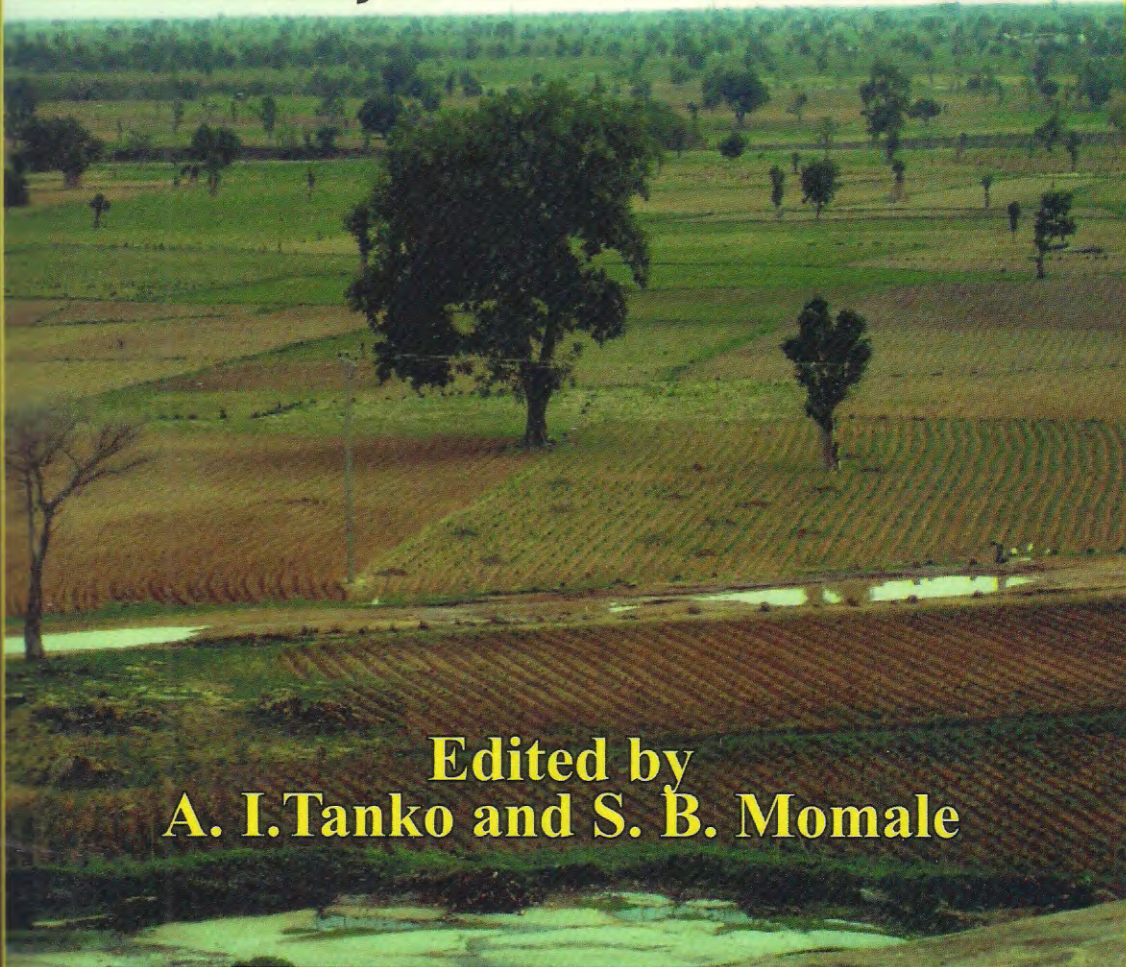




KANO

ENVIRONMENT, SOCIETY AND DEVELOPMENT



**Edited by
A. I. Tanko and S. B. Momale**

Published by

Adonis & Abbey Publishers Ltd

United Kingdom

Southbank House
Black Prince Road
London
SE1 7SJ
United Kingdom
Emails: editor@adonis-abbey.com,
Tel: 0845 388 7248

Nigeria

No.3 Akanu Ibiam Street,
Aso-villa, Asokoro.
P.O. Box 10546
Abuja
Tel: +234 (0) 8165970458, 07066997765

Year of Publication 2014

Copyright©Department of Geography, Bayero University, Kano – Nigeria

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 9781909112391(Paper Back)
9781909112407(Hard Cover)

The moral right of the author has been asserted

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted at any time or by any means without the prior permission of the publisher

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface (A.I. Tanko and S.B. Momale).....	vii
Foreword (Reginald Cline-Cole).....	xvii
List of Contributors.....	xix

PART I: THE KANO ENVIRONMENT

Chapter 1: Location, Relief and Landforms

<i>Emmanuel A. Olofin</i>	1
---------------------------------	---

Chapter 2: Weather and Climate

<i>Maryam Liman, Halima A. Idris and Ummi K. Mohd</i>	13
---	----

Chapter 3: Drainage, Hydrology and Water Resources

<i>Adnan Abdulhamid</i>	21
-------------------------------	----

Chapter 4: Soils

<i>Essiet U. Essiet</i>	35
-------------------------------	----

Chapter 5: Vegetation and Forestry

<i>Murtala M. Badamasi</i>	43
----------------------------------	----

PART II: THE KANO PEOPLE

Chapter 6: Origin and Growth of Urban Kano

<i>Bello Gambo</i>	67
--------------------------	----

Chapter 7: Population Growth in the Kano Region

<i>Ahmed Maigari Ibrahim</i>	81
------------------------------------	----

Chapter 8: The Kano Emir's Palace

<i>Aliyu Salisu Barau</i>	91
---------------------------------	----

Chapter 9: Trade, Commerce and Industries

<i>Adamu I. Tanko and Halima A. Idris</i>	111
---	-----

Chapter 10: The Presence of Arabs in Kano

<i>Abdallah U. Adamu</i>	125
--------------------------------	-----

Table of Contents	A.I. Tanko and S.B. Momale (Eds.) <i>Kano: Environment, Society and Development</i> London & Abuja, Adonis & Abbey Publishers
-------------------	---

Chapter Ten

THE PRESENCE OF ARABS IN KANO

Abdallah Uba Adamu

Introduction

Olzak (2006) argues that conventional treatments of ethnic mobilization find that inequality or the absence of democracy has systematically produced more ethnic conflict and protests. Yet this does not take into consideration the relative relationships between what is called 'moving populations'. For while parts of Nigeria suffer from long-rooted periodic ethnic conflicts, e.g. Jos in the Plateau State (Akanji 2011, Ambe-Uva 2011), the Nigerian 'Middle Belt' (Ioratim-Uba 2009) due to diversity of ethnicities and settler competition for resources, other states of the federation (e.g. Kano, Bauchi, Jigawa) had waves of racial movement and migration of Arabs with total absence of any conflict between the immigrants and their host African population.

That does not mean, however, an integrated immigration population was totally and successfully created. Arabs settlers in northern Nigeria, for the most part, refused to integrate with the African population-and mainly marry African populations with similar racial characteristics, e.g. Shuwa Arabs or the Toranke Fulani, who are the lightest skinned of the nine or so Fulani groupings. This does not necessarily translate as racism, however, because there were pockets of 'Fulani Arabs' who had split ancestry between African Fulani and Arab. Ironically, most of these Fulani Arabs seemed to have lost their languages – speaking neither Fulfulde nor Arabic; instead becoming linguistic Hausa. This raises the interesting issue of identities, and the precise point at which a person claims a particular identity; and indeed what defines a person's identity - racial characteristics, linguistic affinity, or residence?

This chapter traces the migrations of Arabs from North Africa and the Middle East to northern Nigeria, particularly Kano, and the various ways they influence, but are not influenced by, the culture and society of Kano. The arguments are framed with the context of Gordon

Allport's (1954) Intergroup Contact Hypothesis that looks at the emergence of racial prejudice among immigrants and settlers, although it is preferably perceived as lack of desire to integrate to due to an innate desire to retain individual and group identities, rather than racism. In fact while the theory applies to the hostility shown to immigrants by settled groups, in northern Nigeria, the reverse is the case, in that the Arabs became a favoured settler group - over and above other indigenous African settlers in the same communities.

From Across the Sahara

The Region of North Africa in its historical connection with old empires attracted different names. The Romans called the region *Barbary*, the land of Barbarians or the people who were pushed southwards to the fringe of the desert by the colonists. The Arabs, on the other hand, called the region the Maghreb, which means West; which was then the Western part of their world. Thus we had *Maghreb-al-Aksa* which meant Morocco (Hogben and Kirk-Green, 1966). This Region stretches from Bilad al Shinjil Mauritania in the West to the southern borders of Egypt in the East.

Despite the risks encountered in desert crossings, the people of North Africa and the inhabitants of Hausaland had established ethnic and cultural relationships for a long period of time, which survived centuries of cultural and social changes. The relationships were first established through migratory patterns, trade and scholarship. For instance, Bovill (1958) argues that;

For centuries black slaves were carried across the desert to end their days as domestic servants, as concubines, as laborers, or as soldiers among the communities of the Maghreb: and with them came other products of the Sudan: ivory, ostrich feathers, hides, Kolanuts and above all gold...From the North there came, transported by the camel caravans organized by North African merchants, the good craved by the people of the Sudan, fine clothes, paper swords, and other merchandise that might be counted luxuries, together with that necessity of life-salt, mined in the depths of Sahara. It was not only material goods that the merchants brought with them, but also the knowledge and culture of a wider world, the world of Islam, new concepts of religion, of law and government, new forms of learning, new words to enrich local languages, new styles of architecture, new crops, new crafts and skills (Bovill 1958: p.xi).

North Africa of today contains five modern states. They are Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya. Between North Africa and Bilad al Sudan, or West Africa south of the Sahara, to which Hausaland belongs, lies the great Sahara desert which cuts off the later region from the western world.

The people of Hausaland and the inhabitants of North Africa have been closely connected for many centuries through the caravan routes. The main tie has been commercial but the Arabs have also introduced a number of exotic elements in dress, food and religious practices. The link was strengthened in the eighteenth century when Katsina was the commercial centre for the trans-Saharan trade and an important centre of learning. However, long before this and right through antiquity, the migratory corridor linking Hausaland and North Africa had served to ferry thousands of traders, clerics and merchants to various areas.

The migratory influx to Hausaland continued beyond the various *Amirs* who ascended the Kano throne, particularly during the reigns of Yakubu dan Abdullahi Barja (1452-1463) to Babba Zaki (1768-1776). However, it was during Rumfa's reign (1463-1469) that the Maghreb, particularly Tripoli became identified with Kano with the coming of Al-Maghili. The settlement of Tripolitarians in Kano radically altered the character of the territory. A tradition had been established; that of making Kano a hospitable place for all migrants - particularly those willing to live in, and identify with, the cultural environment of their hosts. So far history has not recorded any influx of migrants with radically different ideological stands which may warrant an internal conflict between settlers and immigrants.

The pockets of wandering clerics, traders and scholars who moved in and out of the territory from all directions established a series of caravan routes between the Hausa territories and the Maghreb. Since late 16th century Katsina had established itself as the chief trans-Saharan caravan centre of the Hausa states and an important centre of learning and remained so until about 1815. The Jihad of 1804 further opened up Hausaland to more migrants, established the supremacy of Islam, and conveyed impressions of great wealth. These were enough to attract more Maghreb scholars, adventurers and merchants, especially Tripolitarians.

For most of its history, Tripolitania had served as a scene of violent conflicts between different peoples all in attempt to control the

Mediterranean trade route this vital city controlled. For instance in 1510 Tripoli was captured by the forces of Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain, who turned it over to the Knights of St. John in 1530. The latter lost the region in 1551 to the Ottoman Turks, who ruled it either directly or through suzerains for the next 360 years. In 1711 the local governor, Ahmad Karamanli, won recognition from the Ottomans as hereditary pasha (governor), and his dynasty ruled Tripolitania for all but a few years until 1835. Under the Karamanli rulers, Tripoli levied tribute on and plundered shipping in the Mediterranean, a practice that led to the Tripolitan War with the United States in 1801-05. In 1835 Ottoman Turkey resumed direct rule of Tripolitania in an effort to forestall further French expansion in North Africa.

This created a vast pool of refugees who moved southwards and settled in northern Chad area from where many joined the lucrative caravan routes that radiated from Bornu to all other parts of Bilad al-Sudan (Boahen 1962). As a result of the Italo-Turkish War of 1911-12, the Italians occupied Tripoli in 1911 and acquired all of Tripolitania from Turkey in 1912 - establishing one of the most brutal colonial regimes in history. The ensuing struggles for independence created yet more refugees who fled the embattled land and sought for a more peaceful land to settle. Kano, in addition to being a great trading center, was also an important entrepôt from which trade routes radiated westwards through Gwandu and Fada Ngurma to Wagadugu, south-westwards through Bussa and Nikki to Salaga in Ghana (Boahen 1962). Further, the city was already host to Tripolitanians since Yakubu Dan Abdullahi Barja (1452-1463). It therefore became their second home. As Paul Staudinger reported in 1885 (during the reign of Muhammad Bello, 1882-1893):

Kano is the capital of the richest and most flourishing province of present-day Hausaland. A tremendous quantity of treasures, that is according to the standards of the natives, lies stored within its walls...The reason for the prosperity of this metropolis is to be found...in the fact that Kano is the trade emporium for the whole of Hausaland and moreover the southernmost market of the Arabs. Perhaps sixty to eighty North Africans are permanent residents, but during the dry season several hundred of them live here. It is also then that huge caravans from different Tuareg tribes arrive with one of the most indispensable items of trade amongst all people-salt...So here is a confluence-all the articles of trade from the English and the French, from Niger and the Benue, together with all the European and local articles which the Arabs bring...A good many of the skilled Semitic

traders own permanent houses and live here married to natives (in Moody 1967: 42).

And although the tie with the Arabs had been commercial, the Arabs in Kano introduced a number of exotic elements in dress, food and religious practices that were to transform the city, as clearly Staudinger's further accounts show. It is not surprising that the most radical contribution to the changing social and cultural character of Kano was made by North Africans, particularly Libyans.² To this end; they used at least four documented caravan routes to getting to Hausaland. These are the:

1. Morocco-Toademi-Timbucku (with a branch consisting of Mabruk-Tuat),
2. Tripoli-Fezzan-Bornu,
3. Cyrenaica-Kufra-Wadai, and the
4. Ghadames-Air-Kano routes.

The Morocco route diminished in importance with the outbreak of hostilities in the Songhai Empire in 1590s and the subsequent territorial rivalries between competing forces of Tuareg, Fulani, Arab, Bambara and Moorish made the route insecure. Similarly internal wars in the Bornu Empire in 1830s reduced the security of the Bornu route and diverted its traffic to the Kano route. The remaining two routes, Ghadames and Wadai survived the ravages of Sudanic wars and became the main trade and migratory routes to Kano and Hausaland in general. They eclipsed only with the coming of colonialism from 1900.

The Wadai route was virtually religious as it was used mainly by the Sanusiyya brotherhood especially after 1843. *Zawiyas* (lodging, headquarters) of the brotherhood littered the route and served as the main pathway through which the brotherhood philosophy filtered to Hausaland. The Ghadames-Kano route was the most commercially important and was protected by Azger and Kel Owi Tuareg militia whose livelihood depend on the commercial success of the route; so they chose to defend it rather than, as was usually their practice, raid it.

Just as Kano was an important terminus and *entrepôt*, Ghadames was an important starting point where caravans from Tripoli, Tunis and Algeria assembled there before they departed to Kano. A report noted that:

The pioneers of the caravan trade were the merchants of Ghadames, then as now a small unimportant town without local trade, near the Tunisian frontier, about 20 days from Tripoli, who by their superior intelligence, capabilities and honesty, and aided by the geographical position of their birth-place in reference to the caravan routes, established themselves many years ago in the town of Tripoli and enjoyed the monopoly of the trade. They sent periodically consignment of goods to their agents in Ghat, Kanem, Bornu, Kan and Timbuctu, receiving in exchange ivory, ostrich feathers and god dust for sale in Tripoli and subsequent export to European markets (Johnson 1976: 109).

Ghadames still retained in the 19th century the position it enjoyed in the days of Leo Africanus as the home of most of the bankers and wholesalers and the Headquarters of most of the trading firms operating in the interior (Boahen 1962: 354).

The Ghadames- Air-Kano Route

The Ghadames to Kano route³ was laboriously slow. The daily travel rate rarely exceeded 12 miles. It was six or seven weeks with costs and risks through places such as Zinder, Agades, Arlit, Ghat and Ghadames. In peaceful times, the caravan journey used to take about eighteen months, and the profits could be as high as 50%.

The goods carried southwards by the Saharan caravans in the 1890s were similar to those carried earlier in the centuries. The British consul in Tripoli estimated in 1891 that Manchester cottons, white long cloths formed 70% of the total. Others included Austrian wool and sugar, satin from Bohemia, tea from China (via Malta), Bulgarian perfume (via Constantinople), beads, jewellery and a small quantity of hardware, and some arms and ammunition (Johnson 1976). The northbound cargo from Kano to Tripoli was Kano cloth, ivory, ostrich feathers, hides and leather, and slaves (most of which came from Bornu, helped in great measure by Rabah's invasion). According to Johnson,

the most interesting of the business houses in Tripoli was that of El Haj Mohammed; the father was resident at Ghat, one of his sons, Mahomed (sic) el-Assouad ['the black'] of Ghadames was at Tripoli, and another son was at Ghadames; seven sons made purchases in the Sudan; 'they are all negroes'-evidently they have been marrying in Hausaland for some generations (Johnson 1976: 110).

Other famous trading houses with branches in Kano included the family business of Ganaba brothers (who later became central figures in Sanusiyya *tariqa*), El-Tseni family of Ghadames who intermarried with Tuareg families. When the caravans arrived in Kano,

Quarters are taken up by the Arabs and goods opened for sale and native produce bought. The length of stay, varying from six months to twelve months, depends upon the scarcity or otherwise of native products. A rude currency, consisting of strings of small shells of different values, is much used, also a few Maria Theresa dollars, but bartering is also frequent. From this point some few Arabs make their way to Sokoto and Timbuktu, but the trade there is not important (Johnson 1976: 112).

In order to meet the demand of Hausaland for North African goods and services, and at the same time expand their own trading activities therein, the Tripolitarians took with them a large number of Hausa apprentice workers to Tripoli and trained them in various trades. At the beginning of their training, the workers would be taught religious knowledge and Arabic language after which they would be divided into four groups.

The first group were taught tailoring - general cloth making and embroidery. The second group learnt leatherworks - such as shoe-making and horse riding accoutrements. The third group was given charge of shops to learn the art of buying and selling as well as keeping the records of the commodities and stores. They were taught simple arithmetic in order to keep accounts and record weight and measures. The women workers who made the fourth group were taught how to cook various North African dishes and sweets. They learnt how to prepare dishes such as *Alfatat*, *Alkubus*, *Gurasa*, *Kuskus*, *Kudun-Kurno*, *Sunnasir* and sweets like *Alkaki*, *Algaragis*, *Tammaset*, *Greba* and *Bakilawa* - which all soon enough became part of standard Kano cuisine.

Along with this training programme the Arabs established some trading posts in Tripoli, Ghat, Ghadames and Zinder as depots where commodities from Tripoli and Kano met and changed hands and destination. Trained workers were settled in these posts for various assignments. The trained leather workers who were brought to Kano were also settled at the following wards - where shoes and horse tackles were made - near their mentors: Dala, Chiromawa, Dukurawa, Mandawari, Marmara, Alfindiki and Zangon Kofar Mata. The tailors were settled at the following areas which supplied the markets with Arab ready-made clothes: Lungun-Bulala near Dala hill; Dandalin Turawa, and Zauran Mallam in Danbazzau wards amongst others.

The third group, the shop keepers, appeared to be the most important group among the Arab apprentice workers. This group represented their mentors in all their trading undertakings, travelling with the wares of their mentors from one place to another selling and buying. It was they who took Arab goods and commodities to places like Borno, Bida and Ilorin. They bought cattle from Chad and Adamawa and sold them in the south.

It should be pointed out that not all of the North African traders preferred to settle permanently in Hausaland for trading purposes. As a matter of fact, there were some who had very large trading interests in Kano but never came to see it. For example, a Trabulus businessman, Zunit, entrusted all his trading enterprise to his trained Hausa worker, one Abubakar who settled at Kofar Mata ward in the city. It was this Abubakar who took the trade caravan of his mentor from Kano to Tripoli and back. Abubakar also recruited his own workers and trained them to help him carry out successfully the business of his mentor in Kano.

According to Dumber (1971), the Tuareg of Agades, the Bugaje of Damargu (Tanut) and the Agalawa (Nigeriène Tuareg) donkey breeders had a big role in making the North African trade a success in Hausaland. Apart from their own trade in salt and potash from Agades and Bilma (Arklet) the Tuareg provided camels for transport. The Agalawa and the Bugaje were employed as camel and donkey drivers. The Agalawa soon became guides in caravan routes all over the Hausaland.

The Tripoli caravan trade established many camping areas (*Zango*) from Kano to Tripoli. Some of these *Zangos* such as Zinder

(Damagaran) and Damargu (Tarut) grew as important towns which tried to become commercial rivals to Kano.

The Cyrenaica-Kufra-Wadai Route

The second caravan route was eastwards leading from Kano to Chad and peripheral regions. There were three groups of traders that used this route for trading activities from their countries to Kano. The first were Arabs and Tubu traders. The second were the Kanuri and the third were Udawa and Fulatamare. The first group, the Arabs among them the bakkara tribes of the Sudan brought large herds of cattle from the following towns in Sudan and Chad: Atiye, Bargazal (Bahrnal-Ghazal), Dagana, Abashe, Wadai.⁴

This was the route which led through Borno-Wadai-Darfur- Nile in Egypt (Johnston 1967). The travelling organization of Sudanese Arabs was similar to those of their counterparts who followed the first route: Tripoli-Kano. They too employed a number of apprentice workers who followed the cattle while the mentors remained at home. Some goods and other provisions were carried by Dan-Bahari breed of donkeys, by far larger and stronger than the normal Hausa donkeys, with tremendous body power and ability to carry heavy loads and endure long travels.

The Sudan-Chad cattle traders made many camping places along their routes. For example, when they entered Borno they always stopped at Gaidam and Nguru before they moved to the next camp at Mallam-Madori in Hadejia Emirate. From Mallam-Madori their next camping place was Danzomo town in Tumbi (now Gumel Emirate). It was from this town of Danzomo, that the traders used to split into two groups. Those who would like to sell their cattle quickly so that they could get their money and buy their needs in the city and go back home earlier would head for Wudil market. On the way they would pass through many towns like Kaugama, Ringim, Zugaci, Alitini, Gogel and lastly Wudil. On reaching the market at Wudil, the traders would meet their customers among whom were the cattle dealers from Ilorin and Bida. As the Wudil Market was held every Friday of the week, it was convenient for the Ilorin and Bida cattle buyers who came through Zazzau emirate. In that respect, the buyers would not have to come to Kurmi Market to make their purchases. Further, cattle

in Wudil market were cheaper especially towards the end of the day when the cattle owners were anxious to sell and go to the city.

The other group which intended to reach the Kurmi Market in Kano city would continue their journey and encamp at Gabari. It was from Gabari that the caravans would enter the city through Kofar Mata gate. Immediately after the city gate and still a little distance from the Kurmi Market was a shallow muddy stream, a tributary of 'Yar Zage River. In order to make their passage easier logs of trees were felled down and placed across the shallow stream so that people and animals could pass without getting stuck in the mud. The Arabs named this place *Al-Kantara* meaning a bridge in Arabic - thus unwittingly giving the area a name. The journey always terminated at 'Yan Shanu, east of the Kurmi Market.

The Sudan-Chad traders bought the following, amongst other things, in Kano: tea and sugar, horse tackle, swords and coral beads, earrings, bangles and anklets. They also bought the famous Kano woven cloths such as *Kore* and *Tukurdi* dyed cloth for women (*Marra-Wahada*), white and blue color gown (*Dawingashau*) black gown (*Chilin*), shoes and many other items.

The second group the Kanuri brought to Kano potash of different qualities such as *Ungurnu* and *Gwangwarasa*. They also came with mats for different uses; made grass-fiber containers such as *Sanho* and *Cukurfa* as well as twisted ropes. The Kanuri camping area in the city was (also) in the eastern part of the market. The place is now called *Zangon-Barebari* (the encampment of the Kanuri) after their Hausa name. Their trade site was always adjacent to 'Yan Shanu on the Northern part of the market, just across the Jakara River. The Kanuri trades in Kano were very much local and their articles were sold by Hausa traders in many old markets throughout the Emirate.

The last, but by far not the least, were the Uda tribes who came from Gegemi in Dabinanci, or Dabinuwa Island bordering Chad from the Republic of Niger. These tribes came to Kano with their flocks of sheep and goats. They also brought ostriches with their ornamental feathers. These ostrich feathers were among the articles that the North African Arab exported from Kano to other parts of the world.

It was not surprising to find that all these three groups of traders who followed the same routes lived near each other occupying a very large area east of the Kurmi Market. Thus places such as 'Yan Shanu,

‘Yan Awaki and ‘Yan Kanwa in the Kurmi Market are still known by such trade-linked names.

All these groups were under the protection of *Sarkin Zango*. The office of *Sarkin Zango* was usually held by a distinguished trader who travelled far and wide and can speak a variety of languages - a necessary qualification to understand the various linguistic groups under his domain. This type of *de facto* official was at certain times an interpreter in the Amir’s palace as well as in the *Alkali* courts. *Sarkin Zango* was not an official of the Emirate like village or district head, but he was recognized by the *Amir* to host the traders and protect their business against unscrupulous native traders who might have been tempted to exploit the strangers. For this reason, the *Amir* appointed four of his own body guards (*Dogarai*) to help *Sarkin Zango*, so that the general public would know that the *Sarkin Zango* was *de facto* official of the palace. He hosted the Sudan-Chad traders, arranged for the sale of their cattle and other articles of trade and finally guided them to buy all their needs without being cheated by bad local traders. The *Sarkin Zango* fed his guest from the commissions he collected from the trade transactions.

The Consolidation of the North African Community in Kano

The affairs of North African traders in Kano were under the control of a palace-appointed host, *Galadiman Kano*. This was because before the death of *Sarkin Kano Dabo* (1819-1846), the position of the Arabs was strengthened by a letter sent to *Ibrahim Dabo* by the Sultan of Sokoto to recognize a Ghadames merchant named *Abande* as the leader of the Arabs in Kano.

As far back as the reign of *Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Barja* (1438-52), *Kano Chronicle* records that the North African merchants were coming to Kano for trade. But the second Fulani *Amir* of Kano after the Jihad, *Mallam Ibrahim Dabo* (1819-1846) encouraged some of the Arabs to move to Kano from Katsina. This happened after the battle of Maradi in which Kano contingents under the leadership of the *Amir* participated. After the jihad the old Hausa dynasty of Katsina was driven away and finally settled in Maradi from where they continually raided the northern and western parts of the territory (see Barth 1890, Landeroin and Tilho 1911, and Smith 1967).

It was the inability of Katsina rulers to protect the Sahara traders that made the entire community, both Arabs and their Katsina middlemen and agents migrate to Kano⁵ under their leader Abdullahi Kutkut. The newcomers settled at Kukul on the western side of the *Kasuwan-Kurmi* [market by the jungle] by the main city market. The area became *Kukul* due to the inability of the *Kanawa* to pronounce Abdullahi Kutkut's name properly.⁶

The arrival of Katsina and Wadai Arabs in Kano swelled the number of the North African traders already resident in Kano. *Amir Ibrahim Dabo*, realizing the importance of the old Kano tradition of respecting guests, entrusted the affairs of the Arabs in the hand of *Galadiman Kano*. Under the Galadima, there was an officer called *Gado-da-masu*, who as the protocol officer in the palace became the host of the Arabs. He was the one who would usher in all the foreign visitors to the palace for audience with the Amir. He looked after the accommodation of the Arabs in the wards around the Kurmi market such as:

- Dandalin Turawa,
- Durmin Kukul (Yalwa),
- Shatsari,
- Dala,
- Dukurawa,
- Jingau,
- Alfindiki,
- Zaitawa,
- Kofar Wambai, and
- Yan Awaki.

A token number of fighting men under the command of *Gado-da-Masu* were always prepared to protect the Arab traders to and from the borders of the Emirate.

Social Organization

The North African Arabs in Kano were divided into two racially separated groups. The first group were the citizens of Morocco, Tunisia, Libya and some parts of the Sudan. These controlled the trade

process in Kano. The second group was composed of African trade agents who worked for the Arabs. The members of the first group were mostly Arabs, and that of the second group were Hausa and Kanuri. The two groups were not known to have inter-married, and from all records it seemed that they maintained superior-subordinate relationship. However, there were many instances of intermarriages between the North Africans and their Hausa hosts, especially drawn from the Hausa elite class.

The Arabs made the decisions, employing their African agents to implement them. Both Arab financiers and African agents met regularly to work out various commercial strategies. Gradually the African agents adopted the Arab culture - wearing Arab clothes and bearing Arab names; in effect, becoming Black Arabs. Thus names such as Gashash, Bin Howaid, Zunit and Talib are common among contemporary families in Kano.

In their relationships with the Emirate administration, the Arabs enjoyed respect and confidence in the Amir's palace especially at the time of the *Amir* Abdullahi who was their host when he was the *Galadiman Kano*. The Palace gates were opened to them, and they used to pay their respects every Friday after offering the Friday prayers. It was during such occasion that new arrivals from North Africa were introduced to the Amir.

The Arabs settlers in Kano greatly admired and respected the entire leadership of the jihad of Shehu Usman Danfodiyo, and were especially comfortable with the Islamic leadership of the Kano Emirate. They respected all the famous Ulama of Hausaland and regarded them as their own Ulama. As for the *Amir* of Kano they addressed him the same way they used to address the Turkish sultans. Thus they addressed the *Amir* in such Arabic words as *Maulana Sultan Kano*, meaning Lord the *Amir* of Kano. An example of the high regards which the North African Arabs had for the Amirs of Kano was seen in the will of a Moroccan merchant who fell sick in Kano. The merchant, realizing that he was dying in Kano and had no relation around to hand over to him his properties, wrote a letter to the *Amir* of Kano Abdullahi Bin Dabo requesting the *Amir* to take over the property and put it into *Baital Mal* for the benefit of all the Muslims in the Emirate if none of his blood relation came to claim the property.

Further, in their relation with Government of Kano, the Arabs proved themselves loyal and reliable friends, refraining from undue political interference in the Emirate affairs, since by and large, not only were they welcome in the community, but had all the privileges of high status foreigners. For instance, when the Arabs were asked to choose their representative in the palace, the Arabs in most cases choose one of their African agents to be their representative in anything affecting both the palace and the entire Kano community. This representative at the Amir's palace was *Mai Unguwar Larabawa*, who used to liaise between them and the palace.

Thus the Arabs always refrained from direct interference in internal affairs of the kingdom; preferring to allow their African agents to deal with all the matters concerning the community. These African agents, representing the Arabs, were trusted with the office of the Emirate treasury, *Ma'ajin Kano*, throughout the period of Jihad until 1963. Thus these Arab representatives in the palace were very successful in bringing harmonious relationship between the Arabs and the Kano community. One of the famous among them was Mas'ud Al-Faqih Bin Bubakar. Mas'ud was given the name of Al-Faqih because of his rich knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence.

Commercial Activities

The establishment of the Jihad Government in Hausaland increased the demand for Arab products and merchandise. The Ulama and their disciples needed papers to write their dissertations; members of aristocratic class needed popular North African textile materials for their robes and turbans. The embroidered North African *Jubba* and its Tunisian trousers as well as their *Kalabus* hat were also in great demand. The Arab trading activities soon covered a very wide area across Hausaland from Chad in the east to Ilorin and Bida in the West. Some of the articles the Arabs brought across the desert could be put into following categories:

- *Horse Tackle*: With decorated robes and embroidered saddle covers ready-made embroidered cloth such as *jubba*, *Fulmuran*, *Zubuni*, *Jauha* and *Alkyabba*.

- *Textile Materials*: Such as white and brown calico, Silken materials, pink and sky blue (*Hatsaya* and *Muwambal*), Turbans of different colors including white *harsa*.
- *Thread and Natural*: Such as *Warwar* which was used for weaving *barage* cloth in Sakkwato, *Al-harini Mahudon*, used for embroidered native gowns, perfume and increase, paper, tea, sugar, and other materials.

The North African Arabs on the other hand, dealt in many articles of trade from Hausaland, not only for the North African markets, but also for both internal and external trades, in and outside their homeland. For example they dealt in:

- Hides and Skins,
- Ostrich feathers,
- Elephant tusk and rhinoceros' horn,
- Dyed shinning blouse gowns and turbans (*Kore* and *Turkudi*), and
- White and blue woven blankets.

Others were

- Millet and guinea corn,
- Calabash of different uses,
- Mortars and pestle,
- Wooden soup bowls,
- Straw-made food covers (*faijai*).
- Cattle,
- Sheep and Goats, and
- Borno Horses

Thus by this time a well-established community comprising of Arab elements from North Africa, the Sudan and Yemen had fully established itself in Kano. Subsequently there was the second influx of Arabs from Katsina and Zinder. One group settled at *Dandalin Turawa* [recreation place for white people] which became an extension of the *Kulkul* ward. Another settled at *Jingau* - an area to the

north west of the Amir's palace where they kept their camels. Yet another group of Wadai origin and shoemakers by profession also came from Zinder and Katsina to settle at the foot of Dala hill where they established shoe factories principally to supply the needs of other Arabs. These latter arrivals were not the only shoemakers in the now bustling community since there were many local shoe merchants earlier trained as apprentices in North Africa by their Arab mentors. The earlier Arabs of Ghadames also established factories at Jingau where they made *Lantami* [Hausa: meaning "tongue" i.e. slippers with a large tongue] shoes for the Amirs of the western Sudan, some of which were even exported to Tripoli.

Like every newly emergent community in a strange land, the new settlers felt the need for a place where they could obtain their own sort of food so an inn called *Al-findik*i (from the Arabic *al-Funduq* an inn) was built and there such wheat-based foods as *al-kaki* [a small cake or biscuit made from sugar, wheat flour etc. and then fried], *al-kubus* [wheaten pudding eaten with soup], *al-garagis* [similar to *al-kaki* but baked not fried], *Gurasa* [flat wheaten loaves], *Kuskus* [cous-cous] and many other dishes were first introduced to Hausaland. These new foods attracted the attention of the *Amir* and ruling classes who sent their female slaves to be taught the new techniques. Thus from Kano, *al-Kama* or wheat foods spread to the rest of Hausaland.

The Arab enrichment of Hausa culture of Kano did not end there. When the Hausa leather workers saw the newly established shoe factories of Dala and Jingau-Alfindiki they were not slow in learning the new methods and styles. Indeed, so well and so quickly did they learn that they came to dominate the trade. It was they who introduced the silk embroidered slippers which were exported to Sokoto, Gwandu, Nupe and Adamawa for use by the upper classes.

Commercially, the industrial patronage by the Arabs stimulated the growth of industries in Kano. They financed local craftsmen by giving them advanced payments which enabled them to produce the desired commodities for the Arabs. One area that enjoyed this form of advanced-fee stimulus is the dyeing industry. For long time in the history of Kano the only dyeing industry known by the outsiders was the famous Kura-Bunkure dyeing industry which produced *Turkudi* or *Dan Kura* and other colored materials. But with strong Arab patronage and capital, other dyeing industries sprang-up in Kano city near the

Arabs wards, in addition to Karofin Kura and Karofin Bunkure in Rano district. The places in the city included:

- Karofin Kwalwa,
- Karofin Sheshe,
- Karofin Kofar Mata,
- Karofin Zage,
- Karofin Wanka da Shuni,
- Karofin Sudawa,
- Karofin Dagauda and
- Karofin`Dala.

Another industry that received special attention of the Arabs was the leather industry. To stimulate the production of hides and skin in large quantities, the Arabs helped establish tanning industries in:

- Majemar Adakawa,
- Majemar Arzai,
- Majemar Kirfi and
- Majemar Kofar Wambai or Dukau.

Other craftsmen that benefited from the development of trade in Kano were the woodworkers, black smiths and calabash decorators.

Political Leadership

Before the *Amir* of Kano Ibrahim Dabo died in 1846, he received a letter from his overlord, the *Sarkin Musulmi* of Sokoto ordering him to recognize one al-Hajj Abande as the permanent agent of the Ghadames government in Kano. As the majority of the Arabs in Kano were originally from Ghadames or Ghat, the Ghadames authorities felt that there was a need for a consulate to look after the commercial and personal interests of their people. The appointment of Al-Hajj Abande gave the Arabs greater confidence and a feeling of security with the result that their markets in Dandali and Al-Findiki expanded greatly. Trade goods from Middle East and Europe became commoner than ever before to their extensive North African contacts. Local traders were employed as agents and they were given goods and money with

which to trade. Long distance traders (*fatake*) traveling to Borno and Chad in the East were financed as were others who traveled to Bida, Borgu, Gwanja and Dagombe. These activities resulted in the city of Kano becoming one of the busiest and wealthiest markets in West Africa.⁷ By 1855 there were a number of *masu kudi* or men of sufficient wealth to be distinguished from their fellows in both the Arab and Hausa communities.

It should be recalled that the predominantly Arab mercantile community in Kano had hitherto remained neutral from the political intrigues of the Kano Emirate; preferring to concentrate their attention purely on commercial activities. However, the appointment of al-Hajj Abande as some sort of Consul dragged them into the political matrix of the Emirate.

As an Ambassador or Consul of a foreign government, Al-Hajj Abande became a great friend of the Kano Court; the rulers of Kano, especially Abdullahi, the fourth Amir (1855-1882), made him their confidant. This favour brought the Arabs to the palace frequently, either to pray for the success of a war-like expedition or to give gifts of swords and other military hardware to the Amir's war machinery. As the friendship between the Arabs and the Abdullahi became so close, the former enjoyed a considerable amount of security and protection for their activities. Perhaps not unexpectedly, this close association with foreign powerful influence and the local political forces brought the Arabs deep into a series of Kano palace political controversies.

Arabs and Sufism in Kano

The Arabs contribution to its religious life was as important. The Arabs had their own Ulama who used to perform various religious ceremonies for the Arab community such as marriages, funeral and naming ceremonies as well as *Eid* and Friday prayers. Some of their Ulama were Hudana of Jingau who was an authority in Jewish History; Talib at-Tuwat, the Imam of their mosque; and Sheikh Abdulkareem Muradal-Marakishi who lived in 'Yan Awaki wards.

Long before the arrival of the Arabs as a forceful community, the Qadiriyya *tariqa* [the path, a Sufi practice] had many followers in Kano. Yet it was the Arabs who regularized the process through the

establishment of regular weekly prayer meetings for new members of the movement. The Arabs also emphasized the use of *bandiri*, a sort of tambourine without the jingles - drums, which were played every Thursday evening following afternoon meeting.

Muhammadu Bello, first *Sarkin* Musulmi (1817 to 1837) in his two books on the Qadiriyya, *Miftah al-Sadad fi aqşam hadhihi 'l-bilad* and *al-Durar al-zahiriya al-salasil al-qadiriya* outlined all the procedures of the *hadra* [the weekly meeting of the brethren and the procedures of the meeting, in Hausa often as a synonym of *tariqa*]. Although there were no attempts to hold the weekly meetings by him or anyone else it should be noted that while Bello, like his father Shaykh Uthman, received the *wird* of the Qadiriyya from al-Mukhtar al-Kunti (1729 to 1811) the main source of most Qadiriyya spiritual genealogies in the Western Sudan, it was not until three Arabs from different parts of North Africa settled in Kano and began to hold weekly meetings of their individual *tariqa*, sometimes after 1883, that the practice of *bandiri* was adopted and spread.

The first of these men was Al-Hajj Muhammad Sagaiya al-Ghadamsi, who founded his *Zawiya* [a lodge, meeting place of members of the *tariqa*] in his house in the Alfindiki ward. The second was Shaykh Talib at-Tuwati⁸ who introduced the Sanusiyya *tariqa* after settling in *Dandalin Turawa*. The third was Aliyu Musa, the first leader of the Shadhiliyya⁹ in Kano.

Of these three *turuq* only the *Sanusiyya* ultimately failed to attract the people of Kano and this was because its leaders were not settlers but traders who only remained for short periods before returning to their homes.¹⁰ However, its members were active. When Shaykh Talib returned to his home he was succeeded by Al-Hajj Ali Bishir. The new leader raised funds and constructed the first proper *Zawiya* to be built. According to the practice of the Sanusiyya, the *ikhwan* or brothers had to build and maintain their own mosque and meeting place but, as their number was small, Ali Bishir appealed to the other Arabs to take some responsibility towards its upkeep. The Arabs maintained the mosque and used it for their *id* celebrations and Friday prayers, until Amir Abbas (1903-1919) asked them to use the main city Mosque and to integrate with the other Muslims. This was not without some international reasons.

For example, in 1909 about six years after the British conquest of Kano, the French army in Niger Republic intercepted a group of important wealthy Kano traders of Tripoli origin on their way to Kano for their usual trading purposes. Fika (1968) gave the names of these merchants as Muhammad Nassauf, El-Ghazla, Hadi Bushaghour, and Sa'id Ganaba. These merchants were arrested by the French on the suspicion of being Sanusiyya adherents. Although they were later released, an intelligence report was sent to the British Resident in Kano alerting him to the possible dangers of these new Tripolitanian arrivals waging a jihad against British and French colonial interests. A careful discussion between the then British Resident, Mr. Temple and the then *Amir* Muhammad Abbas confirmed the baseless nature of these allegations as the Tripolitanian Arabs had been living in Kano for decades without incident.

Thus, to allay the fears of the British, who may now start feeling uneasy with the activities of highly mobile and resourceful members of a society without much control, *Amir* Abbas then requested the Arabs to integrate their religious activities in the main Central mosque, to further confirm to the British and their allies that there was no hidden agenda in the Arab presence in Kano.

When Ali Bishir finally left Kano for his own country, he left the mosque in charge of the Shadiliyya leader Ali Musa. The Shadiliyya *ikhwan* undertook responsibility for its maintenance and held their weekly meetings there up to the present time.

The British Occupation and the Migrant Lebanese in Kano

The British occupation of Kano in 1903 dealt more on creating effective colonial machinery that allowed maximum exploitation of colonized peoples, whereas other people who have arrived and settled in the Kano territory more or less integrated with the society, thus contributing to its rich diversity, the British came strictly as overlords, with a specific mission and agenda: that of control and economic exploitation.

Right on their heels was another group of Arab settlers whose presence had a lot of impact on Kano. These were the Lebanese. Working in close cohort with the British (albeit the British with considerable disdain and reluctance), they significantly altered

the economic structure of the territory. Unlike the Tripolitanian Arabs a century before them, the Lebanese refused to integrate in the mainstream Kano social fabric. Indeed the only thing that made them different from the British was the fact that instead of coming to rule and exploit, as the British did, the Lebanese came to exploit. Like the British, they were indifferent to the mainstream life of *Kanawa*, although unlike the British they were ready enough to go and live into every nook and corner of the territory in the pursuit of their commercial interests. As Albasu (1989: 28) noted,

The Lebanese in Kano are secretive about their motives for migration. The bulk of the Lebanese came to Kano in the 1930s and they were Muslims. It was a period when Lebanon fell under French rule and was also a period of the Great Depression. So it was not clear whether they came in protest (or anticipation) of a repressive French rule or in response to the Depression and its attendant economic difficulties.

While the other Arabs, especially the North Africans came to Kano through the Sahara, the Lebanese came through the Niger Delta - down south. By then the British had already established full control and thus their movements were carefully recorded. But since they were not in sufficient quantity to constitute a threat to British interests, they were largely ignored by the British, who treated them with the same contemptuous disdain they reserved for any other race.

The railroad link between Lagos and Kano, completed in 1911, opened up the territory to penetration via the coast in full force. The Lebanese have been steadily migrating from Lebanon to various parts of the world in droves since the 19th century. The age of exploration and stories of fabulous wealth to be made in uncharted lands by those few who settled in these lands served to attract yet more others, who established a large settlement in Lagos colony. Their penetration into the interior was hampered by the British who controlled access to the area and were not willing to allow any interest other than their own into the areas.

The first Lebanese whose migration was recorded by the colonial officers were two brothers who came to Kano from Lagos in 1903, although they did not settle in the territory until 1907 (Albasu 1989). However, the first migrant to settle permanently in Kano city was

recorded as Seman Naoum in 1912. Like all the other Lebanese that were to follow, he was basically a trader in European goods.

The cultural aloofness of the Lebanese in early Kano were noted in the fact that when the British decided to implement the policy of racial separation and create their own reservation areas, the few Lebanese settlers applied for permission to leave the city and settle in the European areas. The British refused to allow the Lebanese to be their neighbours. Instead, in "1913 an area consisting of twelve plots was marked out west of the railway for "colored traders" (Albasu 1989: 206) meaning the Lebanese.

This area (the entire stretch of present-day Ibrahim Taiwo Road in Kano, starting from [today's] Radio Kano and ending at El-Duniya/Kwanar Singa junction) eventually became the Syrian Quarters, and from 1915 a home to any non-European who wished to pitch his business in the area; although it was dominated by the Lebanese. Seman Naoum the first Lebanese to settle in Kano city, almost immediately moved to the new settlement - ending perhaps the shortest duration of migrant stay in the territory. Eventually more Lebanese arrived in Kano, but they were never fully integrated into the Kano ethnic identity in the same way the other Arabs were. There were three reasons for this.

First, most of the early Lebanese to Kano were Christians and had little empathy with the Muslim Hausa. Again, they refused to stay in the city where they stand out, unlike other Christian African migrants (e.g. the Yoruba) who blended. Secondly, the subsequent Lebanese arrivals were Shiite Muslims creating a wider gap between the predominantly Hausa Sunni Muslims and their own brand of Islam. Third, they simply did not consider the African population as part of their anthropological universe. The few that did married Hausa women often ended up divorcing them when they got wealthy enough to get a wife imported for them from Lebanon (Albasu 1989). The Lebanese adopted this same strategy in other parts of West Africa where they settled. Fouad Khuri (1968: 90) recounts such practices - and their consequences as follows:

The divorce of African wives by their Lebanese husbands, resulting from the latter's acquisition of wealth and the subsequent enlargement of their community, has created a mulatto group which recognizes itself to be neither African nor Lebanese but a separate, enclosed community. This is

true of Sierra Leone, Guinea, Senegal and in other West African countries where children belong to the father's kin and where the conflict in cultural practices between the Lebanese and the Africans has alienated the mulattoes from both groups.

The conflict in cultural practices between the Kano Lebanese and the Kano Hausa was, as said earlier, due to the Shiite/Sunni divide which is simply irreconcilable even if both the sides are ready to accommodate each other's views.

From Albasu's accounts, the first main business the Lebanese got involved in was cattle run from Kano to Lagos via Ibadan. They were, however, forced to pull out due to hostilities from long-established Hausa cattle dealers. Further, the success of the cattle-trade relied heavily on the credit system, which the Lebanese were unfamiliar with. Their next focus was kolanut trade running smack into the same ethnic monopoly they encountered in cattle-trading. The kolanut trade had been dominated by the Hausa caravans. It was made clear to the few Lebanese adventurous enough to join the caravans that they were not welcome. They then attempted to create alternative sources for the kolanut by bringing different species from what was (and possibly still is) their main home base in Africa Sierra Leone, especially through the coastal routes. This failed when the Sierra Leone variety of kolanut started to be grown in large quantities in western Nigeria. They had to pull out of that also. They struck lucky, however, with the boom in groundnut demand.

The demand for, of all things, soap, led to demands for groundnut oil which was found by European industrialists to be a better ingredient than animal fat. Demand for groundnut shot up with the use of groundnut oil in margarine manufacture. Large export of groundnuts however began after the railroad was opened in 1911.

Right from the beginning the trade was dominated by European firms. The Lebanese got involved only as dealers for the firms. Local Hausa traders were used as middlemen to procure the commodity. These middlemen such as Alhasan Dantata, Umaru Sharubutu, Maikano Agogo and Adamu Jakada and others were to form the nucleus of an oligarch class in the economic history of Kano, neatly supplanting the Europeans when they left.

However, in 1925 the European firms resolved (for an undocumented and therefore unknown reason) to stop dealing with

Hausa middlemen which created a gap quickly filled by the Lebanese. With accumulated capital from their previous commercial forays, they now become groundnut buyers. With the Europeans buying only from the Lebanese, the latter formed a cartel which dictated the prices of purchase from the farmers (usually low) and sale to the firms (usually high). In addition, the Lebanese had by then made significant inroads into the road haulage. Thus a combination of European preferential patronage, Lebanese monopoly on the most lucrative trade deal of the decade, coupled with ownership of the haulage mechanism created a pull-factor that attracted more Lebanese to Kano as settlers from 1925.

While clearly maintaining a racial aloofness from the local populace,¹¹ the Lebanese were nevertheless ready to settle in areas no European would; adapt a life-style similar to that of the environment. More significantly, they were also ready to learn the local language if only to gain the confidence of the “natives”, in the process of driving a hard bargain for the products they wanted to purchase. Throughout the colonial interregnum, the Lebanese adaptability remained a constant source of irritation to the British who encountered them in whatever economic activity they engage.

The indigenous merchants with the capital to compete with the Lebanese, seeing that they have been effectively marginalized, protested to Emir Abdullahi Bayero (1926-1953) who in turn lodged a complaint with the colonial authorities which led to the relaxation of the laws.

In compliance, and to break the Lebanese monopoly in the groundnut trade, the European firms opened canteens in various rural locations such as Daura, Mai Aduwa, Dambatta, Malam Madori, Kazaure, Gagarawa and others. Surprisingly enough, this was to enable the European firms to buy groundnut directly from the source in the hands of the same people (Hausa) that they resolved not to buy a few years earlier. This was perhaps due to the policy change instituted as a result of the protests of indigenous merchants to the Emir. Sensing a change in action (and possible fortunes), the Lebanese moved quickly in 1929 to acquire plots in the same canteen locations as the European firms. Since they had already penetrated deep into the hinterland, living there was quite an easy task.

The world-wide recession of the 1930s, followed by the onset of World War II reduced the value of Nigeria's agricultural products.

When the groundnut boom ended, the Lebanese next attempted to go into beans and maize production facing the same stonewall of ethnic dominance and monopoly from the Hausa, so they abandoned that. Ironically, during the war years, the European firms formed a cartel which refused to patronize non-European traders, particularly the Lebanese. Saul Raccah (not really a Lebanese, though associating with them), was the first to be allowed to join the cartel in 1941 and only after a legal protest. Constitutional changes and politics ensured the complete pull-out of the Lebanese from the agricultural commodities to textiles and industrial concerns.

Although unsettled by the British conquest of Kano in 1903, the Tripolitanian Arabs did not feel threatened since they had been so entrenched in the city culture to be easily removed. However, two factors motivated a movement of quite a few of them from the city to a new-layout at the outskirts of the city created by the British. First, with the arrival of railroad to Kano in 1911 it was clear that the trans-Saharan trade route of camels, donkeys and mules is now a dead-end. The Tripolitanian Kano Arabs, already aware of world-wide trends in trade through their Mediterranean links, clearly perceived the new rail as heralding an era of improved movement of goods; more volume more variety all brought faster, cheaper and more efficiently. As noted by Johnson (1976: 99), in 1909,

The Arab traders at Kano already appreciate the advantages of comparatively rapid transport, and the more valuable imported articles of trade are now forwarded from England, Morocco and Tripoli by means of the parcel post. These traders will not be slow to recognize the benefits that the railway will confer by reducing the risks to loss and facilitating the realisation of their more bulky exports, and it seem more than probable that the large trans-Saharan trade to Tripoli will be diverted to the Niger.

Thus quite a few of the Kano Arabs seized the opportunity of enhanced commercial participation and moved out of the city. Although large scale movement did not probably happen until after 1949 when the lay-out was fully completed, nevertheless many did move to the Syrian Quarters initially in 1919. To the British, the Lebanese and the Tripolitanian Kano Arabs are variations of the same theme, and as such are combinable.¹² The commercial focus of those

whose choice was to remain in the city changed to Bornu and the Chad Basin (Paden 1973: 31).

Secondly, the movement of some of the Kano Arabs out of the city would have been encouraged by the British to clearly stem any "mahdist" inclinations as these more aware citizens may incite among ordinary "natives". This was made all the more evident by the fact that when the British opened the first western type school in 1909, among the first set of "commoners" to attend the school were some Kano Arabs¹³ at a time when the school was being experimented on Kano Mallams or the children of the ruling houses (Williams 1960, Graham 1966).

The British apprehension was strengthened by the concern that traditional links (though never really military) between the Kano Arabs and North Africa might facilitate the transfer of some of the tensions in the Maghreb to northern Nigeria at the eve of World War I (Paden 1973: 256).

To appease local merchants (essentially the oligarch cartel, but with an eye also on the Kano Arabs), the British created Fagge-Ta-Kudu, intended as a trading and residential area for indigenous traders so as to enhance their participation in the modern trade. The rather stringent building conditions specified for residency in Fagge-ta-Kudu made it difficult for many of the first allottees - all *Kanawa* - to actually utilize the land. Further, the location of the site at a valley (thus *kwari*, depression) made it unattractive to the indigenous oligarchs.

The Lebanese, already entrenched in the also newly created Syrian Quarters and thus looking for areas to expand, seized up the opportunity and entered into agreements with the allottees where they built the houses according to the colonial specifications, and could stay for as long as 20 years rent-free, after which they were to relinquish the house to the allottee. Changes in laws in 1953 however gave the Lebanese occupants the right of perpetual occupancy in these plots - giving them both Syrian Quarters and Fage-ta-Kudu, and in the process automatically dispossess the original Hausa allottees. Thus with the few Tripolitanian Kano Arabs already settled, both Fage Ta Kudu and the Syrian Quarters became more or less Arab quarters. Incidentally, Fage-Ta-Arewa, north to Fage-Ta-Kudu, was to also have its own "Arab Quarters" in the form of Yemenites.

Contemporary Yemenite Arrivals in Kano

In addition to the Tripolitanian Arabs, now fully *Kanawas*, another set of Arabs (beside the Lebanese who remained culturally monolithic and as such, as much outsiders to Kano's cultural makeup as the inhabitants of Sabon Gari) that enriched the urban ecology of Kano were the Yemenite Arabs.¹⁴

The contemporary Yemenite settlement in Kano, like that of the Lebanese, was a colonial phenomenon. Agricultural practices and crops seemed to indicate some elements of early Yemenite arrival in the territory of Kano perhaps as a result of the collapse of the Ma'arib dam in Yemen in 5th century B.C.; and that they were most likely to have introduced dry-season farming, certainly introducing new Middle-eastern crops such as *albasa* (onion) and *alkama* (wheat) to the Kano agricultural system. The hypothesis of Yemenite migration in antiquity traces the settlers from Aden Region near the Ma'arib Dam, thus their familiarity with advanced agricultural practices.

The Yemenite arrival in Kano was a direct result of demand for skins and hides in European markets, particularly the United States. Towards late 19th century, Max Klein, an American industrialist established buying stations for leather and hides at Aden, Mogadishu, Mombasa and Dar es Salaam. Local merchants under a European manager made the trade effective, prosperous and lucrative by penetrating into the hinterland and buying the product. By 1905 when he re-located, he had established an effective network for the purchase of hides and leather. The popularity of "morocco leather" and the realization that it was actually Sokoto leather made Klein shift his operations from East Africa to North Africa. However, unable to repeat his success of using local agents to secure skins and hides in North Africa, he appointed his East African Agent, Luigi Ambrosini, to set up a buying station in the British occupied territories of Northern Nigeria (Shenton 1974).

On arrival in Kano, for that was effectively Northern Nigeria in the early stages of the occupation (Kaduna became ready as a newly built capital only in 1917) Ambrosini decided to repeat his East African formula by using local agents to purchase skins and hides. By now, however, he was working for the UAC. Realizing the Islamic nature of

Kano and the surrounding territories, Ambrosini decided to import Yemenites nationals, where he had a strong base and use them as the local buying agents.

Thus perhaps not surprisingly, virtually all the Yemenites imported by the British in Kano were from South Yemen with capital city of Aden which itself was a part of the British Empire from 1839 to 1967.¹⁵ The Yemenite choice, beside existing bureaucratic network already in place by Ambrosini, was based on the Yemenite experience with raising goats, sheep and cattle on a far more massive scale than *Kanawa*. They therefore effectively knew the leather trade.

Also being Arabs and Muslim (unlike the Lebanese who, although with a lot of Christian members, were avoided in all transactions by the British as much as possible) means that they would be more acceptable in the hinterland than the British. Again the British avoided the Lebanese in this partnership because the Yemenites were hired and therefore worked for the UAC or other subsidiaries of UAC. This was to lay the foundation for the subsequent engagement in the civil service. The Lebanese, on the other hand, were independent free-agents, also trying to cut in wherever the British trade direction went. Despite the Nigerian passports which made it easy to use Nigeria as a base (never really having accepted themselves as Nigerians), the Lebanese showed little inclination to be employed in the civil service like the Yemenites.

The first Yemenite arrival was Hassan Ali from Aden who settled first at Abuja Road (House No J6 in former France Road) Sabon Gari in 1919, followed by Abdulmalik who later became a P.Z. Agent (Bako 1990: 142).

Al Halaf, another Yemenite came from Aden through the Lagos to Kano rail in 1928,¹⁶ and later encouraged others to follow him. Even though the British were willing to experiment with importing people from other parts of the world to help them exploit colonized territories, they were not ready to do it on massive scale, as they did with the establishment of Sabon Gari. This was possibly because the Yemenite would come to Kano with an enhanced awareness of what they wanted and with their militant background of historical conflicts, could easily constitute a security risk if imported on large scale. The earlier arrivals were therefore quite few, and carefully selected by L. Ambrosini.

The Yemenite agents were given monthly stipends and food rations, which are doubled if the agent gets married, especially to a local woman. Marriage bonded the agents to the community, and made them more acceptable - which in turn made them more productive to the colonial machination. What made it particularly easier was the fact that the Yemenite, unlike the Lebanese in Kano, married out of desire to be part of the community. The Lebanese, on the other hand married local women principally to negotiate access into hinterland markets. Once they became well established and rich, they divorced the local wives and 'imported' Lebanese wives from Lebanon. It was the Yemenite adaptability to life in Kano, as distinct from a preserved Aden¹⁷ that made the Yemenite indelible streaks in the cultural configuration of Kano.¹⁸ What made it even more variegated was the trans-Arab marriage relationships between the Yemenite Arabs and the Tripolitanian Arabs many of whom were literally neighbours, leading to the emergence of a distinct Kano Arab.

While it was principally the UAC that took the bulk of the responsibility for the importation and welfare of the Yemenite in Kano, other subsidiaries such as GBO, PZ and John Holt also got involved in the skins and hides and employed the Yemenites. Eventually, however, they became the sole licensed agents of PZ only.

Further, their responsibilities were widened to include other articles of trade. Thus they became outlets through which manufactured and imported goods brought into the country by PZ were sold at the village level. In spreading them to the rural areas, the European firms settled them into the already created canteens (which came to be referred to as *kanti*). Commodities sold in the *kanti* stores included textile, salt, sugar, detergents and spices. Upon sale of these commodities, the Yemenite agents were then required to purchase hides and leather for the parent company and send them via either road transport or railroad link to Kano. This was facilitated by the network of rail terminals in most of the major villages.

After World War II the demand for groundnut seemed to suddenly explode, and Kano, being a major agricultural basin, was poised to provide a hungry Europe with the base material needed to re-build bodies battered by the years of war. The colonial administration, using the existing company structure, now aided by a series of locally

absorbed oligarch agents readily got involved (see for instance Bashir 1983, 1985).

In the 1950s and with the prospects of Nigerian gaining independence by the end of the decade, it was clear that some alterations to British-Yemenite arrangement would have to be made. As a process of disengagement, the status of the Yemenite agents was changed to *Factor* in 1956. Under this arrangement, the Yemenite were no longer in the employee of the companies they represented. Initially, there were protests against being called Factor. But an elaborate explanation from the authorities seemed to palliate their fears. The Factor status gave them independence to sell their hides, leather and groundnut to any company or anyone they wished, but they must first seek clearance from the main company. This gave them some freedom to transact with whoever they liked. Those who accepted this arrangement had the name FACTOR stenciled on their frontage of their shops in the various locations.

In the 1960s when Nigeria gained independence, the status of the Yemenites was not clear. First the Yemeni Government sent a delegation to Nigeria specifically to the Yemenite communities asking them to repatriate to Yemen. Many choose to stay in Nigeria. This was as a result of an earlier meeting held between the community members and the Premier of the Northern Region, Sir Ahmadu Bello where their future plans were discussed. At the meeting the Premier assured that by the virtue of religion, and the inter-marriage patterns, the Yemenite are *de facto* Nigerians (at least Northern Nigerians). The Sardauna drew parallels to the earlier arrivals of the Tripolitanian Arabs, and in antiquity, the Yemenite migratory cluster to indicate that for all the Yemenites, Kano was home, and had been home for centuries. They were therefore asked to consider Kano (or other territories) their home. However, those who wanted to go back to Yemen were quite free to do so; but they were all urged to stay. To make it even easier for them, the Indigenization Decree promulgated excluded them; thus treating them as full Nigerians.

Intergroup Contact, Migrations and Community Formation

According to Castles (2002), two main models of migration and incorporation dominated academic and policy approaches in the late twentieth century. First, the settler model, according to which immigrants gradually integrate into economic and social relations, re-united or formed families and eventually became assimilated into the host society (sometimes over two or three generations). Second, the temporary migration model, according to which migrant workers stayed in the host country for a limited period, and maintained their affiliation with their country of origin.

Sociological explanations of migration focus on the importance of cultural and social capital. Cultural capital refers to knowledge of other societies and the opportunities they offer, as well as information about how to actually go about moving and seeking work elsewhere. Arab migrations to northern Nigeria fit very well with this explanation in the sense that there is a considerable similarity - bounded in religious norms - between the immigrants and natives. This, perhaps not surprising and despite the clear racial divide, did not raise many issues of racism and prejudice - precisely because the Arab immigrants are those in minority, and occupy privileged positions of economic power.

Elsewhere, considering that the World War II and its aftermath owe a lot of its mechanism to racial prejudices in Europe, it is not surprising that intergroup contact theories emerged after the war. In 1954 Gordon Allport assessed why prejudice among groups existed. He determined issues which if controlled would lead to improved group relations and reduced conflict and prejudice among groups. He proposed his Contact Theory, also known as the Intergroup Contact Theory. Many research studies have been performed using his contact theory to assess intergroup contact, attitude change and the reduction of prejudice (judgments formed without sufficient warrant) in various groups such as racial groups and disabled children with positive outcomes (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). This theory, elegant as it is in explanation of intergroup perception, becomes useful in understanding Arab presence among the Hausa of Nigeria in the absence of any reported overt racism between the Arabs and their African hosts.

Intergroup threat and conflict theorists (Blalock 1967; Blumer 1958; Riek, Mania, and Gaertner 2006; Stephan and Renfro 2003) demonstrate that perceived threat at the individual level underlies hostile attitudes towards immigrants. In many countries, immigrants evoke both material and symbolic threat perceptions (e.g., risk of losing economic resources, cultural and value differences of immigrants; Falomir et al. 2004). Intergroup contact theorists (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006), in contrast, show that opportunities for and frequency of contact with immigrants (e.g., friendships) lead to more tolerant attitudes through a reduction of perceived threat.

If politicized and confounded with other societal problems such as crime, the presence of immigrants in one region of a country may foster threat perceptions in other parts with little or no immigrant population. Intergroup contact theory, on the other hand, contends that culturally diverse societal contexts increase opportunities for and frequency of contacts with immigrants, giving rise to more positive attitudes towards them (Wagner et al. 2006; Schluter and Wagner 2008). It is suggested that intergroup contact effects leading to a reduction in prejudice occur when individuals are exposed to immigrants at a proximal level (e.g., municipality) where immigrants and members of the national majority can truly interact in their daily activities (Wagner et al. 2006; Schmid et al. 2008). “Culturally distinct” immigrant groups, whose members may wear visible signs of cultural or religious affiliation such as headscarves or other attire (and are sometimes also “visible” in terms of skin colour or ethnic features differing from national majority), are usually ranked low on the ethnic hierarchy.

The proportion of immigrants in a country or region is frequently used as a measure of cultural diversity without differentiating between different groups. But some immigrant groups are viewed more positively than others and enjoy a better reputation. In other words, in everyday thinking ethnic and immigrant groups are ranked as more or less attractive social partners and within society there is substantial consensus on this “ethnic hierarchy” (Hagendoorn 1995).

While the Arab presence in Kano for hundreds of years has altered the social anthropology of the territory, yet the Arab presence was not felt in many other spheres of public discourse. Beside the influence on Hausa on some items of food and clothing, even areas predominantly

settled by Arabs are barely distinguished from the ethnic Hausa indigenes. This is because the Arab community are 'living apart together' with the Hausa community due to their inability to fully integrate, even though many have lost their original mother tongue. Interestingly enough, this lack of integration is not just between the Arabs and their African hosts, but also amongst the Arabs themselves. Thus there is little cultural interactivity between the Maghreb, Yemeni and Middle Eastern Arabs resident in Kano - with each occupying its self-designated 'quarters' and not venturing into others. Further, for the most part, the Arabs in Kano seemed impervious. The main group of Arabs in Kano that seemed focused or interested in international events were the Lebanese, who once in a while hold demonstrations through peaceful marches in the city on international issues that affected only Lebanon, but not other parts of the Arab world.

Ethnographic interactions I had with a sample of the Yemeni Arabs in Kano reveal a strong desire on their part to project themselves as 'Kanawa' or 'Hausa' when dealing with non-Arab hosts; but retaining a strong Arab identity with their kin. This is similar to Frode Jacobsen's (2009) study of the Hadrami Arabs from the Hadramawt provide in southern Yemen who migrated and settled in Indonesia. Integration with Indonesian society, however, is much easier for these Yemeni Arabs on the basis of racial similarities, than with African populations of northern Nigeria. Jacobsen (2009: 2) opens the door to further research by stating that:

A few but very interesting recent anthropological studies of Hadrami communities around the Indian Ocean reveal that the fate of these migrant communities differ significantly from country to country, and even between different towns within the same country (as is the case for India), suggesting the need for in-depth ethnographic studies of each of the ways that Hadrami migrant cultures and societies have developed.

This would form a basis for a deeper ethnographic study of Hausa Arabs in a subsequent study on Race, Culture and Identity. This should provide insights into how intergroup contact theory applies to what I call 'reversed racial configurations' -which studies how a White minority becomes integrated into a Black majority.

References

- Adamu, Mahdi. 1974. *The Hausa Factor in West African History*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham.
- Adamu, Muhammad Uba. 1968. 'Some Notes on the Influence of North African Traders in Kano', *Kano Studies*, 1 (4): 43-49.
- Adamu, Muhammad Uba. 1998. Further notes on the influence of North African traders in Kano, being a paper presented at the International Conference on Cultural Interaction and Integration between North and Sub-Saharan Africa, Bayero University Kano, 4th-6th March, 1998.
- Adamu, Muhammad Uba. 2000. *Confluences and Influences - the Emergence of Kano as a City-State*. Kano: Munawwar Books Foundation.
- Akanji, Olajide O. 2011. 'The problem of belonging': the identity question and the dilemma of nation-building in Nigeria. *African Identities*, 9 (2): 117-132.
- Albasu, Sabo U. 1989. *The Lebanese in Kano: An immigrant community in a Hausa-Muslim society in the colonial and post-colonial periods*. Department of History, Bayero University, Kano
- Allport, Gordon W. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Ambe-Uva, Terhemba Nom. 2011. 'Identity Politics and the Jos Crisis: Evidence, Lessons, and Challenges of Good Governance.' *World Futures: The Journal of General Evolution*, 67 (1): 58-78.
- Bako, Ahmad. 1990. A Socio-Economic History of Sabon Gari, Kano, 1913-1989. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, Bayero University, Kano.
- Barth, Heinrich. 1857. *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa: Being a Journal of an Expedition Undertaken Under the Auspices of H.B.M.'s Government, in the Years 1849-1855*. New York: Harper & Bros.
- Bashir, Ibrahim L. 1983. The Politics of Industrialization in Kano: Industries, Incentives and Indigenous Entrepreneurs, 1950-1980. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Boston University.
- Bashir, Ibrahim L. 1985. 'Classicism, Conflict and Socio-Economic Transition in a changing society: The Case of Kano Oligarchy.' *Kano Studies* (New Series) 2 (3): 120-137.

- Blalock, Hubert M. 1967. *Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations*. New York: Wiley.
- Blumer, Herbert. 1958. *Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position*. *Pacific Sociological Review* 1:3-7.
- Boahen, Adu A. 1962. 'The Caravan Trade in the Nineteenth Century.' *Journal of African History*, Vol. III (2): 349-359.
- Castles, Stephen. 2002. 'Migration and Community Formation under Conditions of Globalization.' *International Migration Review*, 36 (4), 1143-1168.
- Clapperton, Hugh et al. 1826. *Narrative of travels and discoveries in Northern and Central Africa: in the years 1822, 1823, and 1824*. London: John Murray, 1826.
- Falomir-Pichastor, Juan Manuel, Daniel Munoz-Rojas, Federica Invernizzi, and Gabriel Mugny. 2004. 'Perceived In-Group Threat as a Factor Moderating the Influence of In-Group Norms on Discrimination Against Foreigners.' *European Journal of Social Psychology* 34 (2):135-53.
- Fika, Adamu M. 1978. *Kano Civil War and British Over-rule, 1882-1940*. Oxford: University Press.
- Graham, Sonia F. 1966. *Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria, 1900-1919 - with special reference to the work of Hanns Vischer*. Ibadan: University Press.
- Hagendoorn, Louk. 1995. 'Intergroup Biases in Multiple Group Systems: The Perception of Ethnic Hierarchies.' In *European Review of Social Psychology*, ed. Wolfgang Stroebe and Miles Hewstone, 199-228. London: Wiley.
- Ioratum-Uba, Godwin Aondona. 2009. 'Language endangerment and the violent ethnic conflict link in Middle Belt Nigeria.' *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development*, 30 (5): 437-452,
- Jacobsen, Frode F. 2009. *Hadrami Arabs in Present-day Indonesia-An Indonesia-oriented group with an Arab signature*. New York: Routledge.
- Johnson, Marion. 1976. 'Calico-Caravans: The Tripoli-Kano Trade after 1880.' *Journal of African History*, Vol XVII (1): 95-117.
- Johnston, Hugh Anthony Stephen. 1967. *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Marty, Paul. 1931. *L'islam et les tribus dans la colonie du Niger*. Paris: Geuthner, 1931.

- Moody, Joanna E. 1967. 'Paul Staudinger: An Early European Traveller to Kano.' *Kano Studies* 1 (3): 38-53.
- Olzak, Susan. 2006. *The Global Dynamics of Racial and Ethnic Mobilization*. Stanford: The University Press.
- Paden, John. 1973. *Religion and Political Culture in Kano*. Berkeley: California University Press.
- Pettigrew Thomas F. 1971. *Racially Separate or Together?* New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Pettigrew, Thomas F. and Linda R. Tropp. 2006. 'A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory.' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 90 (5): 751-83.
- Riek, Blake M., Eric W. Mania, and Samuel L. Gaertner. 2006. 'Intergroup Threat and Outgroup Attitudes: A Meta-Analytic Review.' *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 10 (4): 336-53.
- Schluter, Elmar, and Ulrich Wagner. 2008. 'Regional Differences Matter: Examining the Dual Influence of the Regional Size of the Immigrant Population on Derogation of Immigrants in Europe.' *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 49 (2/3): 153-73.
- Shenton, Robert. 1977. 'A Note on the Origins of European Commerce in Northern Nigeria.' *Kano Studies, New Series*, 1 (2): 63-67.
- Smith, Michael Garfield. 1967. "A Hausa Kingdom: Maradi under Dan Baskore" in *West African Kingdoms in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Daryll Forde and P.M. Kabery, 93-122. London: Oxford University Press.
- Stephan, Walter G., and C. Lausanne Renfro. 2003. 'The Role of Threat in Intergroup Relations.' In *From Prejudice to Intergroup Emotions: Differentiated Reactions to Social Groups*, ed. Diane M. Mackie and Eliot R. Smith, 191-207. New York: Psychology Press.
- Tilho, Jean-Auguste-Marie. 1911. *Documents scientifiques de la Mission Tilho (1906-09)*, Vol. 2, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Trimingham, Joseph S. 1958. *Islam in West Africa*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Wagner, Ulrich, Oliver Christ, Thomas F. Pettigrew, Jost Stellmacher, and Carina Wolf. 2006. 'Prejudice and Minority Proportion:

Contact Instead of Threat Effects.’ *Social Psychology Quarterly* 69 (4): 380-90.

Watson, Godwin. 1947. *Action for Unity*. New York: Harper.

Williams, D. H.. *A short survey of education in Northern Nigeria*. Kaduna: Government Printer, 1960

Williams, Robin M. Jr. 1947. *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions*. New York: Soc. Sci. Res.Counc.

Notes

1. This Chapter is substantially updated from a series of other papers previously published by Dr. Muhammad Uba Adamu, and noted in the references. However, this update is also going to be the basis of an entirely new publication titled *Race, Culture and Identity: The Emergence of Hausa Arabs in Northern Nigeria* by the present author.
2. Although reference is constantly made to Tripolitanian Arabs, who later became *Kano Arabs*, it should be pointed out early enough that Arabs of Yemenite origin also contributed to the gene pool of Kano. Geographical reference points of the Arabs in this book is therefore for the purpose of distinguishing the contributions of the clusters of Kano Arabs.
3. As told to Muhammad Uba Adamu and related to me by Mahadi Ganaba, a Kano Arab who recalled the routing from his tradition, in an interview, Kano, 1966. See also Johnston (1967).
4. Interview with Alhaji Bature in his house at Kofar Wambai, 1965, where the Chad-Kano traders used to encamp.
5. Clapperton, who visited Kano and Katsina early in 1824, reported that “the principal commerce of the country (is) being carried on at Kano since Felatah conquest; nevertheless there (is) still a considerable trade,” (p.391). There was still a sizeable community of Ghadames merchants there as well as another at Kano. Barth makes it clear that there was still a Ghadames community in Katsina when he visited the town in 1850 largely due to the fact that the route to Nupe (from Katsina) was practicable for camels while that from Kano was only suitable for horses and asses. However, “all the principal foreign merchants migrated to Kano, where they were beyond the reach of this constant struggle,” Barth, 1857, Vol. I.:280.
6. This tradition is sustained in some cases up to the 20th Century. For instance, one of the most busiest junctions in Kano city is the *Tal’udu Junction*. From the name, one could mistakenly assume it had Arabic origins. Actually it was a corruption of Taylor Woodrow, the international construction company that constructed the busy highway.
7. While the focus of this study is on the impact of migrants on the cultural development of Kano, it must be stressed that Hausa in general and Kanawa in particular have also impacted the lives of other kingdoms, as demonstrated by Mahdi Adamu (1974).

8. Shaykh Talib is probably to be equated with Shaykh Muhammad Talib b. Mubaraq, originally from Ain Salah, who was initiated into the Sanusiyya by Sidi Muhammad al-Sanni, one of the leading missionaries of the Sanusiyya who was sent to Zinder, Bornu, and Bagirmi in 1897-8. He visited Kano in the course of his mission (Trimingham 1959). Marty (1931: 188) suggests that as-Sunni came to the area as early as 1892. He adds that Shaykh Talib was living in Zinder in 1931.
9. The Shadiliyya represents a doctrine rather than an organized tariqa. It is common in the far west of the Sudan, most groups are closed communities (Trimingham, 1959: 96-97).
10. Most of the adherents of the Sanusiyya were Arabs from the Fezzan, and Cyrenaica. With the decay of the Saharan trade they were among the first to abandon Kano concentrate on the Sanusi controlled Benghazi-Wadai route. Also the political decline of the Sanusiyya in face of European aggression must have played a part in its declining appeal to the inhabitants of the Sudan.
11. There were, for instance, very few incidences of inter-racial marriage involving the Lebanese; and according to Albasu, such marriages usually occur when the Lebanese is newly arrived, lonely and has no money to send for a bride from Lebanon. However, the moment he makes it and becomes wealthy, he usually divorces the African wife and marry a Lebanese one. Marriage by a Lebanese woman to an African is considered "an unforgivable betrayal" (see Albasu, particularly pages 405-409).
12. The Hausa generally perceive people as either *turawa* (white, or light skinned) or *baki* (Negroid or dark-skinned). The British in Kano preferred to be called *Turawa* (whites), rather than *Nasara* (Christians) - which was what the Kano people were calling them on their arrival; thus the place where the British stayed was called *Nassarawa* (where the *Nasara* live) - much to the chagrin of the British who detest the *Nasara* appellation. The preference of British for the term *Turawa* to refer to themselves, thus reinforced the apparent racial superiority of the Tripolitanian Kano Arabs who already lived in *Dandalin Turawa* (playground of the whites) in the city. However, there was no recorded evidence even from the folkloric oral tradition of any form of racism on the part of the Tripolitanian Kano Arabs or their ancestors. Their aggregation and clustering in clannish modes was no more racial than the same clannish cluster adopted by the Fulani and the Hausa in Kano. The clannish brotherhood merely serves as a forum for exchanging commonly shared preferences - a natural enough activity of any ethnic cluster. However, this does not seem to extend to the new generation of Lebanese in Kano. According to Albasu,

The foundation settlers were poor, had little capital and had to work hard and save. Many of their children, however, now have adopted a flamboyant and vulgar lifestyle which irritates many and is the object of much criticism and resentment. Their contact with Africans is often limited to business associates, employees and domestic servants. They have often come to consider themselves increasingly as superior to the Hausa, and they flaunt their wealth, fancy sport cars, and high life style. (Albasu 1989: 414.)

13. Two notables were Ahmed Matident, who attended the Hanns Vischer (*Dan Hausa*) School and Katsina High College; and Muhammad Munir, Katsina High College. For more details, see Muhammad Uba Adamu, *Further notes on the influence of North African traders in Kano*, being a paper presented at the International Conference on Cultural Interaction and Integration between North and Sub-Saharan Africa, Bayero University Kano, 4th-6th March, 1998.
14. I am not as yet aware of records, besides those of antiquity, of arrival of contemporary arrival of Yemenites in the Kano territory. This is an area that seems to attract less attention, considering that the Yemenites were more entrenched in the Northern Nigerian economy than the Lebanese.
15. Yemen seemed to suffer from fractious history [from violent natural disasters (Ma'arib dam breakage in late 6th century) to being trampled by Egyptian, Ottoman and British armies in various stages of its history. Yemen as a republic was formed on May 22, 1990, when the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (also called Yemen [Aden], or South Yemen) officially merged with the Yemen Arab Republic (also called Yemen [San'a'], or North Yemen).
16. Based on a series of interviews held by Muhammad Uba Adamu and related to me, with a number older Yemenite generations in Kano who were among the first wave of arrivals. Dr. Adamu said the interviews were held in various places in Kano in the 1970s. The main informants were the then notable Yemenite leaders such as Sa'if Nayer (80 years at the time of the discussions), Abdulla Nayer (78), Galeb Ahmed (90), Ali Ahmed (78), Ahmed Furhan (90), Fauz Hashim (age not indicated).
17. There is no San'a, Saba, Aden or even Ma'arib Roads in Kano to entrench the Yemenite homeland identity; but there is a Beirut Road, populated by, of course, predominantly the Lebanese. Appendix 1, however, gives a list of some of the inner city wards that have substantial Arab population. The point is that only the Lebanese seem to resist a high degree of integration, by enclaving themselves in the old 'Syrian Quarters' of the metropolitan Kano, which included Beirut Road. Other Arabs simply settled among the Hausa in the city.
18. Many of the earlier Yemenites came with their womenfolk. However, the latter Yemenites were, by and large, quite willing to marry (permanently) outside their dominant ethnic communities -- leading to the growth of many notable hybrid Yemenite-Fulani, and Yemenite-Hausa families not only in Kano, but throughout the northern territories. Further, the latter Yemenites seemed to have lost their Arabic language, using the Hausa as their only primary language of communication - further confirming their integration.

Appendix 1: Ward Settlement of Arabs in Kano City

Of the 124 wards in the old Kano city, at least 25 were settled mainly by Tripolitanian Arabs and their variants. The settlement pattern of the 25 I given below

S/N	Ward	Main Settlers
1	Adakawa	Adarawa (Nigeriène)
2	Agadasawa	Agadès Tuareg (Nigeriène)
3	Alfindiki	Tripolitaniens
4	Alkantara	Tripolitaniens
5	Arzai	Tripolitaniens
6	Bakin Zuwo	Tripolitaniens
7	Cediyar 'Yan-gurasa	Tripolitaniens
8	Dandalin Turawa	Tripolitaniens
9	Dogon Nama	Agalawa (Nigeriène Tuareg)
10	Dukurawa	Tripolitaniens
11	Durumin Arbabi	Agadès Tuareg (Nigeriène)
12	Jingau	Tripolitaniens
13	Madigawa	Agalawa (Nigeriène Tuareg)
14	Mai-Aduwa	Tripolitaniens
15	Mararraba	Agalawa (Nigeriène Tuareg)
16	Rijjya Biyu	Tripolitaniens
17	Sabon Sara	Agalawa (Nigeriène Tuareg)
18	Sanka	Tripolitaniens
19	Sharfa]i	Tripolitaniens
20	Sharifai	Tripolitaniens
21	Shatsari	Tripolitaniens
22	Sudawa	Sudanese
23	Tudun Makera	Tripolitaniens
24	Yalwa	Agalawa (Nigeriène Tuareg)
25	Zango	Azben (Aïr Tuareg)