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

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

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Prior 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

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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup>

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 inter-dependence. This paper therefore seeks to shed some light on what can appropriately be termed the success

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

## II. HISTORY AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GUSAU

It is not the intention of this paper to discuss the history of Gusau as this has received attention from other scholars. Suffice to say however that Gusau was a by-product of the Jihad in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and was founded by Malam Sambo Dan Ashafa in 1811.<sup>4</sup>

At the initial stage of its establishment, the Hausa and Fulani were the dominant ethnic and cultural groups in the town. However, the situation became transformed from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century with the British occupation and subsequent extension of the railway; Gusau assumed a new position of importance with the extension of the railway in 1929 that dramatically changed the ethnic composition of the town. The new development led to the influx of many more Nigerians with the prospects of working on the railway line and European commercial firms that followed the railway. Before the railway line reached Gusau there were only five foreign commercial firms<sup>5</sup> active in the town, but after the completion of the line seventeen<sup>6</sup> commercial

firms were operational. As a link between North and South, Gusau during the colonial era was one of the leading centres of distributing hides and skin. Thus, within two decades of the British occupation, Gusau was transformed into a thriving commercial centre. Writing about Gusau in a district report in 1936 an administrative officer, MR. C. W. Cole, pointed out that from a purely business point of view 'Gusau in time of the season is second only to Kano in importance.'<sup>7</sup> In the development of modern industries, the town was one of the pioneer industrial areas of the north. Such changes in the pattern of economic activities changed the nature of ethnic composition. Between 1950 and 1953 the colonial authorities identified thirty principal ethnic nationalities living in the town. Chiefly among whom were Yoruba, Igbo, Nupe and quite a number of other ethnic groups from all parts of Nigeria. All these diverse ethnic groups impacted on the social and economic transformation of the town that became heterogeneous, highly urbanized and diverse. The Urhobo for instance are well known as distillers of a native gin call *ogogoro*. In fact most of these groups seem to be more interested in beer and alcohol business as many of them owned beer parlours and hotels in Gusau and its environs.

*Table 1 : Industries Established in Gusau, 1923-1974*

Name of Industry	Year of Establishment
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. THE YORUBA COMMUNITY

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

The ethnic distribution in Gusau between 1950-1953 gave the total number of Yoruba male adult tax payers as 631 in 1950, 712 in 1951, 668 in 1952 and in 1953 the figure rose to 720. But the Gusau Census

Population of 1952 put the entire figure of the Yoruba community at 963.<sup>8</sup>

Thus by the early 1960s a community of Yoruba consisting of traders, workers and artisans had evolved in Gusau. As most of the Yoruba immigrants were traders they settled in Sabon Gari area. The most common items they brought were kola nuts, salt, potassium and fruits which they exchanged for livestock, hides and skin, onions and pepper.<sup>9</sup>

## IV. INTER-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Since their initial settlement in Gusau during the early colonial era, the Yoruba have been living peacefully with the indigenous communities. The cordial nature of Yoruba and Hausa communities perhaps, is due to the long term economic interrelations. The long settlement of Yoruba and their economic activities has greatly promoted mutual trust that had even become the basis of inter-marital relations. Commercial interaction also led to exchange of ideas socially. The result was that culture became diffused over a particular time.

Economically, the indigenous people produce agricultural commodities that are exchanged with items such as palm oil brought by Yoruba traders. Some Yoruba traders-*alajapa*<sup>10</sup> (commercial artisans or traders) always travel to Gusau to buy some of these commodities in large quantities for sale in Yorubaland. Indeed, the trade has received much attention that even some Yoruba traders through the 'trust system' usually give out money to their Hausa customers who make the necessary arrangement for the purchase of the required consignments. This to a very large extent brought together the Hausa grain producers and the Yoruba grain buyers.<sup>11</sup>

According to an informant<sup>12</sup> some of the Yoruba *alajapa* specializes in the sale of lace materials, cotton and English waxes, chains, bangles, women and children's wears and their major customers she added are the Hausa women. She explained that the Hausa women atimes come with their husbands in the night to make purchases or the materials were taken to them at home and it was through this act of trading that some Yoruba women established contact and friendship with the Hausa women. The Yoruba have been successful in this commercial atmosphere because of their creative innovations in commerce and trade, their religious zeal and the policy of avoiding conflict with their host so as to prevent arousing local antagonisms at the expense of their commercial pursuits. What is also important is the fact that commercial relations between the Yoruba and Hausa was based on mutual trust which was strengthened by the Islamic religion.<sup>13</sup> Some of the Hausa traders are also noted for their honest trading practices because of the dictates of Islamic faith. The advantage the Yoruba trader has over his Igbo trading counterparts can be compared to that which the Lebanese trader has over his European and African competitors.<sup>14</sup> The Yoruba like the Lebanese come from an environment where wealth is used to measure one's prestige and importance in the society; and fearing to return home empty-handed, make them to always accept much lower profit margins or sales than his Igbo counterpart<sup>15</sup>, spending little on himself or re-investing every bit of profit he could make.<sup>16</sup>

#### a) *Relations promoted through apprenticeship*

Some of the earliest Yoruba who settled in Gusau possessed certain skills they gradually impacted to some indigenes. Some of the Yoruba artisans found in Gusau are those in tailoring, carpentry, bakery, baking, grinding, motor and machine repairs, shoe making, electrical works, plumbing, silver smithing and printing. Through interaction and mutual understanding quite a number of Hausa youths undergo apprenticeship training under Yoruba masters for period ranging from 3-5 years; and as at today large number of Hausa artisans have Yoruba professionals as their masters.<sup>17</sup>

#### b) *Taxi transport industry*

The contributions made by the introduction of the taxi transport industry by the Yoruba in Gusau in 1969 also enabled the first Hausa man<sup>18</sup> in 1980 to learn how to drive; and since then large number of Hausa youths and adults have learnt to operate taxi and other motor vehicles transportation business. The dominance of Yoruba and their cordial relationship with their host explained why a Yoruba man-Alhaji Najeem Usman Yasin was elected the first State Council Chairman of the National Union of Road Transport Workers for Zamfara State in 1996.<sup>19</sup>

#### c) *Relations promoted through religious activities*

The cordial inter-relations between Yoruba and Hausa communities in Gusau have also been the result of Islamic factor and Islamic practices.<sup>20</sup> This became possible because large numbers of Yoruba migrant Muslims who feel more at home and have much better understanding with the host community and other migrant groups such as Igbo who are predominantly Christians. Common Islamic practices such as observing the same Islamic festivals and praying in the same mosques have been important means of social interaction and mutual cooperation between the two groups. The Yoruba have also identified themselves with Hausa/Muslim names and mode of dressing.<sup>21</sup> In the opinion of an informant,<sup>22</sup> an average Yoruba in Gusau has the confidence to settle anywhere within the town since he believes he shares the same religion, name and ways of life with his host. What one can say in this regard is that religion and other cultural factors, as argued by Yandaki<sup>23</sup> remain part of the most important integrating factors influencing communal and inter-ethnic and tribal relations between Hausa and Yoruba communities in Gusau.<sup>24</sup> This became especially so because the religion has taught the follower to consider every adherent of the religion a brother or sister who is also expected to cooperate with one another and perform religious activities together.<sup>25</sup> The Islamic activities that always bring Yoruba and Hausa together include Friday prayer and *tafsir* in the month of *Ramadan*, weddings and naming ceremonies amongst others. It should be noted that the *Ansar-ud-deen* society was granted licence in 1977 to observe Friday congregation prayers in its mosque and this has also added to the existing cordial relationship between the two communities because majority of Muslim faithfuls that attend this Friday prayers are Hausa Muslims. It is also on record that in order to promote the cordial relationship among all the Muslim populace of Gusau irrespective of social and cultural backgrounds the former Sarkin Yarbawa Gusau<sup>26</sup> donated some plots of land to be used as Muslim cemetery in Gusau.

#### d) *Inter-ethnic Marriages*

Another factor of vital importance in the Hausa-Yoruba relations in Gusau is in the area of inter-ethnic



marriages which has been promoting cordiality. These marriages have to some extent helped to cement the bond of friendship and unity between them. According to Cohen<sup>27</sup> inter-group marriages between the Hausa and Yoruba have been a means of establishing mutual friendship and alliance between them both in groups and at individual levels. Sa'id<sup>28</sup> also added that inter-group marriage has long been an easy means for inter-ethnic contact and relations.

Two Yoruba ladies<sup>29</sup> set the pace with regards to inter-ethnic marriages in Gusau. These marriages initially were talk of the town as it took the parents of these two ladies time before they could bless the union. The marriages could be said to have opened the 'floodgate' to other Yoruba women and even men to marry from the Hausa community. In the course of the field work it was discovered that Hausa and Yoruba inter married considerably and such marriages enable the communities to understand each other more and helped to provide an enabling environment for good relationship. As at the period when the field work was carried out twenty-three Yoruba ladies have gotten married to Hausa men and out of which four originally were Christians who converted to Islam.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand sixteen Yoruba men<sup>31</sup> also married Hausa women. Meanwhile, the idea behind these inter-ethnic marriages according to a source as to have relatives in as many communities as possible in order to enhance peaceful relationship and also ensure a peaceful co-existence.

#### e) *Educational relations*

Perhaps what needs not to be underestimated on the religious unity in Gusau is the strong inter-relation between the religious institutions (both Islamic and Christianity) and education. Since the formative years of the settlement of Yoruba community in Gusau, religious organizations have been the main agents of educating the people especially children of the migrant communities. By 1940, two Christian organizations<sup>32</sup> had already built primary schools in Gusau. Since the Missionaries were in the forefront of preparing the minds of Nigerians for cultural imperialism, the colonial state left education in the hands of the missions and the schools they established were aimed at winning converts to Christianity. It was under this atmosphere that the Yoruba Muslims in Gusau established the *Ansar-ud-deen* Primary School in 1968<sup>33</sup> to cater for Yoruba migrants Muslim children even though in later years Christians were also admitted into the School. With the establishment of this school, all Yoruba Muslims whose children were already attending Christian missionary schools were withdrawn and enrolled at the *Ansar-ud-deen* primary school and later the doors of the school was opened to Hausa and other migrant communities in Gusau irrespective of their religious and cultural backgrounds. The school had its first indigenous headmaster<sup>34</sup> in 1973.

#### f) *Political Relations*

Another area through which the Yoruba migrant community relates with their host is politics. A Yoruba man-Alhaji G. O. Olanipekun<sup>35</sup> (an indigene of Offa) contested against a Hausa man-Alhaji Bala Waima and was elected on non-party basis to represent Sabon-Gari ward in the Gusau Local Government Council in 1953. Also with the creation in 1954 of the Gusau Town Council vide the Native Authority Law which stipulate among other things that the Council shall be composed of not less than twenty-six members of whom twenty shall be elected members, three Yoruba men representing the Action Group were elected.<sup>36</sup>

One other avenue through which the Yoruba migrant community have identified with their host was during the agitation for and the eventual creation of Zamfara state. The agitation for the state started in 1979 continued until the state was eventually created on October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1996. The Yoruba migrant community donated the sum of sixty thousand (₦60,000.00) to the Movement for the creation of the state. In addition two prominent Yoruba men<sup>37</sup> donated two houses for the take off of the new administration in the state. The Offa Descendants union on the other hand put at the disposal of the Department of Arts and Culture their community hall for use for two years free of charge.

#### g) *The Language factor in Social inter-ethnic relations*

It is an historical fact that interaction between cultures can often be rewarding and beneficial to all parties concerned. Immediately after their settlement, Yoruba migrants ceased to be 'foreigners' in their new society. This happened despite the conscious adherence and preservation of their Yoruba language, dress and other norms and values. Through the social institutions they established,<sup>38</sup> the Yoruba community reduced the chances of their children from growing up imbued with aspirations of their host's culture, so that Hausa cultural identities would not be stamped on their minds; but that is not to be. Social interaction with members of the Hausa society impacted on the socio-cultural life of the Yoruba, most especially on those that were born, bred and brought up in Gusau. Most of the Yoruba migrants especially those living in the old city where the host are dominant have become bilingual and this has enabled them to continue to integrate easily since they can communicate with their host effectively. The involvement of the Yoruba migrants in many activities alongside their host in Gusau contributed greatly to quite a number of Yoruba been 'Hausanised' completely. This is in spite of the fact that members of the Yoruba community in Gusau still maintain strong links with home and strong ties among themselves and to some of them 'home' is Gusau. The status of some Yoruba youths ability in speaking Hausa language was enhanced by two developments. Firstly, the acquisition of local language by expatriates has been enshrined in

our constitution as one of the pre-conditions for the grant of formal citizenship for those wishing to naturalize and secondly, the then 6-3-3-4 system of education made Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo to be the three languages to be taught in schools. Many Yoruba choose to speak the Hausa language because it has become to them the language of survival and integration in the community as far as they were concerned.

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

## V. CONCLUSION

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

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

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> According to Ijomah the whole area had been referred to as Hausa territories, the Niger Empire, Niger Sudan and the Niger Coast protectorate. See B. I. O. Ijomah, 'Nationalism and Socio-Political Integration: The Nigerian Situation', PhD Thesis, USA, Northwest University, 1972, p.1.

<sup>2</sup> It is worth noting that in January 197, Miss Flora Shaw a correspondent of the London Times who later married Lord Fredrick Lugard (the first Governor-General of Nigeria after amalgamation) was the one who suggested in an article published in the Times the name 'Nigeria' for the whole territory in January 189; and as from 1914 the name was adopted.

<sup>3</sup> J. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism, California, University of California Press, 1958, p. 45

<sup>4</sup> A. F. Usman, 'Islam and the Integration of Migrant Communities: The Yoruba Experience in Metropolitan Gusau', in M. T. Usman and M. A. Rufa'i (eds.), A Social and Economic History of Hausaland Since c. 1500A.D., Makurdi, Aboki Publishers, forthcoming

<sup>5</sup> They are: U.A.C, S.C.O.A, C.F.A.O, G. B. Ollivant and C. P. Leventis.

<sup>6</sup> They are: U.A.C, S.C.O.A, C.F.A.O, G. B. Ollivant, C. P. Leventis, H. T. Pearson & Co, London & Kano Trading Co, P. Z. Ltd, A. J. Tangalakakis & Co, L. Ambrosini Ltd, Jurgen Colonial Product Ltd, John Holt & Co, G. Gottschalch & Co Ltd, Standard Co of Nigeria, Barclays Bank, Bank of British West Africa and H. B. W. Russell Co Ltd.

<sup>7</sup> WJHCB/Gusau District Report/26, 1936, p.3.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> M. Adamu, Adamu, The Hausa Factor in West Africa History, Zaria, A. B.U Press, 1978, p.60. See also Y. A. Lasisi, 'Gusau in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: The Case of Hausa and Yoruba Relations', B. A. History Project, University of Sokoto, 1988, p.16

<sup>10</sup> *Alajapa* or better still *Olowo apo* are basically commercial artisans or traders. They usually take to Gusau agricultural products such as banana, oranges, pine-apple, kola-nuts, yams etc. and in return they buy livestock products, hides and skin, onions, beans, ground-nut oil, pepper etc.

<sup>11</sup> Alhaji Abdulfatai Coker Sabongero, business man, oral interview, Sokoto, 1th June, 2000, 51 yrs old.

<sup>12</sup> Hajiya Bintu Salawu, business woman, oral interview, Sabon Gari, Gusau, 1th May, 1999, 58 yrs old.

<sup>13</sup> Sabongero, op.cit.

<sup>14</sup> S. A. Albasu, The Lebanese in Kano, Kano, 1995,

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. Also Sabongero, op.cit.

<sup>17</sup> J. S. Eades, op.cit. See also J. S. Eades, 'Enterprise in a Migrant Community: A Case Study of Yoruba Migrants in Northern Ghana with special reference to Tamale', PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1975.

<sup>18</sup> He is Malam Garba Chindo oral interview, Gusau, Transporter, rd April, 1999, 51 years old.

<sup>19</sup> Alhaji Najeem Usman Yasin, Chairman, National Union of Road Transport Workers, Zamfara State, oral interview, Gusau, 28<sup>th</sup> May, 1999, 44 yrs old. Currently he is the National President of N.U.R.T.W.

<sup>20</sup> A. I. Yandaki, 'Cultural and Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria: Past, Present and Future', in The Farfaru Journal of Multi-Disciplinary Studies, Vol. 4, No. 5, 1995, p. 42

J. N. Paden, Religion and Political Culture in Kano, University of California Press, 19, p.354.

<sup>22</sup> Sabongero, op.cit.

<sup>23</sup> Yandaki, op.cit, p.46

<sup>24</sup> I. O. Albert, 'Urban Migrant Settlement in Nigeria: A Comparison of the Sabon-Gari in Kano and Ibadan: 1893-1991', PhD Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1993. See also I. O. Albert, Inter-Ethnic Relations in a Nigerian City: A Historical Perspectives of the Hausa-Igbo Conflicts in Kano 1913-1991', 1993, mimeo.

<sup>25</sup> A. Cohen, Custom and Politics in an Urban African Community: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns, California, 1969, see also Paden, op.cit

<sup>26</sup> Alh. Semiu Shobanke (due to ill health has relocated to Abeokuta). His first son-Alh. Abdulrazak Shobanke is now the Sarkin Yarbawan Zamfara I.

A. Cohen, Custom and Politics in an Urban African Community: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns, California, 1969, p. 9.

<sup>28</sup> A. D. Said (ed.), Ethnic Relations in Nigeria, Ibadan, 1976, p. 192.

<sup>29</sup> Bintu Shittu (Ogbomosho-Oyo state) and Mutiatu Lawal (a Princess from Ipee, Kwara state)

<sup>30</sup> Names of Yoruba women married to Hausa are as follows Hajiya Dele Ahmed, Sherifat Bello, Simiat Usman, Shakirat Usman, Rafiat Abdulsalam, Fasilat Lawal, Mutiat Lawal, Amina Dan-Iya, Bintu Shittu, Amina Yahaya, Nusirat Suleiman, Fatima Suleiman, Madina Suleiman, Hadiza Suleiman, Fatima Babatunde, Rafatu Babatunde, Hafsat Abdulsalam, Fatima Bello, the four Christians that converted to islam are as follows; Temilade Jejenewa, Omojade Jejenewa, Nike Ogundare and Bukola Fagbemi.

<sup>31</sup>Yoruba men who married Hausa ladies are also as follows: Alh. Abdulganiyu Dan-Iya, Alh. Rabi'u Omonije, Alh. Bello Alebiosu, Alh. Muibi Abdulsalam, Musbau Abdulazeez, Alh. Abdullahi Ibrahim, Alh. Mohammed Bashir, Ibrahim D. Shobanke, Alh. Kasumu Kelani (Baban Queen), Alh. Bakare Kelani, Aminu Kelani, Muntari Kasumu, Mal. Raji (Baba Sikiru) and Alfa Shafi'i Adeshina.

<sup>32</sup> They are Roman Catholic Mission (R.C.M) and Christ Missionary Society (C.M.S). The R.C.M Primary School is now known as Ibrahim Gusau Primary School and is situated along Gusau-Zaria Road near Central Bank Gusau while the C.M.S. named theirs as C.M.S I and II. C.M.S.I is now known as Dangaladima Model Primary School Gusau situate dnear M.T.D. while C.M.S. II is known as Government Day Junior Secondary School Gusau.

<sup>33</sup> Layi Olaleye, (though a Christian, he was the first Headmaster of the School), oral interview, Gusau, 25<sup>th</sup> March, 1999, 60 yrs old. The School became operational in 1969.

<sup>34</sup> Alhaji Abdullahi Shehu Gusau (first indigenous headmaster of the School), oral interview, Educationist, 15<sup>th</sup> May, 1999, 58 yrs old.

<sup>35</sup> The two other contestants were Alhaji Bala Waiman Gusau and a Bendelite.

<sup>36</sup> They are B. O. Olusoga, Bayo Lawanson and Alhaji B. O. Olaonipekun. For more information see Gusau Town Council/WJHCB/NAC/27.

<sup>37</sup> They are Alhaji Semiu Shobanke, former Sarkin Yarbawa, Gusau and Alhaji B. O. Olaonipekun.

<sup>38</sup> These are Schools they established-both Islamic and Western type.

<sup>39</sup> Aminu Kelani, oral Interview, civil servant, Gusau, 3<sup>rd</sup> April, 1999, 4 yrs old.

<sup>40</sup> Adamu op.cit

<sup>41</sup> Sabongero, op. cit.

<sup>42</sup> Alhaji Ismaila Galadima (Sarkin Rafi Galadiman Gusau), oral interview, Gusau, 9<sup>th</sup> April, 1999, 59 yrs. Old.

<sup>43</sup> Sabongero, op.cit. Also Sanusi Bamidele Bello, football coach, oral interview, Gusau, 26<sup>th</sup> March, 1999, 52 yrs old.