



Diaspora Is Not Like Home illuminates the social and economic dynamics of Yoruba experience in Kano and how diaspora identity valorised in the uncertainties of colonial and post-colonial contexts. The book articulates the construction of Yoruba diaspora identity as a corollary of the regulated ethnic relations fostered by colonialism and the tension that the dualism of citizenship has continued to generate in the transformation of modern Kano. Through in-depth oral interviews, and archival research, it was found that the commercial history of Yoruba in Kano constitutes an account of niche establishment in trading, technical industries and urban services in which competition and outright displacement have been encountered.

This analysis of diaspora identity contributes to our understanding of patterns of migration, entrepreneurship in both formal and informal sectors, gender and inter-group relations in Nigeria. The perspectives expressed in the book are well illustrated with maps, photographs and tables.

LCS 02
ISBN 978 3 89586 110 9

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DIASPORA IS NOT LIKE HOME

A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF YORUBA
IN KANO, 1912-1999

Rasheed Olaniyi



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Rasheed Olaniyi

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2008
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Published by LINCOM GmbH 2008.

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Printed in E.C.
Printed on chlorine-free paper

Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP Cataloguing-in-Publication-Data

A catalogue record for this publication is available from Die Deutsche Bibliothek (<http://www.ddb.de>)

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A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF YORUBA IN
KANO, 1912-1999



A Yoruba Recording Studio in Kano

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DEDICATION

For my parents: Salahudeen Olaniyi (Ariyo) and Nuratu Abiola (*Mai Adashi*)
and my beloved wife, Monsurat.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This book was a product of my PhD thesis submitted to the Department of History, Bayero University Kano in December 2004. Considerably, I pay a glowing tribute to my M.A. and Ph.D. Supervisor, Professor Mohammed Sanni Abdulkadir, Professor of Economic History; Fellow of Wolfson College, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom; Life Member Clare Hall and Head of History Department, Bayero University, Kano. I appreciate his continuous backing and trenchant analysis.

Late Professor Phillip James Shea inspired me as an economic historian and encouraged my interest in this research area that had been my academic preoccupation. I miss his penetrating comments and constructive criticism. Special thanks to Professor R.O. Lasisi, my external examiner whose thorough critiques and suggestions were invaluable in shaping my revisions. I am appreciative of the support of Professor A. R. Mohammed who over the years has provided me with critical arguments, inspiration and moral encouragement. I thank Professor M. D. Suleiman, former Head of History Department Bayero University, Kano; Late Professor Isa Abba, Professor Dahiru Yahaya, Dr. Tijani Naniya, Dr. A.G. Saeed, Dr. Haruna Wakili, Malam Ibrahim Abdulsalam and Malam Dalha Waziri for their friendship and support. Their ideas on social and economic History are sufficiently acknowledged in this study.

At the Usmanu Dan Fodiyo University, Sokoto I learnt a great deal from late Professor Bonaventure Swai and Professor A. M. Kani, Dr. Sabo Albasu, Dr. Ahmed Bako, Dr. I. A. Yandaki, Dr. M.T. Usman, U. A. Daniya, Dr. A. F. Usman and Ibrahim Hamza, some of whose ideas were utilised in this study. The entire members of staff Department of History, University of Ibadan deserve special recognition. I thank Dr. S. Ademola Ajayi who recruited me into the department and made my relocation from Kano to Ibadan easier. Dr. Olutayo Adesina offered profound support and professionally reviewed the study. His lucid comments enabled me rethink more broadly on social and economic paradigms of a diaspora community. I am appreciative of the

support of Dr. C.B.N. Ogbogbo, Dr. V.O. Edo, Mr. Paul Ugboajah, Saheed Aderinto and Oyekemi Oyelakin.

Throughout the years of my education, I have benefited tremendously from my family support. The careers of my parents in Kano provided inestimable inspiration for this work. My father, Alhaji Salahudeen Ariyo Olaniyi's career as a shoe and rubber stamp maker in Kano between 1965 and 1974 and my mother's enterprise in micro-credit were useful in this study. Their patience and financial assistance in my university education over the years could not be quantified. I am grateful to my Uncle Mr. S. O. Babalola and his wife, Mrs. R. S. Babalola for financial and logistic supports. To Monsurat, Risikat, Manzoor (Junior), Maryam Eniola and Hiqmat Wuraola I say sorry for my long absence. Their immeasurable sacrifices ensured that I completed the research and got it published.

I especially thank my research guides, Mr. Adeleke Adedaja, Mr. E.O. Adeyanju, Hajia Rakiya Yahaya Sani, Alhaji Ibrahim Ayilara, Mukadam Abdulwahab Raji, Malam Jibrin Umar Kabir and Alhaji Abdulfatai Bello Yarda for attending to many demands despite their business schedule. I am grateful to Alhaji Abdullahi Salihu Olowo, the *Sarkin Yorubawa* Kano; Alhaji Y.A. Makanjuola, former Secretary, Yoruba Community, Kano State and Dr. J.P. Aiyelangbe the President and Bashorun, Yoruba Community Kano for their valuable information and assistance. I thank Alhaji G. A. Bell, Chairman of Criss-Cross Organisation, Kano for his assistance. Prince Ajayi Memaiyetan was significantly helpful in this work. He provided unrestricted access to his collections and copies of *Oodua News*, which he edited. I am grateful for the invaluable support I received from the Ogbomoso Parapo, Kano.

In Dakar, the 2000 SEPHIS-CODESRIA Extended Workshop for Young Historians was a gratifying experience. Without doubt, the workshop enriched my theoretical and methodological skills in historical research. My fellow young Historians provide sustained companionship. My work has benefited through discussions with John Agaba, Isiae Dognon, Sri Magana, Shruti Tambe, Paulo Fontes and Dr. Sokhna Ndiaye.

I learnt a great deal from Professor Toyin Falola, Professor Murray Last Ibrahim Muazzam; Professors Samita Sen, Mamadou Diouf, Patrick Harries at Dakar; and Professor Ayodeji Olukoju, Professor A. A. Lawal, Dr. E. K. Faluyi and Dr. R. T. Akinyele of University of Lagos; Dr. Abubakar Momoh of Lagos State University and Dr. Laurent Fourchard, the former Director of IFRA, University of Ibadan. I thank Professor Abdumumin Saad, Professor Attahiru Jega, Professor Nuhu Yaqub, Dr. Isaac Albert, Professor Alan Frishman, Dr. Ibrahim Bello-Kano and Dr. Erika Nimis for generous insights, mentorship and extraordinary support.

The research which culminated into this book was aided by financial grants from various sources. I wish to thank the Programme on Ethnic and Federal Studies, (PEFS), University of Ibadan; French Institute for Research in Africa (IFRA) Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan; and Centre for Research and Documentation (CRD), Kano for their generosity during my research as graduate student, fellow and staff. I am grateful to the (CRD), its entire members, management and staff for research training, thesis grant and library assistance.

I wish to thank the staff of Kano State History and Culture Bureau; National Archives Kaduna, Arewa Archives, Kaduna; Bayero University, Kano Library, the British Council Library, Kano and Kano State Library Board. They took keen interest in the study and offered advice as well as logistic support.

The in-depth interviews reinforced in me the idea of importance of kinship linkages, entrepreneurship and diaspora identity. The sincerity and generosity they showed me are deeply appreciated.

Rasheed Olaniyi
University of Ibadan
August, 2007.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.D.	Anno Domini
A.G.	Action Group
A.H.A.K.	Arewa House Archives Kaduna
B.B.W.A.	Bank of British West Africa
C.F.A.O.	Compagnie Francaise d'Afrique Occidentale
C.I.C.S.	Cooperative Investments and Credit Societies
C.M.S.	Church Mission Society
G.D.P.	Gross Domestic Product
G.R.A.	Government Reservation Area
I.F.R.A.	French Institute for Research in Africa
I.M.F.	International Monetary Fund
I.M.N.L.	International Messengers Nigeria Limited
I.P.W.A.	International Paints West Africa
J.A.H.	Journal of African History
J.H.S.N.	Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria
K.C.T.C.	Kano Citizen Trading Company
K.H.C.B.	Kano State History and Culture Bureau
Ltd.	Limited
M.B.G.	Market Ground Block
N.A.	Native Authority
N.A.K.	National Archives Kaduna
N.C.N.C.	National Council of Nigerian Citizens
N.E.P.U.	Northern Elements Progressive Union
N.E.P.D.	Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree
N.I.S.E.R.	Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research
N.P.C.	Northern People's Congress
N.U.R.T.W.	National Union of Road Transport Workers
P. and T.	Post and Telecommunication
P. W. D.	Public Works Department
P.Z.	Paterson Zochonis
R.W.A.F.F.	Royal West African Frontier Force

GLOSSARY

Hausa	English Translation
Achaba	Motor cycle operators
Aiki	Work
Gongoni	Tin/Can
Gurasa	Local Bread
Gida	House
Kasuwa	Market
Kaya	Load/Luggage
Kofa	Gate
Kwarya/Mudu	Measurement (Calabash)
Laada	Commission
Magajia	Woman Leader
Maidilai	Commission Agent/Stock broker
Mairuwa	Water Seller
Sabon-Gari	New Town/Migrants Settlement
Sabulu	Local Soap
Sarki	King
Subi/Haddi	Mixing
Takarda	Paper
Unguwa	Ward
Yancitta	Ginger Sellers

Yoruba	English Translation
Adire	Resist pattern dyeing
Adi	Palm Kernel oil
Agbalejo	Host/Commission agents
Agbekoya	Farmers reject oppression
Agbo	Concoction
Agunmu	Herbal powder
Ajo	Micro-Credit/informal lending scheme
Alagbata	Commercial Intermediary/ stock broker
Alajapa	Long distance trader
Alaru	Porter
Aso	Cloth
Atare	Ginger
Awusa	Walnut
Baale	Landlord/Commercial intermediary
Baba Agba	Old Man
Egbe	Club/Association
Elubo	Yam Flour
Ese Baba Kano	Cow leg
Egbogi	Herbs
Èru	Ethiopian pepper
Iyere	West African pepper
Lekuleja	Herbal wares
Obinrin	Women
Oja	Market
Olowoapo	Foodstuffs Trader
Omo-Odo	House help/apprentice
Ose dudu	Black Soap
Osomaalo	I will squat down until my money is collected (Ijesa Yoruba textile trade credit strategy)
Ponmon	Processed and cooked cow skin
Tinko	Sun-dried salted meat
Tokunbo	Fairly-used Imported items
Worobo	Assorted items of small wares of petty traders

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Yoruba migration to Kano was shaped both by social and economic reality of the British colonial rule and trajectories of the post-colonial state. In Kano, the wider opportunity for the advancement of commercial frontier attracted generations of Yoruba traders, artisans, entrepreneurs and professionals. This book articulates the historical process that led to the evolution as well as the consolidation of the Yoruba commercial diaspora in Kano. Three interconnected themes: migration, entrepreneurship and intergroup relations in a commercial diaspora were systematically pursued in this work.

All through the trajectory, the book has reconstructed the historical metamorphosis of the Yoruba trading diaspora chronologically from colonial period to the post-colonial era and, by extension, part of the commercial history of modern Kano. In 1912, Yoruba commerce in Kano entered a new phase from the socio-cultural bases already established in the pre-colonial economy. Under the British rule, Yoruba identity in Kano was dramatically transformed to become "non-natives" or "strangers." The British used diverse measures including stereotype, criminalisation and ethnic segregation to control Yoruba migration to Kano. Resentment and criminalisation were used to segregate and exclude the Yoruba from the mainstream Kano society. In this respect, ethnic relations were mediated by colonial encounter. Colonialism challenged the migrants' identity and self-understanding. The transformative effects of this challenge redefined inter-ethnic relations to produce new imbalances, crystallisation of communal identities and social cohesion. As such, inter-ethnic rivalry sustained the British rule and remained pervasive in the post-colonial context.

The intriguing feature of ethnic segregation as model of state structure and development provided stimulus for diaspora identity. Despite the control measures, the groundnut export and urbanisation processes in Kano influenced the greater proportion of Yoruba migration within the framework of kinship linkages. But Yoruba traders encountered structural disadvantages in

the commodity trade. Commercially, Yoruba women were among the active traders whose entrepreneurial activities linked the rural markets with the urban economy and stimulated income and distribution of Kano made goods. From 1985 and up to 1999, a downward trend was recorded in Yoruba enterprise in Kano due to economic contraction and urban crises.

The methodology for this study was primarily empirical in approach: In-depth oral interviews, research visits to neighbourhoods, fact finding surveys made on individuals, organisations and institutions as data sources in an interactive manner. The emphasis on field experience and broader interviews across ethnic, occupational and gender categories facilitated the validation of data collected and interpretation ensured that the analysis was a product of communal reflections.

In this study, it has been found that ethnicity was fundamental in social and economic networks through which commerce was undertaken. The overriding value of Yoruba ethnic identity in Kano was the creation of a socio-economic community that allocated productive resources in the employment of labour, capital mobilisation, entrepreneurship and social security. The recreation and reorganisation of ethnic associations were largely influenced by successful entrepreneurs who played significant leadership roles. However, social functions restricted entrepreneurial investment in commercial activities.

The study has examined the survival strategy employed by the Yoruba in combating incorporation and exclusion prism that curtailed, challenged or encouraged their commercial activities. As a trading community, the Yoruba used their flexible identity, professional skills and religions (both Christianity and Islam) for commercial success. The special skills of the entrepreneurs and complimentary commercial roles of artisans had led to the transfer of technical skills, improved craft industry, urban development, stimulated income and growth of markets, and the ever increasing urban population that provided the much needed skilled labour for the expanding industries. Yoruba enterprise generated labour supply, provided employment and above all, contributed to the process of capital accumulation. Indeed, the special skills

and complementary commercial roles of the Yoruba Christians constituted an invaluable asset to their acceptance among the Muslim host community. Many of the Yoruba Muslim migrant households have been completely absorbed into the cultural and religious values of Kano. Closely connected to this, is the fact that, many of the unassimilated younger generation of the Muslim Yoruba migrants developed a plural identity. As a consequence, the commercial diaspora produced a hybrid generation namely; the Kano Yoruba, who had a stronger sentiment for the host community.

Empirically, the two ethnic groups (Hausa and Yoruba) still retain many of the loan words borrowed from each other's languages for Islamic, commercial, equestrian and sundry matters. These extensive social network and marital linkages had facilitated ethnic harmony and hospitality.

A remarkable aspect of this study is the discussion on the ambivalent Hausa and Yoruba relations namely: economic competition on one hand and cultural constraints of identity on the other hand. Yoruba commercial activities in Kano have occasioned stress and suspicion generated considerably by economic competition. Some of the riots in Kano from 1953 to 1999 were caused by socio-political problems with devastating consequences on Kano economy most especially, state of insecurity of investment, the fear of looting, wanton destruction of lives and economic gains, and the exodus of migrant artisans and entrepreneurs. Some of the Yoruba experienced economic dislocation. Hence, they liquidated their businesses and or relocated to their places of origin or other commercial cities in Nigeria. The study concludes that Yoruba enterprise in Kano contributed to the transmission of technical skills among different communities and the transformation of modern Kano as a commercial metropolis in Nigeria. Without family connections and support network in a competitive context, Yoruba diaspora became ethnically assertive in terms of associational life. Thus, in the process, diaspora identity restricted the prospect of integration of the migrants into the host community.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The history of Hausa and Yoruba offers a robust example of the pre-colonial social and economic intercourse. From the 15th century, a network of trade routes and itinerant caravan traders linked Kano commercially with Yorubaland.¹ The intensification of commercial intercourse between the two geographical regions resulted in the settling down of some Yoruba traders in Kano. In the early 19th century, Yoruba commerce and settlement in Kano were further consolidated with the establishment of Ayagi quarters by Emir Ibrahim Dabo (1819-1846). By the 20th century, Yoruba migration trends to Kano witnessed a dramatic rise with the imposition of British rule and colonial economy. The Yoruba provided part of the much needed labour force and played active role in commodity trade.

Yoruba in Kano were products of two migratory regimes: the push and pull factors. The export of skills and products to areas with little competition, wider market and prospect of economic gain was a major pull that influenced the migration of Yoruba artisans and traders to Kano. Colonial taxation, economic crises and social deprivation further gave impetus for the push of Yoruba migration to Kano. The lure of entrepreneurial opportunities that eluded them at home influenced their migration. However, the impetus for migration was not centrally the opportunities to earn cash in the wage labour sector but to pay tax in European currency.

In a broader sense, Yoruba commercial diaspora in Kano is a study of the transfer of technical know-how among communities in Nigeria and presents migration as a process of negotiating identity. This process was considerably dictated by changes in the Nigerian political context which stimulated Yoruba migrants to redefine their identity in the course of their Kano career. As a trading community, Yoruba settlement attracted innovative entrepreneurs and artisans who introduced new skills such as painting, printing, photography, construction, commercial road transport and auto-repairs.

The central theme of this book is the study of the Yoruba community in Kano, its social and economic dynamics and how diaspora identity valorised in the uncertainties of colonial and post-colonial context. Occupational specialisation among the Yoruba artisans made them to introduce aspects of modern technical industries in Kano. A high proportion of Yoruba women and men were involved in the informal sector including food trade, urban services and petty trading. In the formal sector, Yoruba provided part of much needed labour in the civil service, industries, banking, insurance, legal and medical professions.

This study sets out to identify the driving forces and mechanisms within which the Yoruba community in Kano developed, managed and maintained entrepreneurial businesses. The community developed a commercial niche through the establishment of socio-cultural and ethnic networks for enhancing training and access to financial resources. Through in-depth oral interviews and archival research, it was found that the commercial history of the Yoruba in Kano constitutes an account of niche established in trading, technical industries and urban services in which competition and outright displacement have been encountered.

As we shall see in subsequent chapters, the social construction of diaspora identity and identification praxis in the process of community formation was crucial in the diaspora of the Yoruba in Kano. In pursuing the issue of the dynamics between migration, entrepreneurship and intergroup relations, the following are some of the research questions that arise: Why did they choose to migrate? How was response to changing political environments organised? How was diaspora identity constructed and manifested? How was this identity linked to intergroup relations? To what extent was ethnic identity affected by the allocation of economic resources? To what extent was entrepreneurship affected by constructions of group identity?

Research Objectives

Some illuminating studies have been written on urbanisation, migrant communities, industrialisation and entrepreneurship in Kano but Yoruba commerce remained largely unexplored. A pioneer attempt in this regard was my M. A. (History) dissertation, *The Yoruba Entrepreneurs in Kano Metropolis: A Case Study of Printing Industry 1943-1983*. The main objective of this book is the study of the dynamics of Yoruba diaspora in Kano and is thus designed to fill the lacuna that exists in the literature. By making a pragmatic shift in the study of inter-group relations, this work laid emphasis on commercial history rather than the incipient hostility that dominated the discourse on Hausa and Yoruba relations. The book presents the process of evolution and consolidation of Yoruba commercial diaspora in Kano. In addition, it documents the development of technical and service industries in Kano. The book identifies the main driving forces that influenced Yoruba migration to Kano; the social networks created and its impact on entrepreneurship.

The book throws more light on the economic history of Kano from the perspective of a migrant community, and equally studies the emergence of artisans and entrepreneurs, their pattern of capital formation and investment in the private sector.

Above all, the research analyses the effects of Yoruba migration on inter-group relations and economic development in Kano. As a pioneer work, it is hoped to stimulate systematic research on Yoruba commercial diaspora, update and advance the frontiers of Kano economic historiography.

Methodology and Sources

Focusing on capturing both economic and cultural dimensions of a diaspora, this work has been produced from a complex combination of primary and secondary sources (published and unpublished). Primary sources were extensively utilised in this enterprise. Oral interviews became a crucial source for the study partly to re-construct and record the lives of generations of Yoruba in Kano as well as to critically examine historical consciousness as a product of everyday experience. Oral interviews laid emphasis and raised questions on commodity costs, production schedules, organisation of markets, the role of gender, and relationship between different occupations, ethnic relations as well as production and trade linkages. I used qualitative approach to analyse the connotations of certain words such as "home" and "diaspora" in the migration of Yoruba to Kano.

In studying Yoruba commercial diaspora in Kano, I employed the strategies of a participant observer in communal activities, which enabled me to study how the Yoruba community in Kano constructed its identity along the broad spectrum of economic and cultural dimensions. In this instance, the field visits and personal experience that brought me in close contact with most of the informants were intellectually and socially rewarding. During the fieldwork, I examined factors, which shaped the formation of Yoruba identity as a cohesive community in diaspora including patterns of migration, mechanisms of labour market, entrepreneurial practices and social relations. In this way, I was able to reconstruct and record the social condition through which they gave meaning to their lives. For the sake of a coherent account, I visited various neighbourhoods to identify the residential patterns and business activities of Yoruba. The geographical spread, age, gender and status of informants were considered in order to draw out broader perspectives and validation of data collected.

Interviews were conducted in various parts of Kano metropolis with the Yoruba business community, community leaders, artisans and trade associations. At the individual level, Yoruba residents in Kano were interviewed on their backgrounds, nature of business, training and working experience, access to capital, labour and occupational mobility. First and second generations of Yoruba in Kano were interviewed, some of whom were born in

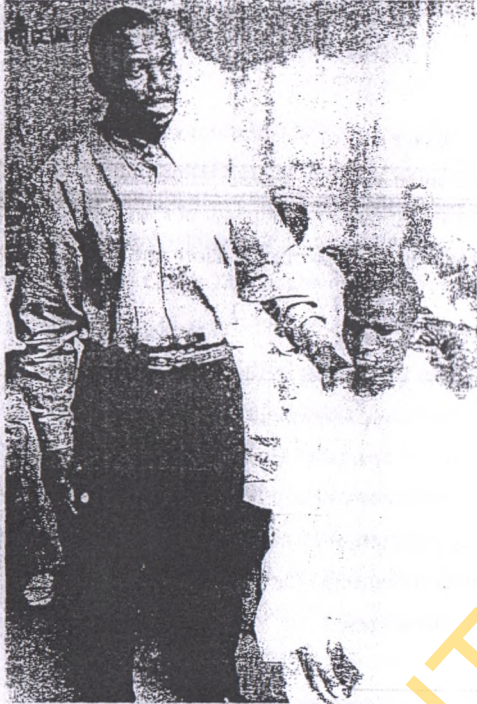
Kano and whose genealogy goes back to the 1890s and early 20th century. Several categories of Yoruba migrants were identified in terms of age, period and mode of migration whether as individuals or through kinship linkages as well as place of residence and economic status before migration to Kano. In Yorubaland, particularly in Ibadan and Ogbomoso, interviews were conducted with former Yoruba migrants in Kano on the socio-economic reasons for their relocation. Equally, interviews were held with the members of the Hausa host community and other migrant communities such as the Igala, Igbo, Ebara, Edo and Nupe in order to deduce their perspectives on and involvement with the Yoruba in Kano. Interview sessions often attracted other informants who participated and assisted in validating or correcting information.

I was cautious in making use of the oral data, considering the defects associated with the source, namely distortion of facts, exaggerations and understatements, scanty information, deliberate suppression of facts and invention of events. To rectify these deficiencies, I was close to my informants through participation and I verified information got through other sources.

For this study, I used participant observation to have a wider grasp of the internal mechanisms of the Yoruba communal life in diaspora. In this way, I registered in February 2000 as a member of my township association, Ogbomoso Parapo, Kano. Within a short period of three months of membership, I was nominated as the financial clerk to review the incoherent accounting system of the association. An opportunity was therefore, created to have direct access to income and expenditure statistics in the study of ethnic/township unions in the Yoruba diaspora.

A practical test of the welfare scheme of the township union was proven when my application for the use of the union's guest room in Sabon-Gari was approved. By living within the Yoruba neighbourhoods, I was afforded an ample opportunity to study closely social and economic interaction of individuals, families and communal lives. I was often introduced as *our son (omo wa ni)* carrying out research on the Yoruba in Kano. Living with Yoruba households made participatory observation possible in order to grasp the dynamics

of social relations and to gain insights into how Yoruba interacted among themselves and with other ethnic groups. This advantage was utilised to mobilise the community for the research. I attended Yoruba social functions including ceremonies marking the end of apprenticeship training (freedom), marriages, anniversaries, birth and funerals in order to have a practical knowledge of their identity and solidarity structures. It was through these institutions that transmission of cultural values occurred from one generation to another. Private and public spheres including the families, neighbourhoods, schools, Churches, Mosques and markets as epicentres of cultural continuity were studied.



The author at a Freedom ceremony in Sabon-Gari, Kano, 1999

In addition, I gathered information from Yoruba canteen owners, artisans and taxi drivers. I visited markets to compute the frequency of the flow of commodities at both the point of departure and delivery and the commercial roles of Yoruba traders in Sabon-Gari, Dawanau, Yanlemo, Yandoya and Kurmi markets in Kano.

Non-written sources including photographs, family albums, diaries, almanacs, business profiles, curriculum vitae, architecture, the naming or history of streets named after prominent Yoruba migrants were collected. Video clips and audio cassettes and costumes related to this study were also utilised.

Archival materials that provided important statistical and chronological data on the activities of Yoruba colonial workers, contractors, merchants, transporters, auctioneers, artisans and the Kano economy were consulted at the Kano State History and Culture Bureau; Data Centre, Bayero University Library, Kano; and National Archives and Arewa House Kaduna. Documents available in various government departments and parastatals, trade union offices and ethnic association offices were utilised.

I made use of books, pamphlets, and essays from Journals, magazines, periodicals, unpublished theses and dissertations. The bulk were consulted at the Bayero University, Kano Library; Kano State History and Culture Bureau; Centre for Research and Documentation, Kano; Arewa House, Kaduna; French Institute for Research in Africa Library, University of Ibadan; CODESRIA Library and West African Research Council Library, Dakar Senegal.

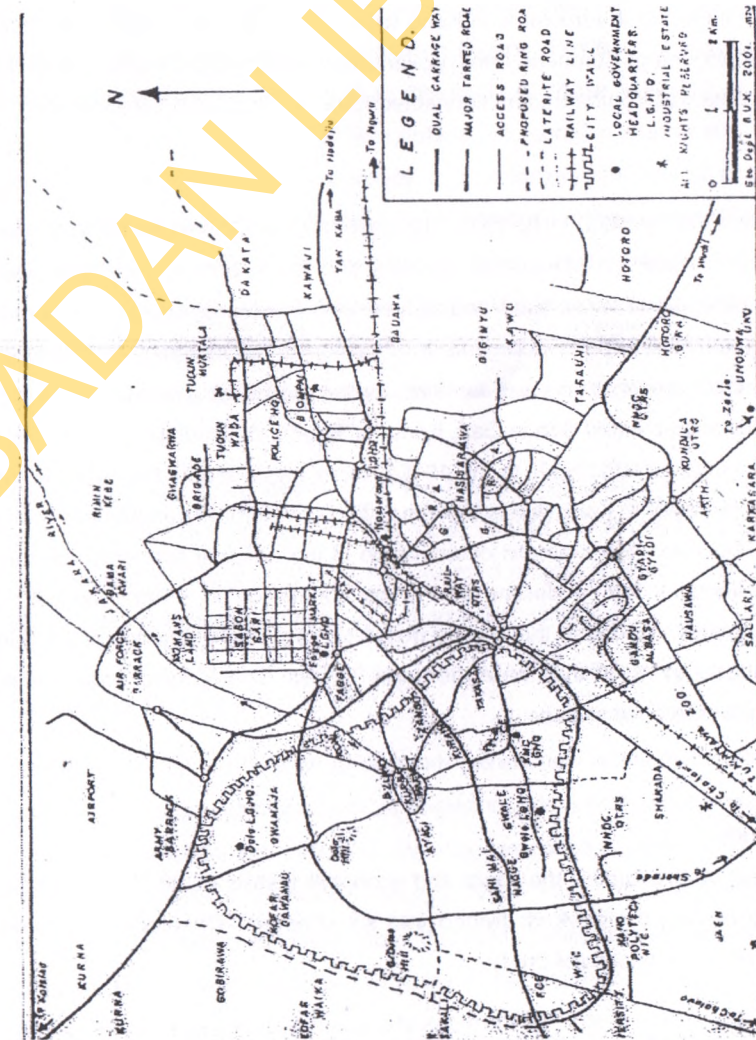
The works cited in the bibliography and endnotes show that a multi-disciplinary approach has been adopted to strengthen the analysis. Social science theories were used in the study of migration, particularly, the push and pull theory, inter-group relations, diaspora identity, and social change. In addition, international conferences, workshops and departmental seminars re-sharpened my views and provided rich analytical insights for fieldwork discoveries. In all, this work utilised both empirical and comparative approaches in the historical interpretation of Yoruba commercial diaspora in Kano.

Scope and Limitation of Study

This study is concerned with the Yoruba commercial diaspora in Kano metropolis. In this book, Kano metropolis refers to the area consisting of the following: the ancient Kano city, Fagge, Sabon-Gari, Gwagwarawa, Tarauni, Gwale and Tudun Wada. By 1997, these geographical areas were administratively divided into eight Local Government Areas: namely, Kano Municipal Local Government, Nassarawa Local Government, Dala Local Government, Kumbotso Local Government, Ungogo Local Government, Gwale Local Government, Fagge Local Government and Tarauni Local Government. The metropolitan Kano is the epicentre of commerce, industry, social infrastructure and the seat of the state government. Because of the availability of economic, social and industrial infrastructure, there is a high concentration of Yoruba migrant community in Kano metropolis.

In the context of this book, the term Yoruba signifies persons that identify with Yoruba language, cultural, ethnic and religious institutions and aspire to retain linkage with their homeland. Despite all the dialectal, social and political variations, the Yoruba is a single cultural group from the point of view of a common language and sense of common history.² The Yoruba diaspora possesses the features of a retribalisation process in which ethnic sub-groups with distinctive dialects including Akoko, Ekiti, Okun, Igbomina, Ijesa, Ondo, Awori, Egba, Egbado, Ijebu and Oyo socially identify themselves as Yoruba for commercial success. The retribalisation process, however, was less successful among the Yoruba in Kano. To the Hausa host community, Yoruba in Kano were homogenous due to their common culture and identity. However, the towns of origin constituted a major point of cleavage, and this was equally echoed in the social networks and commercial activities of the Yoruba in Kano. As I demonstrate in Chapter five, sub-group specialisations were significant features of the Yoruba commerce in Kano. The competitive urban context and exposure to the host culture enabled many Yoruba sub-groups to become more ethnically assertive than they had been prior to migration. In July, 1940, for example, when the *Egbe Omo Ibile Ijesa* (The Society of Native Ijesa Sons and Daughters) was formed, the people from Ibokun and Ijebu-jesa refused to join the Ijesa Union, Kano on the basis that Ijesa people treated them, 'not as brother but as mere chattels.'³ The vast majority of the Yoruba in Kano came from the towns of Lagos, Ogbomoso, Ijebu-Igbo, Ijebu-Ode, Abeokuta,

Ibadan, Ilesa, Ilorin, Ofa, Awe, Oyo, Iseyin, Saki, Osogbo, Ikare, Ado-Ekiti, Ile-Ife, Ede, Ikirun, Kabba and Iwo.



MAP OF METROPOLITAN KANO IN 1999

Yoruba migration to Kano in the 20th century was a continuation of an historical process that began over five hundred years earlier. Majority of the Yoruba migrants were Muslims. Islam was a major social link in the migration of Yoruba Muslims to Kano. This explains why majority of early Yoruba migrants in Kano were Muslim traders, while most Christians migrated as employees of European firms, government departments and/or as priests. The commercial activities of Yoruba traders connected Kano markets with Yorubaland.

Periodisation

This study covers the period c. 1912-1999. The year 1912 witnessed the commissioning of the Lagos-Kano railroad for commercial services and the export of groundnut. Railroad transportation networks revolutionised and reduced the burden of transportation between the Southern and Northern parts of Nigeria. It further gave impetus to Yoruba migration to Kano. Yoruba enterprise in Kano was boosted by the export of groundnut. In 1913, the colonial administration created Sabon-Gari, Kano for Southern Nigerian migrants and other West Africans. From the late 1930s to the 1970s, there was a marked increase in Yoruba commerce and migration to Kano due to the expanding government bureaucracy and trade. From the 1980s onward, the dramatic deterioration of the national economy and the high rate of social unrest led to a decline in Yoruba commerce in Kano. The year 1999 witnessed the greatest exodus of the Yoruba from Kano as a consequence of the Sagamu riots reprisal attacks in which they were the prime targets. The terminal year marked the decline of Yoruba enterprise in Kano.

Plan of the Study

The main subject of this study is the social and economic history of the Yoruba diaspora in Kano. To achieve this, the work is divided into six chapters. Chapter one outlines the methodology and objectives of the study.

Chapter two is a review of related literature and discusses the limitations in the historiography of the Kano economy, migration and the Yoruba diaspora; and how I surmounted lapses in the works.

Chapter three studies the transformation of the Kano economy and Yoruba migration between 1912 and 1999. The chapter pays special attention to the changing dynamics of Yoruba commercial diaspora within the colonial and post-colonial contexts.

Chapter four analyses Yoruba commerce in Kano between 1912 and 1999. The chapter focuses on the commercial activities of Yoruba entrepreneurs in the formal and informal sector of the Kano economy. The chapter analyses the activities of the Yoruba in the foodstuffs, livestock, kolanuts, groundnut and textile trades; soda soap production, bakery and construction industries.

Chapter five discusses Yoruba enterprises in technical and urban service industries between 1940 and 1999. The chapter analyses the historical development of selected modern technical industries pioneered or dominated by the Yoruba in Kano. It investigates the commercial competition that existed among the various ethnic groups in Kano and the processes leading to the transfer of technical skills among communities in Nigeria.

Chapter six profiles prominent Yoruba artisans, merchants and community leaders between 1918 and 1999, relevant to the work. The chapter discusses the roles played by the individual Yoruba entrepreneurs as well as the contribution they have made to the growth of the Kano economy.

The conclusion examines the impact of Yoruba commerce on Kano between 1912 and 1999 in summary.

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3. J.D.Y. Peel, 1983, *The Incorporation of a Yoruba Kingdom, 1890s -1970s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 186 and 190.

CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Prior to 1980, inter-group relations and diaspora studies had been some of the most neglected themes of historical research in Nigeria. However, since that year, two factors seemed to have inspired interest in the study of these areas of research. One is the growing awareness that many of the conflicts are rooted in inter-ethnic relations. Another is the inclination of historians themselves to look for explanations of economic and cultural changes in the unfolding social order. With reference to Kano, several works exist on inter-group relations and economic roles of immigrants in the transformation of the city as a modern commercial centre. Some of these works focused on the general history of Kano, which is quite different from my focus on the Yoruba commerce in Kano. However, a review of some of them is paramount in order to show the shortcomings inherent in them.

For an adequate comprehension of the historiography of Yoruba commerce in Kano, a broad range of written sources have been utilised in this study. These sources differ in strength and limitations. While some provided extensive information and were constantly utilised, others provided little but vital information as well.

Conceptual Framework

Since the 1990s, the concept of diaspora gained new scholarly attention from a variety of paradigms and perspectives such as migration, commerce, entrepreneurship and identity.¹ A combination of factors including migration, marriage, commerce and conquest facilitate inter-group relations in human society. Very often, diaspora communities construct identities that distinguish them from the host community. Among the Yoruba in Kano, diaspora identity was expressed in terms of settlement patterns, social, religious, political and economic institutions. This study departs from most works that have been carried out on African (Yoruba) diaspora, which describe migration in terms of traumatic experience

and victimhood. As an analytical category and social theory, the post-modern adoption of diaspora in the study of Yoruba in Kano implies a community living 'here' and relating to a 'there.' Diaspora refers to a community living outside of, and interacting with its homeland by maintaining economic, political and kinship ties. These constitute the major features of the Yoruba in Kano. This study rejects master narratives and routine application of stereotypes to migrants in order to affirm the complexity of migrant experiences.

Diaspora, a cognate of the English word dispersion, is Greek, meaning scattering. According to R. Cohen, the term diaspora as first used in the Greek classical world (800-600 BC), implies 'to sow widely' to expand.² Historically, the concept of diaspora, was first applied to denote the plight of the Jews from Jerusalem following the Babylonian conquest in the 6th century B.C. The concept of diaspora is used to describe a community, which has a history of migration, and distinctive cultural practices that separates it from the host community. The African diaspora often has been uncritically superimposed on the Atlantic world, the 'Black Atlantic.' A new generation of diaspora scholars, the 'revisionist' school shifted the focus of African diasporan studies from the explicit study of creolization toward placing Africans and their descendants at the centre of their own histories.³ Since the 1970s, diaspora was used sociologically; to denote people living far away from their ancestral or cultural homeland in order to capture the group related institutionalisation and the evolving multicultural society.⁴ According to Armstrong, the term diaspora is applied, 'to any ethnic collectivity which lacks a territorial base within a given polity.'⁵

The chronology of diaspora formation is crucial and often creates overlapping communities with different perspectives and goals. Different layers of identities within a diaspora occur in non-hierarchical and overlapping patterns. There are many criteria that characterise the types of activities in which diasporas engage. They may involve cultural, religious, social, economic, educational and thrifts or a combination of these and other interests. Some diaspora members engage only in activities that involve mainly but not solely their ethnic group (for example herbalists), entrepreneurs and traders may focus on economic interests

involving their homeland. The symbolic ties to the homeland often result in suspicion and contempt from the host community.

A trading diaspora denotes an ethnic group that forms communities outside its indigenous homeland or cultural area as a commercial representative of a larger network. It is made up of professional merchants who promoted trade between the host society and their homes of origin. Diaspora has been defined within the contexts of modern sovereign nation states as people living outside their countries but the dichotomy between citizenship and indigeneship rights within Nigeria calls for a review of the legal praxis. In contrast to diaspora, the concept of homeland or hometown implies a particular part of the country which constitutes the areas owned or occupied by an ethnic group from the precolonial time to the present.⁶ In the period of crises, the homeland or hometown provides refuge or sanctuary for its members in the diaspora. In all, diaspora communities trace their ancestry to the homeland.

For the purpose of clarity, the written sources used in this work both published and unpublished are classified into five broad themes:

- (1) Migration;
- (2) i. Diaspora and identity formation
ii. Yoruba Diaspora;
- (3) Entrepreneurship;
- (4) The Kano economy; and
- (5) Intergroup relations.

Works on Migration

Four major types of migration that generate racial and ethnic relations have been put forward by Glazer⁷:

- (1) Movements of forced labour;

- (2) Contract-labour movement;
- (3) Movement of displaced persons and refugees; and
- (4) Voluntary migration.

Movement of forced labour includes the shipment of Africans as slaves into North and South American plantations from the 15th century to the first half of the 19th century. Contract labour transfer or indentured labour includes the migration induced by colonial or government institutions such as Asians in Southern and Eastern Africa. Displaced persons include refugees produced by war, famine, hostilities or official policies such as Jewish immigrants from Europe in the 1930s, the displacement of Nigerians due to ethnic and/or religious conflicts in Lagos, Jos, Kano and Kaduna; and trafficking in women and children in Nigeria. Voluntary migration covers the massive migration of individuals or groups in pursuit of social and economic needs.

Scholars through a number of perspectives have interpreted migration. The first theory about migration and perhaps the most influential so far in explaining migration in the African context emanates from neo-classical economists, pioneered by E. G. Ravenstein and popularised by W. A. Lewis, L. A. Sjaastad and M. Todaro. This theory views migration as the consequence of human cost-benefit calculus.⁸ It follows that migration constitutes a form of investment in human capital in which individuals advance their economic potentials through rational choice, utility maximisation, expected net returns, factor mobility and wage differentials. Thus, migration results from the uneven geographical distribution of labour, capital and other inputs such as arable land. This view has been further elaborated by O. Stark's new economics of labour migration that considers the family and not the individual as a migration unit.⁹ He suggests that migration is a family strategy aimed at diversifying sources of income in order to minimise risks, namely unemployment, loss of income, crop failures and imperfections that plague credit and insurance markets in sending regions. D. F. Bryceson further observes that the proliferation of income diversification strategies as a means of sustaining and improving livelihoods is the chief motive of household migration.¹⁰

A. Andersson considers migration as part of income diversification, whereby households and individuals seek to engage in livelihood strategies, which stretch across and between the different spheres of the economy.¹¹ R. Skeldon suggests that a migrant's decision is founded on the conditions within the household and its immediate environment as well as the exogenous push of urban centres.¹² The survival strategy of a rural household, centres on a set of risk elimination procedures, where the possibility of diversifying sources of income becomes the prime vehicle of the risk elimination strategy. The dispersal of household labour to its most productive uses becomes crucial in strengthening a household's income base.

Migration is often undertaken out of economic necessity including control of trade routes and to gain access to fertile land for cultivation or grazing. A modern version of pre-colonial migration has been brought about by the development of a cash crop economy in some areas resulting in migration. For example, cocoa producing areas of Western Nigeria and cotton/groundnut growing areas of Kano were spheres of extensive in-migration. In this connection, F. Cooper notes that patterns of production in the colonial economy influenced migration, ranging from areas where African producers achieved modest prosperity to areas where the loss of resources and marginalisation from outlets for crops drove Africans into wage labour.¹³ Some household heads often tried to ensure that young ones left and also returned, bringing back the proceeds of their labour. Young men, and often women, used wage labour to obtain a measure of independence from patriarchal authority by setting up their own households or investing in new profitable enterprises. S. Amin advances the thesis that the migratory movements in Nigeria have been cross-cutting.¹⁴ For example, skilled labour (educated and professional) migrants from the south to the north; cocoa labourers from the Middle Belt to Western Nigeria; the migration of merchants from Hausaland to Yorubaland and the migration of Yoruba merchants to Hausaland were peculiar features of migration trends in Nigeria. In the present work, it was discovered that there existed Hausa migrant communities in Yorubaland, in the same manner that Yoruba migrants existed in Hausaland.

The second migration theory is the classic pair of "push" and "pull" factors. The pull and push theory considers migration as a response to either ecological devastation or periphery-centre economic and political relations. Push force propelling migratory processes both (internal and international) have been elaborated in the works of A. Adepaju.¹⁵ Migration arises as a result of natural disasters such as land scarcity or depletion, drought and famine or pull of opportunity to urban centres like the Yoruba to Kano. The growth of periphery-centre relations increased the development of the push and pull factors thereby intensifying the forces of supply and demand. The push-pull model was constructed around the "factors of expulsion" (economic, social and political hardships in sending regions) and "factors of attraction" (comparative economic and social advantages in receiving regions) as causal variables determining the size and direction of migration flows.

The use of the push and pull factors in explaining migration in Africa have been refuted by S.O. Osoba.¹⁶ Citing northern and southern Nigeria as case studies, he observes that, the social science theory of "pull" and "push" factor is rather a narrow and inelastic view of what constitutes opportunities to earn cash. The historical reality in both the northern and southern region of Nigeria is that the economies are predominantly agrarian with preponderant subsistence element existing alongside scattered pockets of monetised and commercialised economy. Hence, the flow of population between the north and the south has not been a one-way traffic. The criss-cross of migrants all over Nigeria resulted in a complex mixture of ethnic and sub-ethnic groups in various parts of the country. First, the most vulnerable members of the poorer societies are most likely to participate in labour migration. Second, such migration flows arise spontaneously out of the sheer existence of economic inequalities on the national scale. Migration as a complex combination of forces cannot be explained by the pull and push factors alone. The salient explanation was the twin colonial systems of standard coin and currency and imposition of poll tax payable in cash.

A growing body of opinion discerned in migrant labour studies concerns the development of a vicious cycle of impoverishment as men and women were forced into the labour

market by colonial policies, declining rural production and the fact that migrants were paid below subsistence industrial wages.¹⁷ Migration is equally a means of capital redistribution and modernisation. A. Mabogunje explains migration in Africa using systems approach model.¹⁸ His explanation is based on the premise that rural-urban migration in Africa is controlled by systematic inter-relationships of rural-urban control systems, rural-urban adjustment mechanisms and the flow of information about migration. The major elements of his model are notably: a pool of potential migrants in rural areas viewed as mass resources rather than as individuals; two systems pertaining to migration flows are centred in the rural area and controlling outflows and another in the urban area controlling inflows; a background environment comprising social and economic conditions, government policies, transportation and communication infrastructures; and the level of technological development.

D. Massey, drawing on social capital theory has suggested migration networks analysis.¹⁹ Migration networks can be explained as sets of interpersonal relations that link migrants or returned migrants with relatives, friends and kinsmen at home. Networks induce migration through information, cash remittance, financial assistance, employment and accommodation that reduces the costs and uncertainty of migration thereby facilitating it. Among the Yoruba in Kano, migration networks served as a form of social capital. R. Brown traces the export of labour to an unstable environment, seasonal food shortages, new consumer demands and monetisation of bride wealth, and contends that the repatriation of migrants, and wages not only reinforced sagging political structures, and improved rural standards of living but also further stimulated migration.²⁰

In sum, the quest for capital and labour, opportunities to earn cash for the mandatory colonial taxation, raw materials and food supplies took Yoruba entrepreneurs further afield. Kinship networks, government bureaucracy and the expansion of the modern urban economy contributed immensely to Yoruba migration in the 20th century. Yoruba migration to Kano was embedded within the framework of kinship linkages. The migration trend of Yoruba to Kano illuminates the fact that amongst the sub-ethnic groups, migration involved

systematic social production relations, which were interwoven with economic and cultural factors, but whose underlying dynamic was, in a broad sense, economic. The most dynamic force driving migration was the aspiration for economic gain. A network of friends and relatives that lowers the barriers for migration principally facilitates this. The profit-seeking model in which economic and socio-cultural factors were paramount was evident in Yoruba migrants' decisions to engage in entrepreneurial activities in Kano. Factors such as competition, market accessibility, capital, niche concentration, support network, entrepreneurial experience, migration experience, age, education and period of residency all account for the Yoruba migrants' decision to choose Kano.

Works on Diaspora and Identity Formation

A. Cohen, in his study of Hausa kolanut and cattle traders in Yorubaland, considers a trading diaspora as a nation of socially interdependent but spatially dispersed communities.²¹ A trading diaspora, according to him, has an informal political organisation of its own for stability within the community and for the perpetual struggle against competition. A trading diaspora creates institutions of general welfare and social security to conform to home values. He suggests that the Hausa in Yorubaland formed a culturally exclusive community by using the Tijaniyya Mosque to monopolise trade and ensure social trust among its members. Through the "retribalisation" process, Hausa migrants established a Central Mosque in Sabon-Gari, Ibadan, which helped in preserving their exclusive identity.²² However, both the Hausa and Yoruba had similar Sheikhs (religious leaders). For example, in the 1960s, Sheikh Sanni Auwal, at Elekuro Ibadan hailed from Kano and had Yoruba followers. Cohen concludes cogently that close interconnection existed between Hausa organisation of trade and Hausa political organisation. In simple terms, Hausa cultural tradition was not the principal factor in the formation of Hausa communities in Yoruba towns.

M. D. Suleiman studies the evolution and settlement patterns of the Hausa community in Lokoja and unravels the dynamics of relationship the community had with other groups in the plural society.²³ The Hausa community established a political hegemony over the non-

Hausa and organised a myriad of economic structures to maintain their influence. The most potent strategy in Hausa diaspora in Lokoja was the Islamic brotherhood.

C. N. Ubah considers the Yoruba and the Nupe as the earliest settlers in Sabon-Gari, Kano.²⁴ The present study seeks to present the commercial activities of the Yoruba in Kano. J. N. Paden, studies inter-ethnic relations in Kano from the perspectives of incorporation of identities with Islam as the major intergration tool.²⁵ He concludes that Hausa-Yoruba relations in Kano have been good historically. By 1970, Sabon-Gari had become predominantly Yoruba due to the exodus of the Igbo during the Civil War. Paden considers the Yoruba as one of the major ethnic groups in Kano. Because he was not concerned with the Yoruba in Kano, he made passing remarks without elaborate analysis on Yoruba residential patterns and commercial interaction with the host community. This aspect forms part of the argument in the present work.

E. P. Skinner made a systematic application of Georg Simmel's concept of the stranger (*der Fremde*) to the study of migrant-host relations in African societies.²⁶ In a collective volume, contributors argue that racial and cultural differences between strangers and their hosts appear to be less important than ideological, socio-structural and politico-economic factors. They suggest that immigrant communities in a peaceful or hostile social environment seek to protect their collective interests through the formation of associations, which provide the basis for common identity in the pursuit of economic, social and political interests. Culture rather than the political process, including the adoption of language, customs, costume, mode of livelihood, fictive kinship and religious practices formed the mechanism of strangers' incorporation into the host society. The adoption of cultural values of the host community was significant in the integration of some Yoruba immigrants into the Hausa society in Kano.

A. Bako's thesis has been remarkably important in the study of migration and urbanisation that produced ethnic relations in modern Kano and thus very useful in this work.²⁷ He presents the historical evolution and transformation of the immigrant settlement in Sabon-Gari, Kano. According to him, the Yoruba were the earliest inhabitants of Sabon-Gari

during the colonial period. He contends that, the Yoruba community used religious and cultural institutions to institute cohesiveness among its membership.

I. O. Albert's study provides another view on the problems of ethnicity, inter-group relations and national integration process in Nigeria.²⁸ He observes that the Sabon-Gari system has created social and spatial barriers that made it difficult for the settlers to assimilate into their host community. The present work studies the Yoruba living in Sabon-Gari and with the Hausa host community in Kano metropolis. It marked a departure from the realm of discourse on hostility to the emphasis on commerce in the study of inter-group relations between Hausa and Yoruba.

In his perspectives on urban ethnicity, E. E. Osaghae notes that urban ethnic associations protect and advance the interests of their members in competition with other groups over the determination of public policy. He observes that massive migration and urbanisation transform associational ethnicity into migrant ethnic 'empires' in the form of centralised political authority.²⁹ In a broader sense, the present work demonstrates that centralised ethnic associations such as the Yoruba Community in Kano constitute the platform that regulate cordial interaction between the host community and the Yoruba on one hand and between other migrants such as Nupe, Igala, Igbo and Edo on the other.

T. M. Naniya is of the view that since the pre-colonial period, Kano had pursued a liberal policy for the reception of other peoples and cultures.³⁰ The policy seems to have encouraged inter-ethnic co-existence and immigration of various ethnicities from many parts of Africa and the Middle East.³¹ The present work demonstrates that the policy encouraged Yoruba migration and integration into the Kano society.

S. A. Albasu documents the role of the Lebanese migrants in the development of Kano's industrial economy.³² He points out that in Kano, the British discouraged inter-ethnic contact and integration through its policy of "Indirect Rule" and residential segregation. This

settlement pattern, he observes, intensified ethnic identification and community cohesiveness.

M. U. Adamu contends that Kano developed from a 'tribal' society enriched by migratory trends that transformed migrants through integration and assimilation processes into an emergent and distinct identity: The Kano Hausa.³³ The old city wards represent the basic social units of Kano society and depicts the characteristics of the early settlers. He buttresses the argument provided by early scholars especially C. N. Ubah and A. Bako that Yoruba migrants provided the largest single group of settlers in Sabon-Gari during its early history. The present work has tried to document inter-group relations.

Yoruba Diaspora

D. R. Aronson offers an ethnographic study of social change and voluntary migration among the Ijebu-Yoruba.³⁴ He observes that it was the wage labour of the colonial economy together with the indigenous institutions of Yoruba society that provided the framework for individual migration. Thus a mutuality of economic pursuits produced a set of Ijebu artisans, labourers and traders in Ibadan city. This indicates an element of diaspora identity among the sub-groups in Yorubaland. The present work considers sub-ethnic identity important in the Yoruba commercial activities in Kano.

In two interrelated articles in a collective volume, Niara Sudarkasa and Jeremy S. Eades offer anthropological and ethnographical study of the Yoruba diaspora in Ghana. Following the Simmelian concept of stranger, Sudarkasa studies the changing dynamics of the socio-political identity of the Yoruba in Ghana between 1900 and 1970.³⁵ Sudarkasa considers the Yoruba as having been the largest Nigerian ethnic migrant group in Ghana numbering over 100,000 at the time of deportation in November 1969. Sudarkasa provides analysis on the formation of diaspora solidarity and township unions among the various Yoruba sub-groups in Ghana. Yoruba sub-group identity and township solidarity has also been considered in the present work. Between the 1940s and 1960s, as the population of the

Yoruba community in Ghana increased, they developed a network of ethnic/township associations known as *Parapos* (Unions) under the central organ of Oba-in-Council to maintain community cohesion. The formation of Yoruba community in Kano has been discussed in the present work. Sudarkasa presents an indepth account of the Yoruba support for and opposition to Ghana's main political parties, United Party and Convention Peoples Party, to advance their socio-economic interests. As Sudarkasa's work shows, the expulsion of Yoruba and other migrant groups from Ghana in 1969 demonstrated the structural weakness of the post-colonial African States in the accommodation or tolerance of competition. Despite these analyses, the work is silent on the aftermath of the deportation on Yoruba diaspora in Ghana, particularly on commerce, communal and family lives that were dislocated. The present work has considered the contribution of the deportees to the development of Kano.

J. S. Eades studies two inter-connected themes that aided the growth of Yoruba diaspora, notably, kinship and entrepreneurship. Using Northern Ghana as a case study, he suggests that the Yoruba developed their community through chains of migration from the same town, and family compounds.³⁶ Entrepreneurial drives of the Yoruba merchants enabled them to recruit labour from their kinship network for the expansion of their commercial base. He observes that kinship networks of extended family were a major strategy in the provision of employment, training and capital that promoted Yoruba commerce in Ghana. The present work considers the importance of kinship and religious networks in Yoruba commerce in Kano.

Eades further articulates four main types of migration among the Yoruba, which influences the formation of diaspora communities.³⁷ These were analysed according to occupational categories. First, there were the unskilled labour migrants of the colonial period looking for work on the cocoa farms or in larger towns. Second, there were migrant farmers looking for suitable land, especially, for planting cocoa. Third, there were the long-distance migrants, many of them traders. Trade migration and diaspora were common features in the

Savannah towns. Fourth, there was the migration of the younger educated people to the urban centres, especially with the expansion of education in the 1950s. According to him, kinship plays an important part in channeling migration, as people move to join their relatives in other towns to find jobs. He argues that a steady flow of goods and information exists between home and diaspora. His contention that Ijebu-Yoruba migrants tended to settle near home (within Yorubaland) negates historical facts. Ijebu are one of the most adventurous of Yoruba sub-groups. From the 18th through the 19th centuries, their commerce had been firmly established at Kulfo Market in Nupeland. As discussed in this work, by the 20th century, Ijebu artisans pioneered most of the modern technical skills such as printing and goldsmithing in Northern Nigeria, particularly Kano. Colonial institutions requiring clerical services and the railroad also promoted Ijebu migration beyond the shores of Yorubaland.

L. Trager argues that the hometown is a source of social and cultural identity among the Yoruba in diaspora.³⁸ She demonstrates the propensity of Yoruba groups to migrate and settle in other communities while maintaining ties with their home areas. Evidence from her study among the Ijesa-Yoruba shows that at the individual level, migration was combined with the maintenance of ties with family, kin networks and community in terms of remittances, ceremonies and visits. This process has been considered in the present work on Yoruba in Kano. In sum, sub-ethnic and township identities were important in the Yoruba migration to Kano and commercial diaspora.

In a fascinating collective volume, edited by T. Falola and M. D. Childs, scholars from diverse intellectual genre studied the Yoruba diaspora in the Atlantic world using the Atlantic model for diaspora studies. Contributors emphasised that, '(Yoruba) slaves forcefully transported to the Americas carried with them their own history, culture, and identity that decisively shaped their experience in the Americas.'³⁹ As the authors noted, the Yoruba in the Americas defy precise classification. Despite names and identities such as Lucumi in Cuba and Nago in Brazil, the Yoruba, in contrast to other Africans were

often distinctive as a separate cultural group, which allows scholars to study their experiences in detail.⁴⁰

Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurs are individuals who possess the ability to identify and evaluate business opportunities, coordinate the resources to take advantage of them and initiate appropriate action to ensure success. Entrepreneurs are action-driven, highly motivated individuals who take risks to achieve goals.

F. Barth considers three criteria for entrepreneurship: the single-minded maximisation of one type of value; the use of a deductive prognosis of results which does not conform to expectations based on institutionalised experience and the willingness to take risks.⁴¹ By migration, entrepreneurs broke away from established customary expectations and exposed themselves to great social and economic risks. These risks involved the constant threat of social strife and economic fluctuations. Entrepreneurial responses were therefore, consistently built around resources, objectives and initiatives. This has been the experience of most of the Yoruba entrepreneurs studied in the present work.

A. L. Mabogunje observes that immigrants often supplied innovative entrepreneurship. Their actions very often lead to transfer of technical know-how among communities.⁴² S. A'ikō elaborates that entrepreneurship is essentially a creative activity.⁴³ M. Casson demonstrates that when economic growth and development are considered in an historical perspective, the role of the entrepreneur comes into sharper focus.⁴⁴ Entrepreneurship appears as a personal quality which enables certain individuals to make economic decisions with far reaching consequences. According to him, entrepreneurs, by acting differently from other people and their examples, influenced them to change their minds and thereby alter the course of history. An entrepreneur is therefore a role-model. Entrepreneurial effort is required to develop an improved allocation of resources and to transfer the relevant know-how to other regions. Given that entrepreneurs are of crucial influence in economic transformations, it is obviously desirable to understand what sorts of social institutions provide favourable qualities of entrepreneurship. One of the most striking

features of successful entrepreneurs is that they are frequently drawn from migrant groups in the society. For most of these entrepreneurs, the basic form of labour is self-employment. A self-employed person may expand his/her business first by taking on other members of the household, then non-resident members of the ethnic group or the host community. This was basically the process followed by most Yoruba entrepreneurs in Kano. Thus, Casson's work is of importance to this work.

T. Forrest discusses the growth of enterprises and patterns of capital accumulation among Nigerian entrepreneurs. According to him, the origins of entrepreneurs who developed large-scale enterprises in Nigeria are diverse. Their background ranges from petty traders and artisans with limited formal education who have built up large enterprises to, professionals and government officials.⁴⁵ In Kano, the produce trade was closely linked to transport business. Among the early indigenous transporters were Dantata Transport, Muhammadu Nagoda, Haruna Kassim, Sani Marshal Transport, Garba Bichi and sons as well as Bello Bichi Transport. Advances in transportation were assisted by the Igbo exodus in 1966/67 from the northern states and the switch to road traffic that followed the disruption of the railways. Local transporters secured an increased share on the crucial Kano-Lagos route.⁴⁶ Despite his excellent discussion on indigenous entrepreneurs in Kano, he was silent on the activities of Yoruba entrepreneurs in the transport and printing sectors. These obvious lapses are what the present work has succeeded in documenting.

From a gender perspective, M. L. Swantz, notes that women's entrepreneurship is central to the economic development of Africa, yet women are treated as "targets" requiring integration into the mainline economies rather than as significant actors in their own right.⁴⁷ Women's economic activities have increased tremendously under the economic pressures the continent has experienced during the past decade, but such activity is often informal and remains small scale. In Kano, Yoruba women were intermediaries linked in terms of commercial exchange, distribution and credit networks existing between the Hausa community and the Yoruba migrants. Yoruba women as economic mediators between the

hosts and the migrants possess unique commercial attributes that broke the social restrictions in the host/migrant relations in Kano as enjoined by the *Kulle* system. Yoruba women were central to the distribution network, the employment of street urchins in menial jobs and provision of services such as credit networks and saving schemes.

In examining entrepreneurship, and social identity, L. Bank observes that entrepreneurs often came from immigrant groups.⁴⁸ The entrepreneurial responses of these individuals were largely built around resources, experiences and aspirations. Many individuals shifted their material assets from one source of income to another. In fact, as this work has shown, the decisions of most Yoruba in wage employment to enter retail business were based on their desire to retain some measure of cultural and economic autonomy. Therefore, entry into commerce in their case could be achieved by shifting resources from one economic sphere to another. Some entrepreneurs make transitions from wage labour to self-employment. The first category of entrepreneurs in the study of Yoruba in Kano, were made up of a mixture of former colonial workers, school teachers, company clerks and demobilised soldiers who moved from wage labour into self-employment.

The second category was the less educated entrepreneurs who had apprenticeship artisan skills before their arrival in Kano. Indeed, the ability of entrepreneurs to expand their businesses often depended on the exploitation of family labour through patriarchal control. Besides the importance of family labour within the business, very few entrepreneurs entered into business partnerships. The only exceptions recorded were those involved in partnerships between close kin and co-ethnic members. The tendency was to keep businesses and skills within the family even if this jeopardised the profitability of the enterprise. In other words, most entrepreneurs viewed saving, parsimony and thrift as the main source of profit. This orientation towards saving rather than investment supported the preponderance of the existing tendency towards "one man, one shop." In most of the small scale enterprises there were virtually no organised systems of bookkeeping and thus no

conceptual separation between "domestic" and "business" expenditure. Nonetheless, they made profits.

Scholars who have dealt with cultural variables as important elements in entrepreneurial activities have stressed the patterns of extended families and social mobility. P. Kilby observes that the causes of Nigerian entrepreneurial deficiencies are more than just the lack of experience or training, but also the underlying disposition and attitudes of entrepreneurs.⁴⁹ These attitudes in turn affect business ethics and the delegation of managerial authority. The socio-cultural basis of entrepreneurship among Yoruba indicates preference for social mobility based on achieved wealth as a means of securing high social status.

As demonstrated in the subsequent chapters of this study, an entrepreneur is one who utilises skills for resources allocation; uses the factors of production for profit maximisation and introduces new skills, which stimulate or encourage others. By utilising strategies of diversity and mobility, entrepreneurs worked on their own terms and time. When considering the social context of Yoruba entrepreneurs in Kano, artisanship skills were regarded as community resources used to cement social and economic relations in terms of training, employment and finance.

Economists have described entrepreneurship from a universal perspective without consideration for cultural peculiarities. Entrepreneurs were defined in terms of monolithic individuals acting single-handedly for economic transformation. Casson, Kilby, Belasco, Barth and Bank emphasise how entrepreneurs, as risk takers, spearhead innovations, allocate productive resources and influence others. In particular, B. I. Belasco emphasises that entrepreneurial process is a systematic individual effort to transform traditional social arrangements of production through the introduction of commodity relations, between producers and owners of factors of production.⁵⁰ However, the biographical accounts and business profiles of some Yoruba entrepreneurs expose the influence of kinship bonds in their careers. Among the Yoruba, the central organising principle of the economy was

based on kinship relationship. Kinship determined the access of individuals to all the factors of production, namely land, labour and capital. The analysis of the entrepreneurial process by economists is equally silent on the role of government policies. As discussed in this work, colonial credit and monetary policies had created wider commercial advantages for European and Asian entrepreneurs at the expense of the indigenous ones who had less access to government funds. In the post-independence period, government policies such as indigenisation decrees and small-scale industries loan schemes were meant to enhance the participation of Nigerian entrepreneurs in the economy. But their competition with the foreign entrepreneurs has not been substantial. Equally, the influence of government's macro-economic policies such as the Structural Adjustment Programme has not been appreciated in the study of informal economy and migratory processes as I have done in this work.

Though economic historians who dealt with modern transport such as Allan Mcphee, A.G. Hopkins, A. M. Hay and W. I. Ofonagoro present modern road transportation as a critical prerequisite for economic growth in the way it widened markets, facilitated economics of large scale production and, tamed distances, no critical analysis was made to discern the nature of subsidiary industries and entrepreneurship it created.⁵¹ What aided the significance of road transport in the Nigerian economy was not the mere construction of roads by governments but the entrepreneurial ingenuity of Nigerians to invest in the technological changes. Rigorous analysis of indigenous entrepreneurship in the motor industry including auto sales and repairs has been seemingly lacking. The absence of this analysis has been principally informed by the methodology and themes investigated which very often fall short of interaction and indepth interviews with entrepreneurs. These shortcomings are part of what this work has tried to address.

Works on Kano Economy

Some scholars acknowledged the role of migrants' economic activities in the transformation of Kano as a centre of commerce. P. J. Shea suggests that the entrepreneurial innovation of Yoruba dyers in Kano altered the scale of technology and production in the strategic but near obsolete Kano dyeing industry during the Second World War.⁵² According to him, Yoruba and Nupe women dyers used large steel drums and caustic soda as a mordant instead of wood ash turned to ash water.

P. J. Shea further uses his research on internal silk trade to prove that Yorubaland and Hausaland have been tied together in the interdependent network of production and trade.⁵³ According to him, the silk trade is commercially unique in the way it ties together the process of importing raw materials, re-exporting partially finished goods, producing finished products and sometimes re-exporting the finished products to the areas which produced the raw materials. This excellent work is very relevant to this study.

I. A. Tahir observes that the entrepreneurial drive and initiative of the Kano merchants had contributed to economic growth and the development of modern industry and communication.⁵⁴ He argued that the natural demographic increase coupled with the rise in rural migration and the influx of migrants have made Kano the dominant economy and demographic growth centre in Northern Nigeria. According to him, there was an increase in Yoruba migration to Kano on account of the economic boom generated after the Civil War. Though he did not examine the ethnic specialisation in the service sector, he analyses the economic growth and rapid expansion in the post-civil war era.

A.M. Fika provides information on the evolution of Kano as a commercial and industrial centre that attracts immigrants.⁵⁵ In the pre-colonial era, Kano had a sizeable "colony" of Yoruba settlers within the old city walls. Yoruba traders brought to Kano English goods, kolanuts and Yoruba clothes (called *Bunu* and *Salwami* in Hausa) and exchanged them for potash as well as livestock. For the colonial period, he attributes the commercial success of the Yoruba entrepreneurs to capital/credit system provided by the Bank of British West

Africa, Kano branch established in 1914. However, this is not totally true because most Yoruba entrepreneurs got their capital through personal savings and cooperative ventures since they were denied access to loans by colonial banks. For example, the Bank of British West Africa accepted deposits from Africans and as early as 1910, £263,000 (about a quarter of Bank of British West Africa's total deposits) belonged to African customers but who were denied access to loan facilities.⁵⁶ He demonstrates that most southerners were adventurers who were lorry transporters and fortune seekers whose businesses were liquidated by the fall in groundnut prices in the 1930s and thus, returned to the south. This argument could not be substantiated as many Yoruba continued to flourish in Kano. Equally, he is silent on the economic importance of lorry transport in the groundnut economy, particularly during the depression period. Yoruba entrepreneurs in Kano pioneered commercial transport industry as demonstrated in this work.

J. S. Hogendorn presents an account of the groundnut economy in the early colonial period.⁵⁷ He contends that its expansion in the colonial economy created wider economic opportunities for the Yoruba educated elites who served as clerks in commercial firms and government departments. The groundnut trade further stimulated Yoruba migration to Kano. Indigenous Hausa groundnut traders employed sub-agents and clerks some of whom were Yoruba. However, one of the salient issues which he ignored, but which the present work has highlighted, is the impact of transport facilities provided by the Yoruba lorry owners on the groundnut trade between 1920s and 1950s.

W. I. Ofonagoro analyses the dramatic changes that occurred in the trade between Hausaland and Yorubaland.⁵⁸ He contends that the prospects of various local producers and traders, with the advent of the British commercial presence in the hinterland, were mixed. The products of the loom and the forge were gradually driven out of the market by mass-produced imports from Birmingham, Manchester and Sheffield. But the producers and dealers in kolanut trade explored new opportunities for the expansion of the volume and value of their businesses. As demonstrated in the present work, the railroad system provided the impetus for many Yoruba kolanut traders between Kano and Yorubaland.

M. Adamu provides evidence of the commercial and religious relationship between Hausaland and Yorubaland.⁵⁹ The exchange of North African and European goods between the two regions had led to the establishment of middlemen roles in the commodities for which they had direct access. As demonstrated in the present work, the commercial intercourse between the two regions led to the settling down of Yoruba traders in pre-colonial Kano.

P. E. Lovejoy studies entrepreneurship, commodity flow as well as commercial institutions in the Hausa kolanut trade across the Central Sudan.⁶⁰ He notes that the Hausa commercial diaspora in Gonja was a unifying factor essential to business operations and the guarantee of credit. Individuals migrated to places, which offered the possibility of economic advancement. In the present work, it has been shown that kinship networks were essential in the mobilisation of capital for commercial activities.

I. A. Kiyawa, studies indigenous entrepreneurs in Kano.⁶¹ Kiyawa considers entrepreneurs as catalysts of economic development who utilise the productive resources of the society. Kiyawa focuses on production and entrepreneurship in the Kano bakery industry. As a new food item, bread was not wholly patronised by the local population until the mid 1960s. This was partly due to the general belief that alcohol forms one of the ingredients for producing bread. The work lacks proper historical analyses of the introduction of bakery into Kano and the ethnic identity of the entrepreneurs he studied.

A. Mahadi's work provides information on commercial transaction between Yorubaland and Kano in the pre-colonial era.⁶² S. Bello offers analyses on the colonial economy in Kano and the role of migrant southerners who served as construction workers, drivers, engineers, and owners of food canteens.⁶³ He is, however, silent on Yoruba produce buyers who served as commercial intermediaries between producers of cash crop, British companies, Syrians and buying agents like Alhassan Dantata, Adamu Jakada, Maikano Agogo and Umar Sharubutu.

I. L. Bashir studies the development of indigenous private entrepreneurs and the industrialisation process in Kano State.⁶⁴ The mercantile class formed an oligarchy that developed from the long distance kolanut and cattle trades as well as friendly relationships with the aristocrats to control state resources. Thus, government funds and patronage formed the bulk of capital that financed the industrialisation of the indigenous entrepreneurs in the 1950s. Bashir argues that political contracts and machination worked in two ways: they promoted the interests of those with such contracts for class expansion, and equally retarded those entrepreneurs without government patronage. He underscores entrepreneurial drive and personal savings as great inputs in industrialisation process rather than the sole government fund. As shown in the present work, the major source of capital of Yoruba entrepreneurs was through personal savings or credit networks rather than government patronage.

M. I. Mukhtar demonstrates that in the colonial cash crop economy, the indigenous Hausa traders in Kano experienced competition from Lebanese, Syrians and Yoruba groundnut traders.⁶⁵ He argues that the colonial economy attracted migrants whose new settlements contributed to urban development. Sabon-Gari, he argued, constituted a cultural melting-pot where migrants experienced a re-socialisation process in contact with other ethnic groups.

P. M. Lubeck observes that a high proportion of urban labour in Kano were largely recruited from skilled workers of Western Nigeria origin.⁶⁶ He provides analyses on the formation of labour guilds some of which were multi-ethnic such as the Butcher's Union having Hausa and Yoruba as members. The present work has equally provided analyses of multi-ethnic labour guilds such as the Transporters Union and Auto Spare-parts Dealers Association having Hausa, Edo, Igbo and Yoruba as members.

A. U. Dan Asabe made a pioneering attempt at studying the much neglected vital aspect of the Kano social history: the history of the downtrodden.⁶⁷ Dan Asabe discusses the processes leading to poverty, and social inequalities in urban Kano. According to him, the

commercial activities of Yoruba artisans and particularly transporters aided the emergence of Hausa motorists. The present work has presented analyses on Yoruba transporters in Kano.

R. O. Olaniyi studies the emergence of Yoruba entrepreneurs in the modern technical industry, particularly printing in Kano. He emphasises the role of migration and kinship networks in the transfer of modern skills among communities in Nigeria. The work analyses an aspect of the Yoruba commerce in Kano and had a temporal time frame.⁶⁸

N. N. Fabian studies the growth of Igbo enterprise in Kano modern trading sector. According to him, the Igbo in Kano mobilised ethnic identity as a source of capital, training and business strategy in the automobile spare part trade. However, he did not discuss the origin or the historical processes, especially the transport industry, leading to the growth of the automobile spare part trade.⁶⁹ The author did not examine the commercial competition or the formation of trade guilds between Igbo and Yoruba automobile spare parts traders in Kano. The present work has analysed the competition between Igbo and Yoruba in the auto spare parts business.

Works on Inter-Group Relations

Some works on inter-group relations give a narrow view of the competition and confrontation that exist between hosts and migrants and not complimentary economic roles. They interpret the new patterns of inter-group relations resulting from the Sokoto Jihad, and the coming of Christian missionaries as the basis of dichotomy between the North and the South. This view consummately expressed by C. N. Ubah and Obaro Ikime undermined intensive and extensive commercial relations.⁷⁰ The migrants and the hosts, it was observed, exist in separate entities without any linkages. Indeed, the very notion of incipient hostility and confrontation seemed narrow, as if migrant communities are autonomous structures. The success of most Yoruba entrepreneurs in Kano had to some

extent been facilitated not only by the social institutions that the Kano economy offered but also by the extensive networks with the host community.

In their analyses of Sabon-Gari system, A. Bako and I. O. Albert observed that the colonial residential system created isolation and spatial barriers that entrenched friction between the migrants and the hosts.⁷¹ The present work considers Yoruba migrants who live within host community in Kano metropolis and their commercial activities.

Divergent perspectives have been offered on how and why ethnic relations in Nigeria often degenerate into conflicts. Nnoli opines that social interaction between two culturally diverse groups does not necessarily generate conflict but rather the degree of competing and conflicting claims among the groups.⁷² L. Diamond argues that ethnic conflict is rooted in competition over resources and power rather than conflict over cultural values.⁷³ In the present work, it has been demonstrated that cultural exclusiveness in addition to competition often generates conflicts between Hausa and Yoruba in Kano metropolis.

D. Yahaya observes that the British colonial administration brought in its wake migrants with new articles of trade, new skills and novel ideas that constituted enormous potentials for development and as well created tension and stress in the economic, political and social spheres of the local community. According to him, the severity of the stress was so great that Kano broke down into serious confusion and violence. The riots of 1953 and 1966 had common targets of attacks which were the economic and social institutions of southern Nigerian migrants.⁷⁴ His assertion could be extended to explain the sectarian and ethnic conflicts in Kano in 1991, 1994 and 1999.

I. O. Albert argues that inter-ethnic conflicts between Hausa-Igbo in Kano were largely caused by socio-cultural, religious and economic differences.⁷⁵ He notes that where socio-cultural characteristics of the two groups were diametrically opposed to one another, the host-migrant relationship is often characterised by animosity. However, as pointed out in this work the economic aggressiveness and ethnic identities of immigrants often prevent their integration into the host community and inevitably engendered hostility when the host

community attempts to redress the imbalance in the control and distribution of resources in their own favour. The present work marked a departure from the realm of discourse on hostility to the emphasis on commerce in the study of inter-group relations between Hausa and Yoruba. This work studies Yoruba commerce in Kano, which differs from Albert's study of urban settlement patterns among migrant communities in Sabon-Gari Ibadan and Kano.

E. E. Osaghae observes that ethnic conflicts often ensue from events in which ethnic groups decide to employ their ethnic differences in pursuing interests.⁷⁶ In his study of urban violence in Kano, H. Wakili notes that the major causes of conflict and violence in Kano arise from political exclusionism and economic deprivation.⁷⁷ He argues that these created tensions since the economy was dominated by migrants who formed ethnic entrepreneurship groups that made it difficult to prospective entrants into the economy. The present work has shown that there existed a loose entry into the informal economy, particularly modern technical industries dominated by migrants. Admission into the migrant artisanship skills was further encouraged by apprenticeship schemes in which some members of the host community benefited. Professional unions may have ethnic character in their membership, but their activities and policies did not in any way prevent new entrants or interlopers into the artisanship skills.

Conclusion

The above review indicates that there is significant interest in commercial history, entrepreneurship, migration, diaspora studies and inter-group relations. The review also offers an expository account of the strengths and weaknesses of the literature. A review of relevant literature of the most outstanding contributions made in the past indicates that practically little systematic and comprehensive historical research on the Yoruba diaspora, inter-group relations and entrepreneurship in Kano have been carried out. Despite all the contributions made by scholars, a concrete analysis of Yoruba commerce in Kano remains uncertain. This research work is a more comprehensive commercial history of the Yoruba

in Kano. Thus, the present work is a pioneer study and a modest contribution to the historiography of Yoruba commerce in Kano. The study reconstructs the dynamics of Yoruba entrepreneurship within the context of a diaspora community and its contribution to the growth of the Kano economy.

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CHAPTER THREE

KANO ECONOMIC SETTING AND YORUBA MIGRATORY TRENDS

Introduction

Kano is a cosmopolitan centre and an emporium of commercial opportunities. In pre-colonial Nigeria, long-distance commerce was salient in the transformation of states. Commerce contributed to the material basis of political power in the process of state formation.¹ Trade gave impetus to large-scale political organisation and the emergence of states also depended on social and military factors.² In the 15th century, Kano was the largest commercial city in Hausaland and has held a prominent position in the Trans-Saharan trade across the Sahara desert. As a commercial centre, Kano was linked with several regions and markets through trade routes. Kano served as the terminus of two central caravan routes across the Sahara. The first trade route ran from Tripoli through Ghadames, Ghat, Tintellus, Agades and Katsina to Kano.³ The second trade route linked Murzuk through Kauwar and Bilma to Borno and Kano. Kano was equally one of the major centres of the Trans-Sudanic commercial traffic through which Kukawa and Wadai were linked with Gonja and Timbuktu on the Niger bend, to Katunga (Oyo-ile), Kebbi, Katsina, Zaria, Zinder and Agades. In the long distance trade, Kano was linked with Yorubaland through markets and trade routes. This facilitated substantial trade relations between Yorubaland and Kano.

Since the 15th century, commerce and the religion of Islam have served as linkages between Yorubaland and Hausaland.⁴ Commercial intercourse centred on the exchange of West African, North African and European goods. Kano, by virtue of its strategic location as one of the termini of the Trans-Sahara trade routes, continuously received many valuable commodities from North Africa, especially silk.⁵ Kano traders exported livestock, salt, natron, leather goods, horses and cloth to Yorubaland; and in turn come from Yorubaland with items such as Kolanut and pepper.⁶

In the early 19th century, the strength of the Central Sudan economy, combined with the collapse of the old Oyo empire, had paved way for Hausa traders to control large share of the long-distance trade from the middle Volta basin to Adamawa and south to the Atlantic coast.⁷ From Yoruba towns, traders bought textiles and re-exported European firearms and cloth.

The Yoruba hinterland had traditionally enjoyed a dual commercial orientation. To the north, trade routes started from old-Oyo through Nupeland (through Rabba) to Kano in Hausaland.⁸ Rabba, an important ferrying station in Nupeland was used by both Yoruba and Hausa traders.⁹ The caravan trade between Lagos and Kano passed through Ota, Eruwa, Lanlate, Iseyin and Saki.¹⁰ Through this route Yoruba traders exported pepper, kolanut, cloth and red wood used for cosmetics, calico or printed cloth of European manufacture from Benin. They exchanged these items for horses, silk, Maltese swords in Kano.¹¹ Kano-Badagry route linked many communities together. Through this route, Yoruba traders exported Kolanuts to the north and imported tailored clothes. Porto-Novo and Badagry served as the major ports for Oyo's export trade. In 1824 Clapperton described mounted swords manufactured in Malta, which found their way into Badagry. The swords were exported from Malta to Bengazen in Tripoli and from there to Kano. From Kano, they were re-exported to Badagry.¹² In 1828, Richard Lander, found the "irona" (a vegetable alkaline from the fringes of the desert) in Badagry. Hausa traders brought horses and slaves to Yorubaland.¹³ Yoruba traders traded in European goods particularly copper dishes and beads obtained from Badagry and Porto-Novo. Migration has been a principal feature of Yoruba economic and social life. The British colonisation aided this migratory tradition, especially to Kano which became a centre of colonial administration, commerce, infrastructures and investments.

In the 20th century, the Yoruba commercial diaspora in Kano underwent major historical changes as represented in the following chronological framework: The first period lasted from 1912 to 1919, when the railroad was extended to Kano but the economy was affected by the First World War, 1914-1919. During the period, the British policy of racial and residential segregation was introduced. The second period lasted from the end of the First

World War in 1919 to the onset of the Great economic depression in 1929. The period was marked by entrepreneurial initiatives of migrants moving out of paid employment in government and European firms into trading. The third period witnessed the Great economic depression. During this period, there was a decline in commodity prices while the British reviewed the administration of taxation. The fourth period, 1939-1945 witnessed the Second World War, heralding the introduction and the development of modern technical skills. The fifth period, 1946-1970, witnessed dramatic changes in ethnic relations from the 1953 riot to the Civil War years, 1967-1970. The sixth period, 1970s, witnessed the reconstruction of Yoruba communal identity in Kano. The seventh period, 1980s-1999, witnessed a myriad of economic reforms that increasingly impinged on entrepreneurial activities and ethnic relations. These periods witnessed economic changes and group competition and more often, the periods overlapped.

Ayagi: Yoruba in pre-colonial Kano

Traditionally, the name Yoruba denotes only the Oyo speaking people, their empire and dialect.¹⁴ In the 19th century, European travellers' accounts using Arabic sources popularised Yoruba to cover all other Yoruba sub-groups that possessed distinctive dialects but similar culture due to the widespread usage of Yoruba language in commerce and diplomacy within the South-West geographical area.¹⁵ Contrary to widespread accounts, there is no material to show that the term Yoruba was originally used by the Hausa to describe the people of Oyo-ile. The reference to the term Yoruba in the works of Muslim scholars in Hausaland from Ibn Masani (Al-Katsinawi) in the 17th century to Sheikh Usmanu Dan Fodiyo and Sultan Muhammad Bello in the 19th century does not suggest that the name has Hausa roots.¹⁶ The first reference to the term Yoruba could be found in the work of the famous 16th century Songhay scholar, Ahmad Baba Al-Timbukti.¹⁷ The work was a reply to questions sent to Ahmad Baba from Tuwat in 1612.

... You asked: what have you to say concerning slaves imported from lands of the Sudan whose people are acknowledged to be Muslims, such as Bornu, Afunu (Hausa), Kano, Gao, Songhay, Katsina and others

among whom Islam is widespread? Is it permissible to possess them (as slaves) or not?... whoever is taken prisoner in a state of unbelief may become someone's property, whoever he is, as opposed to those who have become Muslims of their own free will, such as the people of Kano, Bornu, Songhay, Katsina, Kebbi, Gobir and Mali and part of Zaria; they are Muslims and may not be possessed at all. So also most of the Fulani, except that we have heard of a group them beyond Jenne who are said to be unbelievers, though I do not know whether through apostacy or birth... All those who are brought to you from the following groups are unbelievers and remain so to the present day: Mossi, Gurma, Busa, Borgu, Kotokoli, Yoruba, Tabango, and Bobo. There is nothing against your taking possession of them without further question.¹⁸

According to Lovejoy, the reference to Yoruba was not restricted to a particular section of the Yoruba, such as Oyo. The term predated the rise of Old Oyo empire. He noted that, 'Yarabawa, in Hausa, refers to people, not a place, meaning the people of Yoruba, which suggest a country, not necessarily a political state.'¹⁹ There is every possibility that the people of Oyo-ile whose language was Yoruba described themselves as such.²⁰ Nevertheless, the linkage of the word Yoruba to an Hausa source indicates the profundity of interaction between the two groups before the British rule. As such, the Hausa coinage of the word Yoruba could be a reference to a very distant socio-political contact between the Hausa and Yoruba in the past, which had faded into mythological account.²¹

The relationship between Old Oyo empire and Hausa states was closely linked to the political economy of the states especially slave trade, export and import of horses, cowries and firearms. From the 15th century, with the establishment of Kurmi market by Sarkin Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-99 A.D.), a Yoruba commercial base was established in Kano.²² By the late 17th century, military hardware and slaves were valuable items of trade between Yorubaland and Kano.²³ The expansionist policy, external defence as well as the establishment of a stable political order for economic growth enhanced Kano's demand for guns, muskets, gun powder, shields and flutes that further stimulated trade with the Old

Oyo empire. The military hardware was imported into the empire from Benin through Lagos and Badagry.

Another major re-export from Yoruba towns was cowries, which formed the common currency and the main medium of exchange of the western Sudan/lower Guinea economic region.²⁴ Indeed, the supply of cowry shells, a valuable commodity imported through the coasts of the empire (Porto Novo and Badagry) and used as currency further cemented the commercial intercourse. Nupe and Old Oyo merchants were the two chief intermediaries in the importation of cowries into Kano during the 18th century.²⁵ With Old Oyo as the chief intermediary between the Central Sudan and the coastal markets, the economy of Kano and Yorubaland became more integrated in the 18th century. The Old Oyo profited from both the sale of slaves to Europeans and the export of shells to Nupeland and Kano.²⁶ Monetary flows were central to these regional commercial exchanges. They expanded commercial and manufacturing activities as Oyo's slave exports promoted cowry purchases, which were partly used to finance the importation of livestock, potash, cloth, slaves, horses and leather goods.²⁷ From Kano, the Oyo empire acquired horses and horse riding equipment and slaves for domestic purposes or export to European traders on the coast.²⁸

Yoruba traders re-exported European manufactured goods especially umbrellas, salt, sugar, cotton, silks, sword blades and products such as *Iyere* (West African pepper), *Eeru* (Ethiopian pepper), *Ataare* (alligator pepper), fruits, *adi* (palm kernel oil) and Yoruba clothes in exchange for potash, animal skins, and livestock in Kano.²⁹ In Kurmi market, during the 19th century, Yoruba traders established a trading section called *Iso Atare* known in Hausa as *Yancitta* and *Yantafarnuwa*.³⁰

In the 19th century, the growth in commercial intercourse between Kano and Yorubaland led to the settling down of a group of Yoruba traders in Kano city. Their early history of economic enterprise in Kano centred on the purchase of trading items such as ginger and kolanuts brought by other traders from Yorubaland. In particular, the early Yoruba settlers in Kano acted as commercial intermediaries, traders, brokers and hosts. Early

Yoruba traders in Kano settled down with the Nupe weavers and traders in Tudun Nupawa and Yakaşai wards.³¹ Equally, palm oil supplied by the Yoruba traders was important for the Nupe.

In 1819, through land grants, more segregated residential areas were established for immigrant traders for conducive commercial activities and free enterprise. For example, there was Zango Beriberi for Borno immigrant traders and clerics and Unguwar Ayagi for the Yoruba traders.³² Some of these immigrant residential wards were established during the reign of Emir Ibrahim Dabo (1819-1846). In the 19th century Kano, Ayagi, originally Nupe word for Yoruba meaning, childhood friend was used to describe the Yoruba.

The early settlers at the Ayagi ward were mostly Ogbomoso and Ilorin Muslim traders under the leadership of an itinerant Muslim scholar from Ilorin, Muhammadu Jatau.³³ Muhammadu Jatau who lived at Kwakwatawa (later known as Tudun Ayagi) was a close associate and classmate (in a Quranic School) of Emir Ibrahim Dabo. It is, however, not certain whether Muhammadu Jatau was a descendant of the early Yoruba settlers since he had Islamic education in Kano or was the leader of the group. Emir Ibrahim Dabo granted Muhammadu Jatau the land west of Kurmi market. Emir Ibrahim Dabo promoted commerce and inter-ethnic relations through liberal policies of accommodation. In particular, Emir Dabo developed a cosmopolitan view of state building in which the flow of goods transcended ethnic and racial boundaries. The predominant occupation of the early Ayagi settlers centred on Kolanut, foodstuffs and livestock trading. The traders included Alhaji Abdulwahab, Salina na Abdulwahab and Alhaji Nuhu.³⁴ In the Ayagi quarters, there existed many Yoruba family compounds, prominent among them were; *Gidan Malam Sharu Hambali*, *Gidan Ladun*, *Gidan Salau*, *Gidan Malam Bako Sufi*, *Gidan Kufa*, *Gidan Kurmi*, *Gidan Maman Jakara* and *Gidan Lemulamula*.³⁵

Ayagi quarters still exist today within the Kano old city walls and the descendants of Malam Jatau have maintained the leadership as Sarkin Ayagi.³⁶ The establishment of the Ayagi quarters in 1819 facilitated the expansion of the Yoruba commerce and cultural linkage with the Kano-Hausa host community. Before the British conquest, the Ayagi were already integrated into the Kanawa identity through the processes of assimilation.

Kano in the early colonial period (1903-1912)

As shown earlier, before 1900 Kano shared with Yorubaland extensive commercial network and human mobility that was characteristic of western and central Sudan. The transport revolution ushered in by railroad intensified the mobility patterns of the past. An impetus to this process was the development of wage labour sector and railroad construction, which offered the dazzling opportunities to earn cash for the payment of taxes and entrepreneurial pursuit. For several centuries, Yorubaland was highly urbanised society with developed entrepreneurial orientation in the production of goods and provision of specialised services. From this comparative advantage, Yoruba artisans and traders adapted to the changing economic opportunities in the transport sector, technical skills and import trade. The expansion of markets allowed people to diversify into new opportunities in both farming and/or trade. Between December 1895 and April 1899, the construction of the Lagos-Abeokuta railroad offered employment opportunities to the floating population displaced by the Yoruba civil wars. By August 1899, 10,426 indigenous people were employed on the task of railroad construction as unskilled labourers.³⁷ As such, the railroad employment did not only ameliorate the post-Yoruba civil war unemployment, but equally dealt a fatal blow to the old institution of slavery.³⁸ Railroad employment became more attractive with the opening of Lagos-Ibadan line on 4th March 1901.³⁹ By this, colonialism and its economic tendencies transformed the way people worked and the location.

Some of the indigenous railworkers became semi-skilled and skilled and got placed on permanent establishment. Many Yoruba school leavers from Lagos and Abeokuta filled the railroad clerical posts while others were employed as blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, locomotive engine drivers, mechanics and telegraph operators.⁴⁰ The railroad workers inevitably provided the nucleus of an emerging wage earning sector in a monetised economy. They served as harbingers of currency revolution in Nigeria since they received their wages in coins and notes.⁴¹

Migration to Kano was a crucial aspiration among Yoruba seeking commercial opportunities for the payment of taxes and pursuit of entrepreneurship. In 1903, Kano was occupied by the British forces some of whom were Yoruba.⁴² Some of the soldiers were thereafter encamped strategically in Kano, outside the city wall, for suppressing any rebellion against the British. There were some Yoruba who accompanied the British as clerks, cooks, and interpreters while others followed as traders.⁴³

The British occupation of Kano in 1903, gave further impetus to the north-south commerce and migration. The British promoted the patronage of the southern trade route, which channelled produce to the coast for trans-shipment.⁴⁴ In 1904, a telegraph network linked Lagos with Kano and by 1905, Ox-carts road was constructed from Zungeru to Kano which further promoted the south import and export trade.⁴⁵ Lord Lugard remarked on these developments in 1904 that,

Everyday shows more clearly what gigantic benefit the traders of the Hinterland of Lagos are reaping...having taken over Northern Nigeria. A few years ago you might search the whole of the left bank of the Niger for a Yoruba trader, and not find one; now I venture to say that in every market town of Northern Nigeria you will find them.⁴⁶

This is, however, not to suggest that the British conquest opened up the 'closed economy' for Yoruba trade in northern Nigeria. For at least three centuries before the British conquest, Yoruba trade was already thriving in Nupe, Borgu and Hausa societies. Apart

from their employment in the colonial service, the British controlled the influx of the Yoruba traders to any part of northern Nigeria. Although, Yoruba labour was indispensable to the colonial enterprise, the British officials were indifferent to their influx and trading activities in northern Nigeria. Colonial workers whose services benefited the state and the labour market were encouraged to migrate. Thus, in the process, the British instituted inter-ethnic rivalry that remained pervasive in Nigerian history. As Oyemakinde remarked, the only thing 'that which is profitable of the master is only worth keeping.'⁴⁷ The colonial state introduced taxation and stringent migration policies against independent traders to ensure labour supply.

The lesson was clear, the British officials could only tolerate Yoruba as either government or expatriate firm workers and not as independent traders. From this perspective, the British were persistent in warning the Hausa natives against business transactions with the Yoruba or any other southern Nigerians. Since colonialism had economic motives, Yoruba migration to Kano was perceived as a destabilising factor for the British enterprise in northern Nigeria. Continuously, southern Nigerian migrants were indicted in economic sabotage. In the produce trade, it was claimed that they mixed groundnut with sand and in the livestock trade, it was alleged that they used counterfeit currency to buy cattle. Ultimately, the new economic structure was maneuvered to criminalise the migrant communities thereby creating a wedge between the host and migrants as in the case of Hausa in Ibadan and Yoruba in Kano. The Hausa in Ibadan were indicted in the persistent burglary cases, even though they had patrons among the power elite of Ibadan.⁴⁸

Steadily, the experience of inter-ethnic rivalry became rooted under British rule and remained pervasive in the post-colonial context. From the outset of colonial rule, the indigenous entrepreneurship encountered structural disadvantages, especially in the commodity trade where they were either squeezed out completely or marginalised.⁴⁹

In 1905, two government officials; L. Donnisthorpe and E. White established the London and Kano Trading Company. The Company operated within the Kano city walls. The trading firm imported European consumer goods especially cloth sold in the city market by local hawkers and exported hides and skins.⁵⁰

Colonial policy and the activities of Christian missionaries before 1906 must have encouraged Yoruba migration to Kano. Contrary to common assumption, Lord Lugard as an empire builder considered missionary enterprise expedient to European colonisation of northern Nigeria. The 'Hausa Party' led by Bishop Herbert Tugwell to Kano in 1900 was approved by Lugard without the consent of the Emir of Kano. Lugard believed that Christianity produced higher material civilisation than Islam and that Christians would be more loyal to the British colonial rule than a Muslim, who could not be weaned from his contempt for the infidel.⁵¹ Based on these calculations, the missionaries in Kano were not only humiliated but also considered as political spies and intruders. This partly accounts for the prejudice felt towards educated Yoruba migrants by the host community.

After 1906, with the termination of Lugard's administration, his successors became decidedly anti-missionary and the presence of all foreigners in northern Nigeria—Europeans, Yoruba and Saro, was regarded as a necessary evil. The dramatic shift in colonial policy towards the missionaries and Yoruba migrants was purely political to prevent the volcanic eruptions of Jihad and Mahdist insurgency that threatened the British administration in an influential Muslim area. It became the practice of the British Residents to explain their anti-missionary and anti-Yoruba migration on the platform of fear of a Mahdist uprising.⁵² But the Muslim uprisings, especially at Satiru in 1905 and Hadejia in 1906 were clearly against the British colonial rule and not Christian missionary *per se*.

The restrictive and hostile policy of the British administration on missionary enterprise prevented the CMS from establishing themselves in Kano in 1906. It was not until 1924 that the CMS was allowed to establish its mission in Sabon-Gari.⁵³ The British were apprehensive that the southerners who were described as 'semi-educated politicians' could teach the 'dignified and courteous' Hausa and Fulani Muslims how to revolt against the white man and engender crisis for the colonial administration.⁵⁴ In 1906, Major A. Festing suspended the use of Yoruba spies and police because of the simmering tension it generated. He noted that

I found a tendency on the part of the Police to pry too closely in my opinion into Kano itself and so called secret service agents were employed belonging to a dangerous class. To this I have put a stop. Unless I have instructions to the

contrary I intend to leave the contrary I intend to leave the interior control of Kano as much to the Emir as possible for the time being.⁵⁵

Taken a cue from the turbulent colonial encounter with the Lagos educated elite and the native press, Lugard stereotypically described southerners as troublemakers. He cogently articulated stringent immigration policy against the southerners to any part of northern Nigeria. In his 1901 annual report, Lugard considered southerners that it 'is quite certain to give much trouble in his dealings with the Natives (of northern Nigeria) and by his fondness for litigation.'⁵⁶ As stated earlier, the British received the increasing flow of Yoruba migration to northern Nigeria with mixed feelings. In 1911, Walter Miller noted that, 'it was believed that the educated Africans from the coast, whose clerical services were necessary to the Government as well as European and African traders from the coast, should have minimum contact with the real northerners.'⁵⁷

From 1903 to 1912, there was a dramatic change in the Yoruba migration to Kano. Despite the restrictions and mixed feelings, migration occurred within the changing context of economic circumstances created by the British rule. Migration was provoked not only by the quest to earn cash but also by the ruthless colonial exploitation of the rural communities and profoundly, the colonial regime's *laissez-faire* attitude to the wellbeing of the masses.⁵⁸ The British colonial policies in Nigeria disrupted the traditional socio-economic structures and rendered peasant farming unrewarding enterprise. The features of British economy including: i) imposition of systematic and universal taxation; ii) compulsory use of a standard coin and currency; iii) encouragement of the production of export crops, and the exploitation of Nigerian mineral resources; iv) control of external trade by the colonial government and British monopoly capital; and v) the establishment of new urban centers of trade and administration pushed the peasants to seek their means of livelihood away from the farm and to adjust the patterns of economic activities to enable them earn enough currency to pay taxes.⁵⁹ In this way, the capitalist penetration fostered uneven development which influenced migration from spheres of agriculture and craft production towards wage labour for the payment of taxes and pursuit of entrepreneurship.

c. 1912 to 1919

The turning point of Yoruba migration to Kano came on April 1st 1912, when the Lagos-Kano railroad was commissioned and rapidly transformed commercial activities.⁶⁰ The railroad reduced the constraints of caravan trade between Yorubaland and Kano. Prior to the rail transportation, Kano and Yorubaland were linked by caravan routes that took about 40 days journey to complete and £25 head load per ton.⁶¹ In 1912, the passenger trip by railroad from Lagos to Kano took three days at the cost of £9-14s-10d.⁶² Thus, the development of the railroad reduced transport costs. For many Yoruba migrants, the groundnut trade offered greater inducements than military service.⁶³ In the first decade of the 20th century, the Yoruba and Hausa considered as 'combatant tribes' exclusively dominated the British army.⁶⁴ Given the irregular nature of wages in the military service and the boom in groundnut trade, many Yoruba and Hausa preferred to pursue trading than to become soldiers. The system of deferred payment used by the colonial army enabled the soldiers to accumulate capital on discharge to purchase stock in trade but this could only attract those who were capable of making such long-term monetary calculations.⁶⁵ For example, many of the rank and file who served in the Cameroons were not paid until after a year they had returned. This in part, explains the Yoruba song:

Eniti o gbase Oyinbo
Fira re sofa
Eniti o gbase soja
Gba yonu.

Meaning:

He who accepts European (wage) employment
pawns himself, just as he who joins the army
plunges himself into trouble.⁶⁶

In this scenario, many Yoruba perceived wage labour as a form of slavery. During the same period, the decline in Hausa and Yoruba recruit was attributed to the high price of groundnuts, which enabled the producers to offer competitive rates for labour than those offered by the army. However, with the establishment of British rule and the construction of the railroad, the European traders established trading posts in centres where hitherto their source of supply of produce and their means of distribution for their imported goods were controlled by indigenous traders.⁶⁷ By 1912, eight companies were established in Kano.⁶⁸ With their access to capital, European traders edged indigenous traders out of business in the main centers of trade.

In 1912, Mr. Luigi Ambrosini, an agent of Waidell Peily, established L. Ambrosini firm in Kano for the export of hides and skins. In the same year, the Tin Areas of Nigeria Limited that specialised in the supply of catering and tin-mining hardware and G. L. Gaiser firm of Hamburg Germany which had traded in palm oil within the coastal region of Nigeria established branches in Kano.⁶⁹ Equally, Patterson Zochonis and Company Limited, West African merchants and shippers and C.F.A.O. owned by Frederic Bohn established branches in Kano. The commercial firms constructed trading quarters in close proximity to the railroad. In 1912, there were seventy-seven Arab merchants and about twenty-five government employees including Yoruba personnel.⁷⁰ The employment of Yoruba personnel in both government and commercial establishments was largely due to both administrative and economic expediency on the part of the British. Kano Province was understaffed with an inadequate number of British officials in view of the vastness of the province. In 1907, Kano Province had twelve British political officers and in 1909, it had only seventeen.⁷¹

In 1913, the trading firms operating in Kano included Europeans: John Holt of Liverpool, W. B. MacIver of Glasgow and later Liverpool, John Walk den, J. D. Fairley Limited and G. B. Ollivant of Manchester, the Lebanese Ferris George and three Lagos firms: S. Thomas, the Nigerian Trading Syndicate and J. H. Doherty. The workforce for the commercial firms

consisted of forty-four Europeans, seven Levantines, sixty-three Yoruba Clerks and ninety-three Arab traders.⁷² The arrival of Lebanese and Syrian traders who increasingly took over the intermediary roles between the larger European trading companies and the local farmers displaced some Hausa and Yoruba merchants who eventually became their buying agents.

In 1913, Yoruba migrated to Kano as railroad workers, artisans, clerks, and traders.⁷³ This set of new migrants was not allowed to settle within the Kano old city to prevent the spread of non-Islamic practices like gambling, drinking and, above all, the spread of Christianity. Under British rule, inter-communal relations in Kano were enforced within the political and economic framework of colonialism. The British policy of exclusion created a dichotomy between the migrants who were considered as British "protected persons" and British subjects, mainly the host community. The British and the Hausa host community considered Yoruba migrants as strangers or native aliens. It was within this context that the Yoruba in Kano constructed their diaspora identity.

Yoruba immigrants were criminalised as smugglers, troublemakers and tax evaders. As the colonial state became established, Sabon-Gari was created as an expedient of labour reserve and administrative structure for capitalist development. C.L. Temple, the British Resident in Kano confirmed the popular stereotype in 1913 that, 'the Sabon-Gari at Kano should be occupied by Non-native Africans and such native as might cause trouble if they lived in Kano city.'⁷⁴ As such, the British created Sabon-Gari ostensibly to protect the native Hausa Muslim interests but in fact to advance their own imperial interests. Lord Lugard who considered his administration of northern Nigeria threatened by the continuous influx of southerners to the north wrote in 1913 to enforce stringent migration policies:

...I propose to enact an Urgent Proclamation, making it obligatory for any non-native (of Northern Nigerian Provinces) to obtain prior sanction of the Governor to sojour for the night in a scheduled list of native cities. Provided that, at the date of the

Proclamation, he was not already a permanent resident there.⁷⁵

Ultimately, the establishment of Sabon-Gari, Kano, in 1913 was a central thrust of the British divide and rule system intended to make colonial rule flourish on ethnic division and the enforcement of segregation. Sabon-Gari, Kano, was established within the Township Area specifically for Southern Nigerian migrants composed of the British Army and African employees in European firms and of the colonial administration. Its temporary location was along Ilaro Road which steadily expanded to France Road (now Abuja Road).⁷⁶ Sabon-Gari, Kano, had an initial master-plan of 300 compounds of uniform size (100 feet by 50 feet) with straight streets and a market.⁷⁷

The earliest settlers in Sabon-Gari, Kano, were Yoruba and Nupe. Some Yoruba relocated their quarters to Sabon-Gari for easy access to the railroad transport system. In addition, the veterans of the Royal West African Frontier Force (RWAFF) and those who worked on the railroad construction to Kano populated Sabon-Gari. The British administered Sabon-Gari for the control of the labour of the residents. Taxes paid by Sabon-Gari residents went directly to the colonial treasury rather than to the Native Authority. The establishment of Club Houses was further proposed to control the carefree attitude to life and drinking habits of southern Nigerian migrants in a Muslim influential city. In 1913, Hanns Vischer, a British colonial officer noted that, "...these men (southern Nigerians) have no occupation outside their office hours, are despised by the better natives and left entirely to themselves by the Europeans."⁷⁸

Vischer further noted that the carefree attitude of southern Nigerians could discourage northerners from sending their children to school,

These coast clerks who in the eyes of the natives profess our religion, wear our dress and speak our language, are naturally regarded as the product of our education, so that apart from anything else this state of

things cannot fail to do serious harm to the prestige of our educational efforts as well as destroy the confidence of parents, who send their sons here, which we have been at such pains to obtain.⁷⁹

The colonial state posited that, the social life of the Christian educated Yoruba whose labour was indispensable to the economy could be a solvent to the customs and institutions of the indigenous Hausa Muslims. As part of the principles of indirect rule, indigenous customs and practices that were not repugnant to humanity should be shielded from external social-economic forces. In 1914, there were only forty-five churches among fourteen tribes, and in all only about 650 pupils in Mission schools in northern Nigeria. In the same year, there were 116 churches in Ijebu Ode district alone and over 4,000 children in Mission schools in the Abeokuta district.⁸⁰ This disparity accounted for the increasing migration of educated Yoruba to northern Nigeria.

The 1914 amalgamation led to the incorporation of railroad systems and customs stations on inland frontiers were abolished.⁸¹ The process was, however, hampered by the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, which adversely affected the Yoruba traders. During the war period, the shortage of silver coins led to the high prices of imported goods. In this way, rice was taxed for the first time at one shilling per cwt; stockfish was taxed at 1s.6d. per cwt; and the duty on one gallon of kerosene was increased by one shilling.⁸² Yoruba traders resorted to trade by barter by exchanging groundnut and cotton for clothes as it gave them an advantage over the Hausa farmers and traders. The barter system was resisted by farmers who preferred to be paid for their products in silver coins which they hoarded thereby creating further scarcity. The development of groundnut trade in Kano was not simply an outcome of increased production through inducement, but largely a result of decrease in the consumption of groundnuts for the possibilities of earning the much-needed currency. For example, the dependence on the exportation of groundnut for currency had contributed to the famine of 1913-1914 in which many people died of hunger and related diseases.⁸³

Wartime economic difficulties equally led to competition between the Hausa and immigrant traders in the Kano groundnut market. Hausa traders were opposed to the system of accredited immigrant agents and preferred the system whereby firms employed Hausa traders as middlemen.⁸⁴ Hausa traders protested that groundnut purchase should be carried out in the market and the Emir should make rules for the control of the market. In order to prevent the agitation from becoming violent, Emir Abbas called for a meeting of all groundnut buyers within the city, the outcome of which was the resettlement of a large number of immigrant traders from the Kurmi market where they had stalls.⁸⁵ The resettlement was part of the policy for the reorganisation of the groundnut trade.⁸⁶ They were allowed to set up stalls in the township area, particularly Sabon-Gari. In this way, Hausa middlemen employed the use of the Native Authority to protect their sphere of commercial activities from the increasing competition of southern Nigerian traders and plausibly too, Levantine businessmen. Comparatively, in Ibadan during the 1930s and 1940s, Yoruba traders organised against Hausa monopoly in the kolanut trade. Through petitions, they agitated that the colonial administration and Yoruba chiefs should prevent Hausa strangers from direct contacts with farmers and a kolanut market should be established. In subsequent years, the struggle over commercial hegemony set the tone for ethnic conflicts and suspicions.

The increasing migration of the Yoruba to Kano and the social and economic pressure created by migrants alarmed the British. Apparently, the British were not comfortable with some non-indigenes that opted to live together with the indigenous population.⁸⁷

In 1914, the British inquired from Emir Abbas the question of Yoruba living in the old Kano city rather than in the Sabon-Gari. The Emir asserted that:

...residence in (old) Kano city was allowed to such Yorubas who or whose parents had been in Kano and who agreed to submit themselves without question to Moslem law and the Emir's executive authority. The wearing of European cloths by such Yorubas was not allowed.⁸⁸

The intervention of the Emir provided prospects for the Yoruba to live either in the city or in Sabon-Gari. The Yoruba in Kano formed the major commercial link between the old Kano city and the growing commercial centre in Sabon-Gari.

The segregation policy was extended to Yoruba officers of the Nigerian Police Force who were accused of being corrupt and ethnocentric in the discharge of their duties. As early as 1907, the Kano Divisional Resident, Major A. Festing indicted Yoruba Policemen of having "a tendency ... to extort by endeavouring to buy (goods at) less than the market price."⁸⁹ H. R. Palmer accused the Yoruba Policemen in Kano of ethnicity and inability to serve as British spies in gathering secret information. Palmer observed that Yoruba Policemen only protected Yoruba immigrants most of whom he considered to be criminals who having evaded tax in the south migrated to Kano. He concluded that Kano required competent policing:

"The Yorubas have money, and that added to natural sympathies makes it always improbable that Yoruba police will take action against them unless there is some personal animus... the Sergeant-Major and Sergeants of the force are Yorubas for under an organisation like that of the Police the initiative of the individual policeman cannot prevail against the racial sympathies of the Non-Commissioned Officers. If the government must maintain a detachment of its force at Kano it should be composed entirely of Filani (sic) and Hausa with one or two local natives of superior intelligence as detectives."⁹⁰

The policy of "strangers policing strangers" was adopted. Yoruba Policemen were withdrawn from the old Kano city to Sabon-Gari and were replaced by the *dogarai* made up of Hausa officers and rank and file. Indeed, British rule was divisive with administrative structure that flourished on dualism of ethnic segregation, stereotypes and social fragmentation. This dualism became politically expedient for the purpose of taxation, and maintenance of law and order.

The smuggling of liquor into the Kano city where it had been prohibited further influenced the resettlement of Yoruba in Sabon-Gari. In spite of the measures taken to check the smuggling, imported liquor still filtered into the Muslim populated Kano city. H. R. Palmer noted that there was a great deal of smuggling of spirits through the train concealed in Kolanuts and other merchandise by the Yoruba traders into the Native Reservation Area.⁹¹ He pointed out that increased inspection at the boundary of Offa was a futile exercise for the traders simply walked up to Ilorin or any other place and got into the train with the smuggled liquor. The liquor traffic against the local legal framework, and the international conventions that governed liquor prohibition and consumption in colonial northern Nigeria highlighted the hypocritical attitude of officials and racially constructed drinking stereotype.⁹²

Before the end of 1914, principally the Yoruba and government workers occupied 215 of the 300 plots in Sabon-Gari. There were three rent categories ranging from £3 to £10 for a plot per year. Non-indigenes had Statutory Rights of Occupancy while indigenes had Customary Rights of Occupancy.⁹³ However, the famine and dislocation caused by the First World War had effects on the Yoruba plot holders in Sabon-Gari, Kano. Most of them could not build on their plots due to financial constraints and lack of Certificate of Occupancy (C of O) at the time.⁹⁴ A Lagos trader, Mr. J. H. Jackson, abandoned his plot in Sabon-Gari due to financial difficulties.⁹⁵ Generally, during this period, trade in Kano declined as a result of the famine and war. There was little money in circulation and consequently little trade. For example, an average number of forty to fifty cattle sold before the war plummeted by one hundred per cent to four or five.⁹⁶

In the hides and skin trade, Hausa and Yoruba middlemen made little profits of half shilling due to fall in prices instead of two to three shillings per lb in the previous years.⁹⁷ The decision of Hausa sellers of the hides and skin to sell directly to the European firms altered the patterns of the trade and ushered in stiff competition between Hausa and Yoruba middlemen. The trade between Kano and Yorubaland was hampered by the unreliability of the rail transport during the war. There were complaints by traders against the rail transport

due to loss of goods and delay in delivery. A number of traders bought a large quantity of grain in Ilorin and Ofa during the early part of the famine in order to make profit. The greater part of the grain was however delayed for weeks sometimes months on the line, and some never arrived at all.⁹⁸

During the First World War, German and Austrian traders in Nigeria were deported, and their stocks and estates were auctioned. In Kano, from October 1914 to 1916, some of the major German firms particularly G. L. Gaiser and Paul Moyer were auctioned. The deportation of German merchants and the subsequent economic crises arising from shipping shortages and the scarcity of imported goods created by the war displaced some Yoruba agents and staff of German firms who were diverted into the foodstuffs and livestock trade. By the end of 1917, some Hausa merchants who had represented German firms as buying agents, especially Maikano Agogo, the G. L. Gaiser agent, were displaced in the groundnut trade.⁹⁹

The arrival of Tripolitanian Arabs and Levantine traders who secured a strong foothold as commercial intermediaries between the European firms and local farmers further created competition with Hausa traders. For the Yoruba, it created an opportunity for participation in the groundnut trade as sub-agents. Some of the Yoruba small-scale groundnut buyers sold the produce directly in the Township Area to the Tripolitanian Arabs and Levantines rather than in the city market from where they had hitherto been expelled. In 1918, out of the 36 trading plots marked out in the Sabon-Gari Reservation Area there were more than eight Yoruba Store holders.¹⁰⁰ Annual rent per trading plot in the Sabon-Gari was between £20 to £26 compared to the old Kano city that was £1 per year.¹⁰¹ Yoruba traders made profits from trading that ranged from £6 to £200 per year.¹⁰² Yoruba entrepreneurial initiatives were impeded by the reluctance of the Bank of British West Africa, Kano branch to grant them loans.¹⁰³ The available credit was mainly in form of cash advances from the foreign firms (as produce buying agents) for growing, harvesting and transporting the farmers' produce to their depots. This form of credit kept Yoruba traders in a subordinate economic

position in the groundnut trade. The mobilisation and sources of capital by Yoruba is discussed in chapters four and five.

c. 1920 to 1928

From 1920, the migratory trend of the Yoruba to Kano increased largely because of the intensified activities of European companies, the short-lived groundnut boom and the establishment of Sabon-Gari market in 1918. Out of the estimated 2,000 persons settled in Sabon-Gari in 1921, 73.9 per cent (that is 1,478) were Yoruba.¹⁰⁴

As an expression of innovative entrepreneurship and long-term monetary calculations, most of the early Yoruba who had settled as civil servants and company workers, having acquired skills, resigned and took risks as independent traders. For example, Alhaji AbdulAzeez Kehinde migrated to Kano in 1911 as a railroad worker but after fourteen years, in 1925, he resigned and became an independent trader. Mr. Joseph Oyelude was transferred to Kano in 1918 as a clerk in the British administration and after eight years, in 1926, he resigned and started private trading.¹⁰⁵ Subsequently, most of the Yoruba became entrepreneurs as groundnut agents and motor transporters, which gave them an economic niche in the growing economy. Some Yoruba acquired lorries from European firms for cash or hire purchase, thereby pioneering the commercial transport industry in Kano. Many of the Yoruba resigned from the services of the colonial administration and commercial firms due to fixed and low incomes compared to profitable trading in the groundnut economy.

While trading on their own account, many of the Yoruba entrepreneurs equally served as distributing agents for the companies they had served or to which they had access through Yoruba staff who guaranteed the supply of goods on credit. Others served as contractors, suppliers and commercial intermediaries. But the British preferred to award contracts for works and supplies to large firms owned by Europeans and Asians rather than to small-scale firms owned by the Yoruba. In an economic sense, this was normal because they had the capital to execute the contracts. The increasing Yoruba migration provided

impetus for the establishment of religious institutions. For example, Yoruba migrants in Kano established the Baptist Church, Holy Trinity Church, Samori-ad-Deen Society and Ansar-ul-Deen Society of Nigeria in the 1920s. The religious centres provided employment opportunities, educational services and served as a hub of social activities.

Depression Years c.1929 to 1938:

The period of Great Depression, 1929 to 1938, witnessed a dramatic deterioration of agricultural prices, emigration, reduction of salaries and the monopoly of trade by British firms.¹⁰⁶ In 1929, the worldwide economic depression emanated from the international financial stock markets crash that led to poor trade and shortage of cash in Nigeria. The value of Nigeria's export between 1929 and 1931 plummeted from £17.8 million to £8.8 million, the purchasing power of exports dropped by 38 per cent, and the value of imports fell from £13.2 million in 1929 to £6.5 million.¹⁰⁷ In Kano, a dramatic fall in agricultural prices occurred by about sixty to eighty per cent.¹⁰⁸ In January 1930, the price of groundnut in Kano had fallen by about 11.4 per cent from £9.15s.0d (October 1929) to £8.10s.0d per ton, but by May 1930 it had dropped to £6.15s.0d, about 30.77 per cent compared to January 1930 price. The purchase of groundnut in October 1930 was £4.10s.0d and the highest price paid was £5.15s.0d in early December. This was shortlived. The price slumped to £3.10s.0d per ton before the end of the year.¹⁰⁹

Despite the low prices of produce, the incidence of tax per adult male in Sabon-Gari, Kano was raised from £6.9s.5d. in 1928/29 to £7.4s.0d in 1929/30, about 6.7 per cent and £7.10s.0d in 1930/31, about 4.0 per cent.¹¹⁰ The increase was meant to guarantee government revenue. There was a sharp decline in money incomes for the Hausa groundnut farmers and some of the Yoruba groundnut middlemen. The prices of imported goods were relatively high resulting in a drastic reduction in consumption and demand for such goods as Kerosine, salt, soap, cement, machinery, and textiles distributed mostly by Yoruba merchants. As shown in the following chart, the quantity of these imported commodities demanded declined from 1928.

Table 3.1: Declining Demand for Imported Commodities, 1928¹¹¹

S/N	Commodity	Per centages
1.	Kerosene	58
2.	Salt	26
3.	Soap	57
4.	Machinery	57
5.	Imported textiles	39

Source: M. S. Abdulkadir, 1990, *An Economic History Of Igalaland*, pp. 414- 441.

In the depression years, most European firms closed down their retail outlets and branches in order to minimise overhead costs. For instance, by 1929, the United African Company (U.A.C) controlled about eighty out-stations in Kano districts alone, but by the end of the 1930s, the number had been drastically reduced by about 68.75 per cent to twenty-five.¹¹² Between 1929 and 1933, nineteen expatriate trading firms collapsed in Nigeria due to bankruptcies generated by the depression.¹¹³ This resulted in greater monopoly power for U.A.C. and AWAM. Yoruba workers and agents of these firms who were consequently retrenched went into petty trading, particularly in foodstuffs and livestock. The depression effects on the Nigerian Railway were such that both the passenger and freight traffic fell and the diminished revenue led to high labour returns. Both public and private expenditure and investment declined with concomitant effect on the movement of goods and people.¹¹⁴ The Railway Administration enforced austerity measures, which led reduction in the wages of daily paid workers, enforced short time operation and retrenchment of workers on temporary employment.¹¹⁵ This was due to decrease in trade, which affected the freight

and revenue in the railroad sector. In 1931, 148 of the graded staff were retrenched but got compensated according to the regulations of the Provident Fund.¹¹⁶ The following chart shows the railway labour returns between 1929 and 1941.

Table 3.2 : Nigerian Railway Labour Returns, 1929-1941

Year	Europeans	Africans and West Indian Salaried Staff	African Employees	Labourers and Porters	Total
1929-30	482	2,320	3,751	13,551	20,104
1930-31	496	1,988	3,511	12,587	18,582
1931-32	441	1,952	3,251	10,842	16,486
1932-33	392	1,857	2,953	10,632	15,834
1933-34	369	1,792	3,509	11,075	16,745
1934-35	328	1,871	4,448	11,101	17,748
1935-36	318	1,910	5,389	10,379	17,996
1936-37	318	1,891	6,473	10,243	18,923
1937-38	318	1,891	6,473	10,243	18,923
1938-39	326	1,991	5,975	9,760	18,052
1939-40	326	2,027	5,787	9,518	17,658
1940-41	309	2,015	5,422	8,706	16,452

Source: Wale Oyemakinde, 1977, p. 146

Those who remained on the job experienced stringent economic measures. The economic depression affected worker's wives and children. In many cases, children were pawned or sold in order to obtain food and/or pay tax. In the year 1935-36, the finances of the railway improved and more workers were employed. The following chart indicates the rising levels of employment in the Nigerian Railway.

Table 3.3: Rising Labour Recruitment on the Nigerian Railway, 1935-36

Department	Europeans	Africans and West Indian Salaried Staff	African Employees	Labourers and Porters	Total
Civil Engineering	97	106	1,443	8,432	10,078
Mechanical Engineering	138	301	3,245	1,087	4,771
Traffic and Commercial	50	1,130	652	687	2,519
Administration Accounts and Stores	33	373	49	173	628
Total 1935-36	318	1,910	5,389	10,379	17,996
Total 1934-35	328	1,871	4,448	11,101	17,748

Source: Wale Oyemakinde, 1977, p. 153.

The burden of taxation and economic difficulties stimulated migrations during the depression to areas of economic opportunities.¹¹⁷ In the cocoa belt of Western Nigeria as in most parts of the country, poverty encountered during the depression period led to the migration of some Yoruba to various regions and cities including Kano.¹¹⁸ The growing demand for uncultivated land for cocoa farming led to the commercialisation of rural land tenure system in the cocoa belt of Yorubaland.¹¹⁹ Land scarcity increasingly pushed Yoruba migrants to northern Nigeria, especially Kano where most of them engaged in foodstuffs trade. In addition to purchasing Kolanuts, Hausa migrants in Yorubaland purchased *adire* cloth and established a market for it in many parts of northern Nigeria.¹²⁰ The popularity of *adire* within the concept of the Hausa indigo-dyed cloth accounted for its production in Kano during the inter-war years.¹²¹ It is plausible that Yoruba and Hausa traders supplied *adire* from Abeokuta to Kano through the railroad.

In 1930, the population of Sabon-Gari was approximately 4,500. A considerable number of the Yoruba were Muslims.¹²² By 1931, there were 854 Yoruba Muslim trading families within the Kano old city wall some of whom have been integrated into the Hausa host community.¹²³ In 1937, the Kano Township population statistics estimated the ethnic composition in Sabon-Gari as follows: Hausa -1,903; Yoruba -1,547; and Igbo - 1,529. In the 1930s, the Yoruba in Kano encountered competition from the influx of Igbo migrants, especially in the trading sector.¹²⁴ As a trading community, Igbo migration to Kano increased in the 1930s due to the extension of the eastern railroad to Kaduna by 1927 and the completion of the Makurdi rail bridge in 1932.

The depression years equally witnessed administrative restructuring in Sabon-Gari. In 1932, the British created the office of *Sarkin* (Executive Head) Sabon-Gari, Kano to assist the Station Magistrate in the collection of taxes and in regulating cordial relationship between residents of Sabon-Gari, the Kano Emirate Council and the British. This policy was apparently introduced in view of the strained ethnic relationships between the immigrant community and the host on the one hand and between the Sabon-Gari community and the British on the other. The first Executive Head and President of the

Sabon-Gari Mixed Court was Mr. G. E. France, a retired clerk from the Gold Coast (now Ghana).

The Yoruba in Sabon-Gari, under the platform of the "Lagos Democratic Party" opposed the appointment of Mr. France on the basis that the British and the Emir imposed him. But internal rivalry amongst the opposition prevented them from appointing their own Head of Sabon-Gari.¹²⁵ When Mr. France was actually installed in October, 1931, the opposition ceased. After his death in 1938, Mr. T. P. Barlatt-Hughes, a professional photographer from Sierra-leone, succeeded him. He was assisted in the collection of taxes and administering justice by an unelected council made up of representatives from the diverse ethnic groups occupying the settlement including Igbo, Hausa, Nupe and Yoruba ward heads. Yoruba were represented in the Mixed Court by Sani Giwa Akinyode and Yesufu Aiyegoro who were each paid £36.0s.0d per annum for their services.¹²⁶ The establishment of the Mixed Court was for administrative purposes and the collection of taxes; to prevent tax evasion and to maintain law and order.

The Igbo competed with the Yoruba in petty trading, groundnut trade, construction works, transport and clerical jobs. The displacement of the Yoruba from the groundnut trade saw them diverting into transport and technical industries. Yoruba entrepreneurs became major players in the technical industries. Motor transport was a necessity to the groundnut trade during the depression. Lorries largely operated by the Yoruba transported a large proportion of the groundnut purchased in the outlying districts to Kano. The transport rate prevailing at the opening of the season was 8d per ton but by the end of the season, the rate was reduced by 37.5 per cent to about 5d.¹²⁷ Equally important, during the depression, the kolanut trade from Lagos to Kano passed largely into the hands of the Syrian traders who supplied Yoruba traders on retail basis.¹²⁸ During the inter-war years, Ijebu-Yoruba merchants and artisans were indicted for the stupendous increase in currency counterfeiting. Colonial officials used counterfeiting to encourage the spread of ethnic mistrust. It was alleged that Yoruba cattle dealers used counterfeit coins as business capital in northern Nigeria. Till date, anything fake or counterfeit in northern Nigeria is

regarded as *Jebu*. As early as 1921, the acting Resident of the Ijebu Province reported that, 'the greater part of these (counterfeit) coins are sent up north with Jebu cattle dealers, and ...amongst the chief distributors are the servants of a rich Jebu cattle dealer named Salawu.'¹²⁹ This perception continued during the inter-war years against the Ijebu merchants who were active in the commodity and livestock trade of northern Nigeria. In a correspondence to the Resident of Sokoto Province where some arrests were made, the Ijebu Province Resident re-stated that the, 'favorite method of uttering is through Jebu cattle drovers who visit the Northern Provinces, often accompanied by local Hausa butcherboys of bad character (and purchased cattle) with spurious coin, which is not detected or even suspected by the northern cattle owners.'¹³⁰

Second World War c. 1939 to 1945

The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 enhanced the strategic value of Kano. The city emerged as an important military outpost of the Allied Forces for the defence of North Africa. Indeed, the subsequent construction of the Airport, military camps and new roads increased profitable business activities and urbanisation processes.¹³¹

The Second World War period witnessed increased local production of essential commodities in order to meet the drastic shortages in the supply of such goods. Yoruba migrants partly provided the labour for the modern industrial sector. Products from the processing industries equally generated commercial opportunities for Yoruba women and men traders who formed distribution networks in the Sabon-Gari Market. From 1,547 in 1937, Yoruba population in Sabon-Gari increased by about 38.84 per cent to 2,148 in 1943.¹³²

The British policy to boost the production of groundnut promoted the activities of Yoruba traders. One of the strategies to boost groundnut production was the importation through the Association of West African Merchants (AWAM) of textiles goods from Lagos to Kano.¹³³ In 1941, when the corn crop failed *gari* was imported to Kano.¹³⁴ The food scarcity encountered during the Second World War stimulated the migration of Yoruba women

foodstuffs traders from Ijebu-Ode, Ibadan, Ilesa and Ondo to Kano. They procured beans from Kano in exchange for *gari*.

The 1940s marked the gradual disengagement of British rule in Sabon-Gari and inadvertently promoted identity-based associations with enormous political sentiments. During the Second World War, the British made a major policy shift in the administration of Sabon-Gari, Kano in order to reserve their resources (human and material) for the war effort. In April 1940, Sabon-Gari administration was transferred to the Kano N. A. under the control of *Wakilin Waje*.

The aftermath of this policy was the proliferation of centralised ethnic associations in Sabon-Gari characterised by cultural linkage to the homeland(s). The Yoruba in Kano challenged the marginalisation and hegemony of the colonial state by creating their own parallel institutions. In 1942, the Yoruba Central Welfare Association Kano (*Egbe Omo Oduduwa*) was founded as a conglomeration of all Yoruba ethnic unions that had existed on the basis of clans, towns and kinship.¹³⁵ Such township and sub-ethnic associations included Owu National, Ijebu Young Men, Ogbomoso Descendant Union, Awe Descendants Union, Ekiti Progressive Union and *Egbe Omo Egba*. Yoruba began to identify themselves as a community. The establishment of *Egbe Omo Oduduwa* strengthened social networks among the Yoruba and played an insignificant role in the mobilisation of capital for commercial activities. Of significance at this point was the growth of ethnic nationalism in the Yoruba homeland, especially from the 1920s to 1942. The Conference of Yoruba Chiefs and the founding of the Yoruba Literary Society in 1942 preceded the formation of the Pan-Yoruba cultural organisation in Kano.

Ultimately, the establishment of the centralised pan-Yoruba group was not without opposition from the colonial state. The Executive Head of Sabon-Gari, Mr. Barlatt-Huges, opposed the parallel institution of *Olori* (Head of the Yoruba Community, Kano) occupied by Sani Giwa Akinyode, the Yoruba ward head and representative at the Mixed Court. He argued that to officially recognise the *Olori* meant that "two chiefs" would be created in Sabon-Gari, a trend which could destabilise the social order and influenced other ethnic

associations to demand for similar recognition.¹³⁶ The Emirate Council and the British supported the position of Mr. Barlatt-Huges and further directed that the *Olori* could not be recognised unless appointed by the Native Authority and endorsed by the Resident. Among the Yoruba in Sabon-Gari, Kano, there was general resentment against the hierarchy of the Mixed Court and increasing nostalgia for administration of justice based on their own cultural values. However, the British considered it an aberration and a violation of the policy that the customary law administered by the Executive Head of Sabon-Gari and the President of the Mixed Court should govern non-natives in Kano rather than native laws.

The social network, which the *Egbe Omo Oduduwa* created, intensified Yoruba competition with other groups but did not in any way checkmate the domineering roles of the Hausa and Igbo in the groundnut trade. By 1945, Igbo entrepreneurs had established a niche in the groundnut trade and almost displaced Yoruba as intermediaries. The tax assessment of 1945 indicates that there were twenty-seven Igbo groundnut middlemen compared to five Yoruba.¹³⁷

Post-war and Independence Period: c.1946 to 1966

For the Yoruba in Kano, the post- Second World War generated opportunities that stimulated the expansion of technical industries. Some Yoruba artisans migrated to Kano during the Second World War due to greater demand for carpenters, shoemakers, and technicians in the military service. Yoruba demobilised soldiers, in addition, had learnt technical skills during the war, which they subsequently practiced in Kano.¹³⁸

In 1948, the establishment of National Bank and its subsidiary, the Mutual Aid Society Kano branch aided the commercial activities of Yoruba entrepreneurs who mortgaged their houses for loans. Before the end of 1950, over 20 Yoruba entrepreneurs and plot holders in Sabon-Gari mortgaged their estates for loans ranging from £100 to £350, which was repaid within 12 months.¹³⁹ Loans and credit facilities further stimulated Yoruba enterprise in Kano.



National Bank of Nigeria, Kano branch. Source: Fieldwork, 1999

Between 1943 and 1950, Yoruba entrepreneurs pioneered private printing industries in Kano. In western Nigeria, by 1950, a large pool of unemployed primary school leavers had been created as a result of the dwindling wage labour opportunities for junior workers and, in particular, the alienation of educated youths from the cocoa economy. This made most of them to enroll as apprentices in modern technical industries.¹⁴⁰ On completion of apprenticeship schemes, many artisans migrated to cities such as Kano to advance their economic enterprises by establishing sole proprietorship workshops or small scale industries including bakeries, corn mills, printing, tailoring, watch, electrical, and shoe repairs; photography studios, carpentry, art, and upholstery works. Migration became crucial because the young artisans often could not compete with their former masters or with established artisans in terms of capital and expertise. Their initial capital was often derived from kinship networks and through affiliation with established artisans as journeymen. Journeymen were allowed to have their own customers and controlled their income.



Freedom ceremony at a Tailoring shop, Sabon-Gari, Kano. Source: Fieldwork in 1999

Picture:



Freedom ceremony at a Tailoring shop, Sabon-Gari, Kano on November 13th, 1977.

Source: Fieldwork in Kano

In the post Second World War period, Kano witnessed a transition from an economy dominated by the groundnut export trade into manufacturing. In 1950, the stage was set towards the manufacturing processes and the Kano Ten Year Development Plan for economic modernisation was launched.¹⁴¹ It was equally in that year that a textile mill, Kano Citizens Trading Company (KCTC) was established by indigenous merchants through a loan of L35,000.¹⁴² The KCTC employed fifty workers. A salient factor in the labour mobility was the railroad. By 1950/51, the railroad network was ferrying five million people per year, indicating an increased level of interaction between the different regions and peoples of Nigeria.¹⁴³

Between 1950 and 1959, 43 manufacturing concerns were set up in Kano, some of which had capital input ranging from £15,000 to £63,000. By and large, the industries were encouraged by government incentives, small-scale industry credit scheme, government patronage, contracts and resources provided by the Northern Regional Development Board which got its capital from the Marketing Board.¹⁴⁴ Part of the workforce for the emerging manufacturing sector was provided by the educated workers from southern Nigeria.¹⁴⁵ Opportunities for southern Nigerian workers were partly created due to the fact that traditionally, Kano people were traders and therefore were not attracted by the wage labour. Equally, there was a shortage of skilled and semi-skilled labour for both the government and manufacturing sectors. By 1952, the population of Yoruba in Kano had increased to 5,783. During the same period, Yoruba population in other parts of northern Nigeria including Zaria was 4,346; Sokoto 476; Kaduna 4,888; Jos 5,061; and Minna 2,182.¹⁴⁶

The Kano riot of May 1953 set in motion a process of confrontation between the Hausa hosts and the immigrants.¹⁴⁷ The swelling population of the immigrant communities, representing 22 per cent of the population and playing active roles in both formal and informal sectors of the economy inevitably contributed to the 1953 riots. Though the proximate cause of the riot was political, it escalated into economic issues as Igbo traders were attacked rather than the Yoruba who were the main supporters of the Action Group's political campaign led by Chief S. L. Akintola. A direct confrontation between the Kanawa

and the AG delegation was averted when it reached Kano through the airport rather than the railway station where the mob had laid siege. The mob regrouped at Paradise hotel, the proposed venue of AG Campaign and a place associated with the growing Yoruba identity consciousness and radical nationalist movement in Kano. Commercial competition was the root cause of the riot. Yoruba were the targets of attacks but Igbo traders became the victims mainly because they had most of the stores in Sabon-Gari that were looted. Before the riots, the Igbo constituted the largest southern Nigerian migrants in Sabon-Gari with a population of 11,135.¹⁴⁶ Igbo returning from their places of work were attacked while they equally resisted.¹⁴⁹

Over 100 houses and shops belonging to Igbo were damaged or looted during the riots. The value of the damage was estimated at £11,000.¹⁵⁰ According to the 1953 riot victims statistics, a total of thirty-six deaths were recorded; fifteen Northerners and twenty-one Southerners mainly Igbo.¹⁵¹ A total of 241 persons were wounded: 163 Northerners and seventy-one Igbo. That the Yoruba community recorded only five casualties indicates the existing social trust in the form of association and daily interactions between the Yoruba and the Hausa, which minimised outbreaks of violence between the groups.

Despite ethnic conflicts, Kano emerged as one of the prosperous industrial centres in Nigeria. In 1955, the total wage earning labour force in Kano province was 10,777 serving twenty-one industrial establishments.¹⁵² By 1960, the number of industries increased to thirty-two. On April 1st 1963, Small Industries Credit Scheme (SICs) was established in Kano principally for indigenous (Hausa) entrepreneurs' participation in the economic development process. SICs provided capital meant to raise the proportion of indigenous ownership of manufacturing and commercial establishments.

While the industrial development in Kano pulled many Yoruba to the city, they were also pushed by the devastating socio-economic conditions in Yorubaland. The agrarian crisis that occurred in the early 1960s was simultaneous with the political crisis. By December 1960, Western Region had over 180,000 youths who had completed the Universal Primary Education Scheme introduced in 1955.¹⁵³ Agriculture was no longer attractive to the young

school leavers. In February 1961, almost simultaneously, the economic and political situation in Western Nigeria deteriorated. The sharp fall in the world price of cocoa together with the depletion of Marketing Board Reserves led to fiscal crisis whereby the government could not maintain the 1960/61 producer price for cocoa.¹⁵⁴ The price of cocoa was reduced in the mid-season, on January 14th 1961, from £160 to £112 per ton.¹⁵⁵

In 1962, despite the depressed prices for cocoa, measures were taken to increase secondary school fees. Cooperative movements and indeed, access to land and capital were subordinated to political interests. The social and economic policies generated political crises that led to the declaration of a State of Emergency in Western Region by the Federal Parliament on May 29th 1962.¹⁵⁶ Farmers who experienced economic insecurity and low returns encouraged their unemployed youths to migrate and live with their families or look for work in the cities.¹⁵⁷

Most of the young school leavers had high expectations.¹⁵⁸ Those who did not acquire specific skills migrated from rural areas to urban centres such as Kano. In order to curb the migration of youths, particularly from the rural areas, the defunct Western Region Government launched farm settlement scheme.¹⁵⁹ One of its objectives was the provision of employment opportunities for primary school leavers as an alternative to migration to cities. By 1964, twenty farm settlements had been established with the number of settlers ranging from fifty-six in Ogbomoso to 300 at Ado-Odo.¹⁶⁰ The farm settlers composed of young, unmarried and primary school educated boys who have never engaged in commercial agriculture. They considered themselves as government employees but many left the farm settlements when it was discovered that they had to work on the farms without financial assistance from government.¹⁶¹

The scheme could not curb the drift of young school leavers to cities. Indeed, there was a general discontent with the regimented life in the farm settlements with a consequent high rate of desertion.¹⁶² The social disorder that ravaged the Western Region between 1962 and 1966 discouraged potential investors and further accelerated the pace of youth

migration to urban centres.¹⁶³ Many of the young primary school leavers migrated to Kano for employment opportunities in the industries, private firms, trading activities and prospect for higher education.

Civil War Years c. 1967 to 1970

Between 1967 and 1970, two historical events encouraged Yoruba enterprise in Kano, namely state creation in 1967, and the Nigerian Civil War between 1967 and 1970. The outbreak of the Nigerian Civil War in 1967 and the subsequent mass exodus of the Igbo from Kano created economic opportunities for the Yoruba in Kano. In the Sabon-Gari residential area and market, Yoruba migrants consolidated the position that they had achieved during the 1953 Kano riot.

In May and October 1966, political riots against the Igbo broke out in Kano.¹⁶⁴ By November 1966, a government survey in Sabon-Gari recognised 2,074 affected houses of which 45 per cent were damaged and 30.7 per cent abandoned.¹⁶⁵ As a consequence of insecurity, Sabon-Gari lost a considerable proportion of its population due to relocation.¹⁶⁶ A total of 130 Igbo abandoned houses were handed over to Hausa and Yoruba caretakers among others. By January 1971, a sum of £98,071.3s.3d was collected as rent and remitted to the Igbo returnees.¹⁶⁷ In the wage labour sector, the departed Igbo were replaced by other ethnic groups such as Edo, Hausa and Yoruba workers.¹⁶⁸

As a major commercial metropolis, state creation provided impetus for the transformation of Kano. In 1967, the creation of Kano State expanded government bureaucracy as a major employer of labour and dominant influence on the economy. From 4,650 in 1968/69, government employment rose to 10,000 in 1972/73, a rise of 115.05 per cent. From the inception of Kano State in 1967, Yoruba civil servants, some of whom were of Northern Nigeria origin, formed about 30 per cent of the workforce.¹⁶⁹ Equally, about fifty Yoruba teachers were transferred from western Nigeria to Kano State due to inadequacy of qualified teachers in the region.¹⁷⁰ Yoruba civil servants served as auditors, accountants, revenue officers, education and technical instructors, senior medical, agricultural and

administrative officers. Some Yoruba women were employed in the Kano State civil service as teachers, nurses and para-medical personnel, stenographers, and confidential secretaries.¹⁷¹ In 1968, there were over 200 Yoruba in the Kano State Civil Service.¹⁷²

The general level of poverty in the rural areas of Western Nigeria, which among other factors led to the farmer's revolt of 1968, further pushed Yoruba migration to Kano. The trends of abandonment of agriculture and migration to urban centres resulted in the decline of production of both cash and food crops.¹⁷³ The *Agbekoya* (farmers reject oppression) uprising of 1968-1969, demonstrated a struggle provoked by economic crises and taxation.¹⁷⁴ The peasant revolt against taxation and the general level of insecurity and repression constituted another major push of Yoruba migration to Kano.

In 1969, there were over seventy-eight manufacturing and processing companies in Kano. This development encouraged the migration of educated and skilled labour from western and other parts of Nigeria.¹⁷⁵ Educated Yoruba provided part of the technical skills in the manufacturing and commercial establishments. An important factor that stimulated the migration of Yoruba to Kano was the 1969 Dr. K. A. Bussa's Quit Order that ordered all aliens in Ghana to leave the country. An estimated population of 100,560 Yoruba had settled in Ghana before the Quit Order.¹⁷⁶

Many of the Yoruba deportees from Ghana migrated to other commercial centres in Nigeria after a brief stay in their hometowns. About twenty Yoruba families migrated to Kano through kinship and friendship networks.¹⁷⁷ Some of the male traders were engaged in *Worobo* trade while the female traders were engaged in the trade of provisions in the Sabon-Gari market. *Worobo* involved trading in assorted items, including building materials, padlocks, knives, shaving blades, batteries, toys, balls and balloons. *Worobo* required small capital and it was considered to be a fast business and also profitable. The provision trade largely practiced by women was considered to be less profitable but a quick business. Before the arrival of the Yoruba deportees from Ghana, both *worobo* and provision trades were largely practised by Hausa traders in Sabon-Gari market. Hausa and Yoruba competed in the *worobo* trade. Capital accumulated from the *worobo* trade

was invested in the wholesale provision trade between Lagos and Kano as well as estate for commercial purposes.

Yoruba in Kano c. 1970s

Between 1967 and 1975, Kano state government undertook capital projects that transformed Kano into the commercial nerve centre of Northern Nigeria. The government spent £52.065 million for the execution of projects under the First and Second Development Plans (1968 to 1970) and (1970 to 1974).¹⁷⁸ The expenditure covered agricultural, irrigation and dam projects, industries, social infrastructure and education. For Yoruba artisans, contractors and merchants in the private sector, government development projects generated income and employment.

In 1972, the oil boom, wage increase and Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree (NEPD) aided the growth of Yoruba enterprises in technical industry, construction, banking, insurance, clearing and forwarding agencies. In the large scale manufacturing establishments, foreign investors were required to have Nigerian equity capital of at least 60 per cent.¹⁷⁹ The NEPD policy enabled Nigerian investors to purchase shares in multinational firms. This was achieved through the establishment of the Bank of Commerce and Industry that provided loans and equity finance. The Federal government established a Centre for Management Development to train entrepreneurs in handling large-scale businesses, while a Capital Issue Commission was established to regulate the Stock Market. Of the 326 businesses in schedule one of the indigenisation policy, 72.7 per cent, 237 worth ₦20 million shares were sold to Nigerians. In all, 740 out of 954 or 77.5 per cent of businesses complied with the terms of indigenisation.¹⁸⁰

NEPD jeopardised economic activities of foreigners, particularly the Lebanese that dominated the industrial sector. The indigenisation policy was partly directed at divesting Lebanese of their businesses in response to press hostility against their economic strategies.¹⁸¹ In Kano, by 1974, over 2,000 Lebanese entrepreneurs left as a consequence of the policy. Of the 187 companies owned by the Lebanese in Kano, at least 135 of them

sold shares to Nigerians to reduce ownership in compliance with the indigenisation decree.¹⁸² Although Yoruba participated, they were often used as proxy for the Lebanese.

The 1970s witnessed the revival in Kano State of Yoruba township, kinship associations and the Yoruba Community. During this period, the central focus of the township and kinship associations were the development of their homeland rather than capital mobilisation for commercial activities. For example, in the early 1970s, Ede Descendant Union, Kano branch contributed to the development of Ede town by launching fund raising programmes for Mosque building, bridge construction, establishment of schools and the expansion of the town hall. The association, in conjunction with other branches in Northern Nigeria established a cinema house at Ede.¹⁸³ In 1970, the Yoruba Community, Kano State whose activities had been disrupted by military rule and civil war set up a revival committee. The committee members included Mr. P. A. David from Ilesa, Alhaji Saka Adelabu from Osogbo, Mr. Moses Alade from Ogbomoso and Mr. Salvador from Lagos.¹⁸⁴

In April 1974, the revival committee organised a general meeting for the election of executive council at the Paradise Hotel (formerly Colonial Hotel) Sabon-Gari Kano. Two candidates, Alhaji Saka Adelabu and Mr. P. A. David, were nominated for the post of *Olori* (Head of Yoruba Community, Kano). However, the candidature of Mr. P. A. David was rejected based on his membership of the Reformed Ogboni Confraternity. Alhaji Abdullahi Salihu Olowo from Ilesa was nominated and won the election in absentia. Underlying this intra-ethnic dynamics was the vibrant political culture, penchant for good governance, and above all, deep-seated religiosity among Yoruba Christians and Muslims. Strategically, in the post-civil war era, the political choice would have been made in view of the long-standing interaction between the Yoruba community and the Hausa Muslim hosts. In another twist, however, Chief B. A. Omosebi, a prominent Yoruba leader formed an opposition group against the installation of Oba Abdullahi Salihu Olowo as the first *Sarkin Yorubawa* in 1974. His Royal Highness, Emir Ado Bayero suppressed the intrigues and on 21st December, 1974, installed Alhaji Salihu Olowo as the

first *Sarkin Yorubawa*, Kano.¹⁶⁵ The Yoruba community Kano provided a mechanism for the protection of Yoruba interests in Kano State. It as well ensured a peaceful cohabitation with the Hausa host community and other migrant communities, particularly the Igbo Union.

By 1975, the modern expansion of Metropolitan Kano had led to the appropriation of much of the surrounding villages in Rijiyar Lemo, Kurna Asabe, Bachirawa, Kwanar Bojuwa and Dawanau. In terms of population, Yoruba were next to the Hausa host community and other Northern Nigerians.¹⁶⁶ Most of the Yoruba residents in these areas were low-income artisans, petty traders and entrepreneurs. Some had relocated from Sabon-Gari due to the population pressure, high rate of crime, economic competition and high cost of living.¹⁶⁷ It was as well easier and cheaper for some of the Yoruba entrepreneurs to purchase land and build houses of their own in the urban suburbs.

These suburbs equally offered comparative economic advantage, which fits perfectly the Yoruba pattern of enterprise in Kano metropolis. These areas were in close proximity to rural areas and Dawanau (foodstuffs) market where Yoruba women procured cotton during the dry season and guinea fowl eggs during the raining season and exchange these products for manufactured items. The availability of unoccupied expanse of land in these areas had also given opportunities to most Yoruba artisans who established auto mechanic repair workshops.

By the end of the 1970s, Yoruba residents in Kurna Asabe, Tudun Bojuwa and Bachirawa had established ethnic associations for economic, political, social and religious purposes. For example, they established Cooperative and Credit Societies, Ede Transporters (Taxi) Cooperative Societies, Egbe Omo Ilobu and Omolere Women Society. It was during this period that Yoruba Community Bachirawa Branch, Kano was established. Alhaji Suleiman Akanji, a transporter and estate owner in Bachirawa headed the association. It was based on these organised levels of communal identities and Yoruba population in the area that it was popularly called *Ungumar Yorubawa*. The formation of social networks and communal identity based on ethnicity excluded the Yoruba from the Hausa host community and their commercial success became a source of jealousy. The high rate of poverty, unemployment

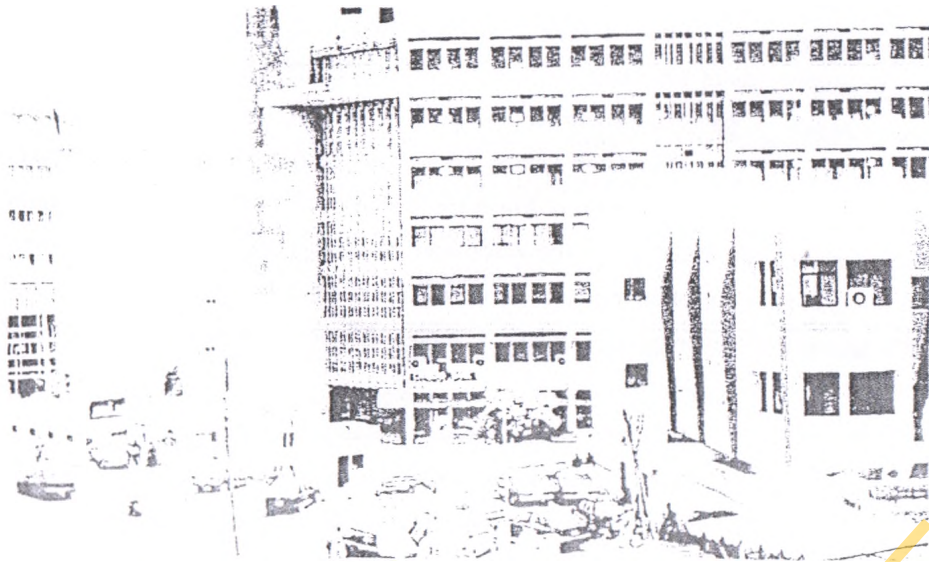
among the youths and the influx of migrants from neighbouring countries of Chad and Niger paved way for ethnic conflicts in the area.

c. 1980s-1999

The period (1980s-1999) witnessed a devastating economic crisis manifested in declining revenues from oil (from ₦10,915 million in 1985 to ₦8,107 million in 1986), a heavy debt burden of about \$20 billion, rapidly declining purchasing power of workers' income due to inflation, a general decline in the production of goods and services and economic reforms.¹⁶⁸ Two interrelated factors led to a sharp decline in the employment of Yoruba labour in the wage sector of the Kano economy. First, Kano had produced a growing number of educated workforce which now competed with the Yoruba and other Southern Nigerians in the labour market. In the process, there was a dramatic change in government labour employment policy, which was achieved through contract appointments.¹⁶⁹

Many of the Yoruba who had entered the Kano State Civil Service in the 1970s were compulsorily retired.¹⁹⁰ Yoruba professionals and other Southern Nigerians became entrepreneurs who exploited the deteriorating condition in the urban service sector by establishing private hospitals, and schools; legal, auditing and accounting firms; hotels and publicity services; estate surveying and valuers, that in turn created employment opportunities.¹⁹¹

In 1999, over 200 banks and financial institutions provided services for the Kano industrial economy. A minimum of five banks existed, competitively in close proximity along Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Bello Road, Hadejia Road, Niger Road, Muhammed Murtala Way and Lagos street.¹⁹² Kano, has a whole range of service industries including thirty-seven building and civil engineering and construction companies, forty business management consultations and over 1,000 service industries.¹⁹³ Yoruba were employed by the financial institutions and the private sector.



Ibrahim Taiwo road, a booming business district in Kano.

Source: Fieldwork 1999

The economic difficulties, including currency devaluation and cuts in expenditure in the public sector, led to unemployment, the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and subsequently contraction in the economy that caused widespread poverty. Following the IMF and World Bank economic recovery and austerity requirements, the Structural Adjustment Programme was launched to address macro-economic distortions and structural imbalance in the Nigerian economy. The deteriorating social conditions under the economic reforms further induced Yoruba migration from Lagos, Ibadan, Ilorin, Ogbomoso, Osogbo, Ilesa, Akure, Iseyin and Kabba to Kano. Young artisans migrated to escape family responsibilities and to have wider market opportunities. Unlike the 1970s, associational ethnicity among the Yoruba was devoted to offer social security and raising of funds to support entrepreneurial pursuits than remitting money to hometowns for developmental projects.

Kano witnessed a decline in the manufacturing sector that in effect produced unemployed workers. Employment opportunities for educated youths declined due to the contraction in the public sector and the economic crisis that governments experienced.¹⁹⁴ Between 1982 and 1985, about 75 per cent of all manufacturing establishments in Kano stopped production because of the shortage of raw materials, spare parts and waning market.¹⁹⁵ Manufacturing firms imposed stringent labour policies as a measure of coping with the economic recession. Firms used compulsory leaves and cuts in the number of shifts during the period of irregular production. By 1999, about two-thirds of the manufacturing establishments in Bompai, Sharada and Challawa industrial zones folded up completely, or they drastically reduced the productive capacity as well as the workforce by more than 40 per cent.¹⁹⁶ Over 200 factories closed down and the 143 that remained were operating on average of 22.6 per cent of their capacity.¹⁹⁷

Economic contraction in the formal sector led to an expansion in the informal sector. The informal sector is defined as a sphere of economic activities characterised by unregulated competition, loose entry, indigenous resources and adapted technology, intensive family

labour and ownership and low productive capacity. Before the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in 1986, the informal trading sector, particularly in Sabon-Gari market was dominated by women, mostly Yoruba, Edo, Urhobo and Igbo.

In the period of economic instability, informal petty trading and production became the major sector that sustained the entrepreneurs and workers. In Kano, the Sabon-Gari stalls increased from 7,956 in 1974 to over 11,000 in 1984, about 38.2 per cent.¹⁹⁸ The diversification into the informal trading sector, mostly by men, necessitated stiff competition, low sales and profit margins as well as opportunity constraints for women traders who had earlier dominated the sector.

Between 1984 and 1985, the Sabon-Gari market was destroyed by at least four fire disasters. Many traders lost their capital in the fire disasters. Their inability to recover from the losses reduced some of them to street hawkers. The fire and overcrowding in the Sabon-Gari market led to its reorganisation. Other markets such as Yankaba (vegetables), Dawanau (foodstuffs), Yanlemo (fruits), and Marifi (kolanuts) markets were equally established. Kano State government intensified its efforts at providing trading infrastructures, particularly stalls in Kurmi, Rimi, Kofar Ruwa and Kofar Wambai markets.¹⁹⁹

The reconstruction and subsequent reallocation of stalls equally displaced many traders in the Sabon-Gari market.²⁰⁰ In 1985, the Kano State government appointed a market reorganisation committee under the leadership of Alhaji Saidu Dattijo Adhama, an indigenous businessman and industrialist. An edict was enacted by the state government making the market a limited liability company with the name Muhammad Abubakar Rimi Market Company Limited, Kano. The take-off capital for the market reconstruction was secured from two main sources: state government ₦200,000.00 and private investors ₦500million.²⁰¹ Old stores were demolished and traders reapplied for allocations of new ones through the ballot system with a deposit of ₦30,000.00 for three years rent. In all, over 13,000 stores of different categories were constructed for large, medium and small-scale entrepreneurs.²⁰² The establishment of the Kano Traders' Multi-purpose Cooperative

Society (KTMCS) in 1986 ensured that stalls were allocated to hundreds of Hausa traders in Sabon-Gari market.

3.4: CATEGORY OF STORES 1999

S/No	Types of Stores	No of stores	Rates per year
a.	Red Bricks	3000	₦7,000.00
b.	Lock ups	992	₦51,000.00
c.	Market Ground Block Special MBG	285	₦5000.00
d.	MBG (Build and Lease) Allocated plots for the period of 25 years by private investors who sub-let them.	854	₦5000.00
e.	Markets Blocks (MBS) along main roads inside the market	1,325	₦2,000.00
f.	Perimeters Blocks -Upstairs surrounding the markets PBS	2,223	₦3,000.00
g.	Flat form spaces	1,300	₦600.00
h.	Open shed	3120	₦500.00
	Total	13,099	₦24,600.00

Source: Commercial Services Manager, Muhammad Abubakar Rimi Market Company Limited, Kano.

The market was transformed into a modernised profit oriented company with an asset base of ₦100 million and an investment of over ₦10 billion.²⁰³ The market visited daily by approximately 400,000 people with an average value of ₦25 million transactions.²⁰⁴ The Sabon-Gari market constitute a sphere of everyday social interaction and business transactions among various groups in Kano, especially the immigrants and the Hausa host community. Over the years, the transformation of the market generated competition and conflicts. The following chart indicates how the transformation process displaced many Yoruba traders without capital to secure stalls in the market.

Table 3. 5: Ethnic/Gender Composition and Occupational Structure in the Sabon-Gari Market 1999

S/N	Types of Stores	Ethnic and Gender Composition	Occupational Structure
1.	Red bricks : Cluster A:	Hausa men and Yoruba women	Provisions
	Cluster B:	Hausa men and Yoruba women	
	Cluster C:	Hausa, Igbo men and Yoruba women	Wrist watch, jewelry shoes, Imported textiles; local fabrics
	Cluster D	Igbo and Yoruba men	Drugs and Pharmaceutical.
	Cluster E	Hausa, Igbo men and Yoruba women	Household utensils, children wares, shoes, electronics
	Cluster L:	Hausa and Igbo men	Electronics, Electrical appliances, fancy dresses, jewelries and sewing machines
	Cluster M:	Igbo and Hausa men	Pharmaceuticals
	Cluster N:	Yoruba and Igbo	Second hand electronics Shoe making and repairs, Electronics and tailoring services.
2.	Lock Ups	Yoruba women, Hausa and Igbo men	Dresses, shoes, children wares, cigarettes, electronics plastics and provision.

S/N	Types of Stores	Ethnic and Gender Composition	Occupational Structure
3	MBG (Building Lease)	Yoruba artisans, Hausa and Igbo male traders	Planks, building materials, furniture and welding works
4.	MBs: main roads inside the market	Igbo and Hausa male traders and Yoruba women.	Electronics, fancy dresses, fairly used products Tokunbo
5.	PBs	Yoruba men and women Hausa and Igbo men traders	Provision, beverages, shoes, interior decorations, corn mills and spare parts
6	Platform	Yoruba, Urhobo, Edo, Arago, Tiv, and Igbo women	Vegetable, stockfish, meat crayfish, garri and elubo flours pepper grinders
7	Open shed	Hausa, Yoruba men and Urhobo women	Butchers, livestock and poultry and vegetable

Source: Fieldwork in Sabon-Gari market, 1999-2000.

It should be pointed out that most of the Yoruba were squatters in the shops. Only few could afford or had access to the allocation of shops. By the 1990s, economic difficulties and ethnic conflicts in Kano had adverse effects on the economy, mainly the state of insecurity of investment, fear of looting, wanton destruction and the exodus of Yoruba migrant artisans, industrialists and entrepreneurs. The gradual decline in Yoruba commerce in Kano occurred by the middle of the 1980s but the trend continued into the 1990s due to the national economic contraction and ethnic conflicts in Kano. Most of them liquidated, transferred or relocated the bases of their business to other towns and cities in the Northern states, their places of origin or other important commercial centres in Nigeria. In July 1999, the process of relocation was compounded by the reprisal attacks resulting from the ethnic conflicts in Sagamu on the Yoruba in Kano. The July 1999 Hausa and Yoruba riots occurred largely in Rijiyar Lemu, Kuma Asabe, Bachirawa, Gwammam, Tudun Bojuwa, Dawanau and other areas occupied by the Yoruba in Kano metropolis.

Conclusion

The Yoruba commercial frontier in Kano from the 15th century developed with the establishment of the Ayagi quarters in the 19th century. By 1912, the colonial economy and railroad launched another phase in Yoruba migration and commercial diaspora in Kano. The chapter has demonstrated that the Yoruba provided much of the needed clerical and administrative jobs in the colonial departments and foreign firms. By the 1920s, some of the Yoruba clerical workers resigned and became independent traders with capital from personal savings and kinship networks. By the end of the Second World War, Yoruba artisans pioneered and expanded the technical skill industries, partly as a mechanism against keen competition in the groundnut trade. From the 1950s, the Yoruba skilled and educated workers provided part of the much-needed labour in the emerging industrial concerns. Between 1967 and 1970, the combined factors of Civil-War and state creation had created wider opportunities that gave stimulus for Yoruba migration and commerce in Kano. The reconstruction of ethnic identity among the Yoruba in Kano alienated them from the Hausa host community and further paved way for ethnic conflicts.

Yoruba men and women were employed in the expanding government bureaucracy of Kano State. From the middle of 1980s however, unemployment, generated by the Structural Adjustment Programmes, profoundly altered Yoruba commerce in Kano. By 1999, the increasing economic constraints caused the upsurge in the informal trading sector that brought in its wake intense competition and later confrontation, which influenced Yoruba out-migration from Kano.

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"Cattle is one of the many goods from Hausa country to Yorubaland through the Nupe country." F. A. Okediji, 1972, *An Economic History Of Hausa Fulani Emirates Of Northern Nigeria 1900-1939* (Ph. D. Thesis, Indiana University) p..224.

Other Yoruba clothes exported to Kano were,

- Aso sanya called *Rigar Tsamiya* in Hausa
- Aso Kijipa called *Rigar Gwado* in Hausa
- Aso Etu called *Rigar Saki* in Hausa
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3. Malam Ibrahim
4. Malam Inuwa
5. Alhaji Salihu Inuwa Baba Agba.

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CHAPTER FOUR

ASPECTS OF YORUBA COMMERCE IN KANO, 1912-1999

Introduction

This chapter analyses the salient features and the shifting patterns of Yoruba commerce in Kano. It examines economic competition along ethnic and gender categories, the scale and changes in the production processes as well as capital accumulation. The chapter discusses the internal trade in foodstuffs and livestock, the role of Yoruba traders in Kano, Yoruba entrepreneurship in production processes, particularly bakery and soda soap, Yoruba women entrepreneurship as well as the dynamics of labour relations and employment in the construction industry.

The Role of Yoruba Traders in Foodstuffs and the Livestock Trade between Kano and Yorubaland

Since the pre-colonial period, trade in agricultural produce and livestock formed the main basis of the early commercial intercourse between Yorubaland and Hausaland. Ecological or geographical variations and economic factors influenced the exchange of products in several regions. A.G. Hopkins, observes that

...(T)he pastoralists of the Sahara-Savanna border traded livestock, dairy produce and salt with the cultivators of the (S)avanna in return for millet and cloth. In turn, the (S)avanna region traded livestock, salt, dried fish, potash and cloth with the peoples of the forest, from whom they received slaves, kolanuts, ivory, ironware and cloth. Finally, producers in the forest sold various foodstuffs and manufactures to coastal settlements in exchange for fish and sea salt.¹

In essence, the development of the foodstuffs and livestock trade during the colonial era could be explained as a case of historical continuity of an economic process. As shown in the previous chapter, in pre-colonial Kano, Yoruba traders brought *Iyere* (West African pepper), *Eeru* (Ethiopian pepper), *Ataare* (alligator pepper), kolanuts and fruits in exchange

for potash, livestock, garlic and onion.² In the 19th century a southward export trade in groundnut was carried out by Hausa and Yoruba traders.³

In 1904, the British in Kano collected about £3,500 tax per annum on the foodstuffs and other goods imported by traders.⁴ The following chart shows the items in Kano markets from Southern Nigeria during the period:

Table 4.1: Imported Goods into Kano Market 1904

Goods from south west	Weight (tons)	Value (£)
1. English goods	30 ½	5,636
2. Kolanuts	92	10,325
3. Native cloth	2 ½	364
4. Spices, pepper, antimony and others	5	508
Total	130	£16,833

Source: Northern Nigeria Annual Report, 1904.

In 1912, the arrival of the railroad that linked Kano with Lagos further gave impetus to the foodstuffs trade. The speed of the railroad reduced the effective distance between Kano and Lagos by about three quarters and in effect made it convenient to rail vegetable (perishable) goods with minimum risk. For example, it became more convenient to transport eggs in boxes in large quantities from Kano to Lagos.

During the First World War, there was a considerable demand for foodstuffs internally as well as an external demand to support the imperial war efforts. Thus, the demand stimulated production as well as supply. The following chart indicates the increase in major export commodities railed from Kano between 1917 and 1918:

Table 4.2: Exports From Kano Market 1918

Commodity	1917 (tons)	1918 (tons)
1. Groundnuts	42,550	51,152
2. Dried hides and skins	605	743
3. Beans	3,555	4,466
Total	46,710	56,361

Source: File S. N. P: 10/9: Kano Province Annual Report, 1918.

In 1920, the trade in foodstuffs between Kano and Yorubaland further increased. For example, there was increasing demand for beans and pepper in the cocoa belts of Yorubaland in the same manner that *gari* and palm oil were in great demand in Kano. For example in 1929, the depressed prices for export products and the relatively high prices for imported commodities stimulated food production, principally for local consumption.⁵ The north supplied the south with livestock and groundnut oil while the south sent kolanuts, palm oil and fruits to the north.⁶ In addition, the sharp decline in the import trade and expansion in export trade during the period induced many Hausa and Yoruba traders to diversify into foodstuffs trade within Nigeria.

During the Second World War, 1939-1945, the British embarked on the wartime production campaign drive. The policy was partly to secure for the British Empire and the Allies supplies of commodities considered essential for the war as well as industrial requirements. To be specific, the production drive became expedient due to the shortage of oil and fats available to the Allies following the loss of the Far Eastern supplies and the failure of India as a source of supply of groundnut.⁷ Through propaganda, taxation and inducements, the colonial government desperately pushed for greater production as well as exports of vegetable oil product and starch. Thus, the government discouraged the foodstuffs trade within and across regions, particularly in palm produce and *gari*. However, the peasants resisted the policy and diverted their agricultural produce especially palm oil and *gari* for internal trade rather than the export trade.⁸ The expansion of internal trade within Nigeria was one strategy by which traders responded to the slump in the international trade which

occurred during the period. In reality, the war period witnessed an increased trade in *gari* and other foodstuffs between Western and Northern Nigeria.

In 1940, a minimum of 1,190 bags of *gari* were exported by Ijebu Yoruba traders per week to Northern Nigeria. In addition, Ijebu Yoruba traders took palm oil, coconut and alligator pepper from Ondo, Ibadan and Ikare to Kano in exchange for onions, beans, turkeys and pigeons.⁹ Nevertheless, Yoruba traders encountered competition from Igbo traders in the supply of *gari* and palm oil. For example, palm oil railed from Eha-Olumona (Onitsha province) to the Northern provinces were 1,652 tons in 1938; 1,515 tons in 1939; 1,697 tons in 1940 and 2,413 tons in 1941.¹⁰ Equally, *gari* shipments from Aba to the north recorded 4,011 tons in 1938, 528 tons in 1939, 3,889 tons in 1940; 5,198 tons in 1941 and 6,910 tons in 1942. In 1943, a total of 920 tons of oranges were railed to the northern provinces from Umuahia and 3,341 tons of the same commodity from Owerri in 1944.¹¹ After the Second World War, the increasing use of lorries and the railroad for internal trade further promoted the activities of the Yoruba foodstuffs and livestock traders.

The following chart indicates the statistics of foodstuffs and livestock exported from Kano in 1949.

Table 4.3 : Exports From Kano Market 1949

Commodity	Volume	Estimated Value (£)
1. Dried fish	2,000 tons	339,000
2. Groundnut oil	4,000 tons	160,000
3. Onions	50,200 tons	117,000
4. Vegetables	1,500 tons	155,000
5. Honey	21,000 tons	6,600
6. Cattle	96,000 head	1,300,000
7. Sheep	102,000 head	160,000
8. Goats	35,000 head	45,000

9. Poultry	350,000 head	35,000
10. Eggs	308,000 dozen	7,700
Total	969,700	£2,325,300

Source: B. E. Sharwood Smith, *Kano Survey*, 1950, (Gaskiya Corporation) p. 36.

Equally, imports into Kano in 1949 indicate the following:

Table 4.4 : Imports into Kano Market 1949

Commodity	Volume (tons)	Value (£)
1. Kolanuts	30,000	3,500,000.00
2. <i>Garri</i>	11,000	350,000.
3. Yams	3,300	73,000
4. Palm oil	5,600	26,000
5. Sugar cane	1,800	20,000
6. Coconuts	750,000	7,400
Total	801,700	£3,976,400.00

Source: B.E. Sharwood Smith, 1950, *Kano Survey* (Gaskiya) p. 36.

In addition, considerable quantities of fruits from Ibadan, Ogbomoso, Ilesa, Ondo and Ile-Ife were imported into Kano each year, particularly oranges, grapefruits, pineapples, mangoes, and bananas. Comparatively, since 1941, the imports of kolanuts, by weight increased tenfold and palm oil by nine times.¹² In 1951, Kano imported 10,000 tons of kolanuts from Yorubaland and exported 3,000 tons of dried salted meat (*tinko*), 800,000 gallons of groundnut oil and cattle in return.¹³

Trading Strategies and the Social Network of Yoruba Foodstuffs/ Livestock Traders in Kano

The strategic position of Kano enhanced its development as a market centre. For the foodstuffs and livestock trade, two levels of commercial transactions occurred in the metropolis. The first involved the role of the city as depot for local and imported agricultural produce: groundnut, rice, onions, millet, vegetables, beans (from Niger Republic) and livestock meant for export to other parts of Nigeria. Hausa, Igala, Yoruba, Epira, Igbo and Edo traders in Kano controlled the trade. At the second level, the city served as the recipient of foodstuffs and fruits from other parts of Nigeria. Until the mid-1940s, Kurmi and Rimi were the major foodstuffs markets in Kano. After the Second World War, Sabon-Gari and Yandoya markets, Kofar Nassarawa and Galadima Street served as the major depots for the foodstuffs trade. By 1979, the construction of Kano State investment Headquarters building at Kofar Nassarawa led to the relocation of the fruits and kolanuts markets to Yan Lemo and Mariri respectively. For the Yoruba in the foodstuffs trade, two categories of traders could be identified: *Alajapa* and *Olowoapo*.

Alajapa

Alajapa were the itinerant long distance traders. Economically, their role was significant for the distribution of products from areas of large-scale production over a wide geographical distance where such articles were essential but scarce. Thus, the *Alajapa* trading mechanism was lucrative but involved substantial transport risks. A high proportion of the *Alajapa* traders, among the Yoruba, were women. They brought foodstuffs and fruits such as *gari*, palm oil, mangoes, cashew, guavas, oranges, grapefruits, pineapples and coconuts from Ikare, Ondo, Ile-Ife, Ogbomoso, Ibadan, Ijebu-Ode and Ilesa in exchange for groundnut oil, cow skin, millet, beans, groundnut cake, eggs, onions, pepper and potash in Kano. Usually, the *Alajapa* traders chartered their own lorries either as individuals or in group. In 1999, it was estimated that an average *Alajapa* trader brought commodities worth ₦100,000.00 to ₦200,000.00 and made a profit of ₦20,000.00 to ₦50,000.00, part of which was utilised in buying commodities for the return trade.¹⁴ There were occasions when a group of women entrepreneurs combined their capital and traveled together to procure foodstuffs in bulk from any part of the country where it was cheap. The following chart shows examples of goods and places where they were procured.

Table 4.5: Foodstuffs trade among Yoruba Women in Kano, c.1999

Goods	Source Towns
Beans	So'oto /Kano
Yam	Abuja/ Zaki
Gari	Ijebu Ode and Ikare
Rice (Imported)	Lagos and Cotonou
Rice (Local)	Gbugbu and Mokwa
Yam flour	Kaima and Kisi
Kolanuts	Ilesa, Ile- Ife, Oke-Igbo, Ondo and Igbo-Olodumare
Palm oil	Ile-Ife, Ondo and Ekiti-Pupa
Cow skin, cow leg and dried meat	Kano

Groundnut oil	Kano
Guinea fowl eggs	Kano
Dried fish	Maiduguri

Source: Olayemi Akinwumi, 2000, "Women Entrepreneurs in Nigeria: Notes on the Yoruba *Alajapa* and *Alarobo*," in *Africa Update*, Vol. 7, Issue 3, p. 4 and fieldwork in Sabon-Gari market, December, 1999.

At the Yanlemo market, during the harvest season, an average of ten lorries carrying 120 bags of fruits arrived daily from Yorubaland and were offloaded by over 100 Hausa labourers. In sum, a total sum of 1, 200 bags of fruits arrived in the market everyday.¹⁵

In order to narrow down the social and language barriers between buyers and sellers as well as securing favourable terms of trade, the Yoruba women fruits traders utilised the services of commercial intermediaries *Maidilalai* mainly Hausa, Nupe and Yoruba who assisted them in the sales and were rewarded on commission basis. The *Maidilalai* arranged for the offloading, storage and good prices for the fruits. Between 1996 and 1999, *Maidilalai* arranged a commission of ₦50.00 on a bag of fruits sold. A lorry load contained about 120 bags of fruits. In a lorry therefore, a *Maidilalai* earned ₦6,000.00 per lorry for his services.¹⁶ In 1999, a bag of fruits, at the Yanlemo market attracted the following prices:

Big Size	-	₦1,500.00
Medium size	-	₦800.00
Small size	-	₦300.00.

In metropolitan Kano, the bulk of fruit from Western Nigeria provided gainful occupation and a source of income for Hausa adult males who traded in them on a retail basis along streets, in markets and through hawking.

Olowoapo

In Kano, *Olowoapo* were principally Yoruba foodstuffs traders who acted as commercial intermediaries - brokers or transporters of foodstuffs to the southern parts of Nigeria. A substantial number of Yoruba men and few women were involved. Essentially, they procured onions, pepper, beans, maize, dried corn, groundnut, locust beans and millet in tons from rural markets or through Hausa traders and transported them to Kano for storage, rebulking or sales in the foodstuffs markets on a wholesale basis. As a source of economic security, *Olowoapo* traders pursued two different transactional patterns. First, there is a strategy that entails purchasing large quantities of foodstuffs early in the harvest season for storage until the end of the season when it became scarce and thus commanded high prices.¹⁷ Second, in order to maximise profits, *Olowoapo* traders utilised their trading network by transporting the foodstuffs by rail or road to the markets in the southern part of Nigeria for higher prices. Prominent among the *Olowoapo* traders was Alhaji Abdulsalami Akanmu from Ogbomoso town. In 1920, he became the leader of the Yoruba foodstuffs traders, particularly beans traders at the Kurmi market.¹⁸ His house at Kofar Daji, Ayagi quarters popularly known as *Gidan Muramura* was utilised for business transactions, storage of beans, reception and accommodation for traders.

Alhaji Akanmu employed about twenty workers to whom he advanced money for the procurement of beans in rural markets in Kano, Sokoto and Niger Republic. By 1945, he was noted for advancing about £500 for the beans trade during the harvest season. His son, Alhaji Abdulhamid Akanmu became a prominent foodstuffs trader in Sabon-Gari and Dawanau markets.

Alhaji Saka Adelabu from Osogbo, was another wealthy *Olowoapo*. He began his career in the foodstuffs trade as a commission agent in 1947, and by 1955 he had accumulated capital that transformed him into an independent trader. From Kano, he railed onions, beans, guinea fowl eggs, potatoes and groundnut oil to Osogbo. In 1977, he had a workforce of about twelve men in the foodstuffs trade and a working capital of over ₦50,000.00.¹⁹ He invested in building in Kano and Osogbo. By the early 1980s, he

became a motor dealer for Peugeot Automobile Nigeria Limited, Saka Ahmed Motors at Weather Head Avenue, Sabon-Gari Kano.

In 1942, Alhaji Mohammed Lawore from Ede, traded in calabashes between Ibadan and Fasa in Nupeland.²⁰ In 1947, he extended his business interests to Kano through one Mr. Sani who worked with the Post and Telecommunications (P and T) Kano. With a capital of £30, he joined the foodstuffs trade in partnership with one Abdulrauf, a Yoruba trader at Kurmi market. In 1950, another trader from Ede town, Alhaji Usman Adenle, who became a prominent foodstuffs trader, joined Alhaji Lawore.

In 1960, prominent Yoruba foodstuffs traders formed a trading firm in the Sabon-Gari market named DS 27 -Dawa store. During the harvest seasons, they contributed capital for the purchase of foodstuffs in large quantity from the rural areas. The trading firm employed about forty workers, who were responsible for the purchase of foodstuffs and the transportation from the rural markets. The trading firm had seven members: Alhaji Lawore, Alhaji Saka Adelabu, Alhaji Lamidi Akanmu, Alhaji Nasiru Ajani, Alhaji Lasisi Baruwa, Alhaji Usman Adenle and Alhaji Bakare Owoade. Kinship and religious ties were effectively utilised for the commercial network. By this, they controlled a large proportion of the foodstuffs traded on a wholesale basis. In order to facilitate quick delivery of their goods and ensure timely turnover on their capital, the trading partners made transport arrangements with the railroad authority as follows:

Monday: Vegetables (fresh goods)

Tuesday: Groundnut oil, eggs, onions (perishable goods).

Wednesday: Pepper, dry corn, beans, locust beans, groundnuts (dry goods).

The goods were delivered to appointed agents at three railroad stations: Ilorin, Osogbo and Lagos. Yoruba traders were the largest buyers of beans and onions in Kano markets in the same manner that Hausa traders dominated the Kolanut trade in Yorubaland. Indeed, the commercial activities of the *Olowoapo* traders in Kano provided a ready market for

agricultural products and in effect, stimulated production as well as specialisation. They often advanced money to farmers to buy agricultural products in large quantity during the harvest season.

Among the Yoruba in Kano, commercial linkages were formed through social networks between the *Alajapa* and *Olowoapo* traders following the pattern of the pre-colonial trading arrangement: *Baale* (landlord) and *Alagbata* (stock broker or commercial intermediaries) who provided a network of stock-brokers and agents.²¹ In several instances, *Olowoapo* traders with sufficient capital similarly performed the roles of *Baale* (Landlord) and *Alagbata* stock broker or commercial intermediary. As the *Baale* and *Alagbata*, the *Olowoapo* purchased the merchandise brought by the *Alajapa*, provided storage facilities and accommodation or canvassed for the sales of *Alajapa* merchandise to the highest bidder. For the return trade, the *Olowoapo* organised for the purchase of commodities at a cheaper rate through connections with Hausa foodstuff traders. Yoruba traders pursued these transactions in order to achieve standard market measures. Chalfin, quoting Alexander and Alexander, argues that

Variations in supply, quality or price which may appear baffling to outsiders are not necessarily so to traders (insiders), for it is precisely their ability to obtain information about these conditions, and to conceal it from others, which makes it possible for them to extract a living from the market place.²²

In sum, the *Alagbata* traders acted as a buffer in a culturally organised market condition by performing the role of commercial intermediaries between the Yoruba *Alajapa* traders and the Hausa foodstuffs traders. Indeed, the roles of *Alagbata* had facilitated economic security and the steady flow of foodstuffs between Kano and Yorubaland.

It should be noted that among the Yoruba traders in Kano the role of *Baale* in providing accommodation for the *Alajapa* traders did not attract any reward as a result of kinship linkages and long-term business connections. The rewards of the *Baale* and *Alagbata* were derived from the role they performed as commercial intermediaries through price

manipulation and commissions. In 1999, a *Laada* (commission) of ₦20.00 was paid on a bag of beans procured by the *Alagbata*. On a typical market day, an *Alagbata* might accumulate an income of ₦3,000.00 through such transactions. Indeed, through social networks, Yoruba traders formed partnerships, advanced loans and shared business strategies as well as information.

In the off season (January to August), the scarcity of beans made it expensive and subsequently there was low demand. During the 1999 off season, a bag of beans cost ₦3,000 and thus, as few as five lorries of beans departed for Yorubaland per day.²³ In sum, a total of 500 to 750 bags were purchased per day at the cost of ₦15,000.00 to ₦22,500.00. During the season, a total of 1,500 to 2,000 bags were purchased at the cost of ₦2,000.00 per bag (that is a total cost of between ₦30,000.00 and ₦40,000.00).

Before the end of 1999, there were twenty Yoruba men and five women *Alagbata* - commercial intermediaries- in Dawanau market who controlled an average of three staff each. Two categories of associations existed among the Yoruba traders in the market: *Egbe Agbalejo* and Road Transport Workers Union (Circle B). First, *Egbe Agbalejo* was formed for effective commercial transactions between the *Alajapa* traders and *Alagbata*. Similarly, the associations served by collectively mobilising resources against externally induced threats, fraud, theft or insecurity and consequently protected members' interests. For effective financing of its affairs, members paid ₦20.00 fee per day.²⁴ Second, the Road Transport Workers Union, (circle B) was organised for efficient loading and the transportation of beans. In 1999 a full lorry of beans to western Nigeria cost ₦20,000.00. The *Alagbata* who arranged for the transport collected a commission of 10 per cent (₦2,000.00) but paid ₦200.00 membership fee to the Union.²⁵

Livestock Trade

In 1952, there were over ten Yoruba registered cattle dealers. Prominent among them were Babalola and trading company, Lasisi Ojikutu, Alhaji Yesufu Amao, Alhaji Gbadamosi, Olude Stores, Raimi Oyeleye, Lamidi Alao, Shodipo and Trading Company and Ladipo Sunmola.²⁶ In 1953/54, a total of 35,182 cows were railed from Kano to Lagos at the cost of ₦15.00 per cow making a total of ₦527,720.00.²⁷ It rose to 56,369 in 1968/69 and 114,486 in 1973/74 at the cost of ₦300.00 and ₦400.00 per cow respectively. Usually, the trade in livestock reached its peak during festivals. Yoruba and Hausa traders purchased livestock in large quantities at rural markets in advance of such festivals.

The drought of the early 1970s affected the livestock trade between Kano and Western Nigeria. During the drought years, mortality rates among cattle herds were estimated at between 30 to 50 per cent. The Federal Government issued a decree banning the exportation of livestock, particularly cattle from Nigeria.²⁸ The Federal Government asserted that such a policy was imperative in view of the fall in supply of cattle to some parts of the country due to drought. In November 1973, the Ibadan Butcher's Association stated that only 700 cattle reached Oyo State per day in contrast with the usual 1,600 cattle. Ibadan's share of 250 cattle per day shrunk to 120.²⁹

The drought pushed the migration of Fulani pastoralists to the Savanna belt of Western Nigeria, particularly Oyo, Iseyin, Ogbomoso, Iwo and Saki where they established settlements for the purpose of cattle rearing.³⁰ Cattle-breeding was moved into the southernmost pastures close to the market.³¹ This was partly to reduce the risk of loss of cattle to the drought. The decline of railroad transportation equally affected the supply of cattle from the north to the south. By 1999, a high proportion of the cattle meant for Western Nigerian markets were transported in large trucks due to the decline of the railroad transport.

Trade in *ponmon* (processed and cooked cow skin), dried fish, and *Tinko* (dried and salted meat):

In western Nigeria, *ponmon* (processed and cooked cow skin) constitutes an integral part of the food culture among most families and a crucial source of livelihood for women. *Ponmon* is processed from cow skin. Annually, Yoruba traders purchased considerable tons of cow skins. *Ponmon* and cow leg, known as *Ese Baba Kano* in Yoruba, were traded at the Galadima/Yankura and Fagge markets, Kano by Hausa men and Yoruba women. In addition, traders supplied dried fish from Hadejia, Gashua and Maiduguri; and dried salted meat (*Tinko*) and bush meat from the rural markets. Women dominated the trade in *ponmon*, dried fish and meat, among the Yoruba in Kano between 1912 and 1999.

Trade in Guinea Fowl Eggs

Yoruba women traders in metropolitan Kano maintained commercial linkages with the rural markets. During the season, July to October, Yoruba Muslim women were engaged in the sales of guinea fowl eggs. In this trade, there existed two categories of women traders: first, the wholesalers who bought the eggs in large quantities from rural markets or acted as stock-brokers in Kano markets for the Hausa traders. The second category was the retailers who purchased guinea fowl eggs on a small scale at specific centres in rural markets. In 1999, a measurement called *Kwarya* (calabash) that contained 100 eggs was sold at the cost of ₦500.00. Thus, each egg cost ₦5.00. The retailers boiled the eggs and sold them outside the household or engaged young girls in hawking them. On a retail basis, each egg cost about ₦6.00. A young girl could sell as many as 300 eggs a day on about two to three trading trips, thus making a profit of about ₦300.00.³² In addition, a considerable volume of the guinea fowl eggs was transported to Yorubaland in exchange for walnuts, (*awusa*) equally sold by Yoruba women in Kano.

Trade in Yam/Cassava Flour and *Gari* Among Yoruba Traders in Kano

The trade in *elubo* (yam/cassava flours) and *gari* exhibits a loose division of labour with traders performing the role of brokers, wholesalers and retailers. In several instances, wealthy traders often combined these commercial roles. First, some Yoruba traders in Kano

markets, particularly women, served as brokers or commercial intermediaries. They relied on the supply of *gari* by Igbo or Yoruba traders from Ikare in Ondo state and cassava/yam flour (*elubo*) supplied by Arago traders from Nassarawa state and or Yoruba traders from Oke-Ogun region (Saki, Iseyin, Igboho towns) in Oyo state. The brokers in turn, supplied the wholesalers and earned an income through commission. For example, in 1960, Alhaja Sifawu Awele Badamasi, a Yoruba woman from Ofa town, emerged as one of the major brokers for cassava flour supplied by Arago women traders.

Second, the brokers supplied the wholesalers particularly in the seasonal period. In periods of scarcity, Yoruba wholesale traders undertook business trips for direct purchase in the producing zones to ensure adequate supply. For example, in 1999, some Yoruba wholesale cassava flour and *gari* traders made direct purchases from the Nassarawa, Kaduna and Ondo States in order to bypass the brokers and thus maximise profits. Two business trips were made in a month to Jagidi market in Kaduna State for cassava flour and Ikare in Ondo State for *gari*.

The selling price of these commodities depended on the purchase price and other expenses incurred such as transport costs, loading, offloading and commissions to agents. A bag of *elubo* from Jagidi market cost ₦400.00 and there was an additional transport cost of ₦100.00 per bag. In Kano, a bag of *elubo* was sold at ₦600.00 in 1999.³³ Hence, traders made ₦100.00 profit per bag and approximately ₦2,000.00 profit for a trip. Yoruba *gari* traders experienced competition from Arago, Igbo, Edo and Hausa in Sabon-Gari market.

About forty-five Yoruba men and women in collaboration with Arago, Hausa, Edo and Igbo traders formed a government approved *Gari* and *Elubo* Sellers Unions. Members paid ₦10,000.00 entrance fee and a ₦50.00 development fee per month.³⁴ The trade association restricted the supply of *gari* and *elubo* in the markets to only the registered/licenced



Yoruba Woman *Elubo* Traders at Yankura Market, Kano.

Source: Fieldwork in 1999

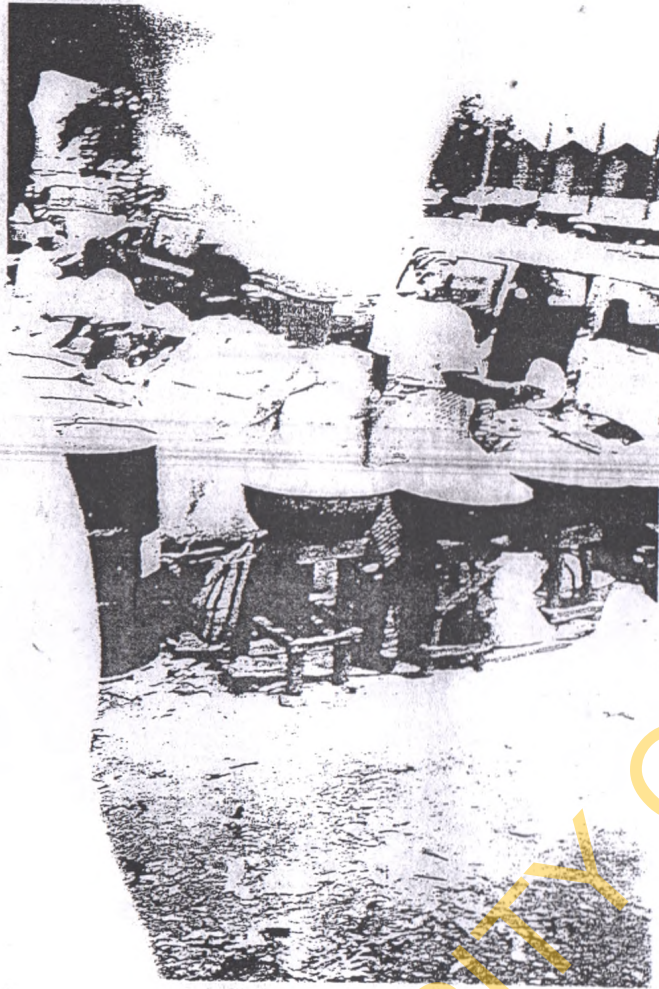


Yoruba Women *Elubo* sellers at Yandoya Market, Kano. Source: Fieldwork in 1999



Yoruba Women *Gari* and Palm Oil sellers at Yankura Market, Kano. Source:

Fieldwork in 1999



Yoruba Women *Gari* sellers at Yankura Market, Kano. Source:
Fieldwork in 1999

members. Consequently, they constituted a monopoly by controlling the supply and determining prices of the commodities in the market.

Third, some Yoruba women with inadequate working capital were also engaged as retailers of *gari* and *elubo*. In this category, only a few could afford the payment of stall rents. Hence, a substantial number of the retailers squatted in the markets or traded along the roadsides or night markets in Sabon-Gari.

Yoruba Kolanuts Traders in Kano

From the 15th century, the marketing of kolanuts involved the Hausa and the Yoruba traders as both competitors and commercial intermediaries.³⁵ By the late-19th century, the cultivation of kolanut in Yorubaland gave rise to the emergence of a new class of Yoruba and Hausa kolanuts traders who acted in competition for the supply of the commodity to Northern Nigeria.³⁶ In Kano, Ujili market in Gwammaja quarters had been utilised since the 15th century by Hausa wholesale kolanuts traders as a major depot. Until the establishment of Mariri kolanuts market in Kano, Kurmi, Sabon-Gari, Kofar Nassarawa markets and Galadima Street were the major kolanuts depots for the Yoruba traders. By 1920, some Yoruba women became exporters of kolanuts to Kano.³⁷

Indeed, the Yoruba kolanuts traders in Kano performed two major roles: Stock brokers/landlords and trading agents. In 1980 when the Mariri kolanuts market in Kano was established, many Yoruba men and women became *baale* (landlords) and *alagbata* (brokers) for the itinerant *alajapa* kolanuts suppliers. The *alajapa* traders brought kolanuts from various parts of Yorubaland; Ikare, Ilesha, Ifon, Erin, Ilobu, Ile-Ife, Ondo, Ore, Garage Olode, Ibadan, Owode, Sagamu and Oke-Igbo.³⁸ The *alajapa* traders established *alagbata/baale* whose names were inscribed on the bags of kolanuts for easy identification and supply. The *baale* or *alagbata* provided a wide range of commercial services that facilitated profitable and smooth transactions such as the sale of commodities brought by the *alajapa* to Hausa

traders in the market and informal banking services. Alhaja Kuburatu Filani from Ilesa town was the pioneer Yoruba women kolanut *alagbata* and *baale* in Mariri market.³⁹

In 1999, there were over 170 *alagbata* and *baale* in Mariri market. An average *alagbata* had apprentices. A workforce of between two to ten labourers was recruited from among both Hausa and Yoruba youths. Apprentices were employed for storage, repair and bulking of varieties of kolanuts. During poor market conditions, they were engaged as kolanuts sellers or hawkers in Kano markets. They were paid ₦20.00 daily for their services. Equally, Yoruba women traders in Kano were engaged in the purchase of kolanuts from the *alagbata* on a retail basis, which they sold in Kano markets.

During the produce season, between May and October, 50 lorry loads of kolanuts arrived in the Mariri market from Yorubaland, especially on market days (Saturdays). Apart from being a market, Kano equally served as a transit station or depot for kolanuts meant for the Maiduguri market. An *Alajapa* trader supplied about 104 bags of kolanut, on a single trip at the cost of ₦800.00 each in 1999.⁴⁰

In the Mariri Kolanut market, Yoruba traders acted as intermediaries between the *alajapa* traders from Yorubaland and the Hausa traders. The *alagbata* received the kolanuts supplied by the *Alajapa*, sold them and remitted the money. A commission of ₦20.00 was paid to the *Alagbata* per bag.⁴¹ In effect, Yoruba trader in Kano served as principal agents in the commercial linkage between Yorubaland and Hausaland. Indeed, their commercial exploits facilitated the free flow and adequate supply of goods. By 1997, the *alagbata/baale* in the Mariri kolanut market established a trade guild. Over 170 members contributed ₦10.00 as fees per week for assisting members who experienced fraud, accident or armed robbery attack or trade deficit. In addition, the accumulated capital provided short term loans for members. In a similar manner, Yoruba women, organised a trade association that was independent of the general association established together with the male traders. The women trade association mobilised resources for the adequate supply and distribution of kolanuts among its membership. ₦50.00 each was paid as fees per month.

Yoruba Groundnut Traders

In 1912, the potential of Kano as the commercial emporium in northern Nigeria was further strengthened by the groundnut trade.⁴² Indeed, the European firms employed indigenous Hausa traders who had established a network of social relations and working capital in the kolanuts trade as middlemen.⁴³ Most of the Hausa traders had earlier traversed Yorubaland, and thus were quite acquainted with the people as trading partners in kolanuts, cattle, hides and skins, cloth and European goods. This commercial process continued in the groundnut trade. For example, Umaru Sharubutu Koki, Alhasan Dantata, Adamu Jakada, Maikano Agogo and Maman Nagoda started their commercial careers in the exchange of trading articles between Kano, Gonja and Yorubaland.⁴⁴ The commercial activities of these Hausa middlemen generated considerable employment.

Some foreign commercial firms provided credit facilities known as "trust" to groundnuts middlemen. For the trade in export crops, liberal credit was a feature of European traders.⁴⁵ Indeed, the credits were considered as an advance of capital for trading purposes with the main objective of creating a monopoly and thus, excluded or limited competition. The "trust" capital was a form of credit by which goods were entrusted to groundnut middlemen by foreign merchants in the pre-harvest season for the purchase of groundnut.

The groundnut trade attracted considerable numbers of Yoruba traders who set up their weighing machines along roads leading from rural areas for the purchase of groundnuts from farmers.⁴⁶ Commercial experience in the coastal trade with Europeans and the kolanuts trade provided the Yoruba traders a niche in the groundnut trade. However, most of them became sub-agents in the service of Hausa and Syrian traders as a result of inadequate working capital. Hausa and Syrian traders in their rivalry with each other, lent weighing machines, supplied empty bags and advanced capital to the Yoruba traders. The objective was to create monopolies or exclusive spheres of trade.

In their dealings with the rural areas, groundnut intermediaries employed the "trust" extensively to guarantee adequate supplies of produce. There were allegations of fraudulent practices in the credit transaction. For example, in the 1913 groundnut season, there were cases of Yoruba in Kano who allegedly imposed prices on the peasants. By this, they made profits by resale to the merchants. Their profit often amounted to £1 per ton. In addition, some were alleged to have ran away with the capital advances collected from firms. One firm reported that it lost as much as £800 per year on such advances while another reported a loss of £500 lent to a groundnut intermediary.⁴⁷ Nonetheless, European firms continued to extend credit mainly because it was indispensable to trade and the competition that kept them in business.⁴⁸ But the colonial authority directed the Comptroller of Customs to inspect produce offered for sale at the ports and interior markets. Vendors who contravened the standard regulations were fined. In Kano, the purchase of groundnut was centralised in order to exert government control over transactions. In 1917, the intermediaries were described as 'a mere parasite of the industry, whose operations add to the price, but not to the value of an article.'⁴⁹ Their multiplication, a scenario Lugard described as 'an undesirable influx of aliens from the south,' was considered a burden on trade.⁵⁰

In 1920, the groundnut boom transformed Yoruba enterprise in the groundnut trade. First, the middlemen position or Hausa merchants was challenged by the influx of Levantine and Arab immigrants who provided capital and offered commissions to Yoruba groundnut buying agents. Second, the commercial opportunities in trading during the inter-war period enabled many Yoruba staff of the European firms to resign and become independent traders. For example, S. A. Fajemisin from Ilesa resigned from the services of the United African Company and became a groundnut agent for the Company. He employed about five clerks and buying agents.⁵¹

Fajemisin established himself as a groundnut trader in Kiyawa.⁵² In 1929, he used his lorries for the foodstuffs trade between Kano and Ibadan. He invested money derived from the groundnut and foodstuffs trades in buying plots of land and estates in Sabon-Gari, Kano. He held the post of Secretary-General Sabon-Gari Plot Holders Association in 1943.⁵³ In 1944, he became one of the auctioneers of the British. He auctioned plots of land not only in Sabon-Gari but also in the neighbouring residential areas such as Gwagwarwa. By 1948, Fajemisin, was one of the richest Yoruba traders in the Sabon-Gari market.⁵⁴ Fajemisin was a prominent member of the Action Group (A.G.).

There were other categories of Yoruba groundnut traders who acted as sub-agents for Yoruba, Hausa and Levantine traders. Prominent among them were M. O. Origboye from Akuru Akoko, C. A. Giwa from Ekiti, for Momoh Nagoda; S. A. Fajemisin who was an agent of the U. A. C. between 1920 and 1950; Ilesanmi Awoloto from Owo, an agent of Alhassan Dantata between 1930 and 1950; Stephen Olayinka Okolo from Awe, an agent of the Lebanese and Syrians between 1920 and 1950 and J. S. Adebayo from Abeokuta, an agent of Clude Stores between 1930s and 1950s.⁵⁵ Before the end of the Second World War, about six Yoruba groundnut agents emerged in Kano, namely Adigun, Adedehinbo, Amac, Funsho, Jose and Babalola who operated in competition with Igbo entrepreneurs.⁵⁶ In this way, Hausa farmers and traders; European, Syrian and Levantine firms; and Yoruba traders were involved in a complex hierarchy, interconnected market relations and credit.

In addition, by the late 1940s, there were 950 middlemen directly accredited to the European firms. An estimate of 2,000 to 2,500 buying agents delivered groundnut to these middlemen and between 3,500 to 4,500 sub-agents, mostly Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba and Levantine Arabs were employed. Some groundnut middlemen such as Alhassan Dantata provided capital of £500 to £1,000 as advances, which were distributed to farmers through his agents.⁵⁷ The agents were offered commissions of £15 to £20 per ton of groundnuts purchased. The commissions represented about two per cent of the produce price with transport and other related expenses excluded. The meager earnings of the sub-agents were not sufficient to make up capital to qualify them as licenced agents.⁵⁸

Although Yoruba traders operated with small capital, small stocks and low profits, they provided the essential commercial linkages between the Hausa merchants and the farmers. Equally, the transport and clerical services provided by the Yoruba equally aided the growth of the groundnut trade. For example, Alhassan Dantata, a groundnut trader, had about thirty-six lorries for the groundnut trade and employed drivers who were mainly Yoruba, Hausa and Ghanaians. His senior and personal driver was Alhaji Abdul Salami, a Yoruba driver from Ikirun town. Alhaji Abdul Salami worked with Alhassan Dantata between 1930 and 1949, first as a groundnut lorry driver then as his personal driver. In 1949, he bought two Dodge and Husting lorries from Alhassan and his son, Sanusi Dantata, and thus became an independent transporter.⁵⁹

Ijesa (*Osomaalo*) Textile Traders

Ijesa Yoruba were traditionally associated with *Osomaalo* itinerant or long distance textile trading. The *Osomaalo* textile trade denotes a credit system in which prospective buyers were persuaded to pay installmentally. It was a trading strategy that was traditionally used by the Ijesa Yoruba traders. In the *Osomaalo* credit system, the normal price of cloth was increased two fold. The buyer paid the first half, which was the real value of the cloth, while the other half was paid installmentally on a monthly basis. *Osomaalo* was local adaptation of European business strategies during the period of legitimate trade.⁶⁰ The word *Osomaalo* was derived from the Ijesa statement, '*Oso ni maalo kimi to gboom*,' meaning, 'I shall stay here (in front of debtor's house) in squatting position until my money is paid,'⁶¹ or 'I will squat down until I'm paid.'⁶² The *Osomaalo* trader was reputed to be an entrepreneur who did not entertain the idea of a 'bad debt.' The *Osomaalo* credit system permit the seller to recover outstanding debts by force from any customer who might have defaulted in the instalmental payments for goods purchased. *Osomaalo* often used force as the last resort to recover debt by demonstration his nuisance value when dealing with a stubborn debtor.⁶³ As Aluko emphasised,

The *Osomaalo* credit system resembled that of the Europeans, but from the initial stage, its credit cycle recognised no debt as bad, neither did the *Osomaalo*

believe in the need for any court procedure to collect his money. To him, the power to enforce payment was both extensive and ethical, and vested in the creditor.⁶⁴

The Ijesa through *Osomaalo* introduced the hire-purchase system into the Nigerian business ethos. They sell imported cloths and collect money, forcibly atimes, over agreed periods of time.⁶⁵

Osomaalo traders started trading on foot but later used bicycles. From 1912, the construction of Lagos-Kano railroad further gave impetus to *Osomaalo* trading activities in northern Nigeria, especially Ilorin, Bida, Minna, Pategi, Lokoja, Zaria and Kano.⁶⁶ Despite the expensive nature of the *Osomaalo* cloths compared to those in urban markets and the forceful debt collection methods, rural dwellers continued to patronise *Osomaalo* traders since they had no alternative.⁶⁷ The rural neglect under colonial rule with the apparent lack of infrastructure and the high cost of transportation made the patronage of *Osomaalo* inevitable. Ultimately, *Osomaalo* thrived on the contradictions in the British colonial policies. The local production of textile declined not only because of the colonial demand for raw cotton, 'cotton imperialism,' but the shift of labour to agricultural production. The low prices paid by the British firms for cash crops produced in the rural areas affected people's ability to buy imported textile without credit. During the depression, prices of produce were low and taxes were high which led to shrinkage in living standard.

In Kano, *Osomaalo* was the major commercial identity among the early Ijesa migrant traders. In order to aculturate into the local society, many *Osomaalo* Christian traders adopted (business) Muslim names. A network of businesses was developed between the Ijesa textile wholesalers who sold on credit both within the city and their agents (retailers) in the rural areas. The wholesalers supplied the retailers cloth on a credit basis. The *Osomaalo* system reached its height about 1929 as a result of the scarcity of imported cloth.⁶⁸ A high proportion of male and female Ijesa Yoruba migrants were engaged in the *Osomaalo* trade.

Although the *Osomaalo* trade was lucrative, it was equally risky and labour intensive. The *ljesa Osomaalo* male traders travelled between Kano and rural areas. Very often, debts were recovered through provocative disputes and created commercial mistrust. *ljesa* women *Osomaalo* traded in textiles, creams, jewelries, metal plates, baby wears, and metal water containers in the city or to nearby distance rural areas.⁶⁹

During the 1930s and 1940s, *Osomaalo* traders supplied imported cloths in many parts of northern Nigeria. They brought imported machine-cloth from urban markets to sell in rural areas on credit. *Osomaalo* traders occupied marketing gap in the distribution of machine-woven cloth, which was later, filled when better roads and motor transport gave rural dwellers easier access to large urban markets. *Osomaalo* traders also supplied imported cloths used in making school uniforms.⁷⁰

By 1950, some *ljesa Yoruba Osomaalo* traders became wealthy and competed with the Lebanese textile traders in the Kwari market, Kano. Prominent among them were Adewusi Omole, Osobu Arowosegbe, Baba Okere and Shuaibu. Wealthy *Osomaalo* traders organised apprenticeship schemes for the expansion of their businesses and their capital base. Apprentices were recruited from kinship networks. For a start, the master gave apprentices £10 to £20 to trade for them. On completion of the apprenticeship scheme, which lasted for two to three years, apprentices were given £10 working capital for their own businesses. Over the years, the *Osomaalo* strategy produced generations of prominent *ljesa Yoruba* entrepreneurs. A considerable number of *ljesa Yoruba* migrants to Kano before the 1967-1970 civil war were involved in *Osomaalo*.

From 1970, however, the expanding textile commerce, the spread of western education among the Hausa and new economic opportunities occasioned by the oil boom, contributed to the decline of *Osomaalo* trading activities. They equally faced competition from Hausa and Nupe textile traders. *Osomaalo* traders invested their capital in transport and corn mill trade. In the transport sector, *Osomaalo* traders practiced the vehicle hire purchase scheme under which he could repossess the vehicle if the buyer defaulted in the instalmental payments. (Aluko: 27).

Yoruba Auto-Spare Parts Traders in Kano

The auto-spare parts trade began in Lagos in 1920 as part of the commercial enterprise of some expatriates and some indigenous motor dealers. For example, J. Allen and Company Limited, W. A. Dawodu, J. D. E. Abiola and other motor dealers established auto-spare parts shops as subsidiaries of their transport companies.⁷¹ In 1950, some Yoruba who worked as store keepers with the U.A.C. Motors, C.F.A.O. Motors Limited and Leventis Motors Limited became auto-spare parts dealers for the companies or acted as independent traders.⁷²

Indeed, the establishment of vehicle overhauling or repair workshops gave a boost to the auto-spare parts trade. In Kano, some pioneer spare parts traders were the Lebanese, Igbo and Yoruba former staff of the motor companies or repair workshops, the Northern Electrical Engineering Company established in 1955 by Yoruba artisans in Kano, and the *ljesa Osomaalo* traders.⁷³ For example, one of the pioneer auto-spare parts traders in Kano was Baba Olu, an *ljesa Yoruba* and a former employee of the U. A. C., Kano. In 1955, he had established his auto-spare parts shop at Galadima Road. Igbo transporters, in particular Jideofor, Joseph Ojukwu, C. A. Udefuna, Z. C. Okonkwo, J. C. Moneke and P. E. Najofor, sold spare parts.

In 1960, Chief J. O. Ogundare, an *Osomaalo* trader, became a lorry transporter along the Gezawa- Jogana route and was one of the leading spare parts traders in Kano. He was one of the agents of Odutola Tyresole, Kano, Michelin; R. T. Briscoe and the U.A.C. Motors.⁷⁴ In 1964, more Igbo entrepreneurs who had been displaced by the Northernisation policy in the groundnut trade moved into the spare parts trade, but their enterprise was disrupted by the Civil War 1967- 1970. During Civil War period, Yoruba spare parts traders consolidated their trading positions.

In 1970, when many Igbo traders returned to Kano, they invested mostly in auto-spare parts. Between 1970 and 1975, Yoruba and Igbo traders were engaged in stiff competition.⁷⁵ This was partly because the trade became lucrative in the era of the oil boom and Udoji Salary

Awards which led to the expansion in the road transport sector, and the purchase of vehicles by civil servants and others.

In 1980, over 60 per cent of the auto-spare parts trade in Kano was controlled by the Igbo due to apprenticeship schemes, adequate capital outlays, the manufacturing of auto-spare parts at Nnewi, international business networks and above all cultural strategies. Indeed, the Igbo's inclination to take risks in business accounts for their supremacy over the Yoruba in the auto-spare parts trade. Through clan solidarity and networks, Igbo entrepreneurs displaced Yoruba competitors and rapidly established a virtual monopoly in the wholesale and retail spare parts trade.

On 30th August, 1996, two prominent auto spare parts dealers in Kano: Chief Eugene Onwuka (Igbo) and Chief S.O. Ajala (Yoruba) spearheaded the formation of a multi-ethnic Auto Spare Parts Dealers Association, Kano.⁷⁶ The Association was aimed at helping members during problems, especially robbery attacks, debt recovery and settlement of disputes. It was similarly aimed at assisting the police in curbing criminal activities by issuing spare parts dealers' receipts to members. Members were instructed against transactions in stolen spare parts and vehicles. Pioneer meetings were held at Nnewi Hall, No 22, New Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano.⁷⁷ In 1997, the secretariat of the Association was established in the house of the grand patron, Chief J. O. Ogundare at Ogbomoso Avenue, Sabon-Gari, Kano. The multi-ethnic trade Association had Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba as members.

Membership spread across ethnic groups as follows:

Igbo -	65 per cent
Yoruba -	30 per cent
Edo -	25 per cent
Hausa -	10 per cent

Source: The Secretariat of Auto-Spare Parts Dealers Association, Kano.

The Association has nine zones in metropolitan Kano: Abuja (France) Road, Niger Road, Awolowo (Church) Road, Ogbomoso (Yoruba) Road, Emir Road, New Road, Upper Court Road, Yankura and Katsina Road. Each of the zones organised meetings on monthly basis. General meetings were held twice a year in June and November. Members paid a monthly subscription of ₦200.00 and dealers receipts were issued at ₦500.00, fines ₦1,000.00 and admission fee of ₦1,000.00.

Yoruba Women Traditional Herbalists in Kano.

In metropolitan Kano, Yoruba women enterprises in traditional medicine (*agbo ewe-omo* and *leku-leja*) represent a cultural manifestation of a trading community. Their services included ritual or religious affairs, concoctions for different stages in children's development such as teething, walking and other health care and herbal remedies for adult diseases or ailments.

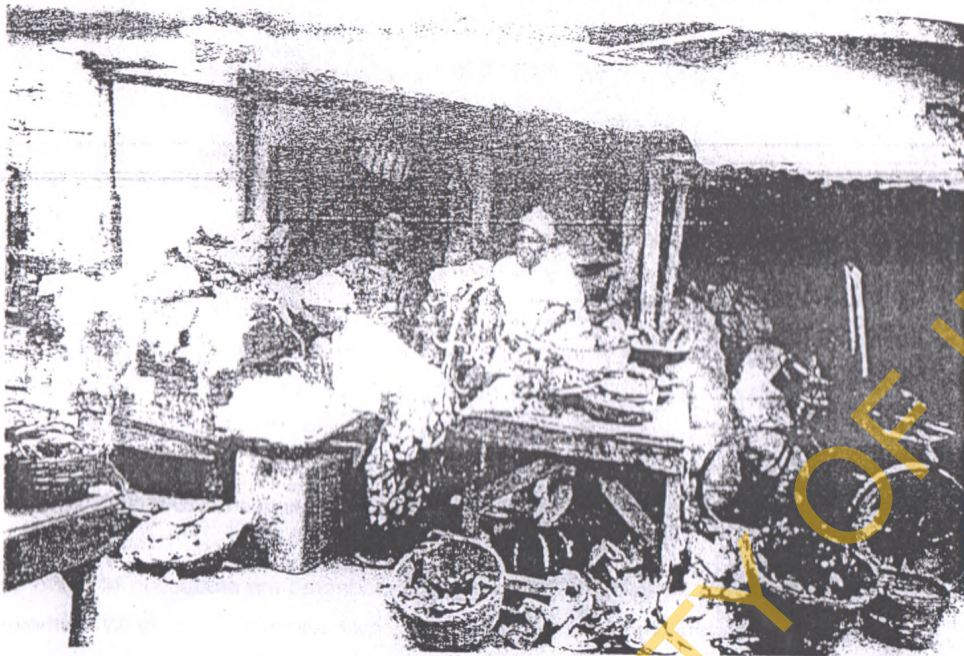
A striking feature of the herbalist profession was its kinship orientation in recruitment or training. In Yoruba tradition, training or recruitment in herbalist skills was considered sacred. As such, in most instances parents bequeath the knowledge to their descendants.⁷⁸ Training takes a long time for adequate knowledge of herbal remedies for diseases. Subsequently, herbal knowledge was limited to family units or kinship groups.

In Kano, the Aiyegoro, an Awori family from Lagos pioneered the production of *agbo*, a Yoruba traditional herbal medicine for fever and other ailments.⁷⁹ Alhaja Wusamotu Aiyegoro migrated to Kano in search of expanded market opportunities. She trained her siblings and invited her sisters from Lagos who joined in the business. They included: Motayo Aiyegoro, Iya Abiba, Sidikat Ayeigoro, Abata Ajose and Medinat Lasisi.

In 1975, there were about twenty-nine Yoruba women herbal medicine sellers in Sabon-Gari market and about five in Yakasai and Kurmi markets.⁸⁰ There was competition between Hausa and Yoruba herbalists in terms of access to raw materials and market. Yoruba women formed trading links with Hausa hunters or traders from the rural areas who

supplied skins and parts of wild animals such as wolf, hyena, porcupine, boa-constrictor, heads and feathers of birds such as hawk, vulture, bat, owl and, pigeon. Itinerant Yoruba traders from *Oja 'Ba* market, Ibadan, usually supplied tree bark, roots and leaves called *egbogi*. In addition, they sold local medicine ingredients including black soap (*ose dudu*), ginger, alligator pepper, spices, cowry shells, sponge, animal horns and palm kernel oil (*adi*).

Yoruba women Herbalists at Yankura Market, Kano. Source: Fieldwork in 1999



In 1980, the trade in herbal medicine had taken two major dimensions: hawking of *agbo* and apprenticeship scheme. A high proportion of women (mostly unmarried or single mothers) who engaged in hawking of *agbo* for fever and piles were mostly Muslims from Ilorin town. Usually, they were recruited by mistresses whom they worked for while receiving training. The increasing urbanisation and large market for (*agbo*) mainly among

the male folk for sexual ailments further boosted Ilorin women enterprises in Kano. In 1990, they were over 500 who resided in residential suburbs including Kurma Asabe, Bachirawa, and Rijia Lemo. In 1999, a cup of *agbo* was sold for ₦10.00. In sum, a woman might sell *agbo* worth ₦2,000 a day and received a commission of about ₦200.00 for her services.⁸¹ In the 1990s, apprenticeship scheme was introduced in the herbalist profession. Apprentices paid ₦5,000.00 to ₦10,000.00 fees for five years training.

In the herbalist profession, two types of commercial relationships existed between Yoruba men and women: complementarity and competitive (relationships). At the complimentary level, Yoruba women provided essential ingredients for the Yoruba men herbalists. Competition was of two categories: from Yoruba men who practised herbalism in Kano and the itinerant herbalists who sold *agunmu* (herbal powder), syrups and soaps for various ailments. They traversed major markets and streets in metropolitan Kano.

Yoruba men and women herbalists jointly formed a trade association known as Elewe-omo. The association organised a co-operative venture ₦100.00 to ₦200.00 was contributed by members on weekly basis, which they collected in rotation.⁸² Yoruba herbalists periodically organised Trade-Medicine Trade Fairs at the Ado Bayero Square, Sabon-Gari, Kano. Another trade association was Oredola Cultural Club, which was formed in May 1999 as an association of Yoruba men and women herbalists.⁸³ It was formed for the mutual assistance of members. Meetings were scheduled weekly and members paid ₦50.00 as dues. As a trade guild, the club maintained professional discipline and dealt severely with amateur herbalists or fraudsters.

The association had its own police *Olopa egbe* who maintained security and "arrested" erring members. The association organised *Ajo* (weekly contribution) in which they contributed money and collected in rotation to aid members' businesses. The association similarly assisted in treating the clients of members with complicated cases. They bought herbal medicine in bulk and shared among members. The club was registered with the

Kano State Government and collaborates with the Kano State Herbal Association of *Gargajiya* in maintaining professional ethics.

Ijebu Women Entrepreneurs in the Soda Soap Industry

During the Second World War, import restrictions stimulated the development of local industries for the manufacture of essential commodities such as soap, milk, sugar and other commodities.⁸⁴ Indeed, the limited shipping space and the closure of many export markets in Europe led to acute shortages and consequently high prices for imported goods. Thus, local materials were utilised for the production of import substitutes. Between 1948 and 1952, a total of four applications were received for the establishment of soap factories in Kano.⁸⁵

Among the Yoruba, the traditional soap industry was revived to cater for the scarcity during the war. In addition, the Wesleyan Mission at Sagamu encouraged the local production of soap from coconut ingredients.⁸⁶ Further attempts were made by Ijebu women who had been trained by the Christian Missionary centres in the production of soda soap. The major ingredients for soda soap production include palm oil and caustic soda. By the end of the Second World War, a considerable number of Ijebu women were employed or engaged in the soda soap production due to its lucrative nature and wider market. Soda soap production became an exclusive preserve of the Ijebu women who spread the skill to other parts of Nigeria. In Kano, Madam Bewaji Adebola Badejo pioneered soda soap production. After her training at Ijebu-Igbo, she began the production of soda soap at Ibadan. In 1950, she joined her husband who owned Adebola Printing Press in Kano.⁸⁷

Initially, the production of soda soap began on a small scale due to competition from the indigenous Hausa "*sabulu*" soap. In 1955, soda soap became popular due to its perceived medical capacity for curing exaema and skin rashes among other uses. Subsequently, the prospects for lucrative enterprise in the soda soap industry induced the migration of other Ijebu women to Kano. These included Iya Saanu, Raliat Agbaje, Ajoke Adesina, Anike Quadri, Nimota Olarenwaju and Mama Sule.⁸⁸

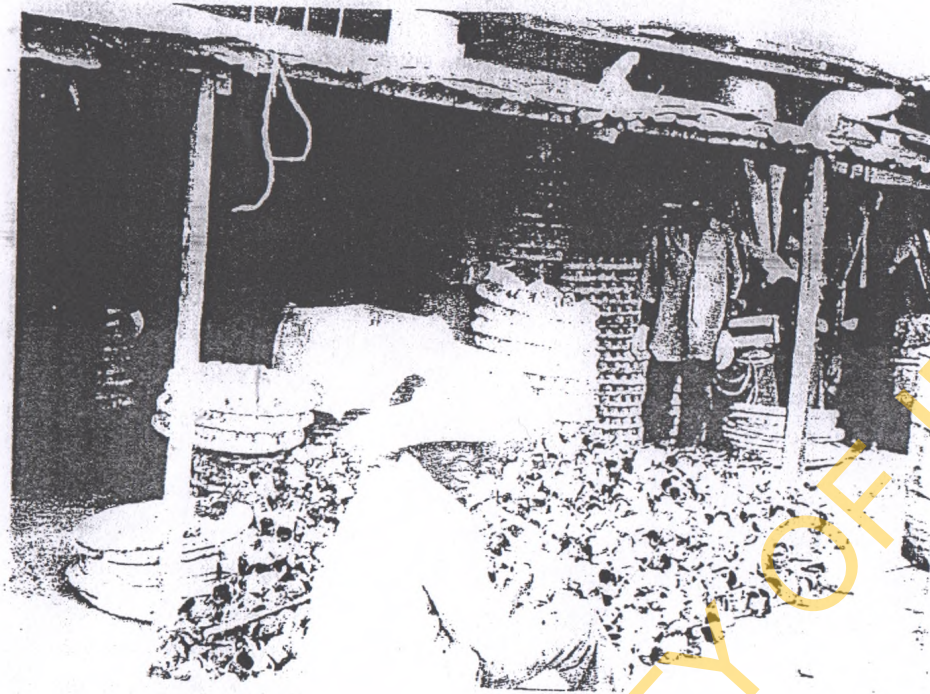
In 1962, the number of Ijebu women soda soap makers had increased to over 300 which further influenced employment of labour and training.⁸⁹ They concentrated mostly in the Sabon-Gari market. Through kinship and social networks, the Ijebu women soda soap makers formed a trade guild. The target was production regulation for the control of supplies into the market and the stability of prices. Thus, a production chart was drawn with members taking production turns. The quantity and schedule of production was arranged according to seniority. For example, while the senior soda soap makers prepared between three to six barrels in two weeks, the new entrants prepared only one barrel of soda soap in fifteen days.⁹⁰ The strategy was to limit competition and prevent surplus production that could lead to a fall in prices. For implementation, officials were appointed among the members to monitor production schedules. Defaulters were fined two shillings or banned from production for a specific period of time. Although the informal production arrangement lacked the anonymity of free enterprise, it allowed soda soap makers to maximise profits.

By 1985, however, there was a distortion in the production schedule of the trade guild. The production sites of soda soap were relocated to Yandoya market and Kwanar Ungogo due to the fire outbreaks and the subsequent rebuilding and reorganisation of the Sabon-Gari market. Thus, the trade guild became weakened in its operation, and subsequently, individual soda soap makers embarked upon production according to capacity. A substantial volume of soda soap was usually produced during the dry (harmattan) season, since heat and rainwater destroy caustic soda and the production processes. During the period, an average soda soap maker produce 500 trays of soda soap per day. A tray contains five dozens of soda soap and in sum, a total of 30,000 soda soap per day. Ijebu women soda makers started competing fiercely for markets. Of the 200 soda soap makers that relocated to Yandoya market in 1985, only fifty remained in 1999.⁹¹

Labour Recruitment in Soda Soap Industry

In terms of labour recruitment, the soda soap industry exhibited an uncommon gender division of labour. Hausa men were employed by Yoruba women for the labour intensive

soda soap production as casual workers, particularly during the dry season when labour had been released from the agricultural sector in the rural areas. In 1999, an average Yoruba women soda soap maker employed between ten to twelve Hausa casual labourers as follows:



Hausa workers at Yoruba women Soda Soap production sites at Yankura Market, Kano. Source: Fieldwork in 2000

Table 4.6 : Employment and Wage Rate in Soda Soap Industry in 1999

S/N	Job Description	Wage Rate
1.	<i>Mairuwa</i> : fetching water	₦ 25.00 per 10 gallons
2.	Heating/frying of palm oil	₦150.00 per barrel
3.	<i>Suba</i> : mixture/stirring of caustic soda with heated palm oil	₦ 900.00 per 1 barrel of caustic soda and 2 barrels of palm oil
4.	<i>Gongoni</i> : arrangement of soda soap cans on trays	₦500.00 per 500 trays
5.	<i>Aikin Soda</i> : measurement of Soda soap into the cans	₦500.00 per trays
6.	<i>Yipara</i> : removal of soda soap from cans	₦500.00 per 500 trays (30,000 soda soap)
7.	<i>Apati</i> : supply of wooden cartons	₦20.00 per carton
8.	<i>Takarda</i> : supply of papers	₦2,400.00 per 10 dozen
9.	<i>Kasa Apati</i> : preparing the cartons with paper.	₦20.00 per 10 carton
10.	<i>Dare Soda</i> : packing and rope tightening of cartons.	₦100.00 per 10 cartons
11.	<i>Tiriç</i> : total cover and sealing of cartons for long distance trade (for example export to Niger Republic)	₦100.00 per 10 cartons
12.	<i>Alaru</i> : head loading of soda soap cartons to the markets or motor parks	₦55.00 per 10 cartons
	TOTAL	₦ 5,300.00

Source: Fieldwork in Yandoya Market, 1999.

Cost of Production in Soda Soap Industry

Since the mid-1980s, the Structural Adjustment Programme generated deepening economic crises that led to inflation in the costs of goods and services. In essence, the cost of local and imported capital goods or raw materials increased substantially. For the soda soap industry, the cost of imported caustic soda, locally produced palm oil and fuel (wood) increased by more than 100 per cent in 1999. The following chart shows the prices of caustic soda, palm oil and fuel (wood) and labour costs in 1999.

Table 4.7: Prices in Soda Soap Industry in 1999

S/N	Commodity Labour	Price
1.	Caustic soda: supplied by Yoruba traders	₦15,600.00 per barrel
2.	Palm oil: supplied by Igbo traders	₦13,500.00 per barrel
3.	Fuel (wood): supplied by Hausa traders	₦1,000.00 per ton (head load)
4.	Labour	₦5,300.00
	TOTAL	₦36,400.00

Source: Fieldwork in Yandoya Market, 1999.

Table 4.8: Prices of Soda Soap Products in 1999.

S/N	Volume	Price
1.	Carton of Soda soap (16 dozens)	₦1,350.00
2.	1 Dozen	₦80.00
3.	1 Soda soap	₦7.00
4.	1 Plate of Soda soap pieces	₦80.00
	TOTAL	₦1,517, 100. 00

Source: Fieldwork in Yandoya Market, 1999.

Distribution Network in Soda Soap Industry

For the distribution of soda soap products, Yoruba women entrepreneurs formed an informal clientele network with Hausa traders who were engaged as *Maidilalai*-commercial intermediaries and paid on a commission basis for quick delivery of the soda soap products. Between two to three Yoruba women entrusted their soda soap products to an appointed (*Maidilalai*), particularly at the Singer (wholesale) market, who remitted money within three days.⁹² In 1999, there were over fifteen soda soap (*Maidilalai*) in the Singer market who collected a commission of ₦50.00 per carton. Equally, Yoruba women soda soap makers used their trading networks by distributing soda soap products to major markets in Funtua, Saulawa, Katsina, Daura, Keffi, Nguru; to rural markets and for export to Niger Republic.

Capital Accumulation in Soda Soap Industry

In the soda soap industry, the Ijebu Yoruba women entrepreneurs generated income from two interrelated ways: first, the sales of "waste" products such as charcoal, ashes, lids and empty barrels constituted a source of income. For example, in 1999, an empty barrel of caustic soda or palm oil cost ₦500.00.⁹³ An average of fifteen empty barrels were sold by an individual per week. Therefore, a sum of ₦7,500.00 could be earned per week from the sale of empty barrels alone.

Second, in 1999, despite the cost of production inputs and low production capacity, a soda soap maker earned a profit ranging from ₦5,000.00 to ₦10,000.00 per week. About 70 per cent of the Yoruba women entrepreneurs in the soda soap industry operated matrifocal families (female headed households) and controlled their own income.⁹⁴

Yoruba Entrepreneurs in the Bakery Industry

Pioneer bakers in Kano were Ghanaians and Sierra-Leoneans but the Lebanese introduced modern bakery technology. In 1930, a Ghanaian baker called *Ruwan Dadi* established a bakery at Yoruba Road (now Ogbomosho Avenue), Sabon-Gari, Kano. In 1938, Walker, a Sierra-Leonean whose father was a baker in Lagos established a bakery at Aitken Road (now Ogoja Avenue), Sabon-Gari, Kano.⁹⁵ This was followed, in 1944, by another bakery established by Madam Baadi, an Asaba woman. The production of bread was on a small scale due to the low level of technology and limited market. Indeed, the market for bread was low and was mainly purchased by the migrant communities in Sabon-Gari, Kano, the European and Asian communities in Kano. It was a new food item to the host community who were traditionally used to *Gurasa*, a similar food.⁹⁶ During the Second World War, a Lebanese baker, Seman Moukari, established the first modern bakery in Kano.⁹⁷

In 1950, Ijebu entrepreneurs established about five bakeries in Kano. These included Anfani Bakery at Sanyaolu Street established by Mr. Onamusi from Ijebu-Itele and Olusola Bakery established by Ijebu entrepreneurs through a partnership between Tugbobo and Ogundowo of the Holy Trinity Church, Kano.⁹⁸ The 1950s witnessed the establishment of more modern bakeries in Kano by the Lebanese using capital from the groundnut trade. In 1964, Danta Bakery was established as an attempt by an indigenous entrepreneur.⁹⁹ In 1976/77, the bakery industry in Kano State employed about 5697 workers.¹⁰⁰ About 467 bakery establishments in Kano State produced, on the average, about ₦330,000.00 worth of bread per day or almost ₦120 million per year. On a monthly basis, the industry spent over ₦561,800.00 on wages.¹⁰¹

In 1980, there were more than thirty-five Yoruba bakers in Kano. Prominent among them were Sabon Kudi Bakery, Mecca Medina Bread, Alhaji Giwa Bread, Alhaji Otun Bread, Kings Bakery, D'Rex Bakery, Betty's Clean Bread, Oredola Bakery, Allah Is One Bakery and Amana Bakery.¹⁰² The workforce in the Yoruba owned bakeries were largely recruited from among the Hausa host communities and rural migrants during the dry

season. They were employed as casual workers.¹⁰³ In 1994, a bakery casual worker received ₦30.00 per day and a food subsidy. Some of the Hausa workers later established bakeries and started competing with the Yoruba bakers. Hausa confectionery traders at the Singer market who were agents for the Nigerian Flour Mills and Golden Penny Flour Mills supplied major ingredients such as flour, sugar and yeast.

In 1990, some Yoruba entrepreneurs began the small-scale production of polythene bags for the bakery industry as well as other commercial uses. The basic raw materials for plastic bag, mainly Escorine, Broalis were purchased from Lagos, Ibadan and Kano. In 1999, the sizes and prices of polythene bag produced for the bakery industry were as follows.

Table 4.9: Prices of Polythene Bag Products in 1999

S/N	Size of Plastic Bag	Value/size of Bread	Quantity	Price
1.	7/12	₦10.00 - ₦12.00	1 Carton (10 Bundles)	₦1,600.00
2.	8 ½ /15	₦25.00	1 Carton (10 Bundles)	₦2,600.00
3.	10/16	₦30.00	1 Carton (10 Bundles)	₦3,500.00
4.	11/18	₦40.00	1 Carton (10 Bundles)	₦5,000.00
5.	13/15	₦40.00 (Round Bread)	1 Carton (10 Bundles)	₦5,500.00

Source: Fieldwork at M. Q. Falade, Fal Poly Products, Er. ir Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano in 1999.

About thirty-five polythene-products enterprises owned by the Yoruba in Kano supplied some bakers and wholesale traders in Singer market. The nature of the commercial transaction of bread is a "cash and carry" business. The wholesale supply and demand took place mostly at the bakery and in some cases through direct delivery to the appointed wholesalers. In metropolitan Kano, Yoruba women, through hawking along streets, motor parks, markets, schools and business centres, dominated the distribution of bread loaves. By 1999, they started to experience stiff competition from Hausa men and Igbo women.

One of the prominent Yoruba bakers in Kano was Daniel Olaniran, the proprietor of D. Rex Bakery (Albarka Bread), Kano. He was born at Owu, Abeokuta in 1935. Between 1948 and 1952 he attended Baptist Day School, Abeokuta for his Standard IV education. In 1952, his father's brother, E. A. Akintobi invited him to Kano. Akintobi had earlier settled at Garin Gabas, Hadejia Emirate, as a groundnut and foodstuffs trader. As an illiterate businessman he requested the services of Olaniran who acted as his clerk and interpreter. He was paid £1 salary per month.¹⁰⁴ In 1956, he left the services of Akintobi because of the low wage he received. He enrolled as an apprentice at Otun Photos, Kano.

In 1959, he received £5 from his parents at Owu and entered the foodstuffs trade. In August 1959, he joined D. O. Balogun Tailoring Centre at 50 Niger Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano. He spent three years in apprenticeship and paid £6 training fee. In 1962, he bought a sewing machine at the rate of £30 from PZ, Kano, and paid £5 for a refrigerator. He opened a provision store and a tailoring workshop at 29 Weather Head Avenue, Sabon-Gari Kano. He had four apprentices. In 1964, he was appointed a dealer for British Petroleum. He deposited £360 for a dealer's license.¹⁰⁵ The petrol service station was located at the Airforce Base, Kano. He made a profit of £30 per month. By the end of 1965, the fuel business became bankrupt. Olaniran resigned his dealership and became a distributor for PZ, G. B. Ollivant and John Holt. He received a commission of one per cent on goods he distributed. The 1966 coups and the subsequent Civil War affected his business because most of his customers left Kano. As a consequence, he invested in a bakery. In June 1967, he established the Nigerian Bakery (Nagode Allah Bread) at Kofar Mazugal, Kano. He employed a baker, Alhaji Salau Buhari as a production manager. In 1969, he renamed the bakery as D' Rex Bakery (Albarka Bread).

In 1979, he modernised the bakery and purchased an electrical oven at the cost of ₦35,000.00. In 1990, he invested over ₦250,000.00 in automatic flour mixer, bread moulder and slicer, a Kawasaki generator plant, cake baking machine and meat pie electrical oven. He employed about 20 casual workers and 3 clerks.¹⁰⁶ In the same year, he opened branches at Lamido Crescent (Badawa Quarters) Kano, and Ilesamaja, Lagos. In 1999, he diversified and invested ₦5million in Rex Foam Company at Zango Dakata, Kano.¹⁰⁷

Yoruba Enterprises in the Construction Industry

Although the colonial labour policies were based, to some extent, on forced labour for the construction of roads, railroads, officials' residences, prisons and barracks, Yoruba artisans who specialised in various skills were employed as wage labourers in such projects. In 1909, the building construction projects of the Public Works Department (PWD) were awarded on contracts to some Arab contractors who perhaps had the capital and expertise to execute such projects.¹⁰⁸ Some of the Arab contractors employed about 1000 men on 6-9 pence wage per day.¹⁰⁹ From the early 1920s, Kano city witnessed the construction of capital projects embarked upon by the colonial administration. The expansion of the construction industry meant more employment and income for Southern Nigerian artisans such as bricklayers, painters, carpenters and technicians.

During the Second World War, the strategic nature of Kano further facilitated the construction of roads, military barracks and residential quarters. By 1943, occupational statistics in Sabon-Gari Kano indicated 695 labourers, 309 carpenters, 40 painters and 28 contractors.¹¹⁰ Some of the Yoruba contractors were engaged in the construction of the Kano Aerodrome. For example, Joseph O. Ajayi, a registered contractor had about 6 sub-registered contractors under him who supplied sand, bricks and corrugated iron sheets for the construction of the Aerodrome. An average of thirteen labourers, mostly Northerners and ten Yoruba artisans were employed on a daily basis. An estimated total amount paid to workers was £143.7s.6d per day.¹¹¹

By 1950, the largest construction firms in Kano were owned by Europeans and other expatriates: G.Cappa Limited, Taylor Woodrow, Costain, D'Alberto, Stephen and Pedrocchi, Vincinazer and S.G. Bonomi. According to labour reports, some of the construction firms employed over 1,000 workers each as a result of the extensive construction programmes, a high proportion of which were recruited from among Southern Nigerian artisans.¹¹²

Between 1955 and 1958, however, two major crises adversely affected the construction industry: a strike action and inflation. First, in October 1955, a major nationwide strike organised by the Nigerian Union of Building Trade and General Workers over the increase in wages and salaries affected the construction industry for almost a month. In Kano, the African Workers Union of Messrs G. Cappa Limited organised a strike on 17th October, 1955 while undertaking a construction project at the airport terminal. Consequently, the strike action prompted the emergency meeting of the Federation of Building and Civil Engineering Contractors held on 21st October, 1955.¹¹³ A consensus agreement was reached at the meeting on the wage increase as follows:

Table 4.10 : Monthly Wage Increase 1955-56

Place and date	Labourer	Untested artisans	Trade tested artisans
Lagos -October –December 1955	£2. 0s. 5d	£5.0s. 10d	£6.0s. 9d
Lagos -1st January 1956	£3. 0s.0d	£6 0s. 6d	£7. 0s. 6d
Kano -October –December 1955	£2. 0s.5d.	£5. 0s. 6d	£6. 0s. 4d
Kano- 1st January 1956	£2. 0s. 10d	£6. 0s. 2d	£7. 0s. 1d

Source: KHCB/LAB/12: Labour Disputes Kano Province, 1955.

However, the labour union rejected the wages and salary structure and demanded for a flat rate of £7.0s. 6d per month for all artisans in both Lagos and Kano. Thus, the strike action in Kano gathered more momentum. On Friday 11th November, 1955, about 280 workers of Messrs Vicifanza Construction Company joined the industrial action. This was followed by the employees of the Geka Trading Company (a Swiss firm) that was building a new factory at Bompai by direct labour. The industrial action ended on 23rd November, 1955 when the employees agreed on the payment of £7. 0s. 6d for all artisans and £3.0s.0d for all labourers in both Kano and Lagos. However, the increase in wages and salaries in the construction industry limited the employment of more workers, particularly the skilled artisans. There were fluctuations in the demand for labour as a result of the reduction in the rate of construction projects, which adversely affected the employment of skilled artisans.

Yoruba Contractors in Kano

By 1950, the Federal and Regional governments embarked on capital projects for socio-economic development thereby creating opportunities for indigenous contractors. The construction industry in Nigeria during the period were of two categories: the 'formal sector' which consisted of the multinational contractors and very few indigenous contractors, and the "informal sector" made up of indigenous contractors who were mainly sub-contractors to the multinational contractors.¹¹⁴

in the First Development Plan, spanning from 1957 to 1961, the Federal Government awarded 253 contracts to indigenous contractors. In Northern Nigeria, fourteen contracts at an estimated value of £438,010 were awarded in 1960/61. In addition, during the Second Development Plan, between 1962 and 1968, 27 per cent of the planned projects for the period were building constructions estimated at £44.6 million.¹¹⁵

During the civil war, the priority of the Federal government was on the war, and in effect states were granted administrative autonomy on the construction of capital projects. For example, in Kano, Governor Audu Bako undertook several capital projects. In the educational sector about £1.5 million was spent on the construction of more schools within seven years.¹¹⁶ In 1969, the sum of £195,950 contract was awarded by the Kano State Ministry of Works to indigenous and expatriate firms for the construction of senior staff quarters in the Kano Government Reserve Area (GRA).¹¹⁷ Other housing estates were equally built. During this period, Paddington A. David from Ilesa was the first indigenous contractor who constructed Court road and Festing road in Sabon-Gari. In the Kano State Rural Electrification Programme, Eji Lasisi (an Ijebu Yoruba) and Arosogbale (an Egba Yoruba) were indigenous contractors that constructed some electrical projects within Kano metropolis and in the rural areas.

In the 1970s, two factors further stimulated the growth of the construction industry and promoted the activities of Yoruba contractors: the oil boom and the 1974 Udoji Salary Award. Indeed, the expansion in the construction industry spurred the emergence of more Yoruba contractors in Kano. Prominent among them were Olatunji Inaolaji, an electrical contractor from Ibadan and Chief J. A. Afelumo from Ekiti, Mr. J.O. Ogundeji from Ekiti, Alhaji G. A. Bello from Ibadan, Chief J. A. Akosile from Ekiti, Mr. Dada and Mr. R. O. Akeloko from Ekiti who were building contractors.¹¹⁸

The commercial opportunities in the construction industry created additional sources of investment for the Yoruba contractors. Capital generated from the construction works was invested in the petroleum distribution business and hotel services. Towards the end of the 1970s, however, entrepreneurs were engaged in competition for state patronage over few construction projects. By the 1980s, the construction industry further witnessed contraction generated by the twin forces of Structural Adjustment Programme and the subsequent inflation that resulted from it.

Sources of Labour Supply

In metropolitan Kano, foremen in the construction industry played a major role in the recruitment of skilled labour. From the 1920s, some of the foremen were Yoruba who also functioned as labour sub-contractors. In the recruitment patterns, foremen often relied on social connections such as kinship and neighbourhood affiliations in order to ensure quality of work and quick delivery. Thus, most foremen recruited Yoruba carpenters, bricklayers, painters, plumbers, electricians, fitters and surveyors.

In turn, the artisans employed their own workmen for specific specialisation or construction stages. From 1950, the bulk of the workforce was recruited from among the Hausa who were available for the jobs, particularly during the dry season. Labourers sometimes presented themselves at construction sites in search of work. Hausa labour contractors supplied

labourers from recruitment centres in Sabon-Gari, Fagge or other locations within the metropolis. For the recruitment, Hausa labour contractors collected commissions.¹¹⁹ The recruitment pattern had important consequences for the mechanisms of the labour market in the construction industry. Since the early 1980s, Hausa labourers had been transformed as skilled artisans such as carpenters, builders, painters as a result of constant practice and training.

By 1980, a considerable number of construction works in Kano were carried out by Hausa artisans in competition with Igbo, Edo, Yoruba, Kanuri and Fulani.¹²⁰ In 1994, a multi-ethnic association of labourers and artisans, The Independent Labour Union, was formed at Sarkin Yaki, Sabon-Gari, Kano by Hausa, Fulani, Nupe, Ebira, Yoruba, Ijaw and Igbo. It was established for the welfare of members and to coordinate construction works and environmental sanitation in Kano metropolis. In 1999, the association had 250 members. Each member paid an entrance fee of ₦1,000.00 and ₦50.00 per monthly meeting.¹²¹

Conclusion

The study of Yoruba commerce in Kano included the informal trading and public sectors of the economy. Despite fluctuations, the flow of internal foodstuffs trade continued between Yorubaland and Kano. The commercial establishments of the Yoruba trading diaspora stimulated the volume, value and variety of trade between the two regions. In the groundnuts trade, Yoruba merchants performed the dual roles of groundnut-buying agents and sub-agents that served as vital links between the farmers and the groundnut-buying agents. But Yoruba traders and artisans collaborated with other ethnic groups in the formation of trade associations in order to protect commercial interests. For the Yoruba women, their enterprises in Kano represented cases of cultural practices in a diaspora community and vital productive roles in the family economy. The employment of Hausa men in Yoruba women's commercial activities proved the linkages between the two gender and ethnic categories.

Notes

1. A. G. Hopkins, 1973, *An Economic History Of West Africa* (London: Longman Group Ltd.) pp. 58-60.
2. Potash and Onions are essential ingredients in Yoruba foods and herbal remedies. The trade in these products had increased tremendously since the Pre-colonial era. A. M. Fika. 1978, *The Kano Civil War And British Over-Rule 1882- 1940* (Ibadan: Oxford University Press) p. 148.
3. J. S. Hogendorn, 1978, *Nigerian Groundnut Export: Origin And Early Development* (Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press) p.77.
4. Northern Nigeria Annual Report 1900/1901, p. 298
5. M. S. Abdulkadir, 1990, *An Economic History of Igalaland: 1896-1939* (Ph. D. Thesis, Kano, Bayero University) pp. 414- 441.
6. A. i. Nwabugho, n.d., "The Effect Of Internal Trade Between Eastern and Northern Nigeria On British War- Time Palm Produce Demands From Eastern Nigeria 1939-45," (Department of History, University of Calabar) p.18.
7. E. K. Faluyi, 1989, "Nigeria's Contribution To The Second World War: The Production Drive," in *Nigeria Magazine*, Vol. 57, Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 96 -102.
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11. A. I. Nwabugho, n.d., "The Effect Of Internal Trade Between Eastern And Northern Nigeria ... *ibid* " p. 19 ; C. J. Korieh, 2004, "Urban Food Supply And Vulnerability In Nigeria During The Second World War," in T. Falola and S. J. Salm, (eds.), *Nigerian Cities* (Trenton: Africa World Press) pp.127-152.
12. J. N. Paden, 1968, *The Influence Of Religions Elites On Political Culture And Community Integration In Kano Nigeria* (Ph.D. Thesis, Havard University) p. 1023.
13. M. G. Smith, 1997, *Government In Kano* (Oxford: Westview Press) p.471.
14. Fieldwork in Yanlemo market, December, 1999.
15. Yanlemo market was established on 17th September, 1982 for the fruit trade. In the market, there are two major sources of supply: from Yorubaland, October to January; and Benue/Kaduna States February to June. Interview with Alhaji Muazu Yaro, 60, Chairman, Nigerian Fruits Sellers Association Kano branch, at Yanlemo market, on 19th April, 2001.
16. In 1999, there were 91 *maidilalai* in the Yanlemo market each of whom had two to five boys. 90 per cent of the *maidilalai* were Hausa and 10 per cent Yoruba, Idoma and Tiv. A trade guild was instituted, the Nigerian Fruits Sellers Association to control commercial transactions; regulate prices and maintain sanitary.

- conditions in the market. The *maidilalai* paid ₦200.00 fee per year and a sales-boy paid ₦100.00 per year. Interviews with Alhaji Abubakar Ibrahim and Alhaji Garba shehu, Vice Chairman, Nigerian Fruits Sellers Association, Kano on 19th April, 2001.
17. A similar pattern of trading strategy was pursued by female shea nut traders in Bawku market, Northeast Ghana as explained by Brenda Chalfin, 2000, "Risky Business: Economic Uncertainty, Market Reforms And Female Livelihoods In Northeast Ghana," in *Development And Change*, Vol. 31, No.5, pp. 987-1008.
 18. Interview with Alhaji Abdulkareem Akanmu, 70, at No. 21 Niger Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano on 3rd June, 2000. He had participated in the food trade with his father, Alhaji Abdulsalam Akanmu. By the early 1950s, he became a transporter and trader at Nguru and Maiduguri. He later settled at Malamadori town in Jigawa State.
 19. Interview with the family of late Alhaji Saka Adelabu on 14th April, 2000, at No 4 Weather Head Avenue Sabon-Gari, Kano.
 20. Interview with Alhaji M. Lawore at No. 15, Awolowo Avenue, Sabon-Gari, Kano 5th -7th April, 2000.
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 23. Fieldwork at Dawanau foodstuffs market Kano.
 24. Interview with Mr. S. G. Adeleru, at Dawanau market, on 20th April, 2001
 25. Interview with Alhaji Musbau Adenle and Alhaji Isa (Bereebe) at Dawanau market on 20th April, 2001.

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31. J. I. Guyer, 1997, *An African Niche Economy: Farming To Feed Ibadan, 1968-1988* (London: Edinburgh University Press) p. 61.
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33. Interviews with Alhaji Abdulwahab Olorunosebi and Alhaji Abdulraheem

Salaudeen at Galadima market on 23rd April, 2001.

34. Market survey in Yandoya, Yankura and Sabon-Gari markets, Kano, in 15th April, 2001.
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36. B. A. Agiri, 1972, *Kola In Western Nigeria 1850-1950...Op. cit* pp. 58-66.
37. Interview with Prince Adekunle Adelugba, 70, at No 66 Emir Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano on 17th May, 2000.
38. Fieldwork at the Mariri Kolanuts market 19th -25th April, 2001.
39. Interview with Alhaja Kuburatu Filani at Mariri Kolanuts market on 19th April, 2001. She migrated to Kano in 1968, during the Civil War. She began trading as a drinking water hawker in the Sabon-Gari market. By 1972, she had gathered a little capital and began a textile trade (*Osomaalo*) by collecting clothes from other Ijesa textile traders in Kwari market which she traded in the rural

- areas. By 1974, she diversified into kolanuts trade on retail basis at the Yankura market. She later became a commercial intermediary, *Alagbata*, for the Yoruba itinerant Kolanuts traders in Kofar Nasarawa market. Consequently, her skill and popularity earned her the appointment as the leader of Yoruba women Kolanuts intermediaries in Mariri market. Her own marriage and that of her daughter to Hausamen further contributed in building up her commercial network in the market.
40. Interview with Alhaji Moshood Gbolagade, 50, Secretary, Yoruba Kolanuts Sellers Association, Mariri market, Kano on 20th April, 2001.
41. Interviews with Alhaji Shehu Fasasi, 62, and Alhaji Lawal Abdul, 60, Mariri Market, Kano on 20th April, 2001.
42. J. S. Hogendorn, 1978, *Nigerian Groundnut Exports: Origins And Early Development* (Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press) pp. 3- 8.
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50. A. H. M. Kirk Greene, 1968, *Lugard And The Amalgamation Of Nigeria...* *ibid* p. 118.
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52. Interview with Chief C. A. Giwa on May 22nd, 2000.
53. A. Bako, 1990, *A Socio –Economic History...* *Op. cit* p. 148.
54. RDC \BUK\ Kano N.A. 13: Control of Tax Assessment Kano City, 1948: List of the Most Famous Traders in Sabon-Gari market and KHCB Kano \343\5,000: Rich Traders in Sabon-Gari: Income Tax Assessment 1951-1952.
55. Interview with Mr. Oladele Awoloto, 87, at No.5 Tudun wada Road, Kano 4th and 16th December, 1999 and April 11th, 2000; Mr. R. A. Adebayo, on 15th April, 2000 at No.7 Ibadan Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano; Chief C. A. Giwa; and Mrs. Dupe Ogogoh, 61.
56. Summarised from RDC/ BUK: Local Government Authority, 10 Haraji Annual Assessment Groundnut Agents 1945-1950 p.894
57. Interviews with Chief C. A. Giwa on May 23rd, 2000 and Dr. A. U. Dan Asabe, on 19th April, 2004. According to Dan Asabe, the money and materials were usually advanced from June to July when farmers experience financial difficulties.
58. I. L. Bashir, 1996, "Expatriate Companies As Agents Of Imperialism: The Niger Company -U. A. C. in Northern Nigeria 1900- 1960," in *J. H. S. N.*, Vol. 7, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 165- 66.
59. Interview with Abdulsalami, 75, Kofar Mazugal, Kano.

60. J.A. Aluko, 1993, *Osomalo: the Early Exploits of the Ijesa Entrepreneur*, (Ibadan: African Book Builders), p. 15.
61. J.A. Aluko, 1993, *Osomalo...* *ibid* p. 10.
62. E. P. Renne, 1995, *Cloth That Does Not Die: The Meaning of Cloth in Bunu Social Life*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press), 175.
63. J.A. Aluko, 1993, *Osomalo...* *ibid* p. 11.
64. J.A. Aluko, 1993, *Osomalo...* *ibid*, p. 14.
65. O. Ekande, "A Socio-Geographic Analysis of the Present Ijesaland," in *Nigeria Magazine*, No. 148, 1984, p. 31.
66. J. A. Aluko, 1993, *Osomalo...* *ibid*, p. 16.
67. E. P. Renne, 1995, *Cloth That Does Not Die...* *ibid*, p. 179.
68. Interview with Mr. L.O. Olowokere, 65, Festing Road Sabon-Gari, Kano on 6th September, 2000 and L. Tragger, 2001, *Yoruba Hometowns: Community, Identity, And Development In Nigeria* (Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers) pp. 59-68.
69. Interview with Mr. Samuel F. Olowookere, 60, at No 12A Festing Road, Sabon-Gari Kano on 8th September, 2000. He attended Local Authority School, Ilesa Osun State between 1956 and 1962. In 1963, he migrated to Kano and joined Mr. Adewusi Omole, the leader of the Ijesa Traders in Kwari market as an apprentice. In the company of other *Osomaalo* traders, he traded clothes for his master on credit in rural areas such as Gaya, Labura Zango, Birnin Kudu and Kademi. After two years of appreticeship, he was given a capital of £10 to start his own

business. By 1973, he diversified into transport and bought a Lada Car for taxi business. In 1977, he established Jerry Motors, and started a car hire purchase business using the *Osomaalo* strategy.

70. E. P. Renne, 1995, *Cloth That Does Not Die...* *ibid*, pp. 173, 175 and 178.

71. T. Forrest, 1994, *The Advance Of African Capital... Op. cit* pp. 20-21.

72. AHAK/ND/A19: U.A.C. in the North: The United African Company of Nigeria Limited (Zania: Gaskiya Corporation) pp. 2-10 and for other Motor Companies; and *Times Trade And Industrial Directory* 1977-78 (Lagos: Times Press Limited) p. 72.

73. Interview with Pa R. A. Adebayo, 81, on 15th April, 2000 at No 7 Ibadan Road, Sabon-Gari Kano. He was brought to Kano by his parents in 1923. In 1949, he joined the U.A.C Motors, Gidan Goldie, Kano as a transit clerk. Mr. Caleb Fabode, Managing Director, F. A. O. Electrical and Technical Company Limited, No 7A Egbe Road, Kano was interviewed on 11th June, 2000 and Chief Joseph C. Ojukwu, No.28, Emir Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano interviewed on 6th March, 2004.

74. Interview with Mr. Samuel F.Olowookere.

75. N.F. Nwaugo, 2000, *Ibo Spare Parts Entrepreneurs In Kano Metropolis: A Case Study Of Automobile Spare Parts 1970-1998* (M. A. History Dissertation, Kano, Bayero University) p.109.

76. Interview with Mr. Obinwa Akwueke, 59, Public Relations Officer, Niger Road Sabon-Gari, Kano on 15th November, 1999.

77. Interview with Mr. Obinwa Akwueke on 15th November, 1999.

78. Many Yoruba occupations were traditionally organised within particular family compounds or descent groups, J. S. Eades, 1980, *The Yoruba Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press) p. 85.

79. Interviews with Alhaja Medinat Lasisi, 80, at Sabon-Gari Market on 12th February, 2000; Alhaji Lasisi Efura, 78, Chairman, *Elewe- Omo Trade Association*, Kano and Mr. Sulaiman Adeniyi Oyekola, 73, at No 5, Weather Head, Sabon-Gari Kano on 15th March, 2000.

80. Interview with Mrs. Jumoke Lukman, 46, at Sabon-Gari Market; Alhaja

Fatima Ajike, 58, and Hajjiya Amina Mai Randa Tara at the Rimi market Yankassai quarters, Kano on 15th February and 16th December, 2000. Interview with Hajjiya Amina Mai Randa Tara, 73, presents a striking commercial rivalry between the Camerounian Hausa woman and Yoruba women traditional medicinetraders in the market. She placed about two sign boards in her stall with the inscription written in Hausa: Hajjiya Amina *Mai randa Tara Sa Hausiya Ce Sa Sayerabiya bace*. Meaning: "Hajjiya Amina owner of nine pots is a Hausa woman, not a Yoruba Woman." According to her, she came to Nigeria from Cameroon during the visit of President Ahmadu Ahidjo in the 1950s and later settled in Kano in the 1960s where she married a Hausa man. In Kano, she set up a stall in the Rimi market for herbal medicine (*Maganin Shawara, Maganin Cikin*

Jiki) the knowledge of which she acquired from her family in Cameroon.

81. Interview with Alhaja Risikatu Ismail, 64, at Sabon-Gari Market, Kano on 16th June, 2000.

82. By 1999, there were over 315 Yoruba herbalists in metropolitan Kano. A trade association, Nigerian Union of Herbalists " *Agbomola*" was formed and registered under the Federal Ministry of Health. The association had 4 branches, in Kurna Asabe, Brigade Quarters, Sabon-Gari and Kuskure. Meetings were held fortnightly and members contributed a sum of ₦20.00 as fees. Interviews with Chief Idris Dopemu, the Baba Apesinola of Yoruba Herbalists in Kano at Rijiar Lemo quarters, Kano on 10th February, 2000 and Alhaji Lasisi Efura on 14th February, 2000.

83. Interview with Alhaji Lasisi Efura, 78, at Abedie Street, Sabon-Gari Kano on 30th April, 2000.

84. E. K. Faluyi, 1996, "The Economic Impact Of The World Wars," in G. O. Ogunremi and E. K. Faluyi, (eds.), *Economic History Of West Africa* (Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication) pp. 140-150.

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86. E. A. Ayandele, 1992, *The Ijebu Of Yorubaland...Op. cit* p. 214.

87. Interviews with Rev. I. Ola Badejo, 80, Alhaja Mama Sule, 75, Alhaja Raliat

Agbaje, 61, and Madam Ajoke Adesina, 64, between December 1999 and February, 2001.

88. Interview with Alhaja Mama Sule, at Abuja Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano on 9th December 2000 and 12th February, 2001.

89. Interviews with Alhaja Mama Sule, Alhaja Raliat Agbaje and Madam Ajoke Adesina on 12th February, 2001.

90. Group interview with Ijebu Yoruba women at the Yandoya Market, Kano in March, 2001.

91. Interview with Alhaja Mama Sule on 12th February, 2001.

92. Interview with Alhaja Mama Sule on 12th February, 2001.

93. Group interview with Ijebu Yoruba women at the Yandoya market, Kano 4th March, 2001.

94. H. I. Safa, 1995, *The Myth Of The Male Breadwinner; Women And Industrialisation In The Carribbean* (Boulder: Westview Press) and Catherine-Vidrovitch, 1997, *African Women: A Modern History* (Boulder: Westview Press).

95. Interview with Madam Ami Walker, 78, at Ogoja Avenue, Sabon-Gari Kano on 23rd March, 2000.

96. According to I. A. Kiyawa, the demand for bread had resistance from people out of sheer reluctance to accept anything

new and the spread of a rumour that alcohol (strictly forbidden in Islam) served as part of the ingredients for the making of bread. It was not until the mid 1960s and early 1970s that bread came to be fully accepted in the society. I. A. Kiyawa, 1981, *Indigenours Enterprineurship In Kano State Nigeria* (Ph. D. Thesis, New York, Syracuse University) p. 91.

97. S. A. Albasu, *The Lebanese In Kano...Op. cit* p. 267.
98. Interview with Daniel Olaniran, 60, Managing Director, D. Rex Bakery, 30 Airport Road, Kano on 13th December, 2000.
99. T. Forrest, 1994, *The Advance of African Capital...Op. cit* p. 208.
100. I. A. Kiyawa, 1981, *Indigenous Enterprneurship... Op. cit* p. 98.
101. I. A. Kiyawa, 1981, *Indigenous Enterprneurship ...Ibid*.
102. Interview with Daniel Olaniran and Mrs. I. Adedotun, 59, Managing Director, Oredola Bakery, Niger Road, Sabon-Gari Kano on 9th December, 2000.
103. A comparative fieldwork experience in metropolitan Dakar between October and November, 2000.
104. Interview with Mr. Daniel Olaniran at No.30, Airport Road, Kano on 13th December, 2000.
105. Interview with Mr. Daniel Olaniran on 13th December, 2000.

106. Interview with Mr. Daniel Olaniran on 13th December, 2000.
107. Interview with Mr. Daniel Olaniran on 13th December, 2000.
108. S. Bello, 1982, *State And Economy In Kano 1884-1960: A Study Of Colonial Domination* (Zaria: Ph. D. Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University) pp. 132-136.
109. S. Bello, 1982, *State And Economy ...ibid* p. 136
110. RDC/ BUK, Kano Native Administration, 41, Income Tax: Sabon-Gari 1943, p.256.
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115. I. L. Bashir, 1983, *Politics Of Industrialisation...Op. cit* p. 270.
116. A. N. Shëhu, 1997, *Kano State Under The Administration Of Audu Bako 1967- 1975* (M. A. History Dissertation, Kano, Bayero University) p. 117.

117. A. N. Shehu, 1997, *Kano State Under ...Ibid*
118. Interviews with Chief C. A. Giwa, Chief J. A. Akosile, Mr. R.O. Akeloko, Alhaji G. A. Bello and Mr. E. A. Adeyanju between 1999 and 2001.
119. Interview with Mal. Kabir Usman at Warri Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano, 5th February 2001.
120. Interviews with Elder F. Ogunmogun, 75, and Mr. Benson Idowu, 77, at No 30 Ijebu Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano on 12th February, 2001 and Interviews with Alhaji Sanusi Musa and Alhaji Suleiman Oria at No.353, Sarkin Yaki by Court Road, Sabon-Gari Kano on 6th March 2004.
121. Interviews with Alhaji Sanusi Musa and Alhaji Suleiman Oria at No.353, Sarkin Yaki by Court Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano on 6th March, 2004.

CHAPTER FIVE

YORUBA ENTERPRISE IN TECHNICAL SKILLS AND URBAN SERVICE INDUSTRIES IN METROPOLITAN KANO C.1945 TO 1999

Introduction

Among the Yoruba in Kano, there existed ethnic or sub-group specialisations. This was largely due to the influence of the pioneers who encouraged people from their kinship networks to learn the skills. Equally, some people were encouraged by the success of their kinsmen or women in particular skills and consequently sent their wards to learn such skills. In this process, enduring chains of migration developed from extended family networks, as successful artisans induced relatives and townsmen to join their business enterprises. In Kano, the Egba Yoruba dominated the electrical engineering services. The Ijebu Yoruba dominated the turning of crankshafts and the fabrication of industrial machines. The transport industry was pioneered by the Egba Yoruba but later dominated by the Oyo Yoruba. The Ijebu, Ijesa and Oyo Yoruba dominated the corn mill business.

This chapter analyses the historical development of selected modern technical industries pioneered or dominated by the Yoruba in Kano. It investigates the commercial competition that existed among the various ethnic groups in Kano and the processes leading to the transfer of technical skills among communities in Nigeria. Some of the modern technical skills had their origins in Lagos where the liberated African slaves who had acquired the skills in America, Brazil, Liberia and Sierra Leone had introduced them from the 1850s. In the 1880s, the Christian Missionaries established technical institutes as part of their methods for the spread of Christianity in Nigeria. The British and expatriate commercial firms established technical departments where apprenticeship schemes were operated for the training of skilled artisans. The Yoruba artisans who were trained by these technical institutes or commercial firms spread the skills through migration and apprenticeship schemes. This chapter discusses the origin and development of eleven selected technical industries in Kano, namely spraying and painting, photography, road transport, motor

repair, tyre soles rethreading, electrical engineering, lathework, corn milling, goldsmithing, aluminum smithing, electronics repair and tape recording.

5. 1: Yoruba Enterprise in Spraying and Painting Services in Kano

Painting was one of the many technical skills introduced by the liberated African slaves who settled in Lagos and Abeokuta after the 1850s. The liberated African slaves were mostly Yoruba who were called the *Saro* (freed slaves from Sierra-Leone), the *Amaro* (freed slaves from America), and the *Aku* (freed slaves from Cuba and Haiti).¹ They brought with them artisan skills which they found profitable in Yorubaland. The freed slaves were the pioneer painters in Nigeria. They equally aided its spread. In fact, from the second half of the 19th century, liberated African slaves introduced various skills into Yorubaland.

In the 1850s, Christian Missionaries established technical institutes for industrial training. Typical examples were the Abeokuta Industrial Institution in 1856, the Hope Wadell Training Institution, Old Calabar in 1894, and the Church Mission Society Training School, Lagos in 1896.² Painting was part of the curriculum in the apprenticeship schemes. Some of the graduates from these missionary institutions worked with European firms, government departments or operated their own workshops.

Commercial painting began in 1920 when Brazilian types of houses were built in Sabon-Gari, Kano. The Spraying and painting of vehicles in Kano began when Rochie Company was established in 1933. In 1942, the Frideen Technical Company established a painting firm at Farm Centre, Kano. During the same period, G.B. Ollivant opened a painting section in Kano. These expatriate firms introduced apprenticeship schemes for the training of artisans in the construction projects during the Second World War. In 1943, there were over 40 painters, mostly Yoruba, in Sabon-Gari, Kano.³ One of the trained painters who worked with the G. B. Ollivant, Kano was Mr. Shokunbi Gbolahan, an Egba Yoruba.⁴ Mr. Gbolahan was trained as a painter at Abeokuta before he came to Kano in 1944. In 1952, after an eight year career in G.B. Ollivant, he established Uncle Show Painting Works at Katsina Road, Kano. He painted lorries and cars such as Citron, Coomber Diesel, Hustin and

Morris. His workshop became a nursery for the Egba painters who were attracted by his entrepreneurial accomplishment.

Between 1952 and 1970, he trained over 30 apprentices who further spread the art in Kano and elsewhere. Mr. Shittu Gbadebo, an Egba Yoruba who was trained by Uncle Show Painting Works established Gbadebo Painting Institute at Enugu Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano in 1965. Alhaji Nurudeen Adeoye, an Egba Yoruba, was trained at the institute between 1969 and 1973.⁵ In 1976, he joined the services of Tripoli Motors, Kano as a painter on ₦60.00 salary per month. In 1977, he joined Nabegu Motors and received a monthly wage of ₦70.00. Between 1978 and 1979 he worked as a painter at R.T. Briscoe Limited, Kano and earned ₦120.00 per month. In 1980, he established a painting workshop at Hadejia Road, Kano. He trained over eight apprentices, including Hausa, Igbo, Edo and Yoruba.

In 1963, Mr. Idowu Adebisi joined Uncle Show Painting Works. After five years apprenticeship, he established a painting workshop at Enugu Road where apprentices were trained. Mr Akingbade Idowu from Abeokuta came to Kano in 1975 and joined his cousin Mr. Gbolahan as an apprentice. In 1980, he established Ope-Olu Automobile Enterprises. Ajani Painting Works was established by Mr. Kolawole Ajani in 1963 at Court Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano and became a leading workshop where apprentices were trained.⁶

Before the 1970s, spraying and painting were combined together as a skill and enterprise. The early 1970s oil boom led to more construction projects, making artisans to specialise in either spraying or painting. By 1985, there were over 200 spraying and painting workshops in metropolitan Kano, about 100 of whom were of Egba Yoruba descent. Many of them began their enterprise with manual equipment and later acquired gas sprayers. The Egba Yoruba painters experienced stiff competition from other ethnic groups such as the Edo, Hausa and Igbo some of whom they had trained.

Yoruba Photographers in Kano

Christian Missionaries, European explorers and a few educated Africans with the purpose of keeping records, took early photographs in Nigeria. Commercial photography began in Lagos, Abeokuta and Calabar in the late 19th century by liberated African slaves. Photography trade developed rapidly among the Yoruba due to the existing tradition and cultural practices of figurative art. In the 1920s, many photographers established portrait studios in western Nigeria for commercial enterprise and the training of apprentices. Some photographers migrated to places where photography was a new skill in order to avoid competition and for the benefit of a wider market. For example, by 1943, there were six photographers in Kano Metropolis.⁷ Pioneer photographers in Kano were Sierra-Leonians. Prominent among them was Mr. T. P. Barlatt Hughes, a professional photographer. After almost a decade career in photography he was appointed as the Executive Head and President of the Sabon-Gari Mixed Court in 1938.

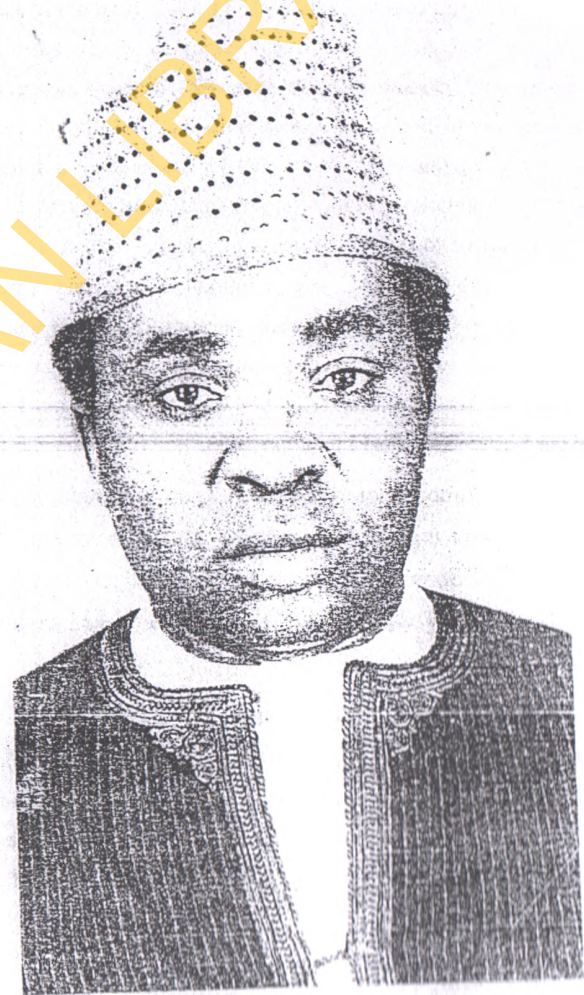
One of the pioneer Yoruba photographers in Kano was Alhaji G. M. A. Otun.⁸ After his apprenticeship in Ikirun (now in Osun State), he came to Kano in 1938. In 1940, he established Otun and Sons Photo Studio at No.66, Niger Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano. His studio became a nursery where most Yoruba and Hausa photographers began their careers as apprentices.

His business witnessed a boom during the Second World War due to the increased migration of educated elite to Kano. In 1946, he bought a photo enlarger at the cost of £75 and introduced wooden frames for portrait pictures. He was engaged in studio photography as well as outside services, including social functions such as marriages, anniversaries and naming ceremonies. What made photography lucrative in the 1940s was partly the social activities of the Yoruba and other immigrant communities in Kano.



Mr Matthew A. Adesinmirin Proprietor of Highness Photo Studio 400, Hausawa Qtrs, Kano.
Source: Fieldwork in 2001

In 1949, he became a photojournalist for the Comet Press and Daily Times, Kano. His photo productions were in black and white, processed manually with chemicals and printed in the studio. Between 1948 and 1980, a period of thirty-two years, Otun and Sons Photo produced many photographers in Kano. They included the proprietors of Babatunde Photos, Kunle Koya Photos, Kings Photos, Funso Photos, St. Hope Photos, Garba Photos, Nasara Photos, Rex Photos and Alheri Photos. In 1999, there were over 200 professional photographers in Kano metropolis, 150 of whom were Yoruba, twenty Igbo, ten Edo, ten Hausa, five Ebira and five others.⁹ Over 50 per cent of these photographic studios were located in Sabon-Gari, Kano.



Mr Peter Babatunde (d. 1996), Babatunde Photos Sabon-Gari, Kano.

Source: Babatunde's Family , 1999

Trade in Photographic Materials

In Kano, Igbo and Yoruba traders and photographers such as Bams Photo Materials, Olufemi Photos, Babatunde Photos, Yakubu Photos, Range Photo Materials Enterprises, Omope Photos and Sammy Photos sold photographic materials. Most of the Igbo and Yoruba traders were sales agents of Fototek Limited owned by a Yoruba photographer, Alhaji Suleiman Adegbuwa.

The Development of Colour Laboratory in Kano

Coloured pictures were introduced in the 1960s. In Nigeria, the Kingsway Chemist, a subsidiary of U. A. C., G. B. Ollivant and A.I.E Colour Laboratories carried out its production. Appointed agents of the companies carried out the collection of the films for colour processing. One of such agents was Alhaji Suleiman Adegbuwa who was the proprietor of Bola Ogun Photos. In 1978, Hamzat Bello, a professional Yoruba photographer and the proprietor of Hamzat Photos, Agadazawa quarters, Kano used a locally fabricated colour enlarger for the printing of coloured pictures on a small-scale.

In the 1980s, Yoruba entrepreneurs and photographers competed with expatriate colour laboratories. The pioneer colour laboratory in Kano was Supreme Colour Laboratory, established by a professional photographer, Chief Joe Gbenle Depo, in 1980. The laboratory was established at No.18 Freetown, Sabon-Gari, Kano and later relocated to No.35 New Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano in 1985 due to expansion.¹⁰ He was born in 1943 at Ilero town. In 1957, after his secondary education, he joined the Nigerian Police Force. In 1958, after a brief service in the Police Force, he registered as an apprentice at Onaolapo Omope Photos 27A Isokun Street, Ilesa. He finished apprenticeship in 1960.¹¹

In 1961, he established Depo Photos at Takie Square in Ogbomoso. He was the first photographer in Ogbomoso to introduce the Night Shooting with the electric power. As a result, he was patronised by social elite, families and youths. Between 1961 and 1964, Depo Photos became popular in Ogbomoso. Depo made an average daily income of £25 from the services.

In April 1964, he went to the United States of America where he acquired modern knowledge and technology in photography. He attended the New York Institute of Photography between 1964 and 1966. In 1966, he was employed by the American Radio Corporation where he was further trained in television and camera operations. In 1967, he joined the New York University for Motion Pictures where he acquired experience in shooting films. By 1968, he resigned and joined 50E Colour Laboratory, New York receiving \$250 per week, later increased to \$500. While he was working in the various organisations, he accumulated capital of about \$11,000 through savings. He purchased photographic equipment, such as colour enlarger, colour drier and processing kits.¹²

On July 29th, 1971, he established the first indigenous colour laboratory in Nigeria called Supreme Colour Laboratory of Nigeria at 49E Hughes Avenue, Lagos. By 1972, he had acquired more capital and thus purchased automatic machines. In 1978, he employed two Italian technicians and ordered for the production and supply of 3M films from Milano, Italy. In the same year, he started importing automatic colour processing machines from Germany. He employed more workers and relocated to Ebute Meta, Lagos.

In 1980, he opened a branch of Supreme Colour Laboratory at No.28 Freetown, Kano. It was the first indigenous colour laboratory in Northern Nigeria. The colour laboratory started with manual machines, which he had earlier discarded for automatic machines in Lagos. The branch began operation with two workers. In 1985, the branch was relocated to a storey building at No.35 New Road, equipped with modern machines and about 27 staff that attended to over 200 professional and amateur photographers on shift bases in the morning, afternoon and evening. Before the end of the year, he opened another branch in Maiduguri.

The Kano branch used and sold Italian products which were tagged Supreme Colour Films and Papers. The branch was equipped with six printers and 167 processors that processed 1,500 copies of pictures per hour. In 1985, he introduced new photographic products: Tura films and papers. Photographers formerly used Agfa and Kodak. Similarly, in 1986, he

introduced Kranz film made in Hamburg, Germany into the Nigerian market. Before the end of 1986, he procured modern automatic equipment for the various branches for quick and efficient services. In 1987, he diversified into other business ventures, including the Supreme Colour Industries, Supreme Colour Advertisement, Sicar Industry, Jab Chemical Industry (precious stones and mining in Jos), Star farm and poultry at Ilero and S. S. Conducti (Engineering Industries Limited). By 1993, however, the commercial empire he had built collapsed. The company was affected by financial managerial crises. He had borrowed ₦600,000.00 from Savannah Bank Kano.¹³ His inability to pay the loan led to the foreclosure of the mortgage on the three storey Supreme Colour building in Kano. This was followed by his own protracted illness of almost eight years.¹⁴ In 1999, his attempt to revive the business was incapacitated by insufficient capital.

In 1983, Alhaji Bashir Dantata established Dantex Colour Laboratory and employed Yoruba technicians.¹⁵ By 1986, the laboratory could not function effectively due to competition. In 1986, Chief Suleiman Adegbuwa, an Ijebu photographer established Fototek Colour Laboratory in Jos and opened a branch in Kano. Fototek industries and colour laboratory were expanded and a sister company, Fotopalace, was founded with 5 branches in Kano. Fototek was the sole licensed agent for Agfa Company in West Africa. Fototek distributed Agfa papers, films, cameras and printing machines through its sub-agents mainly Igbo and Yoruba traders.

Fototek industries encouraged the establishment of other colour laboratories by supplying them with colour enlargers and printing machines such as Molason and Dosk. Between 1986 and 1990, Supreme and Colour Laboratories dominated the processing of photo pictures in Kano. Stiff competition led to the collapse of Supreme Colour Laboratory while Fototek witnessed expansion due to managerial skills.

In 1993, Chief Olu Ajisegbede, an Ondo Yoruba photographer, established branches of Olu Professional Colour Laboratory at Nomansland and Beirut Road, Kano. By 1996, Mr. Atunramu had established branches of Fotoklinic Lagos at Zungeru Road and

Mohammed Murtala Way, Kano. In 1997, Alpine Colour Laboratory, a subsidiary of Fotoklinic was established at No. 7E Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Kano.

In 1998, Chief Michael Ayeni, a photographer in Lagos, established Uncle Eagle Colour Laboratory at Galadima, Kano. In the same year, Mr. M. Rasaki, an Ilorin technician established Climax Photo Colour Laboratory at Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Kano. In April 1999, Mr. Taye Sowole, an Ijebu lathework artisan established Foto 2000 Limited at Kofar Mazugal and a branch at Igbo Road, Kano.

The lucrative nature of photography trade stimulated artisans from other ethnic groups who established colour laboratories. For example, Saudat Colour Laboratory at Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Kano was established by Alhaji Abdul-Azeez, a Kano businessman. An Igbo photographer, Prince Odenz, established Photo Flash. In 1999, Chief F.K. Uche, an Igbo entrepreneur, established a branch of the Fotofab Industries Limited in Kano.

A typical colour laboratory in Kano has four sections: studio, foto shop, colour enlargement and development, each of which operates separate accounts. The colour laboratories offered ten per cent discount for registered professional photographers in order to maintain their patronage. Equally, the colour laboratories maintain uniform prices in order to limit competition amongst them. Yoruba colour laboratories in Kano have influenced the emergence of Hausa amateur photographers who perfected the trade through constant practice and access to photo processing. They competed with Yoruba professional photographers by charging lower prices for their services.

Yoruba women practised photography independently or as employees in various studios. They similarly competed with their male counterparts who trained them. The photography trade led to the formation of the Kano State Professional Photographers Association. The Association was formed in 1970. It was founded in order to fix prices of photography and to maintain cooperation among members.¹⁶ It was multi-ethnic, involving Igbo, Edo, Hausa and Yoruba. The association collapsed in 1977 when members disagreed on fixed prices for their services.

Yoruba Road Transporters in Kano

Between 1907 and 1909, some Yoruba businessmen imported motor vehicles into Nigeria. In 1909, there were over 1,200 motor vehicles imported into Nigeria.¹⁷ One of the pioneers was W. A. Dawodu, a Lagos technician who was the first motor dealer, importer and autobody builder. In 1913, he was engaged in transport services to Kano.¹⁸

In Kano, Yoruba entrepreneurs were the pioneer lorry owners and drivers.¹⁹ The development of the transport industry was influenced by the growth of the groundnut trade and road networks in the 1920s. Indeed, accumulated financial reserves from previous commercial ventures, particularly trading, provided the capital for investment in lorries. Similarly, some entrepreneurs obtained their lorries through hire purchase from the local and expatriate motor dealers. The earliest lorries were Albion and Ford Three-ton trucks with locally built narrow planks, which provided "cheaper" haulage services, compared to the railroad. For example, in the 1920s in Gold Coast (now Ghana), the charge by rail averaged between 4d and 71/2d, while motor lorry cost less, at about 3d per ton/mile by the 1930s.²⁰

By 1930, motorable road networks linked Kano City and some rural areas for commercial transportation of groundnut.²¹ The advent of motor services contributed to the expansion in the groundnut trade. By 1937, about one million acres of land were cultivated for groundnut in Kano districts and more migrant labourers were employed.²² In 1939, the outbreak of the Second World War provided more commercial opportunities for transporters. Lorries were used for the evacuation of Allied Soldiers, passenger services and internal foodstuffs trade within Nigeria. Thus, more entrepreneurs invested in lorries, which led to the employment of drivers, motor mates and commission agents.

Competition and colonial policy restrictions on indigenous vehicle owners in western Nigeria influenced the decision of many Yoruba transporters who transferred their services to Northern Nigeria, particularly Kano.²³ In Western Nigeria, the British imposed heavy taxation on indigenous transporters in order to control traffic regulations and competition with European firms. In 1943, there were 94 motor drivers in Sabon-Gari, Kano. Between

1950 and 1955, the number had increased to 130 motor drivers an increase of about 38. 2 per cent.²⁴

Some Yoruba transporters were also groundnut buyers. For example, in 1955/56, Alhaji Raimi Okeniyi from Ogbomoso, a groundnut trader and transporter in Kano, had about fifteen lorries, Mr. E. A. Akinyemi had six lorries and Mr. E. K. Odunlami, an Ijebu trader, had three lorries.²⁵ In the early 1950s, they began to experience competition from Igbo and Hausa transporters. In the 1950s some Yoruba transporters, especially Alhaji Okeniyi and Chief E.K. Odunlami purchased Volkswagen "Kombi" buses sold by Mandilas and Karaberis Limited for transport services between Sabon-Gari and Kurmi Market in Kano City.

In 1952, indigenous (Hausa) entrepreneurs who had been encouraged by the commercial exploits of Yoruba lorry owners invested their capital from the groundnut and cattle trades in transport. For example, Dantata Transport (later Dantata Land and Sea), Sani Marshal Transport Company, Garba Bichi and Bello Bichi Transport companies competed with Yoruba transporters.²⁶ The bulk of the workforce for these haulage magnates were recruited from the Yoruba drivers with Hausa employees who served as motor mates.

Many Yoruba entrepreneurs, after their careers in the colonial service invested in transport. The transport industry in Kano witnessed expansion in the early 1960s. About eight per cent of the 80,600 vehicles imported into Nigeria in 1963 were registered in Kano.²⁷ Of the 238,000 vehicles imported into Nigeria in 1973, 44,000 were purchased by Kano based entrepreneurs. From 1973 to 1979, a total number of 112,085 vehicles were registered in Kano. Of this total, 9,072 were buses and pick-ups some of which were purchased by the Yoruba transporters for intra-city and countryside transport services. This led to the emergence of professional commission agents in motor parks, which included the Yoruba, Edo, Hausa and Igbo.

Taxi Services

In Kano, taxi services began as car hire after the Second World War as a result of the increasing urbanisation processes. The earliest taxi drivers in Kano were the Egba Yoruba -Charity Taxi and King of Boy Taxi drivers who used Peugeot 403 and Morris cars for hire.²⁸ Until the early 1960s, the only taxi route in Kano was between the Kano railway station and Sabon-Gari, Kano. Taxi was used for the transportation of passengers and goods that arrived through the railway to their destinations in Sabon-Gari, Kano at the cost of six pence per drop in the 1960s.

The increase in commodity and foodstuffs trade in the post Civil War era as well as construction projects in the early 1970s opened more investment opportunities for the Yoruba entrepreneurs, especially in the transport sector. More Yoruba entrepreneurs invested their capital in urban taxi services due to its lucrative nature and surer returns.

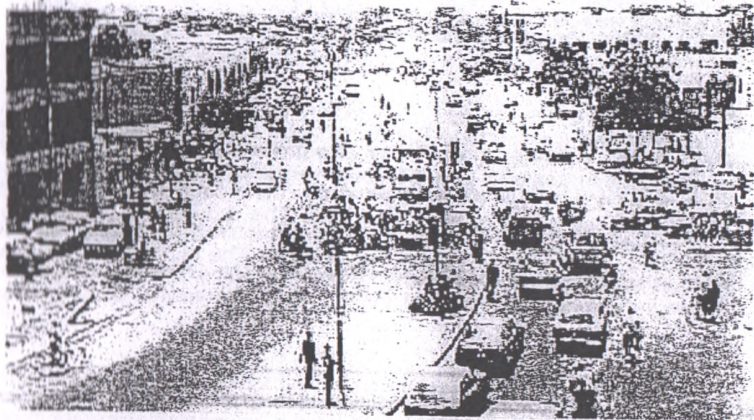
The 1972 Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree similarly encouraged the emergence of Yoruba motor dealers who introduced, on commercial scale, vehicle hire purchase that were earlier practised by the expatriate motor dealers. About twenty-five Yoruba entrepreneurs were engaged in vehicle hire purchase businesses. The most prominent of them was Owodunni and Sons Motor Nigeria Limited.²⁹ The company supplied Nissan Sunny Cars, Urvan and locally built "Molue" buses for intra-city passenger services. Owodunni Motors embarked on a hire purchase scheme in which prospective buyers deposited half of the vehicle price. The balance became doubled and repayable within twelve months. This credit system enabled a considerable number of Yoruba drivers to acquire taxicabs.

With the devaluation of the naira, it became virtually impossible for many Nigerians to procure new vehicles. Under the Second -Tier Foreign Exchange Market (SFEM), promulgated in 1986, free market forces were allowed to determine the value of the naira and prices of commodities. The prices of vehicles considerably increased. For example, the price of Volkswagen in the pre- SFEM period was ₦6,000.00 but increased to

₦20,000.00 by January 1987; Peugeot 504 cost ₦10,913.00 in the pre-SFEM period but increased to ₦36,913 in January 1987.³⁰

The introduction of second-hand "Tokunbo" vehicles and engines by Nigerian entrepreneurs in the mid 1980s similarly enabled many Yoruba drivers to purchase their own vehicles. By 1992, Yoruba drivers formed co-operative unions in order to bypass the exploitation of the motor dealers who operated hire purchase schemes. Through lending schemes, many Yoruba drivers purchased their own taxi cars.

However, before the end of 1993 Yoruba taxi drivers began to face stiff competition from Hausa entrepreneurs. Competition was equally experienced from "Achaba" motorcycles that were used commercially for passenger services. Comparatively, motorcycle advantage was because it was easier to acquire and maintain.³¹ In addition, most of the Sabon-Gari roads became unmotorable due to inadequate maintenance by the Local and State Governments. These factors forced the Yoruba taxi drivers out of Sabon-Gari where they had been highly patronised. However, the unmotorable roads provided commercial opportunities for the "Achaba" operators. Thus, the activities of the Yoruba taxi drivers became confined to long queues in commercially strategic locations.



Urban transport system in Kano showing taxis and mopeds (*achaba*)

Source: Filedwork in 1999.

In addition, the increase in the cost of vehicle maintenance as well as fuel scarcity in the era of the structural adjustment programme made many vehicle owners increase "Taxi delivers" by drivers (money accruing from taxi services) per day from ₦50.00 in 1984 to ₦800.00 in 1999. Thus, many Yoruba taxi drivers relocated from Kano due to bankruptcy or inability to cope with the dwindling commercial opportunities for taxi services. The development in the transport sector led to the formation of the National Union of Road Transport Workers, Kano State. In 1975, the transporters' association had Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo as members.³² Alhaji Nuhu Shittu, a Hausa transporter, was elected as the Chairman while Mr. Emmanuel Ajayi and Mr. Sunday Akerele, Yoruba transporters, acted as Vice Chairman and Secretary respectively. By 1985, over 1,000 taxis and intra-city bus drivers were registered members of the NURTW, Kano.

As a pressure group, the NURTW demanded for the establishment of more motor parks in metropolitan Kano. There were only two motor parks in Kano, the Nassarawa motor park at

the present Kano State Investment and Properties building and the Kuka motor parks at the present Triumph Publishing Company. An additional three motor parks were established by the Kano state government at Kofar Ruwa, Yankaba and Unguwar Uku in the 1970s.³³ In 1995, the NURTW established two secretariats in metropolitan Kano at Port Harcourt (Gold coast) Road; Sabon-Gari, Kano controlled by Yoruba and Naibawa controlled by Hausa. The Yoruba controlled NURTW had sixteen units of taxi parks under its control with over 500 registered members.³⁴ Members paid a sum of ₦10.00 for NURTW receipts per day and ₦200.00 annual subscription. At the Kwanar Jaba, Ahmadiyya Line branch of the NURTW, members were mainly Yoruba who organised micro-credit schemes. Members contributed between ₦500.00 to ₦1,000,000 as weekly savings which they collected in rotation. By this, NURTW transformed itself from an organiser of labour into a provider of credit.

Before the cooperative union was launched in 1994, only fifteen of the 100 registered members owned their taxi cabs; thirty members bought their taxi through hire purchase and paid instalmentally while fifty-five members operated taxi cabs that belonged to other entrepreneurs and financiers.³⁵ The cooperative union was organised to enable members purchase their own vehicles. Under the vehicle ownership scheme, drivers obtained taxi capital through balloting.

In 1995, Alhaji Abdul Azeez Ayoade, a transporter at Rijiyar Lemo, formed the Oyo Atiba Cooperative Investments and Credit Societies Limited, Kano.³⁶ Under Oyo Atiba, sub-cooperative societies were registered:

1. Ibukun Olu I CICS Ltd.
2. Ibukun Olu II CICS Ltd.
3. Aranse Oluwa CICS Ltd.
4. Ibukun Olu Women CICS Ltd.

In February 1996, the Oyo Atiba Cooperative Union had seventeen cooperative societies Under its control. A building was constructed by the union at Kwanar Ungogo (Bachirawa), Kano.

In November 1996, the Abodedayo Osun Cooperative union was established when Osun State was created. It had the following co-operative societies:

1. Ope Oluwa I CICS Ltd.
2. Ope Oluwa II CICS Ltd.
3. Ola Oluwa I CICS Ltd.
4. Ola Oluwa II CICS Ltd.
5. Olorun Sogo CICS Ltd.
6. Orisun Bare CICS Ltd.
7. Oriire Women CICS Ltd.

Each of the societies under a union contributed ten percent of their capital in order to create a central pool and proper funding. This was designed to create capital, and the union was regarded as the lender of last resort. Cooperative societies borrowed from the pool fund and resources by application. An interest rate of ₦10.00 per month is paid on every ₦1,000. 00. The loan is repayable within ten months. The societies give out the loans to members.

The cooperative societies contributions were divided into three:

1. Savings (loans)
2. Development levy (Administrative cost (salary)
3. Building fund.

The cooperative union invested by buying a share of ₦50,000.00 at Isokun Community Bank, Oyo. Oyo Atiba Cooperative union had a cooperative union farm of about eight acres

for planting rice, tomatoes and vegetables at Kura, Kano State. Farmlands were leased out to members with ₦200.00 fee per plot at various intervals.³⁷

Majority of the members were transporters. The micro-credit schemes of the cooperative union afforded them the opportunity to own their own vehicles. Qualified members were given between ₦200,000.00 and ₦300,000.00 as a loan. The cooperative unions offered professional and technical advice on the proper use of loans. The dividends were shared according to the percentage of the member's contribution. The overall dividends were divided into

1. Education fund (25 per cent of the dividend to sponsor staff or members of the committee for training).
2. Reserve fund (10 per cent)
3. Members dividend (50 per cent)
4. Refreshments (15 per cent)

The cooperative unions were adversely affected by the July 1999 riot. Rioters burned the cooperative union building at Kwanar Yantipa. No document was recovered at the burnt building. Most of the members lost their contributions to the union. The riot affected members, most of whom owed the unions. Some of their taxis and buses bought through cooperative union loans were burnt. The cooperatives collapsed when most of the members left Kano or used the opportunity to abscond with loans collected from the unions.

Yoruba Motor Mechanics in Kano

The early Yoruba motor mechanics were products of government technical departments and expatriate commercial firms who were trained through apprenticeship schemes. They in turn spread the skills by training other apprentices. In the 1920s, the Nigerian Railway Corporation established apprenticeship schemes for the training and recruitment of its staff in the mechanical engineering workshops located in Lagos, Kaduna and Port Harcourt.³⁸

Similarly, the British colonial administration established seven Government Trade Centres for the training of skilled artisans through apprenticeship courses that lasted between two to-five years. For example, Mechanical Training Centre was established by the Public Works Department at Abeokuta. Apprentices received £3 to £5 allowance per month.³⁹

After the Second World War, the United African Company Limited established vehicle repair workshops in the U.A.C. Motors Divisions. In the early 1950s, the U.A.C. established Kano Technical School for staff training and recruitment in Mechanical and Electrical (automotive) skills. Twenty-seven apprentices were trained in the five-year course.⁴⁰

Other expatriate commercial firms that engaged in the sales of motor vehicles similarly established vehicle repair workshops and operated apprenticeship schemes for staff training. Such commercial firms included the SCOA Motor, UTC Motors, Mandilas Motors, C.F.A.O. Motors, J. Allen and Company Limited and Leventis Motors Limited. Yoruba were mostly employed and trained as mechanics by the government departments as well as commercial firms. Yoruba mechanics later established their own motor repair workshops. In Kano, Kekere and Hussein Funso, former staff of the U.A.C., were the pioneer commercial auto mechanics.⁴¹

By 1959, the expansion in the transport industry led to the migration of many Yoruba mechanics who established their own workshops in Kano. The Yoruba motor mechanics further spread the skill through apprenticeship schemes. In 1960, there were more than 100 Yoruba mechanic workshops that emerged in auto maintenance services and engine overhaul.

The apprentices trained by the Yoruba mechanics provided part of the workforce for the large-scale motor repair workshops such as Niger Motors Limited, R.T. Briscoe Nigeria Limited, Tripoli Motors, B.E.W.A.C. Limited and the National Motors Limited. By the early

1970s, more motor mechanic workshops were established by the Yoruba in Kano suburbs. Most of the mechanic workshops employed other Yoruba artisans who performed a wide range of auxiliary technical services such as panel beating, electrical services, painting and vulcanising. The Yoruba motor mechanics trained people of other ethnic groups such as Igbo and Edo as mechanics.

In 1985, the Kwakwachi Mechanic Village was established as part of the policy for environmental sanitation. Yoruba mechanics that specialised in the repairs of various vehicles such as trucks, cars and buses operated their workshops in the village.⁴² In 1990, the Kwakwashe Technical Association was formed with Edo, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba as members.

Odutola Tyresoles Company, Kano

In 1950, an Ijebu Yoruba, Chief Adeola Odutola, established Odutola Tyresoles Retreading Company in Ibadan.⁴³ The Kano Plant was set up in 1952 at No. 139/140 Mission Road. The Plant witnessed tremendous growth due to the expanding transport industry and little competition. Odutola Tyresoles engaged in tyre-retreading and the recapping of worn out threads with camel back compound supplied by the Goodyear Company, United States of America. Other raw materials such as rubber crumbs were processed at the Odutola Tyre and Rubber Company, Ibadan. The Plant was equipped with heavy machines for buffing, building, curing moulds and chemical mixers.⁴⁴

The workforce of about twenty was recruited from amongst Edo, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba technicians. An industrial strike was carried out by the workers on 20th September, 1955 against the refusal of the employer to increase their salaries.⁴⁵ For almost a month, the industrial strike affected the production process and the supply of the company's products.

During the Civil War, 1967- 1970, the company's production was boosted when a major competitor, Michelin Plant, Port Harcourt, closed down. During the same period, the

company produced new items such as soles and heels for shoes as well as bicycle tyres and tubes. Equally, the oil boom of the early 1970s and the indigenisation decree promoted the productive capacity of the company. By 1975, Odutola Tyresoles, Kano produced an average of 150,000 to 180,000 vehicles tyres and cycle tubes per annum.⁴⁶ The soles and heels of shoes produced by the company provided raw materials for the shoe factories in Kano. By 1986, Odutola Tyresoles witnessed competition from Dunlop Roadmaster, Michelin and GMO tyre manufacturing companies, which affected its scale of operation. The Structural Adjustment Programme and the economic crises from the mid 1980s affected the supply of imported raw materials, maintenance of the industrial machines and thus, the production capacity. In 1993, a major industrial strike led to the closure of the Kano Plant when the Management could not pay workers salary for almost six months. Between 1993 and 1999, production process ceased at the plant and was virtually abandoned.

Electrical Engineering Services

In Kano, the Egba and Oyo Yoruba dominated the electrical engineering services. The services included the rewinding of electrical motors, transformers, electrical plants, fixing and repairing of electrical parts of vehicles such as electronic starter, security system, alternator, wiring, air conditioning, the injector pump, diesels engines and nozzles as well as the charging of batteries. In the 1940s, the expatriate commercial firms that sold vehicles performed these services. Yoruba artisans who were trained by these companies pioneered the commercialisation of the electrical engineering services. The Northern Electrical Engineering Company was the first commercial engineering company in Kano established in 1955 at No.21 New Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano. It was established as a joint venture by two technicians and partners, Chief M. O. Abodunni from Ibadan (Oyo Yoruba) and Alhaji M.A. Ajibulu from Owu (Egba Yoruba).⁴⁷ Alhaji Ajibulu was directed by the company to open a branch of the company in Jos. The project could not survive due to low patronage and competition from European firms. In 1956, Alhaji Ajibulu was sponsored by the Company for a one-year training in Electrical Machinery in England.

In 1957, the company relocated to an expansive workshop at No. 21B Festing Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano. It had five sections:

- (a) The Machinery Section
- (b) Automobile Section
- (c) Injector Pump Section
- (d) Battery Charging Section, and
- (e) Spare Parts Shop.

The Company became a training ground for Egba and Oyo Yoruba apprentices who enrolled due to their kinship links with the founders. By 1958, each of the sections had an average of eight apprentices including women who were trained in lighter services.

Apprenticeship was free and they received about £1.10d as allowances per month. Some of the apprentices were absorbed as staff after their graduation with £5 salary per month. Before the end of 1958, there were three Workshop Managers, two Salesmen, three Clerks, one Driver and fourty Apprentices in the Company.

In 1959, the Company became a dealer for the U.A.C. Motor spare parts. The company sold new batteries, auto spare parts and auto cables. Before the end of 1959, the company had two vehicles for delivery purposes and a car each for the two directors. Estates were acquired for commercial purposes in Sabon-Gari, and Brigade quarters in Kano as well as in Lagos.

At independence in 1960, the Northern Electrical Company was registered as Electrical Engineering Company (ELECO). By 1965, two branches were established in Kaduna and Lagos. In 1970, the company recorded a down ward trend due to competition from its former apprentices and other Yoruba electrical mechanics that had migrated to Kano during the Civil War. In the same period, there was disagreement between the partners on financial indiscipline and mismanagement. Thus in 1975, the two partners shared the assets. The company's estates in Kano and Lagos were sold. Alhaji Ajibulu took over the

Lagos workshop and later became a politician. Chief Abodunrin took over the Kano workshop and was later honoured with the Chieftaincy title of Jagun of Lalupon, Ibadan. In 1976, he changed the company name from ELECO to MOABA Electrical Engineering Company. In 1982, he relocated to Bachirawa quarters, Kano. Before its collapse, ELECO produced many Yoruba electrical engineers that became prominent and further spread the skill. They included, Mr. Isaac Adebayo Adedirin from Ogbomoso who was one of the first twelve apprentices of the Northern Electrical Company in 1955. He established Isaac Adebayo Electrical Engineering Works, at Katsina Road, Kano.⁴⁸

Alhaji M. A. Buhari joined the Northern Electrical Company in 1956 as an apprentice. In 1959, he established Alaafia Electrical Engineering Service at No. 30 Emir Road.⁴⁹ The workshop became a nursery for the training of Yoruba electrical mechanics. One of such apprentices was Alhaji M. O. Yusuf who joined Alaafia Electrical Engineering Service for apprenticeship training in 1964.⁵⁰ In 1968, he attended S. A. Oladunjoye Training Institute (Diesel Fuel Injection Pump) Lagos. In 1970, he established Yusuf Diesel Fuel Technical Work at No.12, Enugu Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano. He trained about 25 apprentices most of whom were Ijebu Yoruba. Chief M. O. Abodunrin trained Mr. Caleb Fabode from Ibadan as an electrical mechanic at the Northern Electrical Engineering Company. In 1964, he was employed as a staff and earned £4.10d salary per month.⁵¹ In 1965, he became the General Foreman and headed the company's branch in Kaduna which was closed down in 1966 due to the military coup and subsequent riots. In 1973, Mr. Fabode established F. A. O. Electrical and Technical Company, Osogbo, but later relocated to Kano in 1976. He trained apprentices free, some of whom later became prominent electrical engineers who competed with him. For example, Alhaji Murtala Alimi trained at F. A. O. between 1976 and 1980 and later established M.A.O. Technical Works. M. A. O. Technical Works emerged as one of the biggest electrical engineering companies in Kano that was also engaged in the sales of electrical motors, generating plants, alternators and electrical cables.

Alhaji Raufu, a brother of Alhaji M. A. Ajibulu established the Progressive Electrical Engineering Company. Mr. M. O. William from Abeokuta and a former staff of the Nigerian Airways, Kano, joined ELECO in 1963 as an apprentice. In 1968, he established Fadinamun Trading Company (electrical engineering and spare parts), Kano. Mr. Taiwo Koleoso from Abeokuta joined Fadinamun Trading Company in 1972 as an apprentice.⁵² In 1978, he became a journeyman. In 1984, he established Tasco Electrical Engineering Works, Kano. He further trained some Egba Yoruba electrical mechanics.

Yoruba Lathework Technicians in Kano

The Ijebu Yoruba dominated the lathework, turning or grinding of crankshafts and engines due to the influence of Chief Dapo Oguntuga who was trained as a lathework technician by the C.F.A.O., Kano, in the 1950s. Dapo Oguntuga was a pioneer lathework technician in Kano. In 1956, he came to Kano from Ijebu Isanyin to meet his brother, Mr. Afolabi Okunoye, a staff of C. F. A. O. This was after his Standard IV education.⁵³ He started turner apprenticeship at C. F. A. O. Technical Department, the only company that was involved in the production of Crank Shaft and industrial machines in Kano. After a two year training, he got employed at U.T.C. as a technician. In 1959, he went to Lagos for further training. In 1961, he established Dapo Technical Industries at Yankura Market, which became a training workshop for Ijebu lathework technicians.⁵⁴ He started with manual machines in the production of industrial tools. In 1962, he bought a lathe machine. In 1965, he bought a Crank Shaft Grinding Machine. In 1970, he relocated to 32 Yolawa Street, Kano, due to expansion.

He trained many apprentices who further spread the skill in Kano. His younger brother Chief T. Oguntuga, the proprietor of Taso Technical Works, Kano, was one of his earliest apprentices. Taso Technical Works became a lathework company in Kano where most Ijebu young men acquired lathework skills. In 1975, Dapo Oguntuga became the sole importer of crankshaft machines, which he supplied to other lathe work technicians. In 1983, he invested in the hotel business by establishing Hotel De Mikela and Challenge Guest Inn hotels in Sabon-Gari.

In 1996, there were over sixty-four lathework artisans in Metropolitan Kano, forty of whom were Ijebu Yoruba trained by Dapo or Taso technical works.⁵⁵ Mr. Hassan Sowole from Ijebu Isara, Ogun State was trained at Taso Technical Works, Kano. Hassan Engineering Works became the largest lathework workshop in Kano with over twenty technicians and thirty apprentices who received free training.⁵⁶

In 1992, Hassan Engineering works invested ₦100 million in a sister company, Tai Investment Nigeria Limited that was engaged in the importation and sales of turning and industrial machines such as Prince, Lathe, Boring, Milling, Welding and Polishing machines.⁵⁷ Alhaji Abdullahi Asunmo from Ijebu Isanyin was trained by Taso Technical Works between 1974 and 1979. In 1983, he established Abason Technical Works at Katsina Road, Kano.

Yoruba turners in Kano performed a wide range of technical services for the transport and industrial sectors of the economy. They engaged in the reboring of engine blocks, the regrinding of crankshafts, the production of iron and Aluminium spare parts, the milling of gear teeth, the fabrication of grinding machines and welding. The turner trade witnessed a boom from the late 1980s due to the scarcity and increased prices of the imported auto as well as industrial spare parts during the Structural Adjustment Programme. Yoruba lathework artisans were patronised for locally fabricated spare parts. Thus, most of the artisans acquired substantial capital, which afforded them the opportunity to invest in other sectors such as transport, estate ownership, hotels and photography.

There was a measure of commercial complimentary and competitive relationship between the Yoruba lathework artisans and Igbo auto spare parts traders. First, Igbo traders patronised Yoruba lathework artisans for the production of bolts and nuts as well as auto-spare parts. Second, some transporters and individuals patronised Yoruba lathework artisans for cheaper locally made auto-spare parts instead of the more expensive imported spare parts sold by Igbo traders.

Corn Mill Trade Among Yoruba in Kano

Corn mills were introduced in the 1930s by the United-Trading Company and operated by Yoruba men in various parts of Kano Metropolis. An Ijebu merchant, Chief F. L. Fowora was a pioneer in the trade. By the 1940s, he had about five diesel fuel corn mills in Sabon-Gari, City and Fagge quarters, Kano.⁵⁸ His commercial success and the trading opportunities influenced other entrepreneurs who invested in corn mills. In the 1950s, Fowora's senior brother, Mr. Badejo, a printer, invested in corn mill services. Similarly, in the late 1950s, Alhaji Raimi Okeniyi, a transporter bought about six corn mills that were operated in Kano and in the rural areas.

In 1965, Yoruba merchants started direct importation of corn mills, agricultural machines and spare parts from India. Two Ijesa Yoruba merchants, Mr. L. K. Ajetunmobi and J. T. Jegede (*Osomaalo*) textile trader started the importation. Mr. Ajetunmobi was born in 1937 at Ajara town (now in Benin Republic) where his parents had settled as textile traders. He attended Yewa School, Ebute Igboro in Egba Division and graduated with Standard IV in 1949. He could not further his education due to financial difficulties. He therefore started working as a labourer. In 1951, he registered as an auto-mechanic apprentice at Ilesa. He was trained for six years and paid £2 fee for the training.⁵⁹

After his graduation in 1957, he went to Gudi railway station near Keffi where he spent eight months working as a mechanic. In September 1958, he came to Kano and began working as a mechanic. In January 1959, he joined Leventis Motors as a mechanic on a salary of £1.1s.0d. per week. In 1960, he joined S.C.O.A. Motors Kano as a motorcycle and motor mechanic. He earned £5.25s.0d. per month. In June 1961, he joined Tripoli Motors as a foreman and received £7 monthly salary.



Yoruba Corn millers at Yandoya Market, Kano. Source: Fieldwork in 1999.

In 1968, he established Messrs Star Senior Trading Company (S.T. C.) located at 28 Court Road, Sabon-Gari and traded in corn-mill machines. He was the first Yoruba entrepreneur in Kano that was engaged in this trade. His enterprise encouraged other entrepreneurs, particularly Ijebu and Ijesa Yoruba traders who became engaged in the corn mill trade. For example, he introduced Papa Kuyoro into the business and influenced J. T. Jegede, both of whom later became prominent in the corn mill trade.

Mr. Ajetunmobi exported honey, animal skins, wooden chairs and baskets to the United States of America. In 1974, he took a loan of ₦10,000.00 from National Bank for the expansion of his transport business. He bought three taxi cars and four buses, which plied Kano to Ilesa and Ile-Ife roads. He was engaged in producing local spare parts of corn-mills and has trained many people in the skill.

In 1970, more entrepreneurs joined the trade particularly Mr. Papa Kuyoro and Alhaji Hamza Albankudi. Mr. Papa Kuyoro from Ijebu-Odogbolu came to Kano in 1943 to meet his brother late Odubanjo who was an accountant with the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria, Kano branch. He attended the Holy Trinity School, Kano and Samaru Teachers Training, College, Zaria, from 1944 to 1956. Between 1956 and 1957, he taught at the Holy Trinity and received £4. 0s. 8d as salary per month. In 1957, he resigned and joined the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria as a Meter Reader. He went through an apprenticeship scheme in metre reading. After the training, his salary was increased to £8 in 1958.⁶⁰

In 1962, he was transferred to Abeokuta as a Metre Inspector. He resigned from ECN in 1964 due to his transfer, which he did not like. In 1964, he bought a corn-mill for grinding at UTC at the cost of £60, which he installed at Tudun Wada (Dan Kade) town in Kano. By 1970, he started selling corn-mill machines. He expanded the business through direct importation from India almost on a weekly basis. He established Kuyoro & Sons Trading Stores at 24 France road (now Abuja road) a three-storey building used mainly for the storage of corn-mill machines and its spare parts. Kuyoro & Sons was the agent for PML

Diesel engines (8 H. P., 16/2 H. P., 10 H.P. High Speed engines for Alternator), Dasco Diesel engines and corn-mill (6 H.P. and 1A Mill), Rotex Genuine Spare Parts for engines and corn-mills and Imex Diesel engines. He invested in housing estates, and he has about fifteen houses in Kano and about ten in Lagos. At the initial stage of his business, he often took loan facilities from the National Bank of Nigeria, ₦35,000.00 per week, which he usually refunded after the sales of his products. He has about fifty corn-mills in Kano and in Gezawa thirty-five of which were electric power corn mills.⁶¹

In 1975, two partners, Alhaji Ibrahim Amukude and John Onakurufe formed Ore Meji Agricultural Ventures for the importation of corn mills.⁶² Yoruba entrepreneurs were distributors and dealers for Indian Corn Mill Manufacturing Companies such as Nulux, Topex and Lister Diesels. They were concentrated largely at the Yandoya Market, Kano. Alhaji Adetunji Abiade was a pioneer corn miller in the Yandoya Market. In 1978, he bought his corn mill at the cost of ₦1,500.00. By 1990, there were about forty Yoruba corn millers in the market. Yoruba women engaged in the sales of yam and cassava flour, corn and millet and similarly provided the grinding services in competition with their male counterparts.

In 1995, ijesa men and women who were textile traders dominated the sale of corn mills, agricultural machines and spare parts. They were influenced by the commercial success of ijesa traders such as Chief Jegede, Chief Albankudi and Mr. Ajetunmobi, who were pioneers of the trade. In 1996, the Yankura Grinders Association was formed to maintain uniform prices and protect the interests of the members in the market. Members contributed a sum of ₦20.00 per week as dues.⁶³

Yoruba Goldsmiths in Kano

In 1943, there were twenty-three goldsmiths in Sabon-Gari, Kano, most of whom were Ijebu Yoruba.⁶⁴ They were concentrated along Church Road (now Awolowo Avenue) and France Road (now Abuja Road), Sabon-Gari, Kano. Prominent among them were Alhaji S. I. Yusuf, Pa Oshineike, Alhaji M. O. Kareem, Mr. Y. O. Onagbemiro and Alhaji Bisriu. One of their apprentices was Mr. F. A. Lawal. He was born at Akunu Akoko near Ikare. He attended St. Andrews School Akunu Akoko between 1947 and 1953. From 1953 to 1958, he learnt bricklaying at Akunu Akoko. After his graduation in 1958, he joined a construction firm D. Alberto in Lokoja as a labourer and received £5 as salary per month.⁶⁵

In 1960, he came to Kano to meet his Uncle, Mr. M. O. Origboye, who had lived in Kano since 1920 as a produce buyer for the U. A. C. In Mr. M. O. Origboye's house at 48 Church Road, there was a group of Ijebu goldsmiths who practiced their trade. In May 1960, Lawal started goldsmith apprenticeship when his uncle refused him practicing bricklaying, which he learnt from home. He spent three years on apprenticeship and did not pay any fee since his master was a tenant in his uncle's house. Lawal graduated in 1963, he specialised in wedding and engagement rings.

Raw gold was obtained from Hausa traders in Kurmi Market. Yoruba goldsmiths had various specialisations and techniques of smithing, which they learnt through apprenticeship. They produced jewelries from silver, copper, diamonds and gold.⁶⁶ The jewelries were distributed by Yoruba women in Kano Metropolis and in the rural areas. By the 1950s, Ijebu Yoruba goldsmiths faced competition from Ofa Yoruba Muslims and Senegalese Muslim goldsmiths who were based in the City and Fagge quarters, Kano. They formed partnership networks in terms of credit, gold purchase, production and marketing strategies.⁶⁷

In the early 1970s, the goldsmith trade had declined due to the introduction of industrial (G.L.) jewelries into Nigeria. The G.L. were more durable and needed no periodic repairs like the locally made jewelries. Thus, some rich Yoruba goldsmiths diversified into the

importation of jewelry from Saudi Arabia and Dubai.⁶⁸ Yoruba women who had accumulated capital from the sale of locally produced jewelries emerged as importers as well. Some of them operated jewelry shops in the Sabon-Gari Market, Kano where they competed with Hausa jewelry traders.

Yoruba Aluminium Pot Makers

Aluminium pot making was an art that began in the Gold Coast, during the Second World War as a device to cope with the scarcity of imported metal pots. In the 1950s, it became an industry and spread to other West African countries including Nigeria. In Kano, it was introduced by migrant artisans from Ghana, Mali, Burkina Fasso, as well as Hausa from Katsina and Yoruba from Offa.

The production of aluminium pots involves the use of local materials particularly sand and cement through casting technique. The pots were produced in various sizes with lids for domestic and commercial uses. There was a high demand for the aluminium pots due to its durability compared to clay or metal pots. In 1975, the Offa Yoruba goldsmiths who could not obtain the capital for jewelry importation diverted their skill to the production of pots. This was possible since both skills, goldsmithing and aluminium pot making involved melting as well as casting processes.

By 1985, Hausa artisans from Katsina and Yoruba from Offa had displaced the Ghanaian and other West African pioneers through apprenticeship schemes. They established production centers at Yandoya Market and Kwanar Ungogo, Kano.⁶⁹

In 1987, Hausa and Yoruba aluminium pot makers formed the Kano State Aluminium Pot Makers Development Association. The aim of the association was to regulate prices and supply of the products. A network of traders mainly Hausa men and Yoruba women served as wholesalers who distributed the aluminium pots.

Electronics Repairs

Radio repair was one of the technical services introduced in Kano in 1948 by the Yoruba. By 1958, there were fifteen Radio repair workshops in Kano. Among the Radio repair workshops were Baba Mairago, established by a technician from Ile-Ife; Josy Ola Electronics, Labari Electronics, Victory Radio, Venus Electronics and A. A. Olufemi Radio.⁷⁰

In 1970, the radio repair workshop owners expanded their services with the repairs of television sets, fans, stereos, tape recorders, and other electronics. By 1975, a new generation of the electronic repairers had emerged. They were former apprentices in the electronic workshops established by the Yoruba in Kano, in addition to those who migrated to Kano. They included the proprietors of Shotronics, Rapid Electronics, Joas Trading and Technical Company, Captain Dele Electronics, Ade Ajasco and B. Mamuda. Some of them began their careers as journeymen with their masters and later worked with electronic firms or government radio stations as technicians before establishing their workshops. For example, Mr. C. A. Adeyemi, the proprietor of Ade Ajasco Electronics Limited, Kano was born in 1946 at Igbara-Odo. He attended St. Andrew's Modern School Igbara-Odo in 1965.

In 1967, he came to Kano to meet his brother, Julius Adeyemi who was a bricklayer. Adeyemi enrolled as an apprentice at A. A. Olufemi Radio and Television Works located at 22 France Road (now Abuja Road) Sabon-Gari, Kano. He was the first apprentice at the workshop. The apprenticeship period took him four years and he paid £15 training fees. In 1971, Adeyemi joined Kings Way Electronic Stores at Murtala Mohammed Way as a technician. In 1972, he established a private electronic repair company -Ade Ajasco Electronics. In 1975, he joined the Leventis Technical Company as the Sectional Head of Radio and Television Workshop. He was at the same time engaged in his private electronic services on a part-time basis.

In 1976, he was sent on course to Tokyo (Sanyo Factory) in Japan. He similarly attended Telerex Electronics Ilupeju (a Leventis Television Technical Company). It was at these

technical companies that he was exposed to the production and assembly of black and white television and other electronics. In 1977, he attended Sanyo Company at Watford, London, for the technical training in assembling Sanyo Video. In 1980, he left the company and concentrated on his own workshop. His enterprise involved sales, repairs, services and assemblage of electronics. In 1986, he relocated the workshop to Bello Dandago Road due to expansion. He trained about 27 apprentices who spent between two to four years with the payment of ₦2,000.00 training fees.⁷¹

In 1977, the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree generated wider commercial opportunities for the electronic repairers. Some of them became dealers or distributors for electronic firms such as Thermocool, Philips and Sanyo. Many of them similarly established electronic assembly workshops. By the late 1980s, the prices of electronics had increased due to inflation in the era of Structural Adjustment Programme. The expensive nature of electronics during the period made many Nigerians to repair old electronics or purchase second-hand ones.

The development led to the formation of the Electronic Services and Maintenance Association of Kano (ESMA). The Association was formed in January 1987. ESMA was a multi-ethnic association with Edo, Igbo and Yoruba belonging to the same union. It had about forty members who paid ₦5.00 membership fee per month but this was later increased to ₦50.00 in 1999. The association was aimed at maintaining professional discipline and unity among its members.⁷² However, the Association could not function effectively due to lack of cooperation between the old and young artisans.

Yoruba Recording Studio/Record Stores

By the early 1960s, some Yoruba entrepreneurs from Lagos had established branches of their tape recording studios in Kano. For example, Alhaji Rahmonu Awo and Bros Record Store were established in 1962. In 1963, Alhaji Idris Ibrahim from Ilala town established D.

S. A. Trading Store, Kano. By 1965, he had established four additional branches in Sabon-Gari, Kano.⁷³

The early record stores in Kano were distributors for recording companies in Lagos such as E. M. I. And Decca Record companies. Their major products were record players, eight track cartridges, gramophone records and audiocassettes. In 1985, there were twenty Yoruba recording studios in Metropolitan Kano. They included Alhaji Kehinde Record Store, Sanu Olu Record, Sammy Spaco, Agbi Record and Oyebamire Trading Company.

In 1986, the record studios introduced the sales of videocassettes. They were equally engaged in video coverage of social gatherings. The recording studios provided entertainment services at ceremonies. The services linked distant communities of Yoruba at home and in the diaspora in a network of musical production and consumption. The entertainment industry remained a powerful force in the reconstruction of Yoruba communal identity in Kano. It brought Yoruba of different sub-groups and religious beliefs together. The profundity between home and diaspora enabled the Yoruba in Kano to be less dependent on the Hausa host culture for their survival. They produced and consumed their own music which enabled them (re) create identity consciousness.

Conclusion

The foregoing discussion indicates that the Yoruba pioneered and dominated some of the modern technical industries in Kano. There existed sub-group specialisation and division of labour among the Yoruba in Kano. Occupational mobility, kinship networks and apprenticeship schemes reproduced the artisans and similarly consolidated the domination of the Yoruba in the modern technical skills. Most Yoruba artisans co-opted their kinsmen into their trades to consolidate their commercial base by increasing the workforce as well as retaining the skills within an ethnic fold. Over the years, this cultural strategy reproduced generations of artisans who followed similar patterns.

The post Second World War era witnessed the transformation of technical industries that had been developed earlier. New skills had similarly emerged in the locally initiated industries in response to the wartime scarcity of imported items. In most of the technical industries studied, the Yoruba artisans and entrepreneurs ensured that they kept pace with the development of technology. For example photography has been transformed into an ultra-modern industry using the latest technology.

In African economies, as the case of Kano shows, the employment of labour has been commercially reciprocal between the host community and the migrants. The indigenous Hausa entrepreneurs used the skills of the Yoruba migrant artisans for the development of their own enterprises. On the other hand, the Yoruba migrant artisans or entrepreneurs employed the labour of the Hausa host community to consolidate their commercial base as well as integrating their business interests with the host community as a survival strategy. In Kano, the cumulative effect of this was the transfer of technical skills from the Yoruba migrant artisans to the Hausa host community. Hausa artisans emerged in the industries where they had taken part as workers or keen observers. In the transport industry, the Hausa transporters commercially displaced the Yoruba. The Yoruba, to a greater degree, have been able to retain the monopoly of the technical skills of a more complex nature such as auto-mechanics, electrical engineering, lathe work and electronic repairs. Access to cheap labour through apprenticeship schemes, rather than a large amount of capital was more essential to the operation of small artisanship workshops. This commercial orientation made it convenient for Yoruba artisans to set up workshops with relatively simple technologies. Production techniques were organised around the social networks of kinship and co-ethnics. Some of the apprentices who worked for co-ethnics managed to walk their way into entrepreneurship through hardwork and savings. The next chapter discusses the contribution of prominent individual Yoruba entrepreneurs in the growth of the Kano economy between 1918 and 1999.

Notes

1. R. S. Smith, 1978, *The Lagos Consulate -1851 -1861* (London: Macmillan Press Limited) pp. 37-40; and M. J. C. Echeruo, 1977, *Victorian Lagos: Aspects of Nineteenth Century Lagos Life* (London: Macmillan).
2. E. A. Ayandele, 1966, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842 -1914* (London: Longman) pp. 298 and 302; and E. A. Ayandele, 1979, *African Historical Studies* (London: Frank Cass) p. 90.
3. RDC BUK, Kano Native Administration, 41, Income Tax: Sabon-Gari, 1943, p. 256.
4. Interview with Alhaji Nurudeen Adeoye, 69, at Hadeja Road, Kano, on 21st September, 1999 and Mr. Idowu Adebisi, 57, at No.44, Aba Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano on 28th July, 2000.
5. Interview with Alhaji Nurudeen Adeoye on 21st September, 1999.
6. Interview with Mr. Akingbade Idowu, 52, at Ogoja Avenue, Sabon-Gari, Kano on 9th October, 1999.
7. RDC BUK, Kano Native Administration, 41, Income Tax: Sabon-Gari, Kano, 1943, p. 256.
8. Interview with Alhaji Garba Idris, 51, at No.63 Awolowo (Church Road) Sabon-Gari, Kano and Mr. Daniel Olaniran at No.30 Airport Road, Kano on 13th December, 2000.
9. Fieldwork in Metropolitan Kano- Gwamaja, Sabon-Gari, Fagge, Zoo Road, Naibawa, Brigade quarters, Nasarawa, Hoto and City (Birm).
10. Interview with Mr. Francis Iwaloye, 57, at Tudun Wada Road, Kano on 21st October, 1999.
11. Interview with Chief Joe Gbenle Depo, 62, at No.35, New Road, Sabon -Gari, Kano, on 23rd May, 2000.
12. Interview with Mr. Adamu Ehidiemen, Managing Director, Daddy Photos, No.28, Ogoja Avenue, Sabon-Gari, Kano on 23rd May, 2000.
13. Interview with Chief J. G. Depo on 23rd May, 2000.
14. Interview with Mr. E.G. Adekunle, former General Manager Supreme Colour Laboratory, on 23rd May, 2000.
15. The Dantata Organisation is one of the few indigenous commercial consortium in

Kano that has invested in industries dominated by the Yoruba in Kano such as, catering and pools services, taxi transport and corn mill. T. Forrest, 1994, *The Advance of African Capital: The Growth Of Nigeria Private Enterprise* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), pp. 205 -209. Interviews with Alhaji Garba Idris and Alhaji Mohammed Mustapha on 4th November, 2003.

16. Interview with Mr. Francis Iwaloye on 21st October, 1999.

17. R. O. Ekundare, 1973, *An Economic History Of Nigeria 1860-1960* (U.S.A.: Africana Publishing Company), p.143 and A. G. Hopkins, 1973, *An Economic History of West Africa* (London: Longman) p. 204.

18. T. Forrest, 1994, *The Advance Of African Capital... Op. cit* p. 21 and A. Oluokuju, "Urban Transport in Metropolitan Lagos," in T. Falola and S. J. Salm, (eds.), *Nigerian Cities* (Trenton: Africa World Press) pp. 211-216.

19. A. M. Fika, 1978, *The Kano Civil War And British Over-rule 1882- 1940* (Ibadan: Oxford University Press) p. 256 and A. Bako, 1990, *A Socio-Economic History Of Sabon-Gari, Kano 1913- 1989* (Ph.D. Thesis, Kano, Bayero University) p. 105.

20. A. G. Hopkins, 1973, *An Economic History... Op. cit* p. 197.

21. A. U. Dan Asabe, 1996, *Kano Labour and the Kano Poor 1930 -1990* (Ph.D. Thesis, Kano, Bayero University), p. 226.

22. A. G. Hopkins, 1973, *An Economic History...Op. cit* pp. 220-221.

23. E. A. Ayandele, 1992, *The Ijebu of Yorubaland 1850-1950: Politics, Economy and Society* (Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books) p. 205.

24. A. U. Dan Asabe, 1994, *Kano Labour...Op. cit* p. 228.

25. RDC/ BUK/ Kano N. A. G.14. Income Tax General, 1956 /59: Sabon-Gari

Rich Traders (Direct Tax). The archival material was given to me by Prof. Allan Frishman of the Department of Economics, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, New York, United States of America. He conducted his research on Kano in the 1960s.

26. I. L. Bashir, 1983, *Politics Of Industrialisation In Kano: Industries, Incentives And Indigenous Entrepreneurs 1950-1980* (Ph.D. Thesis, Boston University) p. 262.

27. I. L. Bashir, 1983, *Politics of Industrialisation in Kano... ibid* pp.263 -264.

28. Interview with Alhaji Lamidi Ibrahim, 50, Chairman Road Transporters' Workers Union, Kwanar Jaba, Brigade, Kano on 24th March, 2000.

29. Alhaji Abdul-Rahim J. Ishola (Owodunni) was a prominent Nigerian transporter. He was born in 1922 in Keffi Yamusa into an Ogbomosho textile (*Adire*) trading family. He began his trading career as a foodstuff, cattle and commodity trader. In 1954, he bought a Bedford three tons truck for goods and passenger services. In 1960, he formed Owodunni and Sons for fuel distribution and was a dealer for Shell, Mobil and Esso. In 1964, he established Owodunni and Sons Motors in Jos and became a motor dealer for J. Allen, Leventis, C. F. A. O. and R. T. Briscoe. By 1973, he had opened branches in Nigerian major cities and commercial centers including Kano. For his biography, see, Alhaji Ustaz A. M. Jamiu, 2000, *Iwe Itan Igbesi Aiye Alhaji Abdur-Rahim Ishola Ibrahim Owodunni* (Jos: Ehindero Nigeria Limited).

30. C. O. Adesina, 2002, "Growth And Change In The Ibadan Underground Foreign Exchange Market During Devaluation," in J. I. Guyer, L. Denzer and A. Agbaje, (eds.), *Money Struggles And City Life: Devaluation In Ibadan And Other Urban Centres In Southern Nigeria, 1986-1996* (Portsmouth: Heinemann) pp. 87-88.

31. M. Abutudu, 2001, "Globalisation And The Emergence Of *Tokunbo*, Culture In Nigeria," in *The International Journal Of African Studies*, Vol. 3. No.1, p.41.

32. Alhaji Abdulganiyu, a pioneer Egba Yoruba taxi driver, was regarded as one of the founders of the Transporters Unions in Kano.

33. A.U. Dan-Asabe, 1996, *Kano Labour And The Kano Poor 1930-1990* (Ph. D. Thesis, Kano, Bayero University) p. 256.

34. The 16 parking units were as follows: Yankaba, Konar Tundun Wada, Kwanar Jaba, Agip (Airport Road), Bello Road, Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Kwari market. Mohammed Murtala Way, Kano Guest Inn, Kofar Ruwa, Kabuga, Dorayi Baba, Gadon Kaya, Tundun Bojuwa, Yan Rod and Army Barrack. Oral interview with Mr. Bayo Emmanuel, 56, General Secretary, Taxi Branch 11, NURTW, at No 16 PortHacourt (Gold Coast) Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano on 13th March, 2000.

35. Interview with Alhaji Lamidi Ibrahim, 56, Chairman, NURTW, Kwanar

Jaba, Kano on 12th February, 2000.

36. Interview with Alhaji S.A. Kobomoje, 68, at 5B, Sanusi Street, on 23rd, April, 2000.
37. Interview with Mr. Isa Ahmed, 52, Manager, Abodedayo Osun CICS Ltd at No.144, Sabon Titi, Kano on 29th June, 2000.
38. R. O. Ekundare, 1973, *An Economic History...Op. cit* p.141.
39. AHAK/AR3/LI: Annual Report of The Department of Labour for the Year 1952-53 and 1954-55. (Lagos: Government Printer), p.9.
40. AHAJK/ND/A19: U.A.C. In The North: The United African Company of Nigeria Limited (Zaria: Gaskiya Corporation), pp. 2-10.
41. Interview with, Mr. R. A. Adebayo, 81, on 15th April, 2000, at No.7 Ibadan Road, Kano. His father Mr. J. O. Adebayo who was a Telegraphist in the Kano Railway Station brought him to Kano, in 1923. He attended the Holy Trinity School, Kano and later "proceeded to Boys High School Abeokuta between 1944 and 1948. In 1949, he joined the U. A. C. Motor, Gidan Goldie, Kano as a Transit Clerk.
42. On the commercial activities of Engineer Hussein Funso, see, NAK/Local Authority, 451, Vol. 11: Kano Township Layout, 1950, and NAK/LOA/6: Nigeria Local Development: Application for Loan by Engineer Hussein K. A. Funso, 1950-57. Interview with Alhaji Moshood Ismaila, 62, at Technical Village, Kwakwachi Kano on 28th November, 2000. Alhaji Ismaila from Ijebu-Ode attended Baptist School, from Jos 1949 to 1957 and proceeded to Bukuru Technical School. In 1959, he joined Kasrawani (a Lebanese Transport firm), Jos as a motor mechanic. Between 1962 and 1966, he worked with Arab Transport (a subsidiary of Northern Nigeria Development Corporation). In 1966, he joined INCA Nigeria Limited (an Italian Fiat Trucks Sales Company) Kano as a Workshop Manager. In 1979, he resigned and established Alhaji Moshood Ismaila and Sons Motors, Kano.
43. E.A. Ayandele, 1992, *The Ijebu Of Yorubaland...Op. cit* pp. 162- 168; T. Forest, 1994, *The Advance Of African Capital...Op. cit* pp. 60-63 and A. L. Mabogunje, "Adeola Odutola An Entrepreneurial Leadership In Nigerian Economy," in *Thisday Newspaper*, July 3rd, 2002, p. 42.
44. Interview with Mr. Ohiwere Samson, 50, Production Manager at Odutola Tyresoles Company, Kano on 21st May, 2000.
45. NAK/KANOPROF/LAB/14: "Gorsuch11 Report Increase Salary, July – September, 1955.
46. Kano State Commercial and Industrial Handbook, 1977 (Kano: Ministry of Trade, Industry and Co-operatives) p. 83.
47. Interview with Mr. Isaac Adedirin, 75, at No.17, Abedie Street, Sabon-Gari, Kano on 23rd April, 2000 and Mr. Caleb Fabode at 7A Egbe Road, Sabon-Gari Kano on 11th June, 2000.
48. Interview with Mr. Isaac Adedirin on 23rd April, 2000.
49. Interview with Alhaji M. S. Jaji, 62, at No.30 Emir Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano on 25th April, 2000.
50. Interview with Alhaji M.O. Yusuf at No.12 Enugu Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano on 23rd March, 2000.
51. Interview with Mr. Caleb Fabode on 11th June, 2000.
52. Interview with Mr. Taiwo Koleoso, at No.30, Ijebu Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano, on 26th March, 2000.
53. Interview with Mrs. V. O. Oguntuga, 50 at No.30, Awolowo Avenue, Sabon-Gari, Kano on 6th April, 2000.
54. Interview with Mrs. V. O. Oguntuga on 6th April, 2000.
55. Fieldwork in metropolitan Kano, 1999 to 2001.
56. Interview with M. S. Ango, Manager, Hassan Engineering Company, No. 354 Aminu Kano Way, Kano on 6th May, 2000.
57. Interview with M. S. Ango on 6th May, 2000.
58. Interview with Rev. I. Ola Badejo, 80, at Niger Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano, on 28th May, 2000.
59. Interview with Mr. L. K. Ajetunmobi, at No.28, Court Road, Yandoya Market, Kano, on 1st April, 2000.
60. Interviews with Chief Papa Kuyoro, 75, at No.24, Abuja Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano on 24th March, 2000 and Mr. Abdulrauf Oriola, corn mill mechanic, at Yandoya Market, Kano on 14th April, 2000.
61. Interviews with Chief Papa Kuyoro and Rasidat Babalola on 20th May,

62. Interview with Mr. L. K. Ajetunmobi on 1st April, 2000.
63. Interview with Alhaji A. Abiade, 60, Corn Miller and Chairman, Yandoya Grinders Association, Kano, on 23rd March, 2000.
64. ROC BUK, Kano Native Administration, 41, Income Tax: Sabon-Gari, 1943, p. 256.
65. Interview with Mr. Felix Ade Lawal, 60, at Awolowo Avenue, Kano on 18th March, 2000.
66. Interview with Mr. Felix A. Lawal on 18th March, 2000.
67. Interview with Alhaji Suleiman Usman, 60, at Fagge quarters, Kano, on 6th September, 2000.
68. Interview with Alhaji Yekeen Adeyemi, 62, at No. 3, Weather Head Avenue, Sabon-Gari, Kano on 8th May, 2000.
69. Interview with Alhaji Lamidi Olawoyin, 65, at the Yandoya Market, Kano on 16th April, 2000.
70. Interview with Chief C.A. Adeyemi, 54, at Ade Ajasco Electronics, 22 Bello Dandago Road, on 13th July, 2000.
71. Interview with Chief C.A. Adeyemi on 13th July, 2000.
72. Interview with Chief C.A. Adeyemi on 13th July, 2000.
73. Interview with Prince Idris Oyebamire, 50, at Ibadan Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano on 15th July, 2000.

Introduction

Writings on individual roles in relation to the varying Yoruba enterprises in Kano have never been attempted. It is therefore appropriate to discuss the role played by the Yoruba entrepreneurs, traders, artisans and professionals in the Kano economy. The following discussion demonstrates the roles played by the individual Yoruba entrepreneurs as well as the contribution they have made to the growth of the Kano economy. Yoruba artisans and traders in metropolitan Kano were entrepreneurs who were at the forefront of many economic ventures in Kano. Their entrepreneurial careers span over eight decades from 1918 to 1999. Most of them began their careers in government establishments, and expatriate or indigenous firms before founding their own independent enterprises. The artisans went through apprenticeship schemes to acquire the relevant skills. The role of eight artisans and traders and one lawyer in the economy are evaluated (two transporters, one woman leader and food seller, four hoteliers and traders and one cargo/clearing and forwarding agent and one lawyer). These entrepreneurs were selected based on their prominent roles in the various sectors of the economy and the influential roles they played in Yoruba social networks in Kano. They represent different generations and economic phases in the study of Yoruba commercial diaspora in Kano.

Chief D. O. Sanyaolu 1896-1960

The career of Daniel Oguntolu Sanyaolu provides a unique study of the Yoruba traders in the early colonial period. As an entrepreneur he pioneered large scale enterprises in the import/export trade and urban services (hotel and supermarkets).¹ D. O. Sanyaolu was born at Ijeun, Abeokuta, in 1896. He had his elementary education at Abeokuta from where he proceeded to Lagos. In Lagos, he continued his education to acquire Standard Four Certificate.



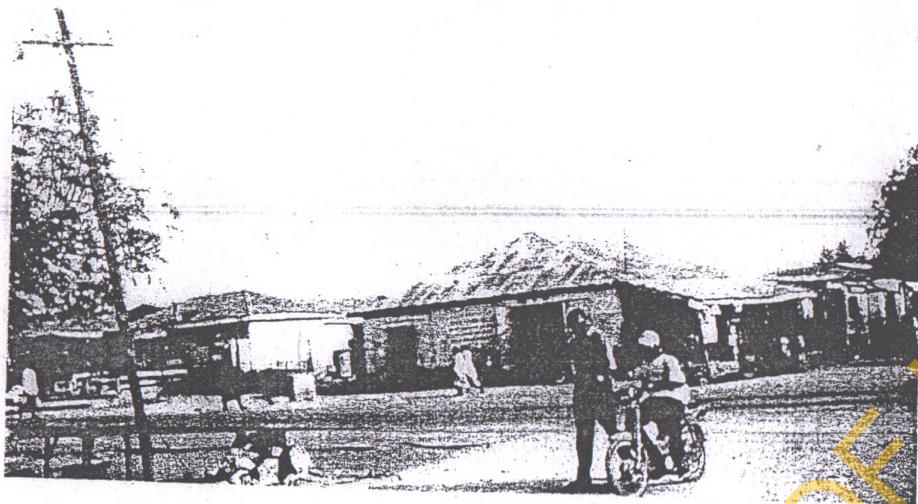
Chief D.O. Sanyaolu

Source: fieldwork in Kano

Sanyaolu's career presented a typical example of African labour in European firms, who having acquired the necessary enterprising skill competed with such firms. In 1915, Sanyaolu joined Lagos Stores Limited as a clerk. He was transferred to Kano in 1916. He established Olude Stores in 1918.² The Store dealt in imported general goods, including cutlery, household utensils, beverages, office equipment, electronics and bicycles. He was also involved in beer/wine sales and distribution.³ In 1935, Sanyaolu expanded his enterprise by rendering services in mortgage business. He became a government auctioneer, contractor, estate and commission agent.

In 1940, he equally became a produce (groundnut) buyer. He acted as a broker, buying produce from itinerant Hausa and Yoruba traders and selling them to the export firms. He employed about fifteen clerks and laborers. He advanced goods and money to other traders who mortgaged their houses and land for loans.⁴

Olude Stores was equally involved in the export of leather goods purchased from Kano local markets through his agents. Olude Stores was one of the approved cattle dealers.⁵ He railed cattle to Ibadan and Abeokuta in exchange for foodstuffs especially *gari* and yam flour.



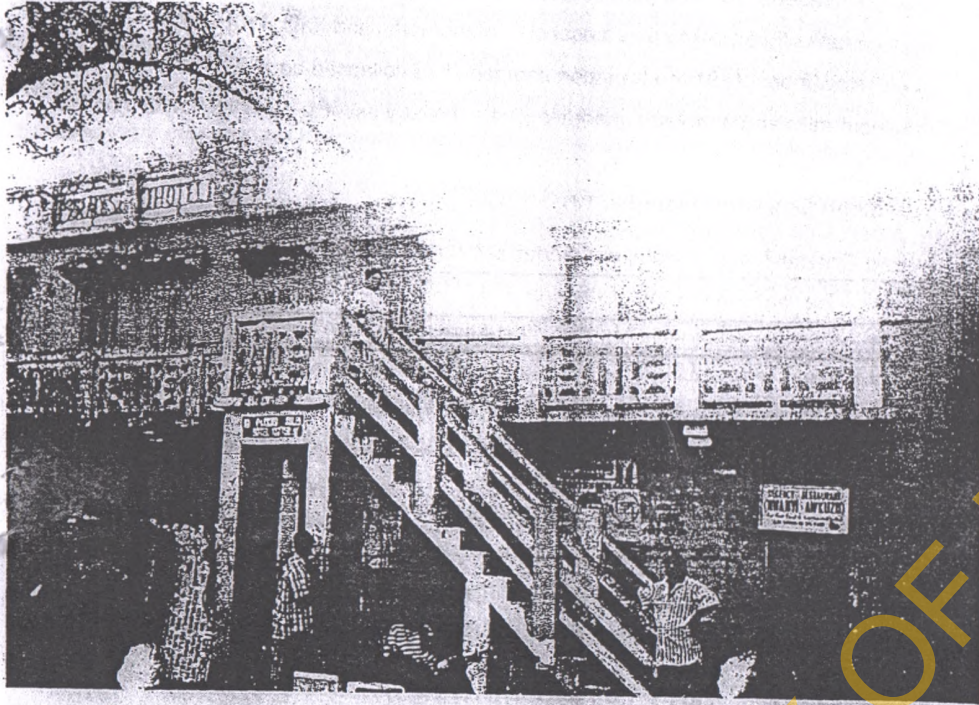
Olude Stores established by Chief D. O. Sanyaolu at Church Rd. Now Awolowo Avenue, Sabon-Gari Kano. Source: Fieldwork in 1999

In the late 1940s, D. O. Sanyaolu invited shareholders from the Holy Trinity Church, Kano that also served as directors of the company for the expansion of business activities. They were, Chief J. S. Adebayo, an Egba Yoruba produce buyer and trader, Mr. Aloba, an Ijebu-jesa trader and Mr. Benjamin O. Sanyaolu (Chief D. O. Sanyaolu's younger brother). The Company opened branches in Lagos and Ibadan.

In 1952, Olude Stores was one of the twenty-three Licensed Buying Agents for the Nigerian Groundnut Marketing Board.⁶ Olude Stores purchased groundnut of about 4,489 tons, which represented 1.1 per cent of the groundnut purchased for the year 1953/54.⁷ During the 1957 produce buying season, an agent of the Olude Stores, Alhaji Sarkin Bai purchased over twenty-four tons of groundnut for, Olude Stores at Kiyawa.⁸

Sanyaolu was equally involved in hotel business. In 1939, Sanyaolu established the first hotel in Sabon-Gari named Colonial Hotel.⁹ The hotel employed a resident musical band called Harlem Dandies Orchestra led by Mr. G. A. Ikomi, a trumpeter. Musicians from Yoruba land especially Yusuf Olatunji, Waidi Adio, Haruna Isola and much later, King Sunny Ade and Dele Abiodun frequently entertained at the hotel.¹⁰ Many Yoruba taxi drivers utilised the hotel as a taxi park. Passengers from the Kano railway station went directly to the Colonial hotel to hire taxis and also to meet their kinsmen.

The Colonial Hotel had a cinema hall. European and African (Yoruba) films were shown with numerous customers attending. The hotel has been the only hotel where Yoruba films are periodically shown since the 1940s. The hotel promoted the films of Hubert Ogunde, Duro Ladipo, Baba Sala, Iso Pepper and many others. These services enhanced the popularity of the hotel and Yoruba culture. The hotel engaged the services of the Hakuri Stores, which specialised in catering and hotel services.



Paradise Hotel (formerly Colonial Hotel) established in 1934 by Chief D. O. Sanyaolu at Ogbomoso Avenue, Sabon-Gari, Kano. Source: Fieldwork in 1999

Political meetings and nationalist campaigns during the post Second World War era in Kano were held at the hotel. The historic tour of Herbert Macaulay (1864-1946), founder of the Nigeria National Democratic Party formed in 1922, to Northern Nigeria was concluded with a speech at the Colonial Hotel where he later collapsed and died while descending the hotel staircase on 7th May, 1946. On November 19th 1950, Mallam Aminu Kano (leader of Northern Elements Progressive Union) delivered a lecture on the British policy of indirect rule at the Colonial hotel. Mallam Aminu Kano used the hotel to deliver an anti-British public lecture: "The Colonial Government Should Import More Machinery and Less Whiskey."¹¹ In 1953, Chief S. L. Akintola's campaign tour to Northern Nigeria on Nigeria's self-government by 1956 was scheduled to take place at the hotel. The campaign tour caused the first Kano riot of May 1953 and thus the campaign could not hold.¹² At independence in 1960, the management changed the name of the hotel to "Paradise Hotel."¹³

On 27th October, 1960, Sanyaolu died at the age of 65. His death had adverse effects on the company. Mr. B. O. Sanyaolu his younger brother and shareholder of the company took over the leadership. In the early 1960s, the importation of household items and electronics stopped due to inadequate capital. The Store concentrated on beer distribution, staple foodstuffs, control of the Paradise Hotel and other estates owned by the company in Kano. Mr. B. O. Sanyaolu also died in June 1969. Mr. Aloba, a shareholder took over control of the company. He concentrated on beer distribution, the foodstuffs trade and leather goods. By 1975, the company was directed by Mr. J. S. Adebayo another shareholder. Mr. Adebayo died in 1982. In May 1984, Chief Alfred Afolarin Ogunmuyiwa, a former sales representative of Odutola Tyresole Kano rented the Hotel for ₦200,000.00 per year paid to the Olude stores. In 1988, he built shops round the Hotel for rentage to Igbo and Yoruba auto spare-part dealers in order to generate more revenue.¹⁴ By 1999, the Hotel concentrated on lodging. Indeed, the commercial activities of D. O. Sanyaolu generated employment opportunities and stimulated other entrepreneurial activities in hotel and trading businesses. However, after the demise of the owner(s), the company neither made generational leap nor capital accumulation that could guarantee its expansion.

Alhaji Raimi Okeniyi, 1896-1991

Raimi Okeniyi was a prominent transporter at Abedie Street, Sabon-Gari in the 1940s.¹⁵ He had about fifteen lorries. He was an oil marketer, produce buyer and corn miller. Okeniyi was born in Ogbomoso in 1896. His grandfather was a textile trader based in Ilorin trading to Lagos, Oke-Ogun and Bida. His father was a tailor as well as a textile trader.

Okeniyi came to Kano in 1922. He established a provision store at the Sabon-Gari market. In addition, he was engaged in tailoring and bicycle repairs. A. J. Karouni, a Fagge based Lebanese transport and produce-buying company employed him as a driver and mechanic.¹⁶ He became the head driver of the company. In 1949, he resigned from the company and invested in transport. As an independent transporter, he used his lorries for trading in goods including locust beans, groundnut, livestock and leather between Kano and Ibadan.

By 1952, he had about fifteen lorries bought from U. A. C. Motors, Gidan Goldie, Kano. His brother, Bamidele Okeniyi worked as a driver and mechanic.¹⁷ He trained other relations, such as Mohammed Olatoyan who became a truck driver.

Okeniyi was one of the earliest transporters in Kano that introduced transport services between Kurmi Market and Sabon-Gari.¹⁸ In 1976, Emir Ado Bayero gave him a plot of land at No.2 Aminu Road, Kano as a motor park. Okeniyi owned some of the houses in Abadie Street Nos. 1, 3, 15 and three others thereby partly solving accommodation problems in metropolitan Kano. He also had farmlands in Bichi and Dambatta, which generated employment and food supplies.

Okeniyi equally invested in corn mill. He had corn mills in many towns/villages in Kano - Dambatta, Gezawa, Gunduwawa and Minjibir. He became an oil marketer and a dealer for Total Oil Nigeria. He established petrol stations at Dambatta and Gezawa. He also had surface tanks for kerosine and diesel oil in Sabon-Gari and Fagge Kano. By the time he died on 8th November, 1991 the transport company had collapsed as a result of mismanagement. The corn mills and petroleum marketing were the only aspects of his business that remained.

Mr. Albert Onayemi Onamusi, 1911- 1970

Albert Onamusi was a prominent trader and baker in Sabon-Gari, Kano, in the 1950s and 1960s. He was born at Ijebu-Itele in 1911. Between 1929 and 1931, he attended St. Andrews College of Education, Oyo.¹⁹ In August 1932, he was registered as a teacher at the Education Office Ijebu-Ode. In 1935, he joined the Nigerian Railway Corporation and was transferred to Zaria and later Kano. He resigned from the wage labour and joined the groundnut trade. He worked for a Lebanese who was an agent of the U.A.C. popularly called Bature in Fagge quarters, Kano. In 1945, he established Itele Trading Stores at No. 60, Niger Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano. The Stores dealt in general goods including textiles, tailoring materials and provisions supplied by Chellarams Stores, Kano. He equally operated airport taxi services in Kano. He employed his younger brother, Jonathan Onamusi as the business manager. In 1948, in order to secure loan for business expansion, he mortgaged his house at No.5 Sanyac Street, Sabon-Gari to the National Bank, Kano Branch.²⁰ In 1950, he established Anfanu Bakery and employed professional bakers. The bakery had mud oven and employed eight workers, which included Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. His business activities were disrupted by the 1966 political crises in Kano and the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970. He left Kano in October 1966 and went to Ijebu-Itele leaving his brother in charge of the business. Every month, he got £50 from five tenants in one of his houses at No. 73, Odutola Street, Sabon-Gari, Kano. His brother who later died after a long illness remitted the rents for the years 1966-1968. The house was taken over by the Caretaker Committee of Abandoned Houses, which had been set up in 1967 to control and manage abandoned properties during the Civil War. Under the Chairmanship of Alhaji Usman Ibrahim, the house was rented to one Adamu Gurum and

the Pilgrim Welfare Board. In August 1969, he returned to Kano and the house was returned to him in 1970 after a court case.²¹

In order to modernise and expand his bakery, he had sent his son, Mr. Dele Onamusi (born in Kano in 1943) to Borough Polytechnic, London to study Baking Technology from 1966-1968. However, the money for the study was largely provided by Mrs. Onamusi who was a rich textile trader. In 1969, Mr. Dele Onamusi took over the bakery business. He took a loan of £12,000 from Union Bank, Kano Branch to modernise the bakery. He bought electric oven, mixing machine, scaling and dividing machines and employed 24 workers who worked on three shifts per day. In 1987, he liquidated the bakery and sold the equipment to Better Life Programme at the rate of ₦200,000.00.²² He expanded the Anfani Book Store, which he established in 1977 into Amazing Grace Limited, Kano that specialised in the importation and distribution of Christian books.

Alhaji Abdullahi Salihu Olowo

The family history of Abdullahi Salihu Olowo has been synonymous with the growth and development of a migrant settlement in Sabon-Gari, Kano. His father, Mohammed Olowo came to Kano as a kolanut and foodstuffs trader from Ilu-Olomo in Ilesa. He settled at Unguwar Ayagi, a Yoruba ward in pre-colonial Kano. In 1916, he relocated from Unguwar Ayagi and settled at No.58 Niger Avenue, Sabon-Gari for closer participation in the economy. Mohammed Olowo was one of the early community leaders of the Yoruba and a founding member of Yoruba Central Mosque Samori-Adeen, Kano, which was established in 1925.

Abdullahi Salihu Olowo was born in 1929 in Sabon-Gari Kano at a time when Sabon-Gari was transforming into a big settlement dominated principally by the Yoruba, Nupe, Sierra Leonians and Ghanaians. For his western education, Abdullahi started very late at the age of ten since he followed his father to farm at Saminaka along Zaria -Jos rail line. In 1939, he enrolled at the Holy Trinity Primary School, Kano (now Dan Waire). Abdullahi had

planned to be a lawyer, but could not further his education when in 1945 two catastrophes struck his career. His mother died on 21st January, 1945. This was followed by his father's death on 30th November, 1945.²³

In 1945, he was employed by the U. A. C. as a messenger on a salary of £1 a month with a food subsidy. He worked at Garko, a village noted for groundnut and cotton. As a messenger, Abdullahi was provided with a bicycle for his daily trips between Garko and Kano in order to deliver or collect mails and run errands. In 1949, he resigned from U. A. C., Gashua.

In 1951, he joined the Leventis Stores in Geidam, buying groundnut, hides and skins and gum Arabic for the company. In 1952, he joined A.G. Chattalas and Company and worked for 7 years (1952-1959). In 1959 he left wage labour and became a trader. He invested in transport between 1959 and 1966. His vehicles were obtained on hire purchase from European companies. He had about four Leyland lorries that conveyed passengers and cash crops especially groundnut between Kano and Azare.²⁴ The lorries were equally used for the foodstuffs trade in groundnut oil, *gari* and yam flour.

He became a contractor to Taylor Woodrow (Nigeria) Limited, a subsidiary of the U.A.C. He was a prominent contractor and a member of Sabon-Gari Indigenous Contractors Association. By 1964, he was appointed a representative of Niger Company. He opened an office at 35, Church Road (now Awolowo Avenue). The Niger Company supplied him with Austin lorries purposely for advertisement. He used the vehicles commercially in conveying passengers, groundnut oil, wood, cotton and leather. Much of his profits were invested in property- buying houses and land. Along Emir Road alone, he had about five modern storey buildings for commercial purposes.

In 1972, his transport business collapsed due to the dishonesty and inefficiency of his drivers.²⁵ Thus, he invested in the hotel business. In that year, he established Bee-Zee-Bee Hotel at No. 35A Warri Road. As the hotel expanded he invited managing partners including Alh. Umaru Na'abba, Alh. Murtala Olayeri and Mallam Nasidi.

On 21st December, 1974, Abdullahi was installed by Emir of Kano, His Royal Highness, Alhaji Adu Bayero, as *Sarkin-Yorubawa* Kano.²⁶ By the late 1970s, he acquired 20 acres of land along Zaria Road with the aim of building a Five Star Hotel. The plan was, however, disrupted by court cases over the ownership of the land. This led to the collapse of his business activities.²⁷



Sarkin Yorubawa, Kano State, Alhaji Abdullahi Salihu Olowo. Source: Fieldwork in 2002

Chief C. A. Giwa

C. A. Giwa, was born in Akoko. He attended St. John School Iloro, Ilesha, where he obtained his Standard Six Certificate in 1937. He worked as a teacher between 1937 and 1940 on a £7. 05. 6d. salary per month. In 1940, S. A. Fajemisin, a prominent groundnut trader based in Kiyawa, invited him to Kano to work as a clerk. He was paid £11 salary per month.

In 1945, Alhaji Nagoda (C.F.A.O.) produce agent employed him as a produce buyer at Gezawa and Ringim. Alhaji Nagoda provided capital of between £500 and £1,000 as advances to farmers through his agents.²⁸ For his services as a buying agent, Giwa received about £15 commission per delivery of groundnut.

In 1948, he joined the U. A. C. as a produce buyer through an Egba Yoruba man, Mr. A. S. Coker who was the first African Manager of the company in Kano. In 1953, after the Kano riot, he started a private business, buying groundnut for Olude Stores during the produce buying season. In the dry season, he became engaged in the foodstuffs and livestock trade between Kano and Ibadan. He railed chicken, guinea fowls and eggs to Ibadan and returned with palm oil as well as *gari*. In 1954, Giwa sold three houses, two in Sabon-Gari, one in Fagge for Olude Stores as a result of his inability to balance accounts arising from the poor returns of the groundnut farmers to whom he had advanced money. In 1960, he invested in the hotel business. In 1966, he established Otolom Prince Hotel, No. 91-92 Yoruba Road (Ogbomoso Avenue) with over ₦2,000. He employed four workers. By the 1970s, he became a distributor of Guinness Brewery and a general contractor.

Hajiya Rabiatu Olatundun Idris (Magajia)

Rabiatu Olatundun was a food seller, contractor and the first Yoruba woman leader in Kano. She was born in 1920 at Ile Are-Okuta, Ibadan. In 1943, she became engaged in long distance trade along with other traders and by 1948, she settled in Kano as a food seller at France Road (now Abuja Road), Sabon-Gari.²⁹

From this humble beginning, she rose to become a commercial and political colossus in the Yoruba diaspora. By 1960, she became the food contractor for the Prison Service in Kano. She employed about twenty sales girls and boys who also served as cooks. It was during this period that she organised the Yoruba Women Food Sellers Association and became their leader.³⁰ As part of her duties, she inspected food for hygiene and taste.³¹ In 1974, her commercial prowess attracted the Emir of Kano, Alhaji Ado Bayero who appointed her as the *Sarkin Mata Yorubawa, Kano State*.³² At this period, her prominence embodied a figure of womanhood characterised by business acumen and political icon. Indeed, the decisive appointment of *Sarkin Mata Yorubawa Kano* repositioned the status of women within the leadership structure of Yoruba community and Kano society at large. In 1979, she was an active supporter of National Party of Nigeria (N. P. N.) due to her long time relationship with Kano politicians, especially Alhaji Sani Wali and Alhaji Yusuf Maitama Sule.³³ She had stalls at Fagge Police Station and Yankaba Market. She had seven stalls in Sabon-Gari Market for foodstuffs and two taxi cars.³⁴ During the Civil War, 1967-1970, abandoned houses were handed over to a Committee, which appointed caretakers that rented them out. Magajia was a member of that committee and the caretaker of four houses throughout the Civil War.³⁵ Her financial contributions to ethnic associations and chieftancy titles prevented her from expanding her business activities.



Yoruba women entrepreneurs at a social function in Kano

Source: Alhaja Sikiratu Olaiya, 1999

Alhaji Ganiyu Bello

Ganiyu Bello from Ibadan was born in Kano in 1933. He had his primary education in Kano from 1940 to 1945. Between 1945 and 1952, he attended Ibadan Boys High School and Ibadan Commercial Academy. In 1955, he joined the Nigerian Railway Corporation in Kano. In 1960, he joined G. Cappa Construction Company as a foreman.³⁶ In 1970, he resigned and became a businessman. In 1971, he established Criss- Cross Organisation, Kano for catering and hotel services. In 1982, he invested in petroleum marketing as a dealer for Mobil Oil Nigeria Limited. He was a pioneer government licence businessman to operate *Bureau de Change* in Kano. He served as a member of Kano State Rent Tribunal, Kano Chamber of Commerce, Association of Petroleum Marketers and Nigeria Institute of Public Relations. He is the Grand Patron of Lagelu Society, Patron of ANWAL Islamic Organisation, Kano, Aaregbe Omo Balogun Maiyegun of Ibadanland, Honorary Doctorate Degree in Business Administration by Kenton University Singapore, 2nd May, 1988, and Justice of Peace, the National Association of Kwara State Student Union, Bayero University, Kano. G.A. Bello is a member of Kano Golf Club, Kano Club and Yoruba Tennis Club, Lagos.

In 1985, the Criss- Cross Organisation expanded with the establishment of GAB Hotel Complex at Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Kano. In 1990, Bello established the Association of Yoruba Residents in Kano (AYOREKAN) as a Pan-Yoruba Association for the protection of Yoruba interests and welfare. In 1995, he founded a Pan Yoruba bank in Kano AYOREKAN Community Bank with a capital base of ₦5million.³⁷ The bank aided the business activities of its customers, mainly Yoruba, who received soft loans and over draft. In 1998, the bank closed down as a result of low patronage and inability to recover loans.

6. 8: Barrister Jonathan Majiyagbe

A senior advocate of Nigeria (S.A.N.) and the President of the Rotary International, Majiyagbe was born in Lagos in July 1934. Majiyagbe family from Abeokuta had a history of

colonial service in Northern Nigeria and the Cameroon.³⁸ His father, Jacob Folorunso Majiyagbe, attended Abeokuta Grammar School in 1914. He joined the Medical Department of the colonial service and worked in Abeokuta, Lagos, Kano, Jos, Kaduna and the Cameroon. His elder brother, James Olatunbosun Majiyagbe (father of Chief Mrs. Kuforiji Olubi) served as Police Officer in Hadejia and Katsina before he became an auctioneer. His younger brother S. A. Majiyagbe worked as a clerk in the colonial service in Kano and Hadejia between 1928 and 1950. In 1948, he was paid £7 salary per month and £72 per year. He retired from the colonial service in April 1950.³⁹

Jonathan Majiyagbe attended primary schools in Lagos, Kano and Jos. Between 1948 and 1953, he attended Government College, Kaduna and Ilesa Grammar School. In 1957, he joined the British Bank for West Africa, Marina, Lagos as a Clerk. He studied Law at the London University, Middle Temple. In 1965, he began his legal career with Barrister F.A. Thani (an Ijebu) in Kaduna and they moved to Kano in 1966. Before the end of the year, Majiyagbe established Majiyagbe Law Firm at Church Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano, which became incorporated in 1971. In 1980, Majiyagbe became a Senior Advocate of Nigeria (S.A.N.), being the first in Northern Nigeria and among the first fifteen in Nigeria.

His legal firm became a training ground for many lawyers in Nigeria. They included, Mr. Olajide Ayodele (S.A.N.), Mr. Okulaja (S.A.N.), Mr. Yemi Johnson (S.A.N.), Mr. Bankole Aluko (S.A.N.), Mr. Orifunmishe (former Attorney General of Niger State), Mr. Mike Ahamba (former Attorney General of Anambra State), Senator Udo Udoma, Mr. Zakari Sogfa (former Attorney General of Kaduna State), Mr. Sola Ojo (Secretary to the Kogi State Government), Prof. Awalu Yadudu, Justice Sabo Adamu and Justice Ahmed Belgore (Judge in The Gambia).

Majiyagbe is a member of the Nigerian and English bars, the Honourable Body of Benchers, the panel that evaluates qualifications of those seeking to practice law in Nigeria and formally calls them to the bar. He is also a member of the Chartered Institute of Arbitrators, London. He is the Chairman of the Kano State branch of the Nigerian Red

Cross and was for many years the Chancellor of the Anglican Diocese of Kano. He is also a member of the Rotary Club of Kano and Kano Chamber of Commerce, Industry, Mines, and Agriculture. In 2003, he was elected as the President of the Rotary International, an organisation he has served for 36 years.

Alhaji Sunmonu Asani

Sunmonu Asani, the proprietor and Chief Executive of Conair Cargo Services Limited was born in 1943, at Oranre Oyi. In 1972, he graduated as a Grade II Teacher from Bauchi Teacher's College. He worked briefly as a teacher and thereafter took up a career in the aviation industry. In 1972, he became a member of Institute of Transport in London and Institute of Export, London. Alh. Sunmonu Asani joined the Nigerian Airways in 1974. Between 1974 and 1978, he attended many seminars and courses in Frankfurt, Amsterdam, London, Spain, New Delhi and Brussels. The courses and seminars gave him much encouragement and required training needed in clearing and forwarding business.

In 1978, he joined the International Messengers Nigeria Limited (IMNL). IMNL operated in London for many years before its establishment in Nigeria in 1978. He was appointed as a Station Manager for the Kano zone. The IMNL was one of the first courier companies that introduced express delivery services in Kano. Due to his experience and managerial ability, the company expanded with about fifteen branches in Northern Nigeria. In 1986, he was promoted to the position of General Manager (Northern Operations).

The Northern Operation, except Benue and Kwara States, made about ₦3,000.00 a month before his appointment as General Manager. From 1986, the Company made over ₦8,000.00 a month carrying cargo, clearing, exporting and air freighting parcels, hides and skins, gum Arabic, kolanuts, ginger and the personal effects of expatriates from Britain, India and far eastern countries.⁴⁰ In 1987, he resigned from the services of the IMNL. He subsequently founded and incorporated his own courier company -Conair Cargo Services Limited. On 2nd, January 1987, the Company started business transactions with a capital base of ₦100,000.00 and five pioneer staff.⁴¹ The Company with its Head Office at 7c

Murtala Mohammed Way Kano, has branches in Lagos, Port-Harcourt, Kaduna and London and engages in clearing and forwarding, shipping agency work, ware housing, haulage, international procurement, freight support services/chartering, import/export consultancy and local supplies.

These services are rendered to numerous manufacturing or processing industries such as Akkad Tanning Company Limited Kano, Gashash Tannery Limited Kano, Kayfab Industries Limited Kano, Algaita Trading Company Kano, The Lee Group Limited Kano, Standard Plastics Limited Kano, Bally Plastic Kano and Zenith Containers Company Limited Port Harcourt.

In 1995, the company expanded considerably. The staff strength was 104 and annual turnover was ₦5 million. The company, in addition, achieved international and local recognition. Conair Cargo Limited was one of the clearing agents honoured with awards by Credit News Lagos in 1995. The company was appointed as the Nigerian Partner by C. K. Cargo Limited, United Kingdom. Further investment was made by the establishment of sister companies that were engaged in trading ventures: Shesun Ventures Limited (General Merchandise) and Jasafa Associates (General Merchandise). Both companies have branches in Kano, Lokoja, Ilorin and Oranre.⁴² Asani is a member Division Three, Ansar-ud-Deen Society of Nigeria; Patron of Jama'at Nasril Islam, Kogi State; Patron, Islamic Youth League, Kano; Otun-Are Musulumi of Okun-Land Kogi State; and the Asiwaju of Oranre.

Alhaji Suleiman Bello Yarda

Alhaji Suleiman Bello Yarda, an Islamic Scholar and businessman, was born in Ogbomoso in 1940. He began Qur'anic education in Ogbomoso at a very tender age. In 1943, his father, Alhaji Mohammed Bello Olaniyi a trained tailor and textile trader migrated and settled in Jos. Yarda enrolled as pupil under a Qur'anic teacher, Alhaji Abdulganiyu of Sabo

Mosque (now Nurudeen Mosque) Adebayo Street, Jos. He also learnt Qur'an from Alhaji Nurudeen Aladire at Cole Street.⁴³

He completed his early Islamic education under Alhaji Jimoh. He proceeded to Ilmi Qur'anic School in Jos under Alhaji Hamzat Salma Agbarigidoma. Between 1948 and 1958, he went along with his teacher on preaching tours to Keffi and Lafia. After his Qur'anic graduation in 1958, he joined his father in tailoring and textile trading in a workshop located at 25/3 Cole Street, Jos. In 1960, he became an independent textile trader and tailor. When Alhaji Abdulsalam Ayinla Sarumi set up Madrasatul Adabiya Al-Islamiyya, Jos, he became a partner.

In 1966, he proceeded to Kano School for Arabic and Islamic Studies. The Plateau State Government sponsored and paid his fees with another £6 allowance per month. He graduated with Merit in 1969. In 1970, he was employed as a teacher by the Kano State Government and was posted to Gezawa but he refused. His refusal was on the grounds that such posting would affect his Islamic activities in Kano City as well as his trading. Alhaji Jimoh Garba, a staff of John Holt, Kano, offered him initial capital of £50, which he refused. He rather engaged Alhaji Garba as his guarantor for credit goods. Through Alhaji Garba, Yarda became a distributor and an agent for Nigerlux Paints, Sabadeen Paints, Nulux, Niger Paints and John Holt. Each of the companies gave him credit goods worth £100. He established a building materials store at 22 Court Road/Yankura (Yarda Building Materials Stores). In 1975, Nigerlux granted him a credit of ₦200,000.00 and by 1976, his turnover was ₦500,000.00.⁴⁴

In 1977, his store became a Limited Liability Company. He opened branches in order towns at Ogbomoso, Sokoto, Maiduguri, Ilorin and Jos. He maintained about three delivery vans for the distribution of building materials. In the same year, he established Zeenat General Enterprises (Electronic Materials) at 15 Court Road Kano. He also opened branches in Lagos and Maiduguri.

In 1978, with the increase in the trading activities of the Yarda Building Materials Limited, the company was relocated to an expansive site at 1A Abuja by Festing Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano. He became a sole distributor in Kano for PZ, IPWA, Berger Paints, Borno Wires, Midlan Galvanising Products. He was patronised by the Kano State Government, Alhasan Dantata and family, Standard Construction, Isyaku Rabi Companies, Contractors as well as individuals.

He invested his money in the estate business by building many houses in Kano for rentage. However, part of his income was spent on the propagation of Islam and philanthropic activities, which incapacitated his business expansion. He promoted the establishment of Islamic associations among the Yoruba community in Kano. Such associations included Ibadu-Rahman of Nigeria, Nurudeen Society, Kano, Islamic Youth League, Young Muslims Association of Nigeria, Kano and Zumratul Ujaj, Kano.⁴⁵

From the early 1980s, the economic downturn and increased competition in the building materials trade led to the collapse of his flourishing-enterprise. In 1985, he lost his father and was asked to return home to Ogbomoso by the family. He eventually left Kano for Ogbomoso in 1986.

Conclusion

These profiles indicate that the Yoruba artisans, professionals and traders constituted part of the stakeholders in the Kano economy. They pioneered some technical skills and aided their spread through the training of apprentices. They invested in a wide range of businesses in order to widen their enterprise and increase their income. The profiles show that Yoruba traders, professionals and artisans were active in both the formal and informal sectors of the Kano economy. Three Yoruba merchants, D. O. Sanyaolu, C. A. Giwa and A. S. Olowo got their capital from expatriate produce buying firms. They subsequently became independent produce buyers. Raimi Okeniyi became a transporter in the post-Second World War period. He invested in transport, corn-mills, agriculture, housing and oil

marketing. Most of the entrepreneurs began their careers as expatriate and indigenous firms' workers where they got their enterprising skills. The artisans were trained through apprenticeship schemes.

Some entrepreneurs started with small-scale enterprises and small workshops before investing in other businesses. Some of them obtained loans from banks and similarly used their network to get goods on credit or hire purchase. Most of them had government patronage. Their principal source of capital was private savings and re-investment. With the exception of Onamusi family business, some of the early establishments could not survive after the demise of their founders due to mismanagement and lack of focus by the successors. Olude Stores collapsed after the death of Sanyaolu. Raimi Okeniyi's transport, corn-mills, oil business and many estates were shared among his children. The transition of business ownership and management from the pioneer to the second generation was often very slow and characterised by family squabbles, intrigues and financial indisciplin. Majority of what became family firms were either shared or liquidated.

The artisans in urban services were in tune with technological development. By acquiring modern machines, they were able to expand their business. Economic recession from the early 1980s and the Structural Adjustment Programmes adversely affected many entrepreneurs and artisans leading to their bankruptcy. Similarly, ethnic conflicts led to the transfer of some enterprises from Kano. Only enterprises in the urban services, especially hotels, survived after the demise of their owners because of their lucrative nature. Entrepreneurs contributed through donations and cash remittance to communal development and participated in township associations. The reward they derived were chieftaincy titles, which made them, spend much more on non-profitable ventures. Social functions diminished money from being invested in commercial enterprise.

Entrepreneurs acted as employers of labour and aided the spread of technical skills among the host community. Yoruba entrepreneurs in Kano exhibited complex forms of labour employment. At one level, most enterprises, in particular small scale ones, could be described as family firms with the employment of exclusively co-ethnic and family members. In many instances on the contrary, Yoruba entrepreneurs hired labour from the host community who were considered less threatening in terms of knowing their business strategies and who might not necessarily be potential competitors. This was equally an attempt by the entrepreneurs to integrate socially and economically into the host society. As shown in the profile of Majiyagbe, Yoruba professionals contributed significantly to the development of the formal sector of the economy in Kano. Yoruba entrepreneurs provided employment, shelter, recreational facilities, transport and investments in oil distribution and agriculture all of which aided the development and growth of the Kano economy.

Notes

1. Fieldwork and Interviews in Sabon-Gari Kano, 1996- 2001.
2. NAK\KanoProf\4292: Report on Native Reservation: Kano Township –List of Small Stores Holders in Sabon-Gari before the establishment of Sabon-Gari Market in 1918, p.17.
3. Interview with Mr. Oladele Awoloto, 87, on 14th December, 1999 and 11th April, 2000 at No.5 Tundun Wada Road, Kano. Oladele came to Kano in 1920.
4. NAK\Kano Prof\6123 A : J.S. Adebayo Plot No. K13 and interview with Chief C. A. Giwa, 14th May, 2000 at No.9, Ogbomoso Avenue Sabon-Gari, Kano. He was a former produce buyer who auctioned about 3 houses for Olude Stores due to his inability to balance account in a poor harvest year.
5. NAK\SNP\17: 14739A Vol. 1: Hides and Skins Regulations: List of Approved Cattle Dealers.
6. J. N. Paden, 1968, *The Influence Of Religious Elites On Political Culture And Community Integration In Kano Nigeria* (Ph. D. Thesis, Harvard University) p.1055.
7. NAK\Kano Prof 70/2/51: minute of meeting 1952/53- 1953/54.
8. RDC\BUK\225\418: Direct Taxation of Groundnut Middlemen: District Administration Kano, 20th January, 1957 and RDC/BUK, Kano NA – G14 Income Tax General: Rich Traders in Sabon-Gari Direct Tax, 1956/59.
9. A. Bako, 1990, *A Socio –Economic History Of Sabon-Gari 1913-1989* (Ph.D. Thesis, Kano, Bayero University) p. 196.
10. Interview with Mr. A. O. Sanyaolu, 57, (son of Mr. B. O. Sanyaolu) at No. 35, Ogbomoso Avenue Sabon-Gari, Kano on 25th August, 2000 and Olude Stores Limited, 1959 Calendar.
11. A. Abba, 1993, *The Politics Of Mallam Aminu Kano* (Kaduna: Vanguard Printers and Publishers Limited) p. 18.
12. H. Wakili, 2001, "Inter-Ethnic Violence: The 1953 Riot In Metropolitan Kano," *FAIS Journal Of Humanities*, Vol. 1, No.4, p. 186.

13. Interview with Chief J. A. Sotayo, 72, Managing Director of Olumo Hotel, Odotola Street, Sabon-Gari, Kano on 12th April, 2000. He was a former employee of Olude Stores.
14. Interviews with A. O. Sanyaolu and Chief G. A. Ogundipe, 60, Chairman Lisabi Club, No.54, Ogoja Avenue Sabon-Gari, Kano 9th October, 1999.
15. Interview with Dr. A. A. Akanbi, 55, at the Federal College of Education Kano, 25th June, 2000.
16. Interview with Mr. Ajiboye J. Ola, 78, Abedie Street, Sabon-Gari, Kano, 23rd May, 2000. He came to Kano in 1938. Interviews with Alhaja Amuda Bamidele, 64 at Abedie Street, Sabon-Gari Kano, 2nd April, 2000 and Mrs. S. A. Olusola, 58, at Abedie Street, Sabon-Gari, Kano, 18th May, 2000.
17. RDC /BUK Kano NA : G14 Income Tax General, Rich Traders in Sabon-Gari, Direct Tax 1956/59.
18. A. Bako, *A Socio-Economic History*. ..Op. cit .p.106.
19. Interviews with Barrister J. B. Majiyagbe (SAN) and Mr. Dele Onamusi, 61, at No. 19, Masama Close, Tarauni, Kano on 12th September, 2004.
20. AHAK/6123A/ Applications for Mortgages, Sabon-Gari, Kano, 1948.
21. Kano State Suit No. K/96/1969: J.A.O. Onamusi Vs. Alhaji Usman Ibrahim and Lawan Tudun Wadan in J.R. Jones, 1971, *Law Reports of the Northern States of Nigeria-N.N.L.R.* (Kaduna: Interim Common Services) pp. 1-3.
22. Interview with Mr. Dele Onamusi, on 12th September, 2004.
23. Interview with Oba Salihu Olowo on 13th December, 1999.
24. Interview with Mr. E. O. Adeyanju, 72, Nnamdi Azikiwe Street, Sabon-Gari, Kano on 4th February, 2000.
25. Interview with Chief Joseph Chukwujugha Ojukwu, 72, No.28 Emir Road, Sabon-Gari, Kano on 6th March, 2004.
26. Interview with Oba Salihu Olowo and *Odua News: Monthly Newsletter of Yoruba Community Kano State*, June 1999 Edition, pp 7-8.
27. Interview with Alh. Usman Adenle, 15th June, 2000 and *Odua News* p. 7.
28. Interviews with Chief C. A. Giwa and Dr. A. U. Dan Asabe on 19th April, 2003. Dan Asabe pointed out that some of the groundnut middlemen were ruthless in the collection of their money from their agents in the case of fraud or inability to deliver groundnut.
29. Interview with Alhaja Sikiratu Olaiya, 95, at Brigade Quarters, Kano on 26th February ,2000.
30. Interview with Alhaja Sikiratu Olaiya on 26th February ,2000.
31. Interview with Prince Adekunle Adelugba, Vice Chairman, Yoruba Community, Kano at No.69, Sabon-Gari, Kano 14th April and 11th May,2000.
32. Interview with Prince Adelugba on 14th April and 11th May,2000.
33. Interviews with Prince Adelugba and Alh. Usman Adenle on 14th April and 11th May,2000.
34. Interview with Prince Adelugba on 14th April and 11th May,2000.
35. A. Bako, 1990, *A Socio-Economic History...op. cit* p. 267.
36. Interviews with Prince Ajayi Memaiyetan on 20th January, 2001.
37. Interviews with Alh. G. A. Bello at 42, Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Kano, on 13th March, 2001: Prince Ajayi Memaiyetan and Prince Adelugba.
38. Interview with J. B. Majiyagbe on 10th, 11th and 13th September, 2004.
39. NAK/Kano Prof/2354/: Mr. Majiyagbe S. A. Personal File, 1928-50.
40. *Biz News Magazine*, Kano, April to September, 1987 p. 28.
41. Company Profile, Conair Cargo Services Limited, Kano.
42. Interview with Chief R. O. Ajiboye, Group General Manager, Conair Cargo Services Limited, Kano on 15th June, 2000.
43. Interview with Alh. Suleiman Bello Yarda, at Warri Road Sabon-Gari,

Kano on 5th June 2000 and at Olopemaarun Area, Ogbomoso on 18th November, 2000.

44. Interview with Alh. Abdulfatai Bello Yarda, Managing Director, Yarda Building Materials Stores Limited, No. 1 A, Abuja Road Sabon-Gari, Kano on 15th April, 2000.
45. Interviews with Alh. Suleiman Bello Yarda and Alh. Abdulfatai Bello Yarda

CONCLUSION

This work has demonstrated that the pursuit of profitable commercial outlets and access to foreign goods had been the hallmark of Yoruba traders for centuries. It was a common belief that the long distance they covered to reach markets offered more profit. Hence, economic advancement induced individual migration to Kano within the kinship networks. A diaspora community was created as an anchor of a larger commercial network between Kano and Yorubaland.

Throughout most of the period covered by this study, Yoruba commerce featured prominently in the changing economic periods of Kano. This was largely a consequence of competitive spirit, and entrepreneurial skills as well as the flexible economic structure of the Yoruba that encouraged occupational mobility. By this, the Yoruba enterprises in Kano manifested in the two simultaneously expanding commercial frontiers, namely formal and informal sectors of the economy. From 1912, Yoruba provided part of the much-needed skilled labour force in the colonial administration and were as well involved in the foodstuffs and livestock trades.

A striking related phenomenon, peculiar to generations of entrepreneurs is that, having gained business or technical experience at government service or expatriate firms, Yoruba entrepreneurs diversified into private enterprise. Indeed, ambitious Yoruba entrepreneurs considered self-employment in private enterprise as the surest route to self-economic advancement, independence and capital accumulation.

For most Yoruba entrepreneurs in Kano, migration occurred within the context of kinship of sub-group connections. Kinship networks served as the centripetal force of considerable influence on Yoruba migration and commercial enterprise in Kano. The pragmatic value of the kinship institution among the Yoruba in Kano was economic co-operation and mutual help that sustained the commercial diaspora. Kinship linkages ensured access to capital and training. These two measures were the major strategies of survival deployed in the highly competitive Kano economy. Entrepreneurial drives of the Yoruba entrepreneurs

enabled them to recruit labour from kinship networks for the expansion of commercial bases within an ethnic fold. What accounts for the preponderance of the Yoruba in the modern technical industries was the deep entrenchment over generations of the apprenticeship scheme nurtured by kinship networks. Indeed, this mechanism facilitated the training of artisans and entrepreneurs. The successful entrepreneurs were equally vital as providers of credit and sometimes temporary shelter or employment for new migrants. Cultural identity and credit schemes, further reinforced bonds of commerce that linked the Yoruba together and made the diaspora community a resource rich human network.

Yoruba in Kano were generally thrift conscious. Business capital was accumulated through informal group lending schemes, especially *Esusu*, *Ajo* and Cooperative unions. Incalculable amounts of income were set aside for savings to create a large pool of capital issued out as loans to entrepreneurs both men and women. Though most of the ethnic and township associations provided the platform for business partnerships, they however expended money on social activities.

As the diaspora of Yoruba in Kano demonstrates, the commercial activities of the migrant community, to a considerable proportion, reflect their social and cultural values. Patterns of investments and commercial partnerships were influenced by kinship and social affiliations. This process ensured sub-group specialisation. For example, entrepreneurs formed partnerships with their townsmen and religious network linkages. However, such partnerships were most often ephemeral as a result of disparities in capital contribution, expenditure patterns and/or mode of livelihood. Yoruba commerce in Kano was segregated by sub-ethnicity and socio-economic status that undermined entrepreneurs from making transition from the informal sector of the economy into manufacturing. Nonetheless, migration creates sites for resocialisation processes for the Yoruba in metropolitan Kano. Indeed, the urban context enabled intermarriages across the labyrinth of Yoruba subcultural groups and constituted the crucial element as cross-cutting solidarity structure.

Throughout the greater part of the period covered in this study, there was a certain degree of ethnic tolerance between the Yoruba migrants and the Hausa hosts due to historical linkages and extensive social networks. The horizontal ties of social networks offered a major strategic truce for peaceful cohabitation between the host and Yoruba migrants but ethnic associations and communal identity among the migrants have weakened this. Linguistic and cultural adaptation of the Yoruba ensured their integration, assimilation and acceptance and which above all, accounted for their commercial success in Kano. Some Yoruba Muslims established their settlements in close proximity within the neighbourhood of the host community. Some Muslim members of the two ethnic groups are equally adherents of Islamic Brotherhood (Sufi), particularly Tijaniyat and Quadriyat. The neighbourhood warmth and reciprocities reinforced unity and solidarity in commercial activities but do not often guarantee safety during the ethnic conflicts.

As commercial migrants, Yoruba in Kano formed part of the consumer population for goods and services produced in and around Kano. Yoruba commerce and enterprise constitute an important revenue base for the host community through the payment of rents, levies, fees and taxes to the government. The Yoruba commercial diaspora in Kano contributed to the socio-economic transformation of their region of origin through cash remittances by individuals and or ethnic associations.

This book reconstructs the major phases of the Yoruba commercial diaspora in order to put its trajectory in perspective. By 1986, the deepening economic crisis accentuated by the Structural Adjustment Programme had tragic ethnic consequences. The contraction in the economy made governments impose embargos on employment and staff "rationalisation" programmes leading to mass retrenchment. Hence, commercial competition was intensified in the informal sector of the economy. Inflation and the devaluation of the national currency resulted in low profits. Wage earners combined *penny capitalism* in the informal sector. The Yoruba commercial diaspora in Kano, therefore, saw its frontiers blocked at a time when dissension across the country intensified. Yoruba commercial monopoly in some technical

industries and skilled labour, education and petty trading steadily declined, but its economic value remained considerable.

As shown in this study, the overriding factor for some Yoruba relocating to their hometowns was the basic desire to return to their roots due to old age or strong pull from family, friends, kinship groups in order to perform leadership and social responsibilities. In recent time, massive relocation has been caused by bankruptcy, occasioned by economic disarticulation and a dramatic rise in the incidence of ethnic unrest that has endangered urban life.

From this social and economic history, the Yoruba diaspora exhibits change, flexibility, mobility and continuity. In all, as the work has outlined, the Yoruba commercial diaspora contributed to the development of the productive base of the economy and constituted a considerable influence on the transformation of Kano into a commercial metropolis in Nigeria. Both Yoruba migrants and the Hausa host community felt ambivalent about the way they lived together. The Yoruba community aspired to integrate into Kano social and economic framework but they also strove to keep their own cultural values and identities through ethnic associations. The two communities have experienced the ambivalent relationship in the historical, economic and social contexts.

The 1999 Sagamu reprisal riot was a crucial moment in the history of the Yoruba in Kano. The Yoruba in Kano who had lived within neighbourhoods dominated by the host community were attacked. In the previous riots in Kano, such Yoruba living in the midst of the host community often enjoyed the confidence and protection of the Hausa neighbours based on the religion of Islam predominantly practiced by both communities. Under socio-economic difficulties, economic competition degenerated into ethnic hostilities and confrontations. In all, the 1999 riots constituted part of the triggers of structurally distorted ethnic relations that flourished under the British rule, which created a dichotomy between

the indigenes and immigrants. The year 1999 marked the greatest exodus of the Yoruba from Kano and therefore manifested in the decline of Yoruba enterprise in Kano.

Postscript

Since the 1999 riots, Kano has witnessed steady influx of new migrants despite the high rate of unemployment, poverty and ethnic and religious conflicts. In spite of the sliding real incomes in the urban economy and diminishing employment in the wage sector, the existence of a flourishing urban informal sector continued to stimulate Yoruba migration to Kano. Indeed, the narrow range of opportunities and resources in their hometowns where some had spent insignificant parts of their lives forestalled some Yoruba migrants' motive of migration from Kano. Some of the younger generation of the Yoruba who were either born or brought up in Kano had a weak link with their original families in Yorubaland. Such Yoruba continued to live in Kano where they have developed extensive social networks with the Hausa host community. Some of those who relocated to their hometowns find their way back to Kano due to their inability to integrate into the socio-economic strata of the society. This trend had a decisive impact on family life among Yoruba in Kano. Some heads of households resettled their families in their hometowns while they continued to live and make money in Kano.

Migratory flows between Yorubaland and Kano continued as township/ethnic associations and religious institutions received and registered new members. Most of the new migrants were young school leavers and artisans seeking employment, educational and market opportunities respectively. Equally important, new associations especially youth clubs and religious institutions were established. For example, Akbarudeen Mosque, Panel Baptist Church, Sabon-Gari, Kano and Ogbomoso Young Stars, Kano was launched after the 1999 riots. The flow of commerce, particularly foodstuffs and livestock trades continued between Yorubaland and Kano.

In the public sector, this process became more convoluted by the mass retrenchment of Yoruba and other non-indigene workers from the services of Kano State government. For

several years, a large number of the retrenched non-indigene workers were contract employees ineligible for government pensions. In 2002, the Kano state purge of at least one thousand of non-indigene workers, including many teachers in the public schools rendered them socially displaced and adrift. Because the vast majority of the southerners were contract employees, they had no legal right to challenge their termination and "most of those fired went back to their own state, where they know no one." Even though the purge was carried out to create jobs for the indigenes, there were not enough qualified indigenes to fill all of the empty positions, especially in the education sector.

Note:

1. "They Do Not Own This Place" Government Discrimination Against "Non-Indigenes" in Nigeria (Human Rights Watch), April 2006, Vol. 18, No. 3 (A) pp. 26-27.

APPENDIX I

LIST OF SMALL STORE HOLDERS IN SABON-GARI RESERVATION
BEFORE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SABON-GARI MARKET IN 1918

Name of Store	Location
Olufade Stores	A1
Charity Stores	B10
Ola Oluwa Stores	B 20
Omosan Stores	C 20
Ola Oluwa Stores	D 20
Niger Bank Stores	E 18
Olu Sesi Stores	F 10
Progressive Trading Company	G 18
Olude Stores	K 13
Ballat Hughes Stores	L1
Ola Oluwa Stores	L13
Abacha Maiduguri Stores	M 7
Oluwa Nipekoyeni Stores	O4

Source: NAK Kano Prof, 4292, Report on Native Reservation: Kano Township, p. 17

APPENDIX II

TRADE ASSOCIATIONS AMONG YORUBA IN KANO, 1980-1999

- Egbe Obinrin Olounje
- Egbe Eleran Yoruba
- Egbe Agbalejo
- Kano Fashion Designers Association
- Oredola Cultural club
- Yoruba Kolanut Sellers Association
- Ewedaiyepo Medical Herbalists Association
- Egbe Elewe Omo
- Yoruba Women Kolanuts Traders
- Gari Sellers Union
- Elubo Sellers Union

Source: Fieldwork in Metropolitan Kano, 1999-2001

APPENDIX III

LIST OF YORUBA ETHNIC, TOWNSHIP, FRIENDSHIP, YOUTH, LABOUR GUILDS AND
CREDIT ASSOCIATIONS IN KANO

1920-1999

TOWNSHIP/ SUB-ETHNIC ASSOCIATIONS

Abeokuta Descendants Union
Ada Progressive Union
Ago-Iwoye Community
Awe Progressive Union
Awori Progressive Union
Badagry Progressive Union
Boripe Descendants Association
Ede Descendants Union
Egba Central Union
Egba Owode Progressive Union
Egbe Omo Egba
Egbe Omo Eko
Ejigbo Progressive Union
Ekiti Progressive Union
Ekiti Youth Association Ekiti (Parapo)
Epe Progressive Union
Erin-Ile Progressive Union
Eripa Progressive Union
Fiditi Progressive Union
Fiditi Progressive Union
Gbagura Descendants' Association
Gbongan Progressive Union
Ibadan Elders Progressive Union
Ibadan United Association

Ifon Progressive Union
Iganna Progressive Union
Igbara Oke Progressive Union
Igbara Oke Progressive Union
Igbara-Odo Progressive Union
Igbeti Progressive Union
Igbomina Descendants Union
Igosun Descendants Union
Ijabe Progressive Union
Ijagbo Descendants Union
Ijebu Igbo Community
Ijebu Iperin Progressive Union
Ijebu Remo Community
Ijebu Young Men Association
Ijebu-Ode Community
Ijeda Progressive Union
Ijesa Progressive Union
Ikire Progressive Union
Ikire Progressive Union
Ile Ife Progressive Union
Ilobu Progressive Union
Ilobu Progressive Union
Ilora Progressive Union
Ilorin Descendants Union
Ilorodu Progressive Union
Ipee Progressive Union
Iragbiji Descendants Association
Iseyin Progressive Union
Iwo Progressive Union
Lisabi Club
Lora Progressive Union,

Lumesi Progressive Union
Modakeke Progressive Union
Modakeke Progressive Union
Oba-Osun Progressive Union
Odogbolu Community
Ofa Descendants Union
Ogbomoso Descendants Union (Ogbomoso Parapo)
Ogun Waterside Progressive Union
Oke-Iho Progressive Union
Okun Descendants Association
Ondo-Egi Progressive Union
Osogbo Progressive Union
Otan Aiyegbaju Descendants Association
Owo District Union
Owu National
Oyan Progressive Union
Oyo Descendants Union
Oyo United Union
Oyo United Union
Saki Parapo
Yewa Progressive Union

WOMEN SOCIETIES AND YOUTH CLUBS

14 Members Social Club
Agbale 88 Club
Alpha Sisters Club, Kano
Atewogbeja Club
Crown Club
Egbe Friendly Society (Ogbomoso Women)
Egbe Odo Ajisaari
Egbe Ogbomoso Ajilete

Ekiti Ifelodun Club
Ekiti Youth Association
Elite Ladies Social Club
Ifedapo Friendly Association
Ijakadi Progressive Club
Ikirun Diamond Members
Ikirun Standard Club
Irawo Oluyole Social Club
Irawo Owuro Osogbo Dola Youth Social Club
Irepodun Society
Lamondi Club
Mapo Club
Ofa Dynamic Club
Ogbomoso Parapo Women Wing
Ogbomoso Young Elite Club
Ogbomoso Youth Movement
Okin Club of (Kano) Nigeria
Olalomi Progressive Club
Omolere Social (Women) Club
Osogbo Diamond
Osogbo Dun Society
Osogbo Glory Club
Osogbo Ten Members
Owo United Club
Progressive Social Elites
Soun Social Club
Supreme Okiki Elite Club
Yoruba Community Women's Wing

YORUBA RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS, KANO 1921-1999

YORUBA CHRISTIAN ORGANISATIONS IN KANO

Aladura Church
Baptist Church
Cherubim and Seraphim Church
Christ Apostolic Church
Holy Trinity Anglican Church
Methodist Church
Oke-Ayo Cherubim and Seraphim Church
The Apostolic Church
WOSEM Church

YORUBA MUSLIM ORGANISATIONS IN KANO

Akbarudeen Society
Ansar-al-deen Society
Ansar-ul Islam Society
Anwar-al-deen Society
Anwarul Islam Movement of Nigeria
Bashrudeen Allah is one
Council of Muslim Community Young Muslims Association of Nigeria
Fityatul-deen Society
Gaoshudeen Society
Ibadan Rahaman of Nigeria
Islamic Youth League
IT-AD-Ansar Falilat Tijaniyat
Nawarul-deen Society
Nurudeen Society
Samon-Ad-deen Society
United Muslim Council
Zumuratul-Ujaj Society

YORUBA ETHNIC ASSOCIATIONS

Yoruba Community Kano
Yoruba Community, Association, Naibawa Branch
Yoruba Community, Mariri Branch
Yoruba Community, Tukuntawa Branch
Yoruba Community, Yankaba Branch
Yoruba Community, Zango Dakata Branch

STATE ASSOCIATIONS

Ekiti State Indigene Association
Kogi State Indigene Association
Kwara State Indigene Association
Lagos State Association
Ogun State Association
Ondo State Association
Osun State Indigene Association
Oyo State Indigene Association (Oyo Peju)

Source: Fieldwork in Metropolitan Kano, 1999-2001

APPENDIX IV
COÖPERATIVE UNIONS AMONG THE YORUBA IN KANO, 1995-1999

Oyo Atiba Cooperative Investments and Credit Societies Limited

Ibukun Olu (i) CICS Ltd.

Ibukun Olu (ii) CICS Ltd.

Aranse Oluwa CICS Ltd.

Ibukun Olu Women CICS Ltd.

Abodedayo Osun Cooperative Union.

Ope Oluwa (i) CICS Ltd.

Ope Oluwa (ii) CICS Ltd.

Ola Oluwa (i) CICS Ltd.

Ola Oluwa (ii) CICS Ltd.

Olorun Sogo CICS Ltd.

Orisun Bare CICS Ltd.

Oriire Women CICS Ltd.

Source: Fieldwork in Metropolitan Kano, 1999-2001

APPENDIX V
HOTELS OWNED BY YORUBA IN KANO, 1939-1999.

Hotel	Address
Paradise Hotel (formerly Colonial Hotel 1939-1960)	23, Ogbomoso Avenue, Sabon-Gari
Obanta Hotel	64, Awolowo Avenue, Sabon-Gari
Martins Hotel	14, Abuja Road, Sabon-Gari
Olumo Hotel	73, Odutola Street, Sabon-Gari
Bee Zee Bee Hotel	35 A, Warri Road, Sabon-Gari
Great Nigeria Hotel	19, Abeokuta Road, Sabon-Gari
Remco Hotel	61, New Road, Sabon-Gari
Tower Hotel	64, Aba/Igbo Road, Sabon-Gari
Oasis Hotel	18, Emir Road, Sabon-Gari
Sky World Hotel	95, Niger Road, Sabon-Gari
Palm Height Hotel	34, Ogbomoso Avenue, Sabon-Gari
GAB Hotel	42, Ibrahim Taiwo Road
Criss Cross Hotel	3-5, Ibadan Road, Sabon-Gari
Otolomi Prince Hotel	90/91, Ogbomoso Avenue, Sabon-Gari
Ariya Hotel	56, Abedie Street, Sabon-Gari
Dalas Hotel	6, Weather Head Avenue, Sabon-Gari
G. K. Hotel	31, Odutola Street Sabon-Gari
Hotel De Mikela	4, Awolowo Avenue, Sabon-Gari
Hotel la Mirage	18, New Road, Sabon-Gari and 27, Enugu Road, Sabon-Gari
Mikky Joky Guest Inn	48, Ogbomoso Avenue, Sabon-Gari
Nova Guest Inn.	24, Niger Road, Sabon-Gari

Source: Fieldwork in Kano Metropolis, 1999-2001.

APPENDIX VI
YORUBA PHOTOGRAPHERS IN KANO, 1940-1999.

S/N	Name of Studio	Year of Establishment	Address
1.	Otun and Sons Photo Studio	1940	66, Niger Road, Sabon-Gari
2.	Babatunde Photos	1963	25, Aba Road, Sabon-Gari
3.	Hope Photos	"	43, Sanusi Street, Sabon-Gari
4.	Merry Photos	"	63, Aba/Igbo Road, Sabon-Gari
5.	Jimmy Photos	"	France (Abuja) Road, Sabon-Gari
6.	Cokes Photos	"	43, Yoruba (Ogbomoso) Sabon-Gari
7.	OduSCO Photos	"	43, Yoruba (Ogbomoso) Sabon-Gari
8.	Kunle Koya Photos	1964	65, Niger Road, Sabon-Gari
9.	Mustapha Photos	"	Kofar Mata.
10.	Mustapha Lawal Photos	"	Kofar Nassarawa
11.	Prince Amao Photos	"	18, Brigade quarters.
12.	Ade Photos	"	13, Ibadan Road, Sabon-Gari
13.	Hamdala Photos	"	Sheshe quarters
14.	Negro Photos	"	Fagge quarters
15.	Rex Photos	1966	48, Church Road, Sabon-Gari
16.	Yakubu Photos	1969	11, France Road, Sabon-Gari
17.	Fela Photos	"	15, Gwale quarters
18.	Olu Emperor Photos	"	24, Koki quarters
19.	Ear Life Photos	"	27, Zaria Road
20.	Olufemi Photo Services	"	650, Yankaji Bus Stop, Brigade quarters.
21.	Kings Photos	1971	25, Emir Road, Sabon-Gari
22.	Adeboye Photos	"	13, Brigade quarters.
23.	Omope Photos	"	71, Bello Dandago Road
24.	Nasara Photos	1972	80, Niger Road, Sabon-Gari
25.	Wale Professional Photos	1973	61, Niger Road, Sabon-Gari
26.	Oloke Photos	"	15, Brigade quarters.
27.	Oju Fni Mala Photos	"	84, Brigade quarters.
28.	Hamzat Photos	"	Agadzawa quarters.
29.	Rabiu Photos	"	Kofar Shahunci
30.	Mrs. Olufemi Photo Studio	"	18, Gwamaja quarters
31.	Bammy Photos	1977	1, Sanusi Street, Sabon-Gari
32.	Innocent Photos	"	34, Kofar Nassarawa
33.	Chester Photo Studio	"	39, Ijebu Road, Sabon-Gari
34.	The World Paragon Photo	"	41, Ijebu Road, Sabon-Gari

Studio	Year	Address	
35.	Tunsin Photo Studio	1978	19, Brigade quarters
36.	Yinkus Photo Studio	1980	46, Yoruba (Ogbomoso) Road, Sabon-Gari
37.	St. Hope Colour Laboratory	"	41, Sanusi Street, Sabon-Gari
38.	Olu Professional Colour Laboratory	"	17, Sarkin Yaki.
39.	Hassan Photo Studio	"	14, Aminu Kano Way
40.	Supreme Colour Laboratory	"	32, New Road, Sabon-Gari Laboratory
41.	Fototek Industries	"	15, Nomansland.
42.	Royal Satima Photo	1981.	399, Hausawa quarters. Studio
43.	The Highness Photo	1982	400, Hausawa quarters. Studio
44.	Photo Palace	1990	17, Bello Road.
45.	Konica-Fotofair	"	42, Galadima
46.	Climax Photo Colour Laboratory	1993	60, Ibrahim Taiwo Road
47.	Alphine Colour Laboratory	"	7E, Ibrahim Taiwo Road.
48.	Paul Ince Photos	1995	27, Aminu Kano Way.
49.	Photo 2000	1996	12, Kofar Mazugal.
50.	Olufemi Colour Laboratory	"	55, Sabontiti.
51.	Olufemi Photo Services	"	64, Aminu Kano Way
52.	Uncle Eagle Colour Laboratory	1998	7, Mohammed Murtala Way.
53.	Photo Quick	"	11, Mohammed Murtala Way
54.	Photoland	1999	33, Bello Road.
55.	Fotoklinic	"	314, Zungeru Road.
56.	Alasco Colour Laboratory	"	10, Onitsha Road, Sabon-Gari
57.	Adesco Colour Laboratory	"	5, Onitsha Road, Sabon-Gari

Source: Fieldwork in Kano Metropolis, 1999-2001.

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Name	Age	Occupation	Ethnic/Place of origin	Place	Date of interview
Abbas S.	70	Taxi Driver	Yoruba	Kano	November, 1999
Abiade A.	50	Corn Miller	"	Kano	March, 2000
Abiola N. A. (Mrs.)	56	Trader	"	Kano and Gumel	August, 1999 and 2001.
Abiola Y.	59	Butcher	"	Kano	October, 1999.
Abolarinwa I.	45	Panel Beater	"	Kano	September, 1999.
Abdul A. W.	45	Photographer	"	Kano	May, 2000.
Abdulkareem I.	50	Printer	"	Kano	May, 2004
Abdul L.	60	Trader	"	Kano	April, 2000.

Adebayo R.A	81	Contractor	"	Kano	April, 2000.
Adebisi I.	50	Painter	"	Kano	April, 1998 and July, 2000.
Adebowale A.	53	Contractor	"	Kano	June, 2000
Adedotun I. (Mrs.)	59	Baker	"	Kano	December, 2000
Adedirin E. A.	80	Oil Marketer	"	Kano	March, 2000
Adedirin I. A.	75	Electrical Engineer	"	Kano	April, 2000.
Adekoya A.	50	Photographer	"	Kano	March, 2000
Adekunle A.	70	Community leader	"	Kano	May, 2000
Adeoti O.	60	Retired Civil servant/Community leader.	"	Kano	May, 2000
Adeoye N.	69	Painter	"	Kano	September, 2000
Adeoye S.O.	52	Insurance broker	"	Kano	August, 2000

Adeleke I. A.	58	Trader	"	Kano	April, 2000
Adeleru S. G.	50	Beans Trader	"	Kano	April, 2000
Adeniyi M.	53	Beans Trader	"	Kano	April, 2000
Adesina A. (Mrs.)	64	Soda Soap Maker	"	Kano	December, 1999- February, 2001
Adesinmirin M.A.	50	Photographer	"	Kano	June, 2001
Adeyemi C. A.	54	Electronics Repairs	"	Kano	May, 2000.
Adeyanju E.O.	72	Trader	"	Kano	March, 1999 - May, 2002
Adeyemi Y.	62	Goldsmith	"	Kano	February, 2000-2001
Abdul L.	64	Trader	"	Kano	April, 2000
Abdul A.W.	45	Photographer	"	Kano	May, 2000
Abiade A.	60	Corn Miller	"	Kano	March, 2000
Agbaje R. (Mrs.)	61	Soda soap maker	"	Kano	Dec., 1999 - February, 2001
Ahmed I.	52	Clerk	"	Kano	June, 2000
Afolabi A.	52	Transporter	"	Kano	January, 2000
Aiyelangbe J.P.	56	Medical Doctor	"	Kano	October, 2000
Ajike F.	58	Herbalist	"	Kano	February, 2000
Akanbi A.	75	Trader	"	Kano	March, 2004
Akanbi A.A.	60	Lecturer	"	Kano	June, 2000

Akeloko R.O.	64	Contractor	"	Kano	September, 1999
Akosile O.	67	Baker	"	Kano	March, 2000
Akwueke O.	59	Trader	Igbo	Kano	April, 2000
Alaadorin M.	49	Foodstuffs Trader	Yoruba	Kano	August, 1999
Alade E.A.	64	Printer	"	Kano	August, 1999
Alade M.A.	60	Contractor	"	Kano	January, 2000 March, 2002
Alo I.	42	Barber	"	Kano	August, 1999
Aminu A.	47	Trader	"	Kano	April, 2000
Ango M.S.	49	Manager	"	Kano	May, 2000
Arogundade S.O. (Mrs)	54	Hotiler/Comm unity leader	"	Kano	May, 2000
Ayodele O.	43	Accountant	"	Kano	July, 2000
Awe O.	63	Lawyer	"	Kano	April, 2000
Awotolo O.	87	Tailor	"	Kano	April, 2000
Babalola S.O.	47	Chemist	"	Iro Ekiti	March, 2000
Badejo O.	80	Printer	"	Kano	January-May, 2000
Bajulaiye B. A.	65	Company worker	"	Kano	March, 2000
Balogun O.A.	52	Community leader	"	Kano	June, 2000
Bamidele A.(Mrs.)	64	Trader	"	Kano	March, 2000
Barde I.	50	Oil Marketer	Hausa	Kano	June, 2002
Beerebe I.	56	Beans Trader	Yoruba	Kano	April, 2000
Bello A. (Yarda)	45	Trader	"	Kano/Og bomoso	April, 2000 - July, 2000
Bello S. (Yarda)	62	Religious leader	"	Kano	June, 2000 - May, 2001
Depo J.G.	62	Photographer	"	Kano	May, 2000
Dopemu L.	50	Herbalist	"	Kano	May, 2000
Efura L.	70	Herbalist	"	Kano	February, 2000
Ehidiامن A.	70	Photographer	Edo	Kano	May, 2000
Emmanuel B.	56	Transporter	Yoruba	Kano	March, 2000
Fabode C.	63	Electrical Engineer	"	Kano	June, 2000
Fasola F. (Mrs.)	75	Cook	"	Kano	March, 2000
Fadesere F.	56	Photographer	"	Kano	October, 1999

Fagge S.	60	Car Dealer	Hausa	Kano	June, 2002
Fehintola E.A.	60	Artist	Yoruba	Kano	April, 2000
Fehintola G. O. (Mrs)	49	Nurse	"	Kano	April, 2000
Fasasi S.	62	Kolanuts Trader	"	Kano	April, 2001
Filani K. (Mrs.)	64	Kolanuts Trader	"	Kano	April, 2001
Folasade O. (Mrs.)	47	Kolanuts Trader	"	Kano	April, 2001
Garba M.	54	Tailor	Hausa	Kano	June, 2002
Gbadebo A. A.	41	Photographer	Yoruba	Kano	April, 2000
Gbolagade M.	50	Electronics Engineers	"	Kano	March, 2000
Giwa C.A.	80	Hotelier	"	Kano	March, 200
Ibrahim A.	47	Kolanuts Trader	"	Kano	April, 2000
Ibrahim L.	45	Fruits Dealer	Hausa	Kano	April, 2001
Ibrahim L.	60	Transporter	Yoruba	Kano	March, 2000
Ibrahim M.	50	Technician	Hausa	Kano	March, 2000
Ibrahim N.	56	Photographer	"	Kano	May, 2000
Ibrahim S.	75	Community leader	"	Kano	July, 2001
Idris G.	51	Photographer	"	Kano	April, 2001
Idowu A.	52	Painter	Yoruba	Kano	October, 1999
Idowu B.	60	Carpenter	"	Kano	February, 2001
Inuwa S. B.A.	70	Community leader	Hausa	Kano	July, 2000
Ismail R. (Mrs.)	64	Herbalist	Yoruba	Kano	June, 2000
Ismaila M.	62	Motor Mech.	"	Kano	November, 2000
Iwaloye F.F.	57	Photographer	"	Kano	October, 1999-February, 2001
Jaji M.S.	62	Electrical Engineer	"	Kano	April, 2000-February, 2001
Jegade A.	59	Community leader	"	Gumel	March, 2004
Jimoh T.O. M.	50	Printer	"	Kano	May, 2001
Kobomoje S.A.	65	Tailor	"	Kano	April, 2000
Kuyoro P.	75	Corn Mill Dealer	"	Kano	March, 2000

Lasisi M. (Mrs)	80	Herbalist	"	Kano	February, 2000
Lawal A.	61	Community leader	"	Kaduna	February, 2004
Lawal F. A.	60	Goldsmith	"	Kano	March, 2000
Lawal Y.	57	Photographer	"	Kano	February, 2000
Lesado J. (Mrs.)	70	Textile Trader	"	Kano	March, 2000
Maikarmami H.	85	Trader	Hausa	Kano	December, 2000
Mairanda Tara A. (Mrs.)	65	Herbalist	"	Kano	December, 2000
Maitama-Sule Y.	79	Politician and Community leader	"	Kano	Septemer, 200
Majiyagbe J.	78	Legal Practitioner	Yoruba	Kano	September, 2004
Mama Sule (Mrs.)	75	Soda soap maker	"	Kano	February, 200
Mohammed S.	42	Taxi driver	Hausa	Kano	March, 2000
Muftau S.	46	Civil servant	Yoruba	Kano	May, 2000
Musa S.	55	Construction worker	Hausa	Kano	March, 2004
Mustapha M.	50	Manager	"	Kano	November, 2003
Nadala A.B.	62	Trader	"	Kano	May, 2002
Nuhu A.	50	Oil Marketer	"	Kano	June, 2002
Obiorah N.	47	Trader	Igbo	Kano	July, 2000
Odeyemi O.	59	Photographer	Yoruba	Kano	April, 2000
Odigwu C.	57	Spare parts trader	Igbo	Kano	May, 2000
Odusanya L. P.	62	Photographer	Yoruba	Kano	August, 2000

Ogundipe G.A.	60	Community leader	"	Kano	October, 1999
Ogunmogun F.	75	Bricklayer	"	Kano	February, 2001
Oguntoyinbo G. A.	69	Community leader	"	Kano	February, 2000
Ogunluga V.O. (Mrs.)	50	Trader	"	Kano	April, 2000
Ohiwere S.	50	Production Manager	Edo	Kano	April, 2000
Ojo M. A.	45	Corn Mill Trader	Yoruba	Kano	March, 2000
Ojukwu C. J.	72	Community leader	Igbo	Kano	March, 2004
Okpapi A. (Mrs.)	45	Trader	"	Kano	July, 2000
Ola A. J.	75	Trader/tailor	Yoruba	Kano	March, 2000
Olaiya S. (Mrs.)	95	Trader	"	Kano	February, 2000- May, 2003
Olalere A.	55	Community leader	"	Kano	June, 2000
Olaniran D.	65	Baker	"	Kano	December, 2000
Olatidoye A.	56	Barber	"	Kano	May, 2000
Olawayin L.	65	Aluminium Pot maker	"	Kano	April, 2000
Olowo A. S.	77	Community leader	"	Kano	August, 1999- March, 2003
Olowookere S. F.	60	Motor Dealer	"	Kano	January, 2001
Olowookere L. O.	65	Trader	"	Kano	January, 2001
Olusola S. A.	58	Tailor	"	Kano	May, 2000

(Mrs)					
Omorie C.Y.	44	Trader	Edo	Kano	May, 2000
Oparinde S. O.	54	Community leader	Yoruba	Kano	December, 1999
Oriola A. R.	52	Corn Mill Mechanic	"	Kano	March, 2000
Oria S.	60	Construction Worker	Hausa	Kano	March, 2004
Osoh S.	32	Computerist	Edo	Kano	Sept., 2004
Owolabi A. A.	50	Printer	Yoruba	Kano	June, 2000
Oyebamire A.	50	Trader	"	Kano	July, 2000
Oyebisi S. A.	55	Insurance Broker	"	Kano	May, 2001
Oyekola S.A.	73	Herbalist	"	Kano	March, 2000
Oyewole F.	42	Manager	"	Kano	May, 2000
Popoola A.	50	Taxi Driver	"	Kano	March, 2000
Ramson B. Mrs.	48	Traditional Healer	"	Kano	April, 2000
Sabo A.	61	Trader	Hausa	Kano	July, 2001
Saidu I. A.	65	Trader	"	Kano	July, 2001
Salaudeen S. (Mrs.)	50	Community leader	Yoruba	Kano	May, 2001
Sanni A.	60	Printer	"	Kano	January, 2001
Sanusi A. (Mrs.)	60	Trader	"	Kano	February, 2001
Sanusi R. O.	60	Trader	"	Kano	June, 2000
Sanyaolu A. O.	57	Contractor	"	Kano	June-August, 2000
Shittu H.T.	65	Carpenter	Yoruba	Kano	May, 2000
Shittu H.K.	65	Carpenter	"	Kano	May, 2000
Sotayo J.A.	72	Hotelier	"	Kano	April, 2000
Steve A.	50	Lecturer	Edo	Kano	May, 2000
Sule M. (Mrs)	75	Soda soap maker	Yoruba	Kano	December, 2001
Teniola Y. Mrs.	58	Hotelier	"	Kano	May, 2000
Tijjani O.	60	Contractor	"	Kano	May, 2001

Usman K.	51	Trader	Ebira	Kano	February, 2001
Usman S.	60	Goldsmith	Yoruba	Kano	September, 2000
Walker A. (Mrs.)	78	Hotelier	Sierra-leonean	Kano	March, 2000
Yakubu B.M.	56	Civil Servant	Nupe	Kano	March, 2000
Yaro M.	51	Fruits dealer	Hausa	Kano	April, 2001
Yau, I.	64	Religious leader	Hausa	Kano	December, 2001
Yusuf A.	57	Trader	"	Kano	May, 2000
Yusuf M. O.	53	Electrical engineer	Yoruba	Kano	March, 2000
Zakariyau B.	64	Auto Mechanic	Ebira	Kano	April, 2001
Zango N.	51	Trader	Hausa	Kano	June, 2000
Zubair M.S.	50	Civil Servant	Ebira	Kano	April, 2001

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