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Professor of African and Nigerian History
B.A. (BUK 1980), M.A. (California 1984), PhD (BUK 1989)

THE IGBO FACTOR IN THE HISTORY OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS AND COMMERCE IN KANO:
OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES REVISITED



50TH INAUGURAL LECTURE

**THE IGBO FACTOR IN THE HISTORY OF INTERGROUP
RELATIONS AND COMMERCE IN KANO: OPPORTUNITIES
AND CHALLENGES REVISITED**

By

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5th September, 2024

The Fiftieth Inaugural Lecture

**THE IGBO FACTOR IN THE HISTORY OF INTERGROUP
RELATIONS AND COMMERCE IN KANO: OPPORTUNITIES
AND CHALLENGES REVISITED**

Delivered under the Chairmanship of

Professor Bashir Garba, *MFR*

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THE IGBO FACTOR IN THE HISTORY OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS AND COMMERCE IN KANO:
OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES REVISITED

Protocols:

The Vice Chancellor,
The Deputy Vice-Chancellors,
Principal Officers of the University,
The Provost CHS
Dean, Faculty of Arts,
Other Deans of Faculties,
Distinguished Professors and Scholars,
Directors and Heads of Departments,
My Head of Department
My Friends in academic circles,
Staff of the Department of History and International Studies,
My Students, past and present from the Department of History,
My family members,
Great Students of Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto,
Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me start by thanking Allah SWT for making it possible for me to deliver the 50th inaugural lecture of this University. It has been for long that I have been thinking of making the presentation but it has not been possible for reason that I can't explain. I think that is how Allah wants it. But I consider it necessary to deliver the lecture before my retirement (which is forthcoming if I remain alive). It is my hope that this lecture will serve as a platform for me to share some of my thoughts on the topic of the lecture and my experiences in this University for over 40 years.

This is the 2nd Inaugural lecture from the department of History and International Studies; the first was delivered by Late Professor Mahadi Adamu, the 2nd VC of the University. May Allah SWT forgive him and other staff members of the department that answer the call of Allah. Ameen

The Vice-Chancellor Sir, permit me to start this lecture from a historical perspective on how I ended up spending all my youthful years in this University. I graduated in 1980 from Bayero University Kano. Initially after the mandatory one-year NYSC in Ondo State I took appointment with Kano State Government as an Admin Officer attached to the then Governor, Alhaji Muhammadu Abubakar Rimi. However, my Senior Brother Professor Bello Bako (who is popularly known as B.B. Dambatta) a one-time VC of BUK insisted that I should join the University system. He suggested this perhaps due to his close association with Professor Shehu Galadanchi the first VC of this University. I complied with the suggestion and I was lucky to join the services of the University as a Graduate Assistant in the department of History in August 1981. Other personalities who joined the services of the University along with me as GAs at the time were Prof Nuhu Yakubu, Professor Ahmed Amfani, Dr Auwal Nasir, and Late Sule Ahmed Gusau among several others. Mr. Vice-Chancellor Sir, since I joined the department of history in 1981 I have not had the opportunity to leave the system to any other place. This means I have so far been in the department for 43 years. I am privileged during these years to serve as Head of Department 4 times in addition to several other departmental and University responsibilities as indicated in my CV attached with this lecture. During these years also I was lucky to teach wide range of courses at UG and PG levels. I have supervised over 100 B.A. Projects in addition to supervising to successful completion 22 PhDs and 45 M.A. Dissertations. On the whole Mr. Chairman, I must acknowledge that being in this University is a blessing for me. I have been trained to my present level and I have been able during these years to equally train several individuals who either occupied or are still occupying high positions in the country. Some of such students I taught at Undergraduate levels include: Professor Mahmud Yakubu, the current Chairman of INEC, Late

Abba Sayyadi Ruma a onetime Honorable Minister of Education and Ahmed Ibeto, a onetime Deputy Governor of Niger State, among several others.

The topic of my Lecture which is titled **The Igbo Factor in the History of Intergroup Relations and Commerce in Kano: Opportunities and Challenges** deals with issues that a lot of people are familiar with especially in recent years when a lot of stories are being told or rumours being peddled on Igbo Community in different parts of the country. Some of such stories are expressed in extreme prejudice and emotions by not only non-academic and non-historians but even by some members of the academic community to justify certain situations. The Vice-Chancellor Sir, this Lecture is a modest attempt aimed at putting in proper perspectives how the history of Igbo community has been in Kano. I am not going to be concern with current contestations on the question of power shift as well as agitations for separation by Igbo political platforms such as the IPOB, the Ohanaeze Ndigbo worldwide and other Igbo separatist groups. The paper is purely historical not political. It is base on Archival and field research with the intent of bringing to light the root cause of Igbo dominance of commercial activities.

My interest in undertaking a number of researches in this area was partly due to the result of my little experience when I started secondary school education in 1971 in Kano Educational Development Center (KEDC) located in the area of Sabon Gari where Igbo migrants are mostly residing in Kano. The school was located in the premises of Igbo Union Grammar School that was disbanded by the federal government as the result of January 1966 coup that banned all political associations in the country. The school was financed by Ford's Foundation of the USA base on its bilateral agreement with Kano state government in its effort

to prepare young indigenes to address the underlying drivers of inequality.

If my childhood experience is anything to go by, I can say with confidence that my secondary school days enabled me to see Igbo physically for the first time. But before this time I have heard a lot of frightening stories about Igbo as wicked people who killed Sardauna. However, in my youthful enthusiasm during the secondary school days I befriended some Igbo classmates without knowing that I will be a student of history to write about Igbo community in Kano.

It was this youthful experience especially my familiarity with the area where my secondary school is located that influenced my decision to conduct my PhD Research on intergroup relations in Sabon Gari Kano. I was able in the course of my several visits to Sabon Gari for field work to know quite a number of Igbo and even to befriend some. My closest Igbo friend during the time was Lawrence Agu Ezetah who came to Kano in 1948 from Orlu Local Government Area of Imo State after he was discharged from the colonial Army. At the time when he settled in Kano he only possessed elementary school education. While in Kano working with the ministry of Health he privately took and passed London GCE Ordinary and Advanced levels. In 1961 he gained admission into the University of Nigeria, Nsukka and graduated with Bachelors degree in Law (LLB). The Civil war could not allow him to attend Law school until in the period between 1971-1972. Until the time he answered the call of Allah Lawrence was the President General of Igbo Community Association Kano State. He owned a Private Chamber in No 5 Sarkin Yaki Road Sabon Gari.

It was my close association with Ezetah that encouraged me to venture in later years into the study of the activities of Igbo in

Kano. My concern initially as a student of inter-group relations was to find out why are Igbo the main actors in most of the conflicts that are taking place between migrant groups and the *Kanawa*. One other issue of motivation to venture into this area of study is for the fact that Igbo activities in Kano and Northern Nigeria at large contain elements that require historical research and explanation. This means any historical study of Kano since the beginning of Colonial Era will be incomplete without giving due consideration on how the Igbo Diaspora impacted positively or otherwise on the economy and society.

I must also admit that I was pushed into extensive study of Igbo community for the fact that among the various migrant groups in Kano, the Igbo have been the most predominant. They are found in all parts of the State as successful entrepreneurs buying and selling as well as engaging in small and even large-scale industrial activities. They are also proprietors of different forms of economic ventures especially inter-state transportation business. Many of them, even though speak Hausa very well, did not adapt to the predominant Kano value system.

The Igbo Factor in the History of Intergroup Relations and Commerce in Kano: Opportunities and Challenge Revisited

Introduction

The Vice-Chancellor Sir, though I have at different times in some of my publications raised quite a number of issues that concern Igbo, this lecture offers me the opportunity of bringing some of them together in one place. I will therefore try to avoid ambiguities in my language and make my approach concise.

As a student of history it is pertinent for me to start by asking some fundamental questions regarding how and why did the Igbo come to Kano in the first place? To what extent are some of the stories and allegations against Igbo correct? Why is Kano still attracting the Igbo in spite of their call to actualize the so-called the Republic of Biafra? Why have they been successful in quite a number of enterprises? What happened to the Igbo Community in Kano during the Civil War? Did the Civil War that forced the Igbo to leave Kano a blessing to the *Kanawa*? What factors favored the Igbo in post-civil war years to build what some scholars termed Igbo commercial empire in Kano? Will the Igbo ever leave Kano?

As the issues of Igbo activities in Kano are so many and extensive, I limited the focus of this lecture to the 20th century. Issues in the 21st century will be a subject of another lecture.

The first segment of the paper examines the motives and nature of Igbo settlement in Kano and this is followed by discussion on the various Igbo commercial activities and the factors that influenced their diversification. The study in the final analysis reveals that the Igbo entrepreneurs represent more than a

century of cooperation and economic interdependence with the people of the State; and that the Igbo have been actors and factors in the making of the modern economic history of Kano State.

The Igbo settlement in Kano

Historically, the earliest Igbo arrived Kano in 1911. This is about 113 year ago. Those earliest Igbo were those who worked with the segment of the West African Frontier Force [WAFF] stationed in some parts of northern Nigeria after the colonial conquest. There were also amongst the earliest migrants, some Igbo that participated in the construction of the Lagos –Kano railway lines that was completed in 1911.

It is however, worth noting that commercial transactions base on cattle, horses and ivory were the initial factors that encouraged interaction between the *Kanawa* and the northern Igbo. Cattle and horses were highly prized in Igbo land because of their importance in such rituals as burial rites and investiture ceremonies. On the other hand the *Kanawa* traversed the Igbo land to hunt for elephants and engage in Ivory trade. (1) In spite of the commercial linkages, however, Igbo settlement in Kano did not start until in the 20th century. In actual fact, the Igbo migration to not only Kano but northern Nigeria at large was slow before the 1930s due to problem of communication between east and northern part of the country. The 1929 Kano township population census which the colonial government conducted mentioned no single Igbo. Even in Lagos during this time there were only 1609 Igbo and most of them were men. There were in 1950 31,887 Igbo

1 . Indebted to Nwaugo, F.N. (2006), Igbo Spare Parts Entrepreneurs in Metropolitan Kano: A Model for Inter-group cooperation in a plural society,1970-2001 p.1

in Lagos. They formed 44.9% of the non-Yoruba inhabitants of Lagos. (2)

There was thus no large scale Igbo migration to Kano in the early years of the colonial rule. The Igbo population started becoming significant only after 1932 when the rail line and subsequent construction of the Makurdi Bridge was completed. This bridge linked Port Harcourt line with Kano; and with the development of north–south road networks Igbo movement to Kano became facilitated and since then Kano became the focal point of Igbo activities in northern Nigeria.

What accelerated the massive Igbo migration to Kano and other northern cities was the population density and shortage of land which was and are still the main features of Igbo land, especially Owerri and Onitsha, the Igbo heartland. In 1952, the rural Igbo Districts had an average population density of 346 persons to a square mile as against 151 for the Yoruba land, 100 for the mid-west region and 60 for the northern region. In some parts of Igbo Districts, population density was as high as 800 persons per square mile. The lowest density in Igbo land was 143 persons to a square mile in 1953 while in the north it was as low as 25 persons. In actual fact the Igboland has the highest population densities anywhere in Nigeria and this explains why people were compelled to move out from overcrowded and resource declining environment to areas of economic opportunities. (3) With so

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- 2 . H. O. Chubuzor, *The Role of Diaspora Communities...*pg also C. K.Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria: An Ethnographical Account of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria together with a Report on the 1921 Decennial Census*, Frank Cass and Co Vol. II P184
 - 3 .For more details on what pushed the Igbo to Idomaland refer to John Ebute Agaba, 'The Nigerian Civil War and the Changing Migration Patterns of the Igbo in Idomaland, 1967-2006, In Adejo, A.M., *The Nigerian Civil War Forty Years After: What Lesson*, Aboki Publishers, 2008 p180

many persons on the land, food deficit became inevitable as agriculture could not support the local population as the land is thickly forested and forest clearing was very difficult. This means the Igbo were forced to come to Kano and other parts of northern Nigeria especially Kaduna, Makurdi and Jos among others because of unfavorable environmental conditions.

The soil in several parts of Igbo land can hardly support anything more than subsistence agriculture. This was what forced many young Igbo to quest for alternative sources and means of livelihood outside their homeland. They immigrated to all regions of Nigeria but especially the north. Kano and Kaduna were the most attractive areas throughout the colonial era because of job opportunities, which were not available in Igbo land. More jobs existed in the north because in the programmes of colonial developments Igbo land had either been neglected or accorded bottom priority. (4)

The problem of Igbo land became compounded because prior to the discovery of oil in the eastern region in the late 1950s, the only economic resource of the Igbo was palm produce, which the colonial administration did very little or even nothing to expand in a way that would benefit the people. (5) This underlies the reason for the forceful migration of many young Igbo to areas outside the Igbo land. Kano was an ideal choice because of job opportunities in the imperialist commercial companies that increased from 18 in 1913 and 32 in 1929 as shown in Tables One and Two. These commercial firms until the extension of the railroad to Kano were operating only in Lagos. However, from

4 . Chukwuemeka, Onwubu, 'Ethnic Identity, Political Integration, and National Development: The Igbo Diaspora in Nigeria', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 13,3 1975, p405

5 . Chukwuemeka, Onwubu, 'Ethnic Identity...p405

1911 when the line reached Kano and open to traffic in 1912 several large European and non-European companies moved to Kano with rapidity.

Table One: Commercial Firms Operating in Kano by the end of 1913

S/N	Name
1	The Lagos Stores
2	Ambrosini and Co
3	The Lebanese Ferris George and his Brothers
4	Tin Areas of Nigeria
5	The Niger Company
6	JohnWalker of Manchester
7	G.B. Olivant
8	London and Kano Trading Company
9	The Nigerian Foodstuff Syndicate
10	J.H. Doherty
11	The Niger Trading Syndicate
12	St Thomas and Co
13	Peterson-Zochinis of Manchester
14	Campagne Française Afrique
15	G.L. Gaiser of Hamburg
16	John Holt of Liverpool
17	W.B. Macleiver of Glasgow
18	John D. Fairley Ltd of Manchester

Source: J.S. Hogendorn, The Origins of Groundnuts Trade in Northern Nigeria, PhD thesis, University of London, 1965, PP132-133

Table Two: Trading Firms Mission in Kano by the end of the Year 1929(31/12/1929)

S/N	Name
1	The UAC
2	The Bank of British West Africa
3	The Barclays Bank (DCAO)
4	The Standard Company of Nigeria
5	John Holt of Liverpool
6	G.B. Olivant

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OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES REVISITED

7	L. Ambrosini LTD
8	Peterson-Zochinis of Manchester
9	London and Kano Trading Company
10	Jurgens Colonial Product LTD
11	A.J. Tangelakis and Co
12	H.B.W. Russell and Co Ltd
13	Compagne F.A. Occidentale Africans
14	H.T. Pearson and Co.
15	G.Gottschach and Co Ltd
16	Societe Commerciale Italo Nigeriano
17	ArrigoLevi
18	Michael Elias
19	Joseph George
20	Saul Raccah
21	Ferris and M.George and Micael Halabi
22	Manaise Bros and Nahun
23	Salab Brothers
24	Ali Ben Alua
25	Jazzar Brothers
26	Mohammed Grama
27	Societe Commerciale Occidentale Africans
28	Alis Sherif E-din
29	Joseph Assaf
30	Mohammed Mustapha
31	Larif El Mesellah
32	Mohammed bn Haw

Source: Ahmed Bako, A History of Sabon Gari Kano, 1913-1989, PhD History, BUK 1989

Apart from colonial trading firms Igbo were also attracted to Kano because of opportunities in Kano Native Authority where clerical, technical and semi professional staff are required to man the various departments set up to facilitate the colonial administration. Some of such departments include: the Fagge dispensary that became operational in 1921, a prison in Goron Dutse in 1924, a police barrack in 1929, a public works

department in 1929 and the Kano city hospital in 1930.(6) All these and several other departments required the services of western literate personnel. Lord Lugard in this connection observed that:

The demand, both for clerks and for men with technical qualification, is increasing with starting rapidly, owing to railway extension, the expansion of all government departments, and the rapid increase of all mercantile operations. (7)

But it is also worth noting that Kano attracted Igbo because during colonial era it was the most populous and most commercially advanced city as well as the wealthiest Native Authority in the Region. As a result of its economic viability and the nature of the commercial activities that had developed since pre-colonial era the Igbo found Kano suitable.

Another great attraction of Igbo to Kano was/is the openness of the society where migrants were never regarded as unwelcome intruders. Since the earliest time migrants to Kano were and are still allowed to settle and even own plots of land as long as they show allegiance to the local political authorities. In the opinion of Muhammad Sanusi II (one of the two emirs of Kano) Kano has always been accommodating and cosmopolitan with best Islamic values of tolerance and hospitality for guests and travelers. (8) Indeed, Kano has been a racial, ethnic, tribal and regional melting

6 . Fika, A.M. *The Kano Civil War and British Over rule 1882 - 1940*, (Oxford: University Press) 1978

7 . Lord Lugard, *Political Memoranda: Revision of Instructions to Political Officers on Subjects Chiefly Political and Administrative, 1913-1918, 3rd Edition* (London: Francass, 1970) *Political Memoranda* p128

8. Sanusi L. S. 'Kano Political Economy: Reflections on a crisis and its resolutions' In *Perspectives on the Study of Contemporary Kano*, ABU Press

pot as far as the spirit of tolerance and urban pluralism are concern. Numerous scholars who studied Kano such as Shea (9), Mansur Mukhtar (10), Augie (11), Shenton (12) and many others described Kano as a city that became exposed to diverse influences and where foreign merchants, scholars settled and became integrated into the main stream society. I am in agreement with Muazzam that: "At almost every stage in the development of Kano, the rulers and people had no option but to develop a cosmopolitan view of state building where the flow of commodities, ideas, and people transcended continental, regional, ethnic and political boundaries."(13)

What this means is that the Igbo found the atmosphere in Kano favourable to enable them partake in various forms of economic activities. The bulk of Igbo migrants were initially employees in the colonial bureaucracy where they occupied all the junior positions. At that time there were two hierarchies in the colonial administration, viz: the senior service reserved for expatriate and the junior service opened to Nigerians. The Igbo during the early years of their settlement in Kano therefore, worked either in colonial firms, banks, the railway department as well as Kano N.A. technical and clerical departments as clerks, accountants, book-

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- 9 . P.J. Shea, Reconsidering the Term Kasuwar Kurmi: The Name for Kano City's Central Market", Post Graduate Seminar in History, BUK 1986
 - 10 . Mansur Mukhtar, The Significance of Colonial Land and Labour Policies in the Re-orientation of the economy of Kano in the first half of the 20th century, A paper presented at the 2nd International Conference on the History of Kano, 1985
 - 11 . .A.R. Augie, A Tentative consideration of the Relations between Kano and Western Hausa land before the 19th century, A paper presented at the 2nd International Conference on the History of Kano, 1985
 - 12 . R. Shenton, The London and Kano Papers: An Introduction, A paper presented at the 2nd International Conference on the History of Kano, 1985
 - 13 . Ibrahim .Muazzam, "Preliminary Notes on the Kanawa Identity: Beyond Indignity", In *Citizenship and Indignity Conflicts in Nigeria*, p138

keepers, typists and secretaries. In addition, they were quite substantial in the teaching profession.

The Vice-Chancellor Sir, the question that needs to be answered is why must Igbo be employed in these services? The level of their western education, which was higher than that of the average northerner, gave them the advantage of being massively recruited. The Igbo embarrassed western education with great enthusiasm and determination. They were also one of earliest Nigerian tribe to welcome Christian missionaries that set up schools in different parts of Igbo land. Since early colonial era also Village improvement unions supported children of the poor by providing scholarships to attend schools. Several Igbo also attended secondary schools in the western region. From the 1930s, the Igbo were represented in the Yaba Higher College and quite a number of Nigerian secondary schools than any other group in the country. Indeed, the saying that 'knowledge is power' captured the imagination of the Igbo. They reasoned that the British dominated Nigeria not because of their numerical strength but due to their superior knowledge. The quest to western education therefore, became a matter of life and death for the Igbo. (14) Initially in the country, due to historical reasons, the Yoruba had upper hand in the education of their children. This explains why idea of universal education was first started in the western Region. But the Igbo from the 1940s equally started investing in the education of the children and gradually they leveled up with the Yoruba. It is this situation that made Igbo to have the largest number of students overseas during the colonial era than any other ethnic group. The Igbo in actual fact from the 1950s started sending their sons and daughters to Europe and America for higher education; all with the hope of eventual

14. A, Mahdi (1996), 'Colonial /Neo-colonial Education, National Underdevelopment and Social Justice in Nigeria', UDUS Convocation Lecture

domination of the country; not necessarily for developing it for the benefit of the nation. A typical example of an Igbo trained overseas during the colonial era was Chukwemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, the first Nigerian graduate to join the Nigerian Army. He was the son of Louis Odumegwu Ojukwu, a wealthy and successful businessman who pioneered one of the earliest transportation businesses in the country. Chukwemeka Odumegwu was educated at King's College Lagos, Nigeria and Epsom College Surrey, England and thereafter Oxford University where he graduated in 1955 with a Masters Degree in History. He returned to Nigeria and joined the Nigerian Army and became the first senior military officer with University Degree. Eminent Igbo like Drs Nnamdi Azikwe, Kingsley Mbadiwe, Nwafor Orizu, Mazi Ojike etc were great pioneers that sought and secured many foreign scholarships for Igbo students.

It is worth noting at this level that before the settlement of Igbo in Kano the colonial government attempted to solve the problem of western educated clerks by bringing clerks from India for distribution among various departments in the most senior grades. (15) However, the experiment to bring literate personnel from India proved impracticable and unsuccessful. It was at this level that the attention of the colonial government turned to Ghana and Sierra Leone, the earliest parts of West Africa to receive western education. As early as the first quarter of the 19th century Sierra Leoneans and Ghanaians were employed by various European powers in the coastal areas of west Africa as middlemen and Guardsmen. (16) By the beginning of the 20th century also sizeable number of both Ghanaians and Sierra

15 .Ahmed Bako, *From Colonial Bureaucrats to Alien Community: Preliminary Remarks on Sierraleonian and Ghanaian Population in Kano During the Colonial Era*, unpublished manuscript

16 .Geiss, I. *The Pan-African Movement*, Methon and Co. London, 1974 p15

Leoneans were serving as Teachers, administrators, Lawyers, clerks and accountants in several parts of west Africa. (17) This experiment did not also solve the problem.

Settlement and Consolidation of Community.

Soon after the Igbo started arriving to Kano, they became the most populous and prominent traders as well as dominant colonial clerks and secretaries. The first area of their settlement in Kano was Sabon Gari, a residential area carved out by the colonial government for immigrant communities. The Igbo had to reside only in this area during the time because of the colonial residential segregation policy that established different enclaves for migrants. Sabon Gari was created for all categories of African immigrants: Yoruba, Igbo, Ghanaians, Chadians, and Nupe amongst several others. The Syrian quarters for the Lebanese and Syrians while the European quarters was exclusively for British colonial officials. (18)

Such type of segregated Residential zoning system was adopted in all the major cities of Hausa land for the purpose of controlling immigrant groups. When Sabon Gari was established, the colonial government introduced a system of 'permit to reside' in order to control the type of who were to reside or not to reside. Lord Lugard in Political Memoranda and in the first page of Northern Nigerian Annual Report in 1900 emphasized the

17 . Mazrui A.A. and Tidy, M, *Nationalism and New States in Africa from about 1935 to the present*, Heinemann, Nairobi, Ibadan, London, 1984 p56; It needs to be noted that even though the Ghanaians and Sierra Leoneans were officially brought to Kano by the colonial government, they were treated in the same manner as all other non-European migrants. They were expected to reside in Sabon Gari for their being what the colonial government termed native-foreigners.

18 . Lord Lugard, *Political Memoranda: Revision of Instructions to Political Officers on Subjects Chiefly Political and Administrative, 1913-1918, 3rd Edition* (London: Francass, 1970 p37

question of the health of the British officials in the following words:

That where ever Europeans reside care will be taken to give effect to the government policy of segregation...No natives except the bonafide domestic servant of European may reside in the European reservation, and no European may reside in the non-European reservation. (19)

It is stating the obvious from the above fact that creating segregated residential areas by the British undermined the open-door policy of accommodating immigrants within the main stream Kano society. Establishing segregated residential areas for different immigrants restricted relationships with the host community. Human relations became confined to the work situation, where the British officials or their agents were in charge. Consequently, throughout the 20th century most immigrant groups in Kano remained self-centered and inward looking as only a few socialized with host community. Communal integration and inter-ethnic assimilation in Kano urban complex as it happened in pre-colonial period became a mirage. Consequently, unhealthy competition started and continues to date. The local population became antagonized and they started perceiving the immigrants as people refusing to integrate. Perhaps had there been no colonial intervention integrating immigrants including Igbo into the mainstream Kano society

19 .Lord Lugard, Lord Lugard, *Political Memoranda: Revision of Instructions to Political Officers on Subjects Chiefly Political and Administrative, 1913-1918, 3rd Edition* (London: Francass, 1970)36 and p416; also A.Bako and M.T. Usman, Immigrant Factor in Colonial Urban Planning: The Experience of Kano, Northern Nigeria, Paper presented at the 10th National Conference of Population Association of Nigeria(PAN) at University of Lagos, 15th-17th October, 2001 also B.A.W. Travallion, *Metropolitan Kano: Twenty year Development Plan, 1963-1983*, Kano Planning Authority, 1984, p27

would have survived and would have been a solution to the contemporary challenges of conflicts between different tribal and ethnic groups who see themselves as different due to the near absence of communal integration and assimilation policies. There is no doubt in the fact that the idea of putting immigrants directly under the colonial government, instead of traditional political authorities became a problem to National integration. (20)

What needs to be noted at this level is the fact that there were already quite a number of other immigrant groups when the Igbo started settling in Sabon Gari. The 1937 Kano township population statistics as shown in Table three estimated 1529 Igbo as against 1547 Yoruba. In 1943 there were 3508 Igbo as compared to 2148 Yoruba.

In 1954 the Igbo constituted more than 50% of the entire southern Nigerian immigrants groups with a total of 12,770 persons as against 5174 Yoruba, 935 Urhobo and Itsekiri, 906 Efik and Ibibio and 446 Benin, Isan and Edo.(21)

20 .B.A.W. Travillion, *Metropolitan Kano: Twenty year Development Plan, 1963-1983*, Kano Planning Authority, 1984, p4; Several scholars have commented on why the British created Sabon Gari. Among them was G.O.Olusanya, Alan Frishman, *The Spatial Growth and Residential Location Pattern of Kano, Nigeria*, PhD Northwestern University, Chicago, Illinois, 1977, Paul Lubeck, PM. Lubeck, *Islam and Urban Labor in Northern Nigeria: The Making of a Muslim Working Class*, CUP 1986 P132 also P.M. Lubeck, *Early Industrialization and Social Class formation among factory workers in Kano, Nigeria*, PhD University of Evanston 1975 and A.D.Edley, A.D. Edley, *The Sabon Gari System in Northern Nigeria, 1911-1940*, PhD University of California, Los Angeles, 1976

21 .J.N. Paden, *Religion and Political Culture in Kano*, Berkeley, 1973 p315

Table three: The Structure of Sabon Gari population as it appeared in the 1937 population statistics of Kano Township

Tribe	Male	Female	Boys	Girls	Total
Hausa	725	678	263	237	1903
Yoruba	644	466	224	213	1547
Igbo	619	467	240	201	1529
Nupe	396	467	92	62	825
Gold Coast	181	86	25	19	311
S/Leone	141	79	18	14	251
Arab	207	192	11	37	477
Cameroon	37	56	10	21	124
Dahomey	92	92	20	16	176
Fenandapo	31	37	8	12	94
Total	3079	2628	911	832	7237

NAK Kanoprof, 6115, Sabon Gari Administration, 1937

The Igbo community during the second World War.

The Second World War was a land mark to Igbo migrants in Kano in several ways. First, it was the period when Igbo exploited the challenges of the situation to establish new forms of businesses. One of such business was modern transportation industry, which benefited them greatly. A number of Igbo owned vehicles were used in transporting troops and supplies between Nigeria and Chad during the war; and as a consequence some of the earliest Igbo transporters in Kano such as D.A.Jidefo, F.E.Oknonkwo, M.N.Moneke and C.N.Umedu emerged and expanded their businesses. They made enormous profit and accumulated capital, which they later utilized to establish other businesses. When the Kano Transporters' union was formed in 1962, a prominent Igbo, Mr. F.E. Okonkwo, became as the first president. Table four show the names of famous Igbo transporters in Kano and their annual income in 1942.

Due to such new opportunities there was mass settlement of Igbo to Kano and consequently the Igbo have now outnumbered the Yoruba as the dominant immigrant group. In the mid 1950s the Igbo constituted 59% of the total southern Nigeria immigrant groups in Kano while the Yoruba formed only 24%.

TABLE Four: IGBO TRANSPORTERS IN KANO 1942.

S/NO	NAME	ANNUAL INCOME
1	D.A.Jidefo [owns 4 lorries & controls many more. Had 4 plots in Sabon Gari, buys groundnut for SCOA and UAC]. [Igbo]	£838
2	F.E.Okonkwo [President of Igbo Union, owns 3 plots & groundnut agent for UAC].	£112
3	C.Okolo	£300
4	L.O. Oguncha	£44
5	S.F. Chikulla [£152
6	H.E. Aroh	£468

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7	C.N. Umdedi	£75
8	S.O. Ironsi	£183
9	F.D. Emeagwali	£91
10	F.D. Okafor	£383
11	U. Uchendu	£64
12	H.O. Obi	£58
13	F. Oramasi	£83
14	G.Okeke	£43
15	H.E. Adinusa	£128
16	J.N. Nadozie	£100
17	I.E. Eze	£40
18	Ben Oragwo	£250
19	M.N. Moneke	£270

Source: RDC BUK LGA G.14, *Income Tax General 1942* P.270, also HCB R. 517, *Kano Township Layout 1937-77*, also Ahmed Bako and .A.F. Usman, *Yoruba Migrants in Kano during the 20th Century: A History of Economic Cooperation*, *DEGEL: Journal of FAIS*, Vol VI, 2003, PP22-23

Another important venture that large number of Igbo joined during the Second World War was contract business. The colonial government during the war years provided contracts for the supply goods and services to British and America troops stationed in Kano. One of the most famous Igbo contractors of the time was Mr. Humphrey E. Adinuso, who had under his employment over 600 laborers and sub-contractors in 1942. In 1943 Adinuso was believed to have made a profit of over £8,000 from the £25,000 military contract he was awarded by the Kano Native Authority.

Other Igbo who became contractors apart from Adinuso includes: M.O Uzuegbo whose annual income in 1942 was £698 and J.B. Moses who annual income was £781.00. Table 2 provides the Names of Igbo contractors in Kano 1942.

TABLE FIVE: Igbo Contractors in Kano in 1942

S/NO	NAME	INCOME PER ANNUM
1	B.E Ebadon	£150
2	A.Okye	£244
3	A Onyimbo	£168
4	L.R. Allali	£286
5	J.B. Moses	£781
6	H.Francis	£296
7	S.A. Adams	£98
8	T.O. Chikwendu	£133
9	M.O. Uzuegbo	£698
10	J. Oraegbima	£240
11	Obi Okolo	£114
12	Joseph	£52
13	Benedict	£40

Source: RDC BUK LGA G.14, *Income Tax General 1942* P.270, also HCB R. 517, *Kano Township Layout 1937-77*

It is worth noting also that before the Nigerian Civil War the Igbo as shown in table Six were the most predominant non-indigenous Licensed Buying Agents (LBAS) who operated as intermediaries in the produce trade between local farmers and the imperialist trading firms. Some Igbo were also employees of indigenous merchant class such as Alhassan Dantata who has been the wealthiest man in Kano as the sole agent of UAC in produce trade. Alhassan Dantata employed many Igbos in such areas as drivers, clerks, and labourers. He was believed to have treated large number of Igbo as members of his family. When he died in 1955 has the wealthiest man in West Africa.(22)

22 . When British Bank of West Africa which is now First Bank opened a Branch in Kano in 1929, he became the first Kano Business man to utilize a bank Account when he deposited 20 camel loads of silver coins. A.U. Dan-Asabe, *Biography of*

Table 6: Non-Indigenous LBAs 1948-1955

S/N	NAME	TRIBE	FIRM
1	Mr. F.E. Okonkwo	Igbo	P.S.Mandridis and Levintis
2	J.N.O. Ugoji	Igbo	S.Racchah
3	A. Adigun	Yoruba	U.A.C.
4	Adede Limbo	Yoruba	U.A.C.
5	N.O.Chimbuzor	Igbo	U.A.C.
6	F.E. Dibiamaka	Igbo	U.A.C.
7	W.N.Ezeoke	Igbo	U.A.C.
8	A.F.Funsho	Yoruba	U.A.C.
9	M.N.Moneke	Igbo	U.A.C.
10	P.S.Mosindi	Igbo	U.A.C.
11	A.C.Ndigwe	Igbo	U.A.C.
12	D.N.Nsudokwa	Igbo	U.A.C.
13	A.O.Nzewi	Igbo	U.A.C.
14	M.N.Ndiogwe	Igbo	U.A.C.
15	P.O.Nzeli	Igbo	U.A.C.
16	Paul Noujain		U.A.C.
17	J.N.Obueke	Igbo	A.J. Karouni
18	D.A.Babalola	Yoruba	Levintis
19	C.C.Okeke	Igbo	U.A.C.
20	D.C.Okeke	Igbo	U.A.C.
21	F.Obasi	Igbo	U.A.C.
22	B.O.Okoroh	Igbo	U.A.C.
23	P.U.Odili	Igbo	U.A.C.
24	I. Okafor	Igbo	U.A.C.
25	J.B.O. Uzuegbunam	Igbo	U.A.C.

RDC BUK LGA 10, The Haraji Annual Assessment: Groundnuts Agents, 1948-1955 p849

The Role of Igbo State Union

One issue about the Igbo in Kano up to the time of the Nigerian Civil War is that they were strongly supported by the Igbo State

Union, which played the role of enhancing community solidarity and making the Igbo to operate as an exclusive community. The union was formed in 1938 by group of Igbo who wanted to establish a cultural organization to unite residents in Kano; and in December 1948, the Union changed its name (from Igbo Union) to the Igbo State Union in order to organize the Igbo into a political force. The Union soon became the umbrella organization for Igbo migrants in Kano. And unlike many other tribal unions, it became extremely militant and it used every pressure and sanctions at its command in pursuing recalcitrant who delayed joining. By the time of independence, the Union had over 10,000 members in Kano. Through the activities and influence of the Union the Igbo in Kano became sufficiently exclusive and maintained their cultural, educational and other institutions.

The Union also made provision for a variety of activities including well-run and staffed primary and secondary schools for the children of its members. This became necessary due to lack of public schools for the children of Igbo and other immigrant groups in Kano. The Igbo Union primary School was therefore founded in 1945 and in 1958 the Union budgeted £30,000 to build a grammar secondary school for Igbo children. The school started in January 1959 as a co-educational institution with 30 students. By January 1961 the school had 150 students of which 34 were girls. And because it was exclusively meant for the Igbo, the school had only 9 non-Igbo students by 1961.

Table Seven: Igbo Union Grammar School Staff List 1961

Name	Nationality/ Tribe	Qualification	Basic Salary	Inducement	Refreshment Allowance	Total	Car Rent Allowance
J.E Ashworth	Expatriate	B.A	£1476	£300	£102	£1878	£120
R.Kingsbury	Expatriate	B.A.	£854	£240	--	£1104	£24
Shigley Chacmers (Mrs0	Expatriate	B.A	£762	-	--	£762	£24
R.A.Glanuille	Expatriate	B.A	£924	£240	--	£1164	£60
K.I.John	Igbo	M.Sc	£726	£240	--	£966	£60
M.Isaac	Igbo	M.Sc	£726	£240	--	£1002	£60
R.Nmeje	Igbo	HSC	£258	--	--	£258	£57
E.C.Aduake	Igbo	HSC	£247	--	--	£247	£57
E. Mgbenu	Igbo	HSC Math	£247	--	--	£247	£57
Ann Ashworth	Expatriate	Eng Ass	£180	--	--	£180	--
P.Ross	Expatriate	Art	£240	--	--	£240	--

Non-Teaching Staff

(a) Account Clerk	£300 p.a.
(b) Laboratory Attd.	£96.00 p.a.
(c) One cleaner	£72.00 p.a.

Source: HCB Kanoprof, School 221, Ibo Union Grammar School Board of Governors: Dates of Meetings, Agenda and Minutes, 1961 p97

The Igbo State Union also performed other valuable functions for its members. At the end of the colonial rule, it became the strongest tribal union not only in Kano but Northern Nigeria as a whole. It maintained a network of membership throughout the country and it discharges a latent nationalist revolutionary political function. It should be noted at this juncture that the exclusiveness of the Igbo (which was strongly enhanced by the Union) place them in a highly precarious positions once the colonial government had withdrawn. This became one of the challenges Igbo community has been facing since then.

Igbo Businesses during the Nigerian Civil War.

To most Igbo in Kano, the Nigerian civil war was a devastating period economically as it forced them to abandon their enterprises. Before the war the Igbo took advantage of every opportunity as either traders in Sabon Gari market where they bought and constructed stalls or transporters, contractors as well as civil servants. They monopolized jobs in the railways, Banking, Telecommunication and other government services as well as teachers in schools. Indeed, they were so successful to the extent that they established other forms of revenue-generating enterprises within the Sabo Gari layout located in the northern part of the market. Such enterprises included hotels, restaurants, drinking spots and union halls which could be rented out as meeting spaces or for special gatherings.

It should also be noted that even at the national level at this time, the Igbo occupied 45% of the country's labour force in the public sector. In 1964, for example, they occupied 270 out of the 431 senior posts in the Railway corporation, and in the Nigeria Ports Authority they had 73 of the 104 senior posts(23). By the early independent period, the Igbo, as Mahdi has argued, 'were even heading the premier Universities in Yoruba land: Ibadan and Lagos, a development that nurtured unhealthy competition, which continued right to the outbreak of the Civil War. The terrible fight between Eni Njoku and Saburi Biobaku over the Vice-Chancellorship of University of Lagos and the support which they drew from their ethnic groups is a good example. (24)

However, the pogrom and subsequent civil war dashed the hopes of most Igbo as they lost their stalls to indigenous entrepreneurs who occupied them in the name of abandoned properties. Thus, by the time the Nigerian Civil war broke out on 6th July, 1967 Sabon Gari market was facing some serious problems due to the mass exodus of people to eastern and western parts of the country. Hotels, restaurants, drinking spots and houses were equally abandoned during the period. A survey of houses conducted when the civil war started showed that 45% of the houses occupied by the Igbo were damaged and 30.7% were not damaged but vacant.(25) The exodus of the Igbo also affected electricity supply to factories in Kano, as the Electricity corporation of Nigeria (ECN) was left half of its employees and

23 .It needs to be noted also that the number of Igbo appointed into the African Civil Service and as Clerks in business firms increased at a factor rate than that of any other group. Indebted to P. Anber (1967), 'Modernization and Political Disintegration: Nigeria and the Ibos', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 5,2, p172

24 . A, Mahdi(1996), 'Colonial /Neo-colonial Education, National Underdevelopment and Social Justice in Nigeria', UDUS Convocation Lecture ,p23

25 .A. Frishman, *The Spatial Growth and Residential Location Pattern of Kano, Nigeria*, PhD Northwestern University, Chicago, Illinois, 1977, p192

running at half capacity. All banks were also closed down and Kano Airport became crippled. Lorry transport also fell by about 70%.

The Civil War had undoubtedly posed many challenges to the Igbo community and their commercial enterprises in Kano. Only those few fortunate fleeing Igbo, who were warned in advance of the civil war, became able to either arrange for the safe removal of their valuable commercial and personal belongings to the south or arrange for its indefinite safe keeping in Kano. With this state of affairs, in which there is no certainty of life or properties quite a number of Igbo disposed off their properties at prices well below their actual market values.

The Vice-Chancellor Sir, even though how the Civil War affected Igbo community in Kano has been one of the most popular discourses in the history of Igbo Diaspora community, one unresolved issue which has not been given much attention is on how the war created opportunities and even became a blessing to indigenous merchant class in Kano. My view in this issue is that much as the war negatively affected the Igbo one also needs to pay attention to the corresponding opportunities it created to the indigenous merchant class. Obviously, it would be absurd in this lecture to try to give a complete story of all what happened, but I can try at least to pick out and comment upon some few opportunities which seem to be particularly important. First of all, it is noteworthy that during the war Hausa merchants took over the various economic enterprises and administrative positions abandoned by the Igbo. Indigenous merchant class occupied the market stalls abandoned by the Igbo traders in Sabon Gari market in the name of abandoned properties which still remained a subject of controversy that has not been fully resolved not only in Kano but in other places like Lagos and Port Harcourt. Many

enterprising indigenous entrepreneurs also became transporters due to the transport crises, which the Igbo exodus created. Some of the prominent indigenous transporters that emerged include Alhaji Sani Marshall, Alhaji Jaafaru Danmalam, Alhaji Haruna Kassim and Alhaji Nababa Badamasi. Others were Alhaji Sanusi Dantata, Alhaji Mahmoud Gashash, Alhaji Baba Nabegu and Alhaji Baba Dan Bappa. These transporters were also engaged in other ventures such as retail/wholesale trading activities or even manufacturing enterprises either as sole proprietors or partners.(26)

As Kano State Government during the civil war period directed its attention solely on the war fronts, quite a number of services were handed over to private contractors thus creating more opportunities for indigenous entrepreneurs. Similarly, as more soldiers were recruited and Kano military barrack was expanded furniture items were needed and this also created opportunities for indigenous merchant class who were given contracts to supply all these military needs as well as food, shoes and vests. (27)

What become clear from the foregoing is the fact that the Igbo exodus from Kano during the Civil War was a blessing to indigenous entrepreneurs. The situation as argued by Bashir had created opportunities from which indigenous entrepreneurs generated resources that were used to diversify into other Businesses. (28)

In a research conducted by Allen Frishman in Kano in 1969 when the civil was still raging, he found that most of the newly

26 . I.L.Bashir 1983... pp279-271; also Ahmed Bako, Nigerian Civil War As Experienced...

27 . I.L. Bashir ibid. p271

28 .I.L. .Bashir ibid

established ventures were exclusively owned by indigenous entrepreneurs who eventually moved into manufacturing to produce basic consumer goods such as Bread, plastics, shoes, metal doors, wood products, candles, concreted cement blocks, foams and others.(29)

Distinguished audience, the situation created by the civil war makes it very difficult for quite a number of Igbo returnees to reclaim their market stalls because of the conditions for reclaiming. The situation was not only that indigenous merchants who occupied the stalls were not ready to vacate but some of the market stalls were also officially allocated to indigenous traders based on the assumption that the Igbo were not likely returning to Kano in spite of the circular by Waje District office that 'all Nigerian citizens who vacated their stalls at the market should return.'(30) The reallocation of the stalls was in order to halt continuous lost of revenue. A lot of the Igbo returnees therefore could neither regain their market stalls nor their possessions. The only alternative logistic for survival for such returnees was to start operating fresh businesses at new sites within the market or even in other parts of Kano metropolis. In actual fact there was during the time no space to be allocated because of the damages during the civil war and congestion in certain places. It was only in post 1985 period during the administration of Air Commodore Hamza Abdullahi that the market was reconstructed and redesigned. For many years after the civil war, therefore, Igbo returnees became preoccupied searching for other economic activities. Some of them had to start a new business life, others found it difficult to undertake any form of business and yet, some others were permanently driven back home due to the stress of economic

29 . A.Frushman, *The Spatial Growth and Residential Location Pattern of Kano, Nigeria*, PhD Northwestern University, Chicago, Illinois, 1977

30 .NAK Kanoprof MKT/57 P145

hardship. Such a situation as argued in quite a number of oral testimonies forced Igbo to change their direction from active political participation to commerce. Having realized that they lost political power because of the civil war they decided to embark on the capture of economic power through commercial activities and innovation. Commercial centers of Igbo land such as Nnewi, Aba and Onitsha during this time became centers for the experimentation of industrial skills fabricating spare parts among other things. (31)

It is worth noting at this juncture for the purpose of clarity in this lecture that before the period of the civil war most indigenous merchants in Kano did not have market stalls in Sabon Gari Market. This is due to British colonial arrangement of markets that was based on segregation. Sabon Gari market was created to serve non-indigenes (especially people from southern Nigeria) who immigrated to Kano during the colonial era. The market was thus designed to be an outlet for supplies from southern and some parts of northern Nigeria which were intended to meet the special needs of immigrants who settled in Sabon Gari and retained their culture, custom and even eating habits. Indigenous traders were therefore, not allocated market stalls in the market. The Market as shown in Table 8 was dominated mostly by Igbo with some few prominent Yoruba merchants that included Mr. D.O. Sanyaolu, Alhaji Salihu Olowo, Alhaji Sani Giwa who came to Kano in 1920s to engage in business activities, Perhaps, the only person that one can call prominent indigenous merchant in Sabon Gari market before the civil war was Alhaji Abacha Maiduguri, the father of the late head of state General Sani Abacha who was one of the earliest traders who had taken up a plot in the market. As a prominent trader Abacha Maiduguri

31 .Uji Wilfred p230

became the first trader to build a stall in the market in a site that is still popularly known as *layin Abacha*.

Table Eight: Famous Traders in Sabon Gari market in 1948

S/N	Name	Tribe	Annual Income	Tax paid in 1948
1	C.M.Wilson	Igbo	#800	#31.10s.od
2	Bas Oraguru	Igbo	#750	#28.03s.ood
3	D.A.Jideofa	Igbo	#450	#11.18s.ood
4	Z.C. Okolo	Igbo	#600	#19.08s.ood
5	F.E.Okonkwo	Igbo	#450	#11.18s.ood
6	Abacha Maiduguri	Hausa/Kanuri	#350	#8.3s.ood
7	D.O.Sanyaolu	Yoruba	#350	#8.3s.ood
8	S.A.Fajemisi	SG.29	#360	#8.8s.ood
9	D.C. Obi	Igbo	#300	#6.18s.ood
10	A. Walker	Sierraleon	#300	#6.18s.ood
11	Humphrey Obi	Igbo	#150	#3.03s.ood
12	Hussein	Arab	#100	#1.18s.ood
13	O.Nuadazie	Igbo	#150	#3.3s.ood
14	M.M.Oguwa	Igbo	#300	#6.18s.ood
15	M.M.Chukurida	Igbo	#150	#3.3s.od
16	S.A.Kwada	Ghana	#150	#3.3s.od
17	M.G.Chukwu	Igbo	#72	#1.4s.ood

Source: RDC BUK Kanto N.A.¹³, *Control of Assessment Kanto City, 1948* also Ahmed Bako, *Nigerian Civil War as Experienced by Igbo Migrants and Indigenous Entrepreneurs in Kano, Northern Nigeria, 1966-1970: An Assessment*, Unpublished Paper.

It is pertinent at this level of the lecture to state that the negative impact of the civil war on Igbo was not limited to what happened to them in Kano alone but all parts of the country including at the Federal levels. According to Mr. Ukpabi Asika, a lecturer in University of Ibadan who also served as the Administrator of East Central State, the Civil War provided an opportunity in which the Igbo were replaced from the Federal Universities and other institutions of higher learning, as well as other top federal

government positions. It was during the war as he emphasized 'that there was mass exodus of Igbo intellectuals from University of Ibadan, a development that was welcomed by the Yoruba intellectuals that replaced them. Asika further argued that he was pained by the fact that his Yoruba colleagues at the University of Ibadan 'seemed relieved that their Igbo Colleagues and students had withdrawn'. (32) It was even argued by some scholars that Yoruba intellectuals and politicians encouraged the Igbo to embark on the path of secession from the country so that the Yoruba could get them replaced. But my argument on this is that whether or not Yoruba intellectuals and politicians outwitted the Igbo and encouraged them to embark on secession in order to attain their objectives, it was a fact that the Yoruba not only filled the vacant positions which were created by Igbo exodus back to eastern Nigeria.

What happened to Igbo in Kano because of the civil war equally happened to them in several urban centers in Northern Nigeria where Igbo businesses were predominant. In Makurdi for example, Igbo traders were predominant in all forms of trading activities selling foodstuff, cloth, cigars, matches, cream and soaps businesses. They were also in transport business especially the lorry business in addition to smithing, mechanical works and building contracts. During the civil war Igbo abandoned all these businesses and escaped to Igboland for their safety.(33). Consequently, the situation paved way to indigenous Tiv entrepreneurs to take over.

32 . A Daily Sketch Souvenir, Ukpabi Asika, Daily Sketch Publishing Company Ltd Ibadan, 1971 (cf A. Mahdi, Colonial/Neo-Colonial Education...p23)

33 .Uji Wilfred Terlumun, 'The Impact of the Nigerian Civil War on Igbo Entrepreneurs in Makurdi Town: 1960-1980' in A.M. Adejo, *The Nigerian Civil War Forty Years After...*PP222-240

The Igbo After the Civil War

The returning of the Igbo war refugees was indeed one of the major events in the history of Kano after the war. Immediately they started returning, the first military Governor of Kano, Police commissioner, late Audu Bako promised to reinstate them to their various employments. Also the Governor set up a committee known as **The Kano State Committee on Rehabilitation and Reconstruction** on 10th February 1970, under the Chairmanship of the first State's commissioner for Home Affairs, Alhaji Umaru Gumel, to look into the problems of rehabilitation and reconstruction and to assess the damage done to properties in the State as a result of the disturbances and the Civil War. (34) By January 1971 large numbers of Igbo (mostly mid-westerners) have returned to Kano. Some of them resumed their businesses and claimed the properties they abandoned when the war started. A total of 130 of the houses abandoned by the Igbo were said to have been claimed by their owners in January, 1971. (35) The care-takers of the abandoned houses during the war also collected £98.071.3s.3d as rents to some of the Igbo who had abandoned their houses. (36) Mr. F.E.Okonkwo represented a typical example of the few Igbo whose economic activities were not seriously affected by the Civil War. He found it relatively easy to start a new business life and/or even to continue with his pre-civil war businesses. He came to Kano in 1931 and was a pioneering member of the Igbo State Union in 1938. As a prominent businessman, he established one of the earliest hotels in Kano. In 1940s he was both the president of Igbo State Union Kano as well as president-General, Igbo State Union northern States. In 1950s he was a member of Waje Advisory council, the

34 . *New Nigerian* No.1265, Wednesday, 11th February, 1970, p1.

35 . *New Nigerian*, No1254, Thursday, 9th January, 1971, p1

36 . *New Nigerian*, No 1234, Tuesday 6th January, 1971); also *News watch*, December 2nd 1985, p15

only forum through which the rights and demands of Igbo and other migrant groups in Kano were expressed. (37) Between 1945 and 1959 he was a famous groundnuts middleman to Levintis and P.S. Mandridis. He was also a Director of the African Continental Bank, Kano in 1957 receiving Salary of £300 annually. (38) Because of his economic and political positions, he was appointed to be a special member of the northern House of Assembly to represent the interest of the Igbo. Also, as a famous transporter he was the first president of Kano Transporters' Union founded in 1962.

Chief J.B. Egbe, the *Ozoma of Ezi* who came to Kano in 1932 to work in Kano Mixed Court as a clerk was another prominent Igbo whose properties were not affected by the Civil War disturbances. He was perhaps, the most prominent Igbo during the 1950s and early 1960s due to his close association with the then Emir of Kano, Sir Muhammadu Sunusi I. who appointed him initially as a ward head (*Maiunguwa*) representing the Igbo and thereafter as deputy *Wakilin Waje*. The most interesting thing that should be mentioned about him is that even during the time of *Aware* and the subsequent Civil War when Igbo deserted Kano, he remained due to his close association with Kano traditional authorities.

Mr. F.E. Dibiamaka, a Bendal Igbo born in 1916 in Akoko area was another example of prominent Igbo whose businesses were not terribly affected by the War. He first came to Kano in 1941 and joined his uncle who was a driver. He first worked under Alhassan Dantata as a produce clerk (1941-1943). Between 1943 and 1966 he worked with UAC Kano and served as a councilor in what is today Nassarawa local Government (formerly Waje District) between 1958 and 1961. He left Kano during the civil war and

37 . NAK Kanoprof, 6118,Waje Advisory Council p1

38 HCB, Kanoprof, Tax/71/TI, Tax Assessment Protest by MR. F.E Okonkwo 1957, p6

returned and recovered Championed hotel which he remained the proprietor up to the time he answered the call of Allah.

But it is equally important to point out, that if some Igbo returnees to Kano after the civil recovered their belongings quite a number suffered seriously after they returned because they were unable to re-claim their belongings. These categories of Igbo perceived the issue of their belongings as deprivation and denial of their fundamental human right to their properties. They saw the properties they lost as the loss of the fruit of their industry, innovativeness, adventure and ambition. Such categories of Igbo emphasized that it was not exactly true, as Yakubu Gowon stated that the war had no victors and no vanquished. They argued that those who took over the so-called abandoned properties became the victors, and those who lost the properties became the vanquished. (39)

Even though life started to normalize within a short period and despite the pessimism of the time, there was steady recovery and the return of the war refugees. Of equal importance was the coming of the new Igbo migrant group who were pushed out of the Igboland to Kano due to the massive destruction of public infrastructure as well as physical and social capital, that also totally disrupted palm oil production which had historically been the main source of income for Igbo Peasants. There was as the result widespread hunger and starvation and a general feeling hopelessness.

These unbearable conditions at home compelled the Igbo to migrate up north again. Kano was still the main area of attraction in northern Nigeria consequent upon several drastic changes and development that made Kano metropolitan a meeting point and

39 . *News watch*, December 2nd 1985, p15

an area for distributing both capital and consumer goods as well as a center of production. During the 1970s alone over 250 manufacturing companies of various sizes were incorporated in Kano.(40) Indeed, increasing in the number of Igbo and other migrants necessitated new structural changes such as the expansion of Sabon Gari to incorporate New Airport Road, New Tudun Wada Area and the entire area known as No Man's Land.(41)

With their return to Kano after the Civil War the Igbo realized that they needed a 'non-political' formal association that would enable them to interact in order to facilitate solving socio-economic problems facing them in their efforts to survive in Kano. Consequently, Igbo Community Association was therefore formed with members from Anambra, Imo, Bendel, Rivers and Cross River states in 1974. Before the war, the Igbo State Union was umbrella body that united all Igbo residents in Kano and northern Nigeria. However, Igbo State Union was banned under Decree No 34 in 1966 together with 81 political parties and 26 other tribal and cultural associations. (42)

And in order for Igbo residents to be close to the local populace, the Association during this time requested the emir to turban their leader. And as a consequence, the late Chief Godwin Chukura Nwalusi who spent more than 30 years in Kano was turbaned as the first Sarkin Igbo. He served as Sarkin Igbo up to September 1988 when he died and succeeded by Eze David Obi

40 . Ahmed Bako and .A.F. Usman, Yoruba Migrants in Kano during the 20th Century: A History of Economic Cooperation, *DEGEL: Journal of FAIS*, Vol VI, 2003, PP22-23

41. A.Frushman.. p192

42 . James S. Ojiaka, *Thirteen Years of Military Rule , 1966-1979*, A Daily Trust Publication, Lagos, 1978 pp18-20

Okonkwo in 1989 and served for only one year as he was killed in daylight in Kantin Kwari by his business associates.

State creation and New Opportunities for the Igbo

Kano State was created under Decree No14 of 1967 that disbanded the regions and provided for 12 State structure. Since then Kano has been witnessing transformation from being a groundnut exporting centre, to a semi-industrial city only second to Lagos in the number of manufacturing enterprises in Nigeria after the Civil War. Thanks to the efforts of the first Military Governor in the person of Alhaji Audu Bako for his concern in creating favorable political climate and providing the necessary investment capital through quasi institutions such as Kano State Investment Company, Small-Scale Industry Credit Scheme (SSICS), and Kano State Cooperative Bank Limited. These institutions were established to carry out commercial activities on behalf of the government and to stimulate industrial and commercial growth through loans and free consultancy services. Such a development became possible due to an increase in petroleum revenue in the country that in turn provided funds for capitalist accumulation process. Although Kano does not produce oil, it has felt the repercussion of the growth of the Nigerian oil economy. During the 1970s alone over 250 manufacturing companies of various sizes were incorporated in the State.

Indeed, such a development in Kano attracted large numbers of Igbo because the manufacturing activities required both skilled and unskilled labor and other specialized services. Igbo engineers and administrative personnel were once again back at work. The expansion of the manufacturing sector also meant more employment opportunities for Igbo and other migrant groups. Kano had about 25, 000 industrial workers that increased to

61,048 in 1976. (43) During this period Kano ranks after Lagos in the number of Industrial workers. As Kano had now become a catchment area for distributing capital and consumer goods as well as a major market where goods and services are produced, sold or bought, a lot of Igbo returnees entered the urban environment as petty traders, shopkeepers and entrepreneurs. Within a short time the Igbo re-surfaced again as successful businessmen engaged in variety of operations. By the mid-1980s the Igbo had revived their enterprises that by the early 1990s ran into several billion Naira. The stage was now set for the eventual emergence of what came to be termed the Igbo commercial empire in Kano.

Trade in Sabon Gari market also returned to its pre-civil war trend. (44) In 1974 the market had 7,956 stalls and in 1984 over 11,000 stalls. Hotel and transportation businesses also expanded in the 1970s.

Indeed, as the result of the changes in post-civil war period most Igbo decided to abandoned school especially the acquisition of higher education and opted for commercial power. This attitude according to Uji Wilfred who studied how the civil war affected the Igbo in Tiv land emphasized that abandoning school 'affected the Igbo until 1980s and 1990s when prominent Igbo people such as Chief Alex Ekwueme, Evans Enewrem and Odemegu Ojukwu made a clarion call to Igbo not to forsake education.

What needs emphasis during this time was the fact that searching for economic power and dominance make the Igbo to be desperate and aggressive. Desperation is what make them to not

43 . P.M. Lubeck Early Industrialization...pp2-3

44 . Mahmoud A. Mohammed, The Impact of Newly Constructed Sabon Gari Market in Business and Commercial Activities, Bsc Geography BUK 1986, P20.

only be disliked by host communities in several of the areas of their dominance in Northern Nigeria but to pushed some young Igbo into criminal activities.

Other Economic Opportunities

Apart from the growth of industrial and manufacturing enterprises, the Igbo in Kano also benefited from the general changes in the wider Nigerian scene during the 1970s and 1980s. For example, the promulgation in 1977 of the Nigerian Enterprises promotion Decree that reserved exclusively certain low technology industries and commercial services such as furniture making and textile trade to Nigerians, enabled the Igbo to maneuver and registered their presence in both furniture making and textile trade.

Furniture making is one of the business exclusively reserved for Nigerians in schedule I, No.5 of the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree, 1977.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Before the decree, the Moukarim Metal Wood Factory Limited founded in 1959 by some Lebanese was the largest furniture firm supplying both government institutions and private individuals. This factory had only two Nigerians as partners and these were Alhaji Sanusi Dantata and Alhaji Dalhatu Gusau who owned 20% of shares. The 1977 indigenization decree however, forced the Lebanese to sell more shares of the company to more Nigerian partners; and as a consequence Alhaji Ahmed Kari, Chief Owoboro and Alhaji Bello Musa became additional partners. The company employees bought 10% of the shares. ⁽⁴⁶⁾

45. Albasu: Albasu. S.A. (1995). *The Lebanese in Kano*, Kabs print Services.

46. Albasu. S.A. (1995). *The Lebanese in Kano*, Kabs print Services. p372 and PP177-180 and also Olukoshi, O.A. (1986), *The Multinational Corporation and Industrialization in Nigeria: A Case study of Kano, c1903-1986*, PhD Political Science: pp436-438

The Igbo exploited the opportunity provided by the Decree and joined the furniture business especially from the late 1977 when the Moukarim factory started facing problems because of difficulties in obtaining raw materials and foreign exchange. As early as 1973, as Bashir argued 'the company spent 77.4% of the total cost of production on raw materials alone.(47) In fact by the late 1970s the magnitude of the cost of the raw materials became so critical that the factory was forced to suspend production.

The closure of the Moukarim Metal Wood factory created an opportunity for the Igbo to invest in the furniture making business. This is especially so because long before this time, the Igbo, particularly those who hailed from Oba and Enugu-Agidi in the present Anambra State were engaged in Timber trade with different parts of northern Nigeria. There are also in South-eastern part of the country timber plantations especially in Nsukka, Asaba,, Abakaliki and Calabar forestry plantations. All these plantations supplied Igbo furniture makers in Kano and other parts of Northern Nigeria with the needed wood. The Igbo therefore, had access to all varieties of red wood: mahogany, Iroko and Agbagomu, the very vital raw material that the Moukarim failed to get easily. The Igbo who joined the furniture-producing business confined their operations to small-scale workshops, which required paying only a token license fee to the government. By the late 1980s, the Igbo-made furniture had started penetrating into the market and were being widely used by government organizations, private commercial firms as well as private individuals. The rapid growth in the urban sector

47. Bashir, I.L.(1985), *The Growth and Development of Manufacturing Sector of Kano's Economy, 1950-1980*, International Conference on Kano History, also see Bashir, I.L.(1983), *The Policies of Industrialization in Kano: Industries, Incentives and Indigenous Entrepreneurs, 1950-1980*, PhD History, Boston

especially the increase of workers in Kano during the 1970s and 1980s expanded the market of Igbo made furniture, which are as qualitative as, but much cheaper than those produced by large-scale firms such as Shour Galary, Zainab Galary and Fawaz steel wood.

The dynamism of Igbo commercial ventures in the 1980s also extended into the business of building materials that developed due to the expansion of the various government departments and ministries. Other factors that encouraged the Igbo to venture into the business in building materials include: the introduction of the federally funded Universal Primary Education (UPE) scheme, construction of roads, State office buildings, establishment of factories and modern housing.

Igbo in spare parts Business

Much as the Igbo in Kano extended their commercial activities to trade in stationeries, electronics and electrical equipments/appliances and pharmaceuticals there seem to be no enterprise where they established near monopoly in the State as in Automobile spare parts business. This became propelled and lucrative in Kano and the country at large from the mid 1970s due to Petroleum Revolution, which led to the massive importation of automobiles into the country. The motor vehicles assembly plants in Kaduna and Lagos also produced and pumped into the Nigerian market large quantity of Peugeot and Volkswagen vehicles. Consequently, between 1970 and 1976 the total number of vehicles registered in Kano increased by over 490 percent. Between 1974 and 1975 vehicle ownership in Kano jumped to an unprecedented level because of Adebo and Udoji awards in which various categories of workers in the State found themselves with much bigger percentage of disposable income. The total number of vehicles registered in Kano as at 1979 stood at 113, 849, an

increase that expanded the market for spare parts Business. The Igbo therefore, were able to establish monopoly over the spare-parts business due to the long history of their involvement in this sector and their desire to dominate it. This started in the mid-1930s when late Chief Ojukwu, the Father of I Lembe Odumega Emeka Ojukwu, who pioneered the business. Large number of Igbo youth from Nnewi, especially after independence in 1960 (when motor vehicles became available in the eastern region) were encouraged by Chief Ojukwu to join this sector in large numbers. This process was completed in 1972 with the promulgation of the Nigerian Enterprise Promotion Decree, which preserved this sector exclusively for Nigerians.

Indeed, the unusual spirit of competition of the Igbo, which manifest itself in their search for new source of wealth, enabled them to establish monopoly over the business in Kano and all parts of the country. The Igbo have access to the major spare-parts markets in the country: Onitsha, Nnewi, Port Harcourt and Lagos from where they bring spare parts of varying grades: Japanese, Korea, Brazil, Taiwan, and locally manufactured ones. They have also been able to monopolize the business due to the activities of the of the motor and Motorcycle spare parts Dealers Association, an organized syndicate that promotes the Igbo spirit of togetherness and protects the interest of its members. Every spare parts trader/dealer is a member of the association that also plays the role of assisting members to obtain spare parts directly from importers. Non-Igbo traders in the business always find it difficult and more expensive to get parts directly from importers.

Igbo in Textile Trade

Before the civil war and subsequent NEPD in 1972 and 1977 the Lebanese controlled both the wholesale and retail aspects of textile business. According to Albasu who studies the Lebanese

Community in Kano 'there was in 1970 not a single shop in Fagge-Ta-Kudu that was not owned by a Lebanese'. (48) However schedule 1 No.12 of the NEPD 1977 aided large numbers of Hausa traders and Igbo to become shop owners. The first Igbo textile trader was a retailer. His name is Sunday Ijeke who has been described by several Hausa traders a very nice and generous person. He dresses like a Hausa man and all his shop attendants in the business were Hausa. Though not a Muslim he sponsored several individuals to perform pilgrimage. In 1975 he became a wholesaler bringing textile materials from Deluxe Quality, Lagos. He rented a stall from Alhaji Sadi Jibrin Sudawa in 1978 and since then he has been encouraging large numbers of Igbo to enter into textile business. Gradually he became one of the prominent Igbo textile dealers. (49)

Chief David Obi Okonkwo, the Sarkin Igbo was another prominent textile trader. He entered the business in 1978 and from then onwards he became an agent of 5-star Textile Company, Lagos. Other prominent Igbo textile traders were: Nzewi, Obidi and Tony Pap. Before the end of the 20th century there were more than 120-150 large-scale Igbo textile traders in Kano.

My view is that because of ethnic solidarity, Igbo traders gradually marginalized or even displaced large number of Hausa traders. A typical example of a Hausa man displaced by the Igbo was Alhaji Abubakar Makwarari. He became a textile retailer in 1974 in a stall he rented from Alhaji Salisu Barau Zage at the cost of £6,000 per annum. In 1986 he was ejected due to his failure to

48 . Albasu. S.A. (1995). *The Lebanese in Kano...*

49 . Information from Alhaji Hassan Na-Abba, Chairman Kantin Kwari Traders Association, March, 1990

pay the new rent of £30,000. Chief David Obi Oknokwo paid the stated amount and occupied the stall. Many other Hausa traders such as Lawal Sulaiman (Minister), Alhaji Yahya etc were displaced by the Igbo who were ready to pay high rents.

Conclusion

There is no doubt in the fact that the broadening base of the Igbo in Kano and their success has given rise to criticisms against them by the indigenes who consistently blame them for taking over enterprises as well as landed properties which would have otherwise be under their control. The Igbo have also been accused of constituting a drain on Kano economy in terms of repatriating funds to develop their homeland. (50)

One crucial point which cannot be overemphasized in the relations between the Igbo and the Indigenes is that the Kano people since early colonial era have been perceiving the Igbo as a serious rival migrant group. This perception had been proved true when the Igbo residents greeted 15th January Military Coup and the May, 1966 Unification Decree and the centralization of the federal Civil Service with laud cheers and jubilation as Igbo victory over the Hausa.

Notwithstanding the fact that the study of Igbo in Kano is an essential task in Nigerian historiography, I try not to delve into political issues or current contestations between Igbo and other Nigerians in the political terrain. My main aim in the lecture is to lay foundation for a more detailed study of Igbo in Kano State during the 21st century. Like quite a number of academic

50 .For more details refer to Ahmed Bako, The Political Dilemma of Ethnic Nationalism: Further Remarks on Hausa-Igbo Conflicts in Kano since Independence, Unpublished paper, p12

presentations, this lecture intentionally leaves many questions unanswered and several other untreated. It is my hope that the lecture generates greater interest in the history of Igbo Diaspora in different parts of the country, especially the northern elites to know to what actually happened so that necessary arrangements are made.

If you ask me on whether Igbo will one day leave Kano and be back to their former places of habitation, I will say with some confidence that the Igbo are not likely to go anywhere. This is because the factors that pushed them to leave their area to Kano and other cities in Northern Nigeria are still there or even more.

Most of the food that people in Southeast eat come from the north. Most of the protein, whether beef, mutton or poultry come from the north; and in addition much of the dry fish come from Lake Chad area of Borno. On a daily basis more than 25 trucks of smoked fish goes to southern Nigeria from Lake Chad.

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So many people were involved in supporting me to be what I am today. Foremost are Vice-Chancellors of this University starting from Professor Shehu Ahmad Galadanchi during whose tenure I joined the Services of the University; late Professor Mahdi

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I must also at this juncture extend my regards to the incumbent VC for facilitating today's lecture. I am wishing him Allah's guidance so that he pushes the University to a higher level.

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I am also grateful to all my colleagues in the department of History and International Studies for being with me and for supporting me in so many different ways. I am indeed, happy that the department is operating as a family by supporting one another in different ways including financial support whenever the need arises. I am very lucky and happy that I belong to the department not any other in the University. The Vice-Chancellor Sir, let me say something which the department did not authorize me to say, and that is the department to the best of my

knowledge is the only unit of the University where staff members agree to make monthly contribution of N2,000 each for the upkeep and day-to-day running of the department. The department has been doing that for three years so far.

I will not forget to tender my appreciation and best wishes to all my neighbours in FHA University quarters. These neighbours are great personalities. I am happy that I am staying with good people whose behavior reflects the true and genuine spirit of Islam as exemplified by Prophet Muhammad who always treated his neighbours with extreme kindness and consideration.

The University has certainly done so much for me and my immediate family. My Wife Hanne Umar and all my Children namely: Maimuna, Abdulrahman, Aisha, Shukuriyya, Safiyya, Muhammad, Faruk and Al-amin have been trained in the University. To my wife, I say thank you for the patience and support and keeping my children in warm company.

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Finally, I say with high sense of humility Alhamdulillah and Jazakallahu Khairan to those I mentioned and these I did not for their support. May the Almighty Allah Reward us All. Ameen

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- 15 'Consultancy Services and Other Commercial Ventures of the Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto', in M.A. Iliya, A.A.Salawu, I.M. Jumare and Akin Hassan(ed), *Usmanu*

- Danfodiyo University Sokoto at 25: Progress, Problems and Prospects*, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, 2003
- 16 'Igbo Entrepreneurship in Sokoto City 1937-2000', *Ilorin Journal of Business and Social Sciences*, University of Ilorin, Vol. 9 Nos 1 and 2, 2004
 - 17 *Sabon Gari Kano : A History of immigrants and inter-group relations in the 20th century*, Usmanu Danfodiyo University Press (2006)
 - 18 'The Integration of the Yoruba Migrant Community in Kano Emirate,' *Ilorin Journal of History*, 1,2, 2006
 - 19 'The Dilemma of Ethnic Nationalism: A Re-Examination of the Hausa-Igbo Conflicts in Kano', *African Journal of Economy and Society*, 7, 1, 2006.
 - 20 'Reflections in Colonial Language Policy and its impacts on Islamic Scholarship in the Nigerian Emirates, 'in Bobboyi, H. and Yakubu A.M.(ed), *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004*, Arewa House Kaduna 2006
 - 21 'Yoruba-Hausa Relations in Gusau during the 20th century', in Olayemi, A et al (ed), *Inter-Group Relations During the 20th century*, Aboki Publishers Makurdi, Benue State, 2006
 - 22 Colonialism and the Growth of the Sabon Gari System in the Early 20th century Kano', A.U Adamu and B.B. Gwarzo, *Kano Millennium: 1,000 Years in History*, Research and Documentation Directorate, Government House Kano, 2010
 - 23 'The Nigerian Civil War: Historicizing the Challenges and Opportunities in Kano', A.M. Ashafa(ed), *Challenges for Nigeria at 50: Essays in Honour of Professor Abdullahi Mahadi*, Kaduna State University, 2010
 - 24 "Kaduna and Colonial Urban planning policies in Northern Nigeria', in A.M Ashafa(ed), *Urbanization and Infrastructure in*

- Nigeria since the 20th century*, Festschrift in Honour of Professor Ezzeldin Mukhtar Abdurrahman, Kaduna State University, 2011
- 25 'Igbo Migrants, the Indigenous Hausa Merchant Class and the Nigerian Civil War in Kano, Northern Nigeria: Challenges and Opportunities Revisited, In Ahmad, S.B. and Abdussalam I.K.(ed), *Resurgent Nigeria: Issues in Nigerian Intellectual History* (A Festschrift in Honor of Dahiru Yahya), University Press, Ibadan, 2011, PP287-305
 - 26 ISL 374: *Islamic Political Institutions*, Published by the National Open University of Nigeria 2012
 - 27 "The Sabon Gari Kano Market and Its Transformation in the 20thCentury', In M.I. Mukhtar (ed), *Perspectives on the Study of the Contemporary Kano*, ABU Press 2013.
 - 28 Sokoto Resistance of Colonial Occupation with special Reference to Giginya and Bormi in 1903, *A Publication of Sokoto State Government for Centenary Celebration*, 2013
 - 29 'From Colonial Bureaucrats to Alien Community: Some Remarks on Sierra Leonian and Ghanaian Community in Kano, Northern Nigeria during the colonial era" January, *Accepted 2013*.
 - 30 *Traditional and Nationalist Values in Political Practice: A Biography of Malam Lawan Dambazau Kikasala*, Usmanu Danfodiyo University Press, 2014
 - 31 (ed), *Issues on Nigerian Peoples and Culture*, An Occasional Publication of Kano University of Technology, Wudil 2014
 - 32 "Further Notes on Zabarma Migration and Settlement in Sokoto Metropolis', *Conference Proceedings on International Conference on Dosso-Kebbi-Sokoto Relations*, held in Dosso, Niger Republic, 15th December, 2014
 - 33 "Perspectives on Igbo Commercial dynamism in Kano in the 20thcentury' In Mustapha Ahmed Isa et al (eds), *Kano: The*

- State, Society and Economy, 1967-2017*, Pp401-410, Trans West Africa Ltd 2017
- 34 The Significance of Birnin Zamfara in the History of Zamfara Kingdom' In Maishanu, I.M. et al (ed), *Zamfara and the Challenges of Socio-Political Transformation, 1764 to 2019*, ISBN 978-978-994-481-1, Usmanu Danfodiyo University Press, 2020
- 35 'Keffi Encounter with the Britis'in A.F. Usman, O.O.Rasheed and A.G. Yahaya, *History of Keffi Emirate from 1798 to the Present*, Aboki Publishers 2022 Pp167-200
- 36 Indigene/Settler Dichotomy and the Challenges of Nigeria's National Unity and Integration in the 21st Century, (ed), Abdulkadir, M.S.,Suleiman, S. and Haruna K.I., *Economic and Social History of Northern Nigeria: Revisiting Milestone and Exploring New Frontiers*, (Essays in Honour of the Late Philip James Shea) Aboki Publishers ,2023 pp742-753

Seminars/Conferences and completed Researches.

'Immigrant Factor in colonial Urban Planning: The Experience of Kano Northern Nigeria', Presented at the 10th National Conference of the Population Association of Nigeria(PAN), held at University of Lagos, 15th—17th October, 2001.

'Sokoto Caliphate, its Neighbours and Dependencies: Sokoto-Adamawa Relations in the 19th century Revisited', A Paper presented at the National Seminar on Dominant Paradigms and Dominant Trends of Sakkwato Caliphate, 1804-2000, held on 8th July, 2000 in the Conference Room, Giginya Hotel, Sokoto

Dambazawan Dabo in the Jihad and the creation of Kano Emirate', Paper presented at the conference marking the 200

years of the Usmanu Danfodiyo Jihad in Kano', Organized by Kano State History and Culture Bureau, Kano 27th-29th July, 2004

'The History of the Military Conqueror and a Political Reformer in the late 19th century West Africa: A Biography of Rabeh bn Fadallah', History Department Seminar, University of Sokoto, Thursday 3rd June, 1982

Plantation system and labour pattern in the Caribbean: An Analysis of the Origin, Development and the Structure of Sugar Production and Negro Slavery in Barbados 1627-1724', *History Department Seminar* presented on Thursday, 7th February, 1985 at Room B128 University of Sokoto.

'Western education in Colonial and post-colonial Nigeria: A Critical Historical Examination', Presented during the *Annual National Conference of Academic Staff Union of Schools of Basic and Preliminary Studies (ASUBAPS)*, held in College of Arts and Science Kano, 11th-13th July, 1988.

'Adult Education and Social consciousness: A Critical Evaluation of the MAMSER Program of Mass Education', Presented at *Annual Conference of National Council for Adult Education (NNCAE)*, held in Yola 29th November -2nd December, 1993.

'Examination Malpractice and its effects on the Nigerian educational system: Is there any Hope? Paper presented at National Workshop for the Youth, organized by the National Orientation Agency (NOA), at the State House of Assembly, Sokoto, 10th June 1997.

'The UBE Classroom construction project: A Preliminary Assessment of Sokoto, Kebbi and Zamfara States Experience',

Presented during the 19th Annual Conference of the Philosophy of Education Association in Nigeria, held at Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 29th-31st October, 2001

'South African Politics: Being a Book Review presented to Honour Nelson Mandela at 70', held at Department of Social Sciences, Kano State College of Arts and Science, Saturday, 18th July, 1988.

'An Historical Study of the Nigeria-Cameroon Border Crises since the colonial Era', Being a *Research sponsored by Research and Publications Committee*, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, June 1999-April, 2000

'Some Notes on Igbo Timber Dealers in Sokoto Metropolis', December, 2000

'Hausa migrant communities in South-Eastern Nigeria: Some Remarks on Ama Hausa in Ezinihittee, Imo State, Nigeria', History Department, UDUS 2006

The Emirate Leadership and Communal Inter-relations in Urban Kano: A Lesson for Contemporary Nigeria, A Paper Presented during the Golden Jubilee of Alhaji Ado Bayero, the Emir of Kano, Government House Kano

'Some Remarks on the Migration and Settlement of Zabarma migrants in Sokoto Metropolis', A Commissioned Paper presented during the international Conference on Niger-Sokoto Relations, held in Dosso, Niger Republic, 14th-16th December, 2014

Citizenship and Indigene-ship: An option for modern Nigeria. Presented at National Migration Dialogue, Organized in Abuja by

National Commission for Refugees and Internally displaced persons, 20th to 21st December, 2016

Northwest Zonal Dialogue on Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons Organized by National Commission for Refugees and Internally displaced persons, 20th to 21st march 2017 in Birnin Kebbi

Sabon Gari Market and its economic Importance in the 20th Century Kano, presented in Faculty of Humanities Conference on the History of Kano, Yusuf Maitama Sule University, Kano 15th-17th April, 2019

The Significance of Birnin Zamfara in the History of Zamfara Kingdom, Being a Lead Paper during the International Conference on Zamfara Kingdom, February, 2020

Undergraduate/Postgraduate Teaching.

Undergraduate Teaching

Over the years I have been handling the following Undergraduate courses in History in the department:

HIS 102: Africa 1500-1800

HIS 108: Major World Civilizations

HIS 109: Europe to the Eve of French Revolution.

HIS 204: History of Latin America

HIS 205: USA to 1877

HIS 206: History of Russia in the 19th century

HIS 207: Africa and European Imperialism

HIS 210: Europe from French Revolution to World War I

HIS 308: Africa and the wider world

HIS 404: OAU: A Study of International Relations

HIS 408: War and peace in the 20th century

Over the years I have been handling the following
Postgraduate courses in History in the department

HIS 705: Nigeria in the 20th century

HIS 709: Africa and the European Imperialism

HIS 804: Latin America in Modern Times

HIS 805: USA in Modern Times

Postgraduate supervision:

Apart from teaching at Undergraduate and Postgraduate levels I supervised/co-supervised to successful completion the following 22 PhD theses.

- 1 M.T. Usman, '*Intellectual History of Sokoto Province 1903-1960*' PhD History 1998
- 2 A.I. Yandaki, '*The State in Africa: A Study in Historical Scholarship*', PhD 1998
- 3 H.M.Maishanu, '*The Evolution and Development of Historical Scholarship in Northern Nigeria*', PhD History, 1998
- 4 M.U. Bunza, '*Christian Missions in Sokoto Province, 1935-1990*', PhD History 2000
- 5 M.Z. Umar, '*An Examination of the Interface of the State and Civil Society in Democratization in Nigeria*', PhD Political Science, 2000
- 6 Muhammed Kwaire, '*A History of Tuareq Migration from Niger Republic to Sokoto Metropolis*', PhD History, 2002
- 7 Aliyu M. Muri, '*The Defence Policy of the Sokoto Caliphate*', PhD History, 2000
- 8 B.B. Kware, '*Female Education in Northern Nigeria: A Study of the Genesis and spread of Western Education Among Females in the Sokoto Emirate*', PhD History 2003

- 9 Ahmad Sani Alhaji, A Historical Study of the Impact of Bakalori and Goronyo Dams on the Downstream Communities of Kebbi State, 1975-2008, PhD History
- 10 Ibrahim Mustapha Dankani, Property Developer Behaviour in Metropolitan Kano, PhD Geography, 2007
- 11 M.M. Gatawa, *'The Hausa Community in Agege: A Study of the Expansion of a migrant group in Lagos, 1861-2005'*, PhD History 2011
- 12 Jamilu Shehu, A Social and Economic History of Katsina Metropolis, 1903-1960, PhD History, 2012
- 13 A.B Bawa, Women in the Corridors of Power: History of Nigerian First Ladies in Governance, 1966-2010, PhD History, 2014
- 14 Sanusi Shehu Gusau, A History of Zamfara from the fall of the Kingdom, 1764-2013, PhD History 2015
- 15 Mansur Abubakar, A History of Religion Among the Kambari peoples 1950-2015, PhD History, 2015
- 16 Akanni Mutairu Ayinla, The Activities of Yoruba Muslim Communities in the Development of Islam in the North-Western Nigeria: A Study of Kano, Kaduna, and Sokoto States, PhD Islamic Studies, 2016
- 17 Waisu Iliyasu, A History of Radical and Opposition Politics in Southern Katsina, 1950-2007, PhD History, 2018
- 18 Murtala Marafa, A History of Road Transportation in Sokoto Metropolis, 1809-1988, PhD History 2019
- 19 Tajudeen Lamilekan Momodu, A History of Women's Movement in Nigeria, 1945-2015, PhD History 2019
- 20 Oyewole, Clement Oyeyemi, A History of Cinematography in the former Sokoto Province, 1922-2001, PhD 2021
- 21 Auwalu Muhammad Hassan, History and Development of Manuscript Culture in Kano c.1930-2013, PhD History 2024

- 22 Sarah Elisha, Dawam, *The Role of Women in Bulding Industry in the former Jos Division from Pre-Colonial Period to 1995*, PhD History, 2024

I also successfully supervised to completion over the years the following 45 M.A. Dissertations.

- 1 Ibrahim Kwaru, '*Waziri Allah bar Sarki, 1865-1971*', M.A. History, 1991
- 2 A.F.Usman, '*The Development of Colonial Education in Offa with special reference to Offa Grammar School, 1943-1993*', MA. History, 1994
- 3 L.H. Mailafiya, '*Cotton Production and Marketing in Funtua*', M.A. History, 1994
- 4 Ibrahim Hamza, '*Dorayi: A History of Economic and Social Transformation in the 19th and 2th centuries*', M.A. History, 1994
- 5 B.B. Kware, '*Students struggle in Nigeria: Case of ABU*', M.A. History, 1994
- 6 Solarin Titilayo, '*The Role of Women in Northern Nigerian politics: The case ofHajiya Gambo Sawaba*', M.A. History, 1994
- 7 M.J. Umaru, '*History of Traditional Architecture in Sokoto Emirate*', M.A History. 1994
- 8 Oodo Boniface Onoja, '*The Idoma-Igbo Economic Relations in the 19th and 20th centuries*', M.A. History 1997
- 9 M.G Isgogo, '*The Growth and Development of Islamic Education in Zuru Land*', M.A. Islamic Studies, 1998
- 10 M.B. Umar, '*Nupe Community in Sokoto: A Historical Study*', M.A. History, 1999
- 11 I.M. Yarkofoji, '*Rice Production in Bakura District in the 20th century*', M.A. History, 1999

- 12 I.A. Jawondo, *The Development of Western Education in Ilorin: A History of Ilorin Grammar School, 1967-1997*, M.A. History 1999
- 13 A.A. Kware, *Irrigation and the Economy of Kware District, 1903-1996*, M.A. History, 2000
- 14 Ibrahim Usman, *Yanbanga: Civil Defence Group in Sokoto Metropolis, 1977-1997*, M.A. History 2000
- 15 Umar A. Jega, *The Emergence of Jega as a Commercial centre in the 19th century*, M.A. History, 2000
- 16 R.N. Nuhu Apang-Takum, *The Nigerian Immigration Service: Its Socio-Economic Relevance to Nigeria's Border Relations*, M.A History, 2001
- 17 I.A Mungadi, *Nigeria-Niger Relations, 1950-1999*, MSc Political Science 2002
- 18 A.S. Alhaji, *A History of Salt Mining in Hoga Valley in the 19th and 20th centuries*, M.A. History, 2003
- 19 M.A. Gatawa, *Migration and settlement in Northern Nigeria: Study of Gobirawa Community in Niger State, 1970-2000*, M.A. History, 2004
- 20 Aliyu Muhammad Birnin Kebbi, *Urban Violence in Birnin Kebbi Metropolis: A Case Study of Area Boy Phenomenon 1980-2002*, M.A. History, 2005
- 21 Tukur M. Mukhtar, *A Study of Blacksmithing Industry in Yabo District, 1880-1960*, M.A. History, 2008
- 22 Aminu Muhammed Alkammawa, *The Zabarmawa Community in Sokoto Metropolis in the 20th century*, M.A. History, 2009
- 23 Christiana Ijanye, *The Igala Community in Sokoto Metropolis in the 20th century*, M.A. History, 2009
- 24 Binta Aliyu Usman, *Conflict Resolution in the Ecowas sub-region: An Assessment of the Role of Nigeria in Liberian Crises*, Msc Political Science, 2009
- 25 Kolo Muhammed Maikudi, *A History of Kutigi District in the 19th and 20th centuries*, M.A. History, 2010

- 26 Usman Adamu, *Historical Origin and Development of the Koro People of Kafin-Koro, Niger State*, M.A. History, 2010
- 27 Peter, Agbo Arubi, *'The Phenomenon of Labour Migration to South Western Nigeria: A Case study of Igede People of Benue State, 1940-2007'*, M.A History 2011
- 28 Ndana Ndako, *'The transformation of Edati Area 1897-1999'*, M.A. History, 2011
- 29 Lawali Abubakar Sabon Birni, *'A Historical Study of Cement Company of Northern Nigeria (CCNN), Sokoto'* M.A History 2011
- 30 Saidu Muhammad Ismaila, *From Copyist to Printing Technology: A History of writing Tradition in Sokoto Metropolis, 1809-2007*, M.A. History, 2011
- 31 Attahiru Ahmed Sifawa, *Colonial infrastructure and social services in Sokoto Metropolis, 1903-1960*, M.A. History, 2011
- 32 Abubakar Dahiru Gummi, *Historical Development of Islamic Education in GummiEmirate in the 20th Century*, M.A. History 2011
- 33 Nura Aliyu, *Ganuwar Katsina (City Walls); The History of A Monument,Its Development and Collapse*, M.A. History, 2011
- 34 Murtala Marafa, *'A Historical Study of Kanuri Migrant community in Sokoto Metropolis to 2007'*, MA History, UDUS 2012
- 35 Idris Salisu, *'Igbo Migration and Inter-group Relations in Gusau during the 20th century'*, M.A. History, 2012
- 36 Masud Bello, *Manufacturing Enterprises in Gusau, 1965-2007*, MA History, UDUS, 2012
- 37 Oyewole Clement Oyeyemi, *The Origin and Development of Photography industry in Sokoto Metropolis, 1927-2006*, MA History, UDUS, 2012

- 38 Muhammadu Ibrahim Kofar Soro, *A History of Hausa-Yoruba Relations in Katsina Metropolis, 1903-1999*, M.A. History, UDUS, 2014
- 39 Ahmed Ibrahim, *History of the Native Authority Police in Gwandu Emirate*, M.A. History, 2014
- 40 Ahmed Abubakar, *A History of Muslim-Christian Activities in Ankpa Local Government Area of Kogi State Between 1979-1992*, M.A. History, 2014
- 41 Sanusi Shehu, *Colonial Taxation in Tambawal and Dogon Daji District of Sokoto Native Authority*, M.A. History, 2015
- 42 Abubakar Musa Mafara, *A History of Talata Mafara Market, c.1916-2013* M.A. History 2016
- 43 Umar Muhuyideen Abdullahi, *Muslims-Christian Relations in Zangon Kataf and Kagarko Local Government Areas of Kaduna State*, M.A. History, 2016
- 44 Abdulrasheed Isyaku, *The Role of Daawa in the Islamization of Tangale-Waja Tribes of Gombe State*, M.A. Islamic Studies, 2021
- 45 Abdullahi Gidado Kware, *History of Blacksmithing Industry in Kware District from 1810-1960*, M.A. History 2022

Editorship of Journals/External Examiner and Community Service

- Editor-in-chief *Al-Bayan: Journal of Islamic Research*, Sokoto Research Centre
- Editor *Al-Nahda: Journal of Islamic Heritage*, Centre for Islamic Studies, UDUS
- Editor, Seminar Proceedings on the Life and Works of Sheikh Abdullahi ibn Fodiyo, Centre for Islamic Studies, U.D.U.S.
- Member, Federal Government Monitoring Committee to Tertiary Institutions, 1999

- Chairman, International Seminar on Islam and the Political Challenges of Modern Times, Sokoto 1995
- Chairman, Organizing Committee, Seminar on Commemoration of the 2nd Anniversary of the 19th Sultan of Sokoto, June 1998
- Member, Coronation ceremony, His Royal Highness the Emir of Yauri, Dr. MZ Abdullahi, 2000
- Member, Jigawa State Secondary Schools Management Committee, 2000-2003
- Member Transition committee for the inauguration of Dr. Rabiu Musa Kwankwaso, the Executive Governor of Kano State, 2011
- Chairman PTA IMAN International School, Sokoto, 2015-2020
- Chairman, PTA Abdullahi Fodiyo Islamiyya, 2018-date
- Chairman PTA Unity Comprehensive School, Sokoto 2023-date
- Editor, Sokoto Journal of History, 2018-date

I served as External Examiner to the following M.A. and PhD dissertations and theses.

Solomon Oyewole Oyeshola, *The Development of Machine Tailoring industry in Sabon Gari, 1913-1999*, M.A. History 2006

Mustapha Yusuf, *The Establishment of Ebira Community in Kano, 1940-2005*, M.A. History, 2009

Suberu Ochi Abdurrahman, *The Emergence of Party Politics in Ebiraland, 1954-2003*, PhD History, 2009

Dalha Waziri, *The Transformation of Local Government System in Gumel Emirate, 1903-1983*, PhD History, BUK 2009

Aisha Niima Shehu, *A History of Royal Palaces in Kano Emirate c.1805-2004* PhD History BUK 2009

Philip Akpen, *Colonial Electricity project in Makurdi 1903-1960*, PhD History, BUK 2010

Iyanda Kamooru Ahmed, "*Colonial Rule and Administration of Native Courts in Ejigbo District*" PhD History, BUK 2011

Raula Sulaiman, 'The Activities of Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) in Babbar Ruga Area Of Katsina Emirate between 1936-1972', M.A. History Dissertation, Bayero University, Kano, 2011

Kabiru Haruna Isa, 'A Socio-Economic History of Gwarzo to 1968, M.A. History Dissertation, Bayero University, Kano, 2011

Fatima Abdullahi, 'Native Authority and the Administration of Colonial Taxation in Rano District, Kano Emirate, 1903-1960, M.A Dissertation, Bayero University, Kano, 2011.

Abbass Abbass, *History of District Headship System in Hadejia Emirate, 1906-1967*, PhD History Thesis, Bayero University Kano, 2011

Asiya Abubakar, *The Transformation of Daura Emirate during the reign of Sarkin Daura*

Muhammed Bashar, 1966-2007 BUK, 2012.

Gaddafi Abubakar, *History of the titles of Sarkin Dawaki Mai Tuta, Dan Maje and Jarma under non-dynastic Branch of the*

- Sullubawa Clan from 1819-2012*, Department of History, BUK 2013
- Rahila Ahmed Moddibbo, *'A History of Political Development in Kano'* M.A. Department of History, ABU Zaria, 2014
- Mustapha Murtala, *'The Role of Press in Anti-colonial Struggle in Nigeria: A Case Study of Daily Comet and West African Pilot in Kano, 1933-1960*, ABU Zaria, 2014, M.A. History
- Junaidu Danladi, *A History of Kantin Kwari Market in Kano, C.1933-2012*, M.A. History BUK 2014
- Sani Yakubu Adam, *The Evolution and Activities of the Salagawa Group of the Tijjaniyya Order in Kano, 1923-2012*, M.A. History, BUK 2014
- Abdulaziz Mamuda, *A History of Kurnar Asabe Jumaat Mosque, 1973-2013*, M.A. BUK, 2015
- Rahila Ahmed Modibo, *A History of Political Developments in Kano: The Case of Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) and Peoples' Redemption Party (PRP), 1940-1984*, M.A. History, ABU Zaria
- Murtala Labbo, *A History of Birnin Kebbi Central Market C.1928-2012*, M.A. History 2016, BUK
- Mustapha Kabiru, *A History of Dambatta Town in Kano Emirate, 1908-1976*, M.A. History, BUK October, 2017
- Abdullah Hamisu Shehu, *A History of Auyo from the earliest Times to 1996*, M.A. History 2017, BUK

- Saudat Umara Sanusi , *Continuity and Change in Traditional Wedding Ceremonies in Kano City, 1947-2014*, M.A History, BUK 2019
- Dadih Saratu Mbula, *Political Thuggery in Bauchi Metropolis 1999-2010*, M.A History 2018, Bayero University Kano
- Auwalu Saleh Dawaki, *The Life and Times of Shaykh Isa Waziri, c.1924-2013*, M.A. History, BUK
- Isa Ado Ahmad, *A Biography of Alhaji Muhammadu Inuwa Wada, Magajin Garin Kano, 1917-2015*, M.A. History BUK
- Hussaina Bakin Kasuwa, *Historical Development of Settlements in Hausa land: A Case of Gozaki, Katsina, Kingdom, c.1500-1600 A. D.* PhD History, ABU Zaria 2022
- Grace Joseph Duniya, *A History of Selected Southern Kaduna Communities (Bajju, Atyaf, Kagoro and Moro'a) in Kano Metropolis, 1948-1991*, M.A. BUK 2024
- Douglas Barnabas, *The Impact of Boko Haram Insurgency in the Economy and Society of Northern Adamawa State*, PhD History, ABU, Zaria, 2024
- Idris Abubakar Zakari, *History of Islam Among the Gbagyi of Bosso, Kuta and Paiko in Niger State, 1880-1980*, PhD History BUK 2024
- Abdullahi Shatima, *A History of Jamatu Izalatil Bid'ah Wa Ikamatis Sunna (JIBWIS) in Gumel Emirate, 1986-2020*, M.A. History, BUK 2024

Ali Mansur Garba, Modern Veterinary Services in Kano, 1924-1986, M.A. History, BUK 2024

Eke Blessing, Issues in the Historiography of the Niger Delta from Earliest Times to 2014, PhD History, BUK 2024

Routine Administrative Duties performed with dates since joining the University system

Head History Department	1992-1994, 2011-2012 and 2013-2016
Deputy Dean, Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies	Sept, 1992-February, 1993
Coordinator PG Program in History	1994-1999 and 2005-2011
Director, Usmanu Danfodiyo University Consultancy Services, Sokoto	1996-2001
Chairman University Examinations Committee	1994-2001
Chairman University Seminars	1997-1998
Chairman University Ceremonies Committee	1994-2001
Chairman University Press Management Committee	2001-2008
Chairman Students centre Management Committee	1994-1999
Chairman monitoring students cultism and Secret societies	1999-2000
Member, Sokoto Energy Research Centre, (Representing the Vice-Chancellor)	1999-2000

THE IGBO FACTOR IN THE HISTORY OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS AND COMMERCE IN KANO:
OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES REVISITED

Member University Senate (Representing Congregation)	1999-2003
Member Usmanu Danfodiyo University Teaching Hospital Governing Board (Representing Senate)	1992-1994
Member University Academic linkages and Projects committee	1991-1994
Member University Revenue Generation Committee	1999-2007
Member, committee on Review of Guidelines on Examinations misconduct	2003
Member University Primary School Management Committee	2005-2013
Chairman University seminars and Inaugural lectures	2007-2024
Member University senate	2005-date
Member Representing Congregation for the Selection of the Vice-Chancellor	2009
Member Review Committee of Guidelines Governing Study Leave, Sabbatical and Leave of Absence, (Representing ASUU)	June 2011
External Examiner, University of Maiduguri,	2012-2015
External Examiner, NDA	2011-2013
External Examiner, Nassarawa State University,	2013
External Examiner Shehu Shagari College of Education	2009-2012

External Examiner, Bayero University Kano,	2011-date
External Examiner, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria	2014-2024
External Assessor, ABU Press.	2015
External Examiner, Sokoto State University, Sokoto.	2017 to date
External Examiner, Federal University Dutsenma, Katsina	2016-date

Area of Specialization

Nigeria, Europe and History of USA

Professor Ahmed Bako 25th August, 2024