bear names relating to some Nigerian towns. These include Enugu, Abeokuta, Ogoja, Ibadan, Owerri and the like. Some were named after some southern Nigerian peoples e.g. Ibo road and Yoruba road (presently called Ogbomoso Avenue). Yet some others were / are named after some eminent Nigerian personalities who have contributed to the development of Nigeria in general or Kano in particular. Such roads and streets include ones named after Awolowo (former church road), Azikiwe (former Ballat Hughes road). Festing Burma (now Owerri street), Inuwa Wada (former Weather Head street), Odutola (now Benin road), Sani Giwa (now Akure street), Sanyaolu (now Markudi street), France (now Abuja street) etc.

While the contributions of Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe and Chief

Obafemi Awolowo to the Nigerian nation-state are obvious, there is the need to briefly comment on the personality of a few others whose names were used to name the Sabon Gari streets and roads. The most important of these personalities, as far as the history of the Sabon Gari goes are Messrs Sani Giwa, S.O. Odutola and D.O. Sanyaolu. The three of them were eminent community leaders at the Sabon Gari. Mr Giwa was an assessor who represented the interest of southern Nigerians (most especially the Yoruba) at the Sabon Gari Mixed court.¹ He was also the first appointed Olori (Leader) of the Yorubas in Kano and the elected ward head of the Yoruba people by the colonial authority.² Revd. S.O. Odutola was also one of the community leaders at the Sabon Gari, most especially in the 1940s. Mr. D.O. Sanyaolu was a successful business man in Kano. He is reputed to have built the first hotel in the city, named Colonial Hotel. This hotel which was built in 1940 soon had a change of name to become known as Paradise Hotel. Most of the important social and political functions at the Sabon Gari during the colonial period took place in the hotel. Messrs. Odutola and Sanyaolu were prominent members of the Sabon Gari Representative Board which at one time or the other took the

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1. This court of non-muslims character was established in 1931 to handle case involving the Sabon Gari residents. S.J. Hogbean and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, The Emirates of Northern Nigeria, London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1966 p. 209.
 2. NAK, Kano Prof. 1/1, 6116 Communication from the Sabon Gari Representative Board to Resident Kano, 22 April 1938 p. 3.; NAK, 5/1, 4980, Yoruba Welfare Central Association (Kano) pp. 2-3.

grievances of the Southern Nigerian settlers in Kano to the colonial authorities.¹ Mr. E.G. France, a Sierra-Leonean after whom the present Abuja road was named was the Sarkin Sabon Gari between 1931 and 1938. He was also the President of the Sabon Gari Mixed Court between 1934 and 1938. Mr France was succeeded as the Sarkin Sabon Gari in 1939 by Mr T.P. Barlett-Hughes² another Sierra-Leonean after whom the present Azikwe avenue was named.

House constructions in the Sabon Gari are more orderly than what is obtained in the walled city or the other less organised parts of the city like Tudun Wada and Gwagwarwa. The houses were constructed round the rectangular grids. Most of these bungalow houses were built so closely to one another that one starts immediately where the other ends without any space between them. They easily reflect the Southern Nigerian architectural patterns in which a plot is co-residential unit of several families. Each of the buildings consists of four to ten rooms. Most of these rooms are small. They are about 3 x 3m or 3 1/2 x 3 1/2m and seemed to have been constructed for bachelors or a man and his wife rather than the large group of people that now live in them. The typical Sabon Gari building serves both the residential and

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1. NAK, 5/1, 6122, Overcrowding in Sabon Gari, "Notes on an Interview by the Resident Kano Province to Sabon Gari Representative Board's Delegation, 20th Sept. 1936 p. 27 Daily Times 2nd April, 1940, "First Hotel In Kano" p. 7.
 2. Read Margery Denkham, Native Administration in Nigeria, London, Oxford Univ. Press 1937.

commercial purposes. While the rooms facing the wide streets are specially built to serve as stores, shops and offices for traders, the inner chamber of such buildings are usually reserved for residential purposes. A few of the rather lucky Sabon Gari residents live in the same compound where they have their trading shops. The others live in one part of the settlement and have their shops in the other depending on those in the latter place to help keep watch over their articles of trade at nights.

A typical Sabon Gari building could accommodate about six families at a time. While some of the immigrants could afford to hire two rooms (which unlike the southern Nigerian situations are hardly a room and parlour but two separate rooms), other families of two or three could just cram themselves into a room either because of the difficulty of getting a better place or because of economic constraints. Based on this kind of arrangement, a plot at the settlement according to a writer could house up to forty or fifty persons.¹ The building in Sabon Gari are co-residential ethnically. The Igbo, Yoruba, Edo, Tiv etc. live together in the buildings. Most of these buildings are however dominated by the Yoruba and Ibo who constitute the highest percentage of the Southern Nigerian immigrants in Kano.

Most of the houses, except the recently renovated ones were constructed with mud blocks but plastered with cement. All these buildings are however well covered with corrugated iron sheets.

1. Kassim Tijani Ahmed, "Residential Patterns of Social Integration: Case Study in Kano Urban Area, Msc dissertation, Dept of Geography, Ahmadu Bello Univ. Zaria 1989 p. 157.

At the back of each building is built a set of small rooms that serve as latrine, kitchen and bathroom. These rooms are slightly smaller than the main living rooms and are jointly utilised by the tenants in turns. Where about thirty people live in a building, each has to have a projected record of when to use the latrine or bathroom as to be able to timely meet his early morning business appointments. For example, a person wishing to promptly keep a 7.00am appointment might need to wake as early as 4.30 or 5.00am when all other tenants were still asleep, to quickly use the facilities. In some cases, the tenants cook in front of their rooms with kerosine stoves to reduce overcrowding in the small kitchen meant for all the tenants. In some of the buildings, wells are dug on the already overused land in such a manner that the water in them might be polluted by the nearby latrines and bathrooms. Such wells are usually needed in the buildings because of the incessant water problems faced in the settlement. Though there are water pipes in most of the buildings, no water flows from them. This the southern Nigerian immigrants in the Sabon Gari attribute to the hatred of the Hausa-Fulani for them.

There are many hotels and restaurants in the settlement for the accommodation and relaxation of Sabon Gari residents as well as visitors in the area. The patrons of the hotels in the settlements are usually traders, most especially the Igbo people who regularly visit Kano to establish contacts with their agents or clients. These hotels include Hotel de Mikela and Obanta Hotel along Awolowo avenue; Paradise Hotel, Hotel

de Mikela Annex, Prince Hotel, Fresh Lily Hotel and Stadium Hotel along Ogbomoso Avenue; Republic Hotel, Queen's Park Hotel, Hope Rising Hotel and River Niger Hotel along New road; Vasido Hotel, Rendevous Hotel along Ogoja avenue; and many others scattered all over the settlement. These hotels, especially Hotel de Mikela are bee hive of activities at nights as Kano residents as far as the walled city where the sale of alcohol is forbidden come round to relax themselves at the end of everyday's job. The Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa and other groups mix freely in these hotels at nights.

Sabo, Ibadan

The Sabo in Ibadan seemed not to have attracted the kind of attention that the colonial, Native and town planning authorities gave the Sabon Gari in Kano. As indicated earlier, the authorities in Kano wanted to make the Sabon Gari a model city. The colonial administrators were also determined to ensure that the Sabon Gari settlement was so well planned that it would discourage the Southern Nigerian settlers therein from settling in any other part of Kano. In Ibadan nobody seemed to have cared much about the layout of Sabo. Archival records relating to town planning in Ibadan contain just little information on the growth of the settlement. Except when the settlement became overcrowded in the 1930s and there was need to expand it, the residents of Sabo Ibadan were left to themselves. The only few instances when the authorities in Ibadan had to intervene in the activities of Sabo were, when there were economic disputes between the Hausa and Yoruba people either in the cattle or

kolanut trade. The history of the growth of Sabo Ibadan is therefore no more than an exposition of how other than Hausa settlements developed in the city after the 1930s.

When Sabo was established in 1916, it contained about 400 Hausa immigrants.¹ Each plot holder in the settlement built his own house as he liked. Some of them engaged house-builders from northern Nigeria. The allocation of land and building constructions were completed in 1920.² By the 1930s, the settlement had become so congested that it attracted the attention of the colonial authorities in the city of Ibadan.³ It was towards relieving this congestion that a crown land⁴ (part of the present-day Mokola) was set aside in 1935 as settlement for the non-Hausa northern Nigerian immigrants, namely the Nupe and Igbira.⁵ The area is now known as Ago Tapa and Ago Igbira respectively.⁶ A section of the area now known as Ago Ilorin was also set aside for some of the Hausa immigrants.⁷ Ago Tapa, Ago Igbira and Ago Ilorin are

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1. A. Cohen, Custom and Politics p. 30
 2. N.C. Mitchel, 'Yoruba Towns', In K.M. Barbour and R. M. Prothero (eds), Essays on Population, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961 p. 296.
 3. This is contained in NAI, Oyo Prof. 1/592, Hausa Settlement Ibadan, 13th March 1931.
 4. That is the land reserved for the exclusive use of the colonial government.
 5. NAI, Oyo Prof. 1/592 Hausa Settlement Ibadan 13th March 193, Acting Resident Oyo to the Commissioner of Lands, Lagos, 1 June 1934 p. 114.
 6. The two groups asked to be given legal recognition by the British authorities through allotment of their own exclusive settlements. They claimed to belong to different cultural area from the Hausa. See Marginal notes on Oyo Prof. 1/592, p. 85.
 7. The name Ago Ilorin suggests that this was a settlement of the Ilorin people. It might have been so named because of the terminal believe of the Hausa that Ilorin is an extension of Hausaland.

located closely to the Sabon Gari. Therefore, most of the settlers there easily participate in the socio-cultural activities of the Sabon Gari. The land at these adjoining settlements to the Sabon Gari were allocated during the reign of Olubadan Okunnola Abasi in Ibadan. By 1936, the Nupe people had built 25 houses at Ago Tapa. They were however not ready to pay the required rents on the land.¹ By 1946, however, 192 Nupe and Igbira immigrants had firmly established themselves on the crown land allotted to them.²

There was a botched attempt in the 1940s to allocate more land to the Hausa immigrants in Mokola.³ This started in 1941, when the Senior Resident, Oyo, Mr. H.F.M. White approved a proposal to lay out an area

"bounded by the Ibadan-Oyo Road, Tank-Hill, the northern boundary of crown land and the Tapa and Igbira settlements" for the extension of the Sabon Gari having earlier legislated against further land development in the latter settlement.⁴ The 1940s were, however, years of political interregnum in Sabo Ibadan. This was as a result of the removal of the Sarkin Hausawa Audu Zungeru from office having been found with some stolen property. His successor, Mallam Amodu Bature who was imposed on the Hausa community by the Olubadan was evidently not a popular candidate for the post of Sarkin Hausawa and so there were lots of

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1. Oyo Prof. 1/592 "Acting Resident Oyo to the Secretary Western Provinces, Ibadan", 4 Nov. 1946 p. 129.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid. p. 116; Oral Communication with Alhaji Ahmadu Bature.
 4. Ibid.

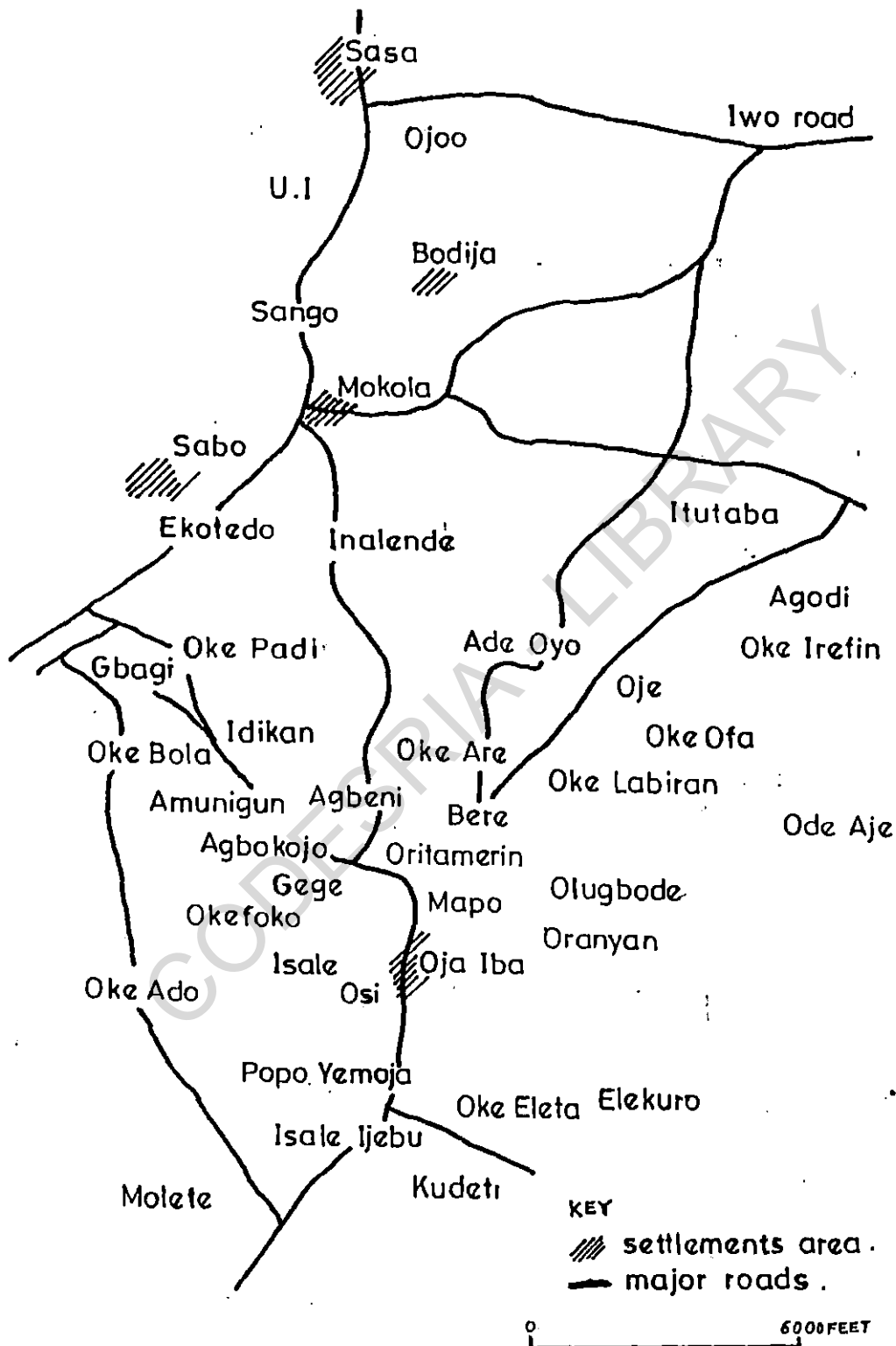
at the Sabon Gari. They could not follow up the proposal for the expansion of their settlement with the deserved vigour until the issue was dropped by the Ibadan authorities. Mallam Bature resigned his appointment on 1st November 1948 to give peace a chance in the settlement. Mallam Audu Zungeru was consequently restored to the office of Sarkin Hausawa.

Briefly after this time, the Divisional Land Office in Ibadan recommended that the land occupied at the Nupe, Igbira and Ilorin settlements should be taken from the immigrants and turned over disagreement in Sabo.¹ This development distracted the attention of the political leaders in the settlement from the main issues of development to the Ibadan Town Planning Authority for management as an estate.²

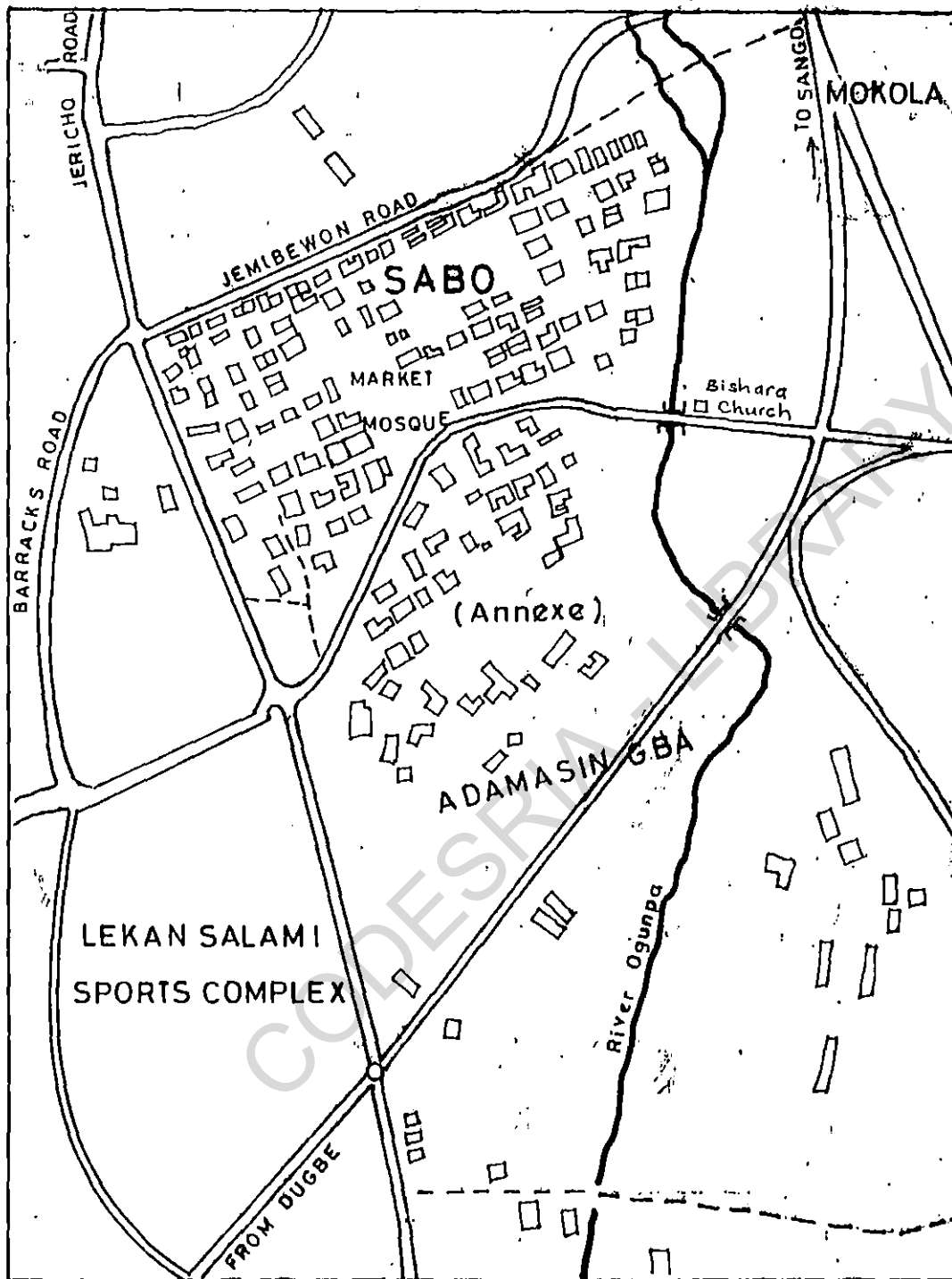
The reason for this line of action according to the Land Office was that the land at Ago Tapa, Ago Igbira and Ago Ilorin were not put to the use for which they were established:

...the original intention that the area be reserved for northern Nigerian strangers has not been adhered to and there has been considerable comments from the Ibadan Native Administration. Of the 466 plots that have been allocated approximately 290 have been allocated to northern strangers and the remainder to other strangers (mainly from Ijebu Province) and natives of Ibadan. Only few of the buildings were to specifications.²

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1. The larger part of the file NAI. Oyo Prof. 1/592 contain issues related to this topic.
 2. Ibid. p. 158 Divisional Office Land Section, Western Secretariat Ibadan to the Secretary Western Provinces, 12 Dec. 1950 p. 158.
 3. Ibid.



Map of Ibadan showing the major Hausa settlements in the City



Map of Sabo Area, Ibadan.

ADAPTED FROM : ABNER COHEN, CUSTOMS & POLITICS IN URBAN AFRICA.



Nyerere Street, the only major road across Safo Ibadan showing the imposing Safo Central Mosque.

The debate on what should happen to the land in the area dragged on between the Lands Office and the colonial authorities in Western Provinces up to 1960. At the end, it was impossible to make the area extension of the Sabon Gari and so it became a no man's land where those who had the wherewithal freely acquired land.

The overcrowding at the Sabon Gari and the inability of the settlement to adequately expand into Mokola area contributed to the growth and development of other Hausa settlements in Ibadan. The latter are however now subordinated to the Sabon Gari, most especially in the political realm.

As discussed in chapter three, the Hausa immigrants that later settled at Sabon Gari in 1916 first settled at Ojaba. When it was impossible for the Sabon Gari to absorb more people in the 1930s, some of the new Hausa immigrants in Ibadan and those who had earlier settled at the Sabon Gari but now wanted to relieve themselves from the problems at the settlements moved back to Ojaba.¹ Some of them who could not afford to rent houses from the Yoruba landlords or who were, in fact, not willingly to do so took to sleeping in market places and mosques. The Sarkin Hausawa and Oba Tapa protested against this development as it threatened the economic stability of the permanent settlers

1. A. Cohen, Custom and Politics p. 115; "Politics of the Kola Trade: Some Processes of Tribal Community Formation among immigrants in West African towns", Africa, 36, 1966 p. 30; Oral Communications with Alhajis

at Sabo. The immigrants outside the settlement served as Kolanut agents to some northern Nigerian merchants who found their services cheaper and more efficient than those of their old business associates at Sabo. The heads of the settlers at Sabo and Ago Tapa therefore accused these 'floating Hausas' before the authorities in Ibadan as harbouring criminals. They argued that since they were held liable for the good conduct of the immigrants and were expected to collect tax from them, they should be forced back to the Sabon Gari and Ago Tapa. The Resident however refused to sanction the demand but suggested to the Ibadan Council the need to pass an order forbidding anyone from constituting himself into a nuisance by sleeping in the mosques, sheds streets etc.¹ In a communication with the Resident on 21 March, 1940 the Secretary Western Provinces stated the official decision on whether or not to restrict the northern Nigerian strangers in Ibadan to any particular settlement or not:

I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to say that a Hausa or Nupe cannot be compelled to live in a particular quarters because he belongs to one of those tribes, and that any order to that effect would be ultra vires.

The system of separate settlement for Hausa has worked well in the past, but His Honour does not see how it can be adopted today save on a voluntary basis; the plot of land can be preserved for Hausas, but all

1. See NAI, SWP 6/1/WP 18267, Hausas and Nupes in Ibadan, "Resident Oyo Province to the Secretary, Western Provinces Ibadan, 13 March 1940 p. 1.

Hausas cannot be compelled to live there.¹

The Secretary Western Provinces airing the opinion of the Chief Commissioner for the Western Provinces therefore suggested that the Hausas should be allowed to live wherever they liked and that if they formed the majority of the population in a particular ward, they should be allowed, like the other groups in Ibadan, to have a headman or representative. This prepared the ground for the development of Hausa settlements in other parts of Ibadan as the immigrants now had a freer choice of where and how to live in the city. But in most cases, economic considerations largely conditioned the settlement patterns of the immigrants after this period. Each of them had to live very close to the markets where his economic activities were more easily carried out. As Ojaba later became the dominant market for kolanut in Ibadan the Hausa immigrants in the city who specialised in kola trade permanently settled there.

The Hausa presence at Bodija is closely connected to the livestock trade. When Sabo was established in 1916, 20 percent of the male settlers in it were cattle traders.² The settlement at its inception had a cattle market which was however soon moved back to Oja'ba where the immigrants were first settled. Land scarcity at Sabo could have been a principal reason for this. From Ojaba the cattle market was shifted to Oremeji. Here, the traders were constantly harrassed by

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1. NAI, SWP 6/1/WP 18267 "Secretary Western Province to the Resident, Oyo Province, 21 March 1940 p. 4.
 2. A. Cohen, 'The Social Organization of Credit in a West African Cattle Market', Africa, XXXV, no. 1 1965 p. 18.

bandits who deprived them of their money, especially when returning to Sabo in the evenings. As a result of the petitions sent to the Ibadan Native Administration, the cattle market was removed to Ogunpa. From Ogunpa, the traders were moved back to Oremeji and they started afresh to face their old problems in the hands of thieves. Once more, they cried out and moved down to a site near the Sango rail line. The place was named Zango¹(encampment) by the Hausa traders. The particular area where the livestock market was sited is now called Sango Elewure.²

Due to rapid expansion, the Sango livestock market soon began to obstruct free movement of trains and so it was reduced to a specialised market for the sale of cattle, while other categories of livestock traders were shifted to Bodija in the 1940s.³ The main Bodija livestock market which could easily accommodate all kinds of livestock traders in Ibadan was completed in 1973. This facilitated the movement of all the livestock traders into the market. Because of the permanent character of the market, the Hausa traders who conducted business around it had to start hiring houses around the area. By the early 1980s, they had firmly established their presence in the area. With the establishment of the Bodija Central Market in 1988, other categories of Hausa immigrants, namely building planks' sellers, porters etc, came to settle at Bodija. Therefore, Bodija became one of the settlement areas of the Hausa in Ibadan.

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1. It is today called Sango by the Yorubas.
 2. This means in Yoruba the Zango (i.e the Hausa encampment) where ewure (goats) were sold.
 3. Oral communication with Alhaji Bature and Chief Francis Olaniyan, Bale Onimalu, 19th Jan. 1991.

The origin and growth of another Hausa settlement at Sasa in 1979 has been found to be connected with the post-1930 development of Oja'ba. The Hausa immigrants that shifted to Oja'ba at the congestion of Sabo were joined by different kinds of fresh Hausa immigrants in Ibadan. By the early 1970s, Oja'ba had become congested with Hausa traders who began to obstruct free movement of traffic in the area. To decongest the road, the police in Ibadan began to arrest and detain some of the traders.¹ The Hausa traders, under the leadership of one Alhaji Yaro, approached the governor of Oyo State, Col. Paul Tarfa for solutions to the problems faced at Oja'ba. The governor through the Oyo State Commissioner of Police asked the Chairman Ibadan Municipal Government (IMG), Alhaji Kola Balogun to establish a permanent market for the Hausa traders.² The latter chose to be settled along Oyo road to ease the transportation of their articles of trade to Ibadan. Oyo road was one of the most feasible locations in Ibadan where virgin land could be found for such economic activities that the Hausa immigrants were engaged in at Oja'ba. The road is the main entrance into Ibadan from northern Nigeria. The Hausa traders must have also chosen to be settled outside the Ibadan city to get rid of their incessant harrassment by the police and to make for the future expansion of their businesses. In line with the wish of the Hausa traders, the chairman of Akinyele Local Government, Mr. J.A. Aderibigbe was approached for land by his colleague

1. L.A. Akinpelu, 'Background History of Ibadan-Parapo (Sasa) Town' unpublished private project, Ibadan 1988 pp. 33- 4.

2. Ibid.

at the I.M.G. The Bale of Sasa, Chief Fijabi was consequently approached by Mr Aderibigbe.¹ At long last, the Hausa people were offered some area at Sasa and they came down to settle on it under the leadership of Alhaji Haruna Mai Yasin Katsina, who is now the political head of the Hausa people in the settlement.²

Though the Sabon Gari in Ibadan was the first of such settlements to be founded in Yorubaland, it is however not the biggest. This is because of the inability of the settlement to expand within same geographical location as noticed in the case of Sabon Gari, Kano. Sabo Ibadan is not as big as the one in Sagamu whose phenomenal growth and development has been dated to the 1920s.³ The development of the Sabon Gari in Sagamu is closely linked with the production of white variety of Cola nitida (called farin goro in Hausa) in the area. This variety which was very rare in the nineteenth century⁴ was more preferred by Hausa merchants to the red variety generously produced in the forest regions of West Africa. The kolanut traders at Makun and Sagamu like of their counterparts in Ibadan first settled with fellow muslims before finally becoming more permanent settlers in the community. In 1941, the

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. B.A. Agiri, 'Trade in Gbanja trade in South Western Nigeria 1900-1950', Odu No. 30. July 1986, p. 29.

4. P. Lovejoy, Caravans of Kola: The Hausa Kola Trade 1700 - 1900, ABU/OUP, 1980 p. 119.

immigrants were finally settled in a settlement allotted to them by the Akarigbo of Sagamu under the leadership of Mallam Mai Kano.¹ The towering popularity of the Sabon Gari in Ibadan over the others of its type is probably because of its antiquity and the fact that it was at Ibadan that the colonial authorities in Yorubaland were first confronted with socio-economic problems that made it necessary for the Hausa immigrants to be granted their exclusive settlements as done to Southern Nigerians in Hausa land. The Sarkin Hausawa of Ibadan has since 21st December, 1951 been recognised as the head of the other Surakuna Hausawa (political heads of the Hausa communities) of different Yoruba communities.²

Sabo Ibadan is bounded in the east by Mokola junction, Jemibewon road in the north west, the eastern end of the Lekan Salami Sport Centre in the South West and Adamasingba street in the north. It is a rather small settlement that is hardly more than one-tenth the size of the Sabon Gari in Kano. Unlike the latter only one major street cut across Sabo Ibadan from the Mokola roundabout to the northern end of the Lekan Salami Sport Centre where the road joined another coming from Jemibewon road to the Mokola-Oke Padre - Dugbe junction near the main entrance of the Lekan Salami Sport Centre. The dualised road accross the settlement is called Nyerere road. Unlike its counterpart in Kano, the houses in

1. B.A. Agiri op. cit

2. NAI, Ile Div. 1/1, File 2306, 'The Federal Union of Sarkin Hausawa: Western Region', 1953 p. 1.

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1. B.A. Agiri op. cit

2. NAI, Ile Div. 1/1, File 2306, 'The Federal Union of Sarkin Hausawa: Western Region', 1953 p. 1.

Sabo Ibadan were built in clustered form that only footpaths lead into the settlement. Therefore, the residents usually walk home on foot to their houses with their vehicles parked along Nyerere road. This often lead to congestion on the only road that cuts through the settlement. But the vibrant economic activities along the road almost on 24 hours basis helped to ensure the safety of cars carelessly parked on the road. The clustered arrangement of houses at Sabo¹ and the near-absence of any good road across it easily betray the extent to which land has been overused in the settlement. It was as a result of this overcrowding at Sabo that other Hausa settlements in Ibadan were developed at Ago Ilorin, Bodiya, Ojo, Oja'ba and Sasa. The size of the Sabon Gari in Ibadan would have compared slightly with that of Kano had sufficient land been granted to the Sabon Gari residents to expand in the 1930's when the area became overcrowded. This could have made it possible for Ibadan to have only one Sabon Gari rather than the differet types that now exist in the city under different names.

While the older houses at Sabon were built in conformity with the northern Nigerian architectural designs, the new ones (i.e. the recently built or renovated structures) are patterned according to the fashionable ones in Ibadan of which a building is made up of major

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1. Until recently, the Ibadan indigenes built their houses too in cluster forms. The Hausa settlers were most probably influenced by this. The nature and arrangement of buildings in Sabo is not too different from what obtains in the Ibadan heartland.

living rooms and a number of bedrooms or a number of "face-me-I-face-you" rooms. Each of the traditional buildings in the settlement usually have an anteroom (Hausa, Zaure) where visitors are received. This lead to a courtyard which because of the scarcity of land in the settlement, are not usually as big as the ones found in northern Nigeria.¹ A number of rooms are then attached to some parts of the courtyard wall. These serve as living rooms for the secluded women. The modern buildings in the settlements are usually constructed in such a manner that the male head of the family can always control the movement of people into the inner chamber of his compound where women, whether in seclusion or not, are kept. Most of the houses at Sabo Ibadan unlike the ones at Oja'ba, Ojo, Bodija and Sasa are owned by those residing in them or were inherited from their forefathers. Unlike the houses at Sabon Gari Kano, the ones in Sabo Ibadan house one family units: a male head (maigida), his wives, children and dependants. Only few houses especially those facing Nyerere road are let out to traders for commercial purposes. Traders using such shops include tailors, second-hand goods' sellers, mini-supermarket owners, cooked food-sellers et al.

1. For detailed information on the Hausa architectural patterns see Z.R. Dmochowski, An Introduction to Nigerian Traditional Architecture Vol. 1. Northern Nigeria, Lagos: Ethnographical in association with the National Commission For Museum and Monuments, 1990.

One of the most outstanding scenery at Sabon Gari in Ibadan is the Sabo Central Mosque whose splendour could be easily observed as one approaches the settlement from the Mokola round-about. The Mosque is just a little smaller than the Central one in Ibadan at Oja'ba. Both the Hausa and Yoruba come to worship in it though it is generally considered to an Hausa Mosque. Other smaller Mosques, some patched to some residential buildings of the Hausa immigrants are scattered all over the settlement with some of them exhibiting distinctive architectural designs. Another important structure at Sabo is Scala Cinema which usually attracts people of diverse ethnic and social backgrounds to the settlement most especially at nights.

A comparison of the presented data in this chapter has indicated that the Sabon Gari in Kano is better planned than the one in Ibadan. The condition of the former was determined by the official attention given the southern Nigerian immigrants in Kano as a group that must not be allowed in any other parts of the city. Both the Emir of Kano and the various colonial officials in the city were unanimous in their resolution to restrict the movement of the southern Nigerian immigrants to the Sabon Gari so that they would not infect their host population with christianity and western civilization. The expansion of the Sabon Gari would have been easily controlled had the Kanawa agreed to take up appointments with the colonial authorities and the European firms which some of these southern Nigerian immigrants were

serving. This paradoxical situation increased the immigration of the Yoruba, Igbo and other groups into Kano. This in turn led to the overcrowding of the Sabon Gari. To prevent epidemics, various building regulations had to be introduced by the colonial authorities in the city. The Sabon Gari itself had to be expanded and the building constructed according to official specifications. At Ibadan on the other hand, the Sabon Gari residents were left alone to develop as they liked. Their host population did not see them as any threat and so were not worried whether they intermix with Yoruba people or not. A careful look at the structures at Sabo Ibadan easily reveals that the immigrants were guided by little or no building regulations at the formative years of the settlement. Each of the buildings faced the direction that seemed pleasing to its owner, with little or no road left in between the houses. This has largely made the settlement to be inaccessible by car.

To finally conclude this chapter, the question needs to be asked: did the growth of the Sabon Garis actually conform to the standard envisaged by the colonial administrators? Structurally, the answer to this question is 'Yes' considering the fact that the settlements were better planned than the traditional parts of the cities in which they were founded. But in the demographic sense, the answer is an emphatic 'No'. The Sabon Garis were established to ensure the segregation of the immigrants settled in them from their host population. However, at a later stage these settlements also consisted of those who should not be there. As it has been shown earlier

on, there were a total of 104 During same period, there were 79 Arabs and Tchad Republic citizens at the Sabon Gari. Such people ought to have been settled at Fagge. Some Nupe people who also should have been settled at Tudun Wada were also at the Sabon Gari in 1954/1955. This easily indicates that at a point in time the British administrators could no longer control the demographic growth of the settlement. Cohen also noted in his study, that as early as the 1950s there were Yoruba landlords at Sabo Ibadan. Hausa/Fulani people at Sabon Gari, Kano between 1954 and 1955.¹ The number was greater before this time. Some Hausa/Fulani at the Sabon Gari had to move out of the settlement to Fagge and Gwagwarwa as a result of the riots of May 1953.² The houses were sold to the Yoruba by their owners³ either at their departure from Ibadan or after their death, by their kinsmen. There is the need to shed better light on the Kano situation.

The restriction placed on the category of people that could settle at the Sabon Gari in Kano was relaxed in 1920 after the first world war. The reasons for this are difficult to fathom. It, however led to the influx of the Hausa population into the once secluded settlement.² When the Sabon Gari was to be expanded in 1950s, more land must have been allocated to the Hausa/Fulani population considering the efforts made

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1. Tribal Population Statistics p. 41
 2. Marginal notes on Ibid.
 3. A. Cohen p. 63
 4. NAK, Kano Prof. 5/1, 42923, R.L.B. Maiden to Resident Kano, 'Report on the Native Reservation', Aug. 1939 p. 3

by the Wakilin Waje on behalf of his kinsmen.¹

The foregoing notwithstanding, the Sabon Gari in Kano still remained dominated by the southern Nigerians while the one in Ibadan is dominated by the Hausa population. The host population settlers at the Sabon Garis constitute no more than a minority in the settlements. In Kano where there has been frequent riots between the Sabon Gari settlers and their host populations the Hausa/Fulani at the settlement were usually the worst hit.

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1. NAK, Kano Prof. 5/1, 5920/S.2, Sabon Gari Layout and Town Planning of, Extract from the Minutes of the Waje Council Meeting held on 14th Aug. 1954 P. 535.

CHAPTER FIVE

ORGANIZATION OF THE SABON GARI IMMIGRANTS

Immigrants are most easily distinguished from their host population by their identities. According to Fredrick Barth:

...ethnic boundary canalises social life-it entails a frequently quite complex organization of behaviour and social relations. The identification of another person as a fellow member of an ethnic group implies a sharing of criteria for evaluation and judgement... On the other hand, a dichotomization of others as strangers, as members of another ethnic group, implies a recognition of limitations on shared understandings, differences in criteria for judgement of value and performance, and a restriction of interaction for sectors of assumed common understanding and mutual interests.¹

Therefore, the Kanawa categorically recognise the Sabon Gari in their city as the settlement of the Berebe or Yarbawa (i.e Yoruba speaking people) and the Inyamirai² (Igbo speaking people). To the Hausa people not only in Kano but also throughout Northern Nigeria, all Eastern Nigerians are Igbo speaking, hence the general reference to them as Inyamirai (irrespective of whether the person is Itsekiri, Bini, Ibibio etc). In Ibadan too like in other parts of Yorubaland, all Northern

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1. Fredrik Barth, "Introduction", In F. Barth (ed), Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference London: George Allen & Unwin, 1969, p. 15
 2. This is a pluralised form (by the Hausa) of the Igbo statement "yem miri" which in English means 'give me water', It began to be used as the identity name for the Igbo people during the early twentieth century when the railway line in Kano was being built. When asking the Hausa people for drinking water, the Igbo man would say "yem miri" hence the collective reference to the Igbo speaking people as "Inyamirai"

Nigerians are Gambari¹ or Hausa.

The 'Hausanization' of the Northern Nigerian immigrants at Sabo Ibadan (as defined by the immigrants themselves) is to allow them enjoy their control of the livestock and kolanut trade in the city². Islam provided them with the necessary platform to further integrate one another against their host population. In Kano, the Sabon Gari settlers see themselves as "Southern Nigerians" in competition with the Northern Nigerian Hausa/Fulani population. The immigrants, whether at Kano or at Ibadan, see themselves as strangers who must work hard to protect what makes them to be uniquely different from their host population. They therefore have different strategies for ensuring their survival socially, politically and economically. Each of these has to be examined to throw better light on the discussions in the preceding chapters and equally illuminate whatever conclusions that are drawn at the end of this work.

Socio-Political Organization

Socially, the Sabon Gari residents in Kano and Ibadan largely retained the traditional values characteristic of their respective homelands, while at the same time adopting behavioural patterns

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1. Commenting on this in his entry of 21st Jan. 1899 Resident Fuller noted that: " The word ' Gambari ' as used by the natives comprises people belonging to any tribe beyond the Niger this is a mistake " NAI, Ibadan Prof. 3/6, The Resident's Travelling Journal, 1877-1899.
 2. Oral communication with Alhaji Amadu Na Garke and Alhaji Lawal Nakadiri, 2nd Dec, 1992.

appropriate to their new environments. The reasons for this are obvious. A migrant community, no matter how conservative or resistant to culture change, has to make some concession by adopting such salient practices of their host community, without which life might be made meaningless. But before taking to the cultural practices of their host communities in any form, migrant communities often exhaust the use of the traditional initiatives and strategies at their disposal.

Sabon Gari, Kano

When a person migrates out of his homeland, it is impossible for him to migrate with all his kinsmen. Therefore in Kano, the Southern Nigerian immigrants "recruit" new 'kinsmen' to boost their personality outside their homelands, through different network of social and economic interactions. In most cases, the Yoruba or Igbo immigrants choose their 'kinsmen' among long-term co-tenants of the same ethnic background or business associates. Such people, in more meaningful manners than the terms are used in Southern Nigeria, refer to one another as "Omo iya" (my mother's child' in Yoruba) and " wan nnem " (my mother's child in Igbo language). A Sabon Gari building for example could consist of four to seven families. In most cases, there are strong bond of relationship among these people sometimes against the landlords who could be regarded as an exploiter or their host population who because of their past hostilities against Southern Nigerian strangers in Kano, are regarded as security risks.

These co-tenants therefore treat one another as kinsmen except in few cases where the competitive use of the facilities like toilets, kitchen and so forth set them in conflict with one another. Tenants with strong bond of relationship usually pay regular visits to one another as kinsmen even after despatching from a particular building in which they were co-tenants. They consult each other before taking decisions on important issues like marriage, childnaming, financing of new business.¹

Social relationship among the Southern Nigerian immigrants at Sabon Gari Kano are also solidified through inter-group marriages. The Yoruba like the Igbo immigrants at the settlement find it easier to disregard the dominating stereotypes in their homelands, to marry people of their choices. The Egba marry the Oyo, the Ijesa marry the Ijebu and so on.² To establish their migrancy the Sabon Gari settlers considers it a dispensable waste of time and money travelling to their hometowns from Kano, to marry. The men prefer instead to choose their wives among the spinsters, divorcees and other women in the Sabon Gari. The limited number of such women easily make the men to marry those available, no matter their town of origin within Yorubaland. The situation has been found to be the same among the Igbo speaking settlers. They choose their wives among the available women. In some cases, the parents of some of the young immigrants insisted that they must marry certain type

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1. Oral communication with some of the Sabon Gari settlers in Kano.
 2. Oral Communication with Messrs Harry Okeke, Hassan and others at Sabon Gari, Kano.

of wives. The desperate ones among such parents could procure the girls who could meet their criteria and bring them to their sons at the Sabon Gari to marry, under duress. In almost the same manner, some Yoruba and Igbo parents at the Sabon Gari insist that their daughters should go home to choose their husbands. The socio-cultural factors responsible for this are complex. The Yoruba like some other Nigerian ethnic groups believe that once a girl is married, she is lost (by her parents) to the husband. Most parents see it as their social obligation to ensure that their daughters were not 'lost' to persons of distant place of origin or abode. Though the typical Yoruba or Igbo immigrant is resident at the Sabon Gari in Kano, he imagines the place to be a distant foreign land. He hopes to return to his homeland one day and he would not want to imagine a situation whereby he would leave behind his daughter in Kano at his retirement from the city. This problem¹, has gradually been reducing the number of young girls of marriageable age at the Sabon Gari in Kano. It is also partly responsible for the increased inter-group marriages among the immigrants. When the Ogbomoso, Oyo or member of any of the group finds it difficult to get a suitable girl to marry among his town girls, he simply picks one among the "other groups."

The different ethnic groups at the Sabon Gari settlement in Kano are organised into different town unions. The most vibrant among such

1. Ibid.

unions belong to the Igbo people and took their roots from the Ibo Union that was founded in 1940s. The main objectives of the union until its proscription by Decree No. 34 of May 24, 1966¹ was to engender group identity among Igbo immigrants in different parts of Nigeria and with their other kinsmen at home. One of the regulations of the union which was effectively implemented in Kano, states that each of the members should assist his unemployed colleagues to obtain employment. Such an unemployed person was sanctioned to be assisted with a monthly allowance of 7s 6d for his subsistence, until he finally became rehabilitated or repatriated to Igboland from where he came.² The Union was however accused to be selfish in its set objectives. The report on the Twenty-Year Development Plan in Kano, 1963 - 1983 noted that "... While the Ibo Union performs a valuable function, its existence, as with any other organization catering solely for a significantly large ethnic group, is disadvantageous".³ The union was proscribed in 1966. This was followed by the Nigerian Civil War which led to the mass exodus of the Igbo from Kano and other parts of Northern Nigeria. By the 1980s, many of them were back to the city. In 1984, they established another pan-Igbo organization named Ibo Community Association (I.C.A.) which outrightly

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1. James O. Ojiako, 13 Years of Military Rule, Lagos, Daily Times n.d.p. 20.
 2. I. Nzimiro, "A Study of the Mobility Among the Ibo of Southern Nigeria", in Ralph Piddington (ed.) op. cit pp. 117-30.
 3. B.A.W. Trevallion, Metropolitan Kano: Report on the Twenty-Years Development Plan, 1963-1983, Glasgow:

Greater Kano Planning Authority, 1966 pp. 38.

took over the age-long functions of the Ibo union. It provides a central platform at which all issues related to the welfare of the Igbo people in Kano are discussed. The Association has an elected President (Chief Law Aguezeta), a Vice President (Chief P.L. Enendu), General Secretary (Chief B.A. Anyanetu) and other office holders. The first three persons named above, in the absence of the Sarkin Igbo, represent the Igbo community in any public function in Kano.¹ The Association serves as the link between the Igbo community and the authorities² in Kano. To the Ibo Community Association is affiliated various town and clan unions. When any member of the latter has a social function, he could invite the central cultural group owned by the I.C.A. to entertain guests. If any town union is conducting a funeral ceremony, the I.C.A. would be contacted to invite members of the other town unions at the Sabon Gari. So, some of them could come with masquarades, some with drummers and so on. This helps to cement the bond of relationship among the Igbo immigrants at Sabon Gari in Kano.

The Yoruba people in Sabon Gari Kano like their Igbo counterparts have different "Progressive Unions" organised on town or group basis. Therefore, the Ijesha, Ijebu, Ogbomoso and some others have their distinct unions which cater for the interest of their members. The origin of "Progressive Unions" among the Yoruba could be dated back to the second decade of the twentieth century. They developed in response

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1. Oral communication with Chief B.A. Anyanetu, 5th august, 1992
 2. These include the Kano State government, the Nasarawa Local government and Kano Emirate Council.

to the challenges spurred by the people's contact with western civilization. The rural-urban migrants as well as the educated among them saw the need to support the development of their respective communities. This made many of them to champion the establishment of National Unions, Patriotic Unions, Descendant Unions, Development Unions, National Societies, Improvement Leagues and Welfare Leagues in their respective towns based on certain peculiar needs.¹ In most cases, the unions imposed levies on their members. These are later used to improve the conditions of the communities against which such donations were made. The sources of funds for the unions include annual subscriptions, fines, special levies and contributions for certain projects.²

The Yoruba unions at Sabon Gari Kano hold their regular meetings four to six times in a year on rotational basis in the houses of their members or at any public place, like primary schools³. When there are emergency issues to be discussed concerning the conditions of the town or community for which the union was established, special meetings were often called.

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1. O. Omoni, "Sex, status and Role Distribution: An Analysis of the organizational techniques of the "Progressive Unions" among the Yoruba" Dept. of History, University of Ife Seminar Papers 1978-79 pp. 162-3.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Oral communication with Messrs Idowu Adebayo, a member of the Ijesha Progressive Union and Alhaji S. Salawu of the Ogbomoso Descendant Union.

At the end of every year, each of the unions organises some festivities during which uniformed dresses called Aso Egbe (union's dresses) are worn. To alert the other Sabon Gari residents of the importance of such a day the union members could dance round the settlement accompanied by Yoruba drummers and then retire to their chairman's residence where an all-night-party would be held having elected new officers of the union for the new year.

Some of the Progressive Unions in Kano came into existence in 1942. The Yoruba welfare central Association (Kano) was established during the year with the following objectives:

- 1) To promote the spirit of unity and brotherhood among the Yoruba generally, regardless of clan or creeds,
- 2) To seek the welfare of sons of Yorubaland in this town and Province of our sojourn.
- 3) To effect mutual understanding on matters of common interest, and
- 4) To take keen and active interest in such matter or matters that will be an asset to the amelioration of Yorubas at home and abroad.¹

By early 1943, the Ekiti Progressive Union in Kano was formed. In a communication with the Resident Kano Province, the Union's Acting Secretary, Mr. D.A.Ajumobi noted that,

The main object of the union is to promote the interests of its members in the affairs pertaining to their home country, Ekiti, Socially, educationally, morally, economically and politically.²

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1. NAK, Kano Prof. 5/1, 4980 Acting Secretary Ekiti Progressive Union to Resident Kano, 24th Jan. 1943 p. 4
 2. NAK, Kano Prof. 5/1, 5826 Sabon Gari Affairs, Petition from inhabitants through Mr. O. Ishola, Nov. 1. 1944.

A petition sent to the senior Resident of Kano on November 1st, 1944 indicates that there were already many ethnic unions at the Sabon Gari during this time. The petitioners included the Yoruba welfare Central Association, Ibo Central Union, Ijaw Tribal Union, The Gold Coast League, The Urhobo Progress Union and The Jekri National Society.¹ The influence of these unions on the physical and political development of the Sabon Gari in Kano has been quite immense.

The Sabon Gari settlers in Kano are politically organised under two Sarakuna (kings, sing, Sarki): Sarki Yarbawa for the Yoruba immigrants and Sakin Igbo for the Igbo. This is however a recent development. Until the early 1930s, the only political institution through which the Sabon Gari residents in Kano made their desires known to the colonial authorities in Kano was the Township Advisory Board, which was founded as part of the 1917 Township Ordinance. The Board had six official members which in 1927 consisted of the resident, the Medical Officer of Health, The Executive Engineer, The Director of Public Works, the Assistant Director of Surveys and the Station magistrate/Local Authority. The station Magistrate headed the Local Authority kind of administration. The Township Advisory Board also had four unofficial members which in the same 1927 consisted of representatives of some

1. NAK, Kano Prof. 5/1, 4980 Secretary Yoruba Welfare Central Association to the President Sabon Gari Mixed Court, 18th Aug. 1942, p. 2.

important companies in Kano and Mr. E. G. France.¹ a Sierrian Leonean immigrant at the Sabon Gari who later became Sarkin Sabon Gari (political head of Sabon Gari) in the early 1930s. As observed by Ubah,² The administrative organization of the Sabon Gari settlements was challenged in 1926 during the general conference of the British Residents in northern Nigeria. The Resident of Kano, C.W. Alexander is reported to have argued that the Southern Nigerians in the Sabon Gari should be brought under the jurisdiction of the Native Authorities in Kano. Another proposal initiated by the Resident of Kano stated that:

there is no justification for the "enclaves" which have been established in Northern Provinces known as "Sabon garis" and considers that the control of them should revert to the Native Authorities.³

Mr. France was appointed as the Sarkin Sabon Gari in 1931⁴. He ruled up

1. NAK, Kano Locauth, 5/4 45/1925, Kano Township Advisory Minutes" 28 Nov. 1927, 5 and 6 Dec. 1927
2. C.N. Ubah, Ph. D. thesis p. 117.
3. Record of Proceedings of conference of Residents Northern provinces 1926 (Lagos, 1926) p. 5 cited by C.N. Ubah op.cit. p. 117. This issue was also alluded to in maiden's report NAK, Kano Prof. 5/1, 4992 pp. 13-14.
4. Though the Igbo and Yoruba constituted more than eighty percent of the Sabon Gari population, none of them was allowed by the British administrators to become the Sarkin Sabon Gari. The reasons for this are obvious. As earlier pointed out, the British considered the Yoruba to be trouble-makers with great fondness for litigation. In the imagination of the colonial authorities such people could into the Sabon Gari population as well as the local people against the British. The Igbo, on the other hand because of their rejection of Islam could not have been good bed-fellows of the colonial administrators who were bent on honouring the image of Kano as an Islamic Urban Center.

till 1938. He collected taxes at the settlement on behalf of the Native administration and was the official link between the immigrants and the colonial authorities. He was succeeded by Mr. T.P. Ballatt-Hughes (another Sierra Leonean and a one-time Kano Township clerk). The official records of the late 1930s indicate that the Sarkin Sabon Gari also functioned as the President of the Mixed Court which handled the civil and criminal cases involving the Southern Nigerian immigrants in Kano. The Yoruba and the Igbo also had ward heads who were members of the Mixed Court. The Yoruba ward head was Mr. Sani Akinyode Giwa¹ while that of the Igbo was one Mr. Joseph Okoye. The Hausa also had a representative (called "assessor" like the others) in the court. The Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa "assosors" were to advise the mixed court president, particularly in matters of tribal law and custom.² The mixed court used the customary and Mohammedan laws as found necessary.

In 1933, the Sabon Gari Representative Board consisting of some unsalaried and unofficial representatives of the Sabon Gari residents, was formed. Members were drawn from the different ethnic groups in the settlement. The primary function of the board was to serve as a major forum where local problems of the Sabon Gari settlers could be discussed with a view to generating suggestions that could help to solve such problems. The board also had the objective of stimulating the virtue of community development in the minds of the settlers. All decisions

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1. See Kano Prof. 1/1,6116, Sabon Gari Board Representatives to Resident Kano, 22 April, 1938 p.3
 2. NAK, Kano Prof. 5/1, 4292 p.14; NAK, NCT/77, Sabon Gari mixed court-organization, Powers, Warrants etc p. 188.

reached during any meeting of the board were passed to the Kano Township Advisory Board through an official member of the latter board in the Sabon Gari Representative Board.

The Native Administration took over the administration of Sabon Gari Kano in 1940. This led to the establishment of the "Waje District" incorporating the Sabon Gari. Tudum Wada, Gwagwarwa and Fagge. The head office of the District was established at Sabon Gari with one Alhaji Ibrahim Datti Ahmadu¹, a Fulani Medical doctor and member of Kano Emirate council appointed as the Wakilin Waje (i.e. the overseer of the "outer" city). The other members of the Waje Council in 1969 included Mallam Mahmud Haido, a Buzu member of the Northern People's Congress (NPC) and Mallam Muhammadu Dangalan, an Hausa member of the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU)². The Waje metropolitan city in 1963.

Probably because of their dissatisfaction with the nature of political leadership provided by the Sarkin Sabon Gari, the Yoruba people tried in 1942 to use the Yoruba Welfare Central Association to achieve political autonomy for themselves at the Sabon Gari in Kano. They conferred on the President of the Voluntary association. Mr. Sani Giwa who also represented them at the Sabon Gari Mixed Court, the Status of Olori (i.e political head) of the Yorubas.³ The plot here was that

1. C.N. Ubah Ph. D. p. 178.

2. J. Paden op.cit. p. 421.

3. Secretary Yoruba Welfare Central Association to the President Sabon Gari Mixed Court op cit p.2

once the Olori was recognised they would shift their allegiance to him from the Sarkin Sabon Gari. The President of the Sabon Gari Mixed Court who was also the Sarkin Sabon Gari was informed of this development. He could easily pre-empt the ultimate objectives of the Yoruba people. In a memorandum to the Madakin Kano, he warned that the unilateral development among the Yoruba immigrants should be accorded no official recognition as other tribal unions at the Sabon Gari might demand similar recognition thus polarising political allegiance at the settlement. He noted that any attempt to officially recognise the appointment of Mr. Giwa a member of the Mixed Court as the Chief of the Yorubas could lead to corruption in the court and place Sabon Gari under two chiefs.¹ The Emir of Kano also agitated against this but the colonial authorities in the city could not see any need to deny the Yoruba group its desired official recognition.² After much pressure on the British administrators it was decided that the Olori of the Yorubas would not be accorded any official recognition except if appointed by the Native Administration in Kano in consultation with the resident. Such official recognition was however not forthcoming until December 1975 when the present Sarkin Yorubawa, Alhaji Salisu Olowo

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1. Kano Prof 5/1, 4980 President, Mixed Court Kano to Madakin Kano 28th Aug. 1942, p.1
 2. The Marginal note by the District Officer Kano on the above letter p.3

was elected by the Yoruba people and turbaned at the palace of the Emir of Kano, Alhaji Ado Bayero.¹

By the early 1970's when the Yoruba were allowed by Kano authorities to have a recognised leader, the Igbo people who were returning to the city after the civil war (1970 to 1976) were still settling down. Though General Yakubu Gowon declared a 'No victor, no vanquished' verdict at the end of the war, the few Igbo people that went back to Northern Nigeria knew that they had to carefully watch their movements and activities.² Their economic re-integration into Kano also needed to be carefully sorted out. They were therefore in no position to ask for the appointment of their own Sarki. The first Sarki or Eze was however granted to them in 1986. The Igbo leader, Chief Godwin Uwaloze was known among the immigrants as Eze Di Orama I of Ibos in Kano (i.e The Ibo Traditional ruler liked by everyone in Kano). He died in 1988 and was succeeded in 1989 by Eze David Obi Okonkwo who was titled Eze Di Orama II. He also died on 28 November 1990 at Kantin Kwari, Kano in a duel with one his business associates, Mr. Clement Okoro.³ Since then, no other Eze has been appointed by the Igbo in Kano. The successive Sarkin Igbo during their life-time worked in closed

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1. Oral Communication with Mr. Raji Salawu, Kano 8th Aug 1992.
 2. For the details of the war and the predicaments of the Igbo people see T.N. Tamuno and S.C. Ukpabi (ed.), Nigeria since independence The First 25 Years Vol. VI, The Civil War Years, Ibadan, Heinemann 1989.
 3. On the circumstances that surrounded the untimely death of the Eze see Master Detective Vol. 1 No. 7 Nov. 1990 pp 23-27

conjunction with the executive members of the Ibo community Association under the leadership of Chief Law Aguezeta who is also considered as the Onunekuri Igbo of Kano (i.e the official mouthpiece of the Igbo in Kano). The Eze also had some cabinet members. There is the Onu Owu (i.e the Prime Minister) who is currently Chief O.T. Nnadi. His Deputy is Chief J.T. Ojukwu. These people work in concert with other chiefs in the Eze cabinet. It is part of their responsibilities to advise the Eze on cultural matters. The Igbo principle of democracy also made it obligatory for the Eze to consult his chiefs before taking any important decision that could affect the generality of the Igbo immigrants in Kano.

The Igbo and Yoruba at the Sabon Gari have related methods for appointing their Sarakuna. When there was need to appoint a new Sarki as it was practised among the Igbo, those interested in the office were usually asked to file their nomination papers at the end of which the other immigrants would have to come out to vote for any candidate of their choice. The election of Oba Salisu Olowo of the Yoruba took the same process in the 1970s.¹ He defeated two other people that contested with him. Among the Igbo, the contestants for the Eze office were usually screened by the officials of the Ibo Community Association before election to ensure that only the most competent people contested for the coveted office. After the election, the winner is taken to the palace

1. Oral communication with Mr. Raji Salawu.

of the Emir of Kano for turbanning. The Sarki has the prerogative for appointing his cabinet members or chiefs. One of the most articulated functions of these chiefs is to accompany the Sarki to any function where he was invited, on behalf of the Igbo or Yoruba immigrants. The foregoing clearly indicates that there were cleavages in the Sabon Gari at Kano along ethnic lines. Just as the Igbo were organised under the Ibo Union (and later the Ibo community Association), the Yoruba too had a central body that caters for the interest of its members. It is not usually difficult therefore for the immigrants to take collective action against their host population, where necessary.

Sabo, Ibadan

The bond of relationship among the Hausa immigrants at Sabo Ibadan seems to be stronger than the one discussed of the Southern Nigerians in Kano. Because of their common adherence to the islamic religion, the immigrants see one another as kinsmen. Unlike the Kano situation therefore, the Hausa in Ibadan do not have to 'recruit' relatives for themselves. They see themselves as belonging to the same family. They simply refer to one another as bawan Allah (God's slave). Apart from the soio-cultural landscape created by Islam, each of the immigrants builds large and strong household for himself through polygamous marriage. Therefore, the head of a household at Sabo could find himself related to about four families within the settlement, by marriage. Each household (gida, pl. gidaje) is made up of a male head called Mai gida (pl Masu gidaje), his wives (mata), children (yara) and

dependants (dangogi). The dangogi 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 or servant. In most cases, the dangogi help in the administration of their masters' businesses. The responsibility in return, is that of the Mai gida towards ensuring that the male dependants under him marry at the appropriate time. They also needed to be supported to capitalise their own business when the time comes.

The overcrowding at Sabo often makes many Hausa Masu gidaje to rent accommodation for their dangogi outside their personal houses. In such a case, the food for the entire household are prepared at the residence of the family head and then taken by some young girls, round the houses where these other members of the family are resident.

The Hausa community at Sabo Ibadan lacks the kind of "Progressive Unions" discussed about the Yoruba and Igbo immigrants in Kano. They simply see one another as "Hausa" and seem to see no need to organise according to their respective places of origin. Hausa immigrants seems to have no sentimental attachment to their places of origin as the typical southern Nigerians. They see any place that offer them social, religion and economic security as home and are therefore not in a hurry to leave such a place. This characteristic of Hausa immigrants could be easily read in the works of Adamu¹, Works² and Schildkrout³ to mention just three among the many scholars who have studied the Hausa in the diaspora. The typical Hausa immigrant spends more time on his

business than in merry making which seems to be one of the reasons for the existence of some Southern Nigerian social associations. While the typical Southern Nigerian could afford to rest on Sundays, the Hausa man works throughout the week. Even during naming ceremony of any of his children, he still finds time to go to his place of work. Therefore, where the typical Hausa immigrants in Ibadan are found socialising

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1. Mahdi Adamu, The Hausa Factor in West African History
 2. John A. Works Jr, Pilgrims in Strange Land: Hausa Communities in Chad
 3. Enid Schildkrout, People of the Zongo

formally with one another, it is usually for economic or religious purpose.

The political head of the Hausa immigrants, not only in Sabo but in the entire city of Ibadan, is known as Sarkin Hausawa or Oba Sabo. He is assisted in administration by some title holders like the Wakili who is usually the official secretary of the Sarki. The Wakili office was up till late last year (1991) held by the current Sarkin Hausawa, Alhaji Ahmadu Zungeru. It is currently held by Alhaji Bature Dikko Zungeru. The other political offices in the settlement include Magajingari, Ciroma, Madawaki, Tukura, Tafida, Sardauna, Sarkin Fada Sarkin baki, Makama Magajiya, Sarkin Shanu, Sarkin Magina, Sarkin Fulani¹ etc. All these are honorary titles given to those who have distinguished themselves by contributing to the development of the Sabon Gari in Ibadan². Up to 1982 when Alhaji Shaibu Dikko, the Late Sarkin Hausawa Ibadan was appointed, most of these titles were not in existence. The other offices that existed in the settlement apart from that of the Sarkin Hausawa at this time were Sarkin Alaro (the head of the porters) who helped companies and individuals to recruit labourers in the settlement, Sarkin Fulani (the head of Fulani cattle drovers) whose service was indispensable to the success of the Ibadan cattle

1. See the appendix for the exhaustive list of these offices and their current holders.

2. Oral communications with Alhaji Ahmadu Zungeru, the current Sarkin Hausawa, 2nd Dec. 1992.



Alhaji Shaibu Dikko, the immediate past Sarkin
Hausawa Ibadan.



The incumbent Sarkin Hausawa Ibadan, Alhaji Ahmadu Zungeru and some of his subjects (at the background)



Sarkin Hausawa Ibadan (Alhaji Zungeru) and Sarkin Sasa Ibadan (Alhaji Yasin Katsina) at a public function.

trade, and the Magajiya who was in charge of matters affecting women in Sabo.¹ It was Alhaji Shaibu Dikko that started the practice of appointing people to these other offices earlier discussed as practised by the Yoruba Bales (i.e lesser chiefs to the Olubadan) in Ibadan. The number of such honorary offices available at Sabo became expanded with the administration of Alhaji Ahmadu Zungeru who succeeded Alhaji Dikko in 1992. These offices, according to the incumbent Sarki, are necessary to accelerate the pace of developments at Sabo. The Sarki also needs the company of some of these title-holders at the many public functions to which he is daily invited by the Oyo State Government the various Ibadan Local Government Councils and some private individuals.

When there are however important decisions to be taken that affect everybody at Sabo Ibadan, the people that the Sarki invites are not usually his honorary chiefs but a group of elders known as Uban Gari (fathers of the town).² The Uban Gari consist of old men, not less than eighty years in age. The group currently include Alhaji Ahmadu Bature who was the Sarkin Hausawa between 1942 and 1948; Alhaji Ahmadu Na Garke, the only surviving son of the first Sarkin Zango in Ibadan; Alhaji Danladi Atiku, Alhaji Lawan Nakadiiri, Alhaji Tijani Sani, Alhaji Garba Leku, Mallam Babakande etc. A typical meeting of the Uban Gari

1. Oral communication with Alhaji Ahmadu Bature, 2nd Dec. 1992.

2 Oral communication with Alhaji Ahmadu Zungeru.

is usually started with a prayer from one of the elders. After this, the Sarki tables the matters arising before the Uban Gari soliciting for their advice on what to do. Each would make his contribution and the Sarki is left thereafter to take his independent decision. At the end of the meeting, the usual prayer is said and everybody departs to his home. The Sarki therefore decides on what to do. Such decisions are sometimes implemented with the assistance of the honorary office-holders in the settlement.

The issues leading to the introduction of the Sarkin Hausawa system 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 recognized by both the British Resident and the Bale.¹ The two leaders of the immigrants at these time were Muhammadu Na Garke, who was Sarkin Pawa and Sarkin Zango, Abdullahi Makama. Through their influence one Mai Kanderi was made the first Sarkin Hausawa in Ibadan at about 1916. In December 1929, some stolen property were found with the Sarki and so he was dismissed from office and expelled from Ibadan.² Once more, Muhammadu Na Garke, the Sarkin Pawa and Abdullahi Makama, the Sarkin Zango were invited by the Ibadan city authorities to nominate another person for the vacant office of Sarkin Hausawa. When they could not quickly get this done, the Olubadan nominated Abdullahi Makama for the office. The latter declined the offer on the grounds that he preferred

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1. See NAI Ibadan Prof. 3/6 The Resident's Travelling Journal, entry for 30th January 1989.
 2. See Mapo Hall Ibadan, Council Minutes 18th Dec. 1929. Judicial Council Minutes 18th Dec. 1929.

to remain as head of the cattle market. He however nominated his son Bature Makama for the office. An oppositon candidate, Audu Zungeru was later put forward by the majority of the Sabon Gari elders. The latter successfully got voted into office to replace Mai Kanderi.¹

In 1942, Audu Zungeru too was convicted for being in possession of stolen property and was removed from office as the Sarki.² He was however not sent on exile so he remained at the Sabon Gari. This development made it possible for the Olubadan to appoint Bature Makama, who the Sabon Gari community had refused to vote for in 1929, as the next Sarkin Sabo. He died seven months later and so his son Alhaji Ahmadu Bature was appointed Sarki at the age of sixteen by Olubadan Okunola Abasi. Meanwhile, the majority of the Hausa immigrants kept on pressing for the reinstatement of Audu Zungeru who enjoyed their support. Alhaji Ahmadu Bature had to resign as the Sarki in 1948 having failed to achieve any peaceful administration of the Sabon Gari settlement in Ibadan. This facilitated the reinstatement of Alhaji Audu Zungeru who ruled up to 1968. He was succeeded by one of his sons, Muhammadu Dikko. The latter died in 1982 and was succeeded by Alhaji Shaibu Dikko. He too died on the 13th December 1992 and was succeeded by the incumbent Sarki, Alhaji Ahmadu Zungeru.

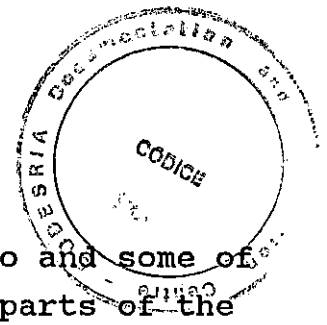
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1. Mapo Hall Ibadan, Council Minutes 3rd Jan 1930, 18th Jan 1930, 7th Feb. 1930, also Abner Cohen, Custom and Politics pp. 120-
 2. Daily Times, 13 August 1942.

Within the Sabon Gari and outside the settlement where some Hausa immigrants are settled, the Sarkin Hausawa has appointed ward heads called Masu Unguyoyi (Sing Mai Ungwa). Within Sabo, Alhaji Umaru Sidi Sani is in charge of Gangare and Alhaji Ahmadu bature is at Oke Hausa. Outside Sabo, Mallam Yusuf Tela takes charge of Ojaba/Isale Osi and Mallam Audu Apata is the Mai Ungwa at Apata and its environs. Alhaji Haruna Mai Yasin Katsina is the Sarkin Hausawa at Sasa, an Ibadan suburb where some Hausa immigrants engaged in the wholesale trade of onions and pepper are settled. The Sarkin Sasa was turbaned by the Sarkin Hausawa of Ibadan, Alhaji Shaibu Dikko in 1983 with the permission of the Olubadan of Ibadan land, Oba Yesufu Oloyede Asanike.¹

The Sarkin Hausawa arbitrates in all minor cases involving his subjects - divorce, theft, public assault etc. When any of the immigrants is dead, the Sarki is duly allowed to have a say in how his property are shared and what happens to his household thereafter. The Sarki is easily able to carry out his responsibilities at Sabo because of the great respect that his subjects have for him, both the young and old. At the end of every Jumat prayer, the Sarki is accompanied home by a crowd of well-wishers who would once again pray for him before departing for their respective homes. In appreciation of this, the Sarki too normally dole out some monetary gifts (Sadaka) to his visitors² (especially the young and professional beggars among them).

1. Oral communication with Alhaji Shaibu Dikko.

2. I watched this done at Sabo Ibadan during both the tenures of Alhaji Shaibu Dikko and Alhaji Ahmadu Zungeru as Sarakuna of the settlement.



Religious Organisation

The Southern Nigerian immigrants in Kano and some of their other colleagues from the middle-belt parts of the country are dominantly christians. On the other hand, the Hausa settlers at Sabo Ibadan are dominantly muslims. The reasons for this are simple The religion of christianity and its associated western civilization came into Nigeria through the Southern parts of the country.¹ Therefore, the Yoruba, Igbo, Itsekiri, Edo etc were the first groups to be christianised and then the religion moved gradually northwards until it came in contact with the strong resistance of Islam in the north. Almost in the same fashion, Islam came into Nigeria through the northern parts and then spread to the other parts of the country. Paradoxically, the inter-regional migrations which led to the establishment of the Sabon Garis was north-south and south-north meaning that the settlements should accommodate people practising different religions from the dominant one in their host communities. There are currently no statistical data to show the religious character of these settlements. Simple observations of the demographic composition of the settlements and number of churches and mosques located in them are however sufficient to show that the christians dominate Sabon Gari Kano; and the Muslims, Sabo Ibadan. More than fifty percent of the settlers at Sabon Gari Kano are Igbo speaking among whom the Islamic religion is hardly practised. More than ninety percent of these people in Kano are christians. About sixty percent of the Yoruba in the settlement are also christians.

The Sabon Gari is the place where most of the churches in Kano are located and the only place where christian related activities are tolerated in the city. The available churches in the settlement include

1. See J.F. Ade Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891, London, 1965,; E.A. Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914

all the orthodox ones - the Catholic, Methodist, Anglican, Baptist, the indigenous types like the Cherubim and Seraphim, the Christ Apostolic Church, The Apostolic, the Celestial Church of Christ etc; and, the Pentecostals, the most important example of which is the Deeper Life Bible Church. Most of these churches are largely attended by southern Nigerians and some other settlers from the Middle belt areas. Both the Catholic and Anglican Churches in the settlement are located along the Ibo and Hausa road while the others are scattered around the Sabon Gari. The religious life at the settlement on Sundays is reminiscent of the typical ones in the southern parts of Nigeria. Christians from different parts of the city, most especially the Federal Civil Servants and employees of private companies in Kano, come to worship at the Sabon Gari churches. At regular intervals, the Pentecostal Churches in the settlement organise seminars, public crusades etc to win more converts into their folds. Such converts are however usually won among the Sabon Gari settlers rather than from the Kanawa population. The Deeper Life

Bible Church along the Warri Street also show regular films to its members featuring different religious messages from Pastor K.W. Kumuyi, who at the national level leads the Church. At the end of such programme "altar calls" were usually made at the end of which new converts are prayed for and counselled on how to be "born again christians". Once in a while, the Pentecostal Churches in the city invite church leaders and preachers from different parts of Nigeria and even outside the

country to come and preach to them. One of such functions was the aborted crusade by Reinhard Bonnke in October 1991.

The Yoruba muslims at the Sabon Gari belong to the *Mamadiya*, *Ansarudeen* and *Samradeen* sects.¹ Each of these groups has mosques scattered at different parts of the Sabon Gari settlement. While the *Samradeen* group is led by one Dawodu from Sagamu in Ogun State, the *Ansarudeen* has Mallam Muideen from Ibadan in Oyo State as its Imam. The Yoruba muslims at the Sabon Gari are easily recognised by their dressing patterns. They are always in agbada (flowing gowns) but unlike the Hausa muslims, always wear the characteristic Yoruba caps (fila) made from either aso oke (hand-woven fabric) or other ordinary cloths.

The Hausa on their own usually wear embroidered caps made with plain cloths. Most of such caps are hand embroidered. The Yoruba also go about the Sabon Gari with rosaries (tasbiyu) in their hands like the indigenous muslims. When there is a naming ceremony for any of their members, they congregate very early in the morning at the celebrant's compound to pray with the family. Such functions also help to perpetuate the kinship relationship among the immigrants as they usually use the few minutes before and after each occasion to share pertinent information relating to their mutual welfare.

About ninety percent of the Hausa settlers at Sabo Ibadan are muslims though only about eighty percent of the people practise the islamic religion as it should be practised,² (i.e observe all the tenets

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1. John Paden *op.cit* p. 314; Personal observations at the settlement and discussion with some members.
 2. Oral contribution of Alhaji Ahmadu Zungeru to the discussions at the UNESCO/Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan Seminar on 'Stages of Life' 24 Oct. 1990.

of the religion). The hectic economic competition in Ibadan hardly give some of the immigrants sufficient time to truly say their five times prayers as enjoined by the koran. During the month of Ramadan (fasting), some of them could be seen in the market place eating. Such people are probably the fifteen percent that Alhaji Ahmadu Zungeru made allowance for in his assessment of the population of muslims at Sabo. The five percent left after the ninety five percent muslims population had been accounted for at Sabo presumably consists of christians and those who belong to no particular religion. The latter group could hardly be identified in Sabo during this field work. Most of the informants in the settlement, except those met at the Bishara Baptist Church Sabo, professed to be muslims. Not even a member of the Bori cult that Cohen discussed in his work¹ could be found in Sabo or any other Hausa settlement in Ibadan. The reasons for this are not difficult to arrive at considering the findings of Cohen. He noted that there was an on-going crusade in the 1960s to flush the Yan bori ("the children of bori" or " bori devotees) or Masu bori (the owners of bori") out of Sabo. Bori, a spiritualist cult used to be the original religion of the Hausa people before the advent of Islam in their land. Because of the great number of women that belonged to it, the cult was easily associated with prostitution. The muslims, christians and colonial

1. See Abner Cohen, Custom and Politics, pp. 10, 58, 163-4

administrators worked at different times in northern Nigeria to eliminate the cult.¹ According to Cohen, there was effective presence of the cult members at Sabo until about the mid-1950s. They even had a woman leader recognized by the Sarkin Hausawa.² With the advent of the Tijaniya order³ in the settlement, less people patronised the bori cult and began to take their different spiritual problems to the islamic mallams.⁴ When the woman leader of the cult died in the 1950s, the Sarkin Hausawa failed to appoint another one⁵ thus indicating that he had withdrawn his recognition of the group. A good number of the bori members must have finally become islamised as a result of the zealous activities of the Tijaniya order at Sabo. Even among the immigrants, intra-group relationship depended on the individual ability to convince his neighbours that he was a devout muslim.⁶

1. 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; A.J.N. Tremearne, The Ban of the Bori, London, 1914.
2. A. Cohen, Custom and Politics p. 164.
3. The 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.
4. A Cohen op.cit. p. 164.
5. Ibid
6. Oral communication with Alhaji Ahmadu Zungeru.

There are many mosques at Sabo. The most important of these is the central one along Nyerere Street. The other mosques in the settlement are privately owned and attached to private buildings. While any of the ordinary daily prayers are said at any of these small mosques, the jumat is said at the Central Sabo Mosque. Hausa traders around Dugbe Market, Eleyele, Sango, Bodija etc come down to Sabo every Friday to observe the Jumat prayer under the leadership of the Hausa Imam at Sabo, Mallam Ahmadu Rufai Husseni. The eminent islamic scholars like Mallam Ahmadu Husseni and other smaller Mallamai (islamic scholars) occupy a very important position in the spiritual life of the Sabon Gari. Apart from leading both the private and formal mosque prayers from time to time, they run Koranic schools where the young Hausa people at Sabo are taught how to read the Koran and other Arabic literature. They are also frequently consulted for spiritual guidance and support by those in problems. Some of such Mallamai (islamic scholars) could be seen in front of their houses reading aloud different verses of the Koran. In some other cases, the noise in the area is dominated by that of the different cadres of children learning from the Koran under the tutelage of these Mallamai.¹ The only christian church at Sabo Ibadan is known as Bishara Baptist Church. It is located at the eastern end of the settlement near the Mokola junction. It is separated from the main Sabo settlement by a small stream that flows into the Ogunpa river behind Adamasingba. The church was built in 1952 as a place of worship

1. I.O. Albert, "The Hausa Community in Ibadan", p. 53

for some northern Nigerian christian military men serving in Ibadan¹, rather than the Hausa immigrants at Sabo. Such military men were said to be of Kogi, Benue, Plateau, Gongola, Niger, Bauchi and Kaduna States origin. The original Bishara Church was founded at Kaduna in 1942. It formally began to be called Bishara Baptist Church in 1959.² The church was founded at the time to facilitate the exclusive use of Hausa language in the northern Nigerian Baptist Church and therefore accelerate the spread of christianity among the people. The existing churches were by this period conducting their services in the Nigerian languages rather than English which could have relatively been a universal language.

The Bishara Baptist Church in Sabo Ibadan was first led by Pastor Alkali Yero who had to leave Ibadan in 1979 having served for 35 years. He was formally succeeded by Pastor J.B. Magaji in 1984. Towards the end of 1960s, it became necessary to have a Tiv Pastor in the Church because of the increase in the number of Tiv worshippers in it. So, Rev. Ndolough was posted to Ibadan in 1970. This development led to the division of the church into two worship groups-Hausa and Tiv. The Hausa section use Hausa language for its service not because the worshippers are Hausa or claim to be Hausa. The language is used as a common medium of communication among the diversified Northern Nigerians that come to the church. Though the Sabo Hausa immigrants are not part of the church,

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1. Oral communication with Rev. J.B. Magaji, the Pastor in Charge of Bishara Baptist Church, Sabo Ibadan, 10th Feb. 1991.
 2. E.O. Akingbala, 'Kaduna First: From Gloom to Glory', Nigerian Baptist Vol. 55 No. 6 June 1977 p. 25, E.P.T. Crampton op.cit. p. 158.

they have cordial relationship with worshippers at the Bishara Church. The pastor of the Church lives inside Sabo with a prominent muslim landlord. He also attends most of the functions involving the muslims immigrants in the quarter. All these indicate the degree of religious tolerance at Sabo Ibadan.

Economic Organization

The discussion here is best appreciated when it is realised that the basic factor for the inter-regional migrations that led to the establishment of the Sabon Garis in Kano and Ibadan was economic. Most of the immigrants came to the two cities to improve their economic conditions and status. It should therefore be less surprising that the ingenuity of these people are best demonstrated in the economic sphere-whether in the long-distance or intra-city trade.

Both the Sabon Gari immigrants at Kano and Ibadan are effectively engaged in inter-regional long-distance trade.¹ This kind of economic activities were made necessary by the need to ensure inter-regional flow of manufactured goods, transfer agricultural products from the surplus to deficit areas and also meet the specialised food tastes of immigrants

1. Cohen defined long-distance trade as "the purchase or sale and the transfer of goods, mostly of perishable nature, across a distance of several hundred miles, principally between the savanna and the forest belt of West Africa. The trade is conducted within the framework of traditional, indigenous arrangement and involves no systematic resort to such modern institution as banking, insurance, police, civil courts or the exchange of documents, although very large amounts of money are employed in it, involving extensive credit arrangements, often between total strangers from different tribes". See A Cohen, Custom and Politics p. 6.

in their new environments. Some of these economic activities stretches from the past to the present. Discussing the role of major Nigerian towns in inter-regional trade, Hay and Smith in their survey noted that 53% of the kolanut supplies to the North especially Kano were shipped from Ibadan. Kano received 40% of such supplies, Nguru 28% and Jos 17%. On the other hand, Ibadan took 71% of the total value of local protein foodstuffs coming from the North, especially from Nguru and Kano.¹ The agricultural products that the southern Nigerian immigrants in Kano bring to the city as long-distance traders include palm oil, yam and cassava flour, coconut, brooms and all kinds of soup ingredients and condiments. Some of them equally import into Kano imported items like vehicle parts, agricultural equipment, office equipment and stationeries, building materials and other items from Lagos, Ibadan, Aba, Port Harcourt etc. The long-distance trade is usually a two-way affair. When the trader is leaving Kano he carries along such articles of trade which could find willing buyers in the south, because of their deficit in the region. This could include live goats, smoked or dried fish and meat, kulikuli (groundnut cake) etc. He sells these items as soon as he arrived in the South and use the money to buy whatever item was needed for his homeward journey to Sabon Gari Kano.

The Hausa long-distance trader in Ibadan too usually take to the North kolanuts, oranges etc. When returning to Ibadan he brings or encourages other category of traders to bring cattle, dried meat and

1. Allan Hay and Robert Smith, Inter Regional Trade and Money Flows in Nigeria, Ibadan: OUP 1970 pp. 120-1.

fish, groundnut cake and oil, millet, sorghum etc. Of this kind of economic activities Onakomaiya noted that:

It is stranger's shrewd perception of trading opportunities based on the host area's ability to supply much needed foodstuffs to the migrant's home region that forms the basis of his establishment in centres hundreds of miles from home... The diverse roles of the stranger... include that of a trader, a correspondent, a transport supplier a creditor, and a shipping and trading agent between home and host regions.¹

The long-distance traders at both Kano and Ibadan who are relatively richer than their stationery colleagues in the Sabon Gari sell in bulk and sometimes on credit to the latter category of traders. They are the regular links between the southern and Northern Nigeria. Their other colleagues send messages through them to their kinsmen in the two regions.

As indicated in the preceding chapters, most of the earliest Southern Nigerian immigrants in Kano were employed in the colonial civil service and by the European firms as clerks, cooks, messengers etc.² There were other categories of immigrants that were however engaged in small-scale trading activities. One of their initial economic strategy was to bring imported items down to the city to market. With the increased presence of the European trading houses in Kano, some of the immigrants simply bought their wares in Kano at wholesale prices and retailed them within the immediate premises of the firms or slightly

1. Samuel O. Onakomaiya, Internal Trade in Speciality Foodstuffs in Nigeria, Ibadan, NISER n.d p.11

2. See Chapter Three.

away from such areas. It was the nuisance effect of such traders that prompted the colonial administrators to formally establish the Sabon Gari market in 1918. The market was meant to serve the interests of the stranger communities in Kano which consisted of not just the Sabon Gari residents alone but also Syrians, the Fagge residents and the Europeans at Bompai¹. It had stalls where imported goods bought from the European firms could be sold at retail prices.

Up to the early twentieth century, the Kano city market (Kasuwan birni) used to dominate the economic activities in Kano. But with the establishment of the Sabon Gari market in 1918, which was meant to serve Bompai, the European trading area, Syrian quarters, Sabon Gari and Fagge, the fortune of the ancient Kasuwan birni began to decline. By 1965, the Kasuwan birni had become relegated to the background considering the greater number of traders at the Igbo dominated Sabon market and its economic activities.² The disadvantaged Hausa traders at the Kasuwan birni then began to question what the traders at the Sabon Gari market did with the profits made from Kano. They accused the Igbo people of repatriating their profits from Kano to develop eastern Nigeria rather than where such money was made.³ The wealthy ones among the Hausa traders had to take to wholesale abandoning the Kasuwan birni. The following table compares the status of the two markets.

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1. NAK Kano 5/1 42923 L.B. Maiden to Resident Kano, "Report on the Native Reservation", p. 9
 2. J. Paden pp. 317, 360
 3. Ibid. T.B.A.W. Trevallion, Metropolitan Kano p. 37.

Table
Comparison of Kano City and Sabon Gari Markets, 1965

Variable	Sabon Gari Market	City Market
1. Total number of traders	3,571	1,902
2. Total Stock (#1,000)	794.5	212.7
3. Average Stock per trader per month (#)	222	112
4. Monthly Sales (#1,000)	519.7	160.2
5. Average Sales per trader Per month (#)	145	84
6. Average profit per trader per month	28	15

Source: B.A.W. Trevallion, Metropolitan Kano

As a result of the mass exodus of the Igbo from Kano in 1966, Hausa traders and the Yoruba who were considered to be less inclined to repatriate their profits (from Kano) to their homeland, took over the control of the Sabon Gari market. Some of the Hausa traders, however, still retained their stalls at the Kasunwan birni. No sooner had the Igbo returned to Kano after the Nigerian civil war had they regained the control of the market and the peripheral shops. The Sabon Gari market grew up at almost the same time as the Sabon Gari. At its formative year, it was no more than an open space on which some wooden or grass structures were constructed. The market was initially meant to facilitate the retail trade of the European goods brought to Kano, hence, it was located not too far from the areas occupied by the European trading houses in the city.¹ It became formally expanded in

1. See A. Ajakaiye, "The Sabon Gari Market, Zaria", B.A. Hons Geography Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria 1966 p.2

1918 to serve the Sabon Gari community, Fagge and rows of stalls in it occupied by trades selling different kinds of items. Each or a number of rows are devoted to some particular products. For example, those selling provisions are grouped together in some rows of the market. So are those selling other items like potatoes, soup ingredients and condiments, palm oil, meat etc. Yet, there are some itinerant traders in the market as there are in the Sabon Gari settlement selling cooked food, iced water, gari, raw beans, rice, etc. Business activities in the market extends to the court, Ibo and Abuja roads as well as Murtala Muhammed way.

Though Sabon Gari Kano has a large market, the entire Sabon Gari settlement is a market where most of the buildings serve both residential and economic purposes. There are different kinds of shops all over the settlement used for the sale of goods and services. The court road for example is dominated by the Igbo people selling motor, motorcycle, industrial machine spare parts. Some of the traders here also sell cloths, food etc. The Ibo road is dominated by people selling stationeries, books, food etc. The other streets in the settlement are inhabited by people who sell all kinds of items that interest them. The Sabon Gari market is however the most central place where the Sabon Gari residents meet almost on daily basis to conduct economic activities. The most important source of demographic attraction in the market is its monopoly over the sales of foodstuffs, soup ingredients and condiments in the settlement.

In addition to traders who sell at both the Sabon Gari settlement and its only market, are other Southern Nigerians at Sabon Gari who are artisans. Some of them are bricklayers, carpenters, plumbers, painters etc. While the carpenters especially the furniture makers have shops at the settlement where they make modern bed furnitures, the others like the bricklayers are daily consulted by people from different parts of Kano for one service or the other. Many of these people also have different calibre of apprentices under them.

The Sabon Gari in Ibadan is not as economically vibrant as the one in Kano. This is largely because of the land scarcity in the settlement. Most of the Hausa settlers in Ibadan only recognise Sabo as a residential rather than an economic centre. The only group whose economic activities are most manifest at Sabo are Hausa tailors who sew different kinds of embroidered dresses especially the Hausa flowing gown called babanriga (agbada in Yoruba). These tailors are lined between the Jemibewon road end of the settlement in the north downwards to Adamashingba junction. People, (Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa and even some tourists in Ibadan), come to sew their dresses with these tailors who are always busy at every hour of the day. Some of these people also sell and wash different kinds of Hausa caps. Very close to the Jemibewon junction behind the Ibadan Tennis club are also located some of the immigrants who daily sell roasted meat (suya). Ibadan residents come to buy from them different parts of the city, even till

about 1.00 a.m. Some of the Hausa immigrants at Sabo also engage in the sale and buying of foreign currencies from the Saudi Riyad, to the German Deutsche Mark, the Japanese Yen, the French Francs, the French West African CFA, the Pound Sterling to the American Dollar. Though most of these "Bureau de change" are illegal outfits, their owners were able to sustain their business because they buy the foreign currencies from sellers at higher rates than the formal commercial houses and sell to them more cheaply. Therefore tourists coming to offer their foreign currencies for sale or buy some are always seen around the settlement negotiating their exchange rates with the Hausa dealers. There is a lot of competition among the immigrants for such clients and so some of them openly solicit for buyers and sellers of foreign currencies among passers-by in the settlement. The Hausa livestock trade is conducted at Bodija. The area is popularly called Kara by both the immigrants and the other groups who come to the livestock market. The Sarkin Hausawa has a firm control over the market. He has within it his representative who allocates trading posts to new entrants to cattle trade. This function is currently performed by Alhaji Garba Leku, the Magajin Gari of Sabo. Alhaji Dan Male, the Sarkin Fulani work closely with the former at the cattle market. To ensure the smooth conduct of business at the cattle market and also make for good working relationship between the Hausa and Yoruba cattle traders, the former Sarkin Hausawa, Alhaji Shaibu Dikko appointed some Yoruba chieftains at the Bodija market. These included Chief Francis Olaniyan, the

Bale Onimalu (the head of Cattle dealers) and Chief (Alhaja) Muniratu Adenihun who is the Iyaloja Onimalu (the woman head of cattle dealers). The two Yoruba leaders who had long been in the livestock business were appointed in 1987 with the permission of the Olubadan of Ibadan, Oba Oloyede Asanike. The Bale Onimalu is assisted in administration by some lesser chiefs like the Balogun Onimalu, Otun Balogun Onimalu, Osi Balogun Onimalu etc.

Each Hausa trader at the Kara has a specific place allocated to him for his livestock trade. There he stores, feeds and sells his animals to willing buyers. There are two major livestock markets at Bodija. The first, which is meant for cattle trade is adjacent to both the main Bodija market and the Bodija Amusement Park, and directly behind the Bodija railway station. The second which is located to the east of the cattle market is meant for the sale of goats, sheep and guinea fowls. Livestock business is supposed to be conducted within these markets. Therefore, each livestock landlord (maigida) has with him a number of dependants, assistants or salesmen who help him to solicit for clients. Some of them stay outside the market looking for those wishing to buy livestock. Such people they easily take to their masters (Masu gida) in the enclosed market. Some of these people who stand outside the cattle market however engage in baranda.¹

When they find a person

1. Baranda is the term used by livestock traders in Ibadan (Hausa and Yoruba) to describe the informal process through which livestock are sold without passing through the normal process.

wishing to buy cattle outside the market, they could take him to a wholesaler who would sell more cheaply to the buyer. At the end, the baranda trader collects lada (sales commission) from both the wholesale trader as well as the client introduced to him. Most established livestock traders at Bodija frown on this. The more baranda that takes place in the market, the more time it would take for the livestock retailers inside the encamped market to sell their animals.

The established livestock traders in Ibadan travel regularly to the northern parts of Nigeria and sometimes beyond the region to Niger, Tchad, Mali etc. to buy their articles of trade. In some cases, however, some long-distance traders from the north and far beyond, from the neighbouring countries bring their livestock to Ibadan for sale. The Bodija retailers then buy from them in cash or on credit. The credit trade is usually conducted between the wholesale traders and their trusted landlords (Masu 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 completed.¹ In the latter case, the mai gida has the

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

responsibility for 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 fixed sum of money¹ as their daily feeding allowance so that 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 northern Nigeria are collected from the retail livestock buyers in form of price increase or as lada (commission). Payment of lada is compulsory in all livestock markets, it involves one paying 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 at Bodija.

The credit phenomenon in the livestock business in Ibadan is solely based on mutual trust which in some cases are abused as claimed by B.T.A. members.² The Mai gida to whom some livestock had been entrusted by the wholesalers could complain to the latter that he too sold on credit and had problems recovering the money. This indirectly means that the wholesaler should be prepared to defer the recovery of his money. In some cases, the money is outrightly not paid with the excuse that the butcher who bought the livestock had died or left Ibadan. It

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

2. This is fully discussed in the next chapter.

was to redress this anomaly that some Fulani and Kanuri livestock traders in the city formed the Bodiya Traders' Association (BTA) in 1986.

At Oja'ba near Basorun Oluyole's compound is located the Hausa kolanut market in Ibadan. The market which serves both retail and wholesale purposes is located opposite the Olubadan palace. Yoruba kolanut producers from the neighbouring villages of Ibadan bring their products to the market for the Hausa immigrants and other categories of kolanut traders to buy. As in the case of the cattle trade, the kolanut market at Oja'ba also has some Masu gida who help others to arrange the sale and purchase of kolanut. They collect lada for whatever services rendered to their colleagues from the North. Some of the Masu gida send their own large stock of kolanut directly to their agents in the North for sale. They have several servants who help them to grade the kolanut and pack them ready for the northward journey. The money paid to such a servant depends on his relationship with the mai gida, if he is a permanent dependant of the mai gida, he is only given daily feeding allowance. But at a later date, his master becomes obligated to help him capitalise his own kola business.

Though the Hausa immigrants in Ibadan dominate the Oja'ba kola trade, there are still some Yoruba dealers in the market. While the former specialise in the sale of cola nitida (called goro in Hausa and Gbanja in Yoruba), the latter sell the multivalved type of kolanut

botanically called cola acuminata (obi abata in Yoruba).

There is cordial relationship between the two categories of kolanut traders at the market.

At the outskirts of Ibadan city along the Ibadan-Oyo road is located the Sasa market used by some Hausa immigrants for pepper and onions trade. Like the cases of cattle and kolanut trade, the Sasa trade in pepper and onions is under the control of some Masu gida. These are permanent settlers in Ibadan who play host to different types of trailers with tons of pepper, onions, tomatoes, carrots, potatoes etc. from the various fadama complexes and irrigation farms in the northern parts of Nigeria. The Masu gida in the market buy directly from the traders from the north at wholesale prices and then sell at retail prices to Yoruba women who would in turn take the products to the various markets in Ibadan - Oje, Bodija, Agodi-Gate, Oke-Ado, Agbeni, Aleshinloye, New Gbagi etc. It is therefore a daily ritual to find many Yoruba women in their hundreds at the Sasa market in the mornings struggling to buy basketful of onions, tomatoes, pepper and so on. Other Ibadan people having social functions that require large usage of these soup ingredients also come to the market to buy at wholesale prices.

The Hausa immigrants involved in the Ibadan building planks' trade are located at Bodija market. They joined the trade, which was hitherto monopolised by the Yoruba and Igbo, in the early 1970s. Their present depot at Bodija was however not established until 1981 probably because of the difficult processes through which timbers are procured from the forest

areas, sawn into smaller units before being brought to the city, the Hausa people are not fully involved in the planks' trade. They merely serve at the Bodija market as commission agents (Yan commission) to some Yoruba and Igbo dealers. When they have any customer, usually from the North, they help him to buy whatever planks needed from both the buyer and seller. As soon as such products are however bought from the Yoruba or Ibo dealers, they are taken to the depot of the Hausa middlemen where they would be carefully arranged in north-bound trailers and lorries.

The peaceful co-existence of the Hausa migrants in Ibadan has been found to be because of their organizational structure in the city. At the levels of social, political and economic organizations, they have one working relationship or the other with members of their host community who in turn became obligated to support the various activities of the immigrants in Ibadan. While the political system at Sabo and Sasa is with the support of the Olubadan, these immigrant political office holders have found it necessary to concede some of their authorities to some Yoruba associate as noted in the appointment of Bale Onimalu and others at the Bodija market. Just as the Hausa tolerated the Yoruba in the cattle trade which they dominate, the Yoruba also gave them comfortable positions in both kola and building planks' trade. In the social realm, the two groups easily interact with one another. While the Yoruba people come frequently to Sabo to partake in the naming and marriage ceremonies of their Hausa friends, members of the latter camp too attend the elaborate social

functions of the Yoruba people. All these have reduced to the barest minimum any incidence of conflicts between members of the two ethnic groups in Ibadan. In Kano however, the Sabon Gari immigrants have increasingly found it difficult to integrate to their host communities. Since the establishment of the Sabon Gari in Kano, the residents in it have always been made to realise that they are strangers in the city. They are therefore mostly interested in what they could economically make from Kano than how to integrate into the society. The Sabon Gari residents are largely regarded as harna or kafir (infidels) by members of their host community. All these have engendered group identity among the Sabon Gari settlers against the members of their host community.

CHAPTER SIX

THE IMMIGRANTS AND INTER-GROUP CONFLICTS

IN KANO AND IBADAN

When a person migrates from his place of origin to another, he finds himself threatened or intimidated by the dominant social, religious, political and economic character of his new environment. As Samir Amin pointed out, such a migrant is left with three major means of survival: assimilation, pacific co-existence or animosity. The choice of which of these options to be used by a migrant group would depend on the dominant countenance of the host population.¹ It is necessary that the latter too should be able to slightly adjust to the systems of the former. But more importantly, it is the 'stranger' (migrant) that has to work out the best method of achieving peaceful co-existence with his host population. This at times might mean the adaptation of the cultural practices of his host population. As observed in the earlier chapters, the Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo people that dominate the systems in the two Sabon Garis focused here are not easily assimilated into the systems of their host communities as immigrants. Each of them (except the Yoruba in Kano who imbibed some Hausa socio-cultural practices as a result of their adherence to islamic religion) adopt systems reminiscent

1. Samir Amin, 'Introduction', in S. Amin (ed.) Modern migrations West Africa, London: Oxford University Press 1974 p. 115.

of their traditional homelands. Therefore, the Hausa immigrants in Ibadan are still identified by their tenacious practice of Islam, regular adornment of white robes, consumption of kolanut¹ and other practices easily associated with their colleagues in Northern Nigeria. The Igbo in Kano still practise some traditional rites most especially during the burial of their dead colleagues. This makes the Hausa people to regard them as polytheists. The Igbo and Yoruba in Kano still adhere to christianity which is dominant in their southern Nigerian homelands. They are organised under different social and ethnic associations which are always in festive moods to the bewilderment of their Hausa/Fulani host population. Some of these often lead to animosity between the Sabon Gari settlers and members of their host communities.

It has been clearly established in the preceding chapters that what makes the typical Sabon Gari resident different from members of his host communities is his ethnic and religious background. While the residents of the Sabon Gari in Kano are predominantly christian southern Nigerians and other immigrants from the Nigerian middle belt areas, those at Sabo Ibadan are mainly muslim northern Nigerians. What this chapter aims to discuss is the question of: What happens to a Christian

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1. Samir Amin, "Introduction" in Samir Amin (ed.) Modern Migration in West-Africa, London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1974, pp. 115-6.

immigrant in a muslim-oriented Hausa society and what happens to muslim immigrant community in a Yoruba society dominated by the Christian religion and western civilization. Put in another way, the chapter intends to focus on how ethnic and religious disparities have affected immigrants' relation to members of their host communities, especially in the two settlements under review. The chapter shall discuss how the Yoruba people related to the Hausa immigrants in Ibadan and how the Hausa/Fulani community in Kano related to the Southern Nigerians in their midst.

Discussing the possible kinds of relationship between such immigrants and members of their host communities, Samir Amin noted that:

The range of relationship that ethnic groups maintain among one another within the framework of contemporary migratory phenomena, includes all possible cases: assimilation, pacific co-existence, animosity. It is important to note that the nature of these relations does not depend principally on cultural factors, for example an historical tradition of friendship, similarity or difference of culture, language or religion. The relations between the groups always depend essentially on their respective strategies, spontaneous or manipulated. These strategies are defined with reference to the economic and political problems of the modern society, in which these groups are integrated.¹

Of the three major ethnic migrants slated for discussion in this

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1. Samir Amin, "Introduction" in Samir Amin (ed.) Modern Migration in West Africa, London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1974, pp. 115-6.

chapter, the most easily assimilated into their host community are the Yoruba. The Hausa and the Igbo have proved to be relatively difficult people to be assimilated into any 'foreign' systems.¹ The Hausa apart from dominantly belonging to the Islamic religion, have socio-cultural characteristics which they find difficult to alter no matter the society in which they find themselves. The story is the same with the Igbo-speaking people.² On the other hand, because of the commitment of some Yoruba people to the Islamic religion, they found it relatively easy to peacefully live with the Hausa/Fulani people in Kano. In most cases therefore, the relationship between the larger section of the Sabon Gari residents and members of their host communities are characterised by conflict. In such extreme case, Skinner noted that: "... the stranger is held suspect, treated with a mixture of awe and suspicion, equated with the enemy (hostis), feared and even killed on sight".³ The data from the Sabon Garis in Kano and Ibadan differ from each other and so need to be examined separately.

Sabon Gari Kano

The Yoruba constituted the great bulk of those that came to Kano with the British in the early 1900s. They therefore dominated the Sabon Gari settlement at its inception. Of about the 2,000 settlers at the

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1. Ibid. p. 118; Mahdi Adamu, The Hausa Factor in West African History
 2. The Socio-cultural Characteristics have been outlined in the earlier part of the chapter.
 3. E.P. Skinner, "Strangers in West African Societies", Africa, Vol. XXXIII No. 4, 1963, p. 307.

Sabon Gari in 1921, 1,478 of them were Yoruba. The Igbo speaking people in the settlement were so small at that time that the 1921 census conducted in Kano contained no particular reference to them. But after the second world war, the Igbo people began to outnumber their Yoruba counterparts in Kano.¹ The population of the Igbo people in Kano in 1948 was 6,680 against the Yoruba's 4,514. Between 1949 and 1950, the Igbo population rose to 7,303 against the Yoruba's 5,167.² Between 1954 and 1955, the Igbo constituted 59.05 per cent of the total population of the settlers at the Sabon Gari while the Yoruba, with their total population of 5,174 constituted just 23.92 per cent. The others that constituted the remaining 17.03 per cent included the Urobo and Itsekiri, Efik and Ibibio, Ishan, Edo, Okrika, Ijaw, Nupe, Igala, Idoma, Ghanaians, Togolese, Dahomeans, Hausa, Fulani, Sierra Leoneans, Cameroonians, Kanuri, West Indians etc.³

The gradual rise in the size of Southern Nigerian immigrants at the Sabon Gari was of great concern to the Hausa-Fulani indigenes of the city. As later event had shown, the Kano people like other Northern Nigerians were apprehensive of the Southern Nigerians in their midst for two major reasons. The predominance of the Christian religion among the southern Nigerian immigrants set them at variance with the highly

1. John Paden, Religion and Culture in Kano, p. 315.

2. NAK, Kano Prof. 5/1 5908 Tribal Population Statistics, pp. 5 and 14.

3. Ibid, p. 41.

Islamised Kanawa. The latter could easily see the potential danger that could attend the uncontrolled immigration of these Christians into their midst. Closely related to this is the fact that Southern Nigerians were highly educated and so dominated the formal sector of the economy in the city. They were the messengers, clerks, aides et. al. to the British administrators.¹ In addition to this, they equally dominated the informal sector of the economy, selling all kinds of European and locally produced goods². The Southern Nigerians were therefore seen at this moment like the triumphant impostors or invaders in the city who however needed to be tolerated or treated with contempt. It was the suspicion against the ascendancy of the Southern Nigerians that engendered the Hausa-Fulani identity in Kano as they began to see the former from the religious, cultural, linguistic and economic standpoints as impostors. The Hausa-Fulani began to see themselves in imaginary competition with the Southern Nigerian immigrants. Elaborating further on the extent of this problem Paden said:

The we-they distinctions.... are theoretically based on Muslim-non-Muslim criteria. There are legalistic prescriptions for Muslims living in non-Muslim areas (including emigration) and for relations with non-Muslims in predominantly Muslim areas (including not mingling with polytheists, contract relations with 'people of the book' and so forth). The basic distinction is between Muslims and pagans, between whom, according to the Kano classical doctrines, there can only be a state of war (jihad).³

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1. See NAK, SNP D.95/1913, Acting Resident Kano J.W. Gill to Chief Secretary, Zungeru 1st, November, 1913.
 2. F.D. Lugard, Annual Report for 1900-1901 p. 20.
 3. J.Paden, op. cit., p. 379.

Of all the Southern Nigerian immigrants at the Sabon Gari, the Hausa-Fulani people were most at home with the Yoruba people. Some of these Yoruba people were muslims and favourably disposed towards imbibing the Hausa-Fulani linguistic and economic interests. On the other hand, the Kanawa felt very strange with the Igbo people who however dominated the Sabon Gari population.¹ As a "people of the book" (Alhlu'l-Kitab)² the attitude of the Kanawa towards Christians was not one of complete hostility. They recognised Jesus Christ (Anabi Yisa) as a prophet of Allah but deny his divinity as preached by Christianity. To this end, they have some form of respect for some of the christians, who were 1,444 in Kano in 1921³ and 2,716 in 1939.⁴ Though most of the residents at Sabon Gari Kano identified themselves as Christians, the Kanawa largely regard the Igbo-speaking among them as nominal Christians who should merit no better treatment than ones

1. Ibid.

2. These are people whose religious practices are recognised by the Muslims as contained in the Koran. See Yusuf Ali, The Holy Qura'n: Translation and Commentary Chap. 5 VS. 6. Also See Commentary 68 (Quran 4 Vs. 153-176). I am grateful to Mr. Ismaheel Akinade Jimoh of the Centre for Arabic Documentation of IAS for enlightening me on this.

3. S.K. Meek, Northern Tribes of Nigeria, London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1925, p. 248. For a detailed study of the position of the muslims towards Christianity read Hassan Askari, "Christian Mission to Islam: A Muslim Response", Journal Institute of Muslims Minority Affairs (JIMMA), Vol. 7, No. 2 July 1986 pp. 314-330; William Shepard, "Rights of Non-Muslims in Islam", JIMMA Vol. 7 No. 2 1965, pp. 3011-302.

4. NAK, Kano Prof. 5/1 4292 R.L.B. Maiden, Report on the Kano Native Reservation, Aug. 1939 pp. 12-13.

reserved for pagans¹. This was probably because of the tenacity with which the people held on to their cultural values in Kano. The Igbo in the city still performed various cultural feats especially during the burial of their colleagues which easily made the Hausa-Fulani people to regard them as polytheists.

The greatest immigration of the Igbo-dominated Southern Nigerians into Kano took place in the 1950s during which ethnic party politics in Nigeria had begun to ferment. The immigration process was therefore seen by the Hausa-Fulani population in Kano as a political means by the eastern Nigerians to take over Northern Nigeria.² The Report on the Twenty Year Development Plan of Kano also contained some bits of information on Kanawa's assessment of the Igbo people in their midst. The report described the vast majority of the people in Sabon Gari as Igbo who "appear to feel as strangers to Kano despite the duration of their stay"³. The people were considered to be most identified with the Ibo Union which, starting from the 1940's, was established to engender group identity among Igbo labour emigrants⁴. The Ibo Union in Kano

1. NAK, Kano Prof. 5/1 5908, Tribal Population Statistics, 'Communication between the Wakilin Kano and Kano N.A. 16th Oct. 1953, p. 49; Paden p. 314.

2. J. Paden, p. 316.

3. B.A.W. Trevallion, Metropolitan Kano: Report on the Twenty Year Development Plan 1963-1983, Glasgow: Greater Kano Planning Authority, 1966, pp. 37-8.

4. U.G. Damachi, Nigerian Modernization, New York, 1972 p.12.

helped to get the new Igbo emigrants settled in the city and also promoted cultural and occupational harmony among them.

For example the Federal constitution of the body decrees that:

It shall be the duty of every member to assist any unemployed member in obtaining employment. Any such unemployed member who is proved to be without means of livelihood, may be granted a monthly subsistence of 7s 6d for a period not exceeding six months, within which period he may be repatriated or sent to a station, where he may obtain employment¹.

The inclination of the Igbo people to democratic principles in contrast with the feudalist orientation of the average Northern Nigerian also set them at variance with members of their host community in Kano. The Igbo have little or no respect for formal or static class barriers. Each of them work hard to achieve rather than wait for what he could get from others.² All these helped to accelerate their socio-economic growth in Kano and largely contributed to the hostile attitude of some Kanawa against them. This also affected the larger southern Nigerian community at the Sabon Gari who now became viewed as aggressive exploiters of what should belong to the Kanawa.

1. See I. Nzimiro, "A study of the Mobility Among the Ibo of Southern Nigeria" in Ralph Piddington (ed.), Kinship and Geographical Mobility, Leiden, Netherland 1965, pp. 117-130 for detailed discussion of this.
2. U.G. Damachi op. cit., p.12. for detailed information about the Igbo system of democracy read L.U. Ejiofor, Dynamics of Igbo Democracy, Ibadan University Press Ltd, 1981.

THE 1953 RIOT

The first major hostility against the Sabon Gari residents in Kano took place in 1953. The cause of the crisis was however not internal but external to the Sabon Gari settlement. The southern Nigerians at the settlement were merely victims of a larger national problem involving Southern and Northern Nigerians. The Kanawa saw the Sabon Gari, because of its historical circumstances and growth, as an extension of Southern Nigeria. They therefore thought it necessary to punish the immigrants resident in it for the sins committed by their kinsmen against some Northerner politicians in Lagos.

For the most part of the colonial period in Nigerian history, the British administered the North under different instruments from the South. The politicians from the north were therefore never brought into the ambit of the Nigerian national politics until 1947 when the Richard Constitution came into effect.¹ The constitution balkanised Nigeria into three legislative regions which later served as the bedrock of ethnic politics in Nigeria. Before this time, the North was governed by the British under the indirect rule system adequately manipulated to suit the interest of the Emirs². On the other hand, southern Nigerians had representatives in the National Legislative Assembly and so were more sophisticated politically than their northern counterparts.

1. For details of this and other constitutions in Nigeria, read Kalu Ezera, Constitutional Developments in Nigeria, London, 1960; James Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958.
2. See O. Ikime, "The Establishment of Indirect rule in Northern Nigeria", Tarikh Vol. 3 No. 3., 1970.

Western education was also not as successful in the North as it was in the South.¹ The disadvantaged position of the Northerners, compared to their counterparts in the South became evidently clear with the advent of the Richard's Contstitution which made it necessary for the two groups to work together. The problems created by the constitution immediately led to mutual suspicion among the different ethnic groups in Nigeria. The tension started first in the south between the Igbo and the Yoruba and then progressed to become a North-South affair between the Hausa/Fulani on one hand and the Igbo-Yoruba on the other. The latter took a religious platform so that the problem was considered to be between the Christian dominated South and Islam dominated North. By 1951, when the Action Group (A.G.) led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo was founded, Nigerians had become grouped into three political camps with each representing a major ethnic group in the country. The A.G. was for the Yoruba (or western Nigerians), the N.C.N.C led by Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe for the Igbo or (or eastern Nigerians) and the N.P.C. under the leadreship of Sir Ahmadu Bello for the Hausa-Fulani (or northern Nigerians).² It was the disagreement between the Southern and Northern Nigerian political parties over when Nigeria should be granted her independece that led to the Kano riot of 1953.

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1. For the details of this problem see S.F. Graham, Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria 1900-1919, Ibadan Univ. Press, 1966.
 2. See Richard Sklar, Nigerian Political Parties: Power in an Emergent Nation, Princeton, 1963.

Chief Anthony Enahoro, an Action Group member moved a motion on the floor of the House of Representatives in Lagos asking that the British should disengage from their colonial enterprise in Nigeria by granting the country her independence in 1956. The Northern Nigerian members of the N.P.C who could easily see their disadvantages, under such an independent Nigeria, unanimously opposed the motion with the excuse that the country was not yet ripe for self-government.¹ They therefore sponsored another motion that the self-government demanded by the Southerners should be granted "as soon as practicable" instead of in 1956. The Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir, Ahmadu Bello explained the opposition of the Northerners against the 1956 date in the following terms:

The North does not intend to accept the invitation to commit suicide... As representatives of the people, we from the North feel that in all major issues such as this one, we are in duty bound to consult those we represent... If the Honorable members from the West and East speak to this motion unamendment, for their people I must say here and now, Sir, that we from the North have been given no such mandate by our people... We were late in assimilating western education yet within a short time we will catch up with the other Regions, and share their lot... We want to be realistic and consolidate our gains. It is our resolute intention to build our development on sound and lasting foundations so that they would be lasting.²

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1. See Sir Ahmadu Bello, My life, London, 1962 pp. 110-148.
 2. House of Representatives' Debates, March 31, 1953 p. 992 quoted in Bernard Nkemdirim, Social Change and Political Violence in Colonial Nigeria, Elms Court, Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd, 1975, pp. 68-9.

At the end of this controversial encounter with the Northern Nigerians, the members of the A.G. and N.C.N.C. walked out of the House in annoyance. As the Northern Nigerian representatives came out of the House and even on their way back to the North, they were booed by the Lagos crowd.¹ The leader of the Action Group Chief Awolowo also described them as despotic puppets of the British in Nigeria.² This development greatly irked the Northerners who saw it all as a calculated attempt by the Southerners to frighten them away from the Nigerian state. They later threatened to pull out of Nigeria and were only dissuaded by the British. In the North, the people saw the Lagos incident by the Igbo-Yoruba southern Nigerian coalition as an open hostility against the Northerners.

Back in their northern Nigerian constituency, the leaders of the N.P.C. went round to educate the people on why they objected to the self-government motion of the A.G. It was at this same moment that the leaders of the A.G. too decided to carry their 1956 independence campaign to Kano, a city which Paden described as "the primary repository of northern values and indentities".³ When the news of the proposed A.G. tour reached Kano, the Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello, some other N.P.C. leaders and the Emir of Kano mobilised people for a peaceful demonstration. The demonstrators were recruited from

1. Daily Times, 6th April, 1953 p. 5

2. Sir Ahmadu Bello op. cit. pp. 110-36.

3. J. Paden, p. 361.

within the N.P.C., among Native Administration staff as well as among the members of the larger civil society in Kano. The first demonstration which turned out to be a violent outburst of emotion took place on Friday, May 15, 1953. As early as 8.30 a.m. about 3,000 demonstrators, largely consisting of Native Administration Staff, assembled at Fagge armed with bows and arrows. From there, the crowd led by hundreds of cyclists and horsemen moved to Sabon Gari in the process of which more demonstrators were recruited. As they moved, they were shouting: "We do not want the Yoruba here". Then the rioters descended on the Sabon Gari market and closed it down. In the process, many of the traders got wounded.¹

By the afternoon of the first day of the riot, the Southern Nigerians could not but get themselves prepared for the greater trouble to come. The official report of the incident indicated that by Friday afternoon, the Southern Nigerians had bought 172 matchetes from Messrs Leventis; there were report of considerable theft of scrap iron in some parts of the city; the grind stones of the U.A.C. Motor Department were discovered to have been used by some unauthorised people overnight to sharpen their matchets and scrap iron; and, the Southerners were reported to have approached the Senior District Officer in Kano for protection as they claimed to have seen some Northerners coming into Kano city from the neighbouring villages with dangerous weapons of warfare. The District Officer, Mr. Purdy, had to cancel the proposed

1. B. Nkemdirim, op.cit., pp. 72-3.

tour of the Action Group in the attempt to restore peace and order to Kano. This was however counter-productive. By Saturday, May 16th, a full-scale clash between the Northerners and Southerners in Kano began with Sabon Gari as the bloody battleground. The riotous crowd first began to concentrate on the Sabon Gari as done the previous day early in the morning. By 3.00 p.m. some of them began to advance through the court road towards the Colonial Hotel which ought to have been the venue of the A.G. Campaign. By 3.30 p.m. the armed rioters amounted to about 2,000. They became uncontrollable, attacked an Igbo man passing by, got him killed and his bicycle smashed. All Southerners seen within the territory occupied by the rioters at the Sabon Gari and Fagge were similarly assaulted.¹ This drew the entire Sabon Gari immigrants into the civil disorder which lasted up to May 18th, 1953. The rapprochement between the the two warring groups was reached between the 18th and 28th May, 1953.

The process by which the civil disorder ended is as interesting as it started. On Monday 18th May, the rumour was circulated in the Northerners' camp that some people including the Lima (Imam) of Sabon Gari had been killed by the Southerners and given concealed burial.² This engendered greater insurgent reaction at Fagge where the Northerners renewed their vows to deal more ruthlessly with the Southerners, especially the Igbo speaking among them. Operating under

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1. Northern Regional Government, Report on the Kano Disturbances: 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th May, 1953, Lagos: Government Printers, 1953, p. 9.
 2. Report on the Kano Disturbance, p. 17.

the leadership of one Dan Daura, the Northerners launched a fresh attack on the Igbo people. One of such Southerners caught was set ablaze along Katsina road¹. Some Northerners who had shielded some friendly Southerners in their houses were forced to push them out. Through this process, fifteen more Igbo people were killed. Though the police later provided the necessary security that stemmed further development of disorder at both Sabon Gari and Fagge, they failed to fire any shot at the insurgents destroying lives and property. It was at this stage that the Southerners decided to make moves that could show the Northerners that they were actually not killing people as rumoured at Fagge and other parts of Kano. They released some of the Northern Nigerians held prisoners at Sabon Gari.² In appreciation of this, the Northerners too sent a lorry load of Igbo prisoners from Fagge to Sabon Gari.³ This exchange of prisoners, which was soon formalised, was supervised by some Administrative Officers, Native Authority representatives, Members of the Waje Council which included Mr. F.E. Okonkwo, a leading member of the Igbo community in Kano and also a member of the Northern House of Assembly.³ At the end of the negotiation 240 Northerners were returned to Fagge from Sabon Gari and 180 Southerners from Fagge to Sabon Gari. The exchange of prisoners which took place on Monday was followed the next day by the convening of a reconciliation committee meeting. The meeting

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1. Ibid.
 2. B. Nkemdirim op.cit. p. 83.
 3. Ibid.

metting which was attended by representatives of the Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba people in Kano decided on the modalities for totally ending the crisis. The committee members and other influential Southerners and Northerners in the city drove round the Sabon Gari and Fagge appealing to people for calm and so normal social and commercial activities resumed in the two settlements.¹

At the end of the civil-disorder, thirty six people were officially declared killed.² The real number might have been more considering the fact that not all the dead would be declared by the victims; some might have been given concealed burial as alleged. Two hundred and forty six others who submitted themselves for treatment at the hospitals were declared wounded.³ Given below is the official breakdown of the casualties:

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1. Ibid, pp. 82-4.
 2. Report on the Kano Disturbance p. 21.
 3. Ibid.

KILLED				TREATED IN HOSPITAL			
	North- erners	South- erners	Total	North- erners	South- erners	Police	Total
Sat. 16 May 1953	1	2	3	22	26	4	52
Sun 17 May 1953	10	5	15	80	20	3	103
Mon 18 May 1953	4	14	18	57	10	-	67
The 19th	-	-	-	4	15	-	19
TOTAL	15	21	36	163	71	7	241

Source: Report on the Kano Disturbance p. 21.

Out of the sixty-five northern Nigerians still hospitalised on the 20th May 1953, no less than twenty-five of them were nursing gun-shot wounds.¹ Twenty of them were wounded right inside the Sabon Gari. Twelve were Sabon Gari residents, four of them were attacked in their houses during the first day of the riot probably in retaliation against the maiden attack by the Northern Nigerians. The rest casualties of the civil disorder were wounded at the battleground between the southwest corner of Sabon Gari and Fagge.²

The Kano riot of 1953 had both immediate and remote consequences. The number of Igbo people killed outside the Sabon Gari and Northerners killed within it made the Kano residents to be more conscious of their distinct group identities in the city. It made the people to accord more respect to the Sabon Gari as the exclusive settlement for the Christian dominated Southern Nigerians. Therefore, immediately after the 1953 riot, many Hausa-Fulani people evacuated from the Sabon Gari to either Fagge and Gwagwarwa. Before the riot, the Hausa-Fulani constituted 4.4% of the Sabon Gari population. This reduced to 1.1% after the riot.³ While taking the tribal population statistics of the Sabon Gari in October 1953, the Wakilin Waje of Kano, Mallam Sani Ungogo, noted that the very few number of the Hausa-Fulani found at the settlement was due to the immigration that followed the May

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1. Report on Kano Disturbance p.20-1
 2. Ibid. p. 20.
 3. Alan Frishman, 1977 p. 239.

1953 riot.¹ The same happened to the Southerners in the other Hausa settlements within the city, most especially Fagge. Those who were lucky to survive the riot either ran away from Kano or parked to the Sabon Gari where they squatted with their kinsmen until they got alternative accommodations within the settlement.²

The 1953 riots led to greater mutual distrust between the Northern and Southern Nigerians. Shortly after the riot, the Northern House of Chiefs and House of Assembly passed a motion which in effect would have led to the dissolution of the Nigerian Federation.³ The two Houses asked for strong regional governments linked together by a non-political central agency whose mandate would be to deal with whatever matters the Regional Governments passed to it from time to time.⁴ Reacting to this motion, the Colonial Secretary Mr Oliver Lyttleton announced his plan to introduce such constitutional reforms that would enhance greater regional autonomy in Nigeria. This led to the July - August 1953 London Conference which representatives of the different Nigerian Regions attended.⁵ The 1954 constitution was produced out of the deliberation

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1. Kano Prof. 5/1 5908 Tribal Population Statistics, p. 39.
 2. Oral communication with some of the Sabon Gari settlers in Kano.
 3. Sir Ahmadu Bello op.cit. pp. 143-4
 4. Ibid.
 5. See G.O. Olusanya, "Constitutional Development in Nigeria 1861-1960", in O. Ikime (ed.) Groundwork of Nigerian History pp. 536-7; J.S. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism, Berkeley 1965; K. Ezera, Constitutional Development in Nigeria, 1964.

at this important conference. The Lyttleton constitution which still supported Federalism provided for the regionalization of the civil service, judiciary and law-making bodies so that each region became freer to run its government as it deemed pleased.

In the Western and Eastern parts of Nigeria, the people pursued aggressive policies of educational and economic advancement.¹ The civil service became more Nigerianised as a result of which many expatriates were retired.² In the North, the people also introduced some social and educational reforms in their bid to catch up with the level of development in the South. To achieve the much desired autonomy, the Northerners began an aggressive "Northernization" policy as a result of which many southern Nigerians lost their jobs in the public service to the Northerners.

According to John Paden, the Northernization policy was designed by the Premier of Northern Region, Sir Ahmadu Bello with the support of the indigenous Kano trading community.³ Sir Ahmadu Bello blamed the British for the unchecked migration of Southerners into the North, but expected the Southerners to have left with the Europeans immediately after Nigerian independence. During one of the debates at the Northern House of Chiefs in 1965 he noted that:

The person who brings a stranger into the house
(should expect that) when the owner of the house has
gone, the stranger too should pack up and go.⁴

1. B. Nkemdirim p. 103.

2. Ibid. p. 104.

3. J. Paden, p. 325.

4. Northern House of Chiefs, Debates, March 19, 1965 p. 55
quoted by Paden p. 325.

On the extent of the northernization policy he said,

The Northernization policy does not only apply to Clerks, Administrative Officers, Doctors and Others. We do not want to go to Chad and meet strangers catching our fish in the water, and taking them away to leave us with nothing. We do not want to go to Sokoto and find a carpenter who is a stranger making the body of a lorry, or to go to the market and see butchers who are not Northerners.¹

The paradox however is that whereas it was easy for the political leaders in Northern Nigeria to relieve the southerners in their midst of their jobs in the formal sector of the economy, it was rather difficult to completely eliminate those in the informal sector. Apart from the fact that the northerners depended on sea ports in the Southern part of Nigeria for the supply of their needed manufactured goods from overseas² they derived the bulk of their revenues from the custom duties paid by the petty Southern Nigerian traders.³ The Southerners engaged in private businesses in Kano therefore increased as some of them formerly in the formal sector were retired or dismissed. Rather than travelling back to their hometowns, the discharged Southerners (especially the Igbo speaking among them) in Kano chose to remain behind in the city, investing their retirement entitlements or savings on

1. Ibid.

2. Paden, p. 358.

3. W.N. Geary, Nigeria Under British Rule, London: Methuen and Co. Ltd, 1927, p. 213.

private businesses.¹ Using their old network of socio-economic connections, some of them travelled to Lagos, Port-Harcourt, Aba, Enugu, Ibadan etc to buy articles of trade which they brought to Kano for sale. Some of them even learnt new trade like bricklaying, carpentry, plumbing, motor mechanics etc. Through them more immigrants were recruited into Kano to start their own businesses in the city.² Some of those left in the public service unretired decided later on to pull out of the system when they could no longer withstand the problems associated with their employment. These people too started their own businesses rather than travelling back to southern Nigeria.

The 1966 Crisis

As the Southerners in Kano tried to adjust in the 1960s to the increasing tide of northernization in the city, the larger Nigerian state was battling with the problems of north-south and Christian-Muslim dichotomies which pervaded the political climate of the country. On January 15, 1966 some military officers (dominantly Igbo speaking) organised a coup d'etat killing some politicians including the Prime Minister, Sir Tafawa Balewa and the Premier of Northern Region Sir Ahmadu Bello.³ The Major Kaduna Nzeogwu led coup did not actually attract any immediate negative response from the Kanawa as none of those killed from the North originated from Kano. The commanding officer of

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1. Oral communication with Chief B.A. Anyanetu, Mr Raji Salami and Madam Risikatu Ayinla
 2. Oral communication with Messrs Onwuojoke Kalu, Godfrey Mozie, Kasali Gbadamosi Abusi etc.
 3. See B.J. Dudley, Instability and Political Order: Politics and Crisis in Nigeria, Ibadan University Press 1973 pp. 101-109.

the Nigerian Army unit in Kano, Lt. Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu (an Igbo), however, arrested and briefly detained the Emir, Alhaji Ado Bayero. The coup was nevertheless seen generally in the North as a punitive measure against the Hausa-Fulani by the Igbo¹. Though this has been denied from different quarters², the discriminatory killing during the incident has, in no small measure, lend credence to the allegation of the Northerners. To worsen the situation, Major Gen. Aguyi Ironsi, an Igbo who succeeded as the Nigerian Head of State, replaced the Nigerian Federalism by unitary state.³ This, the northerners saw as a ploy to subordinate them in the Nigerian scheme of things. Northern Nigerians then began to complain that a unitary government at the centre would open them up for unequal competition with southerners.⁴ They also complained against the refusal of the Head of State to punish the military officers involved in the January 1, 1966 coup d'état.

The resentment of the Kanawa against the Ironsi administration began to manifest between April and May 1966. The Head of State was accused of ethnicity for surrounding himself with Igbo advisers.⁵ The countenance of the Sabon Gari residents in Kano was also interpreted by the Hausa-Fulani Kanawa as a celebration of Igbo victory over them. The

1. J. Paden P.333

2. For example see Adewale Ademoyega, Why we struck: The story of the first Nigerian Coup, Ibadan: Evans Brothers Limited, 1981; B.J. Dudley p. 113.

3. B.J. Dudley p. 115.

4. See J. Paden p. 333.

5. B. Dudley pp. 119-20.

Unification Decree was seen by Kano elites as a threat to their prospects in the civil-service both in the North and at the national level.¹ It was against this last factor that the students of the Institute of Administration and Ahmadu Bello University both in Zaria staged a demonstration on 29th May, 1966. At the same time, the students of the Abdullahi Bayero College, Provincial Secondary School, the School of Arabic Studies, and the Technical Training College in Kano also demonstrated in the city against the domineering influence of the Igbo in the Nigerian national affairs.²

The demonstrators first visited the Emir's palace from where they proceeded to the Sabon Gari through Kofar Mata.³ The situation became worse in the city the next day as some Igbo workers going out on their daily businesses were stoned by some lower class and unemployed Hausa young men gathered at Kofan Mata area. By the evening, the combat-ready Hausa insurgents began to charge towards the Sabon Gari from the city through the Ibo and Airport roads. The Sabon Gari residents once more had to come out in combat against the members of their host community. The Igbo people were exclusively hunted for by the Hausa rioters at their respective places of work - the post office, the railway station

1. Paden p. 333

2. Paden, pp. 333-4.

3. Ibid. pp. 334.

and some other commercial areas¹. About 100 to 200 people were killed during the incident.²

On July 29, 1966 after the May riot in Kano, there was a retaliatory coup in Lagos by Northern Nigerian military officers. They killed the Head of State, Major Gen. Ironsi, the Military Governor of Western Region, Lt. Col. Adekunle Fajuyi and some Igbo officers.³ The news of the coup got to Kaduna and Kano on 30th July 1966, as a result of which some Igbo officers and men were also killed. In tune with the emotions of the time in the North, the Igbo began to emigrate out of Kano. This lasted between August and October 1966. By October 1966, there was massive killing of those Igbo people that deviantly chose to remain in the city and other Northern Nigerian cities.⁴ This was prelude to the Biafran war in which the other Nigerian groups fought to resist the secessionist move of the Igbo from Nigeria.⁵ Most job vacancies created by the exit of the Igbo from Kano during the Nigerian Civil War were filled by the Hausa and Yoruba.⁶ More Yoruba people of different educational backgrounds migrated to the city at this time. Some of them were posted to Kano by the European firms

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. For more detailed information on the January and July 1966 coup, read B.J. Dudley, op.cit. pp. 130-9

4. Paden p. 334.

5. For details see T.N. Tamuno and S.C. Ukpobi (eds), Nigeria Since Independence: The First 25 Years Vol. VI, The Civil War Years, Ibadan, Heinemann 1989.

6. Paden p. 356.

in Lagos who needed to have their Igbo field representatives and staff in the North replaced.¹ These latter category of Southern Nigerian migrants, unlike those who settled in Kano in the early 1900s, were non-Hausa speaking and so could be easily identified in the Sabon Gari where they settled. Some of the European Commercial Houses built staff quarters at Fagge where some of them were settled. Paden has attributed the good relationship between the Hausa and Yoruba at this time to the alliance between the two groups during the civil war.

The Yoruba muslims also shared some Islamic identities with the Hausa people. The cordial relationship was improved in 1970 when the 5th Battalion of the Nigerian Army in Kano was replaced by the Yoruba dominated 146th Battalion.²

The cordial relationship between the Hausa and Yoruba up to end of the Nigerian civil war made some of the Yoruba immigrants at the Sabon Gari to regard the occasional ethnic conflict in Kano as an exclusive Hausa-Igbo stalemate. The Yoruba people therefore showed only little concerns for what happened to their Igbo counterparts at the Sabon Gari until 1982 when some of their churches were burnt by the Kanawa. In 1991 too some of them (including the muslims) were killed by the member of their host community.³ It was at this stage that they began to see the developments at Sabon Gari Kano as a national problem between the

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1. Oral Communication with Raji Salami.
 2. Paden p. 356-8
 3. Details to be given later

Northern and Southern Nigerians rather than between the Igbo and Hausa/Fulani. The two developments helped to engender greater group identity among the Sabon Gari residents.

The 1982 Incident

The 1982 riot at Sabon Gari Kano was purely a religious one. It was the first collective violence of the muslims against the christians in the city. The civil disorder resulted from the effort made by the christians to build a new church at Fagge to replace the dilapidated one in the area known as Christ Church.¹

Probably sensing the civil problems that could emanate thereafter, it took the Kano Department of Urban Development eight years to approve the building plan of the new church². Soon after then, the Muslims protested that the church was too close to a mosque in the area and threatened to pull it down. When no negative action could be taken against the Church due to the intervention of the police, some Muslim fanatics went to the Sabon Gari where three other Churches were set on fire. Several other churches were severely vandalised. The affected

1. See S.C. Chime, "Religious Disturbances in Nigeria: Report on Kano Kaduna Sector", paper presented at the Nigerian Police Seminar on Religious Disturbances: The Maitatsine Experience, Jos 6-8 Nov. 1985; A.E. Ekoko and L.O. Amadi, "Religion and Stability in Nigeria" In J.A. Atanda et al. (eds), Nigeria Since Independence: The First 25 Years, Vol. IX Religion, Ibadan: Heinemann 1989 pp. 121-2.

2. Ibid.

Sabon Gari Churches included:

1. Christ Redemption Church, Burma Road
2. The Church of the Lord (Aladura), Burma Road
3. Cherubim and Seraphim Movement, Freeman Street
4. Pentecostal Church of Christ, Festing Road
5. Eternal Sacred Order of Cherubim and Seraphim, Sani Giwa Road
6. Cherubim and Seraphim Church, Sanusi Road
7. Igbala Apostolic Church, Weather Head Road, and
8. Christian Church of Light, Hughes Road.

The Yoruba immigrants were the most hit by this religious disorder as most of the vandalised Churches belonged to them.

The incidence made many of them to begin to see their relationship with the Kanawa from a different perspective.

They became drawn closer to the other groups at the Sabon Gari as they now began to see themselves and these other immigrants as not socially secured in Kano. Alhaji Shehu Shagari had to send a Presidential Emmisary to the Kano branch of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) to console the Christians.

The 1991 Riot in Kano

Like the 1982 intergroup conflict in Kano the 1991 riot was motivated by a religious question that arose within the city. The crisis was triggered off by the religious crusade jointly organised by the Kano State branch of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and the Reinhard Bonnke Ministry from Germany. The prayer/evangelistic Christian Crusade which was billed to take place between 15 and 20 October 1991 was organised around the following objectives:

1. To pray for Nigeria and her leaders, especially for the success of the transition programme which is very crucial at this point of our history as a nation.
2. To foster Christian unity and love among Churches in Kano State.

3. To preach the "Good News" which is the power of GOD unto salvation¹.

When the Christians in Kano wrote to seek the permission of the government to hold the religious function, they equally asked for the permission to use the Kano State Race Course. The permissions were granted.² The permission to use the Race Course was however later withdrawn when the Muslim Community in Kano began to agitate against any move to hold the Christian function at the venue.³ The opposition of the Muslims in the city was explained from two angles. Prior to the Reinhard Bonnke's Crusade, the government was said to have denied the Muslims of the opportunity to host a South African Islamic Fundamentalist, Shaikh Ahmed Deedat who was invited to preach in Kano.⁴ He was denied entry into the country. Coincident with this was the theme of Reinhard Bonnke's Crusade which was: KANO FOR JESUS.⁵ The Muslims saw this development as a ploy to suppress the Islamic faith in Kano while promoting Christianity. Before the proposed Kano Crusade, an equal event sponsored by the Reinhard Bonnke's Ministry had taken place in Kaduna. The Kano Crusade was planned to achieve better results than its predecessor. There was therefore a massive campaign by the Christians to attract more than 500,000 Kano residents to the crusade.⁶

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1. Open letter to the President of Nigeria by "Kano Ministries", Daily Champion, Oct. 23 1991 p. 18
 2. Newswatch Oct. 28, 1991 p. 18.; Daily Champion Oct. 23 p. 18
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.
 5. The Guardian Oct. 20 1991.
 6. Newswatch Oct. 28, 1991 p. 14.

This made the Muslims to be more resolute to deny the Christians the use of the Race Course which was considered to be the only public place in Kano city where such a crowd could be easily accommodated.¹

At the last minutes of their preparations, the Christians had to change the venue of the crusade to the Church compound of St. Thomas/St. Louis Schools at SabonGari. This did not in any way appease the Muslims who still swore not to allow the function to come up in the city of Kano. The Christians alerted the police about the impending danger and called for tight security during the crusade.² Evangelist Bonnke and his colleagues who included some Americans, arrived Kano on Sunday, 13th October 1991 but were denied the rousing reception that was planned for them. The 1991 Kano riot started the next day. Before then, the crowd first visited the Emir's palace in the ancient city (birni). According to the Nigerian Television Authority network news, the Emir asked his Waziri (Political Representative), Alhaji Abbas Sa'usi to appeal to the demonstrators that Evangelist Bonnke would not be allowed to preach in Kano as they demanded. He advised them against any act of violence. The unsatisfied crowd stoned the Waziri and headed for the SabonGari.³ A counter - insurgent action by the Southern Nigerians in the settlement led to massive blood-letting which lasted throughout the

1. Wale Oladepo et al, 'Again, Carnage in Kano'. Newswatch

2. Daily Champion Oct. 23 1991 p. 18

3. Amanze Obi, "Kano: Killing in the Name of Faith", The Guardian, Oct. 20, 1991.

week.¹ The Northern and Southern Nigerians on the first day of the crisis used Galadima street and Murtala Muhammed way as the battleground. So intense was the degree of insurgency and counter-insurgency in the city that President Ibrahim Babangida had to return home from Harare in Zimbabwe where he was attending the Commonwealth Summit.² After the proposed crusade had been cancelled by the Kano authorities, Reinhard Bonnke and his colleagues had to be flown out of Kano city on Tuesday, 15th October 1992 in a Police jet that brought Mr. Parry Osayande, a Deputy Inspector General of Police sent from Lagos to take charge of the crisis.

The worst hit areas by the riot was Sabon Gari and its Hausa boundary wards and streets like Sarkin Yaki, Airport road, Tudun Murtala, Rimi, Kebe, Brigade and Dakata quarters. Some southerners resident at Fagge, Ahmadiya Lane, PRP etc were captured and killed by the northerners while the Southerners too killed as many Northerners as they could see using guns, matchets etc.³ According to the Newswatch estimate, about 300 vehicles, 400 motorcycles and bicycles were burnt during the riot with the Sabon Gari residents recording the highest material losses.⁴ Many of their shops were destroyed at Galadima

1. See Newswatch Oct. 28, 1991; The Guardian Oct. 20 1991; Daily Champion Oct. 23 1991 p. 15

2. Newswatch Oct. 28, 1991 p. 15

3. Oral communication with Sabon Gari residents

4. Newswatch, October 28, 1991 p.16.

street. Along the Airport road all the ten petrol stations were set ablaze and more than 500 people lost their lives in the civil disturbance. Many churches were also burnt.

Unlike the past riots in Kano where the Yoruba people were spared by the Hausa insurgents, a lot of them were killed during the 1991 riot. Most of those killed, except those who were victims of police strayed bullets were those living outside the Sabon Gari. Some of the Southerners, most especially those living along Ahmadiya Line, Brigade etc who had themselves locked up in their houses were roasted alive as their houses were set ablaze with all the occupants. The lucky ones among these Southern Nigerians fled and took refuge at the nearby police and army barracks. This mass killing made the Sabon Gari residents to see the civil disorder as a general aggression against Southern Nigerians in Kano. This engendered a greater co-operation among all the Sabon Gari residents, especially the Igbo/Yoruba who formed themselves into different hit-squad/militia groups around the outer ring of the Sabon Gari settlement. This increased the tempo of loss of lives and property as the police could no longer penetrate the operation zone of the insurgents.¹ The crisis abated on the 15th October with the intervention of the army but shops, banks and markets remained closed in the city throughout the week. The officials of the Kano Ministry of Information had to go round the city to announce that the situation was under control and that the people should come out to conduct their normal businesses. This was after the State Governor Colonel Idris Garba had driven round the town on Tuesday 15th October amidst tight

1. Oral Communication with Sabon Gari residents.

security to appeal to the combatants to lay down their weapons of warfare.¹ He then imposed a dusk to dawn curfew on the city. The Emir of Kano, Alhaji Ado Bayero also spoke to the people on the third day of the crisis. He denounced the riot as a religious one and noted that nobody permitted the rioters to engage in the wanton destruction of lives and property that accompanied the crisis.²

Immediately after normalcy was restored to Kano, the Southerners and other ethnic groups from the Middle Belt in Kano began to evacuate the city with whatever was left of their properties.³ The investigation conducted by the African Concord indicated that an average of ten trailers carrying Southern Nigerians and their properties left Kano per day at this time. This greatly affected the socio-economic life of Kano as such Sabon Gari roads like Yan Kura, France road and others became deserted. The refusal of transporters from the Eastern and Western parts of Nigeria to bring in fresh food supplies into Kano led to the rise in price of what was available for sale⁴ most especially at Sabon Gari where garri and yam flour are the people's staple food. The immigrants had to devise their own internal food distribution arrangements within the Sabon Gari. At the other parts of Kano, prices of most of the available items increased as new ones could not come in

1. The Guardian 20th October 1991.

2. Ibid.

3. Timothy Bonnet, "So Long Kano", African Concord 25 Nov. 1991 p. 21.

4. Ibid.

especially from Southern parts of the country. Reacting to the problems that followed the riot, Ali Abudullah, a political analyst in Kano and

close associate of Late Mallam Aminu Kano warned that:

...unless we take serious care we (Hausa) are isolating ourselves from other Nigerians, if such brutal and criminal activities continue, we shall reach a state of the "Hausa VS. Nigeria". We the Hausas have the highest numbers of street beggars-drug addicts, child delinquency, the numbers of school-age children that do not go to school-Arabic or otherwise.¹

Another writer on the incident also noted that:

The Massacres as occurred in Kano, as had occurred in a dozen or so cities in the Northern parts of Nigeria will continue until Nigeria defines itself. Right now, what we have is a broad description of intent to be one country. Even this intent is expressed so grudgingly and riddled with conditionalities as to render the idea of one nation laughable.²

The validity of the two statements made above was empirically confirmed during the 1991-3 fieldworks at the Sabon Gari. The settlements now has three categories of residents: the first consists of those who believe that the Hausa/Fulani in Kano have learnt their lessons and would no longer attack the Southerners and Middle Belt immigrants in their midst. This category of people do not see any need to leave the city as done by some of their colleagues. The second category consist of those who still believe that there could be other crises in Kano in future and have therefore sent all their children and

1. Quoted in African Concord 25 Nov. 1991 p. 22.

2. Lewis Obi, "The Kano Massacres", African Concord 25 Nov. 1991 p. 54.

belongings home with the hope that once the trouble started they would join the first available vehicle out of the city to their respective places of origin. This category of Kano residents are however quick to ask: "What do you think would happen to the Hausa immigrants we too meet in our respective towns and villages ?" The third category of immigrants are those who also still anticipate some problems but are prepared to split the last drop of blood in their veins to protect their investments and savings in Kano. The only conspicuous properties evident in the houses occupied by the last two categories of settlers at Sabon Gari Kano are sleeping beds and cooking pots. Most of the houses lack any furniture or other materials expected of a permanent settler in Kano. Most of these items have been taken down to the Southern parts of Nigeria by their owners who have now ceased to see Kano as their "place of origin". Some of the immigrants have also started transferring some departments of their businesses to the South with the hope that in few years time, they would have the strong economic base, back home.

Sabo Ibadan.

The conflict between the Hausa immigrants and the Yoruba natives of Ibadan was not as serious as the ones described of Sabon Gari Kano. It is was largely economic and sometimes between a coalition of some Yoruba/Hausa traders against some other Hausa immigrants. Expectantly, the conflicts were normally in kolanut and cattle trade. As noted in the third chapter, one of the reasons for the pre - 1900 hostility of Ibadan against the Hausa immigrants among them was that the latter were going round Ibadan villages to buy kolanut from the farmers to the detriment of the Ibadan middle men in the trade. To solve this problem, the Ibadan authorities passed

the motion before 1916 that Hausa kolanut merchants in the city must procure their nuts from Ibadan traders and that they must stop scouting round the villages for the products.¹

After the establishment of Sabo in 1916, a crop of kolanut landlords (Masugida) whose major assets were the owned houses at the new settlements, became recognised in the Ibadan kola trade. They too, like the Yoruba middlemen in the kola trade, had their commission agents who helped them to procure kolanuts from different villages. Some of them represented the Hausa kolanut dealers from Northern Nigeria while some others bought kolanut with their money and sent them to some trusted agents in the North for sale.²

By the early 1930's when the accommodation problem at Sabo had become acute, some Hausa "strangers" who lived outside the settlement joined the Ibadan Kola trade. They went round Ibadan villages buying kolanut for the Hausa merchant from Northern Nigeria to the extent that the interest of the established Masu gida (landlords) in the system became threatened. When this assumed a magnitude that could equally affect the interests of the Yoruba middlemen in the trade, they reacted by petitioning the Olubadan and his chiefs. They asked that the Hausa should be stopped from further going to the districts to buy the nuts. To solve this problem, a kolanut market named "Alesinloye market" was

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1. Mapo Hall Ibadan, Akinyele Historical papers, File 110 p. 45
 2. A. Cohen, "Politics of the Kola Trade", Africa, 36 1966 pp.22-4

established in 1934 between Sabo and Mokola where all Hausa people were decreed to buy their kolanut. The market failed to meet the desired purpose for which it was established. The Hausa "strangers" refused to patronize it and so it was closed two years after it was established.¹ As the Hausa people continue to go to the rural areas to buy kolanut the Yoruba once again began to write different petitions claiming that they would soon be pushed out of the kola trade. In one of such petition written in 1939 the Yoruba traders asked that all the Hausa people (not just the "strangers" from the North but also the Masu gida) settlers in Ibadan who had hitherto been tolerated) should be proscribed from buying kolanut from the Ibadan rural farmers. They argue that the freedom which the Hausa enjoyed in Ibadan was never given to their colleagues at Ijebu, Sagamu and many other places involved in kola trade. They therefore asked that the movement of the trader should be restricted to Ojaba kola nut market.²

Reacting to petition from the Yoruba traders, the resident of Ibadan Mr G.B. Williams argued that the Hausa people could not be forced to buy their kolanut from any particular market. He noted that the Northerners had probably started buying directly from the farmers because they found it more convenient to do so. He argued that if the kolanut sellers

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1. NAI, Ibadan 1/1, 1193 Kola Market, establishment of in Ibadan pp. 1-7
 2. Ibid, Raji Olori et al to the District Officer Ibadan, 23 Dec. 1939 p. 36.

in Ibadan could reduce their prices, their old Hausa customers would return to them.¹ He however advised the Olubadan - in - council to summon the two groups and settle the difference between them. On the 29th January 1940, an Ibadan council meeting was summoned which the leaders of the Hausa and Nupe settlements in the city attended to discuss two important issues: the withdrawal of the floating Hausa/Nupe people from Ibadan back to their respective settlements and; stopping of the Hausa traders from buying kolanuts directly from Ibadan farmers but only through the Ibadan middlemen. At this crucial meeting, the leaders of the immigrants supported the proposed sanctions against their subjects. They blamed their problems in Ibadan on their floating colleagues who refused to live in Sabo or Ago Tapa but preferred to sleep in public places.² The opposition of the Sarkin Hausawa and Oba Tapa to the activities of their floating colleagues was purely economic. The small-scale Hausa men who went to the rural areas to help some of the northern Nigerian kola dealers to buy their products were threatening the economic base of Hausa settlers in Ibadan, especially the Masu gida who earned their living from the trade. The position of Sarkin Hausawa as the head of Sabo was also tied to the success of both kola and cattle trade. It therefore became very necessary for the Hausa settlers

1. Ibid. Resident Ibadan to the Olubadan, 12 Jan. 1940.
p.37.

2. See Resident Ibadan to the Senior Resident Oyo Province
Oyo, 1st Feb. 1940 pp. 38-9.

at the Sabon Gari to work towards the destruction of the socio-economic base of their floating colleagues to be able to ensure their own survival in Ibadan.¹ While the call made to compel all the Hausa and Nupe to live at their designated settlements failed to meet with the approval of the colonial authorities in Ibadan and Oyo province², the debate dragged on about whether the Hausa should be allowed to buy their kola from Ibadan villages or not.

On the 31st May, 1943 an Ibadan council meeting was summoned to discuss a proposal for the establishment of a rural kolanut market at where all Hausa traders would be compelled to buy. Representatives of kolanut farmers and Yoruba traders were summoned to the meeting. The farmers argued that that they had nothing to gain from the proposed market. They preferred the system whereby the Hausa traders were allowed to come to buy from them in the villages rather than engaging in the dispensable task of carrying the kolanuts to the market themselves. The kolanut farmers were supported by both Councillor Akinpelu Obisesan and Chief Folarin, the Osi Balogun of Ibadan. The Yoruba kolanut traders had to quickly come in with the argument that their primary interest was that the Hausa strangers should be forbidden from buying their kolanut

1. See A. Cohen 1966 op. cit. pp. 30-31 on this.

2. NAI, Sw6/1/wp 18267, Hausas and Nupes in Ibadan Resident Oyo Province to The Hon. Secretary Western Provinces 13th March 1940 p. 1: Secretary Western Provinces to The Resident Oyo Province 21 March 1940 p. 4.

from the rural farmers¹. Two months later, the Ibadan Kola Traders' Union wrote to the Olubadan arguing that they were disappointed with the argument of the kolanut farmers who claimed that they preferred to sell to the Hausa traders in the villages because they had problems carrying their products to the markets. They accused the farmers of colluding with the Hausa people and asked to know what means they were using for carrying their cocoa and palm kernels to the markets for sale. They wondered why both the farmers and the Ibadan councilors should be working towards the frustration of their economic interest in their own homeland.² The effort to restrict the movement of Hausa kola dealers in Ibadan to the urban centre failed eventually to materialise. The Ibadan Native administration and the colonial authorities considered it to be antithetical to the spirit of free trade and movement which the British promised to guarantee in Nigeria as part of their civilising mission"

Just as noted in the case of Kola trade, the Hausa immigrants in Ibadan dominated both the cattle and butchering trade in the city. But from the 1940s, the butchering trade became dominated by the Yoruba.³ By the early 1950s they had organised themselves into a formidable association under a Yoruba Chief Butcher "to oppose and counter any

1. NAI, Ibadan 1/1, 1993 "Extract from Minutes of Ibadan Council held on 31/5/43" p. 44-5.

2. NAI, CSO 26/28306, Vol. 1 Kolanut Trade, Ibadan Kola Trades' Union Ojaba Ibadan to Olubadan in council 10th July, 1943. p. 47.

3. A. Cohen, Custom and Politics 1966 p. 21.

manoeuvre by the solid front of the Hausa cattle landlords".¹ The successful snatching of the Ibadan butchering trade from the Hausa by the Yoruba was made possible by the bureaucratization of the economic activity by the municipal administration in Ibadan. Each butcher was made to pay certain formal and informal fees to obtain butchering licence. Such formal fees were between #60 and #75 per annum in 1963. The amount, according to Cohen, was averagely the annual income of a gainfully employed person in Ibadan at the time. The rigours involved in obtaining the licence probably scared away the Hausa people from it. Therefore, only one of them was said to be licenced in 1963 under what was considered to be "unusual circumstances".² The Yoruba were able to sustain their monopoly of the Ibadan butchering trade through the support of the Native Administration staff in the city and through their local connections with one another and other Yoruba people. Then gradually, a state of unter-group disharmony developed between the Yoruba butchers and the Hausa cattle landlords. This was to the extent that each defined his relationship to the other in purely tribalistic terms. At the peak of their economic conflicts, the Hausa cattle landlords would talk of the "machinations" and "treachery" of the Yoruba while the Yoruba butchers on the other hand would complain of the "exploitations" and greed of the Hausa.³ One of the most enduring issues

1. Ibid p. 128

2. Ibid.

3. A Cohen "The Social Organization of Credit in a West African Cattle Market" Africa XXXV No 1 1965p.16.

contended by the Yoruba was the lada which they were made to pay to the Hausa each time they purchased cattle. They like the Yoruba people involved in Kola trade¹ saw the system as exploitative. They often had the support of the press and Ibadan Chiefs in their agitation against it. The Hausas were frequently reminded that no matter how long they had stayed in Ibadan, they were recognised as no more than strangers in it. Therefore, if they failed to comport themselves properly they would be expelled from the city. The Hausa landlords were often scared by such threats which they believed could also lead to increased tariffs and restriction on their economic activities in Ibadan. They were therefore easily disposed towards making some concessions to the Yoruba. But because the cattle trade was largely conducted on credit basis, the Hausa still had the power of collectively punishing the entire Ibadan butchers by refusing to sell to them if any of their members defaulted in the payment of his debt to any of the Hausa landlords.² Through this they were equally able to force some of the Yoruba people to comport themselves properly.

1. See A. Cohen "Politics of the Kola Trade", Africa, XXXVI 1966 pp. 29-30.

2. A. Cohen, "The Social Organization of Credit in a West African Cattle Market" p. 15-16.

To finally solve their problems, the Hausa immigrants in Ibadan had to take some decisive political action. In the late 1940s, they belonged to the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) which represented the interest of the Hausa-Fulani in the ethnic politics of the first Nigerian Republic. This was a contributory factor to the escalating problems faced by the immigrants in the Action Group dominated Yorubaland. They would have probably had more sympathetic solutions to their problems if they identified with the dominating political party in their host community. When the Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello visited Sabo in the early 1950s, the Hausa immigrants briefed him about their problems in Ibadan and solicited his support to solve them. He honestly advised the immigrants to support the ruling party in Yorubaland to have their problems solved. As a result of this, Sabon Gari settlers massively joined the Action Group.¹ In recognition of the vital role the Hausa could play in the party Alhaji Ahmadu Bature, who had earlier resigned as the Sarkin Hausawa at Sabo in 1948, was made the Organising Secretary of the A.G. He served in the capacity between 1953 and 1957 accompanying the leader of the party, Chief Obafemi Awolowo round the country. This drew Hausa immigrants closer to the political authorities in Ibadan to the extent that their problems became easier to solve in the city. When the Ibadan butchers massively declared for the A.G. in the 1950s, it was not equally difficult for all the Hausa cattle landlords in Ibadan to take a counter-measure by doing the same enmasse.

1. Oral communication with Alhaji Ahmadu Bature.

Ninety-three percent of the vote at Sabo in 1951 were recorded for the party.

On the 21st December 1951, the Sarakuna (political heads) of the Hausa communities in Yorubaland organised themselves into a body named "The Federal Union of Sarkin Hausawa" with a view to solving on a common platform whatever problems that might confront Northerners in Western Region.¹ The Sarkin Hausawa at Sabo Ibadan was recognised as the chairman of the union which later played significant roles in the success of the Action Group among the Hausa immigrants in Yorubaland. The latter therefore became highly obligated to protect the Hausa trader not only in Ibadan but also in the other parts of Western Region. The Party was able to restore cordial relationship between the Hausa Cattle Landlords in Ibadan and the Yoruba butchers.² After this period, there seems to have been cordial relationship between the Yoruba and Hausa in Ibadan most especially as the latter have always been supporting any political party in power in Oyo State. The immediate past Sarkin Hausawa, Late Alhaji Shuaibu Dikko (1982-1992) was no less a personal friend of Governor Bola Ige (1979-1983) in the state as Alhaji Ahmadu Zungeru, the incumbent Sarki is to Chief Kolapo Ishola, the present Executive Governor of Oyo State. When the Late Alhaji Saibu Dikko was ill during the month of December 1991 before he eventually died on 13th

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1. A Cohen, "... Social Organization of Credit" pp. 16-17; Also see Ile Div 1/1, File 2306, The Federal Union of Sarkin Hausawa: Western Region, The General Secretary Fed. Union of Western Sarkin Hausawa to the District Officer Ilesa, 15th April, 1953. p. 1.
 2. A. Cohen, Social Organization p. 17.

January, 1992 his medical expenses were paid by the state government under the control of Colonel Abdul Kareem Adisa. This indicate that there has been a cordial relationship between the successive administration in Oyo State and the Sarakuna Hausawa at Sabo Ibadan.

The peaceful atmosphere that followed the final resolution of the impasse between the Yoruba and Hausa in Ibadan created the fertile ground for some conflicts to develop within the latter camp as to who should control the Ibadan cattle trade. Before the 1980s, all the Northern Nigerians immigrants at Sabo and other related settlements in Ibadan see themselves, mostly in competition with others, as Hausa. The situation however changed slightly with the establishment of the BTA (Bodija Traders' Association) in 1986. In the early 1980s, some new crops of Northern Nigerian migrants joined the Ibadan cattle trade. These people largely considered themselves to belong to an enlightened class judged by their moderate exposure to western education and some element of public administration. They were disturbed that the existing cattle or oligarchies in Ibadan had different instruments for limiting free entry into the trade and exploiting those who recognise them. They therefore decided to set up a rival system at the Bodija market which would threaten the Status quo. In 1986 therefore, some Fulani, Kanuri and Yoruba cattle traders formed the Bodija Traders' Association "to reduce cheating, nepotism, dictatorship and

feudalism in the cattle and related trade in Yorubaland."¹ The activities of the association were often rationalised with the basic argument that it is the Fulani and Kanuri rather than the "Hausa" that actually produce livestock. They therefore often draw the attention of their audience to the abnormality of the Hausa dominating the cattle trade in Ibadan and placing the impediment on the path of new entrants to the trade.

To make well its case, the BTA capitalised on the existing irregularities in the Ibadan livestock trade. The body accused the Hausa community in Ibadan of exacting from the wholesale livestock traders in Ibadan as well as their other counterparts in the retail trade, some illegal tolls and levies. They charged that each new entrant into the Ibadan livestock trade was made to pay some informal levies before getting a space at the Bodija market. After this, he had to pay other occasional levies to sustain his membership of the market. Some Hausa landlords at the cattle market were also accused of some improprieties, the most pronounced of which is the occasional duping of some "unenlightened" cattle wholesalers from the North. The latter were usually made by the Hausa landlords in Ibadan to sell their livestock to some unknown people in the city on credit. The normal practice was for such a wholesaler to travel back home and return later

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

to collect his money. In some instances he could return to Ibadan only to be told by the Hausa landlords who served as guarantors to him that the person who bought the livestock from him on credit had died.¹ This naturally meant that the wholesaler from the North should be prepared to lose all his investments on the trade agreement.

While there could be some element of sentiments or exaggeration in the allegations of this BTA members against the leadership of the Hausa livestock market in Ibadan, the modicum of facts in them can however not be totally ignored. Most new entrants into the Ibadan livestock trade and the whole salers from Northern Nigeria work closely with the BTA members. The close connections between the two groups easily suggest that the former have better economic security under the BTA arrangement. The body which has wide-spread influence in most North African countries importing livestock into Nigeria, now controls the livestock traders coming into Ibadan not only from Northern Nigeria, but also the neighbouring Niger, Tchad, and Cameroun Republics. The association which has about 3,500 members in Oyo and Osun State is led by some

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

retired military officers from Northern Nigeria, but now based in Ibadan.

To the Hausa traders who had been beneficiaries of the existing economic order at the Bodija market, the BTA is no more than a nuisance or a damnable false in the Ibadan livestock business. The contradiction however is that throughout my field work none of them could concretely deny the allegations levied by the BTA members or provide a plausible arguments as to why the livestock cartel should not be allowed to flourish in Ibadan. Since 1986, however, much has been done to either disorganise the leadership of the BTA by the other livestock traders or have it proscribed entirely. This has culminated into two different bloody riot at the Bodija livestock market in 1987 and 1988 respectively. Because of its influence on the wholesale livestock traders coming to Ibadan, the BTA is often accused of being responsible for the incessant increase in the price of cattle in Ibadan. It is also believed to be responsible for the increased rate of thuggery at the Bodija livestock market. In all, however, it appears that the main objective of the BTA is to permanently break the Hausa monopoly of the Ibadan livestock trade in such a manner that success of the individual in the system should be a function of their business ingenuities rather than any inherited privileges and rights. The great deal of competition between the two rival camps is to the advantage of the ordinary man coming to Bodija to buy livestock. To be able to survive at Bodija market now, each trader has to sell at the most reasonable price to its

customers otherwise they would go to members of the other camp to buy. Through their incessant conflicts, the livestock traders also educate members of the public about the problems associated with the long-distance livestock trade. In light of this, Ibadan residents are easier able to appreciate the problems faced by the traders and why they sometimes have to buy their beef at increased prices.

The current state of peace at the Bodija livestock market suggests that the impasse between the BTA and other livestock traders have been finally settled. This is probably because of the existing state of cordial relationship between the incumbent Sarkin Hausawa and some leaders of the BTA. Just as the latter would not want to do anything that could destabilise the administration of Alhaji Ahmadu Zungeru, he too would not want to be involved in any full-blown acrimony with the BTA members.

The foregoing has generally shown that conflicts were part of the special order at the two settlements focused in this study. The data from Sabon Gari Kano have however shown that the settlement was more easily prone to violent encounters than Sabo Ibadan. This marked difference is attributable to the religious background of Kano as a citadel of Islamic social order in Nigeria.¹ As shown in chapter one to three, Islam was established upon such a firm root in Kano that it became very difficult for the Kanawa to be tolerant of the Christians

1. Paden p. 43: Frishman, 1986.

in their midst and their general disposition towards secularism. Most of the conflicts in Kano between 1953 and 1991 had religious undertones though in some cases, some of them (hence the 1953's) resulted from some political questions. The hostility against Southern Nigerians by the Kanawa has helped to engender more enduring ethnic identity among the Sabon Gari strangers. The Sabon Gari settlers now prefer to see themselves as Southern Nigerians rather than the separate labels of Igbo, Yoruba, Bini etc that predominated among them. They see themselves in aggressive competition with Northern Nigerians, and not just the Kanawa who often attack them.

In Ibadan on the other hand, the conflict between the Sabon Gari immigrant and the Yoruba had largely been economic. The two groups have however found it easier to work out peaceful means of cohabitations with each other than their other counterparts in Kano. Many of the Yoruba people in Ibadan are muslims. This made it less necessary to have any religious differences with the Hausa immigrants in their midst. In cases where conflict developed between the immigrants and their host populations, each was always ready to make the necessary concessions for peace. Therefore, the Hausa immigrants have tolerated the Yoruba in their livestock business. The latter too have a sound relationship with the Hausa in kola trade, sales and distribution of building planks and soup ingredients like onions, pepper and tomatoes. Social functions of the Hausa immigrants at Sabo Ibadan are regularly attended by the Yoruba just as the Hausa too attend Yoruba

ceremonies like child naming, marriages etc. As long as this continues the Hausa in Ibadan are not likely to have any problem with their host population.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

Effort has been made in this work to reconstruct the contexts within which the Sabon Gari system in Kano and Ibadan originated and developed to be what it is. At this stage a number of question came to mind: Is the practice of having special quarters for stranger elements in Nigeria, as noticed in the Sabon Gari situation, actually a twentieth century development? If not, what were the differences between what obtained in the pre-20th century period and the Sabon Gari experience. To what extent can it be argued that there was some need for the policy of residential segregation of strangers from their host population during the colonial period. Did the Sabon Gari policy actually live to the expectation of its founders, demographically and structurally? One of the major reasons for the inauguration of the Sabon Gari policy was to resolve inter-ethnic conflicts in the affected cities. To what extent was this objective achieved? What are the implications of the Sabon Gari system on the Nigerian process of nation-building?

Allusion has been made in the second chapter to the fact that the Kanawa and Ibadan in the precolonial period had definite policies towards the settlement of stranger elements in their midst. It is necessary therefore, to state here that the Sabon Garis were not the first of such settlements to be established in the two Nigerian cities.

In pre-colonial Kano, the strangers, mostly from muslim societies, were settled in special quarters under some appointed headmen. Therefore, the Wangara were settled at Sharifai ward, the Arabs at Durimin Turawa, the Nupe at Tudun Nufawa etc. In Ibadan on the other hand, the strangers conditionally settled within their host populaion. Yet, Apata, Yeosa and Agbeni were dominated by the Egbas; Gbenla by the Iwo; Oje by the Ogbomoso and so on. Skinner generally noted the precolonial strangers in cities like Kano and Ibadan at this time lived at the Sufferance of their hosts.¹ The restricted socio-political and even economic status of the strangers at the time is best illustrated by the Ibadan example. The strangers in Ibadan had limited access to power and wealth. His hosts dictated what he could do to improve his status. The Kano situation also indicated that the strangers were prepared to live where their hosts located them. That these stranger elements were successfully able to live in the two cities suggests that they adequately adjusted themselves to the demands of their host communities. This however changed with the introduction of British Colonialism which reversed the strangers-hosts relationship to the extent that the activities of the former were dictated by the

1. Elliot P. Skinner, "Strangers in West African Societies", Africa, Vol. XXXIII No. 4. 1963 p. 308

colonialists rather than their host population or government.

The colonization of Ibadan in 1893 for example led to the reversal of the condition of the Hausa immigrants in the city. Some Hausa slaves who early in the Nineteenth century ran to Lagos in response to the British anti-slave laws, later resurfaced as soldiers and policemen under the colonial system in the early 1890s . The colonial factor made it possible for such Hausa people to drop their subordinate status (as strangers) for a superordinate one. This made the Ibadan to begin to hate them. The hatred later spread in the socio-economic realm to affect the Hausa merchants engaged in cattle and Kola trade. This was to the extent that the Ibadan began to ask that the Hausa in their midst should be expelled. As this study has clearly shown, the Hausa after 1893 never saw themselves as being responsible to the Olubadan for their activities in the town but the colonial authorities who were now seen as the master of both the strangers and their hosts. These expedited the process through which Sabo Ibadan was founded. On the other hand, the Southern Nigerians who entered Kano after the 1903 British expedition under the aegis of the Europeans saw themselves largely as British citizens. They never seemed to have reckoned with the Emir of Kano as their host. In this wise, the Kanawa who could hardly have resisted the incursion of the strangers into their land could only be said to have played the role of

involuntary hosts to the christian dominated Southern Nigerians. The foregoing suggests that the problems which engendered the establishment of the Sabon Garis were themselves created by the colonial factors of the British .

The arguments developed in chapter three indicate that the British established the Sabon Gari system for their own selfish purposes. The colonialists needed the policy to ensure that their political arrangements in Kano (where the Sabon Gari system started), as espoused in the indirect rule, were in no way endangered. It was thought that the Southern Nigerian immigrants by their exposure to Western civilization and religion (Christianity) could teach the Hausa/Fulani to resist some elements of colonial rule. The Mahdist questions of this period was also an important factor in the origin of the Sabon Gari system. The British thought the Mahdists could be kept in check if the christian Southern Nigerian immigrants were segregated from their northern Nigerian Muslim host population. Yet it was discovered that the Satiru Mahdist uprising in 1906 was not caused by the contact between the muslim fanatics and Southern Nigerian immigrants. The aversion of the Mahdists was for colonial rule of the Europeans. Had the British left the Emir of Kano alone, to decide how to handle the case of the stranger there would probably have been an alternative policy to the Sabon Gari system which would have ensured a better

integration of the Southern Nigerian immigrants into Kano. The Sabon Gari was rather created by the administrative fiat of the British administrators. The Sabon Gari in Kano provided the excuse for the establishment of Sabo Ibadan. Both the Yoruba and Hausa people in Ibadan who asked for the settlement cited the northern Nigerian example.

Did the policy actually live to the expectation of its founders. Demographically, the answer to this question is a categorical "NO". The Sabon Garis were conceived to be exclusive settlements for stranger elements. Members of these strangers' host communities were proscribed from living in the Sabon Garis. However, in the 1920s, the Hausa-Fulani in Kano had begun to acquire plots at the Sabon Gari. No official attempt was made at this time and after to prevent this inter-mixing of peoples that were considered to be better segregated in the early twentieth century. No official record is available to explain the rationale for this change of attitude by the British administrators. The only suggestion that could be made is that the British probably realised the lack of need for the policy of residential segregation shortly after it took off. This notwithstanding both the Kanawa and the Sabon Gari residents continued to see the settlement as exclusive quarters of the Christian dominated Southern Nigerians. To this end, the Muslim northern Nigerians who came to settle

within it constituted no more than a demographic minority in the Sabon Gari. In times of crisis, they were usually the prime target of the Southern Nigerians trying to revenge the assault on their kinsmen by the Kanawa. The Sabon Gari in Ibadan too did not succeed at being an exclusive settlement of the Hausa people as earlier conceived. Some Yoruba people were found to be landlords in the settlement as early as the 1930s. No land allocation was actually made to these Ibadan people at Sabo, they bought already built houses from the Hausa immigrants themselves. These later developments in Kano and Ibadan do suggest that the different Nigerian groups in whose cities these Sabon Garis were established could see no reason why they should not be allowed to live in the same settlement with the strangers in their midst. Hence the deviant attempts to own houses in the strangers' settlements.

The expectation by the British that the Sabon Gari policy would help to solve the problem of inter-ethnic conflict between the strangers and their hosts was counter-productive. Rather, the segregated residential system worsened the relationship between the two groups. Through their confinement to the Sabon Garis, the strangers were prevented from actively interacting with their host population to the extent that they could assimilate into the systems of one another. The socio-economic organization of the immigrants in Kano and Ibadan did show that they saw their host population

as members of "the other group" against whom they must protect themselves. The Igbo and Yoruba in Kano saw their foremost mission in Kano as making as much money as they could. This they hoped to take back to their homelands. On the other hand, the Kanawa spoke of them in despicable terms as exploiters and infidels. It was within this context that various riots took place between the Kanawa and the Sabon Gari settlers. The first riot took place in 1953 while the most recent came up in 1991. There could still be more of these civil disturbance in Kano considering the fact that no concrete effort has been made to resolve the fundamental problem of North-South dichotomy from which the ethnic crises normally brew. In Ibadan too, the fact that the Hausa were settled at Sabo did not actually resolve the Hausa-Yoruba conflicts in the city. There were still series of disagreement between the two groups on issues related to the sales of cattle, meat and Kolanut. Sabo Ibadan had however been more peaceful than its counterparts in Kano. The Sabon Gari settlements whether in Kano or Ibadan, only seemed to have provided a formal forum for the strangers to organise against their host population when necessary.

Structurally, the Sabon Garis most especially the one in Kano conformed with the specifications of the British town planners. The Sabon Gari plot holders were forced between 1921 and the early 1950s to comply with the various building regulations passed. This was to prevent the outbreak of

epidemics in the overcrowded settlement and add to its aesthetic value. As a result of this, the settlement is today one of the best planned in Kano. In Ibadan on the other hand, the settlers built their houses as they felt not strictly keeping to the official regulations. Sabo Ibadan was overbuilt shortly after it was founded to the extent that by the 1930s it had become overcrowded. The principal reason for this is obvious. If the Hausa presence in Ibadan could be dated back to the 1830s it logically follows that there must have been many of them in the city to compete for the available land at Sabo in 1916. It had no land for expansion. Therefore, the effort of the government was towards allocating more land to the Hausa immigrants in other places. This was partly done at Mokola area (Ago Ilorin). The immigrants themselves had to start hiring their own houses in the other parts of Ibadan, to the extent that they imposed migrant cultures on some of these areas.

The implications of the Sabon Gari system in the Nigeria process of nation-building is far reaching. On the positive side, one would note that the system contributed in no small measure to the growth of inter-regional long-distance trade in the country. As noted in the research, the Sabon Gari in Ibadan accommodated Hausa merchants through whom livestock were imported into the city. Through some of the Hausa immigrants, kolanuts were also exported to northern Nigeria from Ibadan.

That the Yoruba people have continued to produce cola nitida (Goro in Hausa and Gbanja in Yoruba) which they themselves do not consume in any appreciable quantity is largely because the Hausa merchants resident at Sabo and Ojaba have continued to assure the market for the product in Hausaland. The Igbo and Yoruba residents at Sabon Gari Kano have also been featuring as the agents through whom various items that originated from Southern Nigeria get to Kano. These include food items like tubers of yam, cassava flour, fruits and foreign manufactured goods like motor parts, stationeries and so on that were imported into Nigeria through the sea ports in Lagos, Warri, Port Harcourt etc. The Sabon Gari residents have to some extent been successful at imparting their cultural practices on their host population. In Ibadan, the Yoruba usually come to Sabo to sew the popular Hausa babanriga (embroidered flowing gown). The "Suya culture" which is now popular in Ibadan was introduced by the Hausa immigrants. Sabon Gari Kano is usually visited by the Hausa-Fulani population in need of the different Southern Nigerian dishes. These are sold at different restaurants located within the settlement.

The kano situation graphically illustrates the seamy side of the Sabon Gari system. At the slightest provocation, the Hausa/Fulani population in Kano usually visit the Sabon Gari, largely seen as settlement of christians with massive destruction of lives and property. In some cases, the Sabon

Gari settlers equally had their property looted. The consistency with which these have been successfully done in the past has now engendered a spirit of combat - readiness in the Southern Nigerian immigrants. The strangers now threaten regularly to defend their investments in Kano with the last drop of their blood as long as they remain Nigerians. They actually demonstrated this during the 1991 riot when many kanawa were killed. Many of the Southern Nigerian settlers in Kano had to evacuate the city back to their home towns, because of the fear of some maginary battles yet to be fought between the strangers and their host population. This kind of development holds a very bad promise for the nation-building process in Nigeria. No region in Nigeria is self-sufficient. There is the need for the peoples of the different regions to develop healthy relationship with one another. When one group is frightened from living in another region from his, the obvious implication is that the latter region would gradually be minimising its potentials to benefit from the resources of the former. If the Igbo or Yoruba is treated with hostility in Kano, it is possible that the former too would not want to treat the kanawa in his homeland as friends but enemies.

It must be noted as a final conclusion to this work that the Hausa influence is very apparent on Sabon Gari system. The religion of Islam dictated the need for the settlement in Kano

during the early twentieth century. The Hausa-Fulani Kanawa have always been ardent muslims. The nomenclature Sabon Gari which is not limited to the settlement in Kano but also extended to Yorubaland where some Hausa imigrants are found, is Hausa in origin. As stated earlier, it simply means "new town" i.e. a town created for a people considered to have new or strange characteristics. The political titles in all the Sabon Garis in Nigeria also belong to the Hausa. For example, the headman of the Igbo in Kano is officially addressed as Sarkin Igbo. It was the Igbo community itself that gave him the Eze title to conform with what obtains in Igboland. The leader of the Yoruba too is called Sarkin Yorubawa, though he too unofficially calls himself Oba Yoruba. The leader of the Hausa community in Ibadan is officially addressed as Sarkin Hausawa and not Oba Hausa as one would expect. In all cases, whether at Ibadan or Kano, these Sarakuna (political leaders of the immigrants) are usually turbanned. Not even the successive christian Sarakuna Igbo in Kano were spared from going through this important Hausa ritual. They were turbanned like the normal Hausa title holders (Masu Sarauta) before being finally confirmed as Sarakuna.

Appendix I

POLITICAL OFFICES AND THEIR CURRENT HOLDERS AT SABO

IBADAN

<u>Political Office</u>	<u>Holder</u>
1. Magajin Gari	Alhaji Garba Leku
2. Wakili	" Bature Dikko Zungeru
3. Ciroma	" Gambo Mijinyawa
4. Madawaki	" Gambo Bashir
5. Tukura	" Aminu Yahaya
6. Tafida	" Ibrahim Maikarofi
7. Sarkin Bai	" Bala Sagadan
8. Maji Dadi	" Ali Dahiru Zungeru
9. Dan Iya	" Musa Dasaura
10. Sardauna	" Danlami Ibrahim
11. Wali	" Audu Marshall
12. Garkuwa	" Garba Garass
13. Marafa	" Audu Lawal
14. Sarkin Fada	" Tijani Tanko
15. Sarkin Baki	" Ishaka Ashiru
16. Dan Masani	" Ibrahim Abubakar
17. Yarima	Alhaji Ilyasu Dahiru Zungeru
18. Makama	" Tanko Sani
19. Mai Unguwar	Alhaji Umaru Sidi Sani
20. Ajiyah-Kanuri	" Muhammadu Kime

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 21. Magajiya (Iyalode) | Hajiya Ba'U |
| 22. Sarkin Shanu | Alhaji Musa Danmadubi |
| 23. Dan Buran | ' ' Usman Salisu |
| 24. Barde | ' ' Bamanga Tukur |
| 25. Dan Maliki | ' ' Sule Yauri |
| 26. Mayaki | ' ' Isa Moh'd |
| 27. Sarkin Magina | ' ' Ashiru Sani |
| 28. Galadima | ' ' Balarabe Ya'U |
| 29. Sarkin Dawaki | ' ' Umba Bawa |
| 30. Wambai | ' ' Nalado Bawa |
| 31. Mai Unguwar (Oke Hausa) | ' ' Ahmadu Bature |
| 32. Mai Unguwar (Apata) | Alhaji Mallam Audu Apata |
| 33. Mai Ungwar (Ojaba /Isale Osi) | Alhaji Yusuf Tela |
| 34. Sarkin Fulani | ' ' Dan Male |

Appendix II

GLOSSARY FOR HAUSA, YORUBA AND IBO WORDS USED IN THIS

WORK

Hausa Words

Aiki	Work
Aikin Bature	White man's work or employment.
Alaro	Porter
Alhaja	A woman who has been to mecca on holy pilgrimage
Alhaji	A man who has been to mecca on holy pilgrimage
Allah	God
Arna	Pagans
Arne	Pagan
Bakwai	Seven
Banza	Illegitimate
Banza bakwai	The seven illegitimate
Bature	White man
Bawa	Slave (pl. bayi)
Bawan Allah	God's slave
Birni	City
Gida	House (pl. gidaje)
Goro	Kolanut (cola)
Hausawa	Hausa speaking people
Jumat	That which is related to Friday
Kafir(Kafiri)	Pagan

Kaka gida	Fathers of the house
Kamu	Pap
Kanawa	Kano indigenes
Kara	Livestock market
Karuwa	Prostitute (pl. Karuwai)
Karuwanchi	Prostitution
Kasar	Land of (or land belonging to)
Kasar Hausawa	Land belonging to the Hausa speaking (Hausaland)
Kauye	Village
Kosai	Bean's cake
Kudi	Money
Kudi abinchi	Feeding allowance
Kudin cafane	Money for soup ingredients
Kulle	Seclusion (purdah)
Kulikuli	Groundnut cake
Magaji	Leader of a place
Magajiya	Head of women
Maguzawa	Hausa pagan tribes
Mai	The owner of

Mai gida	Landlord (pl. masu gida)
Mai ungwa	Ward head (pl. Masu anguyoyi)
Mallam	Islamic teacher or scholar
Masa	Millet cake
Mata	Wife (women)
Nasara	Europeans
Sabo	New
SabonGari	New Town
Sarki	King
Sarkin Hausawa	King of the Hausa people
Sarkin Mata	The head of women
Shanu	Cattle
Shinkafa	Rice
Tuwo	Food
Tuwo shinkafa	Rice morsel
Tuwon Masara	Maize morsel
Ubangari	Elders of the community
Wake	Beans
Yan Koli	Retail traders
Yawon almajiranchi	Roving islamic teachership or studentship
Zakat	Alm
Zango	Caravan settlement
Zaure	Anteroom

YORUBA WORDS

Alaru	Porter
Bale	Traditional title for an uncrowned king
Bale Onimalu	Head chief of cattle market
Gbanja	Kolanut (<u>cola nitida</u>)
Iba	The title by which Bashorun is fondly addressed
Ile Iba	Bashorun Oluyole's house or compound in Ibadan
Iya loja	The woman head of a market
Iyaloja Onimalu	The woman head of cattle market
Oba	King
Oba Yoruba	The king of Yoruba speaking people
Olu ilu	City
Olubadan	The king of Ibadan.

IGBO WORDS

Eze	Political head
Ezedioranma	The political head who everybody likes
Onunekuri Igbo	The mouthpiece of the Igbo- speaking people
Yem	Give me
Yem miri	Give me water.

APPENDIX III

NOTES ON SOURCES

Extensive and intensive interviews were conducted at the Sabon Garis in Kano and Ibadan. Those interviewed included the political heads (Sarakuna) at the settlements, landlords, tenants, family heads, traders, housewives etc. The emphasis of the questions was on rationale of migrations and eventual settlement in Kano or Ibadan. Information were collected on career, family and tenancy histories. The oral interviews were recorded on tape where possible. Where some of the immigrants demonstrated any reluctance to be formally interviewed, the necessary data were gathered from them through open-ended discussions at the end of which they answered some guided questions under the most relaxed atmosphere. Listed below are some of the questions asked during the field work:

1. When and how was the Sabon Gari in Kano/Ibadan established?
2. What were the processes through which Southern/Northern Nigerians, especially those from your own ethnic group came to be settled in Kano/Ibadan?
3. Do you think the Sabon Gari system has successfully served the purpose for which it was created?
4. What are the economic activities peculiar to the people of your ethnic group in Kano/Ibadan?
5. To what extent do you think the immigrants from your ethnic group have contributed to the growth and development of Kano/Ibadan?
6. How many ethnic unions do you have in the Sabon Gari? Why and how were they formed?

7. Who is the political leader (Sarki) at the Sabon Gari in Kano/Ibadan ? When and how was the first appointed ? How many Sarkis have you had since the first was appointed ? Is the office hereditary? Does the Sarki have his chiefs? What are the functions of the Sarki and his chiefs ?
8. Is the Sabon Gari not big enough to be a local government area of its own ? Do you councillors within the Sabon Gari representing your interests in the local government system? Are there other means through which you channel your grievances to the local authorities in Kano/Ibadan ? To what extent have the authorities been attentive to your complaints ?
9. What percentage of the houses in Sabon Gari belong to people of your ethnic area ? How were these houses acquired/built ?
10. What are the boundaries of the Sabon Gari in Kano/Ibadan ?
11. What kind of economic activities do your people engage in? Where are these traders located ?
12. What are the causes of inter-ethnic conflicts in Kano ? What have been the implication of these conflicts on your economic, religious and political activities in Kano ? What could be done by policy makers to check future occurrence of such conflicts?
13. Is there a forum through which all the residents of the Sabon Gari in Kano/Ibadan occasionally meet to review their problems and take unanimous decisions ?
14. Are there channels through which you let your home governments know about your problems ? Do they normally respond positively to your calls ?

Several visits were paid to the Sabon Gari in Ibadan. There were far-reaching interactions with the residents with a view to gaining the necessary first-hand information on how they are organised socially, economically and politically.

The visits were extended to Oja'ba, Ojoo, Bodiya and Sasa quarters where some of the Hausa immigrants in Ibadan are found conducting their economic activities. Some months were also spent at the Sabon Gari in Kano studying the Southern-Nigerian immigrants for the necessary information on how they conduct themselves in the city. The data from the two cities were compared to determine their similarities and differences.

Archival documents were collected from the National Archives in Kaduna and Ibadan on issues related to the origins and growth of the Sabon Garis in Kano and Ibadan. The examined documents included colonial annual reports, inter-departmental correspondences, minutes of official meetings, petitions etc. Some personal papers/letters were stumbled across in the two cities, which are relevant to the phenomenal development of the Sabon Gari in Kano and Ibadan.

Different kinds of textbooks and journal articles were consulted during the course of this research. Very prominent among such published work are those that helped in the analysis of the data collected from the field. The publications that give the social science perspectives to the issues under review were also consulted, so that the end-product of the research could be adequately multidisciplinary.

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SOURCES

NAME	SEX	AGE	OCCUPATION/ TITLE	ADDRESS	DATES OF MAJOR INTERVIEWS
Mr. Makama Ahmadu Bature	M	62	Ex-Sarkin Hausawa of Ibadan	Sabo, Ibadan	Dec. 1990 2nd Dec. 1992
Mr. Shaibu Koko	M	44	Late Sarkin Hausa of Ibadan	Sabo, Ibadan	13th - 15th Dec. 1990
Mr. Hassan Aliaka Omo-Oba	M	36	Prominent Cattle Trader	Sabo, Ibadan	Dec. 7, 1990 Dec. 16, 1990
Mr. Ahmadu Ongoru	M	42	Sarkin Hausawa of Ibadan	Sabo, Ibadan	Oct. 23-26 '90 2nd Dec. 1992
Mr. Dan Dauda	M	60	Trader	Sabo, Ibadan	Oct. 23-26 '90
Mr. Audu Zorro	M	60	Contractor	Sabo, Ibadan	Oct. 23-26 '90
Mrs. Awa	F	50	Housewife	Sabo, Ibadan	Oct. 23-26 '90
Mrs. Alama	F	30	Divorcee	Sabo, Ibadan	Oct. 23-26 '90
Mrs. Zainab	F	60	Housewife	Sabo, Ibadan	Aug. 7th 1992
Mr. K.B. Yussuf	M	50	Secretary-General B.T.A	Bodija, Ibadan	Feb. 14, 1991

NAME	SEX	AGE	OCCUPATION/ TITLE	ADDRESS	DATES OF MAJOR INTERVIEWS
h. Audu li Bukar	M	60	Cattle trader/ transporter/Vice- President, B.T.A.	Bodiya, Ibadan	Feb. 14, 1991 Feb. 16, 1991
h. Mohammed na	M	58	Co-ordinating Chairman, B.T.A.	Bodiya, Ibadan	Feb. 14, 1991 Feb. 16, 1991
. Godfrey Mozie	M	68	Plumber	SabonGari, Kano	Aug. 3, 1992
haja Rabiatsu gajia	F	70	Sarkin Mata of SabonGari, Kano	SabonGari, Kano	Aug. 4, 1992
ief Benneth hebe Anyanetu	M	60	General-Secretary Igbo Community Association, Kano	SabonGari, Kano	Aug. 5, 1992
. Raji Salami	M	68	Trader	SabonGari Kano	Aug. 8, 1992
. Henry Okeke	M	35	Technician	SabonGari Kano	Sept.10, 1992
dam Risikatu inla	F	65	Trader	SabonGari Kano	Sept.10, 1992
dam Arike inlola	F	60	Trader	SabonGari Kano	Sept.11, 1992
dam Atinuke eke Salami	F	65	Traditional Pharmacist	SabonGari Kano	Sept.15, 1992
v. J.B. Magaji	M	45	Pastor-in-charge Bishara Baptist Church, Sabo Ibadan.	Sabo, Ibadan	Feb. 10, 1991

NAME	SEX	AGE	OCCUPATION/	ADDRESS	DATES OF MAJOR
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	F/M		TITLE		INTERVIEWS
Chief Francis Aniyani	M	70	Bale Onimalu of Ibadan	Bodija, Ibadan	Jan. 19, 1991
Chief (Alhaja) Miratu Adenihun	F	65	Iyaloja Onimalu	Bodija, Ibadan	Jan. 19, 1991
M. Ahmadu Na Garke	M	90	The only survi- ving son of Mohammadu Na Garke Sarkin Pawa	Sabo, Ibadan	Dec. 2, 1992
M. Danladi Tiku	M	85	One of the Ubangari at	Sabo, Ibadan S a b o , I b a d a n	Dec. 2, 1992
M. Babakande	M	85	One of the Ubangari at Sabo, Ibadan	Sabo, Ibadan	Dec. 2, 1992
M. Tijani Sani	M	70	One of the Ubangari at Sabo, Ibadan	Sabo, Ibadan	Dec. 2, 1992
M. Garba Leku	M	65	Magajin Gari of	Sabo, Ibadan	Dec. 2, 1992
M. Lawan Kadiri	M	70	One of the Ubangari at Sabo, Ibadan	Sabo, Ibadan	Dec. 2, 1992
M. Bature ngeru	M	34	The Wakili of Sabo, Ibadan	Sabo, Ibadan	Dec. 2, 1992
M. Bala gadan	M	42	Sarkin Bai of Sabo, Ibadan	Sabo, Ibadan	Dec. 2, 1992

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