

Yoruba Community in Gusau, North West Nigeria: A Success Story of Cordial Inter Ethnic Relations

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Abstract

Perhaps, the fact that Nigeria was artificially created explains why inter-relations between different ethnic and cultural groups in most of the major cities in the country is characterized by constant discord. In Jos, the capital of Plateau state for example, the relation between the Hausa and Birom has for long been characterized by hostilities. In Kano, Hausa and Igbo relations has most of the time than not been that of suspicion and antagonism. This same story of hostile inter-relation characterized Yoruba-Hausa relations in Lagos and Ibadan. However, the situation in Gusau (our area of study), in the present Zamfara State has been different since the early years of the Yoruba settlement in the town. The indigenous Hausa communities have been co-existing cordially with the Yoruba migrant to the extent of close marital and strong economic inter-dependence.

Index terms— Plateau state for example, xenophobic to religious or ethnic chauvinism like.

1 Introduction

rior to the advent of the British Colonial rule, what is today Nigeria was a conglomeration of numerous polities that included the Benin Empire, the Lower Niger kingdoms (popularly referred to as the Author: Department of History Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto-Nigeria. e-mail: afusman2000@yahoo.com oil River), the Sokoto Caliphate and the Kanem Bornu. Others include the Oyo Empire of the Yoruba and the Arochukwu Empire of the Southern Eastern Region. These territories were colonized by the British in piecemeal; and by 1904 what is today Nigeria consisted of four separate units, the colony of Lagos, the Egba protectorate, the protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the protectorate of Northern Nigeria. 1 The process of the incorporation started in May 1906 when the Bights of Benin and Biafra, Egba protectorate and the protectorate of Southern Nigeria were merged with the colony of Lagos to become the Colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria. But the protectorate of Northern Nigeria was kept administratively separate until 1914 when Northern and Southern protectorates were amalgamated and the name Nigeria was artificially created as a single entity. ?? Commenting on the artificiality of Nigeria, Coleman asserts that: ?the artificiality of Nigeria's boundaries and the sharp cultural differences among its people point up to the fact that Nigeria is a British creation and the concept of the Nigeria nation is the result of British presence. 3 Perhaps, the fact that Nigeria was artificially created explains why inter-relations between different ethnic and cultural groups in most of the major cities in the country is characterized by constant discord. In Jos, the capital of Plateau state for example, the relation between the Hausa and Birom has for long been characterized by hostilities. In Kano, Hausa and Igbo relations has most of the time than not been that of suspicion and antagonism. This same story of hostile inter-relation characterized Yoruba-Hausa relations in Lagos and Ibadan.

However, the situation in Gusau (our area of study), in the present Zamfara State is has been different since the early years of the Yoruba settlement in the town. The indigenous Hausa communities have been co-existing cordially with the Yoruba migrant to the extent of close marital and strong economic interdependence. This paper therefore seeks to shed some light on what can appropriately be termed the success Year 2015 story of

44 Yoruba-Hausa relations with some emphasis on some of the factors that have been responsible for the cordial
45 and peaceful co-existence for over a century.

46 2 II.

47 3 History and the Establishment of Gusau

48 It is not the intention of this paper to discuss the history of Gusau as this has received attention from other
49 scholars. Suffice to say however that Gusau was a by-product of the Jihad in the 19th century and was founded
50 by Malam Sambo Dan Ashafa in 1811. 4 At the initial stage of its establishment, the Hausa and Fulani were the
51 dominant ethnic and cultural groups in the town. However, the situation became transformed from the early 20
52th century with the British occupation and subsequent extension of the railway; Gusau assumed a new position
53 of importance with the extension of the railway in 1929 that dramatically changed the ethnic composition of
54 the town. The new development led to the influx of many more Nigerians with the prospects commercial firms
55 that followed the railway. Before the railway line reached Gusau there were only five foreign commercial firms 5
56 active in the town, but after the completion of the line seventeen 6 commercial firms were operational. As a link
57 between North and South, Gusau during the colonial era was one of the leading centres of distributing hides and
58 skin. Thus, within two decades of the British occupation, Gusau was transformed into a thriving commercial
59 centre. Writing about Gusau in a district report in 1936 an administrative officer, MR. C. W. Cole, pointed out
60 that from a purely business point of view 'Gusau in time of the season is second only to Kano in importance.'
61 7 In the development of modern industries, the town was one of the pioneer industrial areas of the north. Such
62 changes in the pattern of economic activities changed the nature of ethnic composition. Between 1950 and 1953
63 the colonial authorities identified thirty principal ethnic nationalities living in the town. Chiefly among whom
64 were Yoruba, Igbo, Nupe and quite a number of other ethnic groups from all parts of Nigeria. All these diverse
65 ethnic groups impacted on the social and economic transformation of the town that became heterogenous, highly
66 urbanized and diverse. The Urhobo for instance are well known as distillers of a native gin call-ogogoro. In
67 fact most of these groups seem to be more interested in beer and alcohol business as many of them owned beer
68 parlours and hotels in Gusau and its environs.

69 4 The Yoruba Community

70 Unlike some migrant communities who arrived Gusau after the 2nd World War, the Yoruba settlement in Gusau
71 started in the early days of colonial rule and some of them even worked either in the railway department, the
72 colonial civil service, the imperialist commercial companies and even as cooks/stewards with some of the colonial
73 firms. Increasing economic opportunities in the late 1920s attracted more Yoruba immigrants to Gusau and
74 by the 1930s the number of the Yoruba traders increased because of the intensification of trading activities by
75 the European companies and most of these Yoruba were independent traders whose chief activity was either
76 groundnut buying or running motor transport business during the dry season.

77 The ethnic distribution in Gusau between 1950-1953 gave the total number of Yoruba male adult tax payers
78 as 631 in 1950, 712 in 1951, 668 in 1952 and in 1953 the figure rose to 720. But the Gusau Census Population of
79 1952 put the entire figure of the Yoruba community at 963. 8 Thus by the early 1960s a community of Yoruba
80 consisting of traders, workers and artisans had evolved in Gusau. As most of the Yoruba immigrants were traders
81 they settled in Sabon Gari area. The most common items they brought were kola nuts, salt, potassium and fruits
82 which they exchanged for livestock, hides and skin, onions and pepper. 9 IV.

83 5 Inter-Community Relations

84 Since their initial settlement in Gusau during the early colonial era, the Yoruba have been living peacefully with
85 the indigenous communities. The cordial nature of Yoruba and Hausa communities perhaps, is due to the long
86 term economic interrelations. The long settlement of Yoruba and their economic activities has greatly promoted
87 mutual trust that had even become the basis of inter-marital relations. Commercial interaction Economically,
88 the indigenous people produce agricultural commodities that are exchanged with items such as palm oil brought
89 by Yoruba traders. Some Yoruba traders-alajapa 10 (commercial artisans or traders) always travel to Gusau
90 to buy some of these commodities in large quantities for sale in Yorubaland. Indeed, the trade has received
91 much attention that even some Yoruba traders through the 'trust system' usually give out money to their Hausa
92 customers who make the necessary arrangement for the purchase of the required consignments. This to a very
93 large extent brought together the Hausa grain producers and the Yoruba grain buyers. 11 According to an
94 informant 12 some of the Yoruba alajapa specializes in the sale of lace materials, cotton and English waxes,
95 chains, bangles, women and children's wears and their major customers she added are the Hausa women. She
96 explained that the Hausa women atimes come with their husbands in the night to make purchases or the materials
97 were taken to them at home and it was through this act of trading that some Yoruba women established contact
98 and friendship with the Hausa women. The Yoruba have been successful in this commercial atmosphere because
99 of their creative innovations in commerce and trade, their religious zeal and the policy of avoiding conflict with
100 their host so as to prevent arousing local antagonisms at the expense of their commercial pursuits. What is also
101 important is the fact that commercial relations between the Yoruba and Hausa was based on mutual trust which

102 was strengthened by the Islamic religion. 13 Some of the Hausa traders are also noted for their honest trading
103 practices because of the dictates of Islamic faith. The advantage the Yoruba trader has over his Igbo trading
104 counterparts can be compared to that which the Lebanese trader has over his European and African competitors.
105 14 The Yoruba like the Lebanese come from an environment where wealth is used to measure one's prestige and
106 importance in the society; and fearing to return home empty-handed, make them to always accept much lower
107 profit margins or sales than his Igbo counterpart ??5 , spending little on himself or re-investing every bit of profit
108 he could make. 16 a) Relations promoted through apprenticeship Some of the earliest Yoruba who settled in
109 Gusau possessed certain skills they gradually impacted to some indigenes. Some of the Yoruba artisans found
110 in Gusau are those in tailoring, carpentry, bakery, baking, grinding, motor and machine repairs, shoe making,
111 electrical works, plumbing, silver smithing and printing. Through interaction and mutual understanding quite a
112 number of Hausa youths undergo apprenticeship training under Yoruba masters for period ranging from 3-5 years;
113 and as at today large number of Hausa artisans have Yoruba professionals as their masters. 17 The contributions
114 made by the introduction of the taxi transport industry by the Yoruba in Gusau in 1969 also enabled the first
115 Hausa man 18 in 1980 to learn how to drive; and since then large number of Hausa youths and adults have learnt
116 to operate taxi and other motor vehicles transportation business. The dominance of Yoruba and their cordial
117 relationship with their host explained why a Yoruba man-Alhaji Najeem Usman Yasin was elected the first State
118 Council Chairman of the National Union of Road Transport Workers for Zamfara State in 1996. 19

119 **6 c) Relations promoted through religious activities**

120 The cordial inter-relations between Yoruba and Hausa communities in Gusau have also been the result of Islamic
121 factor and Islamic practices. 20 This became possible because large numbers of Yoruba migrant Muslims who feel
122 more at home and have much better understanding with the host community and other migrant groups such as
123 Igbo who are predominantly Christians. Common Islamic practices such as observing the same Islamic festivals
124 and praying in the same mosques have been important means of social interaction and mutual cooperation
125 between the two groups. The Yoruba have also identified themselves with Hausa/Muslim names and mode of
126 dressing. 21 In the opinion of an informant, 22 an average Yoruba in Gusau has the confidence to settle anywhere
127 within the town since he believes he shares the same religion, name and ways of life with his host. What one
128 can say in this regard is that religion and other cultural factors, as argued by Yandaki 23 remain part of the
129 most important integrating factors influencing communal and interethnic and tribal relations between Hausa and
130 Yoruba communities in Gusau. 24 This became especially so because the religion has taught the follower to
131 consider every adherent of the religion a brother or sister who is also expected to cooperate with one another
132 and perform religious activities together. 25 The Islamic activities that always bring Yoruba and Hausa together
133 include Friday prayer and tafsir in the month of Ramadan, weddings and naming ceremonies amongst others.
134 It should be noted that the Ansar-ud-deen society was granted licence in 1977 to observe Friday congregation
135 prayers in its mosque and this has also added to the existing cordial relationship between the two communities
136 because majority of Muslim faithfuls that attend this Friday prayers are Hausa Muslims. It is also on record that
137 in order to promote the cordial relationship among all the Muslim populace of Gusau irrespective of social and
138 cultural backgrounds the marriages which has been promoting cordiality. These marriages have to some extent
139 helped to cement the bond of friendship and unity between them. According to Cohen 27 inter-group marriages
140 between the Hausa and Yoruba have been a means of establishing mutual friendship and alliance between them
141 both in groups and at individual levels. Sa'id 28 also added that intergroup marriage has long been an easy
142 means for interethnic contact and relations.

143 Two Yoruba ladies 29 set the pace with regards to inter-ethnic marriages in Gusau. These marriages initially
144 were talk of the town as it took the parents of these two ladies time before they could bless the union. The
145 marriages could be said to have opened the 'floodgate' to other Yoruba women and even men to marry from
146 the Hausa community. In the course of the field work it was discovered that Hausa and Yoruba inter married
147 considerably and such marriages enable the communities to understand each other more and helped to provide
148 an enabling environment for good relationship. As at the period when the field work was carried out twenty-three
149 Yoruba ladies have gotten married to Hausa men and out of which four originally were Christians who converted
150 to Islam. ??0 On the other hand sixteen Yoruba men 31 also married Hausa women. Meanwhile, the idea behind
151 these inter-ethnic marriages according to a source as to have relatives in as many communities as possible in
152 order to enhance peaceful relationship and also ensure a peaceful co-existence.

153 **7 e) Educational relations**

154 Perhaps what needs not to be underestimated on the religious unity in Gusau is the strong inter-relation
155 between the religious institutions (both Islamic and Christianity) and education. Since the formative years of the
156 settlement of Yoruba community in Gusau, religious organizations have been the main agents of educating the
157 people especially children of the migrant communities. By 1940, two Christian organizations 32 had already built
158 primary schools in Gusau. Since the Missionaries were in the forefront of preparing the minds of Nigerians for
159 cultural imperialism, the colonial state left education in the hands of the missions and the schools they established
160 were aimed at winning converts to Christianity. It was under this atmosphere that the Yoruba Muslims in Gusau
161 established the Ansar-ud-deen Primary School in 1968 33 to cater for Yoruba migrants Muslim children even

162 though in later years Christians were also admitted into the School. With the establishment of this school,
163 all Yoruba Muslims whose children were already attending Christian missionary schools were withdrawn and
164 enrolled at the Ansar-ud-deen primary school and later the doors of the school was opened to Hausa and other
165 migrant communities in Gusau irrespective of their religious and cultural backgrounds. The school had its first
166 indigenous headmaster 34 in 1973.

167 8 f) Political Relations

168 Another area through which the Yoruba migrant community relates with their host is politics. A Yoruba man-
169 Alhaji G. O. Olanipekun 35 (an indigene of Offa) contested against a Hausa man-Alhaji Bala Waima and was
170 elected on non-party basis to represent Sabon-Gari ward in the Gusau Local Government Council in 1953. Also
171 with the creation in 1954 of the Gusau Town Council vide the Native Authority Law which stipulate among other
172 things that the Council shall be composed of not less than twenty-six members of whom twenty shall be elected
173 members, three Yoruba men representing the Action Group were elected. 36 One other avenue through which
174 the Yoruba migrant community have identified with their host was during the agitation for and the eventual
175 creation of Zamfara state. The agitation for the state started in 1979 continued until the state was eventually
176 created on October 1 st , 1996. The Yoruba migrant community donated the sum of sixty thousand (₦60,000.00)
177 to the Movement for the creation of the state. In addition two prominent Yoruba men 37 donated two houses
178 for the take off of the new administration in the state. The Offa Descendants union on the other hand put at
179 the disposal of the Department of Arts and Culture their community hall for use for two years free of charge.

180 g) The Language factor in Social inter-ethnic relations It is an historical fact that interaction between cultures
181 can often be rewarding and beneficial to all parties concerned. Immediately after their settlement, Yoruba
182 migrants ceased to be 'foreigners' in their new society. This happened despite the conscious adherence and
183 preservation of their Yoruba language, dress and other norms and values. Through the social institutions they
184 established, 38 the Yoruba community reduced the chances of their children from growing up imbued with
185 aspirations of their host's culture, so that Hausa cultural identities would not be stamped on their minds; but
186 that is not to be. Social interaction with members of the Hausa society impacted on the sociocultural life of the
187 Yoruba, most especially on those that were born, bred and brought up in Gusau. Most of the Yoruba migrants
188 especially those living in the old city where the host are dominant have become bilingual and this has enabled
189 them to continue to integrate easily since they can communicate with their host effectively. The involvement of
190 the Yoruba migrants in many activities alongside their host in Gusau contributed greatly to quite a number of
191 Yoruba been 'Hausanised'

192 Volume XV Issue II Version I Yoruba Community in Gusau, North West Nigeria: A Success Story of Cordial
193 Inter Ethnic Relations completely. This is in spite of the fact that members of the Yoruba community in Gusau
194 still maintain strong links with home and strong ties among themselves and to some of them 'home' is Gusau. The
195 status of some Yoruba youths ability in speaking Hausa language was enhanced by two developments. Firstly, the
196 acquisition of local language by expatriates has been enshrined in our constitution as one of the pre-conditions for
197 the grant of formal citizenship for those wishing to naturalize and secondly, the then 6-3-3-4 system of education
198 made Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo to be the three languages to be taught in schools. Many Yoruba choose to speak
199 the Hausa language because it has become to them the language of survival and integration in the community
200 as far as they were concerned.

201 V.

202 9 Conclusion

203 In general, the relationship between the Hausa and Yoruba communities in Gusau has been very cordial and
204 amicable. The Hausa community have been very hospitable and accommodating and have not been hostile to
205 migrant communities in Gusau and this attitude has indeed promoted an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence
206 that enabled the migrant communities to settle and engage in different commercial endeavours without any fear
207 or molestations from any quarter.

208 According to an informant, 41 one of the most fundamental reasons why the Yoruba migrant community were
209 able to settle in Gusau in large numbers could be because of the tolerant and accommodating attitude of the
210 indigenes to outsiders. The people of Gusau are noted for their peculiar attitude of loving strangers and no
211 wonder that the town has been described as Gusau garin Yarbawa. 42 It is not surprising that the indigenes are
212 very accommodating. This is because the town itself was founded by strangers and Yoruba have also decided to
213 settle down in the town because, the people have a carefree attitude and are not xenophobic to religious or ethnic
214 chauvinism like in other parts of the country and were therefore able to maintain peace and avoided senseless
215 religious and ethnic uprisings in the area. 43

216 10 Endnotes

217 Year 2015 Yoruba Community in Gusau, North West Nigeria: A Success Story of Cordial Inter Ethnic Relations 2
218 It is worth noting that in January 197, Miss Flora Shaw a correspondent of the London Times who later married
219 Lord Fredrick Lugard (the first Governor-General of Nigeria after amalgamation) was the one who suggested in
220 an article published in the Times the name 'Nigeria' for the whole territory in January 189; and as from 1914 the

221 name was adopted. Our research in the area confirmed that these Yoruba have lost their 'Yorubanness' including
 222 the language and family history etc. 39 Some Yoruba youths that were interviewed in the course of this research
 223 were interviewed in Hausa rather in their (Yoruba) language. However, quite a number of them still speak the
 224 Yoruba albeit with some difficulties. Such type of situation according to Adamu 40 is due to Hausa cultural
 225 penetration into different ethnic groups and that as he further argued, Hausa culture continue to captivate the
 226 minds of all those who come into contact with it.

227 28 A. D. Said (ed.), *Ethnic Relations in Nigeria*, Ibadan, 1976, p. 192. 29 Bintu Shittu (Ogbomosho-Oyo
 228 state) and Mutiatu Lawal (a Princess from Ipee, Kwara state) 30 Names of Yoruba women married to Hausa
 229 are as follows Hajiya Dele Ahmed, Sherifat Bello, Simiat Usman, Shakirat Usman, Rafiat Abdulsalam, Fasilat
 230 Lawal, Mutiat Lawal, Amina Dan-Iya, Bintu Shittu, Amina Yahaya, Nusirat Suleiman, Fatima Suleiman, Madina
 231 Suleiman, Hadiza Suleiman, Fatima Babatunde, Rafatu Babatunde, Hafsat Abdulsalam, Fatima Bello, the four
 232 Christians that converted to islam are as follows; Temilade Jejenewa, Omojade Jejenewa, Nike Ogundare and
 Bukola Fagbemi. ¹



Figure 1:

1

Name of Industry	Year of Es- tablishment
British Cotton Growing Association (B.C.G.A)	1923
Zamfara Textile Industries Limited (Z.T.I.L)	1963
Gusau Tanning Company	1967
Gusau Metal Construction Company	1969
Gusau Sweet Factory	1972
Gusau Oil Mill	1974

Source: Fieldwork conducted in Gusau in 1999.

III.

Figure 2: Table 1 :

- 233 [Ibid] , Ibid .
- 234 [Sabongero and Cit] , Op Sabongero , Cit .
- 235 [Ibid. Also Sabongero, op.cit] , *Ibid. Also Sabongero, op.cit*
- 236 [Sabongero and Cit] , Op Sabongero , Cit .
- 237 [Yandaki and Cit] , Op Yandaki , Cit . p. 46.
- 238 [They Are et al.] , B O They Are , Bayo Olusoga , Alhaji B Lawanson .
- 239 [They Are Alhaji Semiu Shobanke et al.] , They Are Alhaji Semiu Shobanke , Former Sarkin Yarbawa , Alhaji
240 B O Gusau , Olaonipekun .
- 241 [Op] , Adamu Op . (cit)
- 242 [Sabongero and Cit] , Op Sabongero , Cit .
- 243 [Wjhcb/Gusau ()] , Wjhcb/Gusau . District Report/26, 1936. p. 3.
- 244 [Olaleye ()] (*though a Christian, he was the first Headmaster of the School*), oral interview, Layi Olaleye . 25 th
245 March, 1999. 1969. Gusau. 60.
- 246 [They are Roman Catholic Mission (R.C.M) and Christ Missionary Society (C.M.S (ed.))] . *The R.C.M Pri-*
247 *mary School is now known as Ibrahim Gusau Primary School and is situated along Gusau-Zaria*, They
248 are Roman Catholic Mission (R.C.M) and Christ Missionary Society (C.M.S (ed.)) (Road near Central Bank
249 Gusau while the C.M.S. named theirs as C.M.S I and II)
- 250 [10 Alajapa or better still Olowo apo are basically commercial artisans or traders. They usually take to Gusau agricultural products
251 *10 Alajapa or better still Olowo apo are basically commercial artisans or traders. They usually take to*
252 *Gusau agricultural products such as banana, oranges, pine-apple, kola-nuts, yams etc. and in return they buy*
253 *livestock products, hides and skin, onions, beans, ground-nut oil, (pepper etc)*
- 254 [Usman] ‘A Social and Economic History of Hausaland Since c. 1500A.D., Makurdi, Aboki Publishers,
255 forthcoming 5 They are’. A F Usman . *Jurgen Colonial Product Ltd* British West Africa and H. B. W.
256 Russell Co Ltd (ed.) John Holt & Co, G. Gottschalch & Co Ltd. (Islam and the Integration of Migrant
257 Communities: The Yoruba Experience in Metropolitan Gusau)
- 258 [According to Ijomah the whole area had been referred to as Hausa territories, the Niger Empire, Niger Sudan and the Niger Coast
259 *According to Ijomah the whole area had been referred to as Hausa territories, the Niger Empire, Niger Sudan*
260 *and the Niger Coast protectorate. See B. I. O. Ijomah, 'Nationalism and Socio-Political Integration: The*
261 *Nigerian Situation, 1972. p. 1. USA, Northwest University (PhD Thesis)*
- 262 [Alhaji Abdulfatai Coker Sabongero, business man, oral interview (2000)] *Alhaji Abdulfatai Coker Sabongero,*
263 *business man, oral interview, 1th June, 2000. Sokoto. p. 51.*
- 264 [Alhaji Abdullahi Shehu Gusau (first indigenou headmaster of the School), oral interview, Educationist (1999)]
265 *Alhaji Abdullahi Shehu Gusau (first indigenou headmaster of the School), oral interview, Educationist, 15*
266 *th May, 1999. (58 yrs old)*
- 267 [Alhaji Ismaila Galadima (Sarkin Rafi Galadiman Gusau), oral interview (1999)] *Alhaji Ismaila Galadima*
268 *(Sarkin Rafi Galadiman Gusau), oral interview, (Gusau; Old) 9 th April, 1999. p. 59.*
- 269 [Alhaji Najeem Usman Yasin, Chairman, National Union of Road Transport Workers, Zamfara State, oral interview (1999)]
270 *Alhaji Najeem Usman Yasin, Chairman, National Union of Road Transport Workers, Zamfara State, oral*
271 *interview, 28 th May, 1999. Gusau. (44 yrs old. Currently he is the National President of N.U.R.T.W.)*
- 272 [Sabongero and Cit (1999)] *Also Sanusi Bamidele Bello, football coach, oral interview, Op Sabongero , Cit . 26*
273 *th March, 1999. Gusau. 52.*
- 274 [Aminu Kelani, oral Interview, civil servant (1999)] *Aminu Kelani, oral Interview, civil servant, 3 rd April, 1999.*
275 *Gusau. (4 yrs old)*
- 276 [Yandaki ()] ‘Cultural and Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria: Past, Present and Future’. A I Yandaki . The
277 Farfaru Journal of Multi-Disciplinary Studies 1995. 4 (5) p. 42.
- 278 [Cohen] *Custom and Politics in an Urban African Community: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns,*
279 *California, 1969, see also Paden, A Cohen . op.cit.*
- 280 [J. S. Eades, op.cit. See also J. S. Eades ()] ‘Enterprise in a Migrant Community: A Case Study of Yoruba
281 Migrants in Northern Ghana with special reference to’. *Tamale* J. S. Eades, op.cit. See also J. S. Eades
282 (ed.) 1975. University of Cambridge (PhD Thesis)
- 283 [Hajiya Bintu Salawu, business woman, oral interview, Sabon Gari (1999)] *Hajiya Bintu Salawu, business*
284 *woman, oral interview, Sabon Gari, 1th May, 1999. Gusau. 58.*
- 285 [He is Malam Garba Chindo oral interview (1999)] *He is Malam Garba Chindo oral interview, rd April, 1999.*
286 *Gusau, Transporter. p. 51.*

- 287 [Alh] *His first son-Alh. Abdulrazak Shobanke is now the Sarkin Yarbawan Zamfara I*, Alh . (Semiu Shobanke
288 (due to ill health has relocated to Abeokuta))
- 289 [MS] *I is now known as Dangaladima Model Primary School Gusau situate dnear M*, MS . (II is known as
290 Government Day Junior Secondary School Gusau)
- 291 [Coleman ()] *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*, J Coleman . 1958. California: University of California Press.
292 p. 45.
- 293 [Paden] *Religion and Political Culture in Kano*, J N Paden . University of California Press. 19 p. 354.
- 294 [Albert ()] *See also I. O. Albert, Inter-Ethnic Relations in a Nigerian City: A Historical Perspectives of the*
295 *Hausa-Igbo Conflicts in Kano*, I O Albert . 1993. 1913-1991. 1993. p. . University of Ibadan (PhD Thesis)
296 (Urban Migrant Settlement in Nigeria: A Comparison of the Sabon-Gari in Kano and Ibadan. mimeo)
- 297 [Adamu ()] *See also Y. A. Lasisi, 'Gusau in the 20 th Century: The Case of Hausa and Yoruba Relations*, M
298 Adamu , Adamu . 1978. 1988. Zaria, A. B.U Press. p. 16. B. A. History Project, University of Sokoto (The
299 Hausa Factor in West Africa Histoy)
- 300 [Albasu ()] *The Lebanese in Kano*, S A Albasu . 1995. Kano. 15. (Ibid)
- 301 [The two other contestants were Alhaji Bala Waiman Gusau and a Bendelite] *The two other contestants were*
302 *Alhaji Bala Waiman Gusau and a Bendelite*,
- 303 [These are Schools they established-both Islamic and Western type] *These are Schools they established-both Is-*
304 *lamic and Western type*,
- 305 [Yoruba men who married Hausa ladies are also as follows: Alh] *Yoruba men who married Hausa ladies are also*
306 *as follows: Alh*,