A HISTORY OF IGBO-MIGRANT COMMUNITY IN KATSINA METROPOLIS, 1903 – 2011

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this study is the product of my own research work and that it has never been submitted in any previous application for the award of higher degrees. All sources of information in this study have been dulyand specifically acknowledged by means of reference.

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CERTIFICATION

This Thesis titled "A HISTORY OF IGBO–MIGRANT COMMUNITY IN KATSINA METROPOLIS, 1903 – 2011" by WYCLIFF Samuel, has been certified to have met part of the requirements governing the award of Master of Arts (M.A) Degree in Department of History, Faculty of Arts, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my dad Mr. Wycliff Clifford and siblings Yakubu Clifford, Ibrahim Clifford, Mary Wycliff, Martha Wycliff, Amos Clifford, Joseph Clifford, Justina Clifford and Alex Clifford fortheir patience, love and prayers.

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ABSTRACT

Migration and inter-group relations is a historical phenomenon relating to the formation of Nigerian society that has attracted many studies. Human beings moved from one place to another in search of varieties of things such as economic opportunities and security. Through oral interviews, thesis, books and careful examination of archival materials among several other sources, this study examined the factors of migration of Igbo community into Katsina metropolis, 1903 to 2011. It seems that the migration of Igbo into Northern cities of Nigeria in general was influenced by many factors which included the establishment of the British Royal West African Frontier Force (WAFF), colonial firms, Sabon Gari and Tudun Wada settlements, missionary schools, aftermath of the Nigerian Civil War, commerceand family bonds but the case of Katsina was different. For example, there was no rail station or termina to Katsina as was the case of Nguru, Kaura Namoda, Zaria, Kano and Gusau for that matter. Similarly, unlike these cities mentioned above, Katsina had no Sabon Gari and Tudun Wada that were specially reserved for non-indigene settlers. The absence of Sabon Gari and Tudun Wada was due to non-declaration of Katsina as a township by the colonial authority during the colonial period. There was also little influence of missionary schools to attractIgbo migrantsinto Katsina as compared to most Northern cities. The research also revealed that, the loyalty/liberal disposition of Dikko to the British, and the highly cosmopolitan nature of Katsina metropolis, the tolerance and the famed hospitality of the indigenes of Katsina,National Youth Service (NYSC)Scheme, all contributed to the migration of the Igbo- migrant community into Katsina. The study further examined Igbo contributions towards the economic development of Katsina metropolis as well as why their rate of integration was basically commercial but socially slow compared to Yoruba and Nupe migrants. From this study, it is clear that the migration of Igbo community to Katsina metropolis was as a result of push and pull factors and inter-group relations.

PREFACE

The work explored the migration of Igbo into Katsina metropolis from 1903 to 2011and is divided into six chapters. Chapter one gives us the general introduction of the work and incorporates the theoretical framework of the study as well as the literature review. Chapter two is on the background history of Katsina metropolis up to 1900 with special emphasis on socio-economic and political issues. The chapter specifically discusses the role of commerce in enhancing migration and inter-group relations in Katsina metropolis long before the migration of Igbo community.

Chapter three examines the history of the Igbo immigration to Northern Nigeria down to Katsina Metropolis with special focus on the nature and reasons for their immigration, their settlement pattern during the colonial period to the eve of the Nigerian Civil War, the post-civil war period. The chapter further examines the issues surrounding Sabon Gari phenomenon in Katsina metropolis.

Chapter four examinesthe role of Igbomigrants in the economy of Katsina metropolis from 1966 to 2011. The discussion looks at the Nigeria Civil War and the extent to which Igbo exodus affected the economy and society of Katsina metropolis. The chapter further analyses post-civil war social and economic activities among Igbo migrants in Katsina i.e. the Igbo enterprises, occupations and apprenticeship system. It also looks at the Igbo women in the economy of Katsina metropolis and the factors responsible for the success of the Igbo entrepreneurs in Katsina metropolis which indeed brought growth and development to Katsina metropolis likewise the reactions of *Katsinawa* towards Igbo control of some

businesses in the metropolis and the nature of their exploitation in prices of goods and services.

Chapter five looks at the social and political life of the Igbo in Katsina metropolis. The chapter specifically addresses the issues of Igbo migrant community integration, prospects and challenges in the study area despite the number of years they had spent in Katsina.

Chapter six is the general conclusion of the work. The chapter organization is structured to take care of the study in its entirety.

GLOSSARY

IGBO	HAUSA	ENGLISH
	Fura da Nono	1. Balls of cooked millet in cultured milk or, Gruel made by mixing these balls with sour milk or, less other, with water and tamarind
	Sabon Gari	New Town
	Katsinawa	People of Katsina
	Bakatsine	Katsina man
	Kisan Gwarawa	A term used by Katsina people in describing killing of Igbo during the Nigerian Civil War
	Gari	Town
	Gari	Food made from Cassava
	Birni	City, urban centre
	Mai Unguwa	Ward Head
	Hakimi	District Head
	Unguwa	Ward
	Ba mu yarda ba	We do not agree
	Sabon Gida	New House
	Gwanjo	Second-hand clothes
	Majalissu	Court
	Keke	Bicycle
	Akori-Kura	NAPEP Motor cycle for transport
Akarachi		Destiny of God
Dike Di Ohamma		Mighty man of the people
Eze	Sarki	King
Eze Ndigbo	Sarki Igbo	King of the Igbo
Eze Udogachi		May the peace of God lead the world
Ezienyi		Good friend
Eziokwubundu		Truth is life
Ichie Nnayereugo		An honest man
Ihunaya, Udo Na Idi N’ out	Kauna, Salama da Hadinkai	Love, Peace & Unity
Ikenga	Mutum Mai Karamchi	Man of honour
Ndi Ichie Eze	Majalisar Sarki	The Eze Cabinet
Nmadu Oha	Mai Jama’ a	Man of the people

Nnowo	Waziri	Igbo Prime Minister
Obia Oturu Ugo		A man that makes things happen
Odu		Straight forward person
Omereoha		Cheerful giver
Osisi Oma		Nice one

ACRONOMYS AND ABBREVIATIONS

WORD	FULL MEANING
ABU	Ahmadu Bello University
BUK	Bayero University Kano
ECCN	Evangelical Church of Christ In Nigeria
ed./s	editor/s
FCE	Federal College of Education
FUDMA	Federal University Dutsin-Ma
GRA	Government Reserve Areas
HUK	Hassan Usman Katsina
IBB	Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida
ICA	Igbo Community Association
IKCOE	Isa Kaita College of Education Dutsin-Ma
ISU	Igbo State Union
ITAS	Igbo Trade Apprenticeship System
ITASA	Igbo Trade Apprenticeship System Agreement
IU	Igbo Union
IWA	Igbo Welfare Association
KASTA	Katsina State Transport Authority
KAT	Katsina
KATPROF	Katsina Province
KATSA	Katsina State Transport Authority
KIL	Kashim Ibrahim Library
KLEA	Katsina Local Education Authority
KTC	Katsina Teachers College
LBA	Licensed Buying Agent
LEA	Local Education Authority
LGA	Local Government Area
NA	Native Authority
NAE	National Archives Enugu
NAK	National Archives, Kaduna
NIA	Non-Indigenous Association
NAPEP	National Poverty Eradication Programme
NCE	National Certificate of Education
NECO	National Examination Council
NHRS	Northern History Research Scheme
NIFES	Nigeria Fellowship of Evangelical School
NNAK	Nigerian National Archives Kaduna
NURTO	National Union of Road Transport Organization
NYSC	National Youth Service Corps
P	Page
PG	Post Graduate
PP	Pages
PROF	Province
PZ	Paterson Zochonis
RNC	Royal Niger Company
SCOA	Society Commercial de l' Quest African
STEB	Science and Technical Education Board

TSB	Teachers Service Board
UAC	United African Company
UDUS	Usmanu Danfodiyo University
UMYUK	Umaru Musa Yaradua University Katsina
VOL.	Volume
WAEC	West African Examination Council
WAFF	West African Frontier Force

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Background to the study

The history of Nigerian societies has been characterized by different forms of migration and inter-group relations since the pre-colonial era.This has made the study of migration and inter-group relations inevitable overtime.[1] Since no community or society lives in isolation or can be self-sufficient in both production and consumption of its goods and services, hence interdependence becomes imperative for survival of human societies.[2] Moreover, the Nigerian societies, even before colonial period, were considered as neighbours as a result of migration which is an integral part of history of mankind as well as inter-group relations.[3]Several scholars who have studied migration haveprovided different explanations on the concept. These include:Abdulwahab, [4]Amin, [5]Crisp,[6] Russell,[7] Ahmad,[8] Bako,[9] and so many others have made reference and relate it to the movement of people of different categories and 'tribes' such as; workers, labourers, merchants, scholars, etc., from one

[1] C.C. Ojukwu "Globalization, Migration and Philosophy of In-word looking: The Contemporary Igbo Nation in Perspective." In Journal of Political Science and International Relations, Vol. 3 (3), March 2009. p.86.
[2] T. Falola et al. *History of Nigeria I: Nigeria before 1800 AD*. Ibadan: Longman, 1889. Pp.122-123.
[3] Ibid., pp. 122 – 123
This is because an important feature of all human societies is interdependence, for we need one another if for nothing but for survival since no city or community can ever develop through the inputs of her indigenes alone.
[4] T. Abbdulwahab, "Ethnic Relations: A Study of Hausa Community in Ogbomosho, Nigeria, 1924 – 1967." In Journal of Social Science Vol. 17. 2008. p. 259.
[5] A. Amin (ed), *Introduction to Modern Migration and Pro-Poor Policy in West Africa*. London: Oxford University Press, 1974. p.92.
[6] J. Crips, "Policy changes of the new Diasporas: Migrant Network and their Impact on Asylum Flows and Regimes." New Issues on Refugee Research. This is a working paper retrieved from http.//www.jha.sps.com.al.uk/c p.7
[7] S. Rusell, "Workers' Remittances, Remittance Decay and Financial Deepening Countries." Retrieved from http//www.remodeling.hw.net/industry news.asp.
[8] A.O Ahmad, *Colonization and Labour Migration: The Ebira in Owo, Ondo State of Nigeria*. Nigeria: Zakara Publishing Company Ltd, 2005. pp. 38-43.
[9] A. Bako, *Sabon Gari Kano: A History of Immigrants and Inter-group Relations in the 20th Century*. Sokoto: Usman Danfodiyo University Press, 2006. p.36.

village, town, city, area, geographical zone, state, country and continent to another.[10] Inter-group relation which is the second aspect of this study is about interaction between social groups of people from different sex, class, ethnic and religious groups.[11] It also encompasses mutual co-existence between various ethnic groups that may be prompted by trade, religion, migration, diplomacy, and war alike. Inter-group relations presupposes contact and interaction between groups each of which has an identity, to make some inputs into the relations, in short each of which has some scope and area of autonomous actions.[12] Inter-groups relations complies that there is usually the existence of more than one or two groups and usually what happens or follows is that there is exchange of relationship which may be political, social or economic. The concept implies a mutual world of inter-dependency in which no groups or single individual is all sufficient and all knowing. The concept of inter groups relations implies that no groups or individual is an Island and because of individual specific, limitation and short coming there is always an exchange of relationship in order to complement the shortfalls in their relationship.[13] In economic terms, where there is economic specialization in the production of goods and services, there is also need for exchange of good and service thereby creating a world of interdependency and mutual relationship. Either as an individual group or society, it is impossible to produce everything a society or individual needs and thus the need for inter-relationship. Moreover, that is why trade formed

[10] For more on the concept of migration see the theoretical frame work

[11] T. Falola, et al *History of Nigeria I*. Zaria: Longman, 1989. Pp. 122-123.

[12] A. E Afigbo, *The Igbo and Their Neighbour: Inter-group Relations in Southeastern Nigeria to 1953*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1987. p.18

[13]W. T. Uji, "Migrant Groups and Inter-Group Relations in Tiv Society of Central Nigeria: Pre to Post Colonial Era." In International Journal of Arts and Humanities (IJAH) 4(1), S/No 13, January, 2015 AND 4(1), S/No 13, January, 2015. Pp. 89-90 and Also International Research Journal of Arts and social Science Vol. 4(2) pp. 37-42, February, 2015 Available online http://www.interesjournals.org/IRJASS

the basic cornerstone of the inter-group relations between these ethnic groups since the early period or in history.

Thus, economic and political stability of any community depend on the extent of the relationship that existed with their migrant communities.[14] The waves of human migration which have been a feature in the settlement pattern of pre-colonial societies of Nigeria had brought about many changes in the ways of life of many communities in such a way that the new comers have to adjust or even adapt to their new environment.[15]

Notwithstanding, Katsina metropolis being the study area was known to be a centre of commerce, Islamic scholarship and Western Education (with establishment of Katsina College). Katsina city had been the administrative capital of Katsina Emirate and later on Katsina Province and now capital of Katsina State. It is the most heterogeneous society in the state.This is because for centuries, several groups of migrants have migrated to Katsina metropolis for various reasons that hinged on either "push or pull factors." A significant feature that characterized the arrival of these migrant groups was the promotion of inter – group relations, a feature that was accelerated by a number of socio-political eventsin the colonial and post-colonial period.[16] These migrants were from both within and outside Nigeria. Over the years the migrants had formed sizable communities and had displayedvisible impact on the different aspects of social and economic and social life through interactions with the host community. Major among these migrants communities

[14] O. Ikime, *Groundwork of Nigerian History.* Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books Plc, 1980.p.12.

[15] A.F. Usman, "Inter-Group Relation in Gusau: A Case Study of Yoruba and Hausa c. 1920 -1996." PhD Thesis, Department of History, Usmanu Danfodiyo University (UDU) Sokoto, 2003.P. 29.
Note that Human migration, in broad sense refers to a relatively permanent movement of individual or a group over a significant distance.[15] This involves a change of residence from one community to another and usually the crossing of specified kind of internal administrative boundary. Here, internal migration is distinguished from international migration, and intra community movement.

[16] J. Shehu, " A Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis, 1960 – 2007,'' Unpublished PhD Thesis, Usman Danfodiyo University(UDU), Sokoto, 2012. Pp. 251 - 256

were the migrants from the Niger Republic, the Nupe, Yoruba and Igbo the last group being the subject of this research. Thus, colonial record state that between 1903 and 1931 the total number of Igbo migrants to Katsina was 0.35% while that of Yoruba was 0.21%[17] but by 1945 it was 57 while in 1949 the number rose to 322[18]. Since then the number of Igbo migrants kept on increasing especially due to their high rate of influx in the 1960s, 70s, 80s and the 90s, and above all, the peaceful nature and hospitality that *Katsinawa* had toward visitors and immigrants.[19]

The Igbos are geographically located in the South-eastern part of Nigeria situated mostly in Anambra, Abia, Ebonyi, Enugu, Imo and Delta States,[20] but they canalso be found in many parts of the country including Katsina; engaging in one business activity or the other. However, the relations between the Igbo and *Katsinawa* have been an old

[17]The 1931 Population Census, Federal Ministry of Statistics, Lagos, 1934.

[18] See NAK/KATPROF, Katsina Province Annual Report, p.16 and also Population Census of Nigeria 1952, Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos.

[19] This information was obtained from the oral interviews conducted with the following people: Chief Jonathan C Nwoso, the Onowu Igbo Katsina (Igbo Prime Minster), Age 84, Igbo Prime Minister and Acting Eze Katsina State, Businessman (Dealer of Generator and Plumbing Materials), Interviewed November 5, 2014 at IBB Way Tsohuwar Tasha Round About, Katsina, 10:00AM – 11:00AM, Chief Hillary Chukwu Okonkwo, Age 82, Eze Igbo I of Katsina State, Businessman (Proprietor Luna Castle hostel Katsina). Interviewed September 6, 2014 at Luna Castle hostel, Katsina, 10:00 AM– 11:00AM, Chief Sylvanus Ochukwu, Age 75, Proprietor New Palace Hotel. Interviewed November 8, 2014, Off Sarki Muhktar Way, Sabuwar Unguwa Katsina, 12:00Noon-02:00PM, Chief Anthony Obi, Age 84, Businessman (Dealer of Iron and Steel Materials). Interviewed September 6, 2014 at IBB Way Adjacent formal Nakowa Bakery, Katsina, 12:00-01:30PM, Chief Emmanuel Anyaegbu, Age 73, Businessman (Proprietor Liberty Hotel and Yellow Wheel Balancing and Alignment). Interviewed September 9, 2014 at Murtala Mohammed Way, Tayoyi, Katsina, 10:30 AM– 11:00AM, Chief Okechukwu Onyia (OK 2000), Age 41, President Igbo Community Association (ICA) Katsina State. Interviewed November 14, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 12:00Noon-02:20PM and Chief John Umeagudosi (the Eze Udogachi), Age 58, Businessman (Dealer of Generator and Plumbing Materials). Interviewed September 9, 2014 at IBB Way, Tsohun Tasha Round About, Katsina, 9:00PAM-9:30PM.

[20] See map 3, 4 & 5 at the appendix.
Note Igboland comprises variations of Igbo people. There are the Northern Igbo (Igbo-Ukwu, Onitsha, Enugu and Nri-Awka), the Western Igbo (Ogwashi-Ukwu, Asaba and Agbor), the Sourthern Igbo (Umuahia, Ngwa, Owerrinta, Port Harcourt and Ebeme), the Eastern Igbo (Afikpo, Arochukwu-Ohiafianand Bende) and then the North-Eastern Igbo (Ogu-Ukwu, Abakaliki). For more see Igbo Cultural and Support Network, 2011 "Igbo History." Retrieved from http://www.icsn.co.uk/page.php?pageID=history and then Haruna Muhammad Suleimuri, "A Study of the Cattle Trading Community in Umyahia-Ibeku, c 1914 – 2000."M.A Thesis, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, (ABU), Zara, 2012.Pp.48 - 49.

phenomenon. For instance, in the 19th century there was trading relations between Katsina and Igboland through the long- distance-trade.[21] This was made possible because, their traditional homeland is situated between the Niger and Cross Rivers, with the Ibibio, Ijo, Igala, Idoma, and Edo as their neigbours and the ancient settlement at Igbo-Ukwu in eastern Nigeria was an outpost for West Africa's long-distance trade routes, one of which was the Trans- Saharan trade routes.[22] Thus during that period the main items traded were gold, slaves, cowrie shells - the major unit of currency, weapons, expensive clothes, pepper, Ivory, Kola-nuts and leather goods.[23]These shows that, during the period there was no Igbo migration to Katsina metropolis.

Therefore, the direct contact between the Igbo and Katsina area and as regard to their settlement in Katsina metropolis started in the colonial era when they came to secure employment with imperialist government and firms as clerks, contractors/producer agent and staff of United African Company (UAC), PZ, and GBO amongst others.[24] But some of the earliest Igbo opted to be independent businessmen. For example, some were dealers of *Gwanjo* (second – hand materials including car and bicycle spare parts), cloth/textile materials and also petroleum products.[25] This continued up to 1960, and by 1970 there was a large movement of Igbo outside their homeland due to the fact that the Igbo were not ready to surrender the great economic opportunities they had lost to the "northerners" as such tradebecame an important source of livelihood. So this made trade become an important tool

[21] See A. B. Sani, *Trade Diplomacy, Banking and Finance in the Trans-Saharan Trade: An Interpretation of Ahmad Abu al-Ghaith's ledger, a Trade consul in Katsina, 1824-1870.* Kaduna: Pyla-mak Publishers, 2012. P.7
[22] T. Shaw and S.G.H. Daniells "Excavation at Iwo-Eleru, Ondo State, Nigeria." In West African Journal of Archeology, Vol.14, 1984.
[23] Igbo Cultural and Support Network, 2011 Op cit and Ikerionwu, "The Place of Ndi-Igbo in Nigeria's Social and Economic Development" Op cit. p.2.
[24] A. Bako, *Sabon Gari Kano, A History of Immigrants and Inter-Group Relations in the 20th Century*. Sokoto: Usman Danfodiyo University Press, 2006. p.42.
[25] Igbo Community Association, "Forging Ahead as People," Maiden Edition *Igbo Day Magazine*, 2008. p.16

of close contact between the Igbo and *Katsinawa*, just as Falola observed that trade was perhaps the most important factor which linked many groups together.[26] Another epoch in the large movement of the Igbo was NYSC[27] schemewhich posted so many Igbo of Anambra, Abia, Enugu, Ebonyi, Imo and Delta States extraction to Katsina and then the creation of Katsina State on 23rd September, 1987 which opened another door for the Igbo to be employed as teachers and medical doctors while others operated as independent businessmen and women. These made them see Katsina as the land of opportunity. This is what makes the major bond of interaction between the Igbo- migrant community and the host to be commerce[28] to 2011.

One significant thing about the Igbo Community in Katsina Metropolis is that they lived in mixed settlements with the host and other migrant communities. The British colonial policy of divide and rule is well known. For instance, in Northern Nigeria, the British considered it a mandate to separate the inhabitants from the Southerners which led to the establishment of separate areas known as *Sabon-Gari*and *Tudun Wada*. The separations perpetuated separate communal values and perspectives and thereby inhibited the fostering of common national values. This made the "non-indigene" easy targets during inter-ethnic violence. Such British policy was not applicable to Katsina and this could be the reason why there was no segregation like *Sabon Gari* or *Tudun Wada* in Katsina. Therefore, in the light of the above, the research examines the history of the Igbo migration into Katsina metropolis, their contribution to the growth and development of the metropolis and finally why they were able to live peacefully with their host community for almost a century.

[26] T. Falola, et al *History of Nigeria*. Zaria: Longman, 1989. p.180.
[27] Note: NYSC refers to National Youth Service Corps
[28] Shehu, "A Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis, 1960 – 2007,'' Op cit, p.275.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The issue of indigene/settler dichotomy is one of the major problems confronting Nigeria as a country today.[29]In respect to this issue the researcher sought to:

1. Examinethe history of the Igbo-migrant community with a view to discussing the problem of the indigene/settler dimension between the *Katsinawa* or the people of Katsina and the Igbos.
2. Identifywhy some of these communities were hardly considered as being part and parcel of the communities despite the fact that they had stayed long enough to be recognized as indigenes.
3. Why the absence of Sabon Gari and Tudun Wada in Katsina metropolis unlike in other cities, Katsina metropolis presented a different case entirely from other metropolis such as Kano, Zaria and Gusau as the causes for migration of Igbo into Katsina. These cities had railway systems and settlements such as *Sabon Gari* and

[29] For more see Kazah-Toure, "Discourse on the Citizenship Question in Nigeria." In Journal of West African Affairs Vol. 4, No. 1, CDD. PP. 41 – 63, S. G. Egwu, "Ethnicity and Citizenship in Urban Nigeria: The Jos Case, 1960-2000." Unpublished PhD Thesis Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Jos, Plateau. April, 2004. Pp. 274 – 276, C. Young, *The Politics of Cultural Pluralism*. Madison: The University Wisconsin Press, 1973. pp. 10 -12, A. Bako, *Sabon Gari Kano: A History of Immigrants and Inter-group Relations in the 20th Century* Op cit, pp. 33-49 and also L. Barrington, "Migration and the Growth of Resettlement Community." Ph.D Boston University School United State of America. n.d. p.12.and Lee Barrington, A Theory of Migration. n.d. & N.P. p.92, D.J Bogue, *Principle of Demography*. New York: J. Wiley and Sons, 1969. p. 49, C.C Ojukwu, Globalization, Migration and Philosophy of In-Ward Looking: The Contemporary Igbo Nation in Perspective. In African Journals of Political Science and International Relations. Volume 5, March 2009. Pp. 23-25, M. Thompson, *Social Interdependency Theory*. Chicago: Randall Publishers, 1992. p.87 and O O. Okpeh, Jr., "Conceptual and Theoretical Issues Arising from Studies in Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria in the 20th Century." In Olayemi Akinwunmi, Okpeh Ochayi Okpeh, Jr. and Je' adayibe D. Gwamna (ed), *Inter- Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th And 20th Centuries*. Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2006. p. 6.

Tudun Wada, which were typical of the British control agency in the development of cities or urban centres in Northern Nigeria.[30]

1.3 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This research work covered Katsina metropolis. Katsina Metropolis has been the ancient city of Katsina Emirate, oldest Local Government and present state capital of Katsina State. Since the Pre-colonial period, Katsina has been one of the major centres of Islamic scholarship and commerce. Its people were and are still described as well behaved and pious, having been blessed with *Ulama* and environment for commercial activities.[31] They were also distinguished by politeness and hospitality that attracted immigrants into the area. Katsina also engaged in food and livestock production especially cereal crops, vegetables, meat, hide and skins etc. Thus, their hospitality provided peaceful environment, security of lives and property, which attracted as well as enabled migrant communities to settle down and establish businesses, own houses, work in the state and also saw Katsina as their home town "home away from home".

However, the scope of this research work is geographical and chronological. Geographically Katsina metropolis is located some 172 Kilometres northwest of Kano town and 260 Kilometres east of the city of Sokoto[32]. It roughly lies between an upland area located on Latitude 12^0 5' and 13^0 22' North and Longitude 7^0 33' and 9^0 22' East in the extreme north of Nigeria and spur of land between two water courses of *Koramar Tilla* and

[30] See A. Bako, "Colonial Rule and Residential Segregation: Sabon Gari Settlements Reconsidered." In A.M Yakubu et al (ed). *Northern Nigeria, A Century of Transformation, 1903-2003.* Kaduna: Arewa House, 2005. Pp. 469-479 A.F. Usman, "Implication of Colonial Settlements on the Inter Ethnic Relations: Case Study of Sabon Gari Kano." In International Journal of Humanities and Social Science. Vol. 5, No. 10, October, 2015. Pp.164-169. Available on www.ijhssnet.com

[31] J. Shehu, "A Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis, 1960 – 2007.'' Unpublished PhD Thesis, Usmanu Danfodiyo University (UDU), Sokoto, 2012.Pp. 168 and 251 - 272

[32] See map 1 & 6 at the appendix

Gisu flowing in north- easterly direction.[33] Katsina is also located at the extreme part of Nigeria-Niger border.[34]The town and its immediate environs form the present study area, which is bordered by the local area of Kaita to the North (North- East), Jibia and Batsari to the North- West, Batagarawa and Rimi to the South and then Mani to the East.[35]Hence, the metropolis occupies the present Katsina District having *Magajin Gari* as the District Head. It also consists of ten ward units: *Wakilin Gabas, Galadiman Gabasawasa, Wakilin Arewa, Galadiman Arewa, Wakilin Yamma, Magaji Madu, Wakilin Kudu, Galadiman Kudu, Magaji*

[33] Max Lock Survey Group, *Surveys and Planning Reports for Kaduna State Government* .London: Westminster Press Ltd, 1978 p.23. Cited in Jamilu Shehu, "State Creation and Urban Transformation of Katsina Town, 1987-2007" in Abdullahi M. Ashafa (ed). *Urbanization and Infrastructure in Nigeria Since the 20th century* (Kaduna: Kaduna State University, 2011) p.220.

[34] See Map 1

[35] See Map 1 and W. Iliyasu, "An Analysis of Urban Violence and Threat to National Security in Nigerian Cities: The Example of Katsina Metropolis, 1980s – 2007."A Working Paper, Department of Umaru Musa Yar'adua University (UMYU), Katsina, Nigeria. Originally cited in A.I. Yandaki and Jamilu Shehu, "The Environment, Nature and the Action of Man in Birnin Katsina, 1000 – 2000: Some Critical Reflections." Being a Paper Presented at the Third National Conference on Climate Change and Its Implications for Sustainable Development in Nigeria held at Federal College of Education, Katsina, August 2nd -5th, 2010. See also Munir Mamman, *The Emergence of Wards in Katsina Metropolis*. Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press Limited, 2011.pp. 1- 210.

Special Note: Prior to the 19th century, Katsina Kingdom covered a very large area (i.e. her authority extended to *Maradi* and *Tassawa* in the north border of Zamfara in the west, and as far south of Birnin Gwari. It was indeed the main entrance gate to Hausaland. Thus, the town of Katsina is popularly called Birnin Katsina (Katsina Metropolis). In the ancient times it had a city wall built around it, to provide security. Similarly, a number of gates were constructed for easy access to the city. For example *Kofar Guga* gate is located in the Northwest which called *KofarYari* (Western gate) in the ancient days. In the Western part, there is *KofarYan'daka* which was the gate that the first Colonial Governor of the Northern Region, Lord Lugard, entered and took over Katsina during the British conquest of Northern Nigeria in 1903. *KofarKwaya* is located in the southwestern part of the city, and *KofarSauri* is located in the northern part of the city. While *KofarDurbi* is located in the eastern part and was the major gate of the ancient city of Daura and *Durbi*-ta-*kusheyi*, the latter was one of the earliest settlements in Katsina kingdom. Also by the southern part of the city, there was *kofar Gozaki* which according to legends, the gate was closed because of the menace of an evil spirit that lived in its vicinity. Lastly, *KofarMarusa* is by the southeastern part of the city, named after *Marusa* the commander of incharge of Eastern Katsina.

Modoji, and Magaji Shinkafi. The same metropolis is the headquarters of Katsina Local Government Area and the Capital of Katsina Emirate and State.[36]

The study which is mainly restricted to Katsina metropolis and its immediate environment covered the period from 1903 – 2011. The period 1903 was regarded as the starting point of this research because of its significance to the area of study. It was during this period that Katsina like several other emirates in Northern Nigeria were brought under the British colonial domination.[37]In other words, 1903 was considered as the starting point because that was time Katsina accepted the British peacefully knowing the danger and experiences other emirates encountered. That was why no one fled and not a single shot was fired on the arrival of the British at the gate of Katsinacity presumably because by that time other emirates like Zaria, Kano, Sokoto and Yola had already been conquered by the British and the notables in Katsina quickly realized the futility of any resistance at that stage. On Saturday the 28th March, 1903 Lugard and his forces entered Katsina through the *Kofar Yandaka* (*Yandaka* Gate).

It is important to also note that soon after the conquest in 1903, the British chose Katsina city as Divisional administrative headquarters under the charge of a Third Class

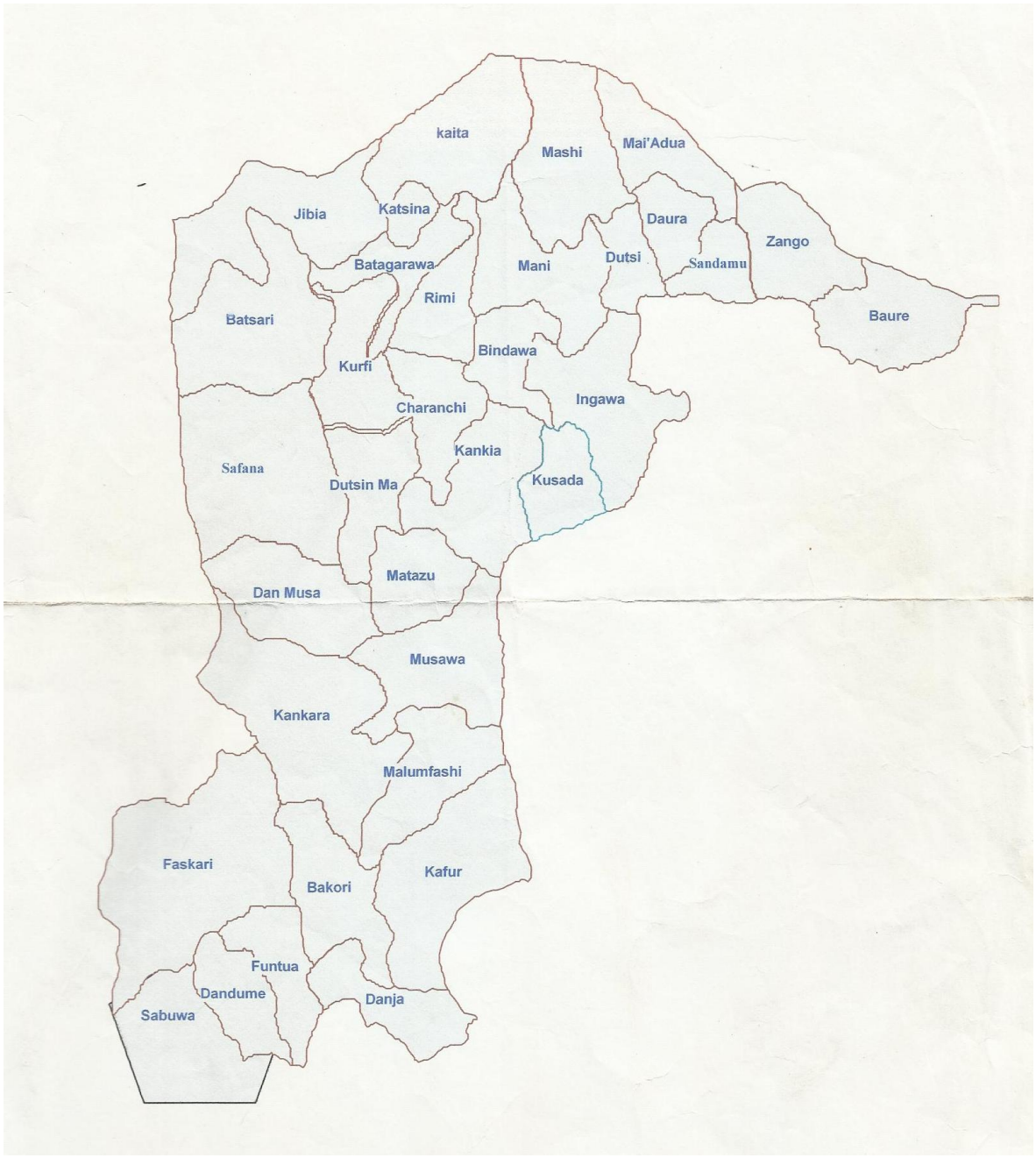
[36] See Map 1 & 6 and Shehu, " A Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis, Op cit. Pp. 7 – 9 A.T. Grove, *Land and Population in Katsina Province*, K.M. Buchaman and J.C. Pugh, Land and Peoples of Nigeria, Ph.D. Thesis A.B.U., Zaria. Cited in H. I. Bakin-Kasuwa, "The Impact of Colonialism on Aspects of the Economy of Katsina Metropolis, 1903-1960." M.A. Thesis A.B.U., Zaria, 2011. P.28. and Jamilu Shehu, "State Creation and Urban Transformation of Katsina Town, 1987-2007"…Op cit.p.220 Y. B. Usman, *The Transformation of Katsina 1400-1883, The Emergence and Overthrow of the Sarauta System and the Establishment of the Emirate.* Zaria: ABU Press Ltd., 1981. Pp. 186-187, See S.J. Hogben, *An Introduction to the History of Islamic States of Northern Nigeria*. Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1967 p.86. Note: This is based on 'The Emirate of Northern Nigeria' by S.J. Hogben and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene and Source: "Gazettes of Katsina State History and Culture Bureau". Retrieved Tuesday, 20th March, 2015. On http//:www,katsina/ga-kts-ng.org/tourism.htm

[37] For more see B. Hesketh, "Recent Progress in Northern Nigeria," Journal of the African Society. Vol. X No. XI, July, 1911. p. 383
M.B. Kagara, *Sarkin Katsina Alhaji Muhammadu Dikko, CEB, 1865-1944.* Zaria: Northern Nigeria Publishing Company. 1981. p.100
[37] Shehu, Op cit, p.77

Resident, Mr. Oliver, but responsible to Kano Province. A further reorganization of the province was made in 1924 and Katsina along with Daura were transferred to the newly created Zaria Province. By 1934 however Katsina emerged as an independent province following the merger of the two emirates Katsina and Daura. Mr. W. Nash was appointed as the first Resident, and was succeeded by Mr. C.C. Feisty in 1935. Indeed Katsina city became an administrative centre, benefitted from the modern infrastructural facilities such as schools, electricity; health institution among others by the British brought modern development to the city resulting to its physical expansion considerably. In fact during the first half of colonial rule Katsina city had prospered to the extent that its began to attract immigrants communities from the southern parts of the country as clerks in the Native Authority and in the European commercial firms, because there were no adequate literate natives to occupy the positions. Then the year 2011 was the terminal point of this research because of its significance in the history of election violence in Nigeria. For it was then Nigeria experienced post- presidential election violence that led to loss of lives, looting of shops and destruction of Igbo business in not only Katsina metropolis but Northern Nigeria. This has indeed led quite a number of the Igbo to migrate to South- Eastern part of Nigeria. This created phobia in the minds of Igbo people in Katsina State.

MAP 1

MAP OF KATSINA STATE SHOWING THE LOCATION OF KATSINA METROPOLIS



Source: Survey Department, Ministry of Land and Survey (MLSE), Katsina State, 2007

1.4 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The broad aim of this research was to study the history of Igbo migration to Katsina metropolis from 1903-2011. Based on the aim, the specific objectives were:

i. To trace the origin of Igbo migration to Katsina metropolis and the forces that triggered their migration, their mode of settlement pattern, system of enterprise and apprenticeship.

ii. To highlight the nature of interaction of the Igbo with the host and other migrant communities, the extent of their integration, and the factors that promoted inter-group relations between the host communities and other migrant groups i.e. the economic, political and social relationships.

iii. To find out why there was the absence of Sabon Gari and Tudun Wada in Katsina unlike in Kano, Zaria and Gusau.

iv. To assess the impact and contributions of the Igbo towards the growth and development of Katsina metropolis during the period of study. This is paramount in view of some people who mistaken these contributions for domination of land, culture and society of the *Katsinawa*.

v. To show how hospitality and trade formed the primary basis of inter-group relations between the Igbo and their host.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significance for this study laid in the fact that there was no study on the history of Igbo migrant community in Katsina metropolis anywhere, despite their contributions to the growth and development of the area. Hence, this study examined this neglected theme and historical process that shaped the history of Katsina metropolis from 1903 – 2011.This study

is expected to achieve the advancement of the frontiers of knowledge and to contribute to the thorny and much needed issues of unity in diversity in Nigeria. It will also open a new line of enquiry into the true nature of Nigerian history in such a way that it will serve scholarship and humanity in general.

The significance of this study laid also in the fact that no community could depend on itself, it needed another community; for no Island could survive on its own without support from another. Moreover, National Diversity was one of the key noticeable features of Nigeria. By simple description, National Diversity was a symbolic representation of a plural society. A society with multiplicity of ethnic and ethno-linguistic differences. Thus, the latest available list of Nigerian languages published in Ethnology. Languages of the World, 14th Edition of 2004, 505 living languages were identified in Nigeria.[38] Indeed, Nigeria was the only one place in the world where 500 different indigenous ethnic groups lived together. It was not surprising that the issue of National Integration was very important to the government and research institutions within and across the globe.

This study would sharpen our understanding of the developments recorded as well as the complex issues surrounding the development of Nigerian societies through inter-group relations. The study would also add to the existing knowledge on inter – group relations and national integration in Nigerian in the past and present. For instance, since the attainment of independence, successive regimes in Nigeria aimed at National Integration. Thus, National Integration here means the process of bringing together different entities that existed within the state and make them functional as one. In a broad sense, it was a progressive removal of

[38] For more see Y.B Usman and Alkasum Abba, *The Misrepresentation of Nigeria: The Facts and the Figures.* Zaria: CEDERT, 2000.Pp. 95 – 103 and Agatha Inweregbu, "Sterotypes and Inter – Ethnic Interactions in Nigeria: A Psychological Perspective" In O. Akinwunmi, Okpeh Ochayi Okpeh, Jr. and Je' adayibe D. Gwamna (ed), *Inter- Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th And 20th Centuries*. Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2006.

antagonism and reduction of cultural differences in the process of creating a homogenous political unit. These measures included state creation, federal character principles, establishment of Unity College (Federal Government College), education curriculum, NYSC Schemeand lot more. All these institutions have been an instrument for Uniting Nigerians especially NYSC which supplied labour/ work force to areas that are deficient in man power. This has in turn created employment opportunities, inter- marriages, business avenues and peaceful co-existence between the people of North, South, East, West and Central Nigeria in the past and present.[39]

In view of the above, any work that could help in the management of National Diversity and as well promote National Integration is of great significance. This research, like others is relevant in the understanding of our diversity as a nation and to use it for unity and development.

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

We were informed by nature of the historical development of the subject matter we were dealing with, to select a methodology that is suitable and capable in dealing with the subject under study. In the course of conducting a research of this nature a number of source materials were been utilized. The study of Igbo Migrant Community could not be properly accomplished without using multi-disciplinary approach in historical reconstruction. This is because the study cuts across the academic boundaries of several disciplines. Therefore in carrying out this research, different methods of conducting research were employed in order

[39] Zachariah Ishaya, Age 45, Zonal Inspector National Youth Service Corps (NYSC), Katsina State. Interviewed Friday 14Th November, 2014 at NYSC Permanent Orientation Camp, Kilometre 4, Old Mani Road Katsina, Katsina State. Time 10:00 – 11:00AM and Wycliff Samuel Personal observation, tour and experience in the Field Work from May – November, 2014.

to gather relevant data. Specifically, the work depended on multiple sources of materials that included both primary and secondary sources. Others involved physical observation/field work method and the internet/electronic sources of historical writing in modern days. These are explained in the pages below.

1.6.1 Primary Sources

In accomplishing this task, all modes of primary sources were consulted. Aged Igbo migrantswho are in Katsina or migrated back to Igboland due to old age were interviewed for useful information on Igbo migration to our area of study. In other words, because of the nature of this research, most of the work was completed in the field through oral interview with informants who were selected on the basis of their position and knowledge which constituted an important segment of primary sources. The interviews included wide range of individuals both the "indigenes" and "non-indigenes" (migrant communities) residing in Katsina metropolis especially within the period of study.[40] The Katsina State Emirate Council officials, the Igbo Community Association (ICA), the Non- Indigenous Association, proprietors of schools, clinic, hotels/motels and various owners of business enterprises were interviewed. Other primary sources consulted were documents which were kept in federal, state and private institutions, such as the National Archives Kaduna, Centre for Igbo Studies at University of Nigeria, Nsukka-Enugu, Katsina State History and Culture Bureau, Collections and documents of the ICA, the Non- Indigenous Association among others. This included archival sources in form of reports and memoranda reported directly by the colonial

[40] In order to obtain first-hand information/ comprehensive data on the issues at stake, interview session would be hold, and all information obtain would be recorded on tapes (with the consents of the informants) which will afterward be transcribed on paper.

administrators in their monthly, annual or biannual reports and also magazines, Newspapers and Bulleting.

1.6.2 Secondary Sources

In pursing this research, a number of secondary sources were examined. These included published and unpublished works which included seminar papers, articles, journals, projects, thesis, and dissertations which are available on internet/electronic materials, research institutions as well as public and private libraries such as Kashim Ibrahim Library(KIL), Northern History Research Scheme (NHRS) or Postgraduate Library, Department of History - Undergraduate Library all at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (ABU). These were followed by Arewa House Kaduna, Centre for Research and Historical Documentation Kaduna, Katsina State History and Culture Bureau, Katsina State Public Library, Isa Kaita College of Education(IKCOE) Dutsin-Ma, Umaru Musa Yar' adua University(UMYU), Katsina, Usmanu Danfodiyo University (UDU) Sokoto, Bayero University Kano (BUK) and Centre for Igbo Studies at University of Nigeria Nsukka, Enugu State. However, all the sources were rigorously integrated in order to ensure that they had no lota of bias and prejudice in them.

1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework adopted in this study is the **Social interdependency Theory**. The theory had its origin in Gestralt Psychology and Lewis's field theory and formally conceptualized by Morton Deutsch in 1949. This theory had it that man by nature was a dependent creature; he depended on his environment and others for food, clothing and shelter, all of which gave him a sense of purpose on earth. According to Kurt Lewin, the

essence of a group in the interdependence among members which results in the group being a dynamic whole so that a change in the state of any member or sub-group changes the state of any other member or sub-group. Group members are made interdependent through common goals[41]. For interdependence to exist, there must be more than one person or entity involved and the people or entity most impact each other, in that a change in the state of one cause a change in the state of the others. This impact occurs in the immediate situation as each behaviour is determined by how the situation is perceived. Hence, a fundamental characteristic of every human society is interdependence, thus no matter the level of development of any nation it must interact and engage in relations with another society (be it inter or intra). In this vein therefore, the Igbo Society is not an exception to this historical fact. The 19th and 20th centuries trading contact between the Igbo people and the *Katsinawa* was a clear evidence of social and commercial/economic interdependence.

The second theory adopted which is the dominant theories of migration is **Push-Pull Theory** formulated by L. Barintogto where he affirm that the combination of forces or social circumstances put pressure on population which tend to **push** it out of a given place. This includes bad climate condition and natural afflictions such as flood, draught and famine, bad government and population exploitation. While **pull** forces are those factors that attract a population to a particular location which includes availability of fertile land, adequate market facilities, efficient transportation and communication network and prospect for job opportunities.[42] So this Push-Pull Theory can adequately be used to explain the migratory trend of the Igbo community in Katsina metropolis. This is because the Igbo Migration

[41] M. Thompson, *Social Interdependency Theory*. Chicago: Randall Publishers, 1992. p.87.
[42] L. Barrington, "Migration and the Growth of Resettlement Community." Ph D Boston University School United State of America. n.d. p.12.

initially started as the movement from country side to established cities within their homeland as well as to other urban centres outside Igboland such as Kano, Kaduna, Zaria, Ibadan, Makurdi and Lagos likewise to Ghana and Cameroon.[43]Mabongunje also remarks that the push and pull factors are also considered to be migration of colonization which are of two essential types; migration of skilled labour from the south (notably from Igboland) towards the cities and small towns of the north and an agricultural colonization, principally of the Middle Belt.[44]

1.7.1 Concept of Migration and Significance of Migration

The concept of migration has been an age old phenomenon. Right from the ancient world, history is replete with movement of people(s) either individually or in mass often occasioned by some natural or mandate forces. As a complete social phenomenon migration has assumed several dimensions. The factors which tend to ginger human population movement vary, while some were motivated by the prevailing economic opportunities of the time, others were gingered by some other factors which are socio-political in nature thus causing a forceful migration from one area to the other.

Migration, therefore is an aspect of human behaviour. Throughout human evolution the urge to move has been part of the characteristics of man's existence. The need to move from one location to the other became imperative because of craving need to interact, search

[43] E. Isichei, *A History of the Igbo People*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997. Pp. 209, 210, 211 and 212 and also E. Isichei, *Igbo Worlds: An Anthology of Oral Histories and Historical Descriptions*. London: Macmillan Educational Limited, 1997.pp. 17-20 and95-201.

[44] A. Mabongunje, "Migration Policy and Regional Development in Nigeria." Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies, Vol. 2, 1970. p.57. See also S. A. Lugga, *Conflict and Security Management: A Traditional Approach to Security and Conflict Management in Hausaland*. Katsina: Lugga Press, 2004 See also W. Iliyasu, "An Analysis of Urban Violence and Threat to National Security in Nigerian Cities: The Example of Katsina Metropolis, 1980s – 2007." Op cit. p.13.

for food and a conducive environment in which to live. Migration simply put is the act of moving from one locality, region and or country to another.[45] Richard Schaefer defines "migration as relatively permanent movement of people with the purpose of changing their place of residence. He described movement over a sizeable distance, rather than from one side of a city to another."[46] While Panaki was of the view that, inter-group relations involve two or more groups (ethnic or social) interacting, co-operating and relating to one another in a manner either mutually beneficial or sometimes detrimental to them.[47] This act was part of the characteristics of man from the ages.[48]

From a geographical stand point, Migration is the movement of a person or group of persons from one geographical unit to another across an administrative or political border, who wish to settle definitively or temporarily in a place other than their place of origin.[49] Definitions of "migration" and, by extension, "migrant" are constructed from distinct political, social, economic, or cultural contexts that can vary greatly. There are real variations in the social and economic significance of migration phenomena, and a typology of migration can be developed on the basis of several distinctions. For example, definitions can be drawn from a geographical standpoint ("migration"), or from a human standpoint ("migrant").

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[45] A. M. Yusufu , "Migration as a factor of Contract and Interactions in the Lokoja Area in the 19th Century" In In Olayemi Akinwunmi, Okpeh Ochayi Okpeh, Jr. and Je' adayibe D. Gwamna (ed), *Inter- Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th And 20th Centuries*. Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2006. p. 859

[46] R. T. Schaefer, *Sociology*. 8th Edition. New York: McGraw-Hill Inc, 2003. Pp.536-537.

[47] C.N. Panaki, "Lokoja: The Formation and Growth of the Community" A Paper Presented at the Conference on Confluence Nigeria. Man History and Culture, in the Niger-Benue Confluence Region (Lokaja) 1987.

[48] Yusufu, "Migration as a factor of Contract and Interactions in the Lokoja Area in the 19th Century" Op cit. p. 858 and *Collins English Dictionary*, Complete and unabridged. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2003.

[49] See International Organization for Migration, 2011, "Migration Typologies," Retrieved from web. Tuesday 22 April, 2015 from http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/pid/522 and E. O. Ibiloye, "The relevance of migration to settlement pattern in Igbominaland"*African Journal of History and Culture* Vol. 3 (3), pp. 32-37 available at http://www.academicjournals.org/AJHC ISSN 2141-6672 ©2011 Academic Journals.

Migration can also be seen as permanent or semi-permanent change of residence by an individual or group of people. Migration has been enormously influential in determining cultural and social change at all scales, not least the global, and it is fundamental to individual experience(s).[50]

Migration has numerous and varied causes; and even in one individual, the motives to migrate may be mixed and multiple.[51] The term "migrant" can designate a person who, voluntarily and for personal reasons, moves from his or her place of origin to a particular destination with the intention to establish residence without being compelled to do so. This definition selects the voluntary nature of the movement as the criterion for the definition.[52]

The migration process could be said to begin with the impetus for migration (including root causes-the push and pull factors, and whether forced or voluntary), moving through the various stages of travel and entry (either by regular or irregular means, and either facilitated or spontaneous), settlement and/or return, integration and/or reintegration, and ultimately, in some cases, the acquisition of nationality. "Migration" is a term that has been used to describe the movement of people in very different contexts and situations, including invasion, conquest, displacement under force of arms, flight from natural disaster, mercantile outreach, colonial settlement, and even slavery. The more familiar and modern understanding of migration, as the movement of individuals or families usually for economic or social purposes, has come to the foreground in contemporary usage. This is the definition that best explains the situation of the Igbo migrant community in Katsina metropolis (for more see reasons for Igbo migration to Katsina in chapter three). The generic term "migration" covers a wide range of behaviours that may or may not be relevant to the concept of migration as it

[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.

is understood today by most people, or as it is defined in national laws and regulations. Generic references to migration often refer to permanent population relocations as to nomadic habits of existence built around periodic shifts in places of residence. Nomadic habits may be "pendular" movements (typically of a seasonal nature) from a more or less fixed base to an outpost and back again, or less precisely defined circuits or itineraries, for example, to search for food or to conduct trade. Saying that migration is an age-old form of behaviour is not the same as saying that in the past most human beings were migrants. It is probably impossible to determine with any degree of accuracy how many persons were "migrants" at any point in history and how many were not. The reality is probably that sedentary and migratory lifestyles have always co-existed as options, and people have chosen between them.[53]

Social change is an important and lasting impact that migration has had on all countries of destination. Previously homogeneous societies have undergone change and have evolved into complex multicultural societies. In some countries, this has been seen as appropriate and even desirable, while in others, it is the subject of much debate. Migratory flows have been, and continue to be, important vectors of social, economic, and cultural change. The relationship between migration and history is dynamic. Migration has made history, and history has created the circumstances for varied and complex forms of migration. Migration is part of history, and history is part of migration.[54]

Migration may also be a crucial symptom of relations of dependence between different regions at different times.[55] This fact is present in the Katsina situation where the

[53] Ibid, and W.A. Clark, *Travels and Explorations in Yoruba land 1854 – 1958.* Ibadan University Press, 1972 p: 264.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.

traders provides the people of the Eastern and South-south parts of Nigeria with cereal crops, vegetables among many obtained from the farmers in the North. It was a symbiotic relationship of economic, political, cultural and social significance.

Migrations are of many kinds and scholars have categorized migration into three but for this purpose we are going to examine two kinds of migration: (1) coordinated and (2) uncoordinated migrations.[56] An example of coordinated migration is the one that the people decide to leave their place of abode to a different place either as a result of deliberation among them or as a result of natural phenomenon like draughts or other forms of natural disasters. Throughout history we have these cases especially in the Nigerian area like the shrinking of the Lake Chad. This led to the mass migration of the people. This can be seen as coordinated because though it happened over a long period of time the natural disaster triggered a planned migration.

In the case of the Igbo community it was not at all coordinated, while it was uncoordinated it was however, triggered by an economic factor. The case of the Igbo community settling in Katsina was as a result of the economic opportunities present in the area especially because of colonial and some environmental factors.

In final analysis, migration historians agree that migratory flows have been, and continue to be, important vectors of social, economic, and cultural change. Although it is not possible to accurately determine how many persons were "migrants" at any particular point

[56] Note: **Coordinated Migration** refers to group of people or huge number of people migrating to a particular place at a time. The people usually agreed to migrate to that particular place or as a result of disaster. While **Uncoordinated Migration** involves individual or family kind of migration to a particular place one at a time. The individuals are usually influence by economic opportunities.

in history, evidence of co-existing sedentary and migratory lifestyles can be found in all periods of world history.[57]

1.7.1.1 Categorization of Migration

Migration is the movement of people from one place to another. Migration can be permanent, temporary, voluntary or forced. It can be international or internal. Migration can occur as a result of push and pull factors. Push factors are those which force a person to move. This can include drought, famine, lack of jobs, over population and civil war. Pull factors are those which encourage a person to move. These include; a chance of a better job, better education, and a better standard of living and so on. Our concern is for human migration. "Human migration is movement (physical or psychological) by humans from one district to another, sometimes over long distances or in large groups."[58]

Human Migration is where people move from one country to another to live there, or stay there for a long period of time. There are many different types of Human Migration. Here are some of them: Internal Migration, External Migration, Emigration, Immigration, Population Transfer, Impelled Migration, Step Migration, Chain Migration, Return Migration and Seasonal Migration.[59]

Human migration denotes any movement by human beings from one locality to another, often over long distances or in large groups. Humans are known to have migrated extensively throughout prehistory and human history for either political, economic or social reasons. The movement of populations in modern times has continued under the form of both

[57] International Organization for Migration, 2011, "Migration Typologies." Retrieved Tuesday 22 April, 2015 from http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/pid/522
[58]"Migration Studies: Internal Migration" Retrieved Tuesday 22 April, 2015 from www.ini.smo.uhi.ac.uk/migrationtypes/internal_migration.htm
[59] Ibid.

voluntary migration within one's region, country, or beyond, and involuntary migration (which includes trafficking in human beings and ethnic cleansing). The people who migrate are called migrants, or, more specifically, emigrants, immigrants, or settlers, depending on historical setting, circumstance, and perspective.[60]

Migration has been a part of history since the start of mankind. Migration is of many types and categories depending on the reason that made the individual to move from one place to the other. In our case we are dealing with what we will like to call occupational migration. Human migration has taken place at all times and in the greatest variety of circumstances. They have involved ethnic, national, class, and individual levels. The causes have been climatic, political, economic, religious, or simply for love of adventure. Its causes and results are fundamental for the study of ethnology, of political and social history, and of political economy.

The pressures of human migrations, whether as outright conquest or by slow cultural infiltration and resettlement, have affected the grand epochs in history, under the form of colonization, migration has transformed the world, as for example in the settlements of Southern Africa, Australia and the Americas and as the case in Katsina metropolis were a lot of migrant groups had been integrated into the community to the extent that their identify could not be easily identify most especially Yoruba, Nupe and people of Republic of Niger who had intermarried being quite a number of them were Muslim.

1.7.1.2 Types of Migrations

There are two main types of migrations: domestic or internal migration and international. In domestic or internal migration people move within their homeland; be it

[60] New World Encyclopaedia, 2010. "Human Migration." Retrieved Tuesday 22 April, 2015 from http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Human_migration

from one town to the next or across the country. This may take the form of moving from one level of density to another, such as rural to urban (or vice versa). International migration involves crossing international borders. International migration can occur over relatively short distances or can involve moves to entirely different continents such as from Asia to Africa. Migration is generally considered a permanent action, although some people migrate to other places for rather long periods of time (months or years) rather than permanently.[61]

In the case Igbo migration to Katsina metropolis we were dealing with domestic or internal migration on the whole. We are therefore, looking at internal migration of people Igbo immigrants to explore the commercial advantages in Katsina metropolis (more of these had been discussed under chapter three of this work).

1.7.1.3 Factors Responsible for Migration and their Outcomes

People may want to move for all sorts of reasons which could be Push or Pull factor.[62]Push and Pull factors are the things that make people either migrate to a country, or

[61] New World Encyclopaedia, 2010, "Human Migration." Retrieved Tuesday 22 April, 2015 from http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Human_migration

[62] The reasons people move away from a country are called Push Factors, and the reason people move to a particular country are Pull Factors. For Push Factors these can be; not enough jobs, famine (lack of food), drought, slavery etc. For the Pull Factors these can be better living conditions, better medical care, education etc. Some people stay in a different country for several years but others may stay there for life. People can choose to move, which is called Voluntary Migration or they can be forced to move, which is called Involuntary Migration or forced migration

For more on that see E. A. Lee, Theory of Migration. *Demography*, vol. 3, 1966.pp 47-57, A.L. Mabogunje, Systems Approach to a Theory of Rural-Urban Migration. *GeographicalAnalysis*, vol 2. 1970, A.L. Mabogunje, *Urbanization in Nigeria*. New York: Africana Publishing Corporation, 1978, B.A. Oyeniyi, "Labour Migration in Colonial Yorubaland, 1893-1960", *African Affairs*, Vol. *28, No. 4 On Overcoming the African Predicament*. Berlin: MediaTeam IT Publishers, 2010, A. Adepoju, Migration and Development in Tropical Africa: Some Research Priorities. *African Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 303: 210-225, 1977, S.A. Findley, Migration and Family Interactions in Africa. In A. Adepoju (ed.). *Family, Population and Development in Africa*, London: Zeb Books, 1997, B.A. Oyeniyi, A *Mobility and Social Conflicts in Yorubaland, 1893-1983: A Socio-HistoricalRe-Interpretation.* Berlin: VDM, 2010, B.A. Oyeniyi, Resources Management and Africa's Wars and Conflicts. In Uche Nwankwo, and B.A. Oyeniyi, A *Mobility and Social Conflicts in Yorubaland, 1893-1983: A Socio-HistoricalRe-Interpretation*. Berlin: VDM, 2010, R.O. Babatunde and E.C. Martinetti, *Impact of Remittances on Food Security and Nutrition in Rural Nigeria*. Centre for International Cooperation and Development, University ofPrevia, Italy, 2010. S. Melde, and B. El Mouaatamid, *Global Phenomenon, Invisible Cases: Human Trafficking in Sub-SaharanAfrica, the Caribbean and the Pacific*, ACP Observatory on

migrate away from it. Examples of the push factor includes not enough jobs; few opportunities; "primitive" conditions; desertification; famine/drought; political; fear/persecution loss of wealth; natural disasters; poor medical care; death threats; slavery; pollution; poor housing; landlords; bullying; discrimination; and poor chances of finding courtship.[63] Thus, quite a number of these factors had played a role in the migration and subsequent immigration of the Igbo community into Katsina metropolis in the period under study; most especially political fear/persecution, not enough job and few opportunities were the most significant in respect of the establishment of the Igbo Community in Katsina. This was because Katsina provided the Igbo migrants with peaceful environment for business, settlement and employment opportunities, unlike Kano, Zaria and Kaduna that were more competitive and violent compare to Katsina metropolis.

Thus, a push factor is a force or distress that makes someone move away from a country. Example of such includes: job opportunities; better living conditions; enjoyment; political and/or religious freedom; education; better medical care; security; family links; industry; and better chances of finding courtship.[64] So all these factors with the exception of political or religious freedom were factors that pull Igbo migrants to Katsina metropolis particularly job opportunities and family link i.e. most Igbo that came after establishing their business, they brought their relations to Katsina whom they trained as apprenticed, of which after their settlement (send forth) established their owned business as well brought their

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Migration/IOM, Brussels. http://www.acpmigrationobs.org/sites/default/files/Background%20Note%201_2011_ACP%20Obs_Trafficking%20in%20Persons%20Feb%202011_0.pdf, accessed on 19th June 2012, J.S. Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*. California: University of California Press, 1971, Falola, T. *Politics and Economy in Ibadan, 1893-1945*. Ibadan: Modelor Press, 1985, A.A. Dike, Urban Migrant and Rural Development. *African Studies Review*, vol. 25, No. 4, 1982 and H. de Haas, *The Internal Dynamics of Migration Processes*, paper presented at IMSCOE Conference on Theories of Migration and Social Change, St Anne's College, University of Oxford July 1-3, 2008 and 2007. pp13-45

[63] Ibid, p.32.

[64] Ibid, p. 33

relations too. In terms of security, education and standard of living; life in Katsina is not that expensive compare to Igboland. Katsina is more peaceful that other northern cities of Nigeria and talk less of South Eastern part of Nigeria. So from these we could saw that, a push factor relates to the country of which the person moves[65] from while a pull factor relates to the country the person is moving to. It is a benefit that attracts people to the country.[66]

Human migrations, initiated for whatever reason, have affected the grand epochs in history, changing forever the demographic landscape of lands throughout the world, bringing, on some occasions, innovation and mutual benefits, and on others destruction and suffering. In the Katsina area the communities that were established as a result of these migrations have had so many impacts on the lives of the people of the town and even beyond. They in turn also have been impacted upon in many ways ranging from the improvement of their economic status to the social mingling brought about by the establishment of the communities in such close proximity.[67]

1.8 LITERATURE REVIEW

Different studies have been done by different scholars in the fields of either migration or intergroup relations on not only Katsina but different parts of Nigeria. That notwithstanding, very scanty or even little attempt has been made to study the history of Igbo migration and their inter-group relations as well as their contributions towards the growth and development of Katsina metropolis in the period 1903 – 2011. In light of the above, an

[65] European Communities, 2000, *Push and pull factors of international migration: a comparative report.* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2000.p.32
[66] Ibid and B. A. Oyeniyi, Internal Migration in Nigeria: *A positive contributionto human development.*Research Report ACPOBS/2013/PUB01, International Organization for Migration (IOM). South Africa: University of the Free State, 2003 and National Geographic Society, 2005, "What is Human Migration?" Human Migration Guide (6-8). Retrieved Tuesday 22 April, 2015 from www.nationalgeographic.com/xpeditions
[67] European Communities, 2000, *Push and pull factors*… op cit., p. 40.

attempt was made to review a few of them. This was done first on thematic bases so as to provide our readers with the focus on the very nature and character of the phenomenon we were dealing with. Secondly, a review of other empirical studies was also done. Thus, the literature review here are not necessarily connected to the geographical expression of the scope of the study or even the group concern with, since there are none, hence the ones considered in this work are essentially preoccupied with a subject matter under consideration.

One of the work relevant to this study is work done by Abdulkadir, "Igala Hausa Relations: An Aspect of Intergroup Relations in the Pre-Colonial Period." In S. B. Ahmad and Ibrahim Khaleel Abdussalam (ed), *Resent Nigeria: Issues in Nigerian Intellectual History*. A Festschrift in Honour of Dahiru Yahya where he provided an evidence of trading contact between the Katsina merchants and Igboland. He argued that northern Katsina trading communities were involved in Long-Distance-Trade in the traffic in horses and donkeys to Ejule in Igalaland and Nsukka and Umahia in Igboland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In return, the Katsina merchants purchased items like palm-oil, woven blankets, fibre goods and European goods among others.[68] Upon all that, the work failed to establish the fact that whether there was Igbo migration to Katsina during the period to talk of their settlements and even the nature of the inter-group relations.

Bako also in his work *Sabon Gari Kano: A History of Immigrants and Inter-group Relations in the 20th Century*, examined migration and urbanization, the political and

[68] For more see M. S. Abdulkadir, "Igala Hausa Relations: An Aspect of Intergroup Relations in the Pre-Colonial Period." In S. B. Ahmad and Ibrahim Khaleel Abdussalam (ed), *Resent Nigeria: Issues in Nigerian Intellectual History*. A Festschrift in Honour of Dahiru Yahya. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press Plc, 2011. See also A. B. Sani, "The Mercantile Landscape of Northern Katsina Emirate: 1805-1954." Unpublished PhD, Department of History, Bayero University Kano, 2004 and A. B. Sani, *Trade Diplomacy, Banking and Finance in the Trans-Saharan Trade: An Interpretation of Ahmad Abu al-Ghaith's ledger, a Trade consul in Katsina, 1824-1870*. Kaduna: Pyla-mak Publishers, 2012. p.17

economic history of Sabon Gari Kano during the colonial period where he argued that migrant communities such as the Igbo, Yoruba, Nupe and lot more started their settlement in Kano since the pre-colonial era but moved in large number during the colonial period in search of economic opportunities. For instance, with the conquest of Northern Nigeria by West African Frontier Force (WAFF), migrants as argued by Bako moved in large number and established social and economic relations with people of Kano[69]. Likewise, the construction of Lagos-Kano rail way, Zaria to Funtua and the construction of Makurdi bridge connecting the East and North subsequently paved way for massive movement of Igbo to Northern part of Nigeria. Even though his work was on Kano but his discussion and analysis on the settlement pattern and contribution of Igbo migrant community in Kano serve as a good guide to the understanding of the Igbo migrant community in Katsina metropolis even though the factors he identify as facilitating Igbo migration in Kano are quite different from the factors that influenced Igbo migration to Katsina as revealed by the findings of this research.[70] Again one of the limitation associated with Bako's work is that he undermined the role of family bond in the migration of Igbo to different part of Nigeria and that of National Youths Service Corps (NYSC) Scheme which was part of Nigeria Civil War reconciliatory policy pursued by then Gowon's regime to foster national unity across the country.[71]

Another work reviewed is that of Saulawa, "British Colonial Administrative Policies and Migrations in the Birnin Katsina Circa: 1903-1954," the author argued that British administrative policies influenced migration in the Birnin Katsina like many other Nigerian

[69] A. Bako, *Sabon Gari Kano: A History of Immigrants and Inter-group Relations in the 20th Century*. Sokoto: Usmanu Danfodiyo University Press, 2006.

[70] For more see chapter three of this research work

[71] For more see a sub-heading under chapter three: 3.5 National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) Scheme a factor of Igbo Migration to Katsina Metropolis

cities (such as Kano, Zaria, Ibadan and Benin). He revealed that these migrations had consequential effects – socially, politically and economically upon the society of Katsina metropolis. He further revealed that Muhammadu Dikko (a non-royal member of the Sullubawa) was a willing collaborator of British. In 1905 to consolidate the district reforms affected by Palmer as such Dikko was appointed as Emir in 1907.[72] His appointment influenced the caused of immigrations into Birnin Katsina in addition to British policy of demobilisation of the ex-servicemen, after the Second World War 1945 who were employed on departments of the central administration. Saulawa further revealed that accompanying the departmentalization of the central administration was the policy of employing African people to staff them. Also Africans were employed in the Government departments. However, non-Africans, if employed were always as heads either in the Native Administration of Government work's department. Therefore, with the expansion of administrative activities more and more staff were employed. During the 1937 the Engineering, Hospital, Police and Prison Ward sectors employed a fair number of Africans who were foreign to the community. Some of the immigrants came from Lagos Colony, others Dahomey, Ondo, Onitsha, Maradi, Danagaram (in Niger Republic), Borno, Sokoto, Kano and San Salvador.[73] In fact they constituted different ethnic identities. The author further revealed that, among the policies of the British was that that of providing employments to the ex-service men. Otherwise they would constitute a real threat to their administration. Therefore when the ex-

[72] Note: When British deposed Emir Yero (circa 1904-1906) who proved uncooperative and appointed Dikko as the Emir, he was given ultimate authority and he was acted in accordance with the British directives. Thus appointment and deposition of officials to a large extend lay in his authority. He offer jobs to people outside the metropolis who came and settled and work with him as house keeper, gardeners, messengers and palace officials of some sort.
For more see A.M Saulawa, "British Colonial Administrative Policies and Migrations in the Birnin Katsina Circa: 1903-1954," B.A Project, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, 1977. Pp. 1-48

[73] This information was confirmed in archival file: NAK/KATNA 2/36, No. W202, "Foreigners Employed by N.A" 1942-47, Pp. 1-2

service men were demobilized after the Second World War 1946, a considerable number flocked into all the cities and towns of Nigeria seeking for jobs such type of immigration was experienced in the Birnin Katsina, as well as Birnin Kano, Zaria, Benin and Ibadan by people from different parts of Nigeria. Such people were especially from the southern areas of Nigeria. Some of these ex-soldiers were given jobs as messengers in the administration while others employed as masons, artisans, galvanizers, mechanics, drivers, carpenters etc. Those who were not able to secure any job, bought or hired farms and took to farming within the surrounding villages of the Magaji District such as Ajiwa, Kambarawa and Shinkafi.

Thus, as a result of this migratory flow in the Birnin Katsina for employment opportunities only in the administrative sectors the demography increased. Also despite different ethnic composition the immigrants lived in harmony with the Birni populace. They scattered themselves in the various quarters of the Birni,[74] resulting in inter-marriages after some times. Those that from south of Nigeria after working some length, eventually went back to their hometowns. However, there were a sort of religious prejudice directed to them by the "natives." For the "natives" consider any person who is a non-Muslim as unbeliever or infidel. But this, did not mean they any trouble occurred and nor was prevention of the people to work harmoniously together. Thus, upon the strength of this work, one of the limitations of this study is that the author failed to address the phenomenon of Sabon Gari and Tudun Wada which was absent in Katsina metropolis despite British colonial administrative policies presence in the area as obtained in other Northern cities or urban centres like Kano, Zaria and Gusau. Secondly, the work failed identify the various economic activities engaged by these migrant groups from Lagos Colony, others Dahomey, Ondo,

[74] Birni referred to Katsina metropolis

Onitsha, Maradi, Damagaram (in Niger Republic), Borno, Sokoto, Kano and San Salvador, their statistics figures based on their language group or identity and why is it that the those that came from south of Nigeria after working some length, eventually went back to their hometowns and lastly why different ethnic composition the immigrants scattered themselves in the various quarters of the Birni instead of requesting for a segregated settlements as the case was in other Northern Nigerian cities.

Another work relevant to this study is that of Kofar Soro in his work "A History of Yoruba – Hausa Relation in Katsina Metropolis 1900 – 1999,"the authors examined migration of Yoruba to Katsina metropolis, the formation of Yoruba ethnic and tribal association, settlement pattern and adaptation, enterprises and relations with the host community[75]He established the fact that colonialism triggered the migration of Yoruba to Katsina by providing them employment with the Native Authority and British colonial firms as drivers, typist, teachers and lot more. Thus he failed to acknowledge the fact that the Yoruba related very well with the Igbo community in the area of settlement and commerce; trade, transportation and inter-marriages and the host community. At the same time, the role of Igbo business in the economy and society of Katsina. One of the limitations of this study is that the author failed to address the issue of why the absence of Sabon Gari and Tudun Wada in Katsina metropolis despite British colonial administrative presence in the area as obtained to other Northern cities or urban centres like Kano, Zaria and Gusau. Another limitations of

[75] M. I. Kofar Sauro, "A History of Yoruba – Hausa Relation in Katsina Metropolis 1900 – 1999." Unpublished M.A Thesis, Usmanu Danfodiyo University (UDU), Sokoto, 2013. See also A. Muhammed, "Inter-Group Relations in Katsina Metropolis: A Study of Yoruba Migrant Community, 1960 – 2011. " B.A Project, Department of History and Security Studies, Umaru Musa Yar'adua University(UMYU), Katsina, 2012.

this study laid in the fact that he obscure the very principles of inter-group relations and the theoretical assumptions of socially interdependency theory used in this study.[76]

Another work reviewed is that of Shehu, "A Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis, 1960 – 2007," where he discussed the transformation of Katsina and its social, political and economic linkages during the period 1960 - 2007.[77]One of the strength of the work laid in the fact that, the creation of Katsina State had indeed influenced the arrival of fortune seekers into the capital city who do not only added to the cosmopolitan nature of the metropolis but also contributed to the development of its economy through the establishment of business. Nonetheless, his attempt to examine the influx of migrant communities did not addressed the issues of why these groups particularly the Igbo migrant community had been commercially integrated but not socially integrated. Again, while Shehu acknowledge that the creation of Katsina State might have influenced the arrival of migrant groups, he however, failed to recognized that it was just a precursor to the intensification of groups who were established in the area even before the creation of Katsina State particularly the Igbo who have circumstantially increased in figures. He also failed to establish that British colonial developments and its administrative paraphernalia was a turning point in the political and economic history of the people of Katsina metropolis which redefined the nature of inter-group relations in the metropolis not only on what he referred to as unplanned settlements and insufficient provision of infrastructures but had also changed, the nature of urban architectures characterized by high wall/fences designed to provide securities for the people. -The work was all the same of great use to this research.

[76] For more see the theoretical frame work of this research which is 1.7 under chapter one
[77] J. Shehu, "A Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis, 1960 – 2007.'' Unpublished PhD Thesis, Usmanu Danfodiyo University (UDU), Sokoto, 2012.Pp. 168 and 251 - 272

Salisu on the other hand studied Igbo Migration and Inter-Group Relations in Gusau during the 20th Century, and Eyiche studied Igbo in Illela: A Study of Migrant Community, 1950 – 1999 while Sambo, The Igbo and the Economic Development of Kano, 1900 – 2005 all affirmed that the Igbo migration and their subsequent settlement in Gusau, Illela and Kano was motivated by economic opportunities in post war Civil War period. They also discussed the contribution of Igbo community to the development of Gusau, Illela and Kano in the 20th century, likewise, their level of adaptation to the new settlement to date[78]. Moreover, they both pointed to one central issue that is economic factors were the major motivating factor facilitating the movement of people from the southern part of Nigeria to the Northern parts. They argued that during colonial rule, large scale migration of Igbo was made possible across the country because of the construction of railway lines across the South and North and which brought the Igbo to Northern Nigeria in search of economic opportunities. Although Salisu's work was on Gusau, Eyiche on Illela and Sambo on Kano but their theoretical base and analysis are of great help to this study especially in giving the researcher a deep knowledge of the phenomenon (Igbo migrant community in Northern Nigeria) despite the fact that their work failed to identify the possible factor that influenced the Igbo people to migrate to northern cities like Katsina metropolis where there was no railway, Sabon Gari settlements and large number of missionary schools. Their work failed to address the reaction of Gusau, Illela and Kano indigenes towards the Igbo economic activities especially in the various enterprises and the way they championed the enterprises despite the indigenes

[78] See I. Salisu, "Igbo Migration and Inter-Group Relations in Gusau during the 20th Century." Unpublished M.A Thesis, Usmanu Danfodiyo University (UDU), Sokoto, 2012, Stephen Ifedigbo Eyiche, "Igbo in Illela: A Study of Migrant Community, 1950 – 1999." B.A Project, Department of History, Usmanu Danfodiyo University (UDU), Sokoto, 1999 and also A. I. Sambo, "The Igbo and the Economic Development of Kano, 1900 – 2005." B.A Project, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2005.

participation in the enterprises or in eliminating Igbo monopoly or exploitation of those business. Their also failed to show how business competitions in Gusau, Illela and Kano pushed Igbo to move to other northern urban centres, cities or metropolis such as Katsina metropolis where Igbo kind of trading business was less competitive especially after the Nigerian Civil War: where most Igbo on returned to those cities discovered that their Igbo brother and indigenes of those areas had ventured or occupied most of those business which made it difficult for them to undertake any other type of business.

On the whole, the above reviewed works have contributed significantly on the factors that shaped inter-group relations in Northern Nigeria and Katsina metropolis particularly. The studies established that pre-colonial and post-colonial developments were determinant factors that produce the dynamisms of relations among the peoples of the Katsina metropolis. However, while colonialism creates settlements such as the Sabon Gari's for other natives, the authors did not established why such settlement did not exist in Katsina metropolis: a serious limitations which this study had investigated.

1.9 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

It will be stressed that this research work was about the Igbo migrant community in Katsina metropolis. This does not mean reference would not be made on other migrant groupswho had been inKatsina metropolis before the Igbo migrated to Katsina.

Secondly, challenges are anticipated in this work. As already stated elsewhere in this work, most of this work is to be accomplished through oral interviews. However, some of the Igbo who have been in Katsina for quite a long time were afraid of providing information; on the mistaken assumption that the researcher was there to spy on them despites the

Introductory lettergiven from the from Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

1.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter one gives us the general introduction of the work and the various techniques that were employed toward the completion of the thesis. The chapter also incorporated the theoretical framework of the study and the literature review upon which the study found it basis, and in general what the work was set out to do on the history of Igbo migrant community in Katsina metropolis.

CHAPTER TWO

BRIEF HISTORY OF KATSINA METROPOLIS UP TO 1900

2.0 Introduction

This chapter gives a brief background on the history of Katsina metropolis up to 1900 with special emphasis on the economic and social setting of Katsina metropolis prior to Igbo immigration. For this reason, focus was made to the relief, the people, the economy and society, social and political setting and as well as the role of commerce towards enhancing migration and inter-group relations Katsina metropolis long had before the migration of Igbo community.

2.1 The Relief

Katsina metropolis the being the study area is a watershed between rivers draining in Niger and Chad basin. The topography and soil texture of the area is characterized by continuous sediments and sandy drifts, mostly broken by outcrops of granite in forms of *duwatsu* (rocks) such as *Dutsin Safe*. It is believed that is the main reason why the soil is red in colour. The red soil (*jar kasa*) is prevalent in Katsina metropolis and other parts of Northern Katsina.[79]This is added to Laterite Iron stones, which are good source of *tama* (iron ore).[80] The plains of the area stand above sea level at an elevation of about 1,600 to 1,800 feet. In Katsina area, the valleys of the rivers are shallow, which usually change their course and form lakes. An example of this is *TabkinSauri* characterized by yellowish-brown soil. Similarly, clay loams are found around the *fadama* (wet lands) suitable for the growth of vegetables like tomatoes, pepper, lettuce and fruits. The area has a good supply of

[79]H.I. Bakin-Kasuwa, "The Impact of Colonialism on Aspects of the Economy of Katsina Metropolis, 1903-1960" M.A Thesis Department of History, ABU Zaria, 2012. p.28.
[80] Ibid. p. 28.

underground water, at the depth of 50 to 240 feet, mainly increased by percolating rainwater.[81]

2.1.1 The Climate

The climate is semi-arid, similar to what prevails in the Sahel Sudan ecological zone.[82] The climate is also subject to the movement of air masses, which affects the rainfall and temperature of the area. These air masses are the Tropical Continental air mass or northeast winds, which blow from the desert bringing harmattan, and the Tropical Maritime air mass, or south-westernwind which blows to the area from the Gulf of Guinea bringing rainfall into the region.[83]

2.1.2 Rainfall

Rainfall was a fundamental element that determined the pattern of settlement and economic activities in Katsina. However, the amount of rainfall and temperature varies, and are subject to changes in the atmosphere. Rainfalls bring changes to the environment, popularly known as *damina mai ban samu* (rainy season the provider of livelihood).[84] Rainfall normally begins in April and when the rain becomes regular, temperature is usually lower in the morning and at night, thereby it is excessively hot.[85] The mid-day temperature rise to 100°C and a minimum of 75°C is recorded.[86] The early rain is accompanied by *cida* (thunder) which is an indication of the beginning of the rainy season.[87]

[81] See Grove, op cit p.29 and Bakin Kasuwa, p.29.
[82] Shehu, op cit. p.220.
[83]Bakin-Kasuwa, Pp.29, 220,
[84] Bunchanan, op cit., p.24.
[85] Usman, op. cit, p.24
[86] Grove, op. cit., p.4
[87] Usman, op. cit., p.4

Notwithstanding, great attention is devoted to farm work at the early stage of the rainy season. This is because of the uncertainty of the rain, because after the first rain there is often a delay of three to four weeks. In addition, when this happens the seeds are wasted. So, in order to overcome this problem, much attention is devoted to farming, utilizing the available know-how, skills and labour.[88] Crops like groundnut, beans and sweet potatoes are planted within the period of little or no rain, and this in turn often leads to famine and higher prices of the available foodstuff.[89]

The period of shortage of rain were followed by heavy rain, by the end of June, cloud cover becomes permanent with frequent rain. It is also a time of excessive rain, which makes weeding and harvesting of crops a difficult task. More importantly, at this point if the harvest of millet is delayed, it is normally washed away which becomes a source of concern of the people, as the available food becomes expensive due to the high demand of Millet for *Fura*; a drink made of millet consumed in the area as food. Similarly, this is a period, when flood occur, washing down farmlands and houses, so it is a critical period for the generality of the people of the area.[90]

Usually, the rainfall has often been unfavourable in one out of five years, which is accompanied by low productivity of crops.[91] The period of excessive rain is followed by times when crops are harvested from the farm, and the harvested crops are stored. With harvest over, the dry stalk of cotton, groundnut and beans are left in the farms as feeds for cattle. This arrangement comes in form of agreement for the herdsmen to provide manure on

[88] Ibid, p.4.
[89] Ibid, p.4.
[90] Bakin Kasuwa, op. cit., p.31.
[91] Grove, op. cit, p.4.

the farmlands. Some of the stalk is taken away, and stored for the feeding of animals, like, goats, and as well kept in various household.[92]

Thus, farmingin the dry season which usually is done especially in *fadamomi* (wet lands)requires moisture that is why in some instances wells are dug and *shaduf* is used in evacuating water from wells for the irrigation of plants. This agricultural activity entails the cultivation of vegetables and in some cases food crops are planted along side with vegetables. The vegetable cultivated include onions, tomatoes, cabbage and lettuce. These are planted in square formed layout to allow water to pass into the farmland area. A large proportion of land in Katsina metropolis has been utilized for this economic activity.[93]

Thus, the products serve the Katsina markets as well as the surrounding villages and distant markets. Some of the tomatoes and pepper are dried, stored and used in the rainy season when they are scarce.[94] They also form items of trade in the Tsohuwar and Sabuwar Kasuwa in Katsina metropolis as well as the surrounding villages. In addition, onion leaves were dried and taken to long distant places, known as *gabu* used in food preparation. This is important because it shows how people utilize sunshine to preserve food items in order to prevent spoilage, as well as due to high demand for dried items in rainy season.[95]

2.1.3 Vegetation

Lying within the northern Sudan Savanah, the vegetation of Katsina metropolis falls within the Savannah zone of West Africa, namely the Guinea, Sudan and Sahel Savannah. It

[92] Usman, op. cit
[93] Bakin Kasuwa, op. cit., p.31.
[94] Ibid.

is important to note that, a type of vegetation in the area is influenced by the amount of rainfall, soil type and intensity of human activities in the area.[96]

The vegetation found in the area comprises of trees and shrubs. The trees are found in areas close to settlements, while the shrubs are found in areas far away from settlements.[97]The areas where trees are foundare under intensive cultivation, and it is characterize by trees covering many kilometres. This kind of vegetation was suppressed. Even when Clapperton visited Katsina on 16th May 1824 noted that most of the area was extensively cultivated.[98]

Similarly, after the rainy season, the grains are harvested and stored, and then people engage in various industrial and commercial purposes. For example, household construction, food processing, mining activities, craft production, etc, mats, hats and rope making from leaves of *goriba* (hyphaene thebaica) as well as *kaba* (huphaene) are important socio-economic activities. A large section of the population of this area was occupied with this economic venture, especially the male population. These forms of production were wide spread due to the availability of the raw materials in large quantity in Katsina.

Much more fundamentally, ropes were use along with water container (*guga*) to draw water from the well. Men won the hats as shield from the scorching sun. In addition, mats were needed and used in every household, sometimes dye was used on the mats to produce different designs used by all sections of the society. Another dry season activity is the processing of grain popularly known as *sussuka* and *shika* done by the women folk. It required removing the husk from the grain through pounding using mortar and pestle, and

[96] Bakin Kasuwa, op. cit., p.34
[97] Bakin Kasuwa, p.34
[98] Ibid p.34.

then *fai-fai* (tray) is used to separate the husk from the grain. Women undertake this venture within the households and sometimes farmers to process their grain for payment call upon some of them. This dry season activity employs the services of women, thereby providing them with income, which they use to solve personal problems. That is not to always depend on their husbands' relations, cousin's etc. for feeding, clothes among others.

By extension, when we look at the **soil** in the area, as elsewhere in Nigeria, represent an interface between chemical weathering of rocks and an active and intermittent surface and sub-surface denudation system, fuelled by intensive rainfall and rapid run-off. The properties of the soils, therefore, represent complex interrelationship between intensity of weathering and rate of lateral and vertical eluviation of materials, which are in turn related to lithology, topography, climate vegetation and other environmental control. Thus, the soil of the study area fall under tropical ferruginous soil and weakly developed alluvial soils of the major streams.[99]

Trees found around the settlement are shea butter *(Acacia Albida)* and Tamarind *(Taramindus Indica)*.[100]Other important trees found beside these are, baobab *(kuka) (Adonsonia digitate)*, Low cost beans (dorowa) *(parkia filiwida)*, black plum (dinya) Vitex, (faru) *(lannea)*, Egyptian thorn (bagaruwa) *(acecia)*, Silk cotton tree (rimi) *(ceiba pantandra)*, Niger Gutta tree (gamji) *(ficus platyphylia)*, African ebony (kanya) *(diospyrus mespilifornsis)*, winter thorn (gawo) *(Acacia Albida)*.[101]

[99] For more see MLSK (Ministry of land and survey, Katsina): History and Master Plan of Urban Katsina Report, 2008
[100] Ibid, p.26.
[101] Ibid, p.35.

Some species of trees like *kuka* (Baobab), *cediya* (ficus thornniya), d*urumi(ficus polita)* and *rimi(Ceibi pentandra)* are found in settled areas, sometimes near the houses. It is believed that the tree cluster is an indication that people have lived in the area for a long time.[102]Meanwhile, these trees are of economic significance to the people of the area.[103]Thus, these trees were of economic significance and they were utilized by the people of the area. They were used for food, fodder, medicine, industrial raw materials and firewood. They constituted the major source of fuel for the local economy. Acacia Arabia (bagaruwa) *(leguminosoe)* is an important source of gum Arabic, and the leaves boiled with tamarind pods are used as medicine for the cure of diseases which cause they eye lashes to fall out. Daddawa is made from the seed of dorowa *(parkia filiciodea)*. It is a condiment used in food seasoning and serves as an important item of trade.

The leaves of Baobab (kuka) *(adonsia digitata)* were used in the preparation of soup, miyar kuka. The pods of tsamiya- Indian tamarindus *(tamarindus indica)* are used in the preparation of various kinds of drinks as laxative.*Vitex* (dinya), its fruits were used in making sweets (alewa and madi). It has a taste of honey; it is used also as an ingredient for ink, it is boiled with gum to get a tick extract, beehives are mostly placed on the branches of these trees. The wood of vitex is used in making axes and hoe handles, mortar and pestle. The seed of bagaruwa *(acacia arabica)* is used in tanning of leather materials, while the wood is used to make handles of axes and hoes. The inner bark of kuka (baobab) is stripped and used to make ropes and mats. Hats and baskets are made from the leaves of goriba. In the hollows of

[102] Usman, op. cit., p.13.
[103] Bakin Kasuwa, p.34

tamarind tree (tsamiya), cocoons of silk warm are found and this is processed into silk thread used in highly valued embroidery.

Trees found close to the settlement were not planted like food crops; they are inherited and carefully preserved, utilized as source of income to the people. Some of these trees play important roles in the lives of the non-Muslims of the area. Trees like tsamiya and kuka are associated with iskoki (spirits) and a kind of bori cult is associated with it. The *tsamiya* tree of *Bawada*, which was enclosed in the palace of Sarki Korau, was the site of religious activities and the installation of the king.The importance of this vegetation lies in the way it created linkages between the people and the environment.

Nevertheless, the area outside the settlement where shrubs and small trees predominate was characterized by thin soil unsuitable for farming activities. It is made up of abandoned farmlands where farming has stop temporarily. The trees in the area belong to thorny species; about 20 feet high, also shrubs and grasses are found in this area. Geza (combretum micrantum), sarkakkiya *(acacia atanacantha)*, sabara *(bauhinia thonniga)*, kalgo *(bauhinia peticulata)* in some instances *kaba(hyphaene thebaica)* and thorn bushes *(Acacia)* are also found in the area.

The shrubs were equally important; the shrubs of sabara *(bauhinia thonniga)* are burnt around herds of cattle, sheep and goats to keep off flies. The leaves mixed with water are used in the treatment of stomach-aches. Women also take it after childbirth. It is used as prevention for leprosy and other skin diseases. In some instances, leaves are added to food to prevent indigestion. The shrub of shiwaka *(venonia amgdalina)* grows around rivers and in

most areas in some household. The root is used as chewing stick for cleaning teeth and the leaves are used as medicine.

Thus, it is important to note that, *Geza (combetum microntum)* was used in roofing and it was an important source of firewood. The leaves were used in the treatment of high blood pressure. *Kaba* is important in rope making and mats, which are major occupation of the people in the dry season due to the availability of the product in the area. The Saura is a major grazing area for herds of cattle, sheep and donkeys. The grasses of the vegetation are used in making thatched roof and the light of brooms.

The area furthest away from settlement was called *Daji*. It was the abode of *maharba* (hunters) and nomadic Fulani who move around with their herds of cattle in the *Daji.* There are several trees such as *kiriya, madaci, marke* that were used for medicinal purposes in the area. They were also used by wood carvers in the making of mortar, pestle, hoe handle, among others.

2.2 The People

Prior 19th century, the population of Katsina metropolis and indeed the whole emirate consist of Hausa and Fulani. But there were also quite a number of other "tribal" groups such as Kanuri, Tuaregs and Malians that have been migrating to the city since the emergence of Katsina Kingdom in the 15th century. Islam is the dominant religion of the generality of the people, and it greatly influenced the social, political and economic activities of the people. However, there are a quite a number of Hausa and Fulani Christians with a high concentration in the southern part of the emirate. The 1952 census survey put the population

figure of the metropolis at 31, 919. [104] In 1991 census the population of the metropolis was 233, 644.[105]. Then with the 2006 National census, the population of the metropolis was 459,022.[106]

So, the historical importance of Katsina, together with its strategic location in Northern Nigeria had greatly contributed to its population growth. The increasing population in recent years has been attributed to Usman Danfodiyo Jihad in 1804,[107] rural-urban migration of the people for business purposes and influx of civil servants. Owing to increase in urbanization and employment opportunities, the establishment of many more governmental and non-governmental institution in Katsina sprang up in order to meet the needs of the people, is particularly remarkable.

Thus, Katsina being an urban centre accommodates people from different works of life,[108] but the predominant ethnic groups are the Hausa and Fulani. [109] There are other communities or other ethnic groups who also formed part of the composition of today's Katsina Metropolis and participate in the political, social and economic development of Katsina. These are Igbo, Yoruba, Nupe, Kanuri, Tiv, Idoma, Igala, Kilba (Huba), Margi, Eggon among others. It is also important to note that there are also the citizens of Niger

[104] Max Lock, Op cit p. 46
[105] Federal Republic of Nigeria, Official Gazetteer, No. 2, Abuja, 2nd February, 2009, Vol.796. p.B 33.
[106] National Population Commission 2006: Data for National Development. Retrieved Tuesday, 29 November, 2011. From http//www.population.gov.ng/htm

[107] See Usman, *Transformation of Katsina, 1400-1883…*Op cit. p.7.
[108] "Katsina" The Encyclopaedia Online February, 2007.
[109] Note: The Fulani were primarily semi-settled cattle herders, with some limited crop production activities. The Hausa were largely crop cultivators, but who also kept some animals. A History of association and interaction between the two ethnic groups led to merger of culture and tradition, mainly through the unifying influence of Islam, the Hausa language and inter-marriages.

Republic who reside in all wards, and are small-scale traders.[110]Hence, the people living in Katsina Metropolis are Muslims and Christians, who are either indigenes or immigrants.[111]

2.3 Economic and Society

Many forms of economic activities were undertaken in Katsina metropolis with farming and manufacturing as the most prominent. It is important to note that these economics activities had played important role towards the needs of the people as pointed earlier. According to Udo a substantial proportion of the non-farming population obtained a living from various forms of manufacturing, and provided employment for a considerable number of people.[112]Since manufacturing empowered at the time trained people to be self-employed and creative.

2.3.1 Land uses

Land in our area ofstudyis dominated by activities, such as residential, institutional, commercial and industrial land uses, with small area utilized for farming which includes livestock production and gathering.[113]

Residential areas cover most part of the study area, different land uses such as commercial, institutional, and educational areas are all located within the residential vicinity. *Sabuwar Ungwa* extension is the major area functioning as industrial layout. Industries such as Dana Steel Rolling, packaging, Beverages processing etc are found in this area.

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[110] "Katsina" The Encyclopaedia Online February, 2007.Op cit.
[111] See I.D. Nabata, *Katsina Historical Guide V1*. Katsina: Katsina State History and Culture Bureau, 2006. p.5.
[112] R.K. Udo, *A Comparative Geography of West Africa*. Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books Nigeria Ltd, 1978. p. 89
[113] See MLSK, 2008.

Commercial activities happen to be growing very fast in the area. There are many mini and one major central market. The popular markets here are Katsina Central Market, *Kofar Marusa* Market, Old market and *Yar' Kutungu* Market. Also there are many departmental stores, shopping centres and supermarkets where local and foreign commodities are sold. Institutional land uses can be found at various locations within urban Katsina. Tertiary institutions include Katsina Islamic University, Umaru Musa Yar'adua University, Federal College of Education, Hassan Usman Katsina Polytechnics, College of Agriculture and School of Nursing and Midwifery in addition to numerous Nursery/Primary and Secondary Schools both governmental and privately owned.[114]

Agricultural activities are confined to open spaces within the built-up areas and at suburbs, and on the stretches of flood plains and the little floodable plains of the part of the low terrace depressions that retains water in the area, as well as other undeveloped lands within the area and other extensive areas just outside the city gates. The most common crops grown are Corn*(Sorghun spp),* Millet (*Panicum miliaceun*), maize*(Zea mayz),* beans*(Vigne unguiculata)* etc. Irrigated crops are Okro*(Abelmoschus esculentus),* Cabbage (*Brassicaoleraceacapitata*) spinach*(Spinacia oleracea)* etc., Perennial crops and Fruits.[115]

The area also supports large number of cattle, sheep, donkey and goats. All livestock in the area graze on natural pasture and shrubs for their nutritional needs, and supplementary feeding from the beans stalk.

[114] For detail on Tertiary Institution in Katsina. See A. S. Lugga, *The Great Province* .Katsina: Lugga Press, 2004. p.69.
[115] L. A. Danbuzu, "Composition and Spatial Distribution Solid Waste Collection Points in Urban Katsina" April 25, 2011.p.2.

Furthermore, when we look at the landforms of the area we will discover that it reflects the sedimentary rock formation. The landscape is relatively flat, almost featureless, typically less than two degree, and about 510m at the Katsina city centre.[116] The plain is underlain by clay sandstones and grits with small basal pebble. Rock out crop is generally absent, other than the small in layers of basement complex plains further south of the area.

2.3.2 Agriculture

Agriculture has since time immemorial been the most important economic activity all over Hausaland. Before the establishment of colonial rule in the area, agricultural producers were responsible for providing the state revenue in the form of tax and tribute. Similar to other Hausa societies, the household system in Katsina formed the basis of the economy. Organization of agricultural production was centred on *gandu* that served as a unit of production and consumption. The *gandu* was headed by *maigida* (family head), followed by the rest of the family on the basis of seniority. All members had to work in the household farm, for it was through this that the *gandu* members would meet their daily needs like getting dress to wear, marriage, etc. In the case of the individual adult members of the family, they had a *gayauna* (farmland), which they tilled crops of their own. There were also *gandayen Sarki* usually tilled by slaves and the citizenry through *gayya* system (communal) labour.[117] Also agricultural activities in Katsina were mostly carried out during the wet season. The major crop produced includes millet, guinea-corn, beans, groundnut, cassava and maize. Vegetables such as Okro (*Kubewa*), red sorrel (*yakuwa*) were also grown.

2.3.3 Pastoralism

[116] MLSK 2008. Op. cit.
[117] J. Shehu, "A Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis, 1960 – 2007," PhD Dissertation, Department of History, Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto, 2012. p. 41

Pastoralism was also an important economic activity in Katsina and is still being practiced. The major forms of pastoral activity being undertaken were domestication of livestock that included cattle, sheep, rams, and goats, others were fowls, chickens, and beasts of burden. Livestock served as a source of food and raw materials like meat, milk, butter, hides and skin and in addition to being a major form of wealth. Animal waste matters served as manure to aid land fertility. Cattle had since pre-colonial times been Katsina's main export to the southern part of Nigeria for exchange.[118]

2.3.4 Blacksmithing

Blacksmithing had for long been an important economic activity in Katsina city practiced mainly at *Marnar Kadabo* ward. In the pre-colonial times, the iron works of *Kwarin Tana* supplied the required raw materials to the smiths, but towards the end of 18th century, this iron works became insignificant because of the non-availability of the raw materials.[119] The smiths then turned and depended on more distant areas such as Kano for the supply. The main tools used by the blacksmiths for the manufacture of the materials included: *muntalaga, masaba, kulki, mtsoni, makera, awartaki, zuga-zugi,* and *bakin-wuta*. The blacksmithing in Katsina were noted in meeting the various needs of the society be it farmers, tailors, weavers, etc. They manufacture agricultural and household implements like *lauje, kududdiri, basulla, fartanya,* amongst several others. Such blacksmiths were known as *makeran bubbaku* (blacksmiths).[120] There were also *makeran farfaru* (smiths of light metallic) who specialized in manufacturing ornaments like necklaces, *zabba* (finger rings), *yankunne* (earings), *warwara* (hand rings), *likkafa* (harness for horses) etc. However, the

[118] Ibid, p. 42
[119] Ibid, p. 42
[120] Ibid, p. 42

white smithers depended on imported raw materials, since there were no records on the existence of minerals like copper, silver or gold in Katsina.[121] There were also remnant finished products known as *kwar* supplied by the blacksmiths and was used to cure some ailments. Customers not only from Katsina city but also from the outlying villages visited the area to purchase these manufactured goods. Also in the past the blacksmiths in Katsina were identified with a facial mark of three strikes on the edge of their mouth that distinguished them from other people.[122]

2.3.5 Dyeing

Prior to the 20th century Dyeing centre were established in *Marnar Gabas, Manar Kadabo, Marnar Kofar Yandaka, Marnar 'Yan gammu* and *Marnar Gangare* wards. Before the advent of colonial rule, a rough estimate of about four hundred (400) dyeiny pits were said to have been in existence in the city. The major materials involved in the production were *rowantukunya,toka, baba, katsi, shuni and muciya*.[123] These materials were mostly obtained locally in the city and its satellite areas as *Batagarawa*, *Kadandani*, *Jibia*, to as far as Kano sometimes. The major products were being dyed into different colours included *zannuwa* and *zare*. The dyeing activity was also carried out by the indigeneous people of Katsina, even though seasonal migrants from *Abukur*, *Charanchi*, *Bindawa*, etc, have been coming to participate. The dyeid products were exchanged in Katsina and nearby villages such as *Kaita*, *Kayauki*, *Muduru*, *Yandaki*, *Kayawa*, *Mai'adua*, *Ajiwa*, *Ruma*, *Jibia*, *Gangara*, etc.[124]Similarly the dyers manufactured a kind of women dress known as *Adire* and were

[121] Ibid, p. 43
[122] Ibid, p. 43
[123] Ibid, p. 43
[124] Ibid, p. 43

exchanged to interested customers. *Dagwalo* (remnants of water after dyeing) was also used as a traditional medicine to cure some ailments.

2.4 Social and Political Setting

The social and political setting of Katsina could be traced back to the 15th century, when Sarki Korau built a complex political system surrounded by a hierarchy of officials to perform specific function. With the coming of Sarki Korau the formal system of succession to the throne through wrestling contest was replaced with the new system that was vested in a council of kingmakers, comprising Galadima, Kaura, Yandaka and Durbi.[125] The new policy made succession very easy and reduced succession crisis substantially, and this enhanced the sustainability of the kingdom. The Korau descendants continued ruling Katsina until it was overthrown by the Jihad of 1804.[126] The centralization of authority by Korau enabled the attainment of internal security in the area to a large extent. Four senior titles after the *Sarki* formed the senior council of the emirate who exercised important checks on the power of the *Sarki*.[127] It is indeed important to note that the recognition given to the kingmakers and their loyalty to the Sarki served as a strong factor to the accelerated development and survival of Katsina as an important political and cultural centre.[128] Moreover, since the pre-colonial days, the people of Katsina were described as well-behaved and pious, having been blessed with many Ulama.[129] They were also distinguished by politeness and hospitality that attracted

[125] See M.G Smith, "A Hausa Kingdom: Maradi Under Dan Baskore, 1854-75," in Lombard J., and Kaberry, P. M., *West African Kingdoms in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Oxford University Press, 1967. Pp. 99-100. It is important to note that the body of the kingmakers is still responsible for selecting a new emir of Katsina, but after being approved by the Katsina State Government.
[126] Shehu, "A Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis, 1960 – 2007," Op cit p. 44
[127] Smith, "A Hausa Kingdom: Maradi Under Dan Baskore, 1854-75," Op cit pp. 99-100
[128] Shehu, Op cit p.44
[129] A.M. Dan Tafa, "Akbar Hadhhis al-Bilad Al Hausiyya wa-al-Sudaniyya," in A.M. Kani. The Life and Works of dg-Al-Qadir B. Al-Mustapha: A Critical Edition of His works and Historiographical Approach, "PhD Dissertation, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1987. p. 249

immigrants into their areas. This attitude of the *Katsinawa* was to earn the city the epithet Katsina *Dakin Kara*: Katsina Home of Hospitality. It is also called *Katsina ta Korau* or *Birnin*Dikko. Katsina is also a famous centre of cultural heritage, and one of the significant traditional cultural traits found in the city are the famous *Hawan Sallah* festivals celebrated twice a year, and are attended by the great number of people across the world.[130]

2.5 Role of Commerce in Katsina Metropolis

Katsina metropolis occupied an important position in Hausaland especially from the period of the Trans-Saharan Trade up to the end of eighteenth century, and this was what made Katsina to overshadow some of its neigbours such as Kano and Zazzau.[131] Thus, Mahdi commenting on the commercial prosperity of Katsina city in the 18th century accorded it to the status of northern gateway to Hausaland and was by far the most important market town in that part of the country.[132] He accorded the city the prime position of holding eminent position in the economy of Hausaland since it commanded some major trade routes from the northern and western Sudan coming into Hausaland.[133] The principal routes were the Trans-Saharan coming from the north via Agadez, the Gwanja trading routes that arouse from the west through the Niger valley, and the routes coming from the other Hausa towns, and Borno all of which were coordinated by Katsina city. The commodities were in horses, European and Arabian textiles, metals, utensils, small, looking glasses, cowries and many others which

[130] Shehu, Op cit pp. 44-45
[131] Shehu, "A Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis, 1960 – 2007," Op cit p. 49
[132] M. Adamu, "Distribution of Trading Centres in the Central Sudan in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," Y. B. Usman, Studies *in History of Sokoto Caliphate, The Sokoto Seminar Papers*. Zaria: Department of History, ABU, 1979. p.5
[133] M. Adamu, *The Hausa Factor in West African History*. Zaria: ABU Press, 1979. pp. 13, 65-67

included gold dust, slaves, cotton clothes, hides and skins, civets and kolanut.[134] Barth classified Katsina city as a leading commercial centre and the chief city of this part of Negroland in commerce, politics and other respects.[135]

It was established in the days of Songhay that its wealth used to pass to Katsina through Timbuktu. Thus from the fifteenth century up to the end of eighteenth century itinerate traders from Mali (*Wagarawa*) , Borno and Abzin among others flocked settled in the city of Katsina.[136] It was these quarters that were reserved for them.[137] According to Babajo, merchants from Mali mostly occupied *Unguwar Liman*and *Makuda*, while those from Borno settled at *Gambarawa* ward.[138] He added that Tuareg merchants inhabited *KofarGuga* ward, *Abzinawa* settled in Sararin Tsako, and the Arabs were at *Albaba*, *Yansiliyu* and *Rafindadi* wards.[139] The settlements of these immigrant merchants and others in Katsina city coupled with the growth of mining, manufacturing and commerce leading to growth of new centres in population and wealth.[140] Also the settlements of these migrants made Katsina not only one of the leading centres of the western Sudan, but also boosted the economy of the *Birnin* through its engagement in some occupations and payments of taxes.[141] Socially, the immigrants and settlements of these merchants marked an important

[134] W.F. Gowers, "Kano Gazetteer (1921)" in A.H.M Kirk-Green, *Gazetteers of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria. Vol. 1.* London: Frank Cass, 1972. Pp. 17-18
[135] Henry Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa 1849-1885, Vol. 1.* London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1965. p
[136] A. S. Babajo, "The Mercantile Landscape of Northern Katsina Emirate 1865-1954" Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History, BUK Kano, 2004. p. 65
[137] Shehu, Op cit p. 49
[138] Babajo, "The Mercantile Landscape of Northern Katsina Emirate 1865-1954" Op cit p. 65
[139] Ibid, pp.67-72
[140] Usman, *The Transformation of Katsina 1400-1883*....Op cit, p.75
[141] Shehu, Op cit p. 50

development in the urban expansion of Katsina city, which according to Usman had become the most densely, parts of Katsina city at the end of the 19th century.[142]

2.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter discussed in brief the history, studying also the environmental features of the area of study and its contributions economically to Hausa land. In the final analysis, we saw that even before the advent ofcolonialism, the various ethnic groups that made up the Nigerian state had never lived in isolation from one another. The fact still remains that Nigeria is made up of diversesocio-cultural groups. We also saw that for several centuries several groups were migrating to Katsina metropolis for various reasons that hinged on either push or pull factors. A significant feature that characterized the arrival of these migrant groups was the promotion of inter-group relations, a feature that was accelerated in the post-colonial period as we are going to see in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

[142] Usman, Op cit p. 40

HISTORY OF IGBO MIGRANT COMMUNITY TO KATSINA, 1903-1966

3.0 Introduction

For centuries, several groups of migrants have been migrating to Katsina metropolis for various reasons that were hinged on either push or pull factors. A significant feature that characterized the arrival of these migrant groups was the promotion of inter-group relations, a feature that was accelerated in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial period. In the light of these, this chapter willexamine the history of their immigration to Northern Nigeria down to Katsina Metropolis with special focus on the nature and reasons for their immigration, their settlement pattern during the colonial period to the eve of the Nigerian Civil War, and then the issues surrounding Sabon Gari phenomenon in Katsina metropolis, in addition to the reasons responsible for Igbo immigration to Katsina metropolis since the post-civil war period.

3.1 Igbo Immigration to Northern Nigeria

Igboland wasamongst the densely populated areas in the world.[143] This dense population was as result of the need to expand and conquer new land. According to Dike, perhaps the most important factor conditioning Igbo history in the 19th century was land hunger. The Igbo pressing against limited land resources, had of necessity, to seek other avenues of livelihood outside the tribal boundaries.[144] Even withmuch resistance by British to

[143] J. S. Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism.* California: California University Press, 1958. p.332
[144] Ibid, p.322 See also Judith Ifeyinwa Asogwa, "The Role of the Igbo Migrants in the Trading Activities in Zaria," A Seminar Paper Presented at Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, December 3, 2014. pp.1-22

limit their expansion quest,[145] the Igbo still migrated to other areas to work as farm labourers, servants an" unskilled workers.[146]

Igbo people had a long age of trading relations with Northern Nigeria.[147] This shows that immigration of Southern Nigerian communities to Northern Nigeria was not a new phenomenon; it was colonialism that intensified the massive immigration of Southerners to the North.[148] For convenience sake, this work categorizes Igbo immigrations in Northern Nigeria into three major generations or phases.

3.1.1 The First Generation of Igbo Immigrants to Northern Nigeria

The first generations were those who settled in Northern Nigeria during the time of colonial conquest and the immediate past of the conquest. Those Igbo were either members of the Royal West African Frontier Force (WAFF) or clerks who worked in the colonial bureaucracy. In other words, the first generation of Igbo immigrants to settle in Northern Nigeria were either those who worked with the segment of WAFF stationed in some parts of Northern Nigeria after colonial conquest or those who participated in the construction of colonial infrastructures, especially the railway. Also amongst the first generation of Igbo

[145] In my opinion, the British limit the Igbo quest by engaging them in Agricultural activities like farming and likewise denying them some employment opportunities in the Northern Province despite their qualification; most especially some key post or position despite their level of education.

[146] Note that the Push and Pull factors that led to Igbo migration to Northern Nigeria were basically employment opportunities like teaching, nurse, clerks, driving, secretaries, agent of firms, railway line staff and then absence of business competition which enabled them established a lot of business and became the big dealers. In addition to that was the fact that life in the North was not that expensive compare to the Eastern Nigerian.

[147] For more see the work of A. B. Sani, *Trade Diplomacy, Banking and Finance in the Trans-Saharan Trade: An Interpretation of Ahmad Abu al-Ghaith's ledger, a Trade consul in Katsina, 1824-1870*. Kaduna: Pyla-mak Publishers, 2012. p.17. See also M. S. Abudulkadir, "Igala Hausa Relations: An Aspect of Intergroup Relations in the Pre-Colonial Period." In S. B. Ahmad and Ibrahim Khaleel Abdussalam (ed), *Resent Nigeria: Issues in Nigerian Intellectual History*. A Festschrift in Honour of Dahiru Yahya. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press Plc, 2011and A. B. Sani, "The Mercantile Landscape of Northern Katsina Emirate: 1805-1954." Unpublished PhD, Department of History, Bayero University Kano, 2004.

[148] A. Bako, "The Igbo in Northern Nigeria: A Historical Outline of their Business Relations in Kano, Kaduna and Sokoto Metropolis." A Research Work Sponsored by the Central Research and Publications Committee, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, March, 1992. p.2

immigrants were those who found themselves as cooks, steward and drivers in the employment of the Royal Niger Company (RNC).[149]

Thus, the Igbo who worked in the railway departmentduring this epoch came in the period 1896 and 1911 when the western part of Nigeria was connected with the North. This made most of those Igbo to settle in Kaduna and Kano as there was no railway transport to Sokoto. Most Igbo railway workers and colonial clerks lived mostly in Kaduna and later in Kano. Kaduna was a colonial administrative and military capital.[150] Kaduna was also an "artificial" creation by the colonialist and from 1917 onwards served as the administrative capital for the Northern provinces. [151] Hence, a large number of the first generation of Igbo immigrants in Northern Nigeria therefore decided to stay in Kaduna than moving to Kano or Sokoto because there were up until the 1930s more job opportunities in Kaduna.[152] Indeed, all the above mentioned factors encouraged large number of Igbo to stay and work than moving to Kano or Sokoto.

3.1.2 The Second Generation of Igbo Immigrants to Northern Nigeria

The second generations of Igbo immigrants in Northern Nigeria were mainly traders who came purposely to start business activities and secure whatever financial/material benefits were available. This category of Igbo started coming soon after the opening of the Makurdi Bridge in 1932. In other words, even though Igbo immigrants settled in Kano and Sokoto in the early years of colonial rule, it was after the construction of the Eastern Railwayline that larger number of Igbo immigrated to Kano and Sokoto (in addition to

[149] Ibid, p.3
[150] Ibid, p.3
[151] See W.I. Ofonagoro, *Trade and Imperialism in Southern Nigeria 1818-1929*. Lagos: Nok Publishers International NY, 1979. p. 210
[152] Bako, "The Igbo in Northern Nigeria: A Historical Outline of their Business Relations in Kano, Kaduna and Sokoto Metropolis." p.4

Kaduna) where they exploreddifferent economic opportunities. The construction of Eastern railway line started in 1908 after the discovery of coal at Udi.[153] The discovery of the coal made colonial administration realize that communication network in Eastern part of Nigeria was necessary and Udi was the only available coalfield in the whole of British West African colonies.[154]

Thus, when the construction of the Eastern railwayline reached Udi in 1916, the line was further extended to Kafanchan, Jos, Zaria and Kaduna via the Benue at Makurdi to join the Northern line. With the completion of the railway in 1932, there was massive migration of the Igbo since the system of transportation was improved. A good example was when the rail line from Port-Harcourt was hookedwith Kano, Eastern Nigerian was given direct access to Kano and Sokoto.

Nonetheless, commenting on the immigration and settlement of Igbo and other Eastern Nigeria peoples in Northern Nigeria as A.D. Edley [155] stated and quoted by Ahmed Bako: "Even though the Igbo migration to Kano and other Northern Nigeria cities began before the Eastern railway was opened…it was the improved means of transportation at the disposal of Igbo traders, that Kaduna, Zaria, Kano (and Sokoto) became new focal points for their activities."[156]

Furthermore, what fundamentally encouraged the massive Igbo immigration to Kano, Sokoto and Kaduna was the density of population and shortage of land which were the main features of Igboland. Stanley Diamond and Crowther have observed that the high incidence

[153] Ofonagoro, *Trade and Imperialism in Southern Nigeria 1818-1929*. Op cit p. 210
[154] Ibid, p.210
[155] A.D Edley, "The Sabon Gari System in Northern Nigeria, 1913-1940." PhD Dissertation, Los Angeles, 1975. p.269
[156] A. Bako, "The Igbo in Northern Nigeria: A Historical Outline of their Business Relations in Kano, Kaduna and Sokoto Metropolis." p.5

of population density, combined with the fact that the soil in several parts of Igboland couldhardly support anything more than subsistence agriculture, led many young Igbo to look for alternative sources and means of livelihood outside their homeland. Thus this pushed and pulled them to migrate to cities of the West and North, where they proved remarkably successful as clerks, railway workers and store keepers.[157]

The Igbo immigrated to all regions of Nigeria but especially the North which represented ¾ of the country.[158] They came in large number because, as Robert Dale stated: subsistence agriculture in such areas such as Owerri and Onitsha could not support the local population. This is because in both the two areas much of land was thickly forested and forest clearing was very difficult. Thus Owerri and Onitsha were amongst the areas with the heaviest population densities in West Africa.[159]

Broadly speaking, what is apparent and paramount from the above discussion is the fact that economic factors had an important influence on the settlement of the Igbo in the metropolis of Northern Nigeria especially Kano, Sokoto, Kaduna, Zaria, Illela, Funtua and Katsina, our areas of study. Most of the Igbo who immigrated chose their new homes in area where there were opportunities. Kano and Kaduna (and even Katsina as we shall see later) attracted large number of Igbo immigrants throughout the colonial era because of job opportunities which were not available in Igboland.[160] More jobs existed in the North because as of then, the Igbo had large number of people that acquire the colonial system of

[157] S. Diamond, *Nigeria: Model of a Colonial Failures*. Lagos: Nok Publishers International NY, 1967. P.43
[158] See C. Onwubu, "Ethnic Identity, Political Integration and National Development: The Igbo Diaspora in Nigeria." The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.13 No.3, 1973.
[159] See C.A Ackah, *West Africa: A General Certificate Geography*. London: University of London Press, 1973. p. 134
[160] A. Bako, "The Igbo in Northern Nigeria: A Historical Outline of their Business Relations in Kano, Kaduna and Sokoto Metropolis." p.6

education compared to the people of the Northern Province, and likewise had artisan that specialized in used of colonialist machine and execution of project. [161]

Another important factor that pushed the Igbo to the metropolis of Northern Nigeria is that prior to the discovery of oil in the Eastern region in the late 1950s the economic resources of the Igbo was palm produce, which the colonial administration did very little or even nothing to expand in such a way that could benefit the people. The negative attitude which the British showed towards the production of palm produce was a reflection of the contradictory nature of the British colonial administration which fail to adopt a policy of uniform development in all parts of Nigeria.[162]

Although large-scale Igbo immigration did not start until 1932 when the railway connected the Eastern and Northern regions, the Igbo soon became the most populous and economically prominent community in all the metropolis of Northern areas,including Katsina metropolis. The education of the Igbo which was higher than that of the average northerners enabled them to get jobs in the colonial civil service and imperialist trading firms. They occupied most of the junior posts in the colonial public service.[163] The Nigerian Railway Department (as already mentioned) was one of the organizations they dominated.

The Igbo also became the most prosperous immigrant traders in all the metropolis of Northern Nigeria especially Kano which was a great centre of commerce. This could be seen

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[161] Onwubu, "Ethnic Identity, Political Integration and National Development: The Igbo Diaspora in Nigeria." Op cit p.105 It is important to note that Igbo migration were able to secure employment opportunities like teaching, nurse, clerks, driving, secretaries, agent of firms, railway line staff and then absence of business competition which enabled them established a lot of business and became the big dealers. In addition to that was the fact that life in the North was not that expensive compare to the Igboland.

[162] A. Bako, "The Igbo in Northern Nigeria: A Historical Outline of their Business Relations in Kano, Kaduna and Sokoto Metropolis." p.6

[163] Note: It is important to draw our attention to the fact that, at this time there were two hierarchies in the colonial administration; the Senior services reserved for expatriates and the Junior services opened to Nigerians. For more on this see P. Daudau, "The Management of Ethnic Conflict in Northern Nigeria, 1968-1973." PhD Dissertation, Political Science, Pittsburg, 1974. p. 22

clearly in Sabon Gari market where the Igbo dominated the area because they were economically adventurous not conservative.[164] Thus the reality of Igbo dominance was due to the activities of the Igbo State Union (ISU) which played the role of enhancing community solidarity and making the Igbo in all parts of Northern Nigeria to operate in close proximity and as a single community. The union gave credit and loans to Igbo traders and also assisted them to get direct supply of goods from the imperialist firms. Through the activities and influence of Igbo State Union, a large number of the earliest Igbo residents in Kano became groundnut buying agents to UAC, S.Raccah, A.J Karouni and Leventies. In Sokoto, large number of Igbo became agents of the imperialist firms such as the UAC and London and Kano Trading Company. Those Igbo supplied to these companies hides and skin which were found in different parts of Sokoto metropolis. Also in Kaduna (like in Kano and Sokoto) Igbo became agents of the European firms. They supplied to these companies cotton, which they were obtaining from Zaria and Funtua areas, while those in Katsina metropolis were basically agents of the imperialist firms which was discussed in this chapter.

Indeed, because of their highly placed economic positions, the Igbo in most Northern metropolis especially Kano, Kaduna and Sokoto became sufficiently exclusive and maintained their cultural, educational and other institutions. For example, they opened the Igbo Union (IU) School in Kano and Kaduna in 1945. The exclusiveness of the Igbo placed them in a highly precarious position once the colonial government had withdrawn. The indigenous elites used political and military power to overcome the economic and administrative advantage which the Igbo had gained during the colonial period (for more on the Igbo migrants population into the Northern Province look the two below tableshow their

[164] Bako, Op cit p.7

population increased over time compare to other migrant communities from the Southern Province of Nigeria most especially the Yoruba). [165]

Table 3.1 A summary of African Population of Zaria, Kano and Sokoto Divisions extracted from African Population of Katsina, Zaria and Sokoto Provinces Classified According to Divisions, Emirates and Districts by Main Language Groups, July 1952

S/No	Nationality and Ethnic Group	Zaria Division	Kano Division	Sokoto Division	Total
1	Edo	1,451	4,681	-	6,132
2	Fulani	82,287	872,377	316,972	1,271,636
3	Hausa	360,443	1,857,050	1,423,103	3,640,596
4	Ibibio	-	4,188	-	4,188
5	Igbo	17,994	12,279	3,059	33,332
6	Kanuri	13,416	128,715	21,377	163,508
7	Nupe	3,516	1,864	12,627	18,007
8	Tiv	-	301	-	301
9	Yoruba	9,531	7,533	2,764	19,828
10	Gwari	35,937	-	-	35,937
11	Jaba	41,042	-	-	41,042
12	Kaje	35,722	-	-	35,722
13	Kadara	30,652	-	-	30,652
14	Katab	28,602	-	-	28,602
15	Maguzawa	-	49,385	-	49,385
16	Adarawa	-	-	199,562	199,562
17	Arawa	-	-	14,665	14,665
18	Zabermawa	-	-	10,771	10,771
19	Other Northern Pagan Language Group	-	-	5,531	5,531
20	Other Northern Language Group	130,420	18,022	6,835	155,277
21	Other Nigerian Language Group	3,985	3,385	882	8252
22	None-Nigerians	924	2,393	2,192	5,509
23	Unspecified	6,873	-	-	6,873
	Total Population	**795,922**	**2,969,046**	**2,020,340**	**5,785,308**

Source: Population Census of 1952; Population Census of the Northern Region of Nigeria, 1952. Note, this statistic are available at National Archive Kaduna, Kaduna, Nigeria

[165] Bako, "The Igbo in Northern Nigeria: A Historical Outline of their Business Relations in Kano, Kaduna and Sokoto Metropolis." Op cit, p.8

Table 3.2 Extract of Igbo Population from African Population of Kano, Zaria And Sokoto Provinces Classified According to Divisions, Emirates and Districts Language Groups, July 1952

Province					Division					Township				
Province	**Total Pop.**	**Igbo**	**Hausa**	**Fulani**	**Division**	**Total Pop.**	**Igbo**	**Hausa**	**Fulani**	**Township**	**Total Pop.**	**Igbo**	**Hausa**	**Fulani**
Kano	3,396,350	13,341	2,109,654	968,257	Kano	2,969,046	12,279	1,857,050	872,377	Kano	2,969	676	756	114
Zaria	805,095	20,157	362,100	82,630	Zaria	795,922	17,994	360,443	82,287	Zaria	2,281	489	414	93
										Kaduna	6,095	1,579	1,073	221
Sokoto	2,680,333	3,767	1,825,537	396,340	Sokoto	2,020,340	3,059	1,423,103	316,972	Sokoto	51,986	1,151	33,260	9,603

Source: Population Census of the Northern Region of Nigeria, 1952. Prepared in the Regional Census Office Kaduna. Note, this statistic are available at National Archive Kaduna, Kaduna, Nigeria

Thus, the figure in table 3.1 and 3.2 were an extract of the population census of the Igbo migrant group in Northern Provinces. It is of paramount importance to draw our attention to the fact in 1952, both the province and division level, Zaria (20,157) had the highest number of Igbo migrants compared to Kano (13,341) and Sokoto (3,767). But at the township level, Kaduna was recorded the highest this could be as a result of it being a colonial administrative centre of Northern Nigeria, a military contentment and then one of the industrial and commercial area. Even when we look at table 3.2 we could see that Igbo migrants (33,332) had the highest number compared to Yoruba (19,828) and Nupe (18,007) migrant communities in both Zaria, Kano and Sokoto Division.

3.1.3 The Third Generation of Igbo Immigrants to Northern Nigeria

The third generation of Igbo immigrants were those who came after the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970. The movement of the Igbo coincided with the creation of states and oil boom period. These would be seen under the Igbo immigration to Katsina metropolis after the Civil War.

Indeed, an important aspect that must be emphasized is the first generation of Igbo immigrants were more than 90% men. [166] The second generation of the migrants were young men and women traders who came to replenish their stock while the third generation immigrants were those who were still coming, and they consistedof both young men and women and unmarried girls who were unattached to the traditional setting.[167]

3.2 Igbo Immigration to Katsina Metropolis, 1903 – 1966

[166] Ibid, p.2
[167] Ibid, p.3

The migration of Igbo to Katsina metropolis was entirely different from other Northern provinces cities or metropolis. It was in 1903 that the British occupied Katsina and made it part of Kano Province and thereafter Zaria Province. By 1934 Katsina had became a province. However, unlike Zaria and Kano, that witnessed the migration of significant number of Igbo during the pre-colonial and colonial periods, Katsina did not experience such owing to the absence of colonial infrastructures such as the railway system and the segregated colonial settlement pattern called Sabon Gari system. In other words, the establishment of railway lines, the introduction of *Sabon Gari* and *Tudun Wada*system was central to immigration of Igbo migrants to Kaduna, Kano, Sokoto, Gusau, Zaria and Funtua.[168]

But in the case of Katsina metropolis, most of them came to secure employment with Colonial Government and firms as medical personnel, clerks, drivers, carpenters, Licensed Buying Agents (LBA) [to some European firms], contractors/producer agent and staff of UAC, PZ, and GBO amongst others.[169] But some of the earliest Igbo migrants opted as independent businessmen. For example, some became dealers of *Gwanjo* (second – hand materials including motor spare parts), clothing/textile materials and also petroleum products such as fuel oils for heating and electricity generator, automotive gasolines, asphalt and road oil, liquid petroleum gas (LPG), lubricates, naphtha and, waxes and the feedstock used to make chemicals, plastic, and synthetic materials found in nearly everything we use today.[170] Hence despite all these, there is indeed at the moment no document to confirm with precision

[168] Bako, "The Igbo in Northern Nigeria: A Historical Outline of their Business Relations in Kano, Kaduna and Sokoto Metropolis." Op cit, p.8

[169] A. Bako, *Sabon Gari Kano, A History of Immigrants and Inter-Group Relations in the 20th Century*. Sokoto: Usmanu Danfodiyo University Press, 2006. p.42.

[170] Igbo Community Association, "Forging Ahead as People," Maiden Edition *Igbo Day Magazine*, 2008. pp.16 and 24

Not that, the Petroleum Products refers to items obtained or derived from crude oil and natural gas processing

the exact date when Igbo migrants first came and settled in Katsina metropolis. One thing that is however, certain is that the earliest known Igbo migrant in Katsina came during the era of colonialism, it would be nearly impossible to provide an exact date for their coming and settlement. The available oral evidence we have at the moment is based on the fact that most of the Igbo migrants came in the 1920s. For instance in 1929, one Mr. Mazi Julius Eze from Awukuzu in the present day Oyi Local Government Area of Ananbra State came to Katsina metropolis as a contractor and produce agent of the UAC.He settled near the present Katsina Central Mosque.His house was said to be like a Mecca (pilgrimage home) to Igbo coming to Katsina metropolis for the first time especially produce buyers.[171] During his stay in Katsina metropolis, Mr. Mazi Julius Eze influenced the arrival of many Igbo migrants to Katsina such as Mr. Mazi Michael Eze from Awukuzu, Mr. Fidelis Imoh from Ojoto, Mr. Samuel Nwaosa from Obisi, Gabriel Ogbaru from Nimo, Mr.Raphael Offia from Nimo in the present day Anambra State, and then Chief George Egenti (Odiofele 1 of Katsina) who came from Awukuzu area of Oyi local government of Amanbra State. Hecame to Katsina in 1957 from Kano.[172] Thus all of them were employees of the European firms such as UAC, PZ, GBO amongst others.[173] But some of these earliest Igbo immigrants opted for independent business. One Chief George Egenti for example became a dealer in cloth materials, while Gabriel Ogbaru and Raphael Offia were dealers in petroleum products like kerosene.[174]In

[171] Ibid, p.24
[172] Ibid, p. 24
[173] Shehu, "A Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis, 1960 – 2007," Op cit p.273. For more see A. B. Sani, "The Traffic in Horses and Donkeys from Northern Katsina to Ejelu and Igboland 1884-1950," FAIS Journal of Humanities, Volume 2 Number 3, 2003. pp. 38-42, See A. B. Sani, *Trade Diplomacy, Banking and Finance in the Trans-Saharan Trade: An Interpretation of Ahmad Abu al-Ghaith's ledger, a Trade consul in Katsina, 1824-1870.* Kaduna: Pyla-mak Publishers, 2012. p.7 and M. S. Abdulkadir, "Igala-Hausa Relations: An Aspect of Inter-Group Relations in the Pre-Colonial Period." In S. Babura Ahmad and I. Khaleel Abdussalam (ed). *Resurgent Nigeria, Issues in Nigerian Intellectual History*. A Festschrift in Honour of Dahiru Yahya. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press Plc, 2011. pp. 282-284.
[174] Igbo Community Association, "Forging Ahead as People," Op cit p.16

contrast to those ones, there was Mr. Anene who was in 1953 a Matron of Katsina General Hospital[175] while Chief Anthony Obi [hail from Ezinifile town Agyuabta in Anambra State who did his primary education in Katsina came in the early 40s and went to Technical School where he graduated as a Radio Technician and] worked with SCOA in Kano as a Radio Technician and later left for Katsina in the 1950s and established his own workshop which came to be known as Confidence Radio Works later dulcified his Workshop which came to be known as Confidence Steel Canopy Ltd Electronic Stores.[176]

Despite the fact that Katsina metropolis had no railway line, quite a number of Igbo migrants were attracted to Katsina metropolis owing to availability ofemployment and business opportunities. This was the situation from the colonial period to the eve of Nigerian Civil War. By the 1920s, Igbo population in Katsina metropolis had became significant. For instance, between 1903 and 1931 the total number of Igbo immigrants to Katsina was 0.35% while that of Yoruba 0.21%[177] but by 1945 it was 57 while in 1949 the number rose to 322[178] then in 1952 to 2,704.[179] Since then the number of Igbo immigrants kept on increasing especially due to their high rate of influx in the 1960s with independence and the 1970s as a result of the Civil war and NYSC scheme, and finally in the 1980s due to creation of Katsina

[175] Ibid, p.24. Of equally importance is to note that Katsina General Hospital was established in 1904 and expanded in 1929 and 1932. For more see Shehu, Op cit. pp.86-87

[176] Imo State United Association Katsina State Magazine for Imo Day Celebration 26Th July, 2009.p.49

[177] The 1931 Population Census, Federal Ministry of Statistics, Lagos, 1934.
Fundamentally a colonial figure put the total figure of Niger immigrants in Katsina to 9, 757 in 1945. The Nupe who had trading relation with Katsina since the 15th, 16th, and 18th centuries recorded only 254 in 1945. While 1945, the Yoruba population was 386. By 1949, the Yoruba were believed to have been firmly established in Katsina, as their number rose to 1, 267.

For more see NAK/KATPRO, Katsina Province Annual Report, 1949 p.16, KAT/NA, W44-Population Statistic, p.85 and Shehu, "A Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis, 1960 – 2007," Op cit, p. 251

[178] See NAK/KATPROF, Katsina Province Annual Report, p.16 and also Population Census of Nigeria 1952, Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos.

[179] Population Census of Nigeria 1952, Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos.

State and the 1990s with the return to democracy.There was also the peaceful nature and hospitality[180] of *Katsinawa* towards visitors and immigrants as a contributory factors to the settlement of these immigrants.

The virtual absence of the railways lines in Katsina metropolis seemed to have lessened the increasing number of migrant groupinto the area. This could be the reason why up to 1945 Igbo immigrants in Katsina were not up to 57 in number, but by 1949 the number had risen to 322.[181] By 1952, Igbo population stood at 2,704. The increase of the Igbo migrants into the metropolis can be seen from the table below:

Table 3.3 Population of Katsina Metropolis: 1931 Census Classified by Number of Native Migrants and Foreigners

Katsina Population	Population
Indigenes	22, 568
Native Migrants	22
Foreigners	30
Total Number of Katsina Population	22, 620

Source: Census of Nigeria, 1931. Vol. II. Census of Northern Provinces by N.J Brooke, District Officer, Northern Provinces. Published on behalf of the Government of Nigeria by Crown Agent for the Colonics. London: 4 Millbank, S.W.I, 1933

[180] Chief J.C Nwoso, the Onowu Igbo Katsina(Igbo Prime Minster), Age 84, Igbo Prime Minister and Acting Eze Katsina State, Businessman(Dealer of Generator and Blubber), Interviewed November 5, 2014 at IBB Way Tsohuwar Tasha Round About, Katsina, 10:00AM – 11:00AM, Chief Hillary Chukwu Okonkwo, Age 82, Eze Igbo I of Katsina State, Businessman (Proprietor Luna Castle hostel Katsina). Interviewed September 6, 2014 at Luna Castle hostel, Katsina, 10:00 AM– 11:00AM, Chief Sylvanus Ochukwu, Age 75, Proprietor New Palace Hotel. Interviewed November 8, 2014, Off Sarki Muhktar Way, Sabuwar Unguwa Katsina, 12:00Noon-02:00PM, Chief Jonathan Nwosu, Age 84, Businessman (Dealer of Iron and Steel Materials). Interviewed September 6, 2014 at IBB Way Adjacent formal Nakowa Bakery, Katsina, 12:00-01:30PM, Chief Emmanue Anyaegbu, Age 73, Businessman (Proprietor Liberty Hotel and Yellow Wheel Balancing and Alignment). Interviewed September 9, 2014 at Murtala Mohammed Way, Tayoyi, Katsina, 10:30 AM– 11:00AM, Chief Okechukwu Onyia (OK 2000), Age 41, President Igbo Community Association (ICA) Katsina State. Interviewed November 14, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 12:00Noon-02:20PM. Chief John Umeagudosi (the Eze Udogachi), Age 58, Businessman (Dealer of Generator). Interviewed September 9, 2014 at IBB Way, Tsohun Tasha Round About, Katsina, 9:00PAM-9:30PM, Chief John Uguagwu, Age 75, Contractor/Electrical Engineer. Interviewed November 7, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 11:20AM-12:00 Noon, Chief Enukora Christian, Age 66, Businessman(Boutique). Interviewed November 6, 2014,Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 06:30PM-07:30PM, Chief Charles Ahononu (Omereoche I of Katsina), Age 53, Businessman (Dealers of Electrical/Electronic materials). Interviewed September 9, 2014 at IBB Way, Kofar Kaura Round About, Katsina, 12:00Noon-01:30PM, Dr. Eze Ernest, Age 57, Medical Practitioner and Proprietor Okmos Clinic Katsina. Interviewed November 9, 2014 at IBB Way Okmos Clinic Katsina, 08:00PM-9:00PM, Mr. Augustine Eze, Age 68, Businessman (Boutiques: Shoes and Bags). Interviewed November 6, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 09:00AM-09:45AM,

[181] KAT/NA, W44-Population Statistic, p.85

Table 3.4 Tribal Statistics of Katsina Metropolis 19th September, 1949

S/No	Nationality And Ethnic Group	Katsina	Daura
1	Habe	420201	66290
2	Fuani	366563	42987
3	Bari bari	74005	2847
4	Bugaje	38094	2067
5	Yoruba	1267	13
6	Maguzawa	114604	-
7	Gobirawa	14329	-
8	Tu'areg	19315	-
9	Gwari	1128	-
10	Igbo	322	-
11	Daura	2373	-
12	Zanfara	3787	-
13	Kebbi	721	-
14	Bedde	336	-
15	Nupe	221	-
16	Miscellaneous	13	-

Source: NAK/KAT/PROF 3818 Katsina Province General Information: Minutes 3716Annual Reports on Development Scheme

Table 3.5 African Population of Katsina Province Classified According to Divisions, Emirate and Districts by Main Language Groups, July 1952

S/No	Nationality And Ethnic Group	Katsina Division
1	Fulani	527,742
2	Hausa	612,033
3	Igbo	2,704
4	Kaburi	148,893
5	Nupe	1,785
6	Yoruba	1,381
7	Other Northern Tribes	179,504
8	Other Nigerian Tribes	6,525
9	None-Nigerians	2,558
	Total Population	1, 483,125

Source: Population Census of 1952; Population Census of the Northern Region of Nigeria, 1952

Thus, the figure in table 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5of Igbo migrants into Katsina metropolis would show a gradual process of migration throughout the colonial era. Thus it is of paramount importance to draw our attention to the fact that the period 1930 -1945 was characterized by economic depression, recovery and the impact of the Second World War. As such migration of Igbo into Katsina metropolis became relaxed; slow and gradual. From 1946-1965, however, Igbo migration to Katsina metropolis increased i.e. the character of their migration changed demographically both in pace and pattern. There was a large influx

of immigrants from different socio-cultural backgrounds in search of jobs in both private and public sectors of Nigeria and informal sector as well.[182]

3.3 Nature of Igbo Immigration to Katsina Metropolis, 1903-1966

As pointed out earlier on, Igbo immigration to different urban cities of Northern Nigeria came at the instanceof the construction of railway lines and employment opportunities provided in colonial government institutions and firms, as well as the establishment of *Sabon Gari* and *Tudun Wada*. In Katsina metropolis, however, there was the absence of railway, *Sabon Gari* and *Tudan Wada*. In other words, most Igbo came to North as colonial employees; they came as individuals and after some time brought their, brothers and sisters usually to assist them in domestic work.With time, the Igbo diversified into trade and became produce buyers and their population kept on increasing in various northern urban centres. In places like Kano in 1931, the Igbo migrants came to be regarded as the people taking over the opportunities of the local people as well as exploiting them. This made the people of Kano to hold the Igbo migrants responsible for the economic hardship of Kano community. As such Igbo migrants further spread to other parts of Nigeria and beyond the shores of Nigeria.[183] Hence, Igbo immigration to Katsina was influenced by business competition in other urban cities of Northern Provinces as well as the role of the colonial government and the imperialist firms which provided them with employment opportunities as typist, drivers, clerical officers, messengers, and teachers at government schools (note there were no available statistic for each).[184] Others were agents or middlemen at the imperialist

[182] E. O. Oyedele, "Colonial Urbanization in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna, 1913-1960." PhD Dissertation, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University (ABU), Zaria, 1987. pp. 177-208.
[183] E. Isichei, *A History of the Igbo People*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997. pp. 209, 210, and 211
[184] In addition to that was Mr. E.P.T Crompton who was a Civil Servant and transferred to Katsina by the colonialist as a teacher in 1940s along with Mr. G.C Ijela, who was the first Nigerian Principal of Katsina Teachers College (KTC) among others. Their presence led to the establishment of the second missionary school by name St. John Primary School in 1943, with the help of an expatriate who donate 5 pounds. The school

firms such as UAC, PZ and GBO. Then there were those who opted as independent businessmen and women as petty traders, artisans, photographers, technicians (television and radio) bricklayers, building engineers, carpenters, mechanics, electrician, dealers of textile materials, spare parts, timber, second-hand clothes (*Gwanjo*) and European ready-made clothes, *Kayan Yara* (children clothes) and food stuff and food canteens. Sources also reveal that in 1942 there was an Igbo photographer (known as Jolly Willy) who came and settled at Yar'adua Quarters where his shop was along Nagogo Road but left in 1966 owing to Nigerian Civil War which enabled Alhaji Abashe Mai Hoto to occupy the photo-studio (which according to him was abundant) at the age of 22 and became the first Hausa Photographer in Katsina Province.[185]Similarly in 1954, Dan-Halilu, revealed that the Igbo migrants mostly from Enugu were employed as teachers and posted to various schools i.e. 1 Igbo and 3 to 5*Katsinawa*were posted to enhance effective communication.[186]

Oral sources have further revealed that the Igbo migrants were the bestmasons, bricklayers and building engineers i.e., during the reign of Emir Mohammadu Dikko (1907 -

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became a full pledge primary school in 1956 with the Registration No. KAT/KAT10ZKEA. The school was the best in the whole province during the independence ceremony of 1st October, 1960. No wonder, the Sarki Yaki Katsina was quoted to have said to the Head Teacher Mr. Okolo "I am proud of your school being the best in town." This statement was made to the headmaster on the Independence Day Celebration visitation. Thus even in the 1970s there are Igbo that took appoint with the Teachers Service Board of Katsina as teacher such include Mr. Felix Nworun. For more see Igbo Community Association, "Forging Ahead as People," Maiden Edition *Igbo Day Magazine*, 2008. p.54 and "History of John's Church" Hope Magazine. A Publication of the Diocese of Katsina Anglican Commission, October, 2011. pp. 16 -17.

[185] See Daily Trust Newspaper Hausa title Aminiya, "*Ranar da Shata ya yi min waka kewaye ni aka yi anaKallo-Abashe Mai hoto."* Aminiya, Juma'a, 3 ga Oktoba, 2014. p.25. Abashe revealed that there were only two (2) Igbo photographers (Mr. Jolly Willy and the other) as the time he came to Katsina as such occupied the Igbo shops that found opened due to the Civil War.

Also Oral interview with Alhaji Abashe Mai Hoto Yar'adua (First Hausa Photographer in Katsina and Daura Emirate and Grand Patron Photographers Association Katsina Sate) Age 69. Started the Photography business in 1968 after an Igbo Photographer (Mr. Jolly Willy) left the shop at Yar'adua Gwangwan, along Nagogo Road in 1967, in fear of the Nigeria Civil War. Interview at his Studio-Gwongwon, Usman Nagogo Road dated Tuesday November 11, 2014 and also Chief John Chekwuemeka Uduagwu, Age 75, Contractor/Electrical Engineer. Interviewed November 7, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 11:20AM-12:00.

[186] Alhaji Lawal Dan- Halilu. Age 82. A Retired Teacher (LEA Staff). Interviewed at Kofar Marusa, Katsina Metropolis dated Thursday November 14, 2014 at 05:15-05:45 and Alhaji Na-Funtua (Sa'in Katsina a Traditional Title Holder). Age 85. Interviewed at Sararin Kuka - Unguwan Alkali, Off IBB Way, dated Thursday November 14, 2014 at 09:30-10:05.

1944), he brought some Igbo from the Southern province of Nigeria to break the stones (the rocks) at *Dutsin- Amare*(A Rock remnant area at *Kofar Marusa*. After breaking the rocks, Donkeys were used as carriers of the broken rocks) in the 1930s as well as in building the 4th Katsina Central mosque (see the subsequent pages for picture of the mosque).[187]The Igbo builders/labourers found it difficult to adapt tofood such as *Tuwon Gero*(Millet), *Masara*(Maize) and *Dawa*(Guinea Corn), and then *Fura* and *Nono*(forage). This made the Emir to send for their kind of food from Igboland as of necessity.[188] As such the invitation of the Igbo to Katsina for that work directly and indirectly increased the Igbo population at that particular time.

Thus, it is important to draw our attention to the fact that the Igbo were brought to Katsina metropolis not because *Katsinawa*did not know how to break the rocks (stones) but because Igbo were highly skilled in that area and especiallyin building houses, colonial offices, and place of worship among others using the broken rocks or stones (this was because there were acquainted with colonialist infrastructural design and buildings pattern). Thus, the Igbo masons and bricklayers were involved in the building of the Katsina first Police Barracks for Katsina Native Authority Police (NAPF) in Katsina city (1934) near the present Post Office. Also the Igbo participated in building the Katsina Native Authority offices in 1938 at *Kangiwa* close to the Emir's Palace as part of British attempt to provide offices to the Native Authority (NA), New Barrack built along Ahmadu Bello Way Katsina (1948), Catery Rest House (1949) [now Katsina Motel] with full services being provided, and the construction of New Chief Alkali's Court and the office of the NAPF (1956). All

[187] Oral interview with Alhaji Abashe Mai Hoto Yar'adua, Alhaji Lawal Dan- Halilu, Alhaji Saidu Na-Funtua Op cit and Malam Kabir Haruna Dan Rimi. Age 61. A Carpenter. Interviewed at Sha'iskawa Quarters, Off Nagogo Road Katsina dated Tuesday November 11, 2014 exactly 08:30pm-08:45pm..
[188] Ibid.

these buildings were constructed with rocks. In addition to that was the fact that, oral sources revealed that *Katsinawa* were not specialized in building using rocks and lacked masons and bricklayers.[189]It was after the Second World War (1939-1945) that they began to have; and were mostly the *Katsinawa* people who joined the British forces acquired such experience and came back to Katsina with it. Among such people was late Alhaji Ahmadu Na-Alkan who lived at Kofar Soro before he passed away 20 years ago. Sources further reveal that, among many, he was given a Certificate of Specialization in Masons and Bricklayer by the British.[190]So it was upon his returned amongst others that Katsina possibly experienced the emergence of masons and bricklayers.

Of equal importance, is to note that the *Katsinawa* were local architecture, it was their practice in Katsina metropolis. The people had excelled in making different architectural

[189] See NAK/KATNA 2/36 No. W202, Foreigners Employed by N.A 1942-47. Pp. 1-4 and Appendix for list of names of people from other parts of Nigeria and West Africa employed in the Native Administration of Katsina

[190] The Rocks at *Dutsen-Amare*, Kofar Marusa Katsina, were usually brokedown by the British engineers using *Nakiaas* called in Hausa Language. After which before the Igbo further break it down and then carried to construction site using Donkeys and Head. Since that time there were no heavy truck or DAF. At that time only few people had cars in Katsina Metropolis among which were Alhaji Shera Kofar Guga, Sani MI Sufuni Rafindadi, Alhaji Gyafi Kofar Sauri (Abu Gyafi), Gidan Baika (She was a woman, the mother of Alhaji Dahiru Saude and Alhaji Audu Yan'Kula Iron Baba), Alhaji Madugu (father of the proprietor of Madugu House) and Alaji Rabe (Alhaji Muttaka Rabe was his grandson).

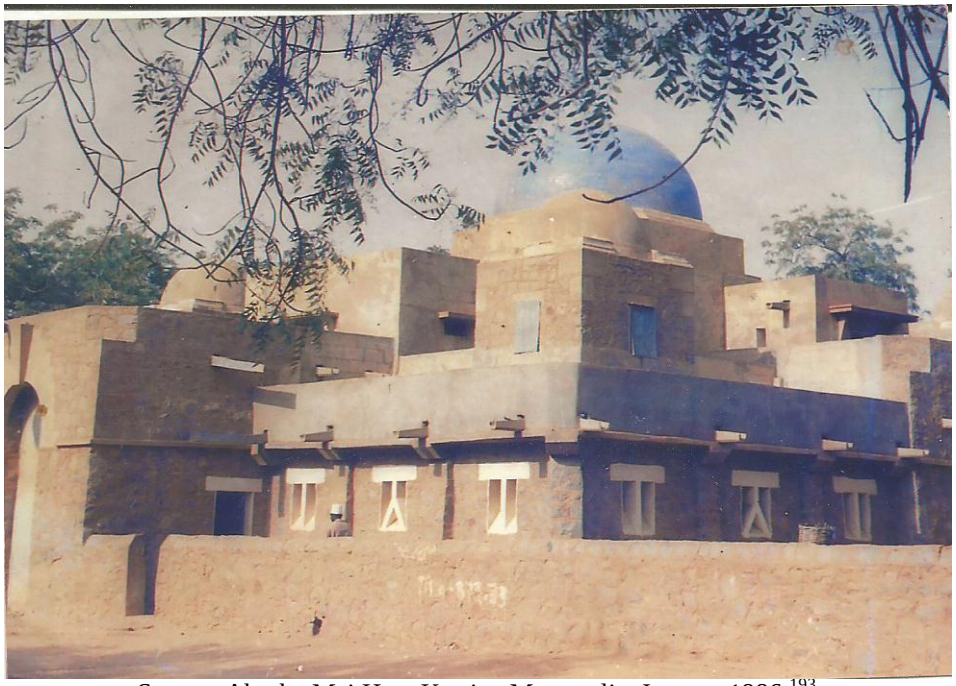
It is also, important to draw our attention to the fact that, all effort to trace those Igbo Masons, Bricklayers and Building Engineers and or relations proof difficult. This would have help in assessing the role of Igbo individuals in the development of modern architecture in Katsina city as well as the extent to which they influence Katsina in learning about modern building.

Source: Alhaji Abashe Jibril Mai Hoto, Age 70, First Hausa Photographer in Katsina State. Interviewed Tuesday November 11, 2014 exactly 08:30pm-08:45pm and Saturday 12th December, 2015 at Usman Nagogo Road, Gwangwan, Katsina, 12:00Noon – 1:15PM, Alhaji Lawal Dan- Halilu. Age 82. A Retired Teacher (LEA Staff). Interviewed at Kofar Marusa, Katsina Metropolis dated Thursday November 14, 2014 at 05:15-05:45 and Alhaji Na-Funtua (Sa'in Katsina a Traditional Title Holder). Age 85. Interviewed at Sararin Kuka - Unguwan Alkali, Off IBB Way, dated Thursday November 14, 2014 at 09:30-10:05.

See also A.M. Saulawa, "British Colonial Administrative Policies and Migrations in the Birnin Katsina circa: 1903-1954." B.A Project, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, 1977.Pp. 1-70

designs using mud bricks.[191] Prominent among them were *Sarkin Magani* Mallam Ida, Wazirin Magani Mallam Maikano, Mallam Sabe, Mallam Bato, and Mallam Jibril Gafai. Modern builders had also existed, that include bricklayers like Alhaji Kadarko, Tumbura Yuguda, Alhaji Ilu Tambura and Alhaji Ibrahim Filista. Carpenters were Alhaji Yusuf, Mallam UsmanKurna and Alhaji Alti Kinna. It was these modern builders that constructed the Katsina General Hospital (1904) and the Katsina Central Mosque of 1907.[192]

Picture 1 4Th Katsina Central Mosque built in 1935 during the reign of Muhammadu Dikko



Source: Abashe Mai Hoto Katsina Metropolis, January 1986.[193]

Furthermore, Igbo immigration to Katsina metropolis was further influenced by their family, family relations and friends. Most Igbo migrants that came were mostly invited by their friends and extended family members since Katsina by then was not as competitive as

[191] J. Shehu, " A Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis, 1960 – 2007,'' Unpublished PhD Thesis, Usmanu Danfodiyo University(UDU), Sokoto, 2012. p. 95

[192]Ibid, p.95

[193] Abashe Mai Photo Age 69, Snaps the 4th Central Mosque which was built in 1935 before it was demolished in January, 1986 and a big one was built which is the Current Central Mosque of Katsina; of which the foundation of the extension of the central Mosque was laid by the Emir of Kano late Alhaji Ado Bayero on 13th April, 1986 and then it was executed and completed by the Emir of Katsina late Alhaji Muhammadu Kabir in 1988.

Kano, Kaduna, Sokoto, Zaria and Gusau. The Igbo migrants usually came as single/individuals, and after establishing their business, they went back home, got married and brought the wife, followed by the siblings and in-laws and friends. As the business developed he sent for more siblings and in-laws and friends to come and be trained as apprentice of which after the settlement quite a number of them settled within Katsina metropolis with only few relocating to other areas. As the business progressedfurther, they brought others to train. So it was a form of continues process and by so doing their population kept on increasing.

3.4 Significance of the Igbo in the Economy of Katsina Metropolis before the Civil War, 1929 – 1966

Prior to Igbo Immigration to Katsina metropolis as discussed in the previous chapters Katsina was a centre of commerce and Islamic scholarship which attracted so many migrant communities and their interaction with *Katsinawa*antedated the colonialism. But with colonial conquest and domination of the Northern Province, Katsina witnessed Igbo immigrants and settlement.[194] Hence, since then, to the eve of the Nigerian Civil War, the Igbo migrants' presence could be felt in the following sectors of economy:

[194] It is important to draw our attention to the fact that, the significance of the Igbo in the economy and society of Katsina in 1929-1966 was not that much compared to 1970-2011.This could be as the result of their less population and economic activities. That explained why the write up in this section was scanty.

To talk about the significance of the Igbo in the economy of Katsina Metropolis, one may look at it from a broader perspective. In the first place it should be noted that it was not only Igbo migrants who were participants in the development of Katsina metropolis, other migrant groups such as Yoruba, Nupe, Igede, Igala, people of Southern Kaduna , North East and Middle Belt, and lot more, also participated actively in the development of Katsina metropolis. In addition, some non-Nigerians such as the Cameroonians and Ghanaians contributed immensely in one way or the other to the development of Katsina metropolis. Each of these groups specialized in one area or another in the development of Katsina metropolis. For example Cameroonians specialized in interior decoration/furniture, food business and hair dressing. While the Ghanaians were into fashion and design and others into food business and then Igede, fashion and design, shoe making and welder works.

3.4.1 Trade and Trading

The Igbo migrants were heavily involved in trade, which contributed immensely to the growth of Katsina's economy. During the colonial era to the eve of the Civil War, Igbo men were into different trading activities especially that of textile material, children wear, *Gwanjo* (second hand clothes), petroleum products, palm-oil, foodstuffs, and bags and others. Amongst the Igbo Traders or Independent businessmen were Chief George Egenti- dealer of cloth materials and then Gabriel Ogbaru and Raphael-dealers in petroleum products and then Mama Moya and Mama Lucy who were prominent petty traders at former central market of Katsina and then Maman Ada at Sabon Layi Katsina.[195]

3.4.2 Other Aspects of Trade

The other aspect of trade the Igbo participated in that has not been mentioned above include the production and sales of motor parts, motorcycle parts, bicycle parts, foot wears, agents and distributors of various imperialist companies and firms in Katsina metropolis

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The Yoruba also contributed in terms of trade in kolanut, plastics, fashion and design (tailoring), civil and public service, herbal medicines etc. They were also into artisan work such as automobile mechanic, panel beating, rewire, electrician, satellite/dish installation, television and radio repairs, generator works, photography, fine arts and design and printing press. The *Katsinawa* specialized in pottery making/selling, sales of grains such as; beans, millet, maize and guinea corn. In addition they learnt automobile mechanic, panel beating, rewire, electric and electronics works, generator works, photography, arts and design, printing press and many more which they learned mostly from the Yoruba and Igbo. But the people of Southern Kaduna, North East and Middle Belt were basically civil and public servants, fashion designers (particularly the *Igede* community), carpenters and furniture, food services, hair dressing, computer repairs, computer accessories and printing press.

Consequently, another thing to note was that some of these immigrant groups built or owned houses within Katsina metropolis but among all of these groups, the Igbo migrants were probably the largest owners of all these houses that were built, both residential and commercial. Thus by their outlook and orientation, most of the Igbo migrants regarded their new environments as their home unlike some of other groups if not for the crises leading to civil war many of them might have settled permanently in this new environment.

Adebamiwa Adeniyi, Age 70, Photographer. Interviewed Friday 11th December, 2015 at Sabon Layi, Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Opposite Marry Yar'Ghana Restaurant, Katsina, 6:00-6:35PM and Mohammed Jimo Shehu, Age 61, Photographer. Interviewed Friday 11th December, 2015 at Sabon Layi, Ahmadu Bello Way, Katsina, 2:50-6:35PM. And then M.I. Kofar Sauro, "A History of Yoruba – Hausa Relation in Katsina Metropolis 1900 – 1999," Unpublished M.A Thesis, Usmanu Danfodiyo University (UDU), Sokoto, 2013.pp.30-50

[195] J. Shehu, "A Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis, 1960 – 2007," PhD Dissertation, Department of History, Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto, 2012. p.116

before the civil war, such as John Holt, UAC, GBO, SCAO, CFAO, PZ, K. Challerams, A.G. Leventis, Bata amongst others. These companies were involved in manufacturing (though not in Katsina metropolis) and selling of building materials, agricultural equipment, provisions, cosmetics, shoes, wears etc. The Igbo man who was seen as one of the major contractor and distributor was one Mr. Julius Eze from Awukuzu in the present day Oyi Local Government Area of Anambra State. During his stay in Katsina attracted the arrival of many Igbo to Katsina. Such Igbo included Michael Eze, Fidelis Imo, Samuel Nwaosa, Gabriel Ogbaru, Chief George Egenti and Raphael who took up employment from the European firms stated above. The Igbo migrants were not only agents and distributors but also held managerial positions before the war broke out in most of these European companies.[196] Of equal importance is the fact that these Igbo were also itinerant traders who were middle men who bought from the Europeans, European product and sold to the "natives" or *Katsinawa*.[197]

3.4.3 Igbo Women in Business

Igbo women were the ones who provided the various immigrant communities particularly the Igbo, Yoruba and the then *Katsinawa* who consumed the Igbo kind of foodstuffs. They were involved in the sales of women wrappers, palm-oil, vegetables, food stuff, household utensils, and children clothes, beans cake, and then into professions such as hair dressing, fashion design, and teaching.

3.4.4 Civil Service

The Igbo migrants that came down to Katsina metropolis during the colonial period to the eve of the Nigerian Civil War were not all in business, some came as staff with the civil service. Some of them worked with colonial government as secretaries, clerk, Drivers,

[196] Igbo Community Association, "Forging Ahead as People" Maiden Edition Igbo Day Magazine, 2008. P.16
[197] Ibid. p.16

messengers, typist, book-keepers as well as Teachers at Katsina Teachers College (KCK), Provincial Secondary School, and Primary School Board under the Local Education Authority (LEA) such people includes Mr. E.P.T Crompton who was a Civil Servant and transferred to Katsina by the colonialist as a teacher in 1940s along with Mr. G.C Ijela, who was the first Nigerian Principal of Katsina Teachers College (KTC) and Mr. Anene who was the Matron of Katsina General Hospital in 1953. In addition to that, others worked with Post and Telecommunication and Federal Institutions. No wonder with the exodus of the Igbo on the eve of the Civil War telephone services were paralyzed as a result of the absence of operators whom were Igbo people.[198]

3.4.5 Commercial Transporters

The Igbo knowing this greatly contributed in this regard to bring significant economic changes in Katsina metropolis. Some were strongly involved in the transport business on daily basis bringing goods, services and people in and out of Katsina metropolis. Majority of the drivers and conductors were Igbo during the colonial period to 1966. Most of the Igbo motor drivers and transporters were also traders of wrappers and textile materials. They took goods and passengers to various markets within and outside Katsina metropolis particularly during market days of *Yarkutungu*, Jibia, Charanchi, Batsari amongst others using a car called Peacock and Lorries.[199] Thus, Igbo remain dominant in the commercial transport until their exodus in 1966, and then *Katsinawa* were able became professionals in the transport business. Such people included late Alhaji Idi Labari Gambarawa who became a large scale

[198] It is important to draw our attention to the fact there is no any Archival material showing the statistic of the Igbo Migrant Civil Servant, Artisan and business men and women talk less of the other migrant communities in Katsina metropolis.

[199] Interview with Chief Antony Obi, Mr. Michael Ilanya, Mr. Michael Ochukwu and Mr. Obi Christopher (Danja) Op cit

transporter. The fortunes of these indigenous transporters increased as they were being paid for the use of their Lorries in conveying Katsina recruits to the war front.[200]

Nonetheless, another phase of Igbos significance in Katsina metropolis economy came after the civil war. During the civil war thousands of Igbo fled from Katsina to the east, prior to that many had been killed in Katsina metropolis as discussed previously. Hence, when the Igbo began to return back to Katsina metropolis, virtually all that they had worked for had been taken over by *Katsinawa*. They had to begin afresh.

3.5 National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) Scheme as a factor forIgbo Migration to Katsina Metropolis

National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) whose cardinal aim was the promotion of national unity or unity in diversity and supply of labour to areas of shortage, had played a vital role towards Igbo immigration to Katsina metropolis.

National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) established by the Gowon administration in 1973[201] with a view to forging national unity in the country. The scheme affords young graduates of tertiary institutions the opportunity to render one year compulsory service in states other than their own. The programme is viewed as a veritable tool for promoting

[200] Shehu, Op cit p.117

[201] Note: The NYSC scheme was created in a bid to reconstruct, reconcile and rebuild the country after the Nigerian Civil war. The unfortunate antecedents in our national history gave impetus to the establishment of the National Youth Service Corps by decree No.24 of 22nd May 1973 which stated that the NYSC is being established "with a view to the proper encouragement and development of common ties among the youths of Nigeria and the promotion of national unity"

In other words, the purpose of the scheme is primarily to inculcate in Nigerian Youths the spirit of selfless service to the community, and to emphasize the spirit of oneness and brotherhood of all Nigerians, irrespective of cultural or social background. The history of Nigeria since independence has clearly indicated the need for unity amongst all its people, and demonstrate the fact that no cultural or geographical entity can exist in isolation. For more see O. Chikezie F., "NYSC Permanent Orientation Camp, Katampe Extension, Abuja (A Study of Adaptable Spaces)." M.Sc. (Arch) Project, Department Of Architecture, University Of Nigeria, July 2011. Pp. 6-9

national unity. Inter-tribal or ethnic marriages and other forms of social intercourse among members point tothe usefulness of the scheme as a vehicle for national unity.[202] In other words, the urgent need to ameliorate inter-ethnic relations and to inculcate a sense of national identity among Nigerians. The case of Civil War in Nigeria and subsequent military coups and ethno-religious violence in the country give a note of urgency to this call. To achieve this end, that is, dissipate hostile feelings, prejudice and ethnic rivalries among different ethnic groups, and inculcate the right spirit of tolerance and national identification, the Nigerian government established the National Youth Service Corps programme for all university graduate youths. The scheme is a cross-cultural education programme which is expected to have a favourable impact on participants' fundamental attitudes towards other ethnic groups and the nation, thereby help bring about national integration. To do this, the scheme demands that the graduate youths are posted to serve among ethnic groups which are different from their own, for one full year. By living and working among the different ethnic groups for such a prolonged period of time, and thereby interacting with them, the government expects that such close contact will lead to better inter-ethnic relations and national identification.[203]

Beginning from 1973 to 2011, almost 70 - 80% of NYSC Corp members posted to Katsina, settled, established business, married and secured jobs at government and private

[202] O. E. Tangban, "History and the Quest for Unity in Nigeria" International Journal of Social Science and Humanity, Vol. 4, No. 5, September 2014. p.2

[203]C. Onwere, "National Youth Service Corps Programme and National Integration in Nigeria." PhD Thesis, Department of International and Comparative Education, Institute of Education, University of London, 1992. Pp. 92-97. See also C. L. Chidiogo, "Design and Implementation of NYSC Orientation Camp Information System (A Case Study NYSC Awgu)." B.Ed. Project, Department Of Computer Engineering, Faculty Of Engineering ,Caritas University, Amorji Nike Enugu, September, 2012. p.1 and J. Edoka "Effective Leadership and Organizational Performance: A Case Study Of National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) Kogi State." MSc. Thesis, Department Of Public Administration and Local Government University of Nigeria Nsukka January, 2012. Pp. 61-66

institutions.[204] For instance Dr. Eze Ernest Moses, a medical doctor and an indigene of Orumba South Local Government Area of Anambra State did his youth service at Katsina in 1983, Mrs. Nkemdirim Louis, an indigene of Arihiala area of Anambra State served from October, 1989 to September, 1990 and Miss Mary Chinwendu in 1993. After completing the Youth Service Scheme, Dr. Eze was employed at Katsina General Hospital but resigned and opened a for private clinic. He established the Okmos Clinic in September, 1985 along IBB Way *Kofar Kaura*. By then, there were very few private clinics such as Samari Chemist & Clinic (1980) and then Lumane Pioneer Clinic (1983) along Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi.[205] Then, Mrs. Nkemdirim Louis after completing her service in 1989, got married (to a man who came to Katsina in 1982 as a Staff of Still Rolling Industry now Dana Steel Rolling) but died in 2003. She was employed as a teacher at Government College Katsina (GCK) in 1993 and worked for 19 years (1993-2012) and left for another employment at Federal University Dutsin-Ma in 2012 to date. [206] While Miss Mary Chinwendu established a boutique in 2000 along Nagogo Road, in addition to securing employment with the Katsina Health Services Management Board the same year. Her current station is at Daura General Hospital (note that role of Igbo NYSC migrant been discuss in chapter four).[207]

[204] Zachariah Ishaya, Age 45, Zonal Inspector National NYSC, Katsina State. Interviewed Friday 14Th November, 2014 at NYSC Permanent Orientation Camp, Kilometre 4, Old Mani Road Katsina, Katsina State. Time 10:00 – 11:00AM.

[205] Dr. Eze Ernest Moses, Age 57, Medical Practitioner and Proprietor Okmos Clinic Katsina. Interviewed at Okmos Clinic Katsina, along IBB Way, November 9, 2014 08:00PM-9:00PM.

[206] Mrs. Nkemdirim Louisa. Age 48, Administrative Officer, Federal University Dutsin-Ma. Interviewed at Shagari Low-cost, Along Batsari Road, dated Sunday April 5, 2015.

[207] Miss Mary Chinewendu, Age 39, Business Woman and Health Worker. Interviewed at Nagogo Road, November 9, 2014 at 07:00PM-7:30PM.

3.6 Creation of Katsina State

Thecreation of new states in Nigeria was another reason for the immigration of various communities to different parts of Nigeria as businessmen and women, civil and public servants of federal, state and local government and then non-governmental institutions and companies. As such quite a number of Igbo people migrated to Katsina. After independence, Katsina metropolis continue to attract people especially the Igbo and Yoruba for employment and trading purposes. The influx accelerated the rapid growth of population in the metropolis. Thus, the creation of Katsina on 23rdSeptember, 1987 by the administration of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (IBB) influenced the trooping of Igbo migrants from Anambra, Imo, Abia, Enugu, Ebonyiand Delta states in order to benefit from the infrastructural developments and various economic opportunities.

Of equal importance is Mr. Gabriel Okoli, an indigene of Nnewi-South Local Government Area of Anambra State who came to Katsina in October 10, 1987 from Abuja as a Timber Merchant but on reaching Katsina he opted to do business in building and furniture materials which was more profitable. As such he established his business along Nagogo Road adjacent *Kofar Soro* Round-About and trained kinsmen and the*Katsinawa*.[208]Apart from him there was also Mr. Net Ekwtosi, whocame to Katsina in 1988 as an apprentice in building materials. After was trained, heestablished his own business became one among the big dealers of building materials in Katsina State.[209]

Furthermore, the state creation of Katsina further attracted people like Mr. Hezekiah Adophus Okoro, who hailed from Umuoji Ojiowerre Okwerrre Ikwuato autonomous

[208] Mr. Gabriel Okoli, Age 54, Dealer of Building/Furniture Materials. Interviewed November 11, 2014 at Usman Nagogo Road, Gongon, Katsina, 08: 40AM-10:00AM.
[209] Mr. Net Ekwtosi, Age 43, Businessman (Dealer Trading/Building Materials).Interviewed November 6, 2014 at IBB Way, Tsohun Tasha Round About, Katsina, 05:00PM-06:15PM.

community in Oiru-Iom Local Government Area of Imo State. He came to Katsina from Lagos in 1988 to do business after his retirement from the Nigerian Army.[210] In that same year 1987, Chief Joseph Osondu Onina (Dike Anagbara-Izu of Katsina) an indigene of Onyeaghalan Wanneya was posted to Katsina from Kaduna State by World Bank Project (KTRADA) along with Mr. Kelvin Alozie Ugbaya and Engineer Chima Ogunka.[211] Mr. Idika O. Eke (alias Wood Mark) was an indigene of Ohiafa Local Government Areaof Abia State also came to exploit the economic opportunities in 1989 as a furniture maker and interior decorator after working with Coca-Cola Company at Abia (1985 to 1989). He was said to have trained more than 70 apprentices in the furniture making and interior decoration since his arrival in 1989 out of which mostly were *Katsinawa*.[212]

Apart from afore mention, there is also Mr. Atuchukwu Anulugwa an indigene of Nnewi –South Local Government Area of Anambra State came to Katsina in 1990 as a dealer of spare parts but later opted to trade in building materials since it was the business of the day and yielded more profit. His coming to Katsina was also influenced by one Mr. Fred Ezekwuibe who was in Katsina around 1970s. He wasfrom Nnewi- South Local Government Area of Anambra State as well as Mr. Stephen and Lawrence both ofAguata Local Government of Anambra State. Mr. Ugochukwu Uzomba andMr. Obed Okoye were Carpenters and specialized in Furniture. They came from Nnewi- South of Anambra State. So far Mr. Atuchukwu had trained quite a number of people which comprised*Katsinawa* and Igbo.[213]

[210] Imo Day Celebration Magazine, 2009. p.57.
[211] Igbo Day Magazine, 2008. Op cit p. 54.
[212] Mr. Idika O. Eke, Age 52, Businessman (Furniture Maker & Interior Decorator), Interviewed Friday, April 10, 2015 along Old Mani Road, Ring Road near Katsina State Secretariat Office exactly 11:30AM-12:30AM
[213] Mr. Atuchukwu Anulugw, Age 50, Business Man (Building Materials). Interviewed Monday. Aril 13, 2015 at Kofar Sauro Round About along Nagogo Road Katsina exactly 02:30PM-03:30PM.

Hence, the creation of Katsina State in 1987, and with the Katsina metropolis remaining as the state capital, to marked important phases in the process of urban growth as population pressure opened up more residential, industrial and commercial areas.[214] Since then, Katsina metropolis kept on experiencing Igbo immigration on daily, monthly, biannual and on yearly bases. In addition the return of Democracy to Nigerian, from 1999 -2007 and 2007 to 2011 respectively witnessed increase in population and influx of fortune seekers particularly the Igbo community owing to significant improvements in the provision of infrastructures, residential, commercial and industrial layout[215]under the leadership of governors like Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'adua (1999-2007) and Barr. Ibrahim Shehu Shema (2007 - 2011). For instance, when we look at table 3.6 below, the population figure of Katsina metropolis rose from 233,433 in 1991 to 528,642 in 2007.[216] In each of these population Igbo occupied significant percentage more than any other immigrant community in Katsina metropolis.[217]

Table 3.6 Growth of Population in Katsina Metropolis, 1991-2007

S/No	Year	Population	Basis of Data
1	1991	233,644	1991 National Census
2	1992	230,524	Projection (3.03% Annual Growth Rate)

[214] Shehu, " A Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis, 1960 – 2007,'' p.7
[215] Ibid, p.7
[216] National Population Commission, Katsina, 2011.
[217] Shehu, " A Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis, 1960 – 2007,'' p.8

3	1993	237,616	‘’
4	1994	244,926	‘’
5	1995	252,461	‘’
6	1996	260,227	‘’
7	1997	268,233	‘’
8	1998	276,485	‘’
9	1999	284,990	‘’
10	2000	293,758	‘’
11	2001	302,795	‘’
12	2002	312,110	‘’
13	2003	321,712	‘’
14	2004	331,609	‘’
15	2005	341,810	‘’
16	2006	518,132	2006 National Census
17	2007	528,641	Projection (3.03% Annual Growth Rate)

Source: National Population Commission, Katsina, 2011.

Note: The figure above shows that there was a steady population increase in the metropolis.Even though the census recorded did not show the percentage Igbo and other migrant groups.But in each of the population, Igbo have a reasonable figure compare to other migrants.

In addition to that was the hospitality of *Katsinawa* and the State Government. Peace and hospitality is the key to investment, infrastructural development and often bases for immigrant and emigrant society or communities to settle in any particular community. Compared to any other cities in Northern Nigeria, Katsina was established to be the most hospitable and peaceful environment unlike Kano, Kaduna, Zaria and Funtua. More so *Katsinawa*had distinguishedthemselves by their politeness and hospitality towards immigrants and strangers alike.Immigrant communities therefore, got attracted to Katsina from the 15^{th} to the 21^{st} centuries. Thus, quite a number of Igbo that migrated to Katsina metropolis during the period of study affirmed that it was the peaceful nature and hospitable attitude of *Katsinawa* and Katsina metropolis that attracted them to establish their business in Katsina, settle after their apprenticeship while others after their National Youth Service or retired as public or civil servants. So the peaceful nature and hospitality made them to be comfortable with the host community to the extent that they fat reluctant to go back to their

hometown.[218] Moreover, Katsina had minimal cases of urban crime, inter-religious intolerance and tribalism or ethnocentrism.

3.7 Igbo Settlement Pattern in Katsina Metropolis and the Sabon Gari Phenomenon

Igbo settlement pattern in Katsina metropolis differed from other Northern cities**.** Throughout the period of colonialism to the eve of Nigerian Civil War (1929-1966), Igbo migrants lived in mixed settlement with the host community or *Katsinawa*, in Katsina metropolis. In other words, they lived in scattered settlements. Quite a number of them settled at GRA, *Tsohuwar Kasuwa* (opposite Katsina old central market), *Kofar Guga* along Jibia road, *Yar'kasuwa*, *Kofar Marusa*, *Alkali*, *Unguwan MadawakiI*, *Sararin Kuka*, *Sha'iskawa,* Mobil along IBB Way, Opposite Current Katsina Central where *Abutai*Primary School was built, *Unguwan Magajin Gari* (now *Unguwan Madawaki*)and*Sabon Layi* where most Igbo migrants business layout was.[219] However, most Igbo migrants owned houses at Mobil, *Unguwan Alkali* and *Sararin Kuka* and *Sabon Layi*.[220]

Generally speaking, throughout 1920s to 1966 and even 1970 to 2011 there was nothing like *Sabon Gari* in Katsina metropolis. In other words, throughout the period of colonialism and the post-colonial period, Igbo lived in mixed settlement with the *Katsinawa*,

[218] Oral Interviews conducted with Igbo Businessmen and women., Civil and Public Servants, Igbo Chiefs and title holders and as well as Igbo Youth who were born and grew up in Katsina and even own houses. Thus people like Chief Jonathan, Chief Anthony, Chief John, Chief Hillary, Chief Ahasom, Dr.Eze, Mr. Michael, Mr. Ifeanyi, Mr. Gabriel, Mrs. Nkemdirim and others hold that opinion as the reasons for the migration of some Igbo to Katsina metropolis.

[219] Mr. Michael Ochukwu, came to Katsina in 1965 from Anambra. Age 70, Businessman (Textile Materials/Yard Trading). Interviewed November 7, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 8:40AM-09:20AM, Chief Enukora Christian, his father came to Katsina in the 20s. But he was born in Katsina at Unguwan Madawaki in 1946. Age 66, Businessman (Boutique). Interviewed November 6, 2014,Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 06:30PM-07:30PM and then Mr. Obi Christopher (Danja), Came to Katsina in 1949 at the age of 10. Age 75, Businessman (Textile Materials/Wrappers and Transporter/Driver). Interviewed November 7, 2014,Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 05:30PM-06:30PM and Chief John Chukwuemeka Uguagwu, Op cit. and Alhaji Lawal Abdu Sani, Age 65, Retired Civil Servant (Chief Education Officer at Ministry of Education Katsina). Started work 1971 and retired 2005.intervied Monday, April 13, 2015 along IBB Way Opposite Katsina Central Mosque exactly 02:00PM-02:40PM.

[220] Ibid.

in Katsina metropolis.[221]One may readily ask, why the absence of Sabon Gari in Katsina metropolis unlike other places such as Kano, Zaria and Gusau where *Sabon Gari* and *Tudun Wada* wards were established? Was it a deliberate British policy that prevented that or an oversight? Or was the number of the immigrants so insignificant as to warrant the establishment of Sabon Gari from them?

Broadly speaking, so many views were expressed concerning the issue first view expressed was by Urguhart who noted that the situation in Katsina was due to lack of railway connection to attract large number of southern migrant communities, as such neither *Tudun Wada*nor *Sabon Gari* was therefore needed in Katsina and consequently Katsina was never declared a township. All migrant communities during the colonial period including the Igbo were thus accommodated together with the *Katsinawa* within the city walls.[222] In like manner Jamilu shehu held similar opinion as he buttressed that, unlike other emirates in the north such as Kano Gusau, Zaria among others, the British did not establish *Sabon Gari* and *TudunWada* settlements or "strangers quarters" or "strangers settlements"in Katsina metropolisbecause of the virtual absence of infrastructures such as railway and many missionary schools which were centres of attraction to immigrant groups like Igbo and

[221] Mr. Michael Ochukwu, came to Katsina in 1965 from Anambra. Age 70, Businessman (Textile Materials/Yard Trading). Interviewed November 7, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 8:40AM-09:20AM, Chief Enukora Christian, his father came to Katsina in the 20s. But he was born in Katsina at Unguwan Madawaki in 1946. Age 66, Businessman (Boutique). Interviewed November 6, 2014,Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 06:30PM-07:30PM and then Mr. Obi Christopher (Danja), Came to Katsina in 1949 at the age of 10. Age 75, Businessman (Textile Materials/Wrappers and Transporter/Driver). Interviewed November 7, 2014,Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 05:30PM-06:30PM and Chief John Chukwuemeka Uguagwu, Op cit. and Alhaji Lawal Abdu Sani, Age 65, Retired Civil Servant (Chief Education Officer at Ministry of Education Katsina). Started work 1971 and retired 2005.intervied Monday, April 13, 2015 along IBB Way Opposite Katsina Central Mosque exactly 02:00PM-02:40PM.

[222] A.W Urquhart, Planned Urban Land Scope of Northern Nigeria, A Case Study of Zaria. Zaria: ABU Press Ltd, 1976. p. 69

Yoruba.[223]However, even the settlement called *Sabon Layi* (New Lay out) which is often seen as the *Sabon Gari* in Katsina was established within the walled city, and it consisted of a mixture of "indigenes" and "strangers" settlements. The second view expressed is that, it was the influence of Emir Muhammadu Dikko (installed as Emir by British January 25, 1907 and died January 29, 1944)[224] and his son who succeeded him Sir Usman Nagogo (May 19, 1944 to March 18, 1981) who were loyalist of the British to the core; that prevented the British from establishing such segregated settlements as *Sabon Gari* and *Tudun Wada*, as well as the construction of rail line. This opinion is significant especially when one considers how Emir Muhammadu Dikko came to into Katsina powerand his willingness to do what they metropolis wanted. The colonial records captured his attitude as thus:

> "During the time of the Satiru disturbances the Resident of Katsina was instructed to build a fort as rapidly as possible. He called the Emir and his leading men and asked them to arranged for the work to be done. One by one they made excuses, till Muhammadu Dikko, who held the title of Durbi, and was district head of Mani, was asked. He at once volunteered to produce so many thousands men, and to complete the work in so many days. Within the period he fulfilled his promise. When asked to name his reward he asked not half, but whole of the Kingdom. Not long afterwards the Emir was deposed and his request granted.
> Events have proved that the choice was amply justified. Muhammadu Dikko ax quitted himself successfully and was recognized as one of the progressive native Ruler. He travelled wide much having made the pilgrimage to Mecca twice and visited England on five separate occasions. He was honoured with C.B.E and the Kings medal of African Chiefs."[225]

In like manner his son, Sir Usman Nagogo continued with the same policy andmade sure that immigrants from southern Nigeria were prevented from concentrating in one particular area but spread from one ward *Unguwa* to another. It was further suggested that

[223] This shows that the number of the immigrants so insignificant as to warrant the establishment of Sabon Gari from them. For more see J. Shehu, " A Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis, 1960 – 2007,'' Unpublished PhD Thesis, Usmanu Danfodiyo University(UDU), Sokoto, 2012. p. 96

[224] NAK/KATPROF Katsina Province General Information/ 3716 Annual Reports on Development Schemes p. 3

[225] Ibid, p.3

Emir Nagogo feared that having areas like *Sabon Gari*wouldnot only pollute the cultures and religious values of Katsinabut also an area of social vices, tension and easy target during violence and conflict as the case in Kano, Zaria and Gusau. In addition was the fact that areas with a*Sabon Gari*settlement were not directly under the control of the Native Authority or the Emirate Council and then State Government since the area tended to be "No Go Area."[226] So it was for security reasons on one hand, and then on the other hand was to enhance as well as to promote inter-group relation/unity in diversity between *Katsinawa* and migrant communities in Katsina. This could be true in the sense that oral sources revealed that in 1979 Igbo and Yoruba migrants requested Emir for an area to establish*Sabon Gari* but the request was rejected. He maintained that they were part of Katsina community and he did not want his people, *Katsinawa* and migrants communities to be divided or discriminated. More so, the establishment of such a settlement was not within the power of the emir but the state government.[227] It was also the case during the time of the late Emir Kabir Usman (1981-2008) and especially after the experiences of the Sharia crises of the year 2000, but the emir strongly kicked against such an ideas. The emir believed that immigrant communities regardless of where they came from were supposed to live together with the host communities as brothers and sisters. Of equal importance is the fact that allowing such settlements would go contrary to what Katsina people were known for as a – home of

[226] Chief John Uguagwu, Chief Anthony Obi and Michael Obi among other Igbo interviewed were the people with that opinion.
See also D. A Anthony, I Need to Get to Kano: The Unmaking and Remaking of an Igbo Migrant Community in Northern Nigeria 1966-1986. Evanston: Illinois, 1996. p.47

[227] Oral interviews with various Igbo and Yoruba migrant in Katsina metropolis. Among which were Chief Jonathan C Nwoso, The Onowu Igbo Katsina (Igbo Prime Minster). Age 84, Igbo Prime Minister and Acting Eze Katsina State, Businessman (Dealer of Generator and Plumber), Chief Jonathan C Nwoso, The Onowu Igbo Katsina (Igbo Prime Minster). Age 84, Igbo Prime Minister and Acting Eze Katsina State, Businessman(Dealer of Generator and Blubber), Interviewed November 5, 2014 at IBB Way Tsohuwar Tasha Round About, Katsina, 10:00AM – 11:00AM and Alhaji Abdullateef, Age 75, Businessman. Interviewed November 6, 2014 at IBB Way, Katsina, 10:00AM – 11:00AM

heritage and hospitality. So the emirs felt that the *Sabon Gari* and *Tudun Wada*system was of no significance.

Therefore, the absence of *Sabon Gari* and even *Tudun Wada* in Katsina metropolis could be associated with the fact that Katsina at the time of colonialism was not a strategic location compared to certain cities and towns in relating it to economic interest of the British which was more important to the development these settlements for "non-indigene," coupled withinsignificance in number of immigrant as compared to Kano, Gusau and Zaria as well as the absence of infrastructure like the railway, adequate number of missionary schools, fearof the immigrant communities dominating a particular area as was the case in Kano, security considerations and the needto protect the image of Katsina as the home of hospitality.

3.8 Conclusion

By way of conclusion, this chapter that the push and pull factors were the fundamental reasons behind the Igbo immigration to Katsina metropolis and especially the employment opportunities created for them by the colonialist government and imperialist firms, post-colonial government and Non-Governmental Institutions. It was also noted that the slow rate of Igbo immigration was influenced by the absence of a railway line and a *Sabon Gari* settlement in Katsina from the colonial period up to 1966. The aftermath of the Civil War, National Youth Serve Scheme (NYSC), the creation of Katsina State, and the return to democracy however paved way for significant infrastructural developments, business and employment opportunities and above all, the hospitality of Katsina people seriously attracted large scale of Igbo immigrants to Katsina. We also examined why the absence of the phenomenon Sabon Gari was never experience in Katsina metropolis. This was attributed to the absence of the railway system, and the security considerations. We

equally saw that Igbo immigrants to Katsina between the periods 1929 to 1966 were mostly from the present day Anambra State but from 1970 to 2011, the Igbo that migrated were from not only Anambra but also Imo, Enugu, Abia, Ebonyi and Delta States. Likewise, the role of Igbo in the economy and society of Katsina cannot be overemphasis if not for the Civil War which affect it.

CHAPTER FOUR

IGBO IN THE ECONOMY OF KATSINA METROPOLIS, 1966-2011

4.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at the Igbo business in the economy of Katsina metropolis from 1966 to 2011. In discussing that we lookat the Nigeria Civil War and the effects of the Igbo exodus on the economy of Katsina metropolis, the post-war changing character of the Igbo community in Katsina metropolis, the Igbo enterprises, occupations and apprenticeship system, Igbo women in the economy of Katsina metropolis as well as the factors for the success of the Igbo enterprises in Katsina metropolis which indeed brought growth and development to Katsina metropolis.

4.1 A Brief on the Nigerian Civil War

Prior to the Nigerian Civil War, the Igbo immigration to Katsina metropolis increased as their economy and business gained ground but with the tension of the nation in 1966 and the call of the Igbo back to their hometown quite a number of them left in fear of *Kisan Gwarawa*(killing of Igbo migrants)[228] of which those that stayed back faced. Some were throwninto well at the upstairs opposite mobile filling station with a name 1st October 1960.

Broadly speaking, an important event that affected Nigeria and impacts on its social and economic development during the 20th century was the Nigerian Civil War which stemmed from the structural defects in the Nigerian State, the struggle for power at the centre and the absence of political behaviour and culture.[229] Ikime was of the view that the origin of

[228] *Kissan Gwarawa* here means a term used by the Katsina people to describe the killing or lynching of the Igbo people in Katsina during the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970

[229] B. J Dudley, *Instability and Political Order: Politics and Crises in Nigeria*. London: Oxford University Press, 1973.p.106

the war could be blamed on the role played by north-south inter regional and inter-ethnic rivalries such as the 1964/65 general election crises, the January 15th 1966 coup and the turning of Nigeria into a unitary government that created fear and suspicions among the various groups by General Ironsi. However, the immediate cause of the war as Ikime argued was the July 1966 counter coup and the installation of a relatively junior officer as head of the Nigerian Army, and the insistence of the Igbo under the Premier of eastern region, Ojukwu to secede from the Nigerian federalism and establish an independent state called the Republic of Biafra. But the Federal Government of Nigeria under its Head of State, Lieutenant Colonel Yakubu Gowon made frantic efforts to prevent this move from achieving success.[230] In another work by Ikime, the outcome of "irreconcilable" differences among the elites educational imbalance, intellectual and elitist parochialism, regional politics which found expression in tribalism, disunity and fear of domination brought the war. These problems according to him inhibited the development of patriotism. Instead, inter-tribal hatred, nepotism, corruption, abuse of power, politicization of census, election and the army became common features of the Nigerian State.[231]

It is important to note that before the commencement of the war, there had been a coup on January 15, 1966 where majority of those killed were the northern military officers and prominent politicians. The character of the coup alarmed the northerners who according to Falola viewed it as part of a plan by the Igbo military officers to impose a new era of Igbo domination over the country, especially as the government was headed by an Igbo man

[230] O. Ikime, "In Search of Nigerians: Changing Pattern of Inter-Group Relations in an Evolving National Sate." In Ob. Ikime (ed), *The Historian and The Nation*. Ibadan: HEBN Publishers Plc, 2008 Reprinted. P.106
[231] O. Ikime, "The Nigerian Civil War and the National Question: A Historical Analysis." In Obaro Ikime (ed), *The Historian and The Nation*. Ibadan: HEBN Publishers Plc, 2008 Reprinted. p.p. 304-312

General Ironsi.[232] But most importantly, some of Ironsi's reforms aggravated more tension, especially his unification Decree 34 which according to Anthony was viewed by the northerners (in particular public servants and young educated people) as not only an invitation for the southerners to dominate the public service in the north and at the centre, but also to put an end to northern control of the regions institutions.[233]

The behaviour of some Igbo in the north by ridiculing the northerners publicly over the killing of northern leaders also fuelled suspicion by the northerners. Consequently, protest and violence in many parts of the north against the government erupted from May 1966 leading to a massive massacre of the Igbo migrants. In Katsina metropolis, a peaceful demonstration was staged and people barricaded streets in the metropolis and chanted slogans such as *ba mu yarda ba* meaning we do not agree.[234] Like in other parts of the country, series of meetings were held by some of the prominent Katsina elites who wanted to bring the situation under control. *Sarkin* Katsina Usman Nagogo (1944-1981) was reported to have urged the migrants particularly the Igbo migrants not to leave Katsina as an arrangement wasmade to protect them.

The major impact of the series of events that happened because of the Civil War was the depletion of the number of migrant communities especially Igbo from Katsina and indeed all other parts of Northern Nigeria. In spite of the appeal by the emir of Katsina quite a number of Igbo migrants left Katsina. About three (3) long buses from Kano were in Katsina to evacuate the Igbo residents during the period. In a study by Okolo, a large number of Igbo

[232] A.R. Mohammed, "The Nigerian Civil War 1967-1970"- A Critical Development that Led to It." In Eleazu U., *Nigeria: The First 25 Years*. Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books, 1988. p. 73
[233] T. Falola and M.M. *Heaton, A History of Nigeria.* London: Cambridge University Press, 2008.p. 173
[234] D.A Anthony, "I Need to Get to Kano: The Unmaking and Remaking of an Igbo Migrant Community in Northern Nigeria 1966-1986."Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Department of History, North-Western University, Evanston, Illinois. p.70

from Northern Nigeria including Katsina returned to the east before the commencement of the war.[235] The Igbo that remained in the North refused to go to work thus paralyzing government activities in the areas. In Katsina metropolis for instance, Anthony observed that telephone services were paralyzed as a result of the absence of an operator after the disturbances.[236] The political situation of the country was worsened after the counter coup by a group of northern junior officers in July 29, 1966, killing Ironsi and other Igbo military officers. Three days after the coup, a thirty-one year old northern Lieutenant Colonel, Yakubu Gowon emerged as the new Nigerian Head of State.[237]

However, the Governor of the Eastern Region, Colonel Odumegu Chukuma Ojukwu expressed his reservations on the legitimacy of the counter coup and Gowon's leadership and consequently planned for secession of the eastern region. He urged all Igbo migrants in the other parts of the country especially from the north to return home and all northerners in the east to do the same.[238] The Federal Government's efforts to weaken the determination of the Igbo to secede could not be averted plunging the nation into civil war that lasted for about thirty months. One of such measures was the division of Nigeria into 12 Sates out of the former 4 regions.[239] Katsina and Zaria provinces fell under the early created North-Central State with Major Abba Kyari as Governor.

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[235] Sources revealed that the then Emir of Katsina Emirate late Usman Nagogo went on foot from one corner to the other calling on the *Katsinawa* to live in peace as well as leave all matters to God. Even with the outbreak of the war, the Emir's Guest House at *Sabon Gida* (which is near the present Army Barracks) was used as a safe haven for the Igbo refugees who were protected, fed and cared for by the Emir. For more see J. Shehu, "A Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis, 1960 – 2007," PhD Dissertation, Department of History, Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto, 2012. p.114 and S. A. Lugga, *Conflict and Security Management: A Traditional Approach to Security and Conflict Management in Hausaland*. Katsina: Lugga Press, 2004. Pp.50-51

[236] J. Okolo, "The Changing Pattern of Federalism and Democracy in Nigeria." PhD Dissertation, Department of Political Science, Harvard University, Michigan, 1970. p.557

[237] Anthony, Op cit., p.82

[238] M. Crowder, *The Story of Nigeria*. London: Faber and Faber, 1978.p.269

[239] Ibid, p.173

There is no doubt in the fact that like in other parts of the country Katsina also felt the pangs of the war disaster. On Sunday 29th May, 1966 for example, riots broke out in Katsina as well as in Kaduna, Jos and Zaria where the Igbo were attacked (the killing in Katsina was called *Kisan Gwarawa*), while other "tribes" were spared.[240] During the clashes that transpired, it was claimed that about 55 Igbo migrants were killedand 114 injured.[241] Some of the Igbo migrants killed during the crises included Mr. Moya and Mama Lucy who were prominent petty traders at the former Katsina Central Market. The major affected areas were the shops, churches and residence of the Igbo located at the opposite side of the former Katsina Central Market along *Kofar Guga* road, *Nagogo* road close to Alhaji Abashe *Mai* photo Studio. Other areas included Mobil site, *Kangiwa* GRA, *Kofar Marusa*, *Shaiskawa* and *Sabon Layi* wards that harboured non-indigene settlers.[242] It is important to note that the residences occupied by the Igbo migrants were spared from being destroyed or burnt, bearing in mind by the protesters that some of the houses belonged to Katsina indigenes. Properties in quite a number of Igbo residential areas were also looted.[243]

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[240] The 12 States created were: North-Western, North-Central, North-Eastern, Kano, Kwara, Benue-Plateau, Western, Mid-Western, East-Central, South-Eastern, Rivers and Lagos. For more see Tekena N. Tamuno and Samson C. Ukpabi, *Nigeria Since Independence: The First 25 Years. Volume vi. The Civil War Years.* Ibadan: Panel ON Nigeria Since Independence History Project, 1987.pp. 201-212

[241] Shehu, "A Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis, 1960 – 2007." Op cit. p.115

Note: The *Katsinawa* who killed the Igbo usually naked nail on their head before killing them and then thrown inside well. Thus some of the structures were the Igbo were killed are present at the moment. More so, even the figures concerning the number of death and injured Igbo was far beyond that number

[242] D. Muffet, "The Coup D'etat in Nigeria, 1966: A Study in Elite Dynamics." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh. USA, 1917.292.p.292

[243] Oral Interview with Mr. Michael Ochukwu, who came to Katsina in 1965 from Anambra. Age 70, Businessman (Textile Materials/Yard Trading). Interviewed November 7, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 8:40AM-09:20AM, Chief Enukora Christian, his father came to Katsina in the 20s. But he was born in Katsina at Unguwan Madawaki in 1946. Age 66, Businessman (Boutique). Interviewed November 6, 2014,Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 06:30PM-07:30PM and then Mr. Obi Christopher (Danja), Came to Katsina in 1949 at the age of 10. Age 75, Businessman (Textile Materials/Wrappers and Transporter/Driver). Interviewed November 7, 2014, Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 05:30PM-06:30PM, Chief John Uguagwu, Age 75, Contractor/Electrical Engineer. Interviewed November 7, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 11:20AM-12:00 Noon, Alhaji Abashe Mai Hoto Yar'adua (First

An important impact of the Nigerian Civil War was that it posed challenges in various ways. According to Inko, due to the financial difficulties of the war new schools could not be built in any part of the Katsina metropolis. There were also unqualified teachers to teach in the available schools, as most of the non-Hausa speaking teachers who were mostly Igbo, had either escaped to their states of origin, had been killed or had gone into hiding. It is important to note that in addition to the quagmire, some of the classrooms that were utilized for teaching were ultimately converted as army lodges. Another important development in relation to the effect of the war on education was the increase in school fees from 10 shilling per pupil to 1 pound in a year all over the province.[244]

However, there were records of expansion in some areas. The aftermath of the war gave opportunities for many grade II teachers in Katsina to attend courses in Education, Planning and Administration at Zaria, In order to have effective and efficient running of the primary school system, the Katsina Local Education Authority (KLEA) was broken into three administrative areas, each under the control of an Education officer. These administrative areas were: Katsina, Funtua and Dutsin-Ma.[245] The mass exodus created of Igbo migrants to the east also created economic opportunities for Katsina indigenes. Quite a number of *Katsinawa* took over the commercial activities abandoned by the Igbo. Some of the enterprises that indigenous people of Katsina took during the war included sales of European goods and bicycle spare parts, watch-repairing, mansonship (masonry), among

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Hausa Photographer in Katsina and Daura Emirate and Grand Patron Photographers Association Katsina Sate) Age 69. Started the Photography business in 1968 after an Igbo Photographer (Jolly Willy) left the shop at Yar'adua Gwangwan, along Nagogo Road in 1967, in fear of the Nigeria Civil War. Interview at his Studio-Gwongwon, Usman Nagogo Road dated Tuesday November 11, 2014 and Alhaji Lawal Dan- Halilu. Age 82. A Retired Teacher (LEA Staff). Interviewed at Kofar Marusa, Katsina Metropolis dated Thursday November 14, 2014 at 05:15-05:45 and Alhaji Ahmadu Na-Funtua (Sa'in Katsina a Traditional Title Holder). Age 85. Interviewed at Sararin Kuka - Unguwan Alkali, Off IBB Way, dated Thursday November 14, 2014 at 09:30AM-10:05AM

[244] Inko, Op cit, p.16

[245] Ibid, p,16

others. Many Katsina people became shop owners while others became professionals in some occupations and or businesses. Such people included Alhaji Abashe *Mai* Photo, Alhaji Idi Labari Gambarawa who became a large scale transporter. The fortune of these indigenous transporters increased as they were paid for the use of their Lorries in conveying Katsina recruits to the war front. The emir of Katsina and other prominent people in Katsina began a serious campaign by urging Katsina indigenes to join the army, in order to have representation.[246]

The Civil War, however, seriously affected the economy and society of Katsina metropolis since Igbo exodus led to shortage of teachers and education officers, technicians at the electricity, telecommunication and communication (post and telegraphs) industries as well as activities in markets was reduced greatly owing to shortage of foreign commodities such as textile materials and other viable products. Hence, the exodus of the Igbo migrants from Katsina metropolis pushed as well as pulled the *Katsinawa* into the businesses and occupations that ordinarily they wouldn't have done during the period. Moreover, the efforts to return the abandoned properties to the owners after the war, showed the importance of the Igbo migrants to the economy of Katsina.[247]

4.2 The New Phase of the Igbo Migration to Katsina Metropolisafter the Civil War

Effect of the Nigeria Civil war was another paramount reason behind Igbo immigration to Katsina. Prior to the war, a lot of Igbo were independent traders, and then

[246] M. Kankia, *Sarki Ukku Zamani Ukku.*Katsina: N.P., n.d. p.45

[247] Alhaji Saidu Ahmadu Na-Funtua (Sa'in Katsina a Traditional Title Holder). Age 85. Interviewed at Sararin Kuka - Unguwan Alkali, Off IBB Way, dated Thursday November 14, 2014 at 09:30-10:05, Alhaji Lawal Dan-Halilu. Age 82. A Retired Teacher (LEA Staff). Interviewed at Kofar Marusa, Katsina Metropolis dated Thursday November 14, 2014 at 05:15-05:45 and Ilanya, Age 70, (Textile Materials/Wrappers and Transporter/Driver). Interviewed November 7, 2014,Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 4:30PM-05:25PM and Alhaji Lawal Abdu Sani, Age 65, Retired Civil Servant (Chief Education Officer). Interviewed Monday, April 13, 2015 at IBB Way Adjacent Green House exactly 01:00PM-02:00PM. He started working under the Katsina State Ministry of Education 1971 to 2005.

civil servant such as teachers, staff of Nigerian post office amongst others, who owned shops and houses but left them because of the war. Moreover, Igbo business suffers a lot to the extent that Igbo had to (must) move outside their homeland in search of means of livelihood or survival. That was why there was large influx of Igbo to Katsina from the 1970s. In other words, the reasons behind that after the civil war as some scholar's argued, the Igbo were not ready to surrender the great economic opportunities they had gained and lost to the northerners. This added to the fact that after the war, Head of State - Yakubu Gowon attempted to reconcile the Igbo with the rest of the nation. He declared that the Igbo should be accepted back unconditionally into the federation.[248] The Igbo in their quest to reinvigorate their lost business devastated by the war accepted to return back to picked them up especially in the northern parts of Nigeria. Commenting on the return of the Igbo to Hausaland Anthony opined that it was primarily economic in an attempt for them to reclaim their property.[249] Trading has therefore become an important source of livelihood for the Igbo man to the extent that has superseded his other activities.[250] But in another vein, trade becomes an important tool of close contact between Igbo and *Katsinawa* as Falola observed that trade was perhaps the most important factor which linked many groups together.[251]

It was likely against this background that from the 1970s, there was a large scale migration of Igbo to Katsina. Some of them realized after arriving Kano that majority of their men have ventured and occupied most of the business. So they decided to divert their

[248] F.N. Nwaugo, "Igbo Spare Parts Entrepreneurs in Metropolitan Kano: A Model for Inter-Group Co-operation in plural Society, 1970-2001" In Olayemi Akinwunmi, Okpeh Ochayi Okpeh, Jr. and Je' adayibe D. Gwamna (ed), *Inter- Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th And 20th Centuries*. Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2006. p. 6. See also T. Falola and M.M. *Heaton, A History of Nigeria.* London: Cambridge University Press, 2008.p. 180

[249] D.A Anthony, *I Need to Get to Kano: The Unmaking and Remaking of an Igbo Migrant Community in Northern Nigeria 1966-1986*. Evanston: Illinois, 1996. p.49

[250] Oral Interview with Chief Anthony Obi, Age 84, Businessman (Dealer of Iron and Steel Materials). Interviewed September 6, 2014 at IBB Way Adjacent formal Nakowa Bakery, Katsina, 12:00-01:30PM.

[251] Falola, Op cit p.122

attention elsewhere by coming to Katsina metropolis which is not far away from Kano. The bulk of Igbo trading relations in the metropolis revolved around spare parts, building materials, clothing/textile materials, hospitality industries (hotel and catering services), interior decoration and boutiques.[252]

Thus, some of the Igbo people that came in the 1970s include people like Mr. Muoghara Benjamin an indigene of Orlu Local Government of present day Imo State who came to Katsina in 1971 from Lagos as an artisan (a Radio and Television technician) and since then he has trained a lot of *Katsinawa* into Radio and Television repairs.[253] In addition to that was Chief Emmanuel Ike Igwubuike an indigene Umuchu in Aguata Local Government of Anambra State who came in the early 1970. Upon his arrival, Ike engaged in the hawking of goods and assorted wares in several markets and villages within and across Katsina metropolis and its environs. Today he is the Chairman Board of Directors of Emma Igwebuike and Sons Nigeria Limited and a dealer in all kinds of drinks and a major distributor of so many breweries and manufacturing companies. Ike is the holder of the chieftaincy title of Osisioma of Katsina.[254] In like manner Chief Emmanuel Ike Igwubuike an indigene Umuchu in Aguata Local Government of Anambra State who also came in the early 1970. Upon his arrival, Ike engaged in the hawking of goods and assorted wares in several markets and villages within and across Katsina metropolis environs. Today he is the Chairman Board of Directors of Emma Igwebuike and Sons Nigeria Limited and a dealer in

[252] Nwosu, Op cit.
[253] Mr. Muoghara Benjamin, Age 70, Electronic Technician (Radio/Television). Interviewed November 7, 2014, Off Usman Nagogo Road, Sha iskawa Quarters, Katsina, 04:40PM-04:59PM.
[254] Igbo Magazine, Op cit p.23

all kinds of drinks and a major distributor of so many breweries and manufacturing companies. Ike is the holder of the chieftaincy title of Osisioma of Katsina.[255]

In addition to that was Chief George Egenti who returns to Katsina in 1953 left in 1966 and returned 1970, and picked up cloth business and continue with it till today. His role in expanding cloth trade in Katsina has earned him the Igbo title of Odiofele.[256] Another prominent Igbo that came to Katsina metropolis is Chief Hillary Chukwuma Okonkwo (The Eze Igbo I of Katsina) hail from Akpim, Ekwereazu in Mbaise Local Government of present day Imo State, who camein 1971 after leaving Kano, and started hotel business by establishing Naira Hotel within Katsina City. His increasing cordial relationship with Katsina people enables him to become a prominent figure in the commercial landscape of the city. He is presently the chairman and Chief Executive of Larry Hilman Group of Companies, Larry Construction Company, and distributor of Guinness Nigeria Limited, Larry Hillman Ventures Ltd, Hillman Motors Ltd, and proprietor of Luna Castel Hotel. Currently the vital relationship of Okonkwo with the Hausa and Fulani community in Katsina has pushed him towards working on a Trans-continental transport scheme that will run from Katsina through Niamey in Niger Republic up to Ouagadougou in Burkina Fasso. This project will boost transportation and trading relations within the West African Sub-Region.[257]

The devotion of Okonkwo in promoting trading contacts in Katsina made the Igbo to unanimously elect him as Eze Igbo I of Katsina State in 1987.[258] In 17 June, 1995, he was formerly installed as the Eze Ndigbo of Katsina and was given staff of office by then Military Governor of Katsina, Navy Captain Emmanuel Acholonu (1993-1996). Also as a sign of

[255] Igbo Magazine, Op cit p.23
[256] "Forging Ahead," Igbo Day Magazine Op cit p.24
[257] Shehu, Op cit p.275
[258] Chief Hillary Chukwu Okonkwo, Age 82, Eze Igbo I of Katsina State, Businessman (Proprietor Luna Castle hostel Katsina). Interviewed September 6, 2014 at Luna Castle hostel, Katsina, 10:00 AM– 11:00AM.

closer cooperation with the Igbo community, Okonkwo's coronation got the blessings of the late emir of Katsina Alhaji Muhammadu Kabir Usman (1981-2006).[259] The Eze symbolizes the leader of all Igbo in Katsina State, and therefore by the virtue of his office he channels all the grievances of his people to the government or to the traditional authority for amicable settlement.[260]Chief John Chukwuemeka Uguagwu[261] hail from Awkuzu Local Government Area of present day Anambra State is another prominent Igbo leader who came to Katsina in 1971 from Kano as a first Igbo Electrical contractor, Engineer and Electrician. He contributed greatly in electrical industry of Katsina metropolis for example trained quite number of *Katsinawa* and also did the wiring at Ajiwa Dam in Katsina. He initially worked with Pollyn Nigeria Limited and Jos Hansin at Jos - the present capital of Plateau State and then opted for self-employment.[262] Thus his wife Mrs. Gladys Amaka John Udugwu came in 1975 from Awkuzu as a tailor sewing clothes, then expands to Fashion and Design and as well as Decoration Bridal business or supply of women wedding materials and Boutique business.[263]Since 1975, she had been one of the key specialist in organizing weeding ceremonies and birthday cake, venue decoration and big dealers of Decoration materials, Wedding items, wrappers and Bridal stuff in Katsina State.[264] Thus, Chief John Umeagudosi (Eze Udogachi) hail from Aguata, South-West of present day Anambra State is also another prominent Igbo man that came to Katsina in 1971 from Aguata as dealer of Generator, spare

[259] Ibid.
[260] Ibid.
[261] He died on the evening after I had interview him in the morning.
[262] Chief John Chukwuemeka Uduagwu, Age 75, Contractor/Electrical Engineer. Interviewed November 7, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 11:20AM-12:00 Noon.
[263] Mrs. Gladys Amaka John Udugwu, Age 50, Dealer of Fahion and Bridal Materials. Interviewed Monday, March 30, 2015 at AMAKA Home of Fashion & Bridal Centre, Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 03:00PM-03:40 PM
[264] Mrs. Amaka John Uguagwu, Age 65, Fashion & Design and Dealer of Bridal and Decoration Materials. Interviewed November 7, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 03:00AM-32:00 PM.

parts and plumbing materials which he still dealing with.[265] In addition to that was Chief Josiah Umetiti (alias as Bugashi) who came to Katsina in 1971 from Aguata Local Government of Anambra State as a motor spare part dealer and then later venture breweries business as well as managing recreational centres, and Police Officers and Inspectors Officer Mess hotel and catering services.[266]

Chief Sylvanus Eze Amama Ezebulie (Odu 1 of Katsina) is another important Igbo community leader in Katsina. He is an indigene of Orsumoghu in Ihiala Local Government Area of Anambra State. He came to Katsina in 1972 as a businessman and since then has been expanding his enterprises not only in Katsina metropolis but in some leading village market in the state. As at present Chief Sylvanus is into hotel business. His success in business attracted several other Igbo who are currently running independent business in the metropolis. In recognition of this numerous contributions in Katsina was conferred with one of the first class Igbo chieftaincy title of Odu I of Katsina.[267]In addition to that was Chief Joel Anusien (Eziokwubundu) hail from Umuosi Avuta in Obowo Local Government Area of Imo State came to Katsina in 1972[268] and happened to be first chairman of Obowo Local Government Union in 1977, he came as a dealer of food stuff and textile materials which still engaged in. Today he is among the respected elders of the ICA in Katsina.[269]

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[265] Chief John Umeagudosi (the Eze Udogachi), Age 58, Businessman (Dealer of Generator and Plumbing Materials). Interviewed September 9, 2014 at IBB Way, Tsohun Tasha Round About, Katsina, 9:00PAM-9:30PM.

[266] Chief Josiah Umetiti (alias as Bugashi), Age 75, Businessman (Dealer of Generator and Plumbing Materials). Interviewed September 9, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Lay, Katsina, 10:00AM-10:40AM.

[267] Chief Sylvanus Eze Amama Ezebulu (Odu 1 of Katsina), Age 77, Proprietor New Palace Hotel. Interviewed November 8, 2014, Off Sarki Muhktar Way, Sabuwar Unguwa Katsina, 12:00Noon-02:00PM. Note: Chief Sylvanus into hawking of goods from Katsina to Matazu, Charanchi, Jibia among other village and rural markets on week days and weekend. Thus as the business flourish he venture into hotel and catering, motor spare parts, boutique among others.

[268] Chief Joel Anusien (Eziokwubundu), Age 75, Businessman (Food Stuff and Textile Materials). Interviewed November 7, 2014 Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 02:00OM-02:30 PM.

[269] Imo State United Association, Imo Day Magazine 26th July, 2009. p.51

In like manner Chief Jonathan C Nwosu who is an indigene Nnewi Local Government of Anambra State came to Katsina in 1975 from Kano under the influence of one Mr. Wakter Edekwe, a dealer of spare parts.[270] Today, Jonathan is a key figure who has been vested with title of *Onowu* of Igbo (Prime Minister and second in command to the Eze Igbo) in Katsina State owing to the sanity he brought in leadership of the Eze Cabinet and ICA in general.[271] Initially he ran the business of motor cycle, but as a result of his increasing success in business. He is now a dealer in generators and water pumps along *Toshun Tasha* Round AboutIBB Way. However, Chief Martins Ugochukwu (alias *Me Gemu*) is another prominent Igbo man who came to Katsina in 1976 fromUmudim Ununguwa in Obowo Local Government Area of Imo Stateas a dealer of food stuff items, original local and international Snuff, ice block and textile materials which he still maintain till date.[272] In addition to that is Mr. Cletus Anyawu who came to Katsina after his apprenticeshipbetween 1977 to 1979 from Aheizu Local Government of Imo State in 1979 an artisan who specialized in Panel Beater and Welder. He has so far trained and settled 8 boys to date.[273] Thus it was that same year that Mr.Josephat Ifeagwa came to Katsina as an electrician and electrical contractor from Sokoto, and had so far trained so many electricians of whom were mostly *Katsinawa*.[274]

Nonetheless, apart from those that came in the 70s there other prominent Igbo men that came in the 80s such includes Chief Emmanuel Anyaegbu (Akarachi 1 of Katsina) an indigene of Ikerudu Local Government Area of Imo State, popularly known as 'Yellow 'was

[270] Chief Jonathan C. Nwosu, Age 84, Igbo Prime Minister and Acting Eze Katsina State, Businessman(Dealer of Generator and Blubber), Interviewed July 30, 2014 and November 5, 2014 at IBB Way Tsohuwar Tasha Round About, Katsina, 10:00AM – 11:00AM.
[271] Imo Day Magazine 26th July, 2009. Op cit, p.48
[272] Ibid, pp.54 and 14
[273] Mr. Cletus Anyanwu, Age 62, Panel Beater/Welder Services. Interviewed November 11, 2014 at Dutsin-Ma Road, Fire Service Station, Katsina, 02:45PM-03:15PM.
[274]Mr. Josephat Ifeagwa, Age 60, Contractor/Electrical Engineer. Interviewed November 11, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 07:20PM-08:00PM.

another prominent Igbo man that came to Katsina in 1980 and established Wheel Alignment and Balancing business along Murtala Muhammed Way at Rafin Dadi.[275] He claimed that majority of his workers and customers are Katsina people, and the kind of hospitality he is enjoying hardly makes him to think of returning back to Imo State. Hence his role as a philanthropist and power disciplinary man at the ICA enable the title of Akarachi 1 of Katsina.[276] In addition to that was Mr. Ofordile Augustine Obiora (alias Cognate- No event No history) who also came to Katsina in 1980 from Nsukka, Enugu, Enugu State (which is his home town) after his apprenticeship in patient medicine store and established his business with the sum of ₦ 456.00K which he bought 10 cartons of medicine. Since then to date he had trained 10 apprentices who were Igbo and *Katsinawa*.[277]

In the same vein Chief Daniel Ebeh (Ichie Nnayereugo 1 of Katsina State) an indigene of Eha-Amafa in Isi-Uzo Local Government Area of Enugu State came to Katsina from Lagos in 1980 in search for greener pasture of which on his arrival secured employment with Freedom Group Hotel under the Managing Director of late Madam Grace Anaela.[278] In addition to that was Chief Charles Ositadimma Ahanonu (Omereoha 1 OF Katsina)who also came to Katsina in 1980 from Ndi-Odolu Umunuko Ukpor in Nnewi Local Government Area of Anambra State as a dealer and supplier of electrical and electronic appliances. His business has contributed greatly toward the development of electrical

[275] Chief Emmanuel Anyaegbu, Age 73, Businessman (Proprietor Liberty Hotel and Yellow Wheel Balancing and Alignment). Interviewed September 9, 2014 at Murtala Mohammed Way, Tayoyi, Katsina, 10:30 AM–11:00AM.
[276] Ibid.
[277] Mr. Fordile Augustine Obiora (alias Cognate- No event no history), Age 50, Businessman (Patent Medicine Store). Interviewed Friday, April 3, 2015 at Old Katsina State Government House exactly 03:30PM-04:30PM. He was a student of Hassan Usman Polytechnic (1987-1989) and Kankia Health Technology(1997-2000) where he graduated as Senior Community Health Extension Worker, after which did a Voluntary work at Katsina General Hospital and Sauki Clinic. He was the Secretary General of Patent Medicine Store in 1980.
[278] Igbo Day Magazine, 2008. Op cit p.25

industry in Katsina State.[279] To date Chief Charles remain the big dealer and supplier of electrical and electronics appliances; all these enable him become the Chairman of Electrical and Electronic Appliances Association and also conferred with the chieftaincy title of Omereoha 1 of Katsina.[280] Then Chief/Nze E.A Ezike (Nmadu Oha 1 of Katsina) an indigene Okponakuma Autonomous Community of Njaba Local Government of Imo State came to Katsina 1980 as a Senior Staff with Nigerian Custom Service Kudana/Katsina State Command upon his retirement he engaged into business. Thus, his role at both the local, and state Igbo unions along with the ICA being the central body enable bestowed with a Chieftaincy title of Nmadu Oha 1 of Katsina (Man of the people) which made him a member of Katsina State Igbo Traditional Council.[281]

Of equal importance was Mr. Ifeanyi Nnamani an indigene of Nssukka in Enugu, Enugu State who was brought to Katsina by his brother in 1982, and after an apprentice of 11years established his business in 2003 today Ifeanyi was one of the biggest dealers of domestic industrial gas in the whole of Katsina state. He supplies gas to other wholesalers and retailers within and outside Katsina metropolis. His staff and apprenticed he trained are mostly *Katsinawa*.[282]Another prominent Igbo man that came in the 80s was Chief Anthony Ekwedasike Aka (Ezienyi 1 of Katsina) hail from Umuchima Uburu in Ohaozara Local Government Area of Ebonyi State. He came to Katsina as business man on the 12th February, 1983 and finally settled in 1985. Before he opted for poultry farming business and animal husbandry he worked briefly with Tiecie (W/A) Construction Company at Katsina State

[279] Chief Charles Ositadimma Ahononu (Omereoche I of Katsina), Age 53, Businessman (Dealers of Electrical and Electronic materials/appliances). Interviewed September 9, 2014 at IBB Way, Opposite Water Board Control Station Kofar Kaura, Katsina, 12:00Noon-01:30PM.
[280] Imo Day Magazine, 2009. Op cit p.58
[281] Igbo Day Magazine, 2008. p.10 and Imo State Association Day Magazine, 2009. pp.52 and 66
[282] Mr. Ifeanyi Nnamanni, Age 50, Businessman (Dealer Domestic Industrial Gas). Interviewed October 2, 2014, at IBB Way Opposite UBA Bank, Katsina, 12:00Noon-02:00PM.

Office as a store Keeper, and then also with Kobe Steel Company as Secretary to the General Manager. He was the also the Caretaker Committee of the Igbo Welfare Association (IWA) in 1989 of which his remarkable contribution towards the IWA development now ICA enable him conferred with a chieftaincy title Ezienyi 1 of Katsina on 11 November, 2006 and a member of Eze Cabinet in the Igbo Traditional Council of Katsina State.[283]

Furthermore Mr. Godwin Onwudigbo an indigene of Onitsha in Anambra State came to Katsina in 1985 as an apprentice which he undergone between 1985 to 1988 under the Sales of Madras and form at Sabon Layi - off Ahmadu Bello Way near shops adjacent to former Nasara Football Club residence. Upon his graduation he engaged in same business between 1988 to 1990 and then opted for Bookshop and Stationeries business at same location but by the road site which he did not maintain but also expand to Boutique and interior decoration business in 1996 which his wife in handling that section.[284]His wife Mrs. Lillian Godwin came to Katsina from Nnewi North in Anambra State in 1988 at the age of 19 and school at Federal College of Education Katsina a graduated as professional teacher of which she opted for business in 1996.[285]

4.3 The Issue of Abandoned Property of the Igbo in Katsina Metropolis

The issue of abandoned property was one of the most controversial issues that arose after the Nigerian civil war. After the end of the civil war, people from Eastern Nigeria, particularly the Igbo alleged that their properties which were abandoned during the war in other parts of the country were taken over by the government or people of those localities. This abandoned property issue featured prominently in the discussions of post-war

[283] Igbo Day Magazine, 2008. Op cit p.22 and Imo Day Magazine, 2009, Op cit p.50
[284] Mr. Godwin Onwudigbo, Age 54, Businessman (Dealer of Bookshop and Stationeries Materials). Interviewed Monday, April 13, 2015 at Sabon Layi, Ahmadu Bello Way, Katsina, 07:35PM-07:15PM
[285] Mrs. Lillian Godwin, Age 46, Business Woman (Boutique and Interior Decoration). Interviewed Monday, April 13, 2015 at Sabon Layi, Ahmadu Bello Way, Katsina, 07:00PM-07:30PM

reconciliation, marginalization, and national integration. The abandoned property issue fall within the context of the current discourse on human rights and has assumed the dimension of property and citizen's rights.

The discourse on the compensation of owners of the properties which were abandoned, confiscated and converted to public use raised two critical issues. The first is that the issue was rooted in the historical relationship between the Igbo community and the indigenous people in Katsina, in which the latter raised claims of marginalization and domination by the former in the area. The second is that resolving the issue of abandoned property, became an important human rights issue, in which the Nigerian state was expected to play an active role in order to ensure justice and fairness to those affected.[286]

The problem of abandoned properties was one of the major fall-outs of the civil war. It had to do with the properties Igbo left behind when the war forced them to flee back to the Eastern region. The problem was most pronounced in Port-Harcourt, which was practically an Igbo city before the civil war, and Calabar and other parts of the then Eastern region. In both places, members of the minority groups – who appeared to have found an opportunity to finally liberate themselves from "Igbo domination" – were allegedly instigated by the state governments and federal authorities to take possession of Igbo property.[287] Those that showed up to reclaim their property were either brutally assaulted or killed. This was how Igbo lost their properties – buildings, undeveloped plots of land and petrol stations – worth

[286]G. Okaneme "Marginalization of Some Ethnic Nationalities inNigeria: The Ndi Igbo Experience" International Review of Social Sciences and Humanities Vol. 8, No. 1 (2014), pp. 43-47 www.irssh.com and E. E. Osaghae, *Trend of Political Organization in Nigeria: The Igbo in Kano*. Ibadan: IFRA, 1994. Pp. 39-59 Retrieved on October 1, 2014 from http://books.openedition.org/ifra/895

[287] See The Violations of Human and Civil Rights of *Ndi Igbo* in the Federation of Nigeria (1966– 1999) A Call for Reparations AndAppropriate Restitution A Petition to the Human Rights Violations Investigating Committee By Oha-Na-Eze Ndi Igbo (The Apex Organization Of The Entire Igbo People Of Nigeria) For And On Behalf Of The Entire *Ndi Igbo* October, 1999. Pp. 28-29

56 million Naira in the 1970s in Port-Harcourt. In the South Eastern state, property lost included 1371 houses, 219 undeveloped plots of land, 22 hotels, 55 items of plant and machinery, and 545 farms and plantations. One fairly peculiar case was that of the Ikwere-Aro-Ikwere, an Igbo sub-group in Rivers state, whose members were practically forced to live in refugee camps after their houses and other properties in Aluu, Agwa, Ozuiba and other homeland settlements were utterly destroyed.[288] Likewise, some of the Igbo landlords who went back to Port Harcourt to argue their legal rights and insist on regaining their properties by resisting the possession of their houses, were either brutally assaulted or killed. Shocked by this violation of their rights, the property-owners turned to Federal Government to assist them to re-possess their houses.[289]

Thus, with regard to Katsina, the case was partly different as sources revealed that, prior to the Civil War quite a number of the Igbo owned their personal houses and shops at Sabon Layi along Ahmadu Bello Way, *Galadanchi*, *Unguwan Magajin Gari* (*UnguwanMadawaki*) *Yarkasuwa*, *KofarKaura* area, *Kangiwa*, *Shaiskawa*, Mobil, *Tsohuwar Katsuwa* (opposite Old central Market of Katsina), *Kofar Guga* area, *Yar'adua* along Nagogo Road, *Rafukka* along *Unguwan Alkali* and *Madawaki* and also Kofar Marusa. But owing to the war, they abandoned them and left, while those who were around were killed because of the riot that broke out in May 1966 which made them lost their houses and properties. Those that came back after the war, recovered some of their properties, but quite a number of them disposed such properties to the *Katsinawa* and went back to the East. Migrant Igbos who did

[288] "Former rulers found Guilty" *Lagos Daily Times*, February 4, 1976. p 31.

[289] The Violations of Human and Civil Rights of *Ndi Igbo* in the Federation of Nigeria (1966– 1999) A Call for Reparations AndAppropriate Restitution A Petition to the Human Rights Violations Investigating Committee By Oha-Na-Eze Ndi Igbo (The Apex Organization Of The Entire Igbo People Of Nigeria) For And On Behalf Of The Entire *Ndi Igbo* October, 1999. Pp. 28-29

not return after the war probably because they were dead, lost their property to the *Katsinawa* and the state government.[290] *Sa'in Katsina* was for example among the people who bought such shops and houses at Sabon Layi in 1971 from an Igbo friend whom he claimed they were friends before the War and where both Landlord at Sabon Layi.[291] According to him, it was because of this that, he did not charge high for shop and house rent at Sabon Layi despite the pressure being put by his children and extended family and friends.[292]

The war was a great lesson to Igbo community wherever they were in Katsina and other cities of Northern Nigeria i.e. Katsina was no longer home or a permanent residential area. As such they preferred to live in rented houses and shops owned by the *Katsinawa*, so that even if it was burnt-down or destroyed during crises or conflict it was no longer their property.[293] Since then, Igbo immigrants into Katsina tended to live and settle as well as rent shops and residential houses at areas that Igbo people dominated and other immigrant communities and also near stations and barracks of the police, military and paramilitary purposely for self-defence and security of their lives and property. Thus, even those that later changed their minds and began to buy houses, land and build houses mostly at *Dutsin-Safe* Low-cost, *Shagari* Low-cost, *Kofar Kaura* Layout, *Kofar Marusa* Layout, GRA, *Barhind*

[290] Sa'in Katsina, Op cit.
[291] Ibid.
[292] Ibid.
[293] Interview with Chief Jonathan Nwoso, Interviewed November 5, 2014, Chief Ahason Mr. Michael Ilanya, Friday, November 7, 2014, Chief John Uguagwu Saturday November 8, 2014 ,Michael Ochukwu, Friday, November 7, 2014 and Mr. Obi Christopher, Friday November 7, 2014 , Op cit, and Chief Antony Obi, Age 84,Classmate of Late Emir of Katsina Alhaji Kabir Usman, Businessman(Dealer of Iron & Steel), Interviewed Thursday, August 31, 2014 at IBB Way Adjacent Nakowa, opposite UBA Bank, 10:00AM – 11:00AM and also Mrs. Nkemdirim Louis. Age 48, Administrative Officer, Federal University Dutsin-Ma. Interviewed at Shagari Low-cost, Along Batsari Road, dated Sunday April 5, 2015. Chief John Umeagudosi, Age 57, Businessman (Dealer of Generator and Water pumps Machine). Interviewed July 30, 2014 at IBB Way Tsohuwar Tasha Round About, Katsina, 10:30AM – 11:00AM.

Quarters, *Faggachi* Quarters, to mention but a few, was purely because the *Katsinawa* and peaceful nature of Katsina compared cities like Kano.[294]

4.4 Igbo Migrants Enterprises and Occupations in Katsina Metropolissince the 1970s

Igbo people were known to have initiative and be industrious, and likewise utilize every opportunity anywhere they found themselves. Thus, that was why they were into quite a number of businesses and professions in Katsina metropolis. The Igbo entrepreneurs engaged in any enterprise that they found profitable. From the 1950s onward, many Igbomigrants came to specialize in various types of small-scale businesses (the latter on a very low technological level). A survey of small scale industries in Katsina reflected a large number of repairers of cars, bicycle, and radio, battery chargers, welders, black smiths, bakers, tailors, shoe repairs,[295] in addition to watch repairs, panel beaters, and then specialists or dealers of textile materials and yard, spare parts, electrical and electronics, generator, bookshops, textile materials, furniture and building materials, plumbing materials, European or foreign clothes, to mention but a few.

[294] Ibid.
[295] D.A Anthony, *I Need to Get to Kano: The Unmaking and Remaking of an Igbo Migrant Community in Northern Nigeria 1966-1986*. Evanston: Illinois, 1996. p.163.

Table 4.1 Igbo Enterprise and Occupation in Katsina Metropolis between the period 1920s to 1966 and 1970 to 2011

Igbo Men and Women Occupation/Business, 1920s -1966				Igbo Men and Women Occupation/Business, 1970 -2011			
Igbo Men	**No.**	**Igbo Women**	**No.**	**Igbo Men**	**No.**	**Igbo Women**	**No.**
Teachers	35	Foodstuff	30	Teachers	359	Teachers	180
Clerks	20	Provision Store	30	Medical Doctors	13	Medical Doctors	06
Education/Admin Officers	12	Wrappers	15	Nurses	15	Nurses	50
Agent/Middlemen	20	Gwanjo	07	Bankers	30	Bankers	74
Secretaries	14	Children Clothes	08	Legal Practitioners	15	Legal Practitioners	05
License Officers	06	Food Canteen	10	Proprietors	473	Proprietress	30
Drivers/Transporters	39	Tailoring	16	Fashion& Design	22	Fashion& Design	56
Book-Keepers	04	Beans Cake	10	Boutique	259	Boutique	39
Accounting Officers	05			Interior Decoration	15	Decoration/Bridal Stuff	35
Photographers	05			Salon	30	Saloon	45
Bricklayers	10			Building Materials	80	Building/ Furniture	20
Building Engineers	35			Bookshops	37	Bookshops	04
Carpenters	20			Foodstuff	07	Foodstuff	80
Textile Materials	45			Iron & Steel	30	Restaurants	23
Spare parts	38			Spare parts	38	Fast Food	12
Foodstuff	22			Mechanic	38	Food Canteens	19
Provision Store	28			Rewire/Wiring	25	Bean Cake	45
Patent Medicine Store	24			Panel Beater	34	Provision Store	38
Tailoring	15			Welder	13	Palm-Oil	41
Technicians	16			Alignment/Wheel Balance	08		
Petroleum Product Dealers	10			Carpenter/Furniture	19		
				Technicians	22		
				Timber	30		
				Breweries	40		
				Domestic/Industrial Gas	25		
				Computer Accessories	15		
				Patent Medicine Store	16		
				Electronical/Electronics	56		
				Hospitality Industry	15		
				Poultry farming	02		
				Commercial Transportation	45		
Total	423		126		1,826		802

Sources: Oral Interviews conducted and Personal Tour/ Field Survey at Katsina Metropolis[296]

[296] Mr. Michael Ockwukwu, Age 70, Businessman (Textile Materials/Yard Trading).Interviewed November 7, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 8:40AM-09:20AM, Mr. Muoghara Benjamin, Age 70, Electronic Technician (Radio/Television). Interviewed November 7, 2014, Off Usman Nagogo Road, Shaiskawa Quarters, Katsina, 04:40PM-04:59PM, Mr. Josephat Ifeagwa, Age 60, Contractor/Electrical Engineer. Interviewed November 11, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 07:20PM-08:00PM, Mr. Okechukwu Uzor Kalu, Age 42, Proprietor Onward International Schools. Interviewed November 7, 2014, Off IBB Way Behind GT Bank, Katsina, 12:00Noon-02:00PM, Mr. Augustin Ofordile (Cognent), Age 65, Dealer Patent Medicine Store. Interviewed November 16, 2014 at IBB Way, Opposite formal Nakowa Bakery Katsina, 7:30PM-8:00PM, Mr. Gabriel Okoli, Age 54, Dealer of Building/Furniture Materials. Interviewed November 11, 2014 at Usman Nagogo Road, Gongon, Katsina, 08: 40AM-10:00AM, Mr. Net Ekwtosi, Age 43, Businessman (Dealer Building Materials).Interviewed November 6, 2014 at IBB Way, Tsohun Tasha Round About, Katsina, 05:00PM-06:15PM and Mr. Ifeanyi Nnamanni, Age 50, Businessman (Dealer Domestic and Industrial Gas). Interviewed October 2, 2014, at IBB Way Opposite UBA Bank, Katsina, 12:00Noon-02:00PM.

From the above table we could see that the number of Igbo migrants increased as time comes by and the Igbo diversified into various businesses of which some are only done by women while some by men and then both women and men.

From the 1980s, most *Katsinawa* and other immigrant communities were attracted to some of the business that Igbo dominated in Katsina metropolis. As of 2011, the Igbo are few in number in those business and occupation especially carpentry and furniture, fashion and design, textile materials/yard and wrappers, auto-mobile mechanic, panel beater and welder, repair of television and radio, wiring/rewire, bicycle spare parts, provision store, palm-oil, beans cake (Akara business) and photography. However, in the area of building and furniture materials spare part, boutique, hospitality (Motel, Guest House and Hotel), Brewery, Foams, wheel balancing and alignment, tyre and battery, generator, electronics and computer accessories, books canteens and shops, fast food, restaurant, foodstuff, decoration and bridal to mention but a few, the Igbo still remain dominant, this is not connected to monopoly of the business and profit but because the host and the other immigrant communities have other lucrative business and occupation they engaged in such include *Achaba*, bakery business, sales of cars and motorcycle, and many others which most Igbo are not into them.[297]

4.4.1 Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurs are said to be the brain behind the existing and consistent operations of successful small scale businesses. The concept of entrepreneurship has been associated with several activities concerned with the establishment and operating of business

[297] Samuel Wycliff, Tour and survey of Igbo business and occupation in Katsina from July, 2014 to April, 2014

enterprise.[298]Igbo Entrepreneurial activities have been observed to be a sine qua non for the economy of Nigeria and the quality of life of the people at both rural and urban settings. Entrepreneurial activity is the enterprising human action in pursuit of the generation of value, through the creation or expansion of economic activity, by identifying and exploiting new products, processes or markets.[299]

However, the **Igbo** mode of **Entrepreneurship** was derived from Igbo (culture) and Entrepreneurship. This simply means planning, organizing, coordinating and controlling other factors of production and production process in Igbo learning culture. Therefore, an Igbo entrepreneur is a person who does not only coordinate other factors of production, but who from time to time seeks opportunities to make profit through his/her innovativeness, creativity, customers' satisfaction and efficient utilization of scarce resources in a consistent cultural pattern. Thus, Igbo entrepreneurs are visionary, enthusiastic and result driven. These are not far from the rationale behind their undertakings in high business risk. Without policies and programmes suitable for backup and growth from any source, fountains are still made by these unique entrepreneurs in the Nigerian business environment. In the real fact, it is never gainsaying that people at the rural and urban areas in Nigeria depend heavily on the

[298] N. M. Ile, *Entrepreneurship Development: The Nigerian Perspective*. Enugu: Chiezugo Ventures, 2003. Pp. 11-24. See also O. Juwon Johnson and Nafiu, Akeem Tunde, "An Exploratory Study Of Igbo Entrepreneurial Activity And Business Success In Nigeria As The Panacea For Economic Growth And Development." International Journal of Scientific & Technology Research Volume 3, Issue 9, September 2014. Pp. 158-165.

[299] N. Ahmad and R.G. Seymour, Defining Entrepreneurial Activity: Definitions Supporting Frameworks For Data Collection, OECD, 2006. Pp. 30-34. For more see E. Burduş, "Fundamentals of Entrepreneurship." Review of International Comparative Management, Vol. 11 No. 1, 2010. Pp. 210-255, S. Maliga, Igbos Dominate Economically in Lagos Because Yorubas Are Lazy, October 11, 2013. Available at: elombah.com, B. C. Onuoha, *Small Business Management and Entrepreneurship*, 2nd Edition.Port Harcourt: African Entrepreneurship and Leadership Initiative, 2010. Pp. 34-35, A. Eze, Unemployment: Nigerians Urged to Adopt the Igbo Business Spirit, THISDAYLIVE, November 05, 2012. Available at: www.thisdaylive.com/articles/unemployment- nigerians-urged-to- adopt- the igbobusiness=spirit/129716/, N. M. Ile, *Entrepreneurship Development: The Nigerian Perspective*. Enugu: Chiezugo Ventures, 2003. pp. 55-60 and U. Nworah, Culture and Igbo Business Practices. Sahara Reporters, 2011. Available at: saharareporters.c om/artic le/culture-and-igbo- business-practices

Igbo entrepreneurs' initiatives, inventions and efficient outcomes. The Igbo entrepreneurs have dominated Nigeria and even across the national boundary, such as South Africa, Cameroon, Ghana, Mali and Gambia, China and so on.[300]

4.4.2 Igbo Trade Apprenticeship System (ITAS)

The beginning of the Igbo learning business culture was the Igbo Trade Apprenticeship System (ITAS). The Igbo Trade Apprenticeship System was a kind of informal and unstructured training program, scheduled for an agreed period of time, which a person went in order to acquire a desirable aspect of entrepreneurship skill. Igbo seem to be the most capable of teaching the world trade education through the development and automation of this ITAS.[301] The ITAS was a vibrant part of the Igbo business attributes that had for long shaped their mental and intelligent quotient about business success. The ITAS captures most of the skill above.

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[300]It is important to note that Igbo entrepreneurs possess the characteristics as state by Burdus were: Confidence in personal abilities, due to optimism that demonstrate success when targeting, which many times but can also lead to failure; the desire for immediate results, which causes them to continuously monitor the results, which will confirm whether they have done right or wrong; preference for a moderate risk, which means they face no risk in any circumstances, but a calculated risk, but nevertheless in the eyes of others may seem like an impossible goal; willingness to assume responsibilities, preferring to control their own resources to achieve their objectives; high energy, above average, which allows him to make incredible effort needed to start a business, business creation; vision to enable the discovery times discovery future opportunities, not to meditate on the successes or failures that have passed; organizing skills, which allows entrepreneurs to put together people who carry out certain tasks, to combined so as to implement the vision; the desire to achieve, above money making entrepreneur motivation is more complex, expressing the first urge to go further, to do for others is impossible, the money represents only a confirmation of success; high level of commitment, which makes them hard to work for a company that creates success, removing barriers that seem insurmountable to others; tolerance of ambiguity, as an absolute necessity entrepreneurs, who often must make decisions based on uncertain information, or even contradictory; and flexibility, which is the ability of entrepreneurs to adapt to changing customer demand, is an important characteristic of entrepreneurs. For more see C. Udegbe, "The Igbos Have More At Stake in Nigeria." Vanguard, July 26, 2013. Available at: www.vanguardngr.com/2013/07/the-igbos-have-more- at- stake-in-nigeria/, O. A. Olutayo, "The Igbo Entrepreneur in the Political Economy of Nigeria." African Study Monographs, Vol. 20 No.3, 1999., J.C. Agazie, Why Igbos Are Nigeria's Chosen Tribe, Nigeria Masterweb Citizen News, October 14, 2012. , C. Udegbe, The Igbos Have More At Stake in Nigeria, Vanguard, July 26, 2013. Available at: www.vanguardngr.com/2013/07/the-igbos-have-more- at- stake-in-nigeria/ and O. A. Olutayo, The Igbo Entrepreneur In The Political Economy Of Nigeria, African Study Monographs, Vol. 20 No.3, 1999.

[301] O. Dibia, Relevant Ideology: Master key To Igbo Development, 2013. Available at: www.gamji.com/article9000/ NEWS9297.htm

Igbo migrants wherever they believed so much in self-empowerment, self-employment and self-reliance, so to keep the light burning, they trained their sons and daughters, family and friends/extended family members as well as other communities who had interest in the business. However, the Igbo apprenticeship programme in Katsina metropolis was not quite significant during the colonial period to 1966 compared to 1970 to 2011 where Katsina metropolis experienced the large influx of Igbo. The influx resulted in the training of various people as apprentices. From the 1920s to 1966 and even 1970 to 1987, most Igbo apprenticeship was limited to mostly the business proprietor family and the extended family this was because the *Katsinawa* did not put much interest in the business and likewise they felt it was a business of the Igbo people. During this period most of the apprentices taken were mostly people who did not acquire the so-called Western Education or they were primary school and secondary school holders. It was later that graduates of higher institutions were also found. It is important to draw our attention to the fact that most apprentices who were taken during the colonial period to 1966 and also early 1970s were mostly based on the request of the master. But from 1971 through 1987 down to 2011, it was the parent and guardians and in addition the *Katsinawa* and other immigrant communalities that developed interest.[302]

4.4.3 Igbo Trade Apprenticeship System Agreement (ITASA)

Igbo Trade Apprenticeship System Agreement (ITASA) in Katsina metropolis and in any other part of Nigeria or across its shores involved agreement which could be informal or formal as discussed below.

[302] Interview with Chief Ahanono, Chief Enukora, Chief Jonathan, Chief Antony, Chief John Mr. Ifeanyi, Mr. Emeka, Mr. Gabriel. Mr. Augustine, Mr. Obi, Mr. Michael, Mrs. Ngozi and Mrs. Terezah , Op cit

4.4.3.1 Informal Agreement

The informal Agreement was informal in the sense that oral/verbal agreement were made (agreement without any form of written documentation) between the master (proprietor or proprietress of the business) and the guardians or parent of the apprentice and the kinsmen i.e. in respect to how many years the apprentice would, serve, or acquire the business skills and to be settled at the end. At times, the age of the apprentice often determined the number of the years he or she was to undergo the apprenticeship. Thus initially, the system was informal but because of the problems that used to occur between the apprentice and the master there was a change to formal agreement. For instance, there were situations that the master would die before the apprentice finished the apprenticeship years expected and then the wife or the extended family would refuse to settle the apprentice, and then there were times that the master out of wickedness would fire or terminate the apprentice apprenticeship out of selfish interest decided to leave before the agreed years or misbehave. As such, these led to serious cases and complain at the Igbo traditional institution, Igbo Community Association (ICA), Police Station among other law enforcement agencies.[303]

[303] Interview with Mr. Ifeanyi Nnamanni, Age 50, Businessman (Dealer Domestic Industrial Gas), October 2, 2014, at IBB Way Opposite UBA Bank, Katsina, 12:00Noon-02:00PM, Ahononu, Chief Charles Ositadimma. (Omereoche I of Katsina), Age 53, Businessman (Dealers of Electrical/Electronic materials). Interviewed September 9, 2014 at IBB Way, Tsohun Tasha Round About, Katsina, 12:00Noon-01:30PM, Chief Jonathan C. Nwoso, The Onowu Igbo Katsina (Igbo Prime Minster). Age 84, Igbo Prime Minister and Acting Eze Katsina State, Businessman(Dealer of Generator and Blubber), Interviewed November 5, 2014 at IBB Way Tsohuwar Tasha Round About, Katsina, 10:00AM – 11:00AM, Mr. Gebriel Okoli, Age 54, Dealer of Building/Furniture Materials. Interviewed November 11, 2014 at Usman Nagogo Road, Gongon, Katsina, 08: 40AM-10:00AM, Chief John Chukwuemeka Uduagwu, Age 75, Contractor/Electrical Engineer. Interviewed November 7, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 11:20AM-12:00 Noon.

4.4.3.2 Formal Agreement

In this case, agreements were made in written form with the apprentice guardian or parent and kinsmen and the copies of the agreement were circulated so that in case of any problem that might arise, there would be a written document or an evidence to present or tender.[304]

4.4.4 Apprentice Settlement and the Year of Apprenticeship

The year that an apprentice would serve to acquire the skills depended on the agreement made at the time; the age of the apprentice and the nature of the apprentice mattered a lot. In most cases, it did not exceed 1 to 12 years. Those who often reached 8 to 12 years were mostly those who were picked at the age of primary school to junior secondary schools. As such for them to be settled most often reach the age of 18years and above.[305]

In terms of the settlement, it depended on the agreement put in the first place. Some since the agreement was made at the presence of the apprentice guidance or parent and kinsmen, the settlement was also done in their presence. For instance, if it was at Anambra, Abia, Enugu, Abia, Imo, Ebonyi or DeltaStates then the apprentice and the master had to travel down there and do the sendforth and settlement. The settlements were of three types: The first one was, if the agreement demanded the master to just give money to the apprentice to start the business (to buy the commodities by himself) so be itand then prayers were offered for God to bless the apprentice and the business to be established.[306] Then the second

[304] Ibid.
[305] Ibid.
[306] Interview with Chief Ahason, Chief Jonathan, Chief Antony, Chief John Mr. Ifeanyi, Mr. Gebriel. Mr. Obi, Op cit. and then Mr. Michael Ilanya, Age 70, (Textile Materials/Wrappers and Transporter/Driver). Interviewed November 7, 2014, Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 4:30PM-05:25PM, Mrs. Gladys Amaka John, Age 50, Business woman (Boutique & Interior Decoration). Interviewed Monday, March 30, 2015, Ahmadu

one was, if the agreement required the master to rent a shop for the apprentice at the place of the apprentice choice and then give him money to by the commodities, so it be and then prayers were offered for God to bless the apprentice and the business to be established[307] and then the third one was, the relationship between the master and the apprentice also determined the mode of the settlement i.e. if the apprentice was well behaved and the master indeed enjoyed his services, the master would not only give money to the apprentice, but also rent a shop for him at any place he (apprentice) chose, and also made the chanter (where goods are kept or place for easy identification and location) of the which apprentice only buy the commodities and put them inside the shop.[308]

Hence, this was how the apprentice grows to be a master and also brought other people as apprentice in order to train and settle them as well. So it was a continuous circle through which a business empire was built.

Of Special note was the father-son and mother- daughter apprentice. In this system of apprentice there was no formal or informal agreement that were usually done. The father settled his son likewise the mother settled her daughter at the time she feel[309] due or at their own conveniences. Although this often caused family problems between parents and their

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Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 03:00PM-03:30PM, Mrs. Terezah Obi Christopher, Age 60, Businessman (Restaurant Business). Interviewed November 7, 2014, Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 07:00PM-07:30PM. Mrs. Ester Kalu, Age 36, Proprietress Top Onward Private Schools. Interviewed Thursday, November 13, 2014 Off IBB Way, Katsina exactly 2:00PM-3:00PM, Mrs. Ngozi Onuma popularly known as Maman Ada, Age 41. Restaurant Business and Beans Cake. Interviewed Wednesday, November 12, 2014 Off IBB Way exactly 03:40PM-o4:10PM, Mrs. Ngozi John, Age 37, Business woman (Fashion and Design & Interior Decoration). Interviewed Friday, November 7, 2014at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 07:30PM-08:00PM, Mr. Emeka Solomon, Age 43, Businessman (Dealer Bookshop & Stationeries). Interviewed Tuesday, November 11, 2014 at Mexico Bookshop, along Usman Nagogo Road, Gwangwan Katsina exactly 10:05AM-11:00AM.

[307] Ibid.
[308] Ibid.
[309] Mostly when the daughter has come of age or is getting married

children, and that was why quite a number of parents often preferred their children to be trained by other people other than them or their extended family.

4.4.5 Proprietor/Proprietress and Apprentice Responsibility/Commitment

In the colonial period down to 1970 Igbo business proprietors were the ones that used to request for people to train as apprentice of whom quite a number of them were their siblings, or younger brothers and sisters, and members of their extended family or their in-laws. It was later those parents and guardians of the Igbo and other immigrants communities in Katsina and the *Katsinawa*requesttheir children to be trained in business.[310]

In the area of or in terms of responsibilities and commitment, the proprietor/proprietress was expected to take the apprentice like their own children. In other words they were responsible for the food, cloth and shelter of the apprentice up to the time of sendforth and settlement. But in respect to education being it primary, secondary and tertiary institution, it all depended on the agreement made at the initial stage; if it included sponsorship of education then it would be done. But often the business proprietors/proprietress did the sponsorship their own and especially those that cherished education. Meanwhile for the apprentice, he was expected to commit himself to the business he/she was undergoing, the training or acquiring the business skills as well as assist in the domestic work at his/her masters or proprietors/proprietress residencewhere he/she lived too. Thus, these could be the paramount reasons that made Igbo men and women system of apprenticeship different from that of the Yoruba and Hausa.[311]

[310] Interview with Mr. Michael, Mr. Obi, and Chief Ahason, Op cit
[311] Ibid.

Under the Igbo apprenticeship system, it was only the artisans' that parents/guardians that paid for their children to acquire the basic skills (practice of craft) since the artisans were skilled manual worker who produced the items that might be functional or strictly decorative, including furniture, clothing, jewellery, household items, tools or even machines such as handmade devices of a watchmaker. Others included wiring/rewire, welder and banner beater, auto-mobile mechanic, carpentry, repairof electronics especially radio and television among others.

Notwithstanding, Igbo apprenticeship in Katsina metropolis was of two categories. One was when the apprentice had the capital and wanted to establish a business. In this case money was charge based on the agreement to enable him acquire the skills and it was expected for the apprentice to undergo at least 3 to 6 months training, at the end of which no form of settlement was given or made. This kind was applied only to businesses that were not associated craft, manual labour or handwork especially mechanic, wiring, banner beater, wheel balance and alignment. But business that involved buying and selling i.e. sales of generator, tyre and car battery, building and furniture materials, electronic/electronically materials, spare parts, boutique, bridal and decoration material, books and computer accessories, provision store and lot more.The second one is the one that the apprentice would be brought and stayed at the masters house pending the agreed years of apprenticeship and then be settled.[312]

4.4.6 Igbo-Hausa Apprenticeship System

[312] Ibid.

In the Hausa apprenticeship, the parent or guardiandid not pay money the apprentice under the training or acquired the basic skills being it craft, manual labour or handwork and then sales of commodity. That is why, the apprentice in some cases continued to serve under their master even when is due for sendforth. As such it continued even with the biological son of the master. This is a clear indication that there was no specific time that the apprenticeship ends; it all depends on the apprentice to decide or the master.

However, in terms of Igbo-Hausa Apprenticeship System in Katsina metropolis quite a number of *Katsinawa* underwent apprenticeship under the Igbo business men and women especially in patent medicine store, sales of building materials, electrical and electronics, timber and wood, industrial domestic gas, Iron and steel product, and in professions like carpentry and furniture, mechanic, car and electrical wiring, repairing of television and radio, and lot more. But upon all the apprenticeship the*Katsinawa* underwent under the Igbo, they preferred to be placed under wages (to be paid daily) than serving for some years and be settled; as the Igbo do to Igbo and other immigrant communities. Thus this was associated with the fact that quite a number of them lacked patience in business; they wanted to make in time or within a short period of time or possibly because they were not exposed to that kind of apprenticeship system. That was why most of them left the business even when they had the basic skills. No wonder to a Hausa man more capital equalled to more wives but to Igbo man more capital is equalled to more investment and re-investment. Hence, most Hausa people that were successful business men and women were mostly politicians and government workers who easily obtained loan from banks to boost their business unlike the Igbo who depended mostly on their personal savings/capital which they invested and re-invested. These had prevented quite a number of them from obtaining loans from banks; and

even if they had to, it must be within extended family or the Igbo community unions and associations.[313]

4.4.7 Challenges of Igbo Apprenticeship and Entrepreneurship in Katsina Metropolis

Igbo Apprenticeship and Entrepreneurship in Katsina metropolis is often associated with challenges that laid in the fact that: (1)most youth of this generation have high taste for government or white colour jobs. This made a lot youth find it difficult to combine education and apprenticeship and then government jobs and business, all they preferred is office work. Today this has made some Igbo to be looked as if they have restricted the business to their family only and refusing to train other people; (2)some of the apprentice trained often left the business despite all the skills they acquired for other forms of quick money businesses or government jobs among others. While others left owing to absence of patience. All these affected the expansion of the business; (3) other challenges were associated with forceful migration out of Katsina due to violence and crises; especially theyear 2000 Sharia crises and 2011 post-election violence where some apprentice brought especially from Igboland left and never come back and then those who trained often leaved Katsina metropolis to other areas; (4) in addition to that was the heavy tax imposed by Katsina State Board of Internal Revenue, Ministry of Commerce and Industries, andthat of Local Governmenton Igbo business men and women who were struggling to establish business. These seriously affected the Igbo community in Katsina;[314]and (5) the worst lid in the fact that quite a number of *Katsinawa* business men and women as well as artisans hardly paid their taxes as if it was

[313] Ibid.
[314] Ibid.

only mainly for the immigrant communities or strangers.[315]Thus, it was because of some of these reasons, that some of the Igbo migrantsfound it difficult to be opened (in terms of the profit they normally made from their business) to theKatsina State Board of Internal Revenue, Ministry of Commerce and Local Governmentand likewise in training*Katsinawa* apprenticeship; for quite a number of *Katsinawa* that were even trained, or acquired the business skills from the Igbo migrants, used to collaborate with the landlord of the shop(s) which the Igbo artisan or business man was renting and then gave him quick notice to vacate the shop or even refused to collect the next rent when duefor payment, so that the Katsina apprentice would in no time occupied the shop doing same kind of business or artisan work.This had been commonin carpentry/furniture and or what was called interior decoration and sells of electronics/ electrical materials.[316]

[315] Mr. Idika O. Eke (alias Wood Mark), Age 52, Businessman (Carpentry/Furniture). Interview Friday, April 10, 2015 at Ring Road along Katsina State Secretarial exactly 11:30-AM-12:15PM. He is popularly known as Woodmark. He came to Katsina metropolis in 1989 from Abia State to be the successor of his brother - Furniture business before then between 1985-1989 he worked with Coca cola Bottling Company at Abia, resign and move to Katsina. Thus, Carpentry and Furniture was their family occupation at Abia State. See also E. Isichei, *A History of Nigeria*. Lagos: Longman group Ltd, 1983. p.434

[316] Ibid.

Table 4.2 Selected Igbo Enterprise and Occupations in Katsina Metropolis, 1971 - 2011

				Number of Apprentice Trained			
S/N	**Name of B/S Owners**	**Business Name/Occupation**	**Years &Month for Apprenticeship**	**Igbo**	**Hausa**	**Others North**	**Others South/ West**
1.	Mr. Ifeanyi Nnamani	Domestic & Industrial Gas	4-5	17	25	5	-
2.	Mr. Gebriel Okoli	Building Materials	2-5	10	15	-	-
3	Chief John Chukwuemeka Uguagwu	Electrician	2-10	2	10	2	1
4	Chief Charlas Ositadimma Ahanonu	Electrical/Electronics	1-10	20	05	1	-
5	Mr. Eugene Alaegbu	Bookshops (Alamsco)	6-7	20	2	-	-
6	Mrs. Gladys Amaka John	Fashion& Design/Decoration	3Months-1year	35	-	15	30
7	Mr. Muoghara Benjamin	Radio & Television Repair	2-3	3	10	-	-
8	Mr. Cletus Anyanwu	Banner Beater/Welder	2-3	8	2	-	-
9	Mrs. Ngozi Onuma	Beans Cake/Restaurant	2- 5Months	5	3	1	-
10	Mr. Augustine Ofordile Obiora	Patent Medicine Store	5-6	8	2	-	-
11	Chief Emmanuel Anyaegbu	Wheel Balance/Alignment	4-7	5	10	20	20
12	Mr.Idika O. Eke	Carpentry and Furniture	2-4	15	60	10	
13	Mr. Godwin Onwudigbo	Bookshops/Stationeries	3-5	15	-	-	-
14	Mr. Lillian Godwin	Boutique Textile Materials	5-7	7	-	-	-
15	Mr. Atuchukwu Anulugw	Building Materials	5-6	5	8	-	-
16	Chief Anotony Obi	Iron & Steel	5-7	20	6	-	-
17	Mr. Mathew	Iron & Steel	5-7	15	20	-	-
18	Chief Jonathan C. Nwoso	Generator & Plumbing Materials	4-5	20	-	-	-
19	Mrs. Eucheria Amakwe	Restaurant & Catering	6-8 Months	10	10	25	15
20	Mrs. Lillian Godwin	Boutique & Interior Decoration	4-7	04	02	-	-
21	Mr. Godwin Onwudigbo	Bookshop & Stationeries	4-5	15	-	-	-
22	Chief Emeka N. Anyadufu	Boutique	4-6	27	-	03	-

Source: Oral Interviews with various Igbo businessmen, women and apprentice between July 2014 to April, 2015

Looking at the above table we could discover that, Igbo business men and women to certain level had an open door policy toward training *Katsinawa* and other immigrant communities into various kinds of businesses they specialized on. But the central issue here is that most of the *Katsinawa* lacked patience in finishing the apprenticeship, talk less of establishing the business; out of 10 Katsina apprentice only 1 or 2 could fully graduate; the rest of them usually back down. It was the other immigrant community apprentices that were constant and sustain.

4.5 Significance of the Igbo Business in the Economy of Katsina Metropolis during the Post-Civil War, 1970 – 2011

After the war that Katsina metropolis witnessed large scale of Igbo immigrants. Oral sources revealed that by 1971 some of the Igbo that survived the Nigeria civil war were back to Katsina again. In like manner interviews conducted revealed that those who witnessed the gruesome killings that took place prior to the war would not have ventured northwards considering the loss of their beloved ones and destruction of properties, but because it was announced that we are one Nigeria, the Igbo began to come back to the north of which Katsina was inclusive, with the hope to claim their properties.[317]

However, it was noted from a witness account that when they arrived things were not as they used to be. Most of the properties if not all had already been taken over by *Katsinawa*. While some were able to re-claim their properties others were not able. Those who succeeded in reclaiming their properties had diverse reasons to that effect though it was stressful. Some succeeded because there was some certain degree of relationship in existence

[317] Interview with Chief Antony Obi, Mr. Michael Ilanya, Mr. Michael Ochukwu and Mr. Obi Christopher (Danja) Op cit.

at that time with the *Katsinawa*, some had a level of influence around them, some were just favoured and some fell out completely. However, some took it upon themselves that properties owned by the Igbo must be repossessed and so worked hard to acquire wealth and bought back such properties.[318] Thus in spite of all these achievements quite a number of the Igbo sold it and left Katsina. But those who did not return after the war, their properties were held by the Katsina State government and some prominent *Katsinawa*. [319]

Furthermore, some of the Igbo migrants who were in the north before the civil war never came back. Those that came back to Katsina, came with their families, some later got married and some whose daughters were married legally or illegally in the raid also came back. Those that were in business decided to come along with apprentices who were willing to learn the trade as well serve them. [320] In other words, beside those who owned properties and those had no property but were previously in Katsina before the civil war came back as a result of the degree of destruction and hardship that was in existence in the eastern part of Nigeria. In addition to others who had never been to Katsina to explore the various economic opportunities.[321]

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[318] J. S. Ifeyinwa, "The Role of Igbo Migrants in the Trading Activities in Zaria, 1927-2000." Seminar Paper presented at Department of History, Archaeology Lab, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria dated 3 December, 2014.p.10

[319] Alhaji Lawal Dan- Halilu. Age 82. A Retired Teacher (LEA Staff). Interviewed at Kofar Marusa, Katsina Metropolis dated Thursday November 14, 2014 at 05:15-05:45, Alhaji Na-Funtua (Sa'in Katsina a Traditional Title Holder). Age 85. Interviewed at Sararin Kuka - Unguwan Alkali, Off IBB Way, dated Thursday November 14, 2014 at 09:30-10:05 and Alhaji Abashe Mai Hoto Yar'adua, Alhaji Lawal Dan- Halilu, Alhaji Saidu Na-Funtua Op cit and Malam Kabir Haruna Dan Rimi. Age 61. A Carpenter. Interviewed at Sha'iskawa Quarters, Off Nagogo Road Katsina dated Tuesday November 11, 2014 exactly 08:30pm-08:45pm.

Note: Sources revealed that good example these were the three different two initial storing building along IBB Way, opposite Mobil Filly station with inscription 1-10-1960, and most shops and houses along Ahmadu Bello Way-*Sabon Layi*, Nagogo Road - near *Shaiskawa*, *Gungun* and *Yar'adua* ward, *Unguwan Madawaki*, *Kangiwa* and Katsina Old Central Market

[320] Ibid.

[321] Ibid.

Thus, the creation of Katsina as a State in 1987 coupled with the return of democracy in 1999, quite a number of Igbo migrants were attracted to Katsina metropolis due to the serious infrastructural development it experienced. As such Igbo migrants were able to establish more business outlet which in turn made their business significance in the economy of Katsina compared to pre-civil war period. Notwithstanding for a proper understanding of the role the Igbo played in the economy of Katsina metropolis during the post-civil war it will be discussed on areas of specialization.

4.5.1 Artisans

Katsina metropolis was known to be the home of numerous artisans from traditional crafts like leather work, dyeing and cap making to tinkers amongst others.[322]Meanwhile, before the coming of the Igbo migrants into Katsina metropolis there were indigenous artisans or craftsmen who were engaged in leather work from hides and skin, iron smelting with the coming of the Igbo migrants, there were also new innovations in the artisanship. Aside from crafts that they were known for such as iron smelting, sculptural works, bead making, tinker works, artistic designs, bronze making, and furniture making etc. Their early contacts with the British gave them an edge as their works in crafts were more sophisticated and they also had knowledge even in the maintenance of heavy machines, cars, motor cycles and bicycles. This knowledge gave them an added advantage as they settled in Katsina metropolis. Thus in an oral interview with Chief John Uguagwu who came to Katsina in 1971 as an electrician and contractor from Sokoto, Mr. Muoghara Benjamin as television and radio repairer from Imo; had been into this "hand-work" for good 43 years in Katsina

[322] For more see J. Shehu, " A Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis, 1960 – 2007,'' Unpublished PhD Thesis, Usmanu Danfodiyo University(UDU), Sokoto, 2012. Pp. 251 - 256 and Interview with Chief Antony Obi, Mr. Michael Ilanya, Mr. Michael Ochukwu and Mr. Obi Christopher (Danja) Op cit

metropolis, Mr. Josephat Ifeagwa who came in 1979 as an electrician from Sokotohadbeen in the hand-work for good 35 years and them Mr. Idika O. Eke who came from present day Abia State since 1989 as furniture maker, revealedthat most of this "hand-works" were pioneered by the Igbo who taught the skills to *Katsinawa* and other migrant groups who were interested to learn, ranging from the field of building i.e. masonry, plumbing, carpentry, electrician, interior decoration, welding, mechanics, furniture making, bakery, rewire/wiring, wheel balancing and alignment among others. They were also into cloth making (tailoring) or fashion and design but were not into embroidery. Those into it were insignificant; there were also few that were into hair making, shoe making and lot more.

By extension, their knowledge in the field of building enabled them to own shops and houses of their own as it has to do with direct labour. This aspect helped the Katsina economy a great deal as they had to pay shops rents and land revenue to the local, state and federal government, and also infrastructural wise it developed Katsina metropolis. In other words, the generation of revenues through houses/shops rents and ownership boosted the economy. The market which was supervised and maintained by both the local government and the state government authorities generated some revenue to facilitate at least some developmental process in Katsina metropolis.

4.5.2 Trading

Katsina metropolis as mentioned earlier was a centre of convergence which means that people from different areas especially around and within the northern area always were around with their goods and services. Since the post-civil war and particularly from 1987 to 2011 Igbo had been dominant in the trading activities in Katsina metropolis. For instance, the creation of Katsina State in 23 September, 1987 under the administration of General

Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (IBB), Katsina metropolis experienced an influx of Igbo migrants who came to the young state to benefit from the booming economic opportunities therein. The physical expansion of the metropolis also provided another avenue for the Igbo to expand their business enterprises. For example the construction of the IBB Way in 1987 and Yahaya Madaki Way resulted to opening of many Igbo business outfits along the highways, where the prominent ones included Ahasons electronics (1987),Jossy electronics (1987), E.B Stans Motor(1987), Ahason Computer and Cybercafé(1990), Zamani Aluminuin & Steel Ltd.(1989), Success Metal and Aluminium Company Limited(1988), Gabros Electrical Enterprises Nigeria(1989), Emmaco Investment Company(1987), Ifeanyi Industrial and Domestic Gas(1987), Alamsco Bookshops(1987), SIVA Bookshops among others(1987).[323] To date Igbo remain dominant in these businesses or economic activities. This is associated with the non-challant attitude of the host community to partake in business. Thus, various interviews reveal that most *Katsinawa* prefer to join the civil service as their ticket of survival, while in the evening time they relax under shades of trees or by the street sides popularly known as *Majalissu*.

Broadly speaking, another significant business activity of the Igbo that heavily enhanced inter-relations in Katsina was the sales of electronics and electrical goods. Apart from Alhaji Abba Ali and Alhaji Nura electronic shops, all other key electrical and electronic shops were owned by the Igbo. They include Ahason electronics, Jossy electronics located along IBB Way, Gabros electronics, Celes electronics, among others. These electronic shops specialized in provision of household electrical appliances like refrigerators, satellite dishes, computers, tape recorder, video, Cooking gases, air conditioners, fans, television radio, in addition to electrical materials needed for wiring houses, offices and other high extension

[323] Igbo Magazine, Op cit. pp.31-46

electrical materials. The Igbo also specialize in running bookshops such as Obi, Alamsco, Siva, Saaco and Mexico Bookshops located along IBB Way and Nagogo Road among others (see table 4.4below for the list of bookshop owners in Katsina metropolis). In addition to these the Igbo in Katsina Specialize in Boutique Business (which were located along major roads, street and highways of Katsina metropolis) which provided *Katsinawa* and all migrant communities with domestics and foreign kind of wears, clothes, shoes and bags. The Igbo also specialized in the field of medicine particularly pharmaceutical stores or Patent Medicine Stores which provide Katsina with drugs one of such pharmaceuticals stores was Cognate Patent Medicine Store along *Kofar Kaura* and the other at Kofar Durbi along Nagogo Road established by Mr. Ofordile Augustine Obiora in 1980, which provided Katsina with medicine that ordinarily were not easily obtainable except in places like Kano or Kaduna. The provisions of the patent medicine stores indeed met the health needs of the teeming population in Katsina metropolis to a large extent. All these shops and business provided revenue to Katsina State and Local Government Ministry of Commerce and Industry, and the Inland Revenue with revenue which the Igbo pay yearly on tax and registration of business venture and premises.

Another significance of Igbo in the economy of Katsina metropolis was the opening of the Katsina Central Market in 1991. In which quite a number of Igbo traders were allocated stalls in the market, and even in 2008 when fire razed some parts of the market, the Katsina State Government took responsibility of rehabilitating the destroyed parts, including the stalls owned by the Igbo and other immigrant communities.[324] All these were clear indications that if the Igbo should close their shops in Katsina metropolis, 55% of Katsina

[324] Mal. Hassan Wada, Age 55, Manager, Katsina Central Market, Katsina. Interviewed April 13, 2015 at Katsina Central Market along Dutsin-Ma Road, Katsina exactly 10:00AM -11:00AM.

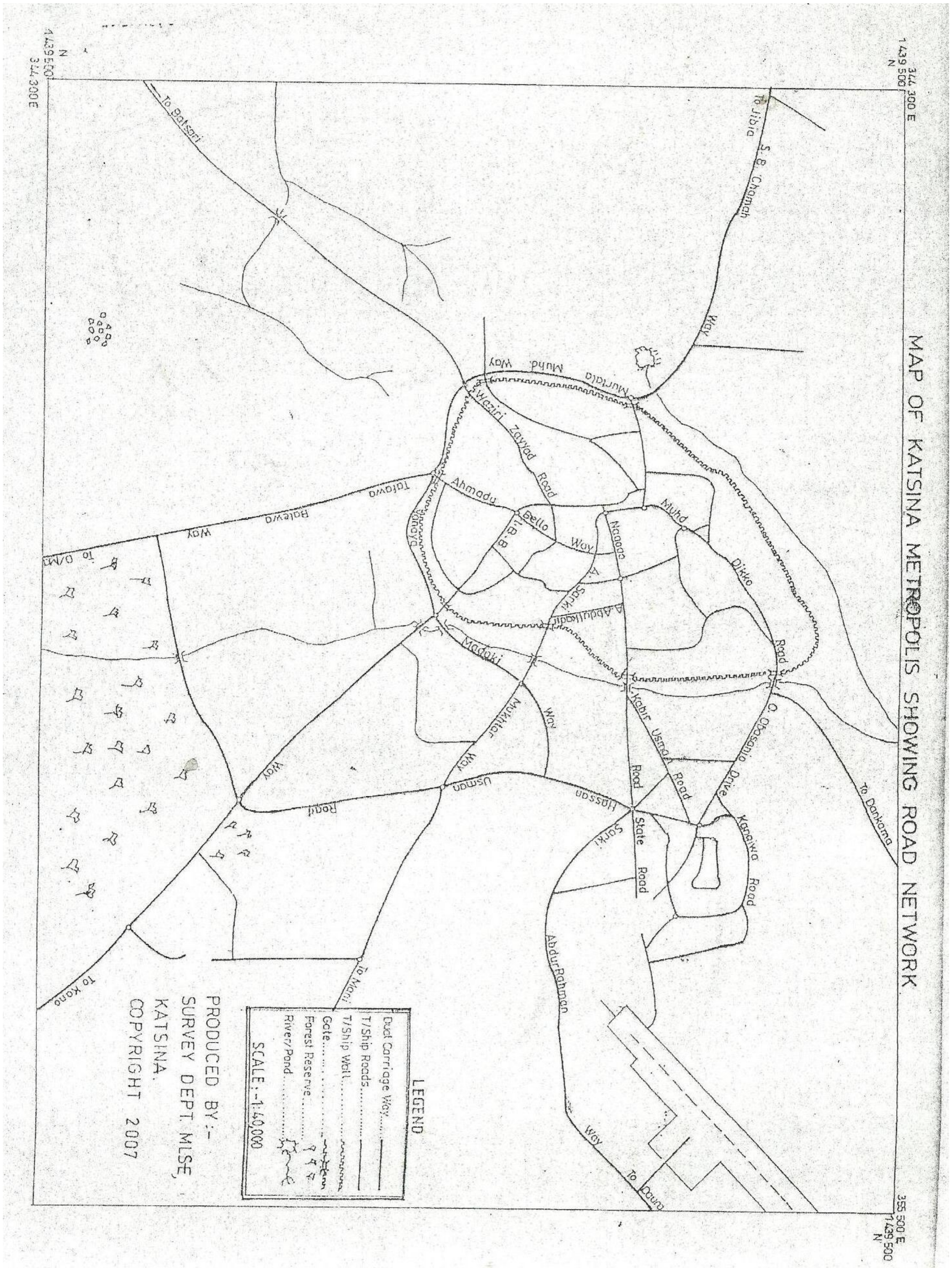
economic activities wouldbe affected i.e. there would be scarcity in supply of all those commodities identified. This was witnessed during the year 2000 Sharia crises and 2011 election violence respectively and also during Christmas and Easter periods that quite a number of Igbo travelled to the East to observe these events (see table 4.3 and map 4 showing the Streets and Location of Igbo Business Areas in Katsina Metropolis, 1929-2011and the map representing the major streets).

Table 4.3 Streets and Location of Igbo Business Areas in Katsina Metropolis, 1929-2011

Name of Street	Location
Tafawa Belewa Way	From Kofar Kwaya Round About to Batagarawa
Ahmadu Bello Way	From Gwangwan Round About to Kofar Kwaya
	From Gwangwan Round About to Kofar Guga Round About
Ibrahim Badamasi Ibrahim Way	From Kofar Guga Round About through Central Police Station to Katsina Steel Rolling Mill Round About
Waziri Zayyana	From Mobil Filling Station to KSTA Round About
Muhammadu Dikko	From Kofar Soro Round About to Kofar Sauri
Kaduna Street	From Ladan Wapa Round About to General Hospital
Ibadan Street	From Sabon Layi to IBB Way Junction by Mobil Petrol Station
Enugu Street	From Gwabron Gida/Ahmadu Bello Way to Waziri Zayyana Road Junction
Adamawa Street	From IBB/Shararrar pipe Junction to Ahmadu Bello Way Junction at Mangal's House
Sokoto Street	From Tashar' Yan nono to Kandahar Friday Mosque
Abuja Crescent	From GT Bank to Hassan Usman Road Junction through Kadmash
Maiduguri Road	From First turn to the right after Kofar Marusa to Maidabino Sales Office along Nagogo Round About through Kerau
Abdullahi Sarki Muktar Road	From Kofar Soro Central Mosque to WTC Round About
Yahaya Madaki Way	From Kofar Kwaya Round About to former Central Bank building through Kiddies
Lawrence Onoja	From Lugga Mosque to Kofar Kaura Water Boos
S.B Chama	From Kofar Guga Round About to Army Barracks
Dutsin-Ma Road	From Kofar Kwaya to Dutsin-Ma

Source: Fieldtrip/Tour to various street and high ways within Katsina Metropolis, July 2014 to April, 2015

Map 2
Map showing the Streets and Location of Igbo Business Areas in Katsina Metropolis



Source: Survey Department, Ministry of Land and Survey (MLSE), Katsina State, 2007

Table 4.4 List of Igbo Bookshop and Stationaries Traders in Katsina Metropolis, 1972 – 2011

S/NO	Name	Business Location
1	SIVA Nigeria Limited	Kanti Goma IBB Way Katsina
2	Obi Bookshop	Kanti Goma IBB Way Katsina
3	Bright Bookshop	Kanti Goma IBB Way Katsina
4	Spacco Bookshop	Kanti Goma IBB Way Katsina
5	Sacco Bookshop	Kanti Goma IBB Way Katsina
6	Samco Bookshop	Kanti Goma IBB Way Katsina
7	Lobby Bookshop	Kanti Goma IBB Way Katsina
8	Jimmy Bookshop	Kanti Goma IBB Way Katsina
9	Ziyara Bookshop	Kanti Goma IBB Way Katsina
10	Chidex Bookshop	Kanti Goma IBB Way Katsina
11	Gaskiya Bookshop	Kanti Goma IBB Way Katsina
12	Paulson Bookshop	Kanti Goma IBB Way Katsina
13	Mexico Bookshop	Usman Nagogo Road, Gwangwan

Source: Annual Report of Katsina State Board of Internal Revenue Report, 2011

4.5.3 Igbo Spare Parts Merchants

This is another aspect where the Igbo migrants dominated, that is the sales of motor spare parts, machine or motor bike parts, car and machine/motor cycle lubricants, car and machine tyres, battery, wheels and engine, windscreens, to the nuts of a car, motor bike, lorry, bicycle, among others. With special reference to those spare parts, they did not only dominate it but were the dealers in this trade. Even though they started as agents of this business, they later metamorphosed into becoming producers and manufacturers. A typical example was inNnewi[325] where some of these spare parts were produced and bought over to

[325] Nnewi was an industrial city in Anambra State in south-eastern Nigeria and it is the second most populated town in the State. It is also a major trading and manufacturing centre in Nigeria. As a result of high commercial activities, the town has attracted millions of migrants from other neighbouring states and regions. Nnewi was known to have produced a diversified range of businessmen and entrepreneurship from transporters, to spare parts dealers and manufacturers. Prominent firms in the city includes the Ibeto, Ad switch, Cutix, Omatha, OCE Filter, Innoson Group, Life Vegetable Industries. Thus, Nnewi as a metropolitan city encompasses 4 local government areas, Nnewi North, Nnewi South, Ekwusigo and Ihiala Local Government; Nnewi North is commonly referred to as Nnewi central, and comprises four autonomous quarters: Otolo, Uruagu, Umudim, and Nnewichi. Nnewi North also includes Ichi, an autonomous neighbouring town. The first indigenous car manufacturing plant in Nigeria is located in the city while the first wholly made-in-Nigeria motorcycle, the 'NASENI M1' was manufactured in Nnewi. Thus, as of 1991 it had populated of121,065 while in 2006, Nnewi has an estimated population of 391,227 according to the Nigerian census. The city spans over 1,076.9 square miles (2,789 km^2) in Anambra State. Nnewi Metropolitan Area and its satellite towns is home to nearly

be sold.[326] In other words, the Igbo in Katsina metropolis since the pre-civil war to the post-civil war dominated the sales of motor and machine spare parts with E. Stan Motors (1985) and E.C Honda (1987) as the most prominent. The Igbo were able to dominate the sales of spare parts because they control the source of supply in Igboland (Nnewi and Onitsha) and other southern Nigeria.

Thus the spare parts that the Igbo traders controlled the supplied were mostly Car and lorry spare parts of Japanese company made, German, American and India (for more look at the table 4.5 and 4.6 below and footnote 389 explanation). The *Katsinawa* were into motorcycle and bicycle spare parts.

Table 4.5 List of some Motor Spare Parts, Motorcycles and Bicycles that Igbo and Some Katsinawa used to sell, 1987 - 2011

S/No	Motor Spare Parts	Motorcycles Spare Parts	Bicycle Spare Parts
1	Ball Joint	Almet	Axle
2	Car Body Parts	Arm Rocker	Bar ends
3	Block Engine	Battery	Bar Plugs
4	Car Battery	Block Engine	Basket
5	Car Brain Box	Bupper	Bearing
6	Car Engine Sitting/Sit	Cable for Break	Bell
7	Car Suspension	Cable for Chalk	Belt-Drive
8	Car Tyer	Cable for Toutile	Bottle Cage
9	Comparator Kits	Carburetor	Bottom Bracket
10	Complete Break Master Parts	Chain & Chain Cover	Brake
11	Complete Cooperators	Chain & Spricate	Brake Lever
12	Complete Gear Box	Cover Battery	Braze-on

2.5 million residents as of 2005. Dimensionally, Nnewi has an edge over all other units, being recognized by the 1953 census figures as the largest inland town of all others in the Eastern states of Nigeria.

For more see *Onwutalobi, Anthony-Claret.* "Nnewi Industrialization overview - The Official Nnewi City Portal". Retrieved Saturday 26th December, 2015 from www.nnewi.info *and "History of Nnewi"* Retrieved Saturday 26th December, 2015 from http://nnewialphalite.org/content/history-and-tradition

[326] Judith, Op cit. p. 13

13	Complete String	Fan	Break Shifter
14	Driving Sharp	Fluge	Cable
15	Engine Bearing	Front Pender	Cable Guide
16	Engine Cram Sharp	Frusterrous	Carrier
17	Engine Plugs	Gasket Block	Cassette
18	Engine Ring	Handle	Chain Tensioner
19	Flying Wheel	Headlight	Chain tool
20	Fuel Pump	Horn Cover	Chain guard
21	Gear Box Setting	Ignition	Cluster
22	Hand Break Cable	Jack	Cogset
23	Head Lamp	Key Starter	Cone
24	Key Starter	Liner	Coupler
25	Metal & Main Bearing for Engine	Liner Gear	Crankset
26	Power Stirring Pump	Moubler	Indicator
27	Rear Lamp	Oseal Valve	Jake Standing
28	Shock Absorber	Pistol & Ringing	Pedal
29	Site Mirror	Releaser	Rack
30	Site Signals	Rock Arm	Saddle or Seat
31	Tie rod Socket	Roller	Sharp Drive
32	Top Cylinder	Rubber Headlight	Spore
33	Tootle Cable	Site Mirror	Tire
34	Top Cylinder Gasket	Speedo Metre	Tube
35	Tube	Trafficator/Pointer	Tire
36	Water Pump	Tire	Wheel
37	Wheel Bearing	Wheel	Wheel
38	Wheel Screen	Wood Complete	Wingnut

Source: Interview with some Apprentice and Dealers of Motor Spare Parts, Motorcycles and Bicycles in Katsina Metropolis, December 2015[327]

Table 4.6 List of Igbo Motor Spare Parts dealers in Katsina Metropolis, 1987-2011

S/NO	Name	Business Location	S/NO	Name	Business Location
S/NO	Name	Business Location	S/NO	Name	Business Location
1	Chief Augustine Ezimorah	Kofar Kwaya	43	Nmandi Umeh	IBB Way Katsina
2	Mr. Nze Emmanuel Ezonyera	Kofar Kwaya	44	Mr. Macel Ozor	IBB Way Katsina
3	Mr. Nze Vincent Mmaduchukwu	Kofar Kwaya	45	Mr. Monday Oku	IBB Way Katsina
4	Mr. Ebere Ezenwafor	Kofar Kwaya	46	Mr. Dennis Chiamogbu	IBB Way Katsina

[327] Mr. Francis, Age 54, Businessman (Dealer of Volkswagen Spare Parts). Interviewed Friday, April 17, 2015 at Volkswagen Spare Part Business Venture at IBB Way Katsina exactly 10:30AM – 11:30AM, Usman Ibrahim, Age 58, Medical Officer, Sauki Clinic and Maternity Home, Katsina. Interviewed Tuesday 8th December, 2015 at Sauki Clinic and Maternity Home, No. 235 Abdullahi Sarki Mukhtar Road, Kofar Marusa, Katsina, 7:40-8:20PM, Alhaji Sani Sadiq, Age 40, Businessman (Dealer of Motorcycle Spare Parts). Interviewed Tuesday 8th December, 2015 at Maska Road, Sabon Layi, Katsina, 6:00-6:35PM, Umar Sani, Age 35, Businessman (Dealer of Motorcycle Spare Parts). Interviewed Wednesday 9th December, 2015 at Maska Road, Sabon Layi, Katsina, 5:00-5:35PM, and Mr. Ejimnkeonye Ugwuanyi, Age 40, Businessman (Dealer of Motorcycle Spare Parts). Interviewed Wednesday 9th December, 2015 Off Maska Road, Sabon Layi, Katsina, 3:40-4:25PM.

Note that, the Car Spare and Motor Parts dealers specialized in selling the parts based on company. For the car, some sells mainly (1) Japanese Spare Parts like Toyota, Nissan, Datsun, Mazda, Honda, and Isuzu; (2) German Spare Parts like Mercedes, Box Wagon, Volvo and Opel; (3) American Spare Parts like Crisla, Hummer Jeep, Linco; Avigation and Navigation; and (4) Lorry Spare Parts like that of Daf, Mandizel, Evico, Mercedes (911), Trackers and Scaniyer. For the Motorcycle, there were those that specialized in selling Chinese, Japanese and Indian Spare Parts like that of Honda Spare Parts, Jincheng, Daylong, Qlink, Bajaj, Royal, Suzuki, Nanfand, and Kassea.

5	Mr. John Okoli	Kofar Kwaya	47	Mr. Ikechukwu Agabchi	IBB Way Katsina
6	Chief Oliva Okoli	Kofar Kwaya	48	Mr. Alloysius Nnoruka	IBB Way Katsina
7	Chief Sunday Obiiora	Kofar Kwaya	47	Mr. Ugochukwua Orji	IBB Way Katsina
8	Mr. Bathlomen Okeke	Kofar Kwaya	48	Mr. Engene Adiekwe	IBB Way Katsina
9	Mr. Ezeobinwa Ndubisi	Kofar Kwaya	49	Mr. Ikechukwu Enweani	IBB Way Katsina
10	Mr. Ikechukwu Nwankwo	Kofar Kwaya	50	Mr. Innocent Agu	IBB Way Katsina
11	Mr. Samason Umetiti	Kofar Kwaya	51	Mr. Chibuike Agu	IBB Way Katsina
12	Mr. James Mboakoli	Kofar Kwaya	52	Mr. Ifeanyi Ndubilo	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
13	Mr. Aloysius Ugwe	Kofar Kwaya	53	Mr. Peter Nneji	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
14	Mr. Paul Okparake	Kofar Kwaya	54	Mr. John Udoye	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
15	Mr. Joel (Jambo) Nwafor	Kofar Kwaya	55	Mr. Anthony Okoli	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
16	Mr. Okechukwu Okeke	Kofar Kwaya	56	Mr. Sunday Anaama	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
17	Mr. Chidiebere Okeke	Kofar Kwaya	57	Mr. Emeka Udoka	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
18	Mr. Harrison Ugwu	Kofar Kwaya	58	Mr. Rebort Ezeh	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
19	Mr. Anselem Ozor	Kofar Kwaya	59	Mr. Chekwube Ofoma	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
20	Mr. Emmanuel Oweakpado	Kofar Kwaya	60	Mr. Ebere Nusien	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
21	Mr. Idris	Kofar Kwaya	61	Mr. Ikechukwu Onwuchukwe	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
22	Mr. Martin Okafor	IBB Way Katsina	62	Mr. Elochukwu Okechukwu	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
23	Mr. Ronal Okoli	IBB Way Katsina	63	Mr. Kingsley Eboh	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
24	Chief John Umeagudosi	IBB Way Katsina	64	Mr. Nnaemeka Agba	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
25	Chief Jonathan Nwosu	IBB Way Katsina	65	Mr. Ekene Okwunba	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
26	Mr. Charles Akpote	IBB Way Katsina	66	Mr. Hyginus Ezenwafor	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
27	Mr. Godwin Asogwa	IBB Way Katsina	67	Mr. Chidi ASogwa	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
28	Mr. Uchenna Okafor	IBB Way Katsina	68	Mr. Barnabas Idoko	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
29	Mr. Fabian Uchechukwu	IBB Way Katsina	69	Mr. Pascal Chike Ify	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
30	Mr. Chukwudi Onu	IBB Way Katsina	70	Mr. Nonso Nsude	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
31	Mr. Arinze Odunukwe	IBB Way Katsina	71	Mr. Welfered Obiekwe	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
32	Mr. Nwabueze Okoye	IBB Way Katsina	72	Mr. Emmanuel Ezeh	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
33	Mr. Stanley Zeigbo	IBB Way Katsina	73	Mr. Ndidi Nworji	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
34	Mr. Innocent Nwosu	IBB Way Katsina	74	Mr. Harrison Agu	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
35	Mr. Obumnewe Ezeonu	IBB Way Katsina	75	Mr. Philip Odukwe	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
36	Mr. Arinze Onu	IBB Way Katsina	76	Mr. Chinedu Alaama	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
37	Mr. Leanard Okeke	IBB Way Katsina	77	Mr. Emmanuel Chiadikaobi	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
38	Mr. Chigbo Okoli	IBB Way Katsina	78	Mr. Chinasa Emenike	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
39	Mr. Ifeanyi Okokwo	IBB Way Katsina	79	Mr. Chika Ezeokoli	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
40	Mr. Ikechukwu Ogbu	IBB Way Katsina	80	Mr. Chika Ezeokoli	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
41	Mr. Louise Obodozie	IBB Way Katsina	81	Mr. Ositadimma Oekeke	Goron Gida Dutsin-Ma Road
42	Mr. Daniel Ikeh	IBB Way Katsina			

Source: Annual Report of Katsina State Board of Internal Revenue, 2011[328]

The process through which the spare parts business became the Igbo exclusive illustrates the process discussed previously. The Igbo used their particular ethnic characteristics to gain a monopoly over the automobile spare parts trade. This involve a methodical exploitation of their cultural and moral values demonstrated to the rest of the society that they were the people most fit to engaged in such a trade, and an assurance that their monopoly was of overall benefit to the society.

[328] All these Igbo spare parts dealers paid there tax annually to Katsina State Board of Internal Revenue and Registration of Business Premises to Katsina State Ministry of Commerce and Industry of which certificate and receipt are issued to them by the government agencies as evidence and recognitions of their obligation to their country and place of residence. However, the Igbo Spare Parts dealers in Katsina were categorized as Kofar Kwaya Old and New Motor Spare Parts Dealers Association, Frontline Spare Parts Association, Goron Gida/Dutsin-Ma Road and Motor Spare Parts Trader Association by the Board of Internal Revenue of Katsina State to ease their identification and collection of the tax and registration of business premises.

The Igbo utilized their strong group solidarity to pull their resources together. This reduces the operating costs of the business and drives the price down. It therefore followed that there are two stores, one owned by an Igbo and the other by a Yoruba, situated next to each other, each selling motor spare parts, and the unit price of the spare parts sold by the Igbo would be lower than that of Yoruba. This increases the demand for the product of the Igbo seller and decreases that of Yoruba. Eventually, the Yoruba seller would be compelledto drop out of the business. Igbo had successfully used this method to drive out other ethnic groups from the automobile spare parts business.[329]

Investigation revealed that, Igbo have developed an informal network of organization around the spare parts industry as was the case with the Hausa in the long-distance trade in cattle. Thus network stretches from Katsina from the north to Lagos and Onitsha in the southern part of Nigeria. However, the Igbo network, unlike the Hausa, is not for the purpose of making them distinctive. Instead, they utilized their own culturally distinctive features to master the spare parts trade and to practice it in such a way that they distinguished themselves as the best group to carry out the trade. This is because the efficiency that accompanied their mastery benefited society by making spare parts readily available at reasonable price.

The Igbo had established a system of control over the spare parts trade, which ensures the availability of supplies in very large quantities. They also had arranged a system in which the shipping and the trade delivery are jointly executed by traders putting their resources

[329] Francis, Mr. Age 54, Businessman (Dealer of Volkswagen Spare Parts). Interviewed Friday, April 17, 2015 at Volkswagen Spare Part Business Venture at IBB Way Katsina exactly 10:30AM – 11:30AM and Mr. Ejimnkeonye Ugwuanyi, Age 40, Businessman (Dealer of Motorcycle Spare Parts). Interviewed Wednesday 9th December, 2015 Off Maska Road, Sabon Layi, Katsina, 3:40-4:25PM.

together. These ensures a reduction in shipping and transportation costs, eventually making reductions in sales price possible.

This process existed prior to the Nigerian Civil War of 1967; however, it intensified and was practiced more openly after the end of the war in 1970. At the end of the Civil War, the Igbo ethnic group had been defeated and was accepted back into Nigerian society. The Igbo suffered heavy losses in life and property; most of them had nothing left, and the need for survival was paramount. The Igbo therefore developed self-help association where members pooled resources together wherever they went for the purpose of economic revival. These self-help associations were different from the cultural or ethnic, such as the Igbo State Union (ISU), which existed before the war, whose aims was to prefect the image of the Igbo as a distinctive group. After the war, most of Igbo could not individually engaged in any business because few had enough capital to start one. This brought about the phenomenon of *Self- Help Association*, where a resource pooling system was practiced.[330]

Thus, the resources pooling system was a process in which the Igbo who were closely related – such as friends or close relatives- pool financial resources and give this money to one of their members to start a trade in a city. The others remain at home in the Igbo area of the country, engaging in small-scale activities. Once the trader who had received the pooled contribution realizes profit, he would enter into a weekly or monthly savings (contribution) with other Igbo traders in the city. The purpose of making these contribution is to help another. Igbo- that is, one of those who initially pooled resources at home and made it possible or the contributor to come to Katsina and establish himself as a trader. The money

[330] Z.O. Ogunnika, *Non-Formal Approach to Ethnicity: An Interpretative Exploitation of Nigerian Peoples' Copying Mechanism*. USA: Trafford Publishing, 2013. p.155

from the contribution was thus usually given to one of the contributors (established traders) to enable him to help one of the members of his family or friend established a business as well. Different contributions were given the proceeds each successive week. This process continues until all the people had originally help this first group of traders to come and trade in Katsina were themselves brought to Katsina. This was called *a resource pooling system or a push-and-be-pulled* mechanism.[331] The people at home "push" the first trader out of their town by given some money to start a business in Katsina. In Katsina the trader, entering a resource pooling system, was able to realize enough money and with this, he "pulls" one of those who initially helped him, Using this method in a very short time the Igbo outnumbered other ethnic group members in the spare parts business. This was because new traders were constantly coming into Katsina as soon a contribution is available.[332]

The association formed among the Igbo auto spare parts traders in Katsina is not a formal one. Our Igbo participants revealed that the Igbo had an association where they discuss all their problems including the spare parts business, however, each individual who had a spare parts business took care of his business.[333] The relationships within the spare parts sellers have primary group characteristics with the features of mechanical solidary.[334]

Contribution Resources pooling was also practiced in the procumbent of the spare parts to be sold at Katsina. Instead of each trader travelling to Onitsha to buy spare parts on his own, money was jointly raised and a single individual was sent to Onitsha to purchase merchandize for all of them. Purchases were not made individually, but in bulk. When the

[331] Ibid, p,155
[332] Oran Interview with Francis, Mr. Age 54, Businessman, Op cit
[333] The Igbo Spare parts Association in Katsina metropolis comprised of Goron Gida Motor Spare Parts Association and Frontline Motor Spare Parts Association
[334] Oral Interview with

inventing was received, it was distributed according to the amount of money contributed according to the amount of money, contributed by each trader. This method had the following benefits: (1) because the spare parts were purchased in bulk in Onitsha or Lagos, traders had the advantage of a large trade discount. (2) It made most parts available to Igbo traders. These made most parts were available to purchase the most demanded parts because they had a large amount demanded parts because they had a large amount of money to purchase at wholesalers. Price to the satisfaction of the wholesalers. When individual buyers from the other groups come demanding for such parts they were told they were not available as the Igbo had purchased them all. This ensures both a constant supply and a near exclusive availability of all spare parts (especially the ones mostly demanded) to the Igbo. (3) Each individual trader was able to obtain spare parts according to his contribution. He was able to receive at least or small portion of all kinds of parts available. This assures a more or less constant supply of all kinds of parts. (4) There was an established uniform selling price among the Igbo sellers, invariably that of other sellers of the same commodity. (5) This results in lower prices and ready available at supply. Eventually, this legitimizes the Igbo monopoly over the spare parts.

The Igbo were able to increase their number in the trade in Katsina metropolis because of the "*resources pooling system.* " Once a new member was helped in, he does not had to start from scratch. He was given a large inventory, a store was rented for him, and he was quickly introduced to the informal group with who he would be pooling resources. Gradually other ethnic group were eliminated from the spare parts business, and likewise in staying in the vicinity where Igbo spare parts business is located. This had so far made

Katsinawa and other migrant groups accused the Igbo group in Katsina of monopolizing the spare parts business.

Of equal importance was the distinctive feature of Igbo culture, in which the "group" really rules, affects their economic life and kept the Igbo maintain their monopoly over the spare parts business in Katsina. This is remarkable because the success of any monopoly depends on the result and the effectiveness of the group authority of those connected to it. The authority of the resource pooling association was accepted by the Igbo community.

As a group, the Igbo value individual achievement. My findings had shown that, the Igbo had the highest score in the achievement orientation measurement of any of the ethnic group in the country. Chinua Achebe, in his novel *Things Fall Apart*, touched on the Igbo recognition of individual achievement. Achebe described the plight of a young, successful Igbo man who became a village idol and hero, despite the fact that his father was a failure in life.[335] The Igbo society judges person by what he can do, not by what his father or family had done in the past. It is believed that the individual was the architecture of his own fortune. An Igbo adage says, "If a small boy knows how to wash his hands, he will eat with kings." Seniority is factor of stratification in Igbo land only of the older person possesses other valued qualities, such as wisdom and wealth. To an Igbo, the significance of life includes the attainment of societal titles, wisdom, wives and children.

The resource pooling system was a system that assists the Igbo to attain these significance. A poor and inept man is regarded not only as unfortunate but also as guilty by the Igbo. He was poor because he did not make effort to outcome ignorance and poverty

[335] C. Achebe, *Things Fall Apart.* Washington: Pullman, 1994. Pp. 1-197

(these could the root and base for Igbo intra and inter competition especially after the Nigerian Civil War - 1967-1970). Resources pooling was, according to the Igbo, one of the many effort that one can put forth to overcome poverty and increase individual achievement.

The effectiveness of Igbo group authority and the success of the spare parts monopoly therefore were functions of the obedience of all participants to the rules and regulations guiding the system. The result was that the obedience to rules and regulations becomes the instrument aiding the performance and persistence of the Igbo spare parts monopoly, and that had indeed made the Igbo spare parts monopoly in Katsina metropolis and its environ a continues process and a serious challenged to *Katsinawa* and other migrant groups businessmen.

4.5.4 Timber Production

Timber production is an old business in Nigeria. During the pre-civil war period Igbo migrants were not dominant in the business it was the *Katsinawa*. The first person to start the business was said to be late Alhaji Madugu at his shop near Mobil filling station in 1955.[336] He was then followed by Alhaji Lawal Dan Indo at *Shaiskawa* ward. By the year 1982 prominent people like Alhaji Ibrahim and Alhaji Yakubu *Mai Katako* and Alhaji Halle Muazu Tudun Yan Shanu had established their timber business at Rafin Dadi and Inwala wards respectively. Others were Alhaji Sale *Kofar Durbi* and Alhaji Sani Kafinta.[337] But from the 1987 Igbo became dominant in the business owing to the quality of Timber they usually supplied to the carpenters and furniture makers. Prominent among the Igbo Timber suppliers or businessmen in Katsina metropolis were Mr. Okonkwo, Mr. Desmondand

[336] Shehu, Op cit. p.228
[337] Ibid, p.228

Ifeanyi all from Oba town of present day Anambra State whose timber business location was at Kofar Kaura- near *Gadan* Adeleke or near *Kofar Kaura* Bridge along IBB way.[338]

However, it is important to note that Timber was an important item that was used for several purposes such a furniture for household, office and shops. They were also manufactured for construction purposes such as in making ceilings, decking, linter and roofing, building of shops and temporary houses, apart from serving as fuel for cooking. The major areas of securing these raw materials are from the southern part of the country particularly in Edo, Ekiti and Ondo States.[339] Thus as a result of the creation of the Katsina State in 1987, the demand for furniture in offices and for house accommodation accelerated the proliferation of most Igbo timber sellers in the metropolis. The increasing number of the sellers (and *Katsinawa*inclusive) at their station behind Katsina Central Market made the government in 2007 to relocate them to a more open space along the Dutsin-Ma road which they finally occupied in 2008(see the table 4.7 for the list of Igbo timber dealers in Katsina metropolis).

Table 4.7 List of Igbo Timber Shed dealers in Katsina Metropolis, 1987 – 2011

S/NO	Name	Business Location
1	Chief Anthony Okonkwo	Igbo Timber Shed Katsina
2	Mr. Ochenna Obdike	Igbo Timber Shed Katsina
3	Mr. Obiora Ezeugwu	Igbo Timber Shed Katsina
4	Mr. Benedict Okeke	Igbo Timber Shed Katsina

[338] Mr. Bagudu Baba Hyat, Age 50 (Carpenter and Furniture Maker). Interviewed Thursday, April 9, 2015 at Kofar Durbi - Glorious Furniture. He came to Katsina in 1972 from Owerri, Imo State, did his apprenticeship at Glorious Furniture Company between 1993-1997 and then started working for them on contract bases and later opened his own business from 1997 to date . He has trained over 14 apprentices out of which 2 were Igbo, 6 Hausa and 6 from other ethnic groups of Nigeria. He further revealed that, *Katsinawa* are today dominant in the carpentry and furniture business. The Igbo were 15, other immigrant communities were 13, foreigners 2 (1 Cameroonian and 1 Ghanaian). The *Katsinawa* were 100+ then Mr. Idika O. Eke, (alias Wood Mark), Age 52, Businessman (Carpentry/Furniture). Interviewed Friday, April 10, 2015 at Ring Road along Katsina State Secretarial exactly 11:30-AM-12:15PM.

Note: Most of the Igbo timber merchant were located to day along Yahaya Madaki Way along Kofar Way High Way Katsina, Dutsin-Ma Road etc.

[339] Jamilu, Op cit, p. 228

5	Mr. Cletus Ikedi	Igbo Timber Shed Katsina
6	Mr. Christain Omigbo	Igbo Timber Shed Katsina
7	Mr. Elias Ayatatumo	Igbo Timber Shed Katsina
8	Mr. Sunday Chikelu	Igbo Timber Shed Katsina
9	Mr. Innocent Ojukwu	Igbo Timber Shed Katsina
10	Mr. Ejike Nwonu	Igbo Timber Shed Katsina
11	Chief Eferem	Igbo Timber Shed Katsina

Source: Annual Report of Katsina State Board of Internal Revenue Report, 2011

4.5.5 Building and Furniture Materials

Apart from those in the timber business, some other groups of Igbo migrants participated in trading of building and furniture materials, that is, tools, paints, tiles, ceiling boards, plumbing materials, bath tubs among others. During the pre-civil war, most Igbo migrants were not into trading of building and furniture materials until the 1970s. Thus the creation of Katsina State in 1987 attract quite a number of Igbo migrants who were initially timber tradersin Anambra, Abuja, Kano and Sokoto but on reaching Katsina change to building and furniture materialsbecause of itslucrative nature. Among these Igbo migrants were Mr. Gabriel Okoli, an indigene of Imo State who came from Abuja to Katsina on October 18, 1987 as a timber seller and changed immediately to building and furniture, and Mr. Net Ekwtosi who came in 1988 from Anambra State as a trader of building materials (see table 4.8 below for list of Igbo Building and Furniture Materials Traders in Katsina Metropolis, 1987 – 2011).[340]

Table 4.8 List of Igbo Building and Furniture Materials Traders in Katsina Metropolis, 1987 – 2011

S/NO	Name	Business Location	S/NO	Name	Business Location
1	Mr. Maduka Dubarachi	IBB Way Katsina	34	Mr. Izuchukwu Agu	IBB Way Katsina
2	Mr. Chibuzu Aduaka	IBB Way Katsina	35	Mr. Izuchukwu Akpunonu	IBB Way Katsina
3	Mr. Chigbo Anulugwo	IBB Way Katsina	36	Mr. Obi Agu	IBB Way Katsina
4	Mr. Obi Eruchalu	IBB Way Katsina	37	Mr. Christain Onyejike	IBB Way Katsina
5	Mrs. Jecinta Okafor	IBB Way Katsina	38	Mr. Patrick Umeakaelu	IBB Way Katsina
6	Mr. Okwudili Akpunonu	IBB Way Katsina	39	Mr. Kingsley Onyeakaelu	IBB Way Katsina
7	Mr. Gabriel Okafor	IBB Way Katsina	40	Mr. Alexander Okoli	IBB Way Katsina

[340] Mr. Gabriel Okoli, Age 54, Dealer of Building/Furniture Materials. Interviewed November 11, 2014 at Usman Nagogo Road, Gongon, Katsina, 08: 40AM-10:00AM and Mr. Net Ekwtosi, Age 43, Businessman (Dealer Trading/Building Materials).Interviewed November 6, 2014 at IBB Way, Tsohun Tasha Round About, Katsina, 05:00PM-06:15PM.

8	Mr. John Paul Okonkwo	IBB Way Katsina	41	Mr. Onyinye Ejiribe	IBB Way Katsina
9	Mr. Livinus Ifediorah	IBB Way Katsina	42	Mr. Ernest Umeh	IBB Way Katsina
10	Mr. F.C. Chidoka	IBB Way Katsina	43	Mr. Uzochi Okere	IBB Way Katsina
11	Mr. Atuchukwu Anulugwo	IBB Way Katsina	44	Mr. Tochukwu Okpala	IBB Way Katsina
12	Mr. Uchenna Umechukwu	IBB Way Katsina	45	Mr. Oluchukwu Okonkwo	IBB Way Katsina
13	Chief Paul Ezekweka	IBB Way Katsina	46	Mr. Chukwunuso Aba	IBB Way Katsina
14	Mr. Peter Atado	IBB Way Katsina	47	Mr. Cyril Eneze	IBB Way Katsina
15	Mr. Okechukwu Charles Ilo	IBB Way Katsina	48	Mr. Ekene Nwaozor	IBB Way Katsina
16	Mr. Fredrick Ezekwuibe	IBB Way Katsina	49	Mr. Chumezie Anyauwa	IBB Way Katsina
17	Mr. Uchenna Ejimofar	IBB Way Katsina	50	Mr. Onyemachi Obasi	IBB Way Katsina
18	Mr. Ogonna Ezefedikwa	IBB Way Katsina	51	Mr. Vincent Oguamannam	IBB Way Katsina
19	Mr. Walter Onyejike	IBB Way Katsina	54	Mr. Obinna Ufondu	IBB Way Katsina
20	Mr. Sunday Uzoka	IBB Way Katsina	55	Mr. Emeka Anulue	IBB Way Katsina
21	Mr. Sunday Uzoka	IBB Way Katsina	56	Moon Light	After Alliance Bread
22	Mr. Sunday Umeh	IBB Way Katsina	57	Mr. Emeka Umeajugwu	Gwangwan Market
23	Mr. James Umennbuife	IBB Way Katsina	58	Mr. Cagathan Obogwalu	Opposite Mani House
24	Mr. Batholomew Okafor	IBB Way Katsina	59	Ifeanyi Ezeidikwa	Gwangwan Market
25	Mr. Chinedu Abana	IBB Way Katsina	60	Mr. Nnamdi Ike	Gwangwan Market
26	Mr. Michael Ape	IBB Way Katsina	61	Mr. Obinna Mebo	Schedule Nig. Ltd Mani House
27	Mr. Gabriel Okoli	IBB Way Katsina	62	Mr. Boniface Obi	Central Mosque Round About
28	Mr. Patrick Ezefedikwa	IBB Way Katsina	63	Mr. Chinedu Nnoruga	Gwangwan Market
29	Mr. Ugochukwu Gajie	IBB Way Katsina	64	Mr. Ekene Okafor	Behind Central Market
30	Mr. Tochukwu Okeke	IBB Way Katsina	66	Mr. Ekene Ezeifechkwa	After Alliance Bread
31	Mr. Cosmas Ezeh	IBB Way Katsina	67	Mr. Chukwuma Okoli	Central Mosque Round About
32	Mr. Echeona Okoli	IBB Way Katsina	68	Mr. Okechukwu Ijejaru	Behind Central Market
33	Mr. Onyebuchi Agu	IBB Way Katsina			

Source: Annual Report of Katsina State Board of Internal Revenue Report, 2011[341]

4.5.6 Commercial Transporters

The Igbo migrants contributed in commercial transportation to bring significant economic changes in Katsina metropolis. Some were strongly involved in the transport business as luxury bus, Keke NAPEP or "*Akori-Kura" a*nd motorcycle owners which they usually give to *Katsinawa* as drivers and motorcycle riders (*Okada*man), and then on daily basis they will remit some amount of money as returns. One of the motor park that an Igbo man established was Peace-Mass Transport at *Kofar Kaura*along IBB Way adjacent Ahason Electronics/Electrical Materials business centre in 2005. The Peace-Mass Transport shuttled between Katsina and Kano.It eased the inconveniences of people who found it difficult to go

[341] All these Igbo Building Materials Traders paid there Tax annually to Katsina State Board of Internal Revenue and Registration of Business Premises to Katsina State Ministry of Commerce and Industry of which certificate and receipt are issued to them by the government agencies as evidence and recognitions of their obligation to their country and place of residence. However, Igbo Building Materials Traders in Katsina were categorized and identified as Building Materials Traders Association by Katsina State Board of International Revenue. Of equal importance is to note that there was only one Igbo businesswomen in that kind of business.

to Katsina State Transport Authority (KTSTA) Motor Park along Batsari road as well as NURTO and *Sabon Tasha* Motor Parks all along Dutsin-Ma road. In addition, the Peace-Mass Transport and other commercial transport owners serve as a source of employment to *Katsinawa* as drivers and conductors, and security-men and then source of revenue to Katsina State and Local Government[342](Below were the list of motor parks in Katsina and that of Peace Mass Transit in Nigeria).

Table 4.9 Government and Private Motor Parks in Katsina Metropolis, 1970s – 2011

S/No	Name of Motor Park	Years of Establishment	Location	Proprietor
1	Tsohuwar Tsaha Central Motor Park	Before State Creation	Kano Road, IBB Way, Tsohuwar Tasha, Katsina	Katsina State Government
2	KTSTA Motor Park	1987	Batsari Road	Katsina Local Government
3	Kofar Marusa Motor Park	1991	Abdullahi Sarki Muhktar Road, Katsina	Katsina Local Government
4	Kofar Durbi Motor Park	1991	Usman Nagogo Road, Adjacent Kofar Durbi, Katsina	Katsina Local Government
5	Kofar Sauri Motor Park	1991	Kofar Keke, Kofar Sauri, Katsina	Katsina Local Government
6	Kofar Guga Motor Park	1997	Jibia Road, Katsina	Katsina Local Government
7	Katsina New Central Motor Park	1997	Dutsin-Ma Road, Katsina	Katsina State Government
8	Peace Mass Transit Motor	2005	IBB Way Kofar Kaura, Katsina	Chief Anthony C.Chikelu
9	NURTO Motor Park	2007	Dutsin-Ma Road, Katsina	NURTO

Source: Katsina State Transport Authority and Katsina Local Government Council, 2015 and J. Shehu, "A

[342] Chief Charles Ositadimma Ahononu (Omereoche I of Katsina), Age 53, Businessman (Dealers of Electrical/Electronic materials). Interviewed September 9, 2014 at IBB Way, Kofar Kaura, Katsina, 12:00Noon-01:30PM, Chief Anthony C. Chikelu, Age 61, Proprietor Peace Mass Transit. Interviewed Tuesday, April 15, 2015 at Peace Mass Transit Motor Park, along IBB Way Katsina exactly 03:00PM-03:30PM and Mr. Festus Omeje, Age 42, Manager Peace Transit. Interviewed Tuesday, April 15, 2015 at Peace Mass Transit Motor Park, along IBB Way Katsina exactly 03:35PM-04:05PM and Mr. Frederick Itoya, Age 65, Businessman (Leather/Poly Bags). Interviewed November 6, 2014 at IBB Way Kofar Kaura Katsina, 01:00PM-01:40PM.He was among the people transferred from Kaduna State in 1987 to Katsina metropolis start KSTSA

Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis, 1960 – 2007,'' Unpublished PhD Thesis, Usmanu DanfodiyoUniversity (UDU), Sokoto, 2012. Op cit, Pp.126-133, 212, 216 and.218.

Table 4.10 Peace Mass Transit Motor Parks in different Parts of Nigeria, 1984-2011

S/No	Name of Motor Park	Years of Establishment	State	Location	Proprietor/ Managing Director
1	Enugu Peace Mass Transit Motor Park (Headquarter)	1984	Enugu	HolyGoght street, Enugu	
2	Onitsha Peace Mass Transit Motor Park	1984	Anambra	Peace Mass Transit Motor Park, Onitsha	
3	Owerri Peace Mass Transit Motor Park	1984	Imo	Peace Mass Transit Motor Park, Imo	
4	Umahia Peace Mass Transit Motor Park	1984	Abia	Peace Mass Transit Motor Park, Abia	
5	Abakalike Peace Mass Transit Motor Park	1984	Ebonyi	Peace Mass Transit Motor Park, Ebonyi	
6	Port Harcourt Peace Mass Transit Motor Park	1984	Calabar	Peace Mass Transit Motor Park, Port Harcourt	
7	Warri Peace Mass Transit Motor Park	1984	Delta	Peace Mass Transit Motor Park, Warri	

8	Yanya, Zuba and Wutako Peace Mass Transit Motor Park	2000	Abuja	Yanya, Zuba and Wutako Motor Park	Chief Samuel Maduka Onyishi
9	Kwara Peace Mass Transit Motor Park	2000	Kwara	Kwara Peace Mass Transit Motor Park	
10	Bauchi Peace Mass Transit Motor Park	2000	Kwara	Bauchi Peace Mass Transit Motor Park	
11	Katsina Peace Mass Transit Motor Park	2005	Katsina	IBB Way, Kofar Kaura Katsina	
12	Lagos Peace Mass Transit Motor Park	2005	Lagos	Peace Mass Transit Motor Park, Lagos	
13	Benin Peace Mass Transit Motor Park	2005	Edo	Peace Mass Transit Motor Park, Benin	
14	Gombe Peace Mass Transit Motor Park	2008	Gombe	Peace Mass Transit Motor Park, ,Dadin Kowa	
15	Ogbmosho Peace Mass Transit Motor Park	2008	Oyo	Peace Mass Transit Motor Park, , Ogbomosho	
16	Kano Peace Mass Transit Motor Park	2010	Kano	Peace Mass Transit Motor Park, Kofar Ruwa, Kano	

Source: Group interview with Mr. Festus Omeje, Age 42, Cashier, Peace MassTransit. Interviewed Tuesday, 8th December, 2015 at Peace Mass Transit Motor Park, along IBB Way Katsina Kofar Kaura Katsina exactly 2:30-03:05PM and Mr. Toni Chikelu, Age 51, Manager Peace Mass Transit. Interviewed Tuesday, 8th December, 2015 at Peace Mass Transit Motor Park, along IBB Way Katsina Kofar Kaura Katsina exactly 3:09-04:00PM.[343]

4.5.7 Hospitality Industry

The hospitality sector was several billion naira industry which is importantly dependent on availability of people's leisure time and disposable income. A hospitality unit such as a hotel, guest house, or even an entertainment park consists of multiple groups such as facility maintenance, direct operations (front office, housekeepers, kitchen workers, bartenders and many more), management, marketing and human resources all club together to serve people. It was also a sector of the economy that helped to provide jobs for the job seekers, of which many charted a career from it. For a place like Katsina metropolis that was a tourist centre the availability of good hotels and guest houses will further endear the tourist

[343] The Peace Mass Transit used to passengers, goods and services to different parts of the geopolitical zones of Nigeria. There were those covering North-West, North-West, North - Central, South - West and South –South. The aim of the proprietor was to cover the 35 states of Nigeria and Fderal Capital Territory (FCT). It was the activities of Boko Haram that hampered it focus in Maiduguri (Borno), Gombe (Gombe), Yola (Adamawa), and Damaturu (Yobe). The Katsina Motor Park was covering Katsina to Kano and then Kaduna. Bot as of now it had stopped going to Kaduna due to lacked of Motor Park.

to the land. In Katsina metropolis most hospitality industries were in the form of hotels and guest houses which were mostly owned by the Igbo migrants with few *Katsinawa*. To justify these it would be good for us to look into the history of hotels in Katsina metropolis.[344]

As stated earlier, another important economic enterprise that developed in Katsina metropolis during this period was hotel business that mostly provided services at that time. Most of the ancient hotels together with off licenses were located within the walled city. One of the earliest hotels established in Katsina metropolis was the Republic Hotel in 1959 by late Alhaji Yusufu Shema at Sabon Layi.There was Naira Hotel established by Chief Hillary Chukwuma Okonkwo in 1971. Thus, Ambassador Hotel and Central Hotel were then founded by Alhaji Sule as Kulema and Koguna and Babura Ltd Company respectively at *Sabuwar Unguwa* in the early 1970s. Within the same period Alhaji Inuwa Bukata established Hamdala Hotel close to Katsina Radio Broadcasting House and Hajiya Salame established the Kings Garden.[345] But the construction of Izala Mosque (Kandahar) in 1975 close to Central Hotel led to its relocation in the opposite direction, and the Ambassador Hotel was renamed Arewa House. The hotels were highly patronized by the *Katsinawa* and the immigrants. Proliferations of hotels in the metropolis gathered momentum after the

[344] Hospitality Industry is an environment whose aims are to provide comfortable, suitable accommodation and safe catering services that is safe foods and drinks in a friendly hospitable and pleasing manner to whosoever needs such provisions. Hospitality industry also provide ancillary services such as entertainment, car hire services, telephone and telex services or other e-mail services that is (electronic mail services) recreational services, laundry services and security services. However it is to be noted that all the aforementioned services have to be paid for. Examples of hospitality industries are Hotels, Motels, Guest- houses, Catering Establishment, Restaurant and Bars, Hospitals and Health Centres.

For more see K. Gale and Peter Odgers, *Hotel and Catering Supervision (Social and economic aspects of the industry).*London: Pitman, 1989. p.2 and C. E. Ogunlade, "Inaugural seminar 1 on Management of hotels and the family support programme in the 21st century." Seminar papers at Federal Polytechnic Ede, Nigeria, 2014. pp.1-3

[345] Shehu, Op cit, p.135

Nigerian Civil War as they were mostly established and ran by the migrants[346] particularly the Igbo community (see the table below).

Table 4.11 Major Hotels in Katsina Metropolis and their Proprietors, 1980 – 2002

S/No	Hotels	Location	Year of Establishment	Proprietor
1	Havana	Zango Road	1980	Chief Emmanuel Okeke
2	Old Place	Sabuwar Kasuwa	1982	Chief Sylvanus
3	Darma	Dutsin-Ma Road	1982	Alhaji Sani Jikan Malam
4	Premier	Sabuwar Kasuwa	1983	Mr. Geriel
5	Kaita Guest Inn	Kano Road	1983	Alhaji Ali Kaita
6	Gabby International	Off Larence Onoja Road	1983	Madam Grace
7	Capital	Sabuwar Kasuwa	1984	Madam Grace
8	Garden City	Off Kano Road	1984	Chief Joseph Nweke
9	New City	Sabuwar Unguwa	1984	Chief Joseph Nweke
10	Dabo	Matazu Crescent	1985	Mr.Kelechi
11	De Victory			
12	Luna Castel	IBB Way	1986	Chief Hillary C. Okonkwo
13	Katsina Guest Inn	Nagoogo Road	2002	Late Alhaji Mamman Ifo
14	Liberty Hotel	Zango Road	2002	Chief Igwubusie

Source: J. Shehu, "A Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis, 1960 – 2007,'' Unpublished PhD Thesis, UsmanuDanfodiyo University(UDU), Sokoto, 2012. Op cit, p.136

With the adoption of Islamic Panel System for the State in 2000,[347] some of the above mentioned hotels that were within the walled city were either closed down or relocated outside. But when the pressure of Sharia goes down some of these hotels still kicked up and others where mostly established by the Igbo hotel businessmen and women; this was as a result of population pressure and infrastructural development especially the building of residential houses at *Kofar Kaura* Layout and *Kofar Marusa* layout.

Table 4.12 Hotels owned by Igbo Businessmen in Katsina Metropolis and their Proprietors, 1980 -2011

S/No	Hotels	Year of Establishment	Location	Proprietor
1	Havana	1980	Zango Road	Chief Emmanuel Okeke
2	Gabby International	1983	Off Laurence Onoja Road	Madam Grace
3	Luna Castel Hotel	1986	IBB Way	Chief Eze Hillary C. Okonkwo
4	Goma Guest Inn	1997	Zango Street, Kofar Kaura Layout	Chief Humphrey Eze Ejesieme
5	Fadama View Motel	1997	Kofar Kaura Layout	Chief Humphrey Eze Ejesieme
6	John Best	2006	Kofar Kaura Layout	John Best

[346] Ibid, p.136
[347] Katsina State of Nigeria Gazette, No. 5, Vol. II, 2000. p.1

7	Liberty Hotel	2002	Zango Road	Chief Igwubusie
8	Dabo	2005	Kofar Kaura Layout	Chief Emmanuel (Gburu-Gburu)
9	Kings Paradise	2006	Near Turai Hospital	Mr. Emeka Ike
10	1759	2007	Kofar Kaura Layout	Mr. Chenedu
11	Yakamata Hotel	2008	Yahaya Madaki Way	Chief Emmanuel Oni
12	Touristsuit Hotel	2010	Kano Road Katsina	Ujudud
13	New Palace Hotel	2010	Kofar Layout	0cheku

Source: Interviews with various proprietors of Hotels and Mangers July, 2014 to April, 2014

It is important to note that the creation of katsina state in 1987, accompanied by the increase in population, modern hotels began to emerge in different parts of Katsina metropolis. The construction of the hotels provided residential accommodation, venues for public gathering and recreation as well as catering services. This influenced quitea number of the Igbo to go into hotel businesses. Thus, the non-challant attitudes of the *Katsinawa* explained why the metropolis in Katsina demanded quite a number of businesses. They were for example the predominant hotelier. Field trip/work survey shown that, apart from Maikudi, Liyafa, Albustan and Zambrush all other hotels belonged to the Igbo migrants. The commercial closeness between the *Katsinawa* and the Igbo provided opportunities to quite a number of the *Katsinawa* who secured jobs in the hotel business concerned of the Igbo by serving as receptionist, gardeners, cleaners and security.

Nonetheless, looking at the above tables we could see that prominent among the hotels owned by the Igbo were Havana Hotel Zango Street, Kofar Kaura ownedby Mr. Emmanuel Okeke, Goma Guest Inn along Zango Street, Kofar Kaura own by Mr. Humphrey Ejesieme, Fadama View Hotel located at Kofar Kaura IBB Way and Luna Castel Hotel along IBB Way all owned by Chief Hillary Okonkwo among others.[348]Thus with these, we can quantify the impact these hotels had to the economy of Katsina metropolis within our period

[348] Igbo Day Magazine, Op cit pp. 23-46. It is also important to note that: Igbo women generally are industrious and empowered. Once an Igbo woman (and even non-Igbo woman) got married to an Igbo business man she (and her children inclusive) automatically integrate into the business that is why quite a number of Igbo women that married other people other than Igbo engaged in one form of business or the other.

of study to the transformation of the polity to a modern one. The numerous job seekers that found shelter under these hotels would take another intense study to unearth; it also improved the living standard of the workers and infrastructural development in the metropolis. Not only was that, the hotels also served as source of revenue to the local and state government. The image of Katsina metropolis was also served as enhanced with the presence of these hotels.

4.5.8 Role of Igbo Women in the Economy of Katsina Metropolis

By the nature of Igbo social organization, Igbo women are given more freedom to engage in trade and business to bring income to the family.[349] They were the ones who provided most of the food stuffs consumed by the Igbo, Yoruba, among other immigrant communities in Katsina metropolis of which ordinary *Katsinawa* could not supply nor have the opportunity to consume them. Thus as a result of inter-group relation the *Katsinawa* became consumers of such food stuffs. In other words, Igbo women were also not left out in the interaction with the *Katsinawa* at the flat form of exchange. Quite a number of Igbo women run catering services like the popular Shekinat Restaurant located at Yahaya Madaki Way, Adauga food centre at IBB Way, Madam Ada Restaurant and Beans Cake Joint located off IBB Way, Sabon Layi, among others(for more see table 4.14). The women also obtained stalls and shops at Katsina Central Market (for more see table 4.15) [350] selling goods like palm-oil, vegetables, food stuff or various kinds of products used as condiments in food

[349] Judith, Op cit, p. 16

[350] Mrs. Eunice Amakwe (alias Madam Shekina), Age 50, Business Woman (Restaurant and Catering Services). Interviewed Monday, November, 2014 at Shekina Restaurant, along Yahaya Madaki Way Katsina exactly 09:00-09:30PM, Mrs. Gladys Amaka John, Age 50, Business woman (Boutique & Interior Decoration). Interviewed Monday, March 30, 2015, Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 03:00PM-03:30PM, Mrs. Nkemdiri Louis, Age 50, Non-Academic Staff at Federal University Dutsin-Ma. Interviewed Sunday, April 5, 2015 at Shagari Low-cost, Batsari Road exactly 1:00PM-1:45PM, Mrs. Esther Kalu, Age 36, Proprietress Top Onward Private Schools. Interviewed Thursday, November 13, 2014 Off IBB Way, Katsina exactly 2:00PM-3:00PM, Mrs. Ngozi Onuma popularly known as Maman Ada, Age 41. Restaurant Business and Beans Cake. Interviewed Wednesday, November 12, 2014 Off IBB Way exactly 03:40PM-o4:10PM.

preparation such as *egusi*, fish, among others. And interestingly enough, these centres were patronized by people irrespective of tribal or ethnic inclination. However, this was a clear indication that if the Igbo women decide to lock up their food canteens and restaurants, and then shops in the markets and streets there would be a reasonable shortage in the quantity of palm oil, vegetable, food stuff and food ingredient in Katsina metropolis.

It is important to equally draw our attention to the fact that Igbo women were also involved in the sales of charcoal, household utensils, fabrics, tailoring (fashion & design), boutique business, and bakery. In fact they continued from where the men stopped. While the men were into bread making like Kings Bread along Shagari Low-cost, Batsari road , the women engaged in pastry making like snacks of all sorts, cakes of all kinds, event planning, interior decoration, hiring of plastic chairs and canopy, wedding gowns, regalia of different cultures and lot more.

Some of them who were educated also took up teaching jobs at the Katsina Local Education Primary Board (KLEA) as Primary School Teachers, Teachers Service Board (TSB) and Science and Technical Education Board (STEB) as Secondary School Teachers (all under the Katsina State Ministry of Education) as well as in various academic and non-academic institutions within and across Katsina metropolis such as Hassan Usman Katsina Polytechnic (HUK), Federal College of Education (FCE) Katsina, Federal University Dutsin-Ma (FUDMA), Isa Kaita College of Education (IKCOE) Dutsin-Ma and made much impact in the field of knowledge. Some wrote books, articles for publication in various national and international journals. They also worked in banks, hospitals, hospitality industries, and some were proud owners of private primary and secondary schools and restaurants in the

community. Those that were entrepreneurs provided jobs for a lot of people indigenes inclusive, thereby empowering them economically (see table 4.15).

Table 4.13 List of Igbo and other Migrants Food Canteen and Restaurant, in Katsina Metropolis 1987 – 2011

S/NO	Name	Business Location
1	Wonders Restaurant t	WTC Round About
2	Chichi Restaurant	WTC Round About
3	De-Faamos Rest	WTC Round About
4	Glorious Restaurant	IBB Way
5	Inwanyi Restaurant	IBB Way
6	T.I Dino Restaurant	No. 65 IBB Way
7	Wazobia Rest	No. 201 IBB Way
8	Mapo Restaurant	No. 871 IBB Way
9	Madam Adauga John	IBB Way
10	MC Dowels Catering	Yahaya Madaki Way
11	Shekina Restaurant	Yahaya Madaki Way
12	Dokin Pepper	Yahaya Madaki Way
13	Lady Restaurants	Yahaya Madaki Way
14	VIP Fast Food	Yahaya Madaki Way
15	Finger Licking Restaurant	Yahaya Madaki Way
16	Fina Luxury Restaurant	Yahaya Madaki Way
17	Bethel Restaurant	Yahaya Madaki Way
18	City Exclusive	IBB Way Kofar Kaura
19	Uche Montel	Near Gidan Yashi
20	Oyo Food Restaurant	Near Gidan Yashi
21	Break Fast Restaurant	Sabuwar Unguwa
22	Maman Viyama Restaurant	Kofar Durbi Motor Park
23	Meal Restaurant	Kofar Durbi
24	Adamawa Restaurant	IBB Way

Source: Annual Report of Katsina State Board of Internal Revenue Report, 2011

Table 4.14 List of Some Igbo and other Migrants Group Shops in Katsina Central Market, 1987 – 2011

S/NO	Shop Number	Name	Nature of Business	Business Location
1	G1/A1/116	Maman Yanbiyu	Hair Saloon	Katsina Central Market
2	G1/A1/120	Mrs Toue	Fashion & Design	Katsina Central Market
3	G1/A1/263	Maman Baby	Textile Materials	Katsina Central Market
4	G1/A1/273B	Maman Ike	Hair Saloon & Dressing	Katsina Central Market
5	G1/A1/487	Chief Bisi Ojukwu	Gwanjo	Katsina Central Market
6	G1/A1/638	Mrs. Grace	Wears	Katsina Central Market
7	G1/A1/680	Mr. Augustine	Textiles Materials	Katsina Central Market
8	G1/A1/772	Mr. Onyeka	Textile Materials	Katsina Central Market
9	G1/A1/775	Mr. Chinedu	Textile Materials	Katsina Central Market
10	G1/A1/777	Mr. Silas	Textile Materials	Katsina Central Market
11	G1/A1/834	Maman Tuji	Food Canteen	Katsina Central Market
12	G1/A1/845	Mr. Rafel	Curtain Materials	Katsina Central Market

13	G1/A1/859	Mr. Jabel	Textile Materials	Katsina Central Market
14	G1/A1/941	Mr. Chikodi	Soup Ingredient	Katsina Central Market
15	G1/A1/948	Maman Ekene	Soup Ingredient	Katsina Central Market
16	G1/A1/951	Amarya	English Wears	Katsina Central Market
17	G1/A1/952	Maman Mama	Hair Saloon Equipment	Katsina Central Market
18	G1/A1/953	Tessy	Hair Saloon Equipment	Katsina Central Market
19	G1/A1/956	Toyin	Hair Saloon	Katsina Central Market
20	G1/A1/957	Juliet	Soft Drinks	Katsina Central Market
21	G1/A1/974	Iyabo	Hair Dressing Equipment	Katsina Central Market

Source: Annual Report of Katsina State Board of Internal Revenue Report, 2011

Table 4.15 Government and Private Institutionsthat Igbo Migrant Worked in Katsina Metropolis, 1980 -2011

S/No	Institutions	Location	Year of Establishments	No. of Igbo Migrants as Staff
1	Private schools	Katsina Metropolis	1980-2011	850
2	Private Clinics	Katsina Metropolis	1985-2011	154
3	Commercial Banks	Katsina Metropolis	1970-2011	179
4	Government Hospitals	Katsina Metropolis	1904-2011	275
5	Dana Steel Rolling	Katsina Metropolis	1979-2011	30
6	IKCOE	Dutsin-Ma	1991	10
7	FCE	Batagarawa	1976	56
8	HUK Poly	Batagarawa	1983	8
9	FUDMA	Ditsin-Ma	2011	30
10	KLEA	Katsina Metropolis	1903-2011	287
11	TSB	Katsina Metropolis	1987	120
12	STEB	Katsina Metropolis	1990	31
	Total			2,030

Source: Interviews with various managers, proprietors anddirectors of government and private establishments, July2014 to April, 2014

4.5.9 Civil Service

Civil servants were those involved in civil service or were working for the government. For one to be able to work for the government, it was expected that the individual should have attained a certain level of academic qualification which determined the position such a personwould occupy.

The Igbo migrants after the civil war experienced gradual re-integration into the civil service. To a large extent, the Igbo migrants in Katsina metropolis had attained some level of

education to qualify them to hold positions in the government ministries and parastatals as academic and non – academic staff.

Many Igbo migrants made significant contributions in the civil service especially in the local, state and federal institutions within Katsina metropolis and across. Some of these institutions included Hassan Usman Katsina Polytechnic (HUK), Federal College of Education (FCE) Katsina, Federal University Dutsin-Ma (FUDMA), Isa Kaita College of Education (IKCOE) Dutsin-Ma, Yusufu Bala Usman College of Legal and General Studies Daura, Nigerian Telecommunication (NITEL), Nigerian Postal Services (NIPOST) among others. These and many other state and federal institutions in Katsina generated a lot of economic activities in Katsina metropolis (see table 4.15 above).

4.5.10 Education and Health Care Services

Education has been the pivot of civilization and central pillar of development or progress of any society, be it religious, political, economic, social, or technological while Health occupies an important position in the development of any society. This is because has defined as the condition of the body and degree to which it is free from illness or the state of being well. Following the creation of Katsina State there was high demand of education and medical health care services, these led quite a number of Igbo to establish private schools and private clinics which has a vital played a vital role toward the educational development and medical health care of Katsina metropolis. Among the Igbo migrants (who happened to be first immigrant) that established private clinics in Katsina metropolis after their National Youth Service in Katsina was a medical doctor (General Practitioner [GP]) Dr. Eze Moses Ernest. He established Okmos Clinic along IBB Way, Kofar Kaura, Adjacent City Restaurant, Katsina in September 1985 (to complete government effort. See table 4.16, 4.17

and 4.18 for list of government hospital and clinics in Katsina metropolis) and trained so many people into the Private Clinic such as the proprietor of Alheri Clinic, Katsina Dr. Johnson Ademilu among others (*Katsinawa* inclusive. For more see for more see table 4.16).[351]Private Schools comprised of Top Onward International Schools, Hope International School, Key Way International School,[352] among others (for more see the table 4.19). The Clinic and private schools provided employment to not only *Katsinawa* but other migrant communities as medical doctors, nurses, health attendant, medical record officers, cleaners, teachers and security. In addition to that they served as source of income to *Katsinawa* who gave their apartment and infrastructures as a rent and then revenue to the Federal Government of Nigeria, Katsina State, Local Government; which the payment were usually made through the Federal Inland Revenue, State Board of Internal Revenue and then Ministry of Commerce and Industrieswho on yearly bases collect taxes, money for registration of business premises and levy.[353]

Table`4.16 Private Clinic Established by Igbo and other Migrant Medical Doctors in Katsina Metropolis, 1985-2011

S/No	Name of Clinic	Years of Establishment	Location	Proprietor
1	Okmos Clinic	1985	IBB Way kofar Kaura	Dr. Eze Moses Ernest
2	Amfani Clinic	1988	No. 5 Funtua Cresent Kofar Kaura Layout, Katsina	Dr. Ola Tunde Ayeni
3	Alheri Clinic &Maternity Home	1991	Lawrence Onoja Road, Kofar Kaura Layout	Dr. Johnson Ademilu
4	Amana Clinic	1993	Sokoto Road, Sabuwar Kasuwa, Off IBB	Dr. Ebenber O. Abioye

[351] Dr. Eze Ernest, Age 57, Medical Practitioner and Proprietor Okmos Clinic Katsina. Interviewed November 9, 2014 at IBB Way Okmos Clinic Katsina, 08:00PM-9:00PM.

[352] Katsina State Board of International Revenue, 2011and Interview with Mr. Okechukwu Uzor Kalu, Age 42, Proprietor Private School. Interviewed Friday, November 7, 2014 at Top Onward International School Katsina, Off IBB Way, Katsina exactly 12:00Noo-02:00PM.

[353]Katsina State Board of Inland Revenue and Ministry of Commerce and Industry Report , 2015 and Alhaji Ibrahim Mamman Kofar Soro, Age 49, Assistant Personal Income Tax. Interviewed Wednesday 16th December, 2015 at Board of Internal Revenue Katsina State, Justice Muhammadu Bello Road GRA, Katsina exactly 3:00-4:00PM, Alhaji Mansir Bature Kankara, Age 46, Assistant Chief Inspector of Internal Revenue. Interviewed Thursday 17th December, 2015 at Board of Internal Revenue Katsina State, Justice Muhammadu Bello Road GRA, Katsina exactly 3:00-4:00PM and Alhaji Abdu-Aziz Kahlid Kahblid, Age 52, Assistant Director PAYE. Interviewed Thursday 17th December, 2015 at Board of Internal Revenue Katsina State, Justice Muhammadu Bello Road GRA, Katsina exactly 2:40-3:20PM.

			Way Katsina	
5	Allah Ba Mu Lafia Clinic & Maternity	1997	Maiduguri Road, Off Nagogo Road, Krau Qarters, Katsina	Dr. S.A Yusuf
6	Sauki Clinic &Maternity Home	1998	No. 235 Abdullahi Sarki Muhktar Road, Kofar Marusa, Katsina	Dr. Atemu M.I.
7	New Millennium Clinic &Maternity Home	2000	No. 110 Ahmadu Bello Way, Inwala Quarters, Katsina	Dr. Ajao Elijah
8	Ikon Allah	2000	Madugu House, Kofar Kwaya Katsina	Dr. Isaiah Musa & Dr. Ebere

Source: Interviews with Proprietor of Private Clinics and Annual Report of Katsina State Board of Internal Revenue, 2011[354]

Table4.17 Private Clinic Established by Katsinawa Medical Doctors in Katsina Metropolis, 1980-2011

[354] Dr. Ajao Elijah, Age 56. Proprietor and Medical Doctor, New Millennium Clinic Katsina. Interviewed Monday 14th December, 2015 at Ahmadu Bello Way Katsina, 10:00-11:00AM, Dr. S.A. Yusuf, Age 60, Proprietor, Allah Ba Mu Lafia Clinic Katsina. Interviewed Thursday 17th December, 2015 at Maiduguri Road, Katsina, 8:00-8:45PM, Dr. Johnson Ademilu, Age 56, Proprietor, Alheri Clinic and Maternity Katsina. Interviewed Monday 14th December, 2015 at Alheri Clinic and Maternity Katsina, 9:00-9:45AM, Dr. Ayemi, Age 60, Proprietor, Amfani Clinic and Maternity Katsina. Interviewed Wednesday at Amfani Clinic and Maternity Katsina, 8:00-8:45PM, Dr. E.O Abioye, Age 58, Proprietor, Amana Clinic Katsina. Interviewed Sunday 13th December, 2015 at Amana Clinic Katsina, Maiduguri Road, Sabuwar Kasuwa Cikin Gari, Katsina, 2:00-2:30PM, Dr. Achemu M. Ajayi, Age 58, Proprietor, Sauki Clinic and Maternity Home, Katsina. Interviewed Tuesday 8th December, 2015 at Sauki Clinic and Maternity Home, No. 235 Abdullahi Sarki Mukhtar Road, Kofar Marusa, Katsina, 7:14-7:36PM, and Usman Ibrahim, Age 58, Medical Officer, Sauki Clinic and Maternity Home, Katsina. Interviewed Tuesday 8th December, 2015 at Sauki Clinic and Maternity Home, No. 235 Abdullahi Sarki Mukhtar Road, Kofar Marusa, Katsina, 7:40-8:20PM.

It is important to note that, health occupied an important position in the development of any society. However following the creation of Katsina State in 1987, there was a continous increase in population of *Katsinawa* coupled with influx of fortune seekers that resulted into the overstretching of the existing medical facilities. In the process transforming the town, new hospitals were built along the four gates of Katsina metropolis.

In another angle, private clinics were established in Katsina metropolis in order to complete government effort in delivery of health care services to the people. History of the emergence and development of private clinics in Katsina metropolis was linked to the establishment of Samari Clinic in 1980 and ran by Dr. Bello Sada and Mallam Yusuf Rabe. However, due to the growing needs of clinics as a result of population increase, Dr. Bello Sada opted out and established another private clinic, Lumane Clinic in 1983 along IBB Way, Katsina City Clinic was also established in 1984 by same Dr. Bello Sada in collaboration with Dr. Aliyu Kurfi. It is important to note that all the above mentioned clinics initially stopped upon the tight schedule of the proprietors.

Thus, the creation of Katsina State however, opened a new chapter in the effort to established private clinics. This development partly was the result of congestions in the Katsina General Hospitals, being the only General Hospital in the metropolis. But individuals also became encouraged to establish private clinics to contribute to the medical health care services and to also enhance their incomes. Doctors in Katsina metropolis in particular had seen how their colleagues in other parts of the country who ran private clinics are benefitting especially in generating personal income, provision of employments to Nigerians amongst others.

Based on the above mentioned reasons, between 1985 and 2011 there were was a significant proliferation of private clinics in the capital city with an Igbo man by name Dr. Eze Moses as the first immigrant to established a private clinic in Katsina metropolis (1985) after NYSC Service in Katsina metropolis followed by Dr. Ayemi, the Proprietor Amfani Clinic (1988), the proprietor of Alheri Clinic, Dr. Johnson Ademilu (1991), Dr. E.O Aboiye, Proprietor, Amana Clinic (1993) and Sauki Clinic, Dr. Achemu M. Iyayi (1997), Allah Ba Mu Lafia Clinic Dr.. S.A Yusuf (1997) and New Millennium Clinic, Dr. Ajao Elijah (2000).

S/No	Name of Clinic	Years of Establishment	Location	Proprietor	Status/ Remark
1	Samari Clinic	1980	Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi, Katsina	Dr. Bello Sada & Malam Yusuf Rabe	**NOT IN FUNCTION**
2	Lumane Clinic	1983	IBB Way, Katsina	Dr. Bello Sada	
3	Katsna City Clinic	1984	IBB Way Katsina	Dr. Bello Sada & Aliyu Kurfi	
4	Asibitin Gambo Clinic	2000	Dutsin-MA Road, Katsina	Dr. Gambo	
5	Suru Clinic ENT & Medical Services	2001	Lawal Kaita Close street, Kerau Quarters Katsina	Dr. Sani Usman	**STILL FUNCTIONING**
6	Nursing Home	2011	WTC Round About	Dr. Yusha'u Armaya'u	
7	K-Dara Special Clinic	2010	Gidan Dawa GRA Katsina	Dr. Kabir Dara	
8	Labmina Maternal & Child Clinic	2010	Kofar Marusa Layout No. 16 Jibia Street	Hajiya Amina Lawal Kafur	
9	Sulaiman ENT Research Hospital Ltd	2011	Adjacent Mani House, Yahaya Madaki Way	Dr. Sulaiman A.	
10	Nursing Home	2011	WTC Round About	Dr. Yusha'u Armaya'u	
11	Hajiya Bilkisu Maternity Home	2011	Sabuwar Kasuwa Katsina	Hajiya Bilkisu	
12	Murna Family Initiative Clinic	2011	Madugu House	Dr. Halima Y/ Adamu	

Source: Interviews with Proprietor of Private Clinics and Annual Report of Katsina State Board of Internal Revenue, 2011[355]

Table`4.18 Government Hospitals and Clinic Established in Katsina Metropolis, 1904-2011

S/No	Name of Clinic	Years of Establishment	Location	Proprietor
1	Katsina General Hospital	1904	Kofar Soro	Katsina State Government
2	Asibitin Malam Barau	1920	Rafin Dadi, Katsina	Katsina State Government
3	Lunatic Asylum	1925	Yar'Kutungu Market, Katsina	Katsina State Government
4	Comprehensive Health Care Centre	1989	Kofar Kaura, Katsina	Katsina State Government
5	Maternal & Child Health Care Centre	1989	Abdullahi Sarki Muhktar Road, Kofar Marusa, Katsina	Katsina State Government
6	Comprehensive Health Care Centre	1989	Kofar Yandaka, Katsina	Katsina State Government
7	Comprehensive Health Care Centre	1989	Kofar Sauri, Katsina	Katsina State Government

[355] Dr. Sani Usman, Age 48, Proprietor and Managing Director, Suru Clinic ENT and Medical Services. Interviewed Monday Tuesday 14th December, 2015 at Clinic ENT and Medical Services, Lawal Kaita Close Street, Katsina, 8:41-8:55PM and Dr. Bello Sada, Age 67, Medical Officer, Umaru Musa Yar'adua University, Katsina. Interviewed Friday 18th December, 2015 at Umaru Musa Yar'adua University Clinic, Katsina, 10:00-11:00AM,

8	Federal Medical Centre Katsina (FMC)	1997	Jibia Road, Katsina	Federal Government
9	Maternity & Child Health Clinic	2004	Tudun Yanlifidda, Katsina	Katsina State Government
10	Maternity & Child Health Clinic	2004	Sabuwar Unguwa, Katsina	Katsina State Government
11	Maternity & Child Health Clinic	2004	Abbatuwa, Katsina	Katsina State Government
12	Maternity & Child Health Clinic	2005	Inwala, Katsina	Katsina State Government
13	Maternity & Child Health Clinic	2005	Gidan Dawa, Katsina	Katsina State Government
14	Turai Yar'adua Hospital	2007	Didan Dawa, Katsina	Katsina State Government
15	Katsina Eye Centre	2008	Old Central Market, Katsina	Katsina State Government

Source: Health Department Katsina Local Council, Katsina 2015 and Tour to various Government Hospital

Table`4.19 Private Schools Established by Igbo Business Men and Women in Katsina Metropolis, 1996-2011

S/No	Name of School	Location	Years of Establishment	Proprietor
1	Top Onward International Academy, Katsina	No. 32 Batsari Road,Back of GT Bank KT	1996	Mr. Okechukwu Kalu (Father)
2	Key Way International School Katsina	IBB Way behind Old Nitel Headquarters KT	1998	Mr. Nnacheta Orji
3	Excel Academic N,P & Secondary School	No. 16 Yahaya Madawaki Way, Katsina	1998	
4	Hope International School Katsina	Dutsin-Ma Road, Katsina	2002	Mr. Praise Onu Bishop
5	Excellence Foundation	Inwala Quarters katsina	2005	Mrs. Favour Ebere
6	Foundation International Schools	No. 63 Murtala Moh'd Way, Katsina	2005	
7	Success Gate International Schools Katsina	Along Damaga Junction, Dakitara Road Katsina	2010	Mrs. Ojukwu
8	My Jewelries Primary School	Shagari Low-cost	2010	Mrs. Ubahakwe
9	Great Basic Academy	Dandagoro	2011	Deacons Chike Fascal Ifi
10	Great Icons Academy Katsina	Kofar Kaura Quaetre, before Shurajo Mai Asharelle Residence	2011	Mrs. Okafor

Source: Proprietors of Private Schools

4.5.11 Structural Development

In the area of infrastructural development the Igbo migrants contributed immensely toward the development of Katsina. For example some wealthy Igbo traders, civil servants and artisans acquired land from both government and individuals and built their owned houses.[356] Hence, as a result of the patronage of Igbo migrants, landed properties have

[356] Ibid.

constantly appreciated. The last ten years of the period under review (1999 – 2011) witnessed a sharp and drastic increase in the price of land in Katsina metropolis from ₦200,000.00K to ₦600,000.00K This was to the extent that whenever *Katsinawa* knew that the person buying the land is an Igbo man they made the price high and double compare to their fellow*Katsinawa*.[357]

4.5.12 Revenue Generation

Apart from the revenue generated by government through crude oil, there were also non-oil revenue base which formed Internally Generated Revenue (IGR) which is normal day to day parlance refers to those revenue sources that are generated solely by the State and Local Governments but collected by all tiers of government and not just internally generated revenues as defined, as what is of utmost importance is that additional revenues are generated for the State and Local Government regardlessof how it is collected.[358] Citizens were required to pay tax as a duty, because tax – is a compulsory levy and user charge – which is tied to recovering costs from services provided to users and Tax was also the vital fluid that ensures that Government is run effectively and in a sustainable manner. Tax provide sources of internally generated revenue to most developed countries most especially Britain.

In Nigeria, revenues collected at the Federal Level, that States benefit from include: Crude Oil Sales, Royalties (Department of Petroleum Resources), Customs Duties (Nigeria Customs Service). Value Added Tax and Education Tax. Thus, taxes collected at the State

[357] Various interviews conducted with Igbo house and shop owners who said their names should not quote. Of equal importance was to note that Igbo businessmen were also into Estate Management especially Chief Echon (the proprietor of Chief Echon De Humana Jarian Estate & Land Vendor & Prop), who had been in the Estate Management business at Kofar Kwaya Behind Dahiru Mangal House for quite a long time.

[358] "Internally Generated Revenue (IGR) and the challenges of National Development" A Paper Presented on the Occasion of the first roundtable for good proactive laws and governance organized by the Initiative; Internal Conference Centre, Abuja-Nigerian, 24th April, 2008.

Level include: Personal Income Tax in respect of Pay-As-You-Earn (PAYE); and Direct taxation, Stamp Duties on instruments executed by for Individuals, Capital Gains for Individuals. In other words Taxes and Levies under the powers imposed by the Constitution and as specified in the Taxes and Levies Act No 21 of 1998 to be collected by the State Government: Pools betting and lotteries, gaming and casino taxes Road taxes, Business premises registration fee in respect of- urban areas as defined by each state, maximum of- N10,000 for registration: and N5,000 per annum for renewal of registration; and rural areas – N2,000 for registration; and N1,000 per annum for renewal of registration, Development levy (individuals only), Naming of street registration fees in state capital, Right of Occupancy fees on lands owned by state government in urban areas of the state and Market taxes and levies where state finance is involved Taxes and Levies under the powers imposed by the Constitution and as specified in the Taxes and Levies Act No 21 of 1998 to be collected by the Local Governments– including but not restricted to: Shops and Kiosks rates, Tenement rates, On and Off Liquor License Fees, Slaughter Slab Fees, Marriage, birth and death registration fees, Naming of street registration fees excluding streets in the State Capital, Right of Occupancy fees on lands in the rural areas eluding those collectible by the Federal and State Governments; Market Taxes and levies excluding market where State Finance is involved Motor Park levies, Domestic animal license fees, Bicycle, truck, canoe, wheelbarrow and cart fees, other than mechanically propelled truck, Cattle tax payable by cattle farmers, and Merriment and Road closure levy. Road and Television licenses fees (other than radio and television transmitters) Vehicle radio license fees (to be imposed by the Local Government of the State in which the car is registered) Wrong parking charges Public

convenience, sewage and refuse disposal fees Customary Burial Ground Permit fees Religious places establishment permit fees and Signboard and advertisement permit fees.[359]

Therefore, if we looked at all these taxes and levies being it at the Federal, State and or Local Government level, the Igbo immigrant communities were not left behind in payment of their taxes compared to *Katsinawa* businessmen and women whom quite a number of them felt that it is their state they need not to pay moreover it was the immigrants responsibility.[360] Sources revealed further that, Igbo migrant community in Katsina metropolis and its environs paid their taxed promptly; they usually pay before officials of Board of Internal Revenue (BIR) and Ministry of Commerce and Industries asked. Igbo of migrants were among the highest tax and levy payers in Katsina metropolis and its environs compared to other immigrant communities like Yoruba, Nupe, Tiv, Igede, Ghanaians, Cameroonians and citizens of the Niger Republic. The tax and levies formed 7% to 10% of the internal generated revenue of Katsina.[361] Apart from that, the business areas and shops in addition to residential houses rented by the quite a number of Igbo migrants from *Katsinawa* tenet served as a source of income to enable *Katsinawa* boast their standard of living and also diverse into Igbo kind of business or other business other than that of the Igbo or other migrant groups. Therefore, all these shown that the presence of the Igbo is a blessing to *Katsinawa* and also a challenge to appreciate the Igbo system of trade and apprenticeship as

[359] Taxes and Levies (Approved List for Collection) Act 21 of 1998

[360]Katsina State Board of Inland Revenue and Ministry of Commerce and Industry Report, 2011 and then oral interviews with the officials such as Alhaji Ibrahim Mamman Kofar Soro, Age 49, Assistant Personal Income Tax. Interviewed Wednesday 16th December, 2015 at Board of Internal Revenue Katsina State, Justice Muhammadu Bello Road GRA, Katsina exactly 3:00-4:00PM, Alhaji Mansir Bature Kankara, Age 46, Assistant Chief Inspector of Internal Revenue. Interviewed Thursday 17th December, 2015 at Board of Internal Revenue Katsina State, Justice Muhammadu Bello Road GRA, Katsina exactly 3:00-4:00PM and Alhaji Abdu-Aziz Kahlid Kahblid, Age 52, Assistant Director PAYE. Interviewed Thursday 17th December, 2015 at Board of Internal Revenue Katsina State, Justice Muhammadu Bello Road GRA, Katsina exactly 2:40-3:20PM.

[361] Ibid.

well as their attitude toward business in terms of tenacity, patience and zeal in business and in building business empire wherever they found themselves.

4.6 Factors responsible for the success of Igbo Enterprise in Katsina Metropolis

Igbo migrants were the most fearless ethnic group in Nigeria, who saw risk as a means of exploiting opportunities. They did businesses under very harsh environments where there were no well-planned city arrangements that could make business less stressful, convenient with full functional infrastructure.[362] The type of risks that would have paralyzed an average entrepreneur was their step-up opportunity. Igbo risk taking phenomenon could be because they had little or no phobia for death through high level of commitment; the choice of business with long term period of payback on investment capital; optimism on future business growth and aversion of fear concerning business mortality; establishment of businesses in a harsh business environment uncertainty about loss of capital if business process failed;loss of honour, prestige and paying job if the business failed and then impatience to invest without minding the future fall in the value of naira.

The secret of this ethnic group in Katsina metropolis and Nigeria was embedded in their ability to take risk and transform it into opportunities, and this often led to their business success in the economy.

In other words, for several centuries, Katsina metropolis has attracted and sustained Niger Republic immigrants, Yoruba, Nupe and Igbo migrants of diverse origins and occupation.[363] These immigrants were attracted to Katsina metropolis for its economic opportunities and they took advantage of the economic opportunities they also help helped in

[362] O. Dibia, *Relevant Ideology: Master key To Igbo Development, 2013*. Available at: www.gamji.com/article9000/ NEWS9297.htm

[363]The immigrants in Katsina Metropolis were beyond the ones mention above.

the developing as well as spreading technological ingenuity and technical skills in various trades; especially when the colonialist and its firms gave the opportunities, the effect of the Nigerian civil war, the creation of Katsina State and the return to democracy and many more. Since then they have remained an important immigrants in Katsina metropolis.

The manner in which the Igbo established themselves in Katsina metropolis was very fascinating the factor of the apprenticeship institution contribution contributed to the development of the Igbo in Katsina metropolis. The apprentice system provided both economic and social structure where by those with the means were able to take into their household younger siblings and relatives the terms of apprenticeship is very according to the type of work and more significantly by sex. Although, Males learn from men and Females from women even though in some of the business reverse is the case. Thus most apprentices began after leaving primary school. Unlike the case of the men, adult women are sometimes contracted to become apprentice.[364] Through this, the Igbo possessed the qualities of good traders and prospective entrepreneur.

[364] Interview with Mr. Godwin Onwudigbo, Age 54, Businessman (Bookshops/Stationeries). Interviewed Monday, April 13, 2015 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi, Katsina exactly 07:00PM-07:45PM. He came from Onitsha to Katsina metropolis in 1985 as apprentice of form/madras business did apprentice between 1985 to 1988 and started form business 1988 to 1990 and switch to bookshop/stationeries business in 1990 to date. He has so far trained 15 boys all Igbo, Mrs. Lilian Godwin, Age 46. Business Woman (Boutique/Textile Materials). Interviewed Monday, April 13, 2015 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi, Katsina exactly 07:46PM-08:45PM came to Katsina metropolis in 1988 started business of provision store, later to foodstuff and then change to Boutique/textile materials in 1996. She has trained 4 boys and 2 girls who are all Igbo with the apprentice for 4-5years, and Mr. Atuchukwu Anulugw, Age 50, Businessman (Building and Furniture Materials). Interviewed Monday, April 13, 2015 at Nagogo Road, Kofar Sauro Round About, Katsina exactly 03:00PM-04:55PM. He came from Nnewi- South Local Government Area of Anambra State to Katsina in 1990 as a spare part business man but change to Building and Furniture Materials because it was and still the viable business in Katsina metropolis. So far he has trained 5 boys from Aguata and Nnewi all from Anambra State and all have established same business in katsina metropolis. See Dough A Anthony, *I Need To Get To Kano The Unmaking and Remarking of an Igbo Migrant Community in Northern Nigeria*, 1906-1989. Evanston: Illinois, 1966. pp. 185 and 174 and Ahmed Bako, "A Socio-Economic History of Sabon Gari Kano, 1913-1989." PhD Department of History, Bayero University Kano, 1990.p120

Also the rigid nature of the apprenticeship prepared the Igbo to face the challenge before them in Katsina metropolis as such there were able to utilized every opportunity had. Thus, in the first place the Igbo in Katsina metropolis were not led to a part of luxury and reckless spending but were rather frugal, resources and not receiving any payment. After he/she has acquired the required training was given money to start business this gesture of helping each other had contributed to the dominance of Igbo in specific ventures, For instance, sales of spare parts, building materials, textbooks and stationeries, electronics and electrical materials, European cloth wear and lot more. These made major roads and highways in Katsina metropolis to become centre of business with the Igbo haven quite a number of shops and stalls, of which some were their owned whilethey rented others.

It is worth nothing at this juncture that the factor behind the success of Igbo in Katsina metropolis was their ability to stand any condition, their patience, tenacity, and were not extravagant. Although, this unique feature came to give Igbo migrants the impression that quite a number of *Katsinawa*, spent most of their income in adding more wives, building big houses, purchase of luxurious expensive cars, and lavish ceremonies, the Igbo would rather wait until he fully consolidated his position, established other business as a security, and even nurture/trained other boys and girls. Therefore from this we could saw that it took an Igbo several years to start enjoyed his wealth talk less of livinga luxurious and pompous life. For example they usually start with motorcycle, to a cheap second hand vehicle which they usually manage in order to facilitate their business.[365]

[365] Interview with Chief Ahanono, Chief Antony, Chief John, Mr. Gabriel and Mr. Ifeanyi Op cit.

Another significant factor for the success of the Igbo in Katsina metropolis was that they can go far and wide in search of goods for their trade and that was what made them control the supply of goods. One prominent Igbo business trader affirmed that:

> "To trade properly you needed connections and trade linkages. If customers need a particular commodity that was not in an Igbo man store, he would ask the customers to wait while he goes to his neighbours shop or business partners to get it. If it was not available, he would say to the customer give me 2 or 3 days and then the Igbo man go to any lent enduring the hassle. Even if he could not go because of one reason of the other, he would assign one of his boys to go and get it; being it in Onitsha or Kano.After gotten it, he would informed the customers that the goods were available as promised."[366]

Thus, this further showed that, if you treat a customer well, he would be a customer for live and once an Igbo trader started business he does not care about the little profit he get. These encouraged other Igbo traders investing in the business. In fact this often brought Igbo traders together, pooling resources in order to develop their trade. This factor distinguished the Igbo trader from other migrants. More so, the ability of the Igbo trader to search for services needed by the people and to render such services in areas where there was prospect of customers was what made the Igbo trader relevant in the economy and society of Katsina metropolis and also a factor that often made some of them on reaching Katsina metropolis to switch from their original business trained under apprenticeship to another different one or just change.

In this direction the Igbo engaged in manufacture and produce/supply of goods needed by the people (*Katsinawa* and other immigrant communities or groups). The popular made in Aba products could not be ridiculed. Aba made cloth, spare parts; electronic gadgets had flooded the market such that it was difficult to differentiate the goods made in Europe and those made from in Aba or the original and fake as they were often referred to. However,

[366] Interview with Mr. Atuchukwu Anulugw, Op cit

this was very significant to the Nigerian economy as a whole and it shows that, if given the incentive, the Igbo were potentials entrepreneurs. It was the unique feature that made the Igbo to stand as a distinguished immigrant group in Katsina metropolis. Thus, as the Igbo excelled in the manufacture and production of commodities, they became the dominant traders that brought into Katsina metropolis new products. Hence, they provided services needed in contemporary Katsina metropolis which we have already discussed.

Notwithstanding and evidently, the socio-economic network established by the Igbo between Katsina and Kano in the North and Onitsha, Aba, Nnewi, Lagos in the South was the factor behind the success of the Igbo in Katsina and the North as a whole. So the Igbo established themselves in Katsina metropolis through this connection and therefore it became necessary to integrate them into the economy and society. As such they outsmarted the Yoruba, competed with the *Katsinawa* and in the long run surpassed Hausa traders. Thus this was what madesome analyst to affirm that"the Igborecorded successes in their various ventures across Nigerian regions and borders in the recent time. Central to the attainment of these successes is the high level of solidarity amongst them."[367]In addition toability to cope in a dynamic environment; ability to organize, reorganize and forecast; ability to delegate responsibilities; ability to utilize business opportunities; apprenticeshiptraining; energetic and hardworking spirit ;courage; confidence;critical thinking; curiosity to learn; creative and innovative skill;determination; independence; optimism;perseveranceand risk-transformation skill.

[367] O. A. Olutayo, "The Igbo Entrepreneur In The Political Economy Of Nigeria." African Study Monographs, Vol. 20 No.3, 1999. Pp. 20-25

Therefore, to summed it all, the peaceful nature of Katsina metropolis was another factor not only behind the success of Igbo enterprises/business but also enhance intergroup relations, unlike in other areas such as Funtua, Kano, Kaduna and Sokoto; crises in Katsina metropolis have been quite minimal couple with the hospitable attitude of *Katsinawa* towards migrant communities as well as the role of traditional rulers in promoting peace in the area. For instance, Dr. Eze recalled how during the religious crises in the country, the then emir of Katsina Alhaji Mustapha Kabir Usman was going round appealing to the non-indigenes not to panic or run away, but that they should stay at home and never allow their children to come out.[368]

4.7 Katsinawa Reactions to Igbo- Migrant Community and the Nature of Exploitation in Katsina Metropolis,1929 – 2011

As stated in the beginning of these research that, no community or society lives in isolation, and also no community is self-sufficient in both production and consumption of goods and services by necessity or luxury.[369] However, since the migration of Igbo to Katsina metropolis (between colonial period to 2011), *Katsinawa* welcome their presence being the fact that Katsina had been home of hospitality to strangers or migrant groups from different parts of the world. In addition to that was the ability of the Igbo to supplied *Katsinawa* commodities that they depend on it for their day to day life or activities. Such commodities includes petroleum products, electrical and electronics, spare parts of motor cycle and cars, textile materials, palm oil, petroleum products like kerosene and gas amongst others. Then in terms of education, and especially in the 1980s, the Igbo migrants were mostly the English,

[368] Ernest, Op Cit.
[369] T. Falola et al. *History of Nigeria I: Nigeria before 1800 AD*. Ibadan: Longman, 1889. Pp.122-123.

Mathematics and Business Studies teachers at various government schools being it primary or secondary.[370]

In terms of personal relationship Igbo migrants were not troublesome people; they were easily accommodated by the *Katsinawa*. For example they easily learn and speak Hausa language which made communication easier and yield proper understanding of each other most especially in the area of economic activities and education. This showed that language is one of the tools for business development and promotion of inter-group relations in different societies and communities.[371]

Thus, the reaction of *Katsinawa*toward the Igbo community controlled of some key business or economic activities started on the eve and during the outbreak of the Nigerian Civil War (1966 – 1970) that was when most Igbo fled out of Katsina while some were killed as the *Katsinawa* titled it *Kissan Gwarawa* and *KwasanGanima* (note discussion on the Nigerian Civil War and the effects of the Igbo exodus from Katsina Metropolis, were already done in 4.5 and 4.6 respectively). During that period, Katsina seized some of the Igbo landed assess and business outlet while some joined the Igbo kind of business the petroleum product, like timber, photography, transport and textile business, that is why even after the Civil War, despite the federal government directive that property be returned to the owners some *Katsinawa* felt redundant in doing that.

It is important to note that the Igbo migrants were able to control some business in Katsina metropolis because they controlled the supplied of the commodities and also because

[370]Interview with Alhaji Lawal Dan - Halilu. Age 82. A Retired Teacher (LEA Staff). Interviewed at Kofar Marusa, Katsina Metropolis dated Thursday November 14, 2014 at 05:15-05:45 and Alhaji Lawal Abdu, Age 65. Retired Ministry of Education Zonal Director, Katsina. Interviewed at Kofar Soro Round About, Katsina Metropolis dated Thursday November 14, 2014 at 06:15-07:45.
[371] Ibid.

of I don't care attitude of quite a number of*Katsinawa* toward business back then; most *Katsinawa* relied on government work than engaging in business or combining government work with business. Thus, with Igbo controlled of some key business, quite a number of *Katsinawa* and even other migrants groups were exploited through the fixed of extorted price (high cost) on those commodities . Hence, since they had no choice, they had bought at that amount. But with the increased in population of the *Katsinawa* or what we may referred as population pressure, *Katsinawa* reacted toward the Igbo fixed of higher price and controlled of those key business i.e. sales of textile materials, electrical and electronics, spare parts of cars and motorcycle, computer accessories and stationeries, patent medicine store, timber and building materials, welder and panel beating. In addition to provision store business, sales of bean cake, radio and television repair, technician works, satellite installation, furniture and interior decoration, photography, and then private schools business. In other words, the *Katsinawa* venture into those kind of Igb business in order to broke the monopoly of the business and likewise, built its own people toward such business.

The second reaction was seen during the *Sharia* Crises of year 2000, where most Igbo business centres and places of worship were burned down and so many Igbo shops and residential houses were looted, followed by the post-election violence of year 2011 which most Igbo travelled out of Katsina to their home towns (Abia, Anambra, Enugu, Ebonyi, Imo and Delta States) in fear of them being killed or injured. But upon their returned after the post-presidential general election violence with the expectation to continue their normal business activities they discovered that most of their residential houses and places of business were looted. Even when they tend to continued with their business in that same shop or to renew their rent they would be denied the privilege, a maneuver by the *Katsinawa* to retain

their shops and operate the same business by the Igbo in the same shops and location in the metropolis. In terms of the residential houses that the Igbo migrants rented, they would discovered that it had been sold to one politician, wealthy or rich man in Katsina, who eventually planned to demolish or already demolished it and built new shops, super market complexor filling stations. Good examples among many were at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, *Gobron Gida*, *Faggi* Quarters along IBB way and then IBB Way, Mobil site were such act were common, and most particularly furniture and interior decoration, electrical and electronics business, spare parts, food canteen, bakery, and textile materials and boutique business. These had pushed out quite a number of Igbo businessmen and women out of business at the same forced them to relocate from Katsina metropolis to somewhere else or to change completely to other business.[372]

The third reaction was in the area of price of commodities and apprenticeship. In terms of the price, the *Katsinawa* engaged themselves in the Igbo kind of business and then they sold their product below that of the Igbo migrants prices or fixed price, for example if a an Igbo product is ₦5,500 the Katsina man on would be ₦5,000 not only that, most *Katsinawa* diverted their purchased of product and commodities from the Igbo traders and businessmen and women to their fellow *Katsinawa*even when it was of low quality. In other words, ethno religious sentiment had contributed so much in pushing the Igbo migrants out of some business they controlled, and these is because a *Bakatsine* would preferred to buy goods or service from his fellow kinsmen than from an Igbo man. These does not only stopped there, the *Katsinawa* refused give their shops on rent to quite number of Igbo migrants unlike before, even if they had to, then it would be at exorbitant price or rate. These

[372]Note that the source of this information came both from *Katsinawa* and Igbo businessmen and women who begged their name to be off record.

had really pushed a lot of Igbo from Katsina metropolis to other areas/location or changed from that particular business to another which *Katsinawa* had not yet discovered or put much attention. Even in terms of landed property, that Katsina sold it to Igbo at exorbitant rate just prevent them from buying, yet some of the Igbo bought and established their business.[373]

Then in the case of apprenticeship, some of the Igbo because of the change of *Katsinawa* attitude towards them and their business, had now picked and put one or two *Katsinawa* in some of their shops as a method to controlled*Katsinawa* reactions or attracting them. This added to the fact that, with the *Boko Haram* activities in Borno, Yobe, Adamawa, Gombe, amongst other Northern States of Nigeria, most of the Igbo siblings and relations in various states of the South-East of Nigeria found it difficult to come to Katsina metropolis to undergo the apprenticeship due to that *Boko Haram* phobia that led to insecurity and declaration of state of emergency by the Federal Government of Nigeria. So the Igbo were putting *Katsinawa* as boys in their shops to made *Katsinawa* think that, their owned people were integrated as well as trained into the business. But despite all these, the *Katsinawa* stood on their ground to compete with the Igbo migrants using different means as we saw above; particular in terms of commodities, price, business layout and residential houses. Thus, these was even made some *Katsinawa* to felt that, in spite of all the income and profit Igbo migrants made in Katsina metropolis, yet Igbo found it difficult to contribute towards the development of Katsina in terms of infrastructural development, revenue generation and community development project. Thus, these assertions is true as we had saw in this

[373]Alhaji Sani Sadiq, Age 40. Motor Cycle Spare Parts Dealer. Interviewed at his shop in Maska Road, Sabon Layi Katsina between 6:00-6: 45PM dated Tuesday 8th December, 2015. Then Yakubu, Christian. Headmaster and Director Emirate Science Nursery and Primary Schools, Opposite INEC Headquarters GRA, Daura Road Katsina. Age 40, Interviewed Sunday 6th December, 2015. 01:00-1:40PM and Alex Pam Adamu, Age 40, Interviewed Sunday 6th December, 2015. 02:00PM-2:40PM at Police Compound Sabon Layi, along Ahmadu Bello Way Sabon Layi, Katsina.

research. This was because there a quite number of Igbo who had built their personal residential houses and houses for rent, shops, private schools, business outlets amongst others (even though this was security wise base on experienced of 1966, 2000 and 2011). Although, in the course of these research we discovered that, before any Igbo man would built a business layout or shed, and most especially a house in a place he was referred as "stranger" or non-"indigene" he might had already built it in his/her hometown (Abia, Anambra, Enugu, Ebonyi, Imo and Delta).

The key areas that *Katsinawa* had responded immensely to Igbo controlled of some key artisans work and business were furniture and interior decoration. For example, before the Igbo were dominant in furniture and interior decoration but as of 1999 to 2011 *Katsinawa* had taken over, i.e. field work had shown that where one, found an Igbo furniture maker, you would find 20 *Katsinawa* furniture makers. This applied to welder, television and radio repair, panel beating, electrical wirings, wheel balance and alignment, then business of motorcycle and bicycle spare, electrical and electronics, pure water/table water business, bread bakery and textile materials. A good example was the establishment of a big textile shop with varieties of textile materials popular called and known as of Green House, located along IBB near the Katsina Central Mosque. The establishment of Green House in 2004 had seriously affected the Igbo textile materials dealers in Katsina metropolis and its environs.[374] In addition was the establishment of Alhaji Nura Electronics (1990),[375] along IBB Way,

[374]Salisu Shehu, Age 30, Managing Director Green House (Dealer of Textile Materials) Katsina. Interviewed Friday 12th December, 2015 at Green House, along IBB Way, Near Katsina Central Mosque, 4:25-5:00PM and Alhaji Shehu Sani Mai Zare, Age 60, Proprietor and Director General Green House (Dealer of Textile Materials). Interviewed Friday 12th December, 2015 at Green House, along IBB Way, Near Katsina Central Mosque, 5:05-6:00PM.

[375]Alhaji Nura Ibrahim Wada, Age 55, Businessman (Dealer of all kind of Electronics). Interviewed Friday 12th December, 2015 at, along IBB Way, Adjacent Katsina Central Mosque, 3:45-4:15PM and Ahononu, Chief

adjacent Katsina Central Mosque, this too had affected the Igbo dealers of electronics in the metropolis. These among many had really shown that *Katsinawa* had immensely reacted towardsIgbo migrants'exploitation and control of some key business in Katsina metropolis and its environs.

4.8 Conclusion

The Igbo migrants to a large extent contributed immensely to the economic growth and development of Katsina metropolis directly or indirectly (i.e. Igbo migrants have been useful to their host community).[376]However, the fact still remains that the Igbo migrants were able to achieve what they did because of their enterprising skills, population, ability to foster unity amongst themselves, and provide to a large extent for their fellow brothers, and then coupled with the non-challant attitude of *Katsinawa* toward some business, absence early business competition, in addition to peaceful environment/atmosphere that Katsina metropolis provided as well as the hospitality of Katsina towards the Igbo and all other migrants communities. Also their nature and perspective about business or making money at every given opportunity thereby investing in land acquisition, building, acquiring knowledge and a lot more gave rise to the effect they had on Katsina metropolis economy and infrastructural development. These have greatly made the Igbo important and successful immigrants in the history of Katsina metropolis and it is undisputable that the Igbo were successful because they are patient, tenacious and industrious despite the reaction of

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Charles Ositadimma. (Omereoche I of Katsina), Age 53, Businessman (Dealers of Electrical/ Electronic materials). Interviewed September 9, 2014 at IBB Way, Tsohun Tasha Round About, Katsina, 12:00Noon-01:30PM.

[376] Note: Other migrant groups have been useful; they have contributed in one way or the other to the economic growth of Katsina

Katsinawa toward Igbo controlled of some key business as well as the nature of their exploitation.

The chapter further presents one of the ways the Nigerian ethnic groups avoid conflict in the economic sphere. Economic monopoly was an important factor in ethnic cooperation because it delineate ethnic boundaries. The different mechanisms the monopolist ethnic groups use to maintain the monopolies enhanced cooperation. This was especially noted in the concept of "cooperation," instead of quarrelling with the ethnic group monopolists, the other ethnic groups looked towards them as if what they were doing was a great contribution to the society that no other group could provide because of the distinctive cultural features of the monopolist groups. The Igbo spare parts monopoly confirms that such ethnic monopolies were, in fact contribution to the society as they were able to drive the price of auto spare parts down and made spare parts most of the time in Katsina. Thus results. Which benefitted everybody, were made possible by the distinctive features of the Igbo culture, which they were able to take advantage of. A proof of the "contribution" function of the ethnic monopoly could be seen on whatever happens whenever the Igbo spare parts seller decide to go "strike" in any Nigerian city. The spare parts seller usually paralyses all the economic activities in the city. In fact, the authorities of the cities always appeal to them to stop these activities to bail the citizens out. Thus happened several times in Kano. It was also the case in Maiduguri towards the end of October 1994. When the State administrator had to appeal to them, this confirm the societal approval of the monopoly.[377]

[377] See Z.O. Ogunnika, Non-Formal Approach to Ethnicity: An Interpretative Exploitation of Nigerian Peoples' Copying Mechanism. USA: Trafford Publishing, 2013. p.163

CHAPTER FIVE

CONTEMPORARY OF THE IGBO MIGRANT COMMUNITY IN KATSINA METROPOLIS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the social and political life of the Igbo in Katsina metropolis,the community leadershiptraditional institution, its inter-group relation with the

Katsinawa and other migrant communities, the general contributions of Igbo towards the development of Katsina metropolisas well as the challenges facing the Igbo community in Katsina metropolis are some of the issues discussed in this chapter[378]

5.1 The Establishment of Igbo Community Association (ICA) in Katsina Metropolis

To a large extent, the coinage of the term Igbo ethnic group, like the Yoruba, was a 20th century creation which emerged within the context of the Nigerian state, and was enabled by the regionalization of the country's politics.[379] As it were, although a distinct Igbo identity emerged in the 1920s, helped in part by the missionaries and the Igbo State Union which was in the vanguard of the process of getting it together, the domination of the Eastern Region by the Igbo reinforced the desire to keep a united Igbo ethnic group as the only way of sustaining the political advantage of domination.

The Igbo have a long history of associational ethnicity. In fact, the Igbo State Union which was formed in 1923 was the second major ethnic union in Nigeria. That Union was

[378] It is important to also note, Igbo were the largest group of the former Eastern Region who, today, are to be found mainly in five states: Abia, Anambra, Enugu, Imo and Ebonyi. Although there were other Igbo groups in Rivers State (this includes the Ikwerre) and Delta State (Delta Igbo) where the old Western Igbo are now located, the 'east' is regarded as the Igbo homeland. For more see E. E. Osaghae, *Trends of Migrant Political Organization in Nigeria: The Igbo in Kano*. Ibadan: IFRA Institut français de recherche en Afrique, 1994. pp.35-53 ebook available at http://www.ifra-nigeria.org or http://www.openedition.org/6540

However, Igbo Community Association (ICA) was association and the central body that brought together persons of Igbo origin by birth, marriage, naturalization or adoption within a metropolis or geographical area. Its main purpose was to cater for the welfare, promotion and maintenance of Igbo heritage while enhancing infusion in recognition of other cultures. Its membership was open to all Igbo organizations in the geographical area as defined in its constitution. No wonder its motto remained as *Ihunaya, Udo Idin'otu* (Love, Peace and Unity)

For more see Constitution for Igbo Community Association (ICA) Katsina, Katsina State, Reviewed, 2008. p.2

[379]See K.O. Dike, *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta*, 1830-1855. London.Oxford : University Press, 1956. pp5-7 and J.S. Coleman, *Nigeria : Background to nationalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958. pp 333-340

base in Lagos, and had branches all over the country,[380] including Katsina metropolis, having been partially established there in the 1940s and began to change grounds in the 50s; which was the time that Igbo population rose to 2,704.[381] Worthy of note is the fact that during this period the Igbo in Katsina metropolis were living like a community sharing things in common especially during ceremonies (such as burial) and festivals (such as Igbo Day which they usually observe every 1st October 1966),[382] and like other southern migrants, the Igbo in Katsina maintained close links with 'home', where they took wives, built houses, and continued to partake in major customary practices, including festivals.[383] As such in their quest to promote the welfare of their members as well as the development of the Igbo society in Katsina metropolis and Katsina State, they continued to re-organize their union and associations. For example Igbo had quite a number of local government association and unions in Katsina metropolis which were based on their original local government at the South-East of Nigeria which led to the reactivation and reorganization of the Igbo Union (IU) in 1973 (being a Central body whose activity was curtailed in 1966 as a result of the Nigerian Civil War) under the leadership of late Chief John Areh, then in 1989 the IU name was changed to Igbo Welfare Association (IWA) with Chief Sylvanus Ezebulie as the first Chairman. It is equally important to note that it was in 1989 that the IWA elected Chief Hillary Chukwuma Okonkwo as the Eze 1 of Katsina,[384] at the same time established Igbo

[380] Ibid, pp. 35-33
[381] Population Census of 1952 by Population Census of the Northern Region of Nigeria.
[382] Igbo Day Magazine, 2008. Op cit p.16
[383] Chief Anotony Obi, Op cit
[384] It is important to note that Chief Hillary Chukwuma Okonkwo was unanimously elected as Eze Ndi-Igbo 1 of Katsina State in 1989,then on June 17, 1995 he was formally installed as the Eze Ndi-Igbo of Katsina and was given staff of office by the then Military Governor of Katsina State Navy Captain Emmanuel Acholonu (1993-1997). Also as a sign of closer cooperation with the Igbo Community, Okonkwo's coronation got the blessings of the late emir of Katsina Alhaji Muhammadu Kabir Usman (1981-2006). The Eze symbolizes the leader of all Igbo in Katsina State, and therefore by the virtue of this office he channels all the challenges of his

Traditional Institution headed by the Eze and Political Institution headed by the IWA President and by 2006, IWA was renamed as Igbo Community Association (ICA) during the tenure of Chief Daniel Abe as a symbol Igbo oneness and unity, and in line with other Igbo Associations in Northern Nigeria.[385] (See Table 5.1 below)

Table 5.1 Igbo Community Association Leaders in Katsina Metropolis, 1953-2015

S/No	Period	Names	Position	Change of Nomenclature
1	1953-1966	Mr. Anene	Chairman	Igbo Union (IU)
2	1973-1976	Chief John Areh		
3	1976-1978	Chief Louis Okro		
4	1978-1980	Mr. Samuel Apawe		
5	1980-1989	Chief Walter Edokwe		
6	1989-1994	Chief Slyvanus Ezebulie	President	Igbo Welfare Association (IWA)
7	1994-2000	Chief Stephen Njurumba		
8	2000-2003	Chief Daniel Ebeh	President	Igbo Community Association (ICA)
9	2003-2006	Chief Barr. Joel Ilechi		
10	2006-2009	Chief Anthony Ekwedasike Aka		

people to the government or to the traditional authority for amicable settlement especially if the problem had to do with *Katsinawa*or other migrant groups.

[385] Forging Ahead, Igbo Magazine, Op cit, pp.25 and 16 and then interview with Chief John Uduagwu Chukwuemeka, Age 75, Contractor/Electrical Engineer. Interviewed November 7, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 11:20AM-12:00 Noon, Chief Enukora Christian, Age 66, Businessman(Boutique). Interviewed November 6, 2014,Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 06:30PM-07:30PM, Chief Charles Ahononu (Omereoche I of Katsina), Age 53, Businessman (Dealers of Electrical/Electronic materials). Interviewed September 9, 2014 at IBB Way, Tsohun Tasha Round About, Katsina, 12:00Noon-01:30PM, Dr. Eze Ernest, Age 57, Medical Practitioner and Proprietor Okmos Clinic Katsina. Interviewed November 9, 2014 at IBB Way Okmos Clinic Katsina, 08:00PM-9:00PM, Mr. Augustine Eze, Age 68, Businessman (Boutiques: Shoes and Bags). Interviewed November 6, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 09:00AM-09:45AM, Mr. Cletus Anyanwu, Age 62, Artisan (Panel Beater/Welder Services). Interviewed November 11, 2014 at Dutsin-Ma Road, Fire Service Station, Katsina, 02:45PM-03:15PM, Mr. Obi Christopher (Danja), Age 75, Businessman (Textile Materials/Wrappers and Transporter/Driver). Interviewed November 7, 2014, Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 05:30PM-06:30PM, Mr. Michael Ilanya, Age 70, (Textile Materials/Wrappers and Transporter/Driver). Interviewed November 7, 2014,Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 4:30PM-05:25PM and Mr. Frederick Itoya, Age 65, Businessman (Leather/Poly Bags). Interviewed November 6, 2014 at IBB WayKofar Kaura Katsina, 01:00PM-01:40PM

11	2009-2012	Chief Nze Vincent Maduchukwu		
12	2012-2015	Chief Okechukwu Onyia		

Source: Igbo Community Association (ICA) Katsina. Maiden Edition, Igbo Day Magazine, 2008. p.16

Looking at the above table we could see that between the periods 1953-1966, the ICA was under the name Igbo Union (IU) while the leadership position was that of a Chairman until 1989 when it was changed to President under Igbo Welfare Association (ICA). From the year 2006 the name was changed to Igbo Community Association (ICA) and still maintaining the leadership position as President. It is importantto note that these unions were replicated at the local government levels of their states (Anambra, Abia, Enugu, Ebonyi, Imo and Delta). They were also formed with the aim of promoting the welfare of their membersand also to aid the needs of the ICA. However, these associations were responsible and answerable to the mother ICA (being the superior body) in Katsina, at the same time involved in developing their home towns. For example building of Town halls, schools, post offices, provision of scholarship schemes and other projectsamong others.This point demonstrates that the Igbo group and identity in Katsina were emergent structures which are best described in terms of a melting pot which none the less did not destroy the sub-group identities. The emergent identity was particularly useful for political purposes. The ICA was closely affiliated with the politics of Katsina as we shall see later.

Notwithstanding, such association which are formed based on the 42 number Local Government of Igbo State (Abia, Anambra, Delta Enugu, Ebonyi and Imo as stated in ICA Constitution) includes Aguata Progressive Union formed in 1981 through the concerted effort of one Mr. Geoffery, Umejiakor and others. The membership of the union that started with 25 members in 1981 increased to about 120 members, and this union is credited to have

been one of the largest Igbo speaking Local Government Union in Katsina State.[386] There is also Old Njikoka Development Union formed in 1983 by late Chief Alphosu Ndibe with 18 members. Others included Ekwulumili Development Union from Anambra Sate also formed in 1983 with Michael Onyejike as its first Chairman. After the creation of the Katsina State in 1987 more unions were formed such as Ezeagu Association founded by Mr. Fredrick Emeka Okafor in 1987, Nkanu Union Association founded by Mr. Peter Onu, 1989, while Chief Andrew Chukwu became its first Chairman. There is also Igbo-Ekiti Progressive Union formed in 1997 under the leadership of Chief Ezorah Sylvanus. The Union was primarily dominated by business men and women and then technicians.[387] (For see on the associations/unions see table 5.2 below).

Table 5.2 Igbo Unions that form Igbo Community Association (ICA) in Katsina Metropolis, 1944-2015

S/No	Year Established	Names of Igbo Unions	First Chairman
1		Orlu Senatorial Union	
2	1944	Awkuzu Progressive Union	Chief Julius Ezeani
3	1972	Okigwe Senatorial Union	Chief Obed Chigbu
4	1973	Enugu Youth Association	Chief Boniface Omeh
5	1977	Bende Progressive Union	Mr. Sam Orowey
6	1977	Obowu Development Association	Chief Joel U. Anusiem
7	1978	Oha Ngwa Welfare Association	Mr. Paul Alughi
8	1978	Nsukka Progressive Union	Mr. Emmauel Ugwuanyi
9	1979	Orumba Welfare Association	Mr. mazi J.I Okereke
10	1979	Mbaise Progressive Union	Chief H.C Adawa

[386] Forging Ahead, Igbo Magazine, Op cit, p.45
[387] Ibid, pp.45-61

11	1981	Aguata Progressive Union	Chief Anthony Obi (Ikenga)
12	1981	Ekwusigo Local Government Union	Mr. Emmanuel Ndukwe
13	1981	Ikwuano/Umuahia Progressive Union	Mr. Anthony Atakas
14	1982	Orlu Divisional Union	Mr. Stephen Dike
15	1983	Nnewi Local Government Progressive Union	Mr. Jude Nkenjiika
16	1983	Old Njikoka Development Union	Chief Alphosus Ndibe
17	1983	Ekwulumili Development Union	Mr. Michael onyejike
18	1984	Mbaitoli-Ikeduru Patriotic Union	Igwe Dr. R.O Aguta
19	1984	Ohafia Deevelopment Association	Mr. Kalu Ekeoma
20	1985	Ngor-Okpala Development Union	Mr. John Ekeh
21	1985	Abakaliki Progressive Union	Mr. Patrick Eke
22	1987	Igbo-Eze Local Government Progrssive Union	Chief Michael Apeh
23	1988	Onyeaghalanwannya Progressive Union	Chief Desmond Uwazie
24	1988	Aboh-Ezininnitte Progressive Union	Chief Desmond Uwazie
25	1989	Ezeagu Progressive Union	Mr. Ichie Charles Ofodile
26	1989	Nkanu United Association	Mr. Peter Onu
27	1993	Mbano United Association	Chief Fabian Azubike
28	1994	Isuikwuato Development Association	Chief Rafael Amakwe
29	1997	Aninri Progressive Union	Mr. Jonathan Ndubisi
30	1997	Igbo-Etiti Progressive Union	Chief Ezeorah Sylvanus
31	2002	Eha-Amufu Development Union	Chief Frederick Igwumube
32		Owerri Local Governmet Association	
33		Obowo Local Governmet Union	
34		Eboyi South	
35		Ihitte-Uboma Development Union	
36		Eha-Amufu Proressive Union	
37		Orumba North Association	
38		Omunochi Uturu	
39		Arochukwu	
40		Nkanu Progressive Union	
41		Udi Local Government Union	
42		Awgu Local Government	
43		Nnewi South	
44		Ihiala Divisional	

Source: Igbo Community Association (ICA) Katsina. Maiden Edition, Igbo Day Magazine, 2008. pp. 45-60 and Imo State United Association, Katsina Branch Magazine, 26 July, 2009. Pp.35-46[388]

5.2. Aims and Objectives

Prior to the Nigerian Civil War the aims and objectives of the various Igbo Unions and Associations in Katsina metropolis were geared towards providing assistance to new arrivals or to members in times of need.[389] In a broad sense, the various associations were

[388] Note all effort to get the year of the establishment and names of the other chairmen of various unions proved difficult

[389] Chief Antony Obi, Op cit

formed primarily to meet the welfare needs of members and to make the adaptation of new Igbo migrants easier. Nzimiro described the central union as a classic example of a welfare association, as each member was encouraged to assist unemployed ones in securing jobs. It also supported members in times of need — during funeral and marriage ceremonies,[390] for example they provided soft loans for members who were in financial distress. From time to time, the unions/associations organized cultural activities whose objective was to ensure that migrants did not lose their cultural identity. But as from the 1970s upward the Central body which was the ICA did not only restrict itself to those aims and objectives, as such it went far beyond that as it was clearly stated in its constitution which stated that : (a)This association is non-political, non-religious but socio-cultural ; (b) to provide Love, Peace, Unity and other Social developmental activities in Katsina ;(c)to devise ways and means whereby all Igbos in Katsina shall be one;(d) to encourage educational development, social and cultural activities of the Association in Katsina;(e) to create atmosphere of unity and better understanding between the association and other ethnic groups in Katsina especially our host State;(f) to ensure the loyalty of all Igbos in Katsina to Katsina State and to Federal Republic of Nigeria; and (g) to ensure the welfare and security of Igbos in Katsina.[391]

5.3 Political and Administrative Structure of the ICA

With the Installation of the Eze Igbo 1 of Katsina State in 1989 and the change of Igbo Welfare Association (IWA) to Igbo Community Association (ICA) in 2006 the Political and Administrative Structure of the ICA became two; there was the Traditional Institution

[390]J. Nzimiro, "A study of mobility among the Igbo of southern Nigeria." In R. Paddington, (ed) *Kinship and Geographical Mobility*, Leiden : N.P., 1965.pp, 50-52

[391] ICA Constitution Katsina, Op cit pp.2-3

under the Eze which also had Cabinet, and the Political institution under the ICA President which also hadexecutive[392] Thus these two organs form the General Assembly of the ICA which comprised of two representatives each from the local government, State and zonal level as the constitution demand. However, the discussion on the ICA and the Traditional Institution had been done in 5.3.4, 5.4. 5.5, 5.6, 5.7, 5.8 and 5.9 respectively.

5.3.1 Local Government Level

Under this arrangement there were 42 Local Government with chairman recognized in Nigeria by the Igboland in their various hometowns. The Local Government comprised of Chairman, Vice President, Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Financial Secretary, Treasurer, Social Organizer, Public Relation Officers I and II, Provost, Patron as well as Members. They usually sent two representatives to the ICA. [393]

5.3.2 State Level

At the State level there is also Chairman, Vice President, Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Financial Secretary, Treasurer, Social Organizer, Public Relation Officers I and II, Provost, Legal Advisers I and II followed by Members. Under these arrangement meetings was by representation unlike in local government where everybody could come to the meeting at once. Representative under the state each local government send 2 delegates of their local government to represent them as well pay dues on behalf of their Local

[392] Interview with Nwosu Op cit
[393] Interview with Onyia (alias Ok 2000), Op cit.

Government. At the same time forwardedtheir complaints, decision, observations, and request among others to the State.[394]

5.3.3 Zonal Level

Apart from the state there was the zonal level which comprised of all the offices and the number of delegates as of the state is just that the zonal level is superior to that of the state. The zone was divided into two (2); Old Anambra Zone which comprised of Anambra, Enugu, Ebonyi and Delta and then Old Imo Zone which comprised of Imo and Abia States.[395]

5.3.4 Igbo Community Association (ICA)

Apart from the zonal level, there was the ICA which was the highest and strongest decision body of Igbo in Katsina. It comprised of President, Vice President, Secretary General, Assistant Secretary General, Financial Secretary, Treasurer, Provost I, II and III, Public Relation Officers I and II, Social Organizer I and II, Legal Advisers I and II, Zonal Patrons, and Zonal Representatives. At this level representation was by delegates; 2 from each local government including the Excos, Patrons, Advisers and also Legal Advisers. It also comprised both the Igbo Traditional Institution and the Igbo Administrative aspect. For instance, the Eze and his Cabinet were all subject to ICA.[396]

5.3.5 Meetings

[394] ICA Constitution Katsina, 2008. Op cit p.5
[395] Ibid, p.5
[396] Ibid. p.6

In terms of meetings the ICA have three (3) different kinds of meetings; these were (1) the Executive Meeting (ICA Exco meeting) which comprises of Zonal Representatives from the two zones and even that of the Eze Cabinet which use to hold every last Thursday of every month at 5:00pm (or as the executive may decide); (2) General Meeting which used to take place on every last Saturday of every month at 4:00pm (or as the house may decide) and then (3) Emergency Meeting which used to hold whenever the need arose. Thus all the meetings were usually at Igbo Hall, located at off Yahaya Madaki Way *Tudun Katsira* among other chosen venues by the executive and general assembly.[397]

5.3.6 Source of Fund

In terms of finance the ICA generated its fund through (1) registrations of unions and₦ 1,000.00K Monthly Dues imposed on 42 Local Governments that made up the ICA; (2) levies and fine as a result of late-coming to meetings and payment of monthly dues and in executing a particular project; (3) Development levy imposed for executing a particularproject; (4) and then launching of magazine, fund raising, donations from local associations and individuals among others.[398]

5.3.7 Death

In the case of death, it was the principal responsibility of the ICA to ensure that the corpse of a late member was buried in his/her hometown that was why each ICA member (which was limited to the 42 Igbo Local Government unions) contribute ₦150:00K through their Local Government representatives and when the money was raised ₦150, 000.00K is usually given to the deceased's family (as burial rites for them to use it and convey the

[397] ICA Constitution, 2008. pp. 11-12
[398] Ibid, pp.4-6

corpse of the deceased) out of the total money while the remaining were used for any expenses to be made in the course of the burial preparation such as entertainment/refreshment among others. But if the family failed to bury the corpse in their hometown they must refund the money to the ICA through their local government association. In addition to that there was no provision for burial rites for an Igbo man or woman who committed suicide. As such it was only the ICA President that has the final say regards to burial right.[399]

5.4 The Evolution of Eze Institution in Katsina

Behind anything there must be a reason. The changing character of Igbo settlers in Katsina provided the background against which the emergence of the Igbo traditional institution headed by the Eze Igbo can be understood. The fact that they regard themselves as settlers rather than temporary sojourners led them to consider new modes of socio-political organization which could make Katsina a real home. Part of the concern in this process was how to preserve their identity in terms of language, culture, and traditions so that the newer generation of Igbo, especially those who had little connection with home, would not lose their roots. It was to complete the preservation project that the idea of an Igbo king in Katsina came about.[400] The idea was to 'import' the traditional system from home and implant traditional loyalties which appeared to be the missing link in associational ethnicity. Igbo leaders interviewed in Katsina also allude to the long distance away from home and the fact that many people were no longer in close touch with home, as being responsible for the

[399] Ibid, pp.23-24 and 27-28
[400] Okonkwo, Op cit

'nostalgia' that gave impetus to the idea of an Igbo king.[401] This also probably explains why Igbo traditional institution become almost standard practice in major northern cities (Kano, Jos, Kaduna, Zaria, Sokoto and Katsina).

The emergence of an Igbo migrant traditional institution in Katsina, which they learn the idea from other northern cities, cannot be adequately explained in terms of the changes in the character of Igbo settlers or their preferred mode of organization alone. It was not simply nostalgia that necessitated the creation of the Eze Igbo; there were functions and roles that were also envisaged for the Eze. For example, ensuring that the ICA and existing Igbo unions were able to function satisfactorily. Though they were mainly concerned with preserving Igbo traditions and customs as stated by the ICA, the Eze Igbo's duties also included strengthening the status of the Igbo in Katsina through more effective instruments of representation.[402] Accordingly, the emergence of the ICA had a lot to do with the perceived efficacy of traditional authority and representation in the highly conservative Katsina society, and was greatly influenced by the dominant traditional pattern of authority in Katsina. In other words, the ICA was one way of conforming to the socio-political organization of Katsina, with the expectation that thereby they would enjoy greater acceptance and respect from the host community.[403]

5.5 Structure and Function of the Igbo Traditional Institution in Katsina

The Igbo traditional institution, with the Eze as its fulcrum, is the creation of the ICA. The position of the Eze Igbo was created specially to perform functions in the area of

[401] Oral interview with Obi, Nwosu, Okonkwo, John and Onyia, Op cit
[402] Oral interviews conducted with Igbo Chiefs in Katsina Metropolis.
[403] Ibid.

customs, traditions and culture. Although the intention seems to have been to make the Eze a traditional ruler, his powers and authority derived from the ICA constitution.[404] The constitution defines the Eze Igbo as the traditional head of the Igbo in Katsina, 'a member of the Association who has been identified, selected, appointed, installed and recognized by Igbo in Katsina according to the Igbo tradition and usages'. The position of Eze is not hereditary. When vacant, it is open to contest by any member of the ICA who has paid his dues up to date, and has continuously been an active member of one of the member town unions of the ICA in the last one year at least. To ensure that this condition is met, the candidate must have the written consent of his local union expressing its support for the candidacy. Other qualifications for an aspiring Eze include (a) that he be ordinarily resident in Katsina; (b) that he has a good knowledge of Igbo traditions, culture and usages; (c) that he is not below 40 years old (note for ICA President is 30 years or above); (d) that he is fluent in the Igbo and English language; (e) that he has no political affiliations; (f) that he has a visible means of livelihood; and (g) that he is capable of commanding the respect of all the Igbo in Katsina. The contest for the vacant Eze position is not entirely open. The constitution states that the position shall rotate among Abia, Anambra, Enugu, Ebonyi, Imo and Delta States which, in practice, means that candidates from the last Eze's state will not be eligible to contest in same position, except in the unlikely waiver of their rights by candidates from the other states. This provision, more than anything else, clearly delineates the boundaries of the Igbo who make up the traditional.[405] Thus to ensure sanity in the ICA leadership the ICA Constitution Zoned the executive positions based on the two zones namely ; Old Anambra

[404]Ibid.
[405] ICA Constitution, Op cit

State and Old Imo State[406] For more see the table 5.4 below which shows that if Eze comes from Zone A, the ICA will come from Zone B and so it applies to other positions.

Table 5.3 Zoning of Igbo ICA Leadership for Sanity

S/No	Zone A	Zone B
1	Eze Igbo	Preisident
2	Vice President	Assistant Secretary General
3	Secretary General	Financial Secretary
4	Treasurer	Public Relation Officer (Chief)
5	Assistant Social Organizer	Chief Social Organizer
6	Assistant PRO	Provost II
7	Chief Provost	Provost III

Source: Article 17 of ICA Constitution, Katsina, Katsina State, 2008 Reviewed. Pp. 21-22

Note:Zone A which is Old Anambra comprise of Anambra, Enugu, Ebonyi and Delta and then Zone B which is Old Imo Zone which comprises of Imo and Abia States.

Nonetheless, according to the constitution, an Eze is to be selected by a joint meeting of the ICA executive committee, the Cabinet and patrons, subject to ratification by a two-thirds majority vote of members present at a general meeting of the association specifically summoned for that purpose. The full process of selection is as follows.

Upon declaration of the position vacant, nominations which have to be ratified by ICA members from all the Igbo-speaking states, are invited from eligible candidates. The nominations are then screened and short-listed, if there are many candidates. The ICA executive sends the names of the short-listed candidates to the Cabinet whose members elect the Eze by voting. The name of the candidate with the highest votes is then sent back to the ICA which may interview the candidate and approve his election. Next, a joint meeting of the ICA executive, Cabinet and patrons ratifies the selection, which is then finally ratified by the ICA general assembly. This seemingly complicated process has not, however, had its full impact, largely because first Eze's elected so far have had little or no opposition. In fact,

[406] Ibid, p.23

because of the newness of the position, very few people were interested. Even after he left for Ezeship in his own home town at Anambra, the leader of the Cabinet, Chief Jonathan C. Nwosu, became acting being Onowu or Prime Minister, a position which made him the Eze's chief adviser and his second in command. As such so many Igbo chiefs became interested because the people have come to recognize the importance of the office of Eze. Finally, in relation to tenure, an Eze ordinarily reigns until death. But there are specified conditions under which he can be suspended or his recognition withdrawn. These conditions, as spelt out in the constitution are as follows: (1) the Eze breaches any of the conditions of his recognition; (2) he flouts the provision(s) of the constitution of the Association (ICA) or the decision(s)/resolution(s) of the general meeting of the Association; (3) he is proven guilty of misconduct. Such misconduct is to be investigated by the ICA executive which, acting in consultation with the Cabinet and Patrons, is empowered to choose, among their members those to 'try' the Eze, as it were; and (4) he is incapable of carrying out his duties being too old, or physically or mentally unfit, but is nevertheless unwilling to give up the office/post.[407]

So far, none of these rules have been invoked, partly because all the Eze have, so far, enjoyed a smooth relationship with the ICA, Cabinet and patrons. But, as we analyze below, some jurisdictional tensions are beginning to emerge which, in future, could threaten the smooth functioning of the Eze Igbo.

The major functions of the Eze Igbo include: (1) acting as the custodian of the culture, customs and traditions of the Igbo in Katsina, and advising the Association (ICA) on such matters; (2) taking steps to reconcile disputing parties in civil matters on his own volition, or as may be referred to him by the executive council, town unions or any

[407] Ibid.

constituted authority; (3) promoting peace and stability in the Igbo community or any other community in Katsina; (4) performing such other functions, as may be assigned and required of him by the Association or other constituted authority, by virtue of his position, provided that in his acts, he shall be in constant consultation with his cabinet; (5) advising the Association on matters considered to be in the best interests of the Igbo in Katsina; (6) as Eze, he reigns but does not rule; and (7) representing the Igbo generally on all matters.[408]

From these stated functions, what is clear is that the ICA has made conscious efforts to prevent the emergence of an Eze who would want to usurp the powers of the ICA. As it were, the Eze is an 'instrument' of the ICA, deriving his power from the Association and functioning within the constitutional limits and at the discretion of the ICA. Apart from matters of customs, culture and traditions which he is said to be custodian of, the Eze has no autonomy to act on any other matters and, most important of all, he cannot take any 'executive' or unilateral action because, as the constitution states, 'he reigns, but does not rule.'

The constrained position of the Eze can be said to be consistent with the Igbo republican political culture. But it raises some pertinent questions. Can an Eze perform well with all these encumbrances and, if he ignored these limitations, would his role not conflict with that of the ICA? If the Eze is so encumbered, why was it necessary to create the position at all? Could it be simply a matter of the symbolism? The President and Secretary of the ICA do not see any basis for conflict, real or potential, or any encumbrance on the Eze's office because, as they say, the Eze takes pre-eminence only on cultural matters. According to the President, since it is the ICA that appoints him, the Eze is subject to it. Indeed, upon

[408] Ibid.

appointment and as part of the instrument of office at coronation, the Eze is required to agree to abide by the rules of the constitution. In theory and practice, there is a broad division of powers between the ICA and the Eze. The former deals with the day-to-day administration of Igbo affairs in, while the Eze's powers are in the areas of custom and tradition. Nonetheless, the Eze is expected to advise the ICA on administration and the ICA in turn can advise the Eze on how best to preserve and propagate Igbo culture and traditions. The incumbent acting Eze Igboand the ICA President shares the views of the ICA on the broad division of powers and believes that if there was any conflict, it would be amicably resolved at a joint meeting of the ICA executive, the Cabinet and patrons.[409]

So far, no major crisis has arisen, but the potential for them to arise is palpable. For example, in talking to ICA executive committee members on the one hand, and members of the Eze's Cabinet on the other, contending perceptions of which body takes final decisions and which is representative of Igbo interests can be discerned. Most Cabinet members interviewed by this researcher believed the Eze to be the head of all the Igbo in and as such his pronouncements carry the weight of 'law'. For example, it was pointed out that most decisions of the ICA have had to receive the prior 'approval' of the Eze. This may simply be a matter of informal consultation because the constitution grants the ICA executive the power of approval: Neither the Eze, nor a Cabinet member, nor any functionary of the ICA shall make public policy announcements concerning the association without prior approval of the executive'. In practice, this is not strictly followed because informal consultations and approvals by the Eze are made, especially in matters which affect the collective interests of all the Igbo in Kasina. Nevertheless, it remains to be resolved whether the Eze or ICA

[409] Nwosu, Op cit

executive, in the final analysis, is the representative of Igbo interests. Virtually all the Igbo in Katsina accept the authority of the Eze Igbo as the symbol of their unity, but in their dealings with the state government and the Emir, both the ICA and Eze have been involved, depending on the nature of the matter. In the aftermath of the crisis that followed the annulment of 2011presidential election, for example, the ICA represented the Igbo, but the Eze elect and his Cabinet played very crucial roles in persuading the people not to flee from Katsina. The point, therefore, is that whatever division of responsibility may exist in the constitution or in the perceptions of the principal actors, the ICA has usually consulted the Eze on major decisions, both as a sign of respect and as a way of ensuring that mistakes are not made. The Eze, on the other hand, also consults the ICA executive and his Cabinet before major decisions are taken.[410]

This potential for conflict does not however, detract from the rather smooth relationship that has so far existed between the Eze and the ICA. Most Igbo in Katsina agree that the creation of the office of Eze has bolstered their status in the city, showing them as a people with an identity and rich cultural heritage. Indeed, since the time of the first Eze, the levels of cultural assertiveness and customary observance have increased considerably. In addition to the *Iriji* which most Igbo now celebrate in rather than at home, as was the case previously; funeral, marriage and child-naming ceremonies have become occasions for displaying Igbo culture and asserting the fact of a migrant institution. The role and functions of the Eze are not, however, restricted to cultural and traditional spheres. In a sense, the Eze has become the rallying point for Igbo unity and, in the process, he has become the 'honoured' representative of Igbo interests in relation to the host community and to other

[410] Ibid.

migrant (settler groups). He performs important arbitrary and mediatory functions in disputes involving the Igbo and their local unions. In this regard, as 'father' of the Igbo in, he serves as the final appellate 'court', as only matters which have not been dealt with satisfactorily by the local unions, ICA and other constitutive groups are referred to him. Finally, although the Eze is non-political, he plays a crucial political role, like other traditional rulers. In representational terms, as already pointed out, he is consulted as the spokesman of the Igbo in Kano. It is as such that politicians visit the Eze to court Igbo support, though such motives are not made public.

5.6 The Cabinet (Ndi Ichie Eze)

The Cabinet, in theory, is the Eze's Cabinet, but it advises both the Eze and the ICA. In practice, therefore, the Cabinet is not the Eze's, though the chiefs who compose it are regarded as his chiefs and many are appointed by him. In fact, like the Eze himself, the Cabinet is a creation of the ICA and is expected to be 'answerable and loyal to the Association'. The duties of the Cabinet are stated to include advising the Eze on cultural and traditional matters, and acting for him through the first chairman of the Cabinet in his absence.[411] It is easy to see that the ICA is again taking extra care to prevent the Eze from becoming too powerful. Thus, although the Cabinet is regarded as the Eze's Cabinet, the ICA determines its membership and appoints members to it, usually in consultation with the Eze. Even those chiefs honoured by the Eze, and becoming members of the Cabinet have to be approved of by the ICA.

Membership of the Cabinet is regarded as a mark of distinction amongst the Igbo in Katsina. Ordinarily, any Igbo man in Katsina can be appointed to the Cabinet, as long as he

[411] ICA Constitution, Op cit

is ‘fit and proper’, and is a financially up-to-date member of one of the local union members of the ICA - he loses his seat ‘if and when his local union for any reason ceases to be a registered member of the association’. The Cabinet can also be likened to a parliament or legislative assembly which is composed on the basis of representing the kaleidoscope of interests. In addition to membership being a mark of honour and distinction, it is also made to be representative of the unions and groups which make up the ICA.

In the interest of fair representation of the Six igbo speaking states that make up the Association in, there shall be six chairmen of the Cabinet to be appointed by the Eze, one each from Abia, Anambra, Enugu, Ebonyi, Delta and Imo states, provided that the first chairman and the second chairman shall be appointed from the states other than those from where the Eze and President of the ICA have emerged.[412]

In terms of tenure, apart from six members representing the ICA who have fixed terms of fix years, membership of the Cabinet is semi-permanent, as members appointed by the Eze (and ICA) continue to be members even after the particular Eze is no longer in office. The constitution states that ‘No Cabinet member shall be removed, unless on a serious case of disloyalty either to the association, the Cabinet or the Eze or on a serious case of misconduct.’

The Cabinet is given a free hand to make its own rules, subject to the provisions of the constitution. The Cabinet has, in the spirit of this provision, produced its own constitution which spells out the main functions of the Cabinet, its principal officers and their duties, the nature of its organization through committees, and the conduct and benefits of membership.

[412] Ibid.

The principal officers, include the Onowullsi Ichie (first Chairman/Traditional Prime Minister); Osatalu Onowu (Deputy Prime Minister); Secretary; Assistant Secretary; Financial Secretary/Treasurer and the Chief of Protocol. Others are the Chief Provost and Information/Publicity Officer. The Onowu deputizes for the Eze and convenes and presides over all Cabinet meetings. The constitution of the Cabinet also establishes five committees through which the Cabinet performs its functions, namely: ways and means committee; welfare committee; discipline and peace committee; honours and merit committee, and ad hoc committee. The functions of some of these committees may be highlighted. The welfare committee considers, amongst others, 'the cases of people who often pester the Eze Igbo for help and assistance of diverse nature', the discipline and peace committee settles disputes and misunderstandings referred to the Cabinet; and the honours and merit committee determines 'who shall be recognized specifically for certain positions of pre-eminence or conferred with certain honours, titles, etc., among the Igbo in Katsina.'[413]

The other major functions of the Cabinet are advisory. For example, the constitution states that "The Eze shall be assisted in decision-making by the Ndi Ichie', and goes on to specify some of the areas of this advice: (1) Ndi Ichie shall consider and determine what invitations the Eze shall honour, in order to ensure that his position is not belittled/trivialized and that only invitations from bona fide members of ICA and well-meaning groups are honoured; (2) the Eze should not honour impromptu and frivolous invitations to events like child naming ceremonies unless properly channelled through and considered by his committee of advisers and (3) the Eze shall be assisted in decision-making by Ndi Ichie.

[413] Ibid.

Under Eze Okonkwo, the functions of the Cabinet have been expanded pragmatically in line with his development initiatives.

As noted earlier, the Cabinet also plays a crucial role in the election of the Eze Igbo, when the position becomes vacant. It does this together with the ICA executive and the patrons of the Igbo community.

5.7 Social Life of the Igbo

Socially, unlike in the past, when everyone went back home to take a wife, there is a significant increase in the number of those who meet their spouses and marry them in Katsina, complete with all the necessary traditional observances. In like manner there has also been an increase in the number of Igbo marrying from other ethnic groups in Katsina, though marriages in the metropolis between the Hausa and Fulani Christians and Igbo have remained fewtalk less of the Muslims.

Furthermore, there are important changes in other areas. Some of the traditional festivals and cultural activities which took people home in the past, notably the ***Iriji*** (new yam festival) and **Igbo Day**[414] are now staged and observed in Katsina metropolis, with no loss of ritual. The summary of all that has been said so far is that there are several Igbo today who were born in, have lived there all their lives and have died and been buried there,[415] while others who came as fresh migrants have settled there almost permanently. This is

[414] Note the Igbo in Katsina metropolis like every Igbo in any part of the world observe their day on September 29th of every year. During that day in Katsina metropolis every local government that makes up the ICA is mandated to present their cultural troupe. The ICA Women Wing also participated fully during the day. Of equally importance is to note that all Igbo in Katsina are mandated to close their business with the exception of restaurants, hotels, and medical providers on that day which is not negotiable from 6:00am to 6:00pm. Defaulters are fine ₦10, 000.00 per Shop. For more see Article 22 of the ICA Constitution , p.27

[415] Interview with Onyia, Op cit and Igbo Day Magazine, 2008 Op cit, pp. 16-32

unlike the past, when the period spent annually at home in the east and that spent in were equal. The most home-minded settlers today spend, on the average, between one and two weeks of every year at home, usually during the Christmas/New Year festivities.[416] To be sure, important events like funerals, marriages, and house-building projects still take some settlers home, and in fact, most of the old generation settlers, including some who may have stayed 30 to 50 years in Katsinastill return home upon retirement. This does not dispute the fact that for most Igbo in Katsinatoday, the metropolis has become home. A good example of this is Mr. Michael Obi and Nze Duruakebouh E.A Ezike who affirm that, it is only when they are in Katsina they feel at home.[417] But as we analysedpreviously, this choice has a lot to do with the economics of settlement, i.e. the fact that the Igbo have invested heavily in, with individual investments running into several millions of naira. As one of them put it:"If you have stayed in a place all your life, and have all your investments there, where would you run to (in times of riots, for example). We have now realized that we have a right to settle where we choose. We have chosen as our home.'' [418]It is this growing new perception of Katsina as home (it does not matter that many continue to regard it as second home).

5.8 Role of Igbo Community Association (ICA) in Katsina Metropolis

The ICA being the central and supreme body of all Igbo unions in it serve as the voice of the Igbo in State at the same time join hands with the "Non-Indigeneous

[416] Ibid

[417] Chief Nze Duruakebuoh E.A Ezeike, Age 68, Civil Servant. Inteviewed Friday, April 17, 2015 at Custom Wire House Katsina exactly 10:00AM -11:00AM and Solomon, Mr. Emeka Age 43, Businessman (Dealer Bookshop & Stationeries). Interviewed Tuesday, November 11, 2014 at Mexico Bookshop, along Usman Nagogo Road, Gwangwan Katsina exactly 10:05AM-11:00AM.

[418] Ibid

Association" (which was rename as Indigenous Residence in by Barrister Ibrahim Shehu Shema) to make collective demand on matters that affected migrant groups in State.

Apart from that, the role of the ICA also centre on the welfare of the Igbo in Katsina. While the variousIgbo unions deal with narrower needs of members and are more concerned with maintaining links with the home town, the ICA takes and, in many respects, as its area of development. On invitation, however, the ICA contributes to development projects in the Igbo states at all levels - state, local government, town, and village. In other words, in terms of serving welfare needs, the ICA complements the role of the Igbo unions. It contributes to funeral, marriage and other major ceremonies involving the Igbo and, in fact, has a special fund for such purposes, though only members who are financially up to date in their town unions may enjoy such privileges. Depending on the level of involvement in, and contributions to Igbo activities in general.[419]

In the area of security, all told, the ICA provides the institutional basis for the measure of security which the Igbo have enjoyed during periods of crisis in (i.e. Sharia crises of 2000 and 2011 post-election violence). But even in normal times, according to the President of the ICA, the association has given every Igbo man his 'rightful' place in the city. In matters of loss of property and life during riots, concerted action against attacks, and demands for compensation, the ICA has been a rallying point for constitutive Igbo interests. In representing and furthering these interests, the association has served as the link between the Igbo community, the emirate council, and local and state governments, depending on the level at which an issue arises.[420]

[419] Ibid.
[420] Okechukwu, Op cit

Another area in which the ICA has played a vital role is that of mediating in conflicts amongst the Igbo at individual and town union levels, and between them and people from other ethnic groups. As a rule, however, disputes of a criminal nature are left to the police and security agencies, while those related to culture and tradition, or which seem to be too difficult for the ICA are referred to the Eze and his cabinet. The cabinets of the ICA and Eze Igbo do, in fact, have legal sub-committees which deal with these matters. The level of adjudication has not, however, reached that of the Yoruba community Oba, to whom matters of Yoruba custom, especially matrimonial ones, have been referred by area and magistrate courts. As pointed out earlier and, as is consistent with the philosophy of justice in African political thought, adjudication aims at strengthening Igbo solidarity rather than punishing the guilty. The wide acceptance of the authority of the ICA and Eze Igbo-in-council by most Igbo, notwithstanding class, gender or religion, has greatly enhanced these mediatory functions.[421]

The ICA also played a crucial role toward encouraging the Igbo all the Igbo business men and women as well as artisans to pay their tax to the Federal, State and Local Government in Katsina being patriotic citizens of Nigeria. This has indeed played a vital role in promoting commercial relations and revenue generation at the same time peace of the Igbo in Katsina not only Katsina but the State.[422]

The ICA being an emergent identity was particularly useful for political purpose. For instance, the Igbo close interaction with the local community has driven them into the metropolis politics. For instance, during the 2003 elections, the ruling People's Democratic

[421] Interview with Okonkwo, Onyia, Nwosu, Jonathan, John and Kalu, Op cit.
[422] Although field work shows that most *Katsinawa* businessmen and artisans hardily pay thier tax.

Party government mobilized the Igbo through the ICA to win elections that saw the re-election of the late Umaru Musa Yar'adua as the Governor of State and in 2007 as the President of Federal Republic of Nigeria, then election of Barrister Ibrahim Shehu Shema as the Governor of State in 2007 and 2011 respectively as well as Dr. Goodluck Jonathan as President of Nigeria in 2011. These make Igbo significant in the politics of metropolis.[423]

It should be noted that whenever the state government was organizing some important function that affected the resident of the area, the Igbo ensure that they participate actively. Their participation is a clear testimony of promoting their inter-group relations. For instance, during the appeal fund of the *Gidauniyar Jihar Katsina* Trust Fund, the Igbo donated the sum of ₦ 600,000.00 (0.6 Million Naira) to show their support and cooperation.[424] In addition to that they even constructed bore-holes at *Sabuwar Unguwa* Quarters, Katsina.[425]

Of equal importance was to note that, the migration ofIgbo to Katsina for several decadeshad opened a way for them to adopt some of the socio-cultural values of the *Katsinawa* like mastering Hausa language and dressing styles to the extent that there were a number of them who today dress in Hausa attire. Mr. Francis a spare part dealer claimed that he enjoyed putting*Kaftan* (long gown) with a cap as they make him feel like a big man.[426] Close association is common among the youth as they associate more with the *Katsinawa* by

[423] Mr, Sunday, Age 50, Manger Luna Castel Hotel Katsina. Interviewed Friday, April 17, 2015 at Luna Castel Hotel, IBB Way Katsina exactly 10:00AM-10:45AM, Chief Okechukwu Onyia (OK 2000), Age 41, President Igbo Community Association (ICA) Katsina State. Interviewed November 14, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 12:00Noon-02:20PM and Chief Sylvanus Ochukwu, Age 75, Proprietor New Palace Hotel. Interviewed November 8, 2014, Off Sarki Muhktar Way, Sabuwar Unguwa Katsina.
[424] Ibid.
[425] See Igbo Day Magazine, 2008. Op cit p.21 and then Interview with Chief Jonathan C Nwoso, the Onowu Igbo Katsina (Igbo Prime Minster), Age 84, Igbo Prime Minister and Acting Eze Katsina State, Businessman(Dealer of Generator and Blubber), Interviewed November 5, 2014 at IBB Way Tsohuwar Tasha Round About, Katsina, 10:00AM – 11:00AM.
[426] Mr. Francis, Age 54, Businessman (Dealer of Volkswagen Spare Parts). Interviewed Friday, April 17, 2015 at Volkswagen SparePart Business Venture at IBB Way Katsina exactly 10:30AM – 11:30AM.

sharing common hobbies such as attending shows, films and dances, and to a large extend marriage between the *Katsinawa* who are Hausa and Fulani Christians and Igbo which happens to difficult between the Muslims and Igbo. This has indeed served as a factor that often limits the major interaction between Igbo and *Katsinawa* Muslims.

Education also served as another platform encouraging cooperation between Igbo migrants and their hosts. Large number of Igbo children attends the same schools with the children of their hosts and other immigrant communities, and they interact freely with one another. A good example is the various private schools built by the Igbo business men and women and also public schools (which is complete free education including WAEC and NECO fees) and tertiary institutions built by the Federal and State Government.

It is important to note that in the final analysis that apart from Nigerians, Yoruba and Igbo there are other migrant groups in metropolis as pointed out in chapter four. These include the people of Sothern Kaduna, Adamawa, Taraba, Borno, Benue, Kogi among others. Some of these other migrants are employees of the Federal, State and Local Government establishment while others are that of Non-Governmental Organizations and institutions who engaged in businesses before or upon their retirement, independent businessmen and women engaged in commercial activities. Also, the Hausa and Fulani from other areas must have melt down easily with the *Katsinawa*.

Another interesting thing about migrant groups in Katsina metropolis was that none of the migrant group has been exclusive as in the case of Hausa migrants in Ibadan or the Lebanese community in Kano. There was for example yet to be an exclusive school for any of the migrants such as the Lebanese School or Igbo Community School in Kano. On the

whole therefore, one is free to say that relations between migrant groups and *Katsinawa*have been an open one. This is in spite of some implements such as language barrier, residential location, and formation of ethnic associations, State's policy on education, and religious differences and some few ethnic conflicts that arise from time to time.

5.9 The Pattern of Inter-Group Relations of Igbo in Katsina Metropolis

Migration is an important factor that nurtures inter-group relation. Migration and inter-group relations are two terms that revolve around human existence. In essence, migration is the first factor that plays a significant role in initiating and fostering relationship between migrants and hosts in different spheres of life especially in the areas of political, religious, social and economic inter-relations. Yusuf elaborated the above assertion when he says:

> "Migration indeed provided an increasingly dependable social relations which often brings people of diverse origin together. Such relationship are manifested in several aspects of people's lives which include political, cultural, shared religious system, other social relations inform of marriage and indeed in the economic opportunities offered by the environment."[427]

It is against this background that this section examines the pattern of economic, social and religious relations that have been existing between the Igbo and the *Katsinawa*- their host community and even with other migrant communities inhabiting Katsina metropolis and its environs.

5.9.1 The Pattern of Economic Relations

[427] A.M Yusuf, "Migration as a Factor of Contact and Interactions in Lokoja Area in the 19th Century" in O. Akinwunmi,Okpeh Ochayi Okpeh, Jr. and Je' adayibe D. Gwamna (ed). *Inter- Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th And 20th Centuries*. Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2006. pp. 858-860

It has been pointed out that, no group, community or society lives in isolation, and that the economic and political survival of such (group, community or society) depended to a considerable extent on the relationship which it had with its strangers. On the whole, it should be understood that the basis of inter-relations between Igbo and their host started from economic and/or commercial inter-course that existed between the two.[428]

The Igbo from the beginning were motivated by economic opportunities to move to Katsina metropolis. Also when they arrived the first mode of inter-relation with the people of Katsina metropolis was commercial, based on the importance of products like petroleum product, Palm oil, textile materials and lot more in return for *Katsinawa* products like hide and skin, onions, pepper among other.[429] It was that form of commercial that expanded to include religious and social relations.

The economic activities dominated by the Igbo became much more glaring immediately after the Nigerian Civil War which was the phenomenon that pushed the Igbo to participate in all forms of business enterprises (buying and selling) with no doubt threw them into relations ethnically with the people in the North. So, when they decided settling in the north particularly in Katsina metropolis dispersed and took up different enterprises to enable them earn a living. The Igbo after the civil war saw themselves as a disintegrated people as expressed by Ojukwu when answering as to whether the Igbo were fully integrated into Nigeria. He said:

[428] A.F Usman, "Inter-Group Relations in Gusau: A Case Study of Yoruba and Hausa C. 1920-1996." PhD Dissertation, Department of History, UDU Sokoto, 2003.p.137

[429] The detailed explanation of this, particularly motives behind Igbo Migration to Katsina metropolis and other Northern Nigeria cities has been discussed. See the Nature and Reasons of Igbo Migration to Katsina Metropolis.

> "I wonder whether full integration of Igbo into the Nigerian fold meant disallowing the Igbo from participation in the government of their father land... He queried whether one who buys and sells motor spare parts, electronics spare parts, timber, building materials, *gari*, yam, food ingredient etc could be said to have been fully integrated into the National political mainstream."[430]

Among all the economic enterprises that promoted inter-ethnic relation, the spare parts business, electrical and electronics, trade in building and furniture materials, boutique and books/stationeries business are seen as the pioneering and strongest vehicles that helped to keep the wheel moving. To support the observation, the Igbo dominated those businesses as if they are the only enterprises that fetch money more than any one. Moreover, *Katsinawa* and other migrant communities cannot do without those materials in this 21st century. Thus the trade in those commodities has maintained good economic relations i.e. it has promoted good mutual understanding and cooperation with the host in Hausa language,[431] and this no doubt promotes mutual understanding and inter-group cooperation.

Another relevant area is that of apprenticeship through which according to some informants some *Katsinawa* received training from the Igbo. On successful completion of the apprenticeship they established their own spare parts business. In some circumstances also the Igbo entrepreneurs give credit facilities to *Katsinawa* to expand their business, and in another view they supply them the goods they need and likewise advise them on areas to invest going by the business of the day and market survey.[432] Thus, other enterprises practiced by Igbo in Katsina metropolis e.g. Private Schools, timber business, interior

[430] Press interview with Chief Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, who led the Igbo during the Turbulent period (1976-1970) cited by P.L.N Nwolise "Are Igbo Born A Business Tribe" in Igbo Network Journal of Igbo Network Forum, Volume 3. 1998.p.7

[431] F.N Nwango, "Igbo Spare Parts Entrepreneurs in Metropolitan Kano: A Model for Inter Group Co-operation in a Plural Society 1970-2001" A Paper Presented at the First National Conference Organized by the Department of History, Nasarawa State University, Keffi, Nasarawa State, 2005.p.6

[432] Oral interview with Chief Ahason, Op cit.

decoration and furniture making, textile materials, pharmaceuticals among others have equally contributed in fostering inter-relations harmony.

Economically also, there is the need to point out that the effort of the host communities as they are popularly known in producing various crops especially of food stuff which was made available to virtually all the migrant groups in Katsina metropolis. The items they produce include groundnuts, beans, rice, sweet potatoes, fruits and vegetables.[433] After production these food items were also predominantly sold by the *Katsinawa*[434] in various markets in Katsina metropolis (like *Yarkutungu, Tsohun Kasuwa, Sabuwar Kasuwa, Yar Kasuwa, Kofar Marusa* among others). The Igbo and other migrant groups go to these markets to purchase the above said items. So, this interaction in no small amount enhances inter-ethnic relations thereby creating a kind of cordial co-existence between the *Katsinawa*, the Igbo and even other migrant communities.

But upon all of that, it is important to draw our attention to the fact that the relationship between the Igbo and the *Katsinawa* was not as good as that which existed between the Yoruba and that of *Katsinawa* in Katsina metropolis. This must be related with religion affiliations (Islam) which no doubt strongly help in promoting cordial relationship between the Yoruba and *Katsinawa.* Islam enjoins its adherents to consider every other Muslim. Also Islam enhances a kind of good relationship by teaching its followers to consider every adherent of the religion as a brother. That notwithstanding, majority of the Igbo went to and still go to local markets of Katsina metropolis and its environs as usual

[433] Samuel Wycliff, "A Study of the Establishment and Growth of Private Schools in Katsina, 1980-2010." Unpolished B.A Project Department of History, ABU Zaria, 2012.pp.11-15

[434] Ibid, pp.11-15

business men and women who are into petty trading and found in every part of markets in Katsina State.

It is significant to mention that, both Igbo and *Katsinawa* benefited from each other as a result of the economic interaction. Both of them buy and sell the needed products and items to each other. The food items for example remained very much indispensable for the Igbo for consumption. Equally motor vehicles spare parts (which the *Katsinawa* used for replacement of warn out parts in their vehicles), building and furniture materials and electrical and electronic materials remained indispensable as well as the Igbo individualized private schools and clinic whose services the Katsina people preferred to those provided by other migrant communities and fellow *Katsinawa*.

5.9.2 The Pattern of Social Relation/Adaptation of the Igbo in Katsina metropolis

It is true to say that Yoruba were and are still the most successful ethnic group to have the highest social relation with the host communities in Katsina metropolis. The reason for this has been advanced by various scholars that religion was and is responsible for that.[435] The Igbo too had established a meaningful relation with their host communities especially during the 1980s through 1990s and beyond.

However, some of the major forces responsible for the inter-group relation as well as their tendency to adapt to the culture of *Katsianwa* and indeed other parts of Nigeria could be found in Agaba's views when he said: "The Igbo migrants' appetite is a phenomenon attributes to the people's high degree and receptivity to change. This may have accounted for

[435] This has been discussed in the previous item. For more see" The Pattern of Economic Relations between *katsinawa* and Igbo "

why the economic opportunities abound..."[436] Although culturally, the Igbo have tended to maintain their identity through their observance of their tradition and religion, their culture has been influenced and modified by other cultures as they too have influenced and modified other cultures; as they are today found dressing like their host, the *Katsinawa*just as it was applicable to the *Katsinawa* who as well have copied the mode of dressing of the Igbo.

Notwithstanding, there are so many factors at our disposal that help in no small measure in establishing and fostering social relations between the Igbo and the *Katsinawa*. One of these factors is language which has been serving as a vehicle of transmitting cultural values.[437] Language is also central in inter-personal relations. It is the tool by which individuals exchange activities in meeting their individual and collective needs.[438]Language and culture more to say are concepts that go hand in hand. The verbal expression of one's culture cannot be achieved without employing language. One's language could easily be known by taking into consideration what the person does or wears in community with a given group.[439] Language appears to be tied up with culture. It is the means by which people of the culture express their common cultural experiences. Then, when different cultures came into contact new concepts are learnt.[440] It is against this background that language serves as an important vehicle for inter-ethnic relations socially between the Igbo and the *Katsinawa*.

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[436] J.F. Agaba, "The Nigerian Civil War and the Changing Migrations Pattern of the Igbo into Idoma land 1967-2007" in A.M. Adejo. *The Nigerian Civil War: Forty Years after; What Lessons*. Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2008.p.200

[437] Z.A.G. Dakata, "Language as a Factor for Promoting Peaceful Inter-Ethnic Relations in 21st Century Nigeria" in Akinwunmi, O., Okpeh Ochayi Okpeh, Jr. and Je' adayibe D. Gwamna (ed). *Inter- Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th And 20th Centuries*. Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2006. pp.

[438] U.D. Aliyu, "Language and Academic Achievement: A Case Study of Mother Tongue as the Language of Instructions" in Huda-Huda Journal of the School of Language F.C.E Kano. Kano: Kapital Printers, 2001.p.180.

[439] Dakata. Op cit p. 803

[440] M.J. Idris, "The Place of Language in History in the 21st Century" in Huda-Huda Journal of the School of Language F.C.E Kano. Kano: Kapital Printers, 2001.p.184

When the Igbo came to Katsina metropolis, Hausa language was the dominant language and they had no alternative rather than to learn the language and use it for both business and social interaction. It is also not surprising to hear Hausa words from the Igbo. It is generally believed that the Hausa language is easy to learn, that must have been the reason why virtually all the migrant groups speak the language.[441]

It is true to say that some Igbo hardly speak Hausa fluently. But these categories of Igbo are those who arrived earlier yet found it difficult to speak Hausa. But those born and brought up in Katsina metropolis speak the language fluently. The reason is simply because most of their interactions was in Hausa, especially those who schooled in Katsina (right from primary to tertiary level). In fact, some of the informants when asked during interview whether they should be questioned in Hausa or English usually replied "whichever one you chose"[442] This is because they have no problem with the language.

It is also noted that the Igbo are found in every corner of Katsina metropolis and its environs more than any other migrant communities. This shows that as far as the Hausa language is concerned the socio-cultural values of the Hausa people no doubt influenced many Igbo in Katsina especially those who were born and brought up in Katsina metropolis.

Another glaring way through which the Igbo and *Katsinawa* established good solid relation was the institution of learning (this include private and public primary and secondary schools and then polytechnics, colleges of education and universities in Katsina). For there

[441] C.L. Temple (ed), "Notes on Hausawa" in Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of Northern Nigeria. London: N.P. 1918. Cited by A.F Usman, "Inter-Group Relations in Gusau: A Case Study of Yoruba and Hausa C. 1920-1996." PhD Dissertation, Department of History, UDU Sokoto, 2003.p.188. See also L. Protrica, *Strangers to the City: Urban men in Jo, Nigeria*. Pittsburgh : University of Pittsburgh Press, 1967.p.65

[442] Some of the informants included, Mr. Emeka Solomon, Chief Ahason, Chief Anthony Obi, Mr. Ifeanyi Nnamanni to mention be few.

were and still quite number of Igbo who are enrolled in government and private pre-primary, primary and post primary schools as such the seed of inter-group relation was and is still being promoted since the pupils and students grow to become class mate, friends. The same thing applied to post-secondary education. By so doing inter-personal, inter-communal interaction, unity, tolerance and patience is not only promoted but inculcated into the minds of the Igbo, *Katsinawa* and other migrant communities.

Another inter-group relation between the Igbo and the *Katsinwa* is in the area of inter-group marriage which exists mostly between the *Katsinawa* (Hausa and Fulani Christians) and the Igbo and it is scarce between the *Katsinawa* who are Muslims, but was common as in the case of Yoruba and the *Katsinawa* Muslims. The inter-marriage considerably enables the community to understand each other more and help to provide an enabling environment for good relationship; a means of establishing mutual friendship and alliance between them, both in groups and at individual levels and it has for long been an easy means for inter-ethnic contact and relations.

It is equally important to note that there were few cases of*Katsinawa* Muslims marrying Igbo ladies. This began mostly in the 70s and 80s. But indeed, it is quite true to say that, up to the last stage of the field work of this research, there was no any case in which Igbo men married Katsina Muslim girls or ladies. This was because the *Katsinawa* Muslims were not willing to give their daughters to Igbo because of religion.[443]

It is pertinent to note that, the Igbo girls or ladies that were married to *Katsinawa* Muslims are those who converted or ready to convert to Islam. It is not surprising therefore

[443] Interviews with various Igbo in Katsina metropolis and its environs

that those Igbo girls who married *Katsinawa* Muslims changed their names to Hausa except one who remains Christians.[444]

However, it is important to draw our attention to the fact that the peaceful co-existence between the two (*Katsinawa* and the Igbo) did not mean that there were no problems with the relationship. There were cases of conflicts between *Katsinawa* and Igbo especially in the period between the collapse of the First Republic and also during the Nigerian Civil War. Large number of Igbo left Katsina during the Civil War years but returned back at the end of the war years. The war had no doubt more than any other left behind lasting bitter memories of inter-group relations not only in Katsina metropolis but the whole of Nigeria. The same thing applied to Sharia Crises of year 2000 and the post-election violence of the year 2011.

5.9.3 The Pattern of Religious Relations

In this aspect, we will have little to write about: This is because both Igbo Christians and their Muslim counter parts have strong affiliation to their religion. Muslims for example see conversion to Christianity as apostasy and taboo. The Igbo on the other side; because of the fact that, they were strongly and mainly Christians, hold strong to the teaching of Christianity.

The religious relations between the Igbo and the people of Katsina (quite a number of which were Muslims) was somehow not encouraging due to the fact that there was a difference in the religion. The *Katsinawa* who are Muslims for example preferred to relate with their brothers religiously. Likewise the Igbo too and then with the *Katsinawa* Hausa and

[444] All effort to see the couples for further inquiry proved abortive; as most of them do not want talk about it, while some for security reasons.

Fulani Christians with; whom they discuss issues of religion with each other. In fact, this relation metamorphosed to economic relation in the name of help. As Igbo were more prosperous than the *Katsinawa* Hausa and Fulani Christians, they do help with credit facilities from time to time at the same time train their children into various businesses.

At this juncture, one will never deny the fact that relations had existed between the Igbo and other groups in the area under study. These groups like Kilba, Igede, Igala, Idoma, Tiv, Ghanaians, and Cameroonians among others, which established this relation with Igbo, were mostly Christians.

5.10 The General Contributions of the Igbo Community to the Development of Katsina Metropolis

Katsina metropolis like any other state of commercial attraction developed into a metropolitan nerve and it accommodates people of different ethnic and religious background. This could be one of the reasons why it developed to its present position. Igbo, one of the ethnic groups were and in the front line of contributing towards the development of the town.

The economic contributions of the Igbo towards the development of Katsina metropolis can be viewed first from their involvement in various enterprises and indeed the financial contribution in form of tax payment. The fact that Igbo were found in various trades like automobile spare parts, timber trade, sales of building and furniture materials, books and stationeries, boutique materials and lot more made them to in no small amount contribute their quota in the areas of development. The spare parts business which was dominated by Igbo for example play the role of providing to the *Katsinawa* and other migrant communities a varying brand of automobiles spare parts which are used to repair their automobiles. It also

helps in transfer of technical skills to the *Katsinawa* and other migrant groups. The apprenticeship in the various businesses also learnt a lot, most especially those in the mechanical sector, electrical and electronics, building materials and timber. In other words, another area that should not be forgotten is that of skills not only skills acquisition, but transfers of that skills from migrants to *the Katsinawa*. The Igbo immensely contributed in the spread of vocational and technical skills in various kinds of trade.[445] The skills learnt by *Katsinawa* and other migrant communities after graduation, they do establish their own business in Katsina metropolis.

In the trade of medicine and stationeries the Igbo contributed immensely. These fields no doubt constitute the main stream of human existence; medicine for health and life, books and other stationaries for knowledge and other office activities, shops and indeed various business ventures. They travelled as far as Lagos, Onitsha and Kano to buy drugs and other pharmaceutical products to Katsina metropolis and its environs.

They supplied these products to various hospitals and clinic. Another noticeable area of Igbo contribution to health sector could be seen in the effort madeby Dr. Earnest Moses who came to Katsina for NYSC and became the first Igbo migrant to establish a Private Clinic called "Okmos Clinic" along IBB Way in 1985. The hospital still exists providing various health services ranging from surgical to simple treatment of wound and lot more. Several individuals patronize the hospital. The patronage might be as a result of the fact that the *Katsinawa* and other migrant communities accepted it to be of a good standard.

[445] Interview with various Igbo migrants and *Katsinawa* who own houses and shops/stalls, and gave it out as rent to Igbo and other migrant communities.

Education as a sound factor that helped tremendously to the progress of society/community and individuals received good attention from the Igbo in Katsina metropolis. In short these Igbo through their enterprises contributed their quota towards the educational development in Katsina metropolis. This is because they embarked on stationary business which no doubt helped in promoting education. Many bookshops were owned by Igbo. In fact their activities helped in promoting learning. The quest for intellectualism is also promoted through this trade. The Igbo in this entrepreneur supply different types of materials to tertiary, secondary and primary schools which include text and exercise books. They also contribute in the supply of duplicating, Photostatting, lamination machines and others to the offices in the state to facilitate office works in Katsina metropolis.

Apart from the medical and educational contributions of the Igbo to the development of the area under study they also made financial contributions to the state and local government respectively. Owners of various business enterprises pay tax to the government.[446] Beside payment of the tax to the government, they equally pay rents monthly (and mostly annually) to the land lords of the houses they occupy for residence and the shops/stalls. The prompt payment of the Igbo rents to *Katsinawa* made lot of *Katsinawa* generate more personal income to the extent that they prefer to give Igbo and other migrant a house or shop rent that their fellow *Katsinawa* who most of them have bad attitude towards payment of house and shop/stalls rent.[447]

The contributions of the Igbo towards the development of Katsina metropolis had influenced the physical development of the town. Despite the fact that, quite a number of the

[446] Both state and local government; registration of business promises and yearly tax
[447] Interview with various Igbo migrants and *Katsinawa* who own houses and shops/stalls, and give it out as rent to Igbo and other migrant communities.

Igbo rented shops and houses for accommodation and business, yet, a reasonable number built houses and shops/stalls which they give out for rent. The Igbo in Katsina metropolis have also been building personal houses particularly in GRA, *Barhin* Quarters, *Shagari* Low-cost, and lot more, and this has helped in the physical expansion of the town.

It is equally important to note that, as far as the role of Igbo is concerned in the government parastatals and ministries in Katsina metropolis, they contributed greatly. This is connected with the fact that, quite a number of them were educationally developed as such they were able to secure employment as teachers, lecturers, medical doctors, nurses, administrative officers in both the local government, state, and federal institutions in Katsina. Thus, despite that majority of Igbo see government jobs as plan B while business as plan A.

What need to be emphasized was that the contributions of Igbo towards the development of the area were the increase in the population most especially with the creation of Katsina State in 23 September, 1987. As a result of the creation, the population of the city increased rapidly with immigrants from different places. Various opportunities were provided, especially trading activities like any other commercial attraction.[448] It developed physically and trade wise with different people from different ethnic groups. Igbo migrants therefore, as a matter of fact contributed to both commercial and spatial development of Katsina metropolis and its environs.

There was need at this point to discuss the Igbo response to their homeland while away from home. The fact that they spend most of their lives in Katsina metropolis with only a visit to three times annually (unless in case of marriage ceremonies and unfortunate

[448] Z.S Sambo, "The Establishment and Consolidation of the Ilorin Community in Kano 1819-1997" M.A Thesis, Department of History, BUK Kano, 1998.pp.1-2

circumstances (misfortune) e.g. death in which they must travel for burial) does not mean that they completely forget their home. Through their ethnic and town unions they contribute. The effort to do that had strong connection with sad experiences of the Nigerian Civil War which made Igbo in diaspora to give considerable attention to the development of Igbo community at home.[449]

The Igbo tradition that "a matured Igbo man cannot be buried outside his home" also compelled them to maintain strong link with their home land. One of the ways through which this contact was ensured was by embarking on self-help projects such as the construction of town halls, dispensaries, markets stalls, postal agencies, parks and community centres.[450] Commenting on the impact made by various communities in helping themselves General Yakubu Gowon, the former Nigerian Military head of state on the occasion of the launching of the rural electrification project of Umuaga community in 1974 noted that:

> "Communities have made some impact on the development of the rural communities in Nigeria. In many parts of the country, communities have on their own and with marginal support and assistance constructed rural access roads and bridges, built schools, community centres and health centres."[451]

Another significant way through which the Igbo have contributed to the development of their community is through visits to their homeland, cash remittance and gifts. Sometimes the remittances are in form of cash transfers or gifts in customers and durable goods.[452]

5.11 Challenges Facing Igbo Community Association in Metropolis

[449] N.N Fabian, "Igbo Spare Parts Entrepreneurs in Kano Metropolis: A Case Study of Auto Mobile Spare Parts 1970-1988." M.A Thesis, Department of History BUK Kano, 2000.pp.91-92
[450] Ibid, p.92. See also E.E. Osaghae, *Trends in Migrant Political Organizations in Nigeria: The Igbo in Kano.* Ibadan: University of Ibadan, IFRA, 1994.P.46
[451] UNESCO, Adult Education Information Notes No. 1, 1997. Cited by N.N Fabian, "Igbo Spare Parts Entrepreneurs in Kano Metropolis: A Case Study of Auto Mobile Spare Parts 1970-1988." Op cit .pp.91-92
[452] Fabian, Ibid, pp.91-92

Every Igbo union is affiliated to it ICA and, in fact, the ICA depends on the various unions for its finances. This could suggest that the constituent unions are somewhat stronger than the central authority which, in theory, cannot function outside the financial and administrative limits set by the units. But in practice, the ICA is stronger than the constituent unions, some of which now depend on occasional grants-in-aid from the association. The strengthening of the ICA and its increased pre-eminence over all unions can be attributed to the acknowledgement of the benefits of having one Igbo 'voice' rather than several, and to the need to approximate the levels of organization of other migrant associational groups in Katsina.

But despite that, because of the diversity of interests amongst the various unions of the ICA and differentiation on the basis of states, one would expect friction and conflict in the determination of what constitutes Igbo interests or, even conflict between the ICA and member town unions. Such conflicts have been remarkably few, partly because the ICA operates as an autonomous body within the limits specified by its constitution. At the behavioural level, this makes it possible for its individual members to see themselves as Igbo leaders in general, rather than town union representatives, though care is taken to make the ICA executive and the Eze's cabinet (see next chapter) reflective of the diversity of member unions. Conflicts do, however, occur from time to time amongst town unions and within them. When these are dealt with by the ICA, the emphasis is on furthering solidarity rather than punishing the guilty. All this is not to suggest that the ICA has always found it easy to mobilize the Igbo around common interests, or even to determine what these interests are. But, within the context of dealing with people from other groups and projecting an Igbo image and identity in, conflicts are virtually unknown. This situation has also been helped by

the evolution of the Eze Igbo which can be seen as the completion of the process of centralizing Igbo interests in State.[453]

5.12 Conclusion

In the finalanalysis of this chapter we saw that apart from trade and commerce, ICA has always been unique and a major bound of inter-group relations between the*Katsinawa*, the Igbo community and other immigrant communities in. This is because ICA remain the central body that unit Igbo in the whole of State at the same timeserve as the representative body of the Igbo which has been enhanced by the position of the Sarki Igbo. This makes them had a respected and esteemed ruler who was the symbol of their high cultural achievement. The coming of the Eze Igbo has also enhanced relations between the Igbo and other non-indigenous communities as well as the host community. This was due, in part, to the recognition of the Eze Igbo as a traditional authority by the Emirs of Katsinaand Daura Emirates. With the coming of the Eze, the Igbo now have one voice, which makes the advancement of their interests easier, and provides the fulcrum of Igbo unity. For all these gains, however, we found an underlying tension and area of possible role conflict between the ICA which created the Eze and the Eze Igbo himself. So far, no such conflict has arisen because the Eze has managed to confine himself to the constitutional limits which give him authority only in matters of culture and tradition. Moreover, the Eze normally acts in consultation with the ICA executive and his cabinet.

[453] Interview with Anthony, Onyia, Nwosu, Jonathan, John and Kalu, Op cit.

Apart from that, we also saw that, most Igbo who were born and brought up in Katsina, no longer travel to Igboland in order to get their spouses and married who mostly are Igbo and then other immigrants groups in addition to the Hausa and Fulani Christians.Thus in terms of festivals particularly Igbo Day and Yam festival owing to the presence of ICA and the various Igbo Local Unions, such festivals are observe in Katsina.

In like manner, when it comes to Nigerian elections of State Governors, Local Government Chairman, Consular, members of Federal and State House of Assembly, at the same time Senators, one need the full support of the Igbo and other immigrant community to win metropolis ; this was evident in the 2003, 2007, and 2011 elections respectively.

Therefore upon all that, we can deduce that the people of Katsina metropolis had no doubt felt the impact of Igbo migrants as far as development of the area is concerned. The transfer of vocational and technical skills, financial contribution, in imparting knowledge among other remained part of developmental factors. Equally it had been seen that Igbo had not forsaken their home town they remember it in so many ways, like building of markets, dispensaries, bridges, roads and indeed cash remittances. That might have been the reason why their relatives at home are always eager to see Christmas time.

CHAPTER SIX

GENERAL CONCLUSION

In trying to examine the history of the Igbo community in Katsina metropolis, 1903 to 2011, we looked at the nature of Katsina metropolis prior to Igbo migration where we saw that Katsina metropolis was centre of commerce and Islamic scholarship which attracted different group of people from different parts of the world who were since been integrated into the community. This was a clear indication that for several centuries several groups migrated to Katsina metropolis for various reasons that hinge on either push or pull factors. A significant feature that characterized the arrival of these migrant groups was the promotion of inter-group relations, a feature that was accelerated in the colonial and post-colonial period.It was also shown that prior to colonialism there had been a trade relationship between Katsina and Igboland which was through Long- Distance-Trade. This shows that migration and inter-group relations have been a constant phenomenon among the various groups that formed what is called Nigeria today. In fact, this has indeed debunked the colonialistand their apologists who want us to believe that the various Nigerian peoplenever co-existed in harmony in the pre-colonial period. Thus, if this has not been the case, migration, inter-group economic, social and political relationship would not have featured at all in the traditions of

origin as well as in the cultural practices of the peoples of the Nigeria in whatever respect. Cultural cross-fertilization among the Nigerian peoples is something that is conspicuous. This is not to talk of the economic relationship in the form of long distance trade whose success depended on the considerable peace that was prevalent at that time between the peoples.[454]

The study also showed that colonialism was among the central factor that paved way for the migration and settlement of the Igbo- migrant community in our area of study, in addition to independence of Nigeria, effect of the Nigeria Civil War, NYSC service, absence of business competition, family influences, creation of Katsina State as well as the peaceful nature and hospitality of Katsina and *Katsinawa* towards migrant communities in general. In the same vein, it was also showed that the absence of segregated settled –*Sabon Gari*in Katsina metropolis was not only associated with the absence of railway, colonial farms, large influx of southern migrants and British wish but the loyalty of the late Emir Muhammadu Dikko to the British which was one of the thing that British deposed the Emir in power and installed him. In addition to promotion of intergroup relations and peaceful coexistence, as well as fear in the security of Katsina metropolis and influence Katsina Emirate and State Government power over the area; just as the case in Kano and Zaria, where Sabon Gari has become *Ba Shiga*(No-Go-Area) and a targeted areas during violence and conflict.

Similarly the work showed the role of the Igbo in the colonial period to the eve of Nigerian Civil War was not that significant compared to the post-colonial period at the same

[454] Note Colonialism as we have seen created a kind of false consciousness among the Nigerian peoples which served in obscuring the real historical experiences of the Nigerian peoples. But with this study we have come to the realization that the claims of the colonialist were fallacious to say the least as well as downright misrepresentative. This can be backed by the British colonial policy of divide and rule where segregated quarters were designed for the various segment of the Nigerian peoples. This division was on the level of ethnic difference as well as religion. Colonialism helped in entrenching these divisions to the extent that lately in the history of Nigeria ethnic interests have become synonymous with the nation. But in spite all this British policy of segregated quarters for the southern Nigeria, Katsina metropolis has never experience that.

time post- Nigerian Civil War. For the Nigerian Civil War has indeed cripple the rate of the Igbo migration and expansion of their business in Katsina metropolis; where by quite a number of them fled while other where killed but soon after the quite number of them were attracted back to Katsina metropolis while others where push at the same pull to owing to the effect of the war particularly the hardship it pause on the Igbo society and then due to state creation of Katsina which did not only maintained Katsina metropolis as the state capital but also as the commercial and administrative centre.

The study also showed the role of Igbo in the economy and society of Katsina metropolis cannot be over emphasis. This was because the various businesses established by the Igbo does not only give them profit but also brings revenue to Local Government of Katsina,[455] State and Federal, at the same time served as a source of employment opportunities to *Katsinawa*, and vocational training centre where they acquire the basic skills for establishing one form of business and another. This has indeed made *Katsinawa* to become dominant in some business and artisan work. The study further shown that the Igbo had played a vital role in exposing *Katsinawa* and other migrant communities into other business and trade that ordinary they would not appreciate it values talk less of engaging into them especially electrical and electronic business, timber, building and furniture materials, bookshop and stationeries materials, motor and bike spare parts, interior decoration, hospitality industries, private clinic, private schools among other. Moreover, the population of the area increases as a result of their presence which led to physical expansion of the area. Educationally, the people of Katsina metropolis felt their impact as they provided educational materials inform of books and stationeries.

[455] The revenue the Katsina State Government generated from the Igbo were the tax the Igbo pay, in addition to registration of business promises which were used in executing social projects in the capital

Similarly the study showed that, the peaceful nature of Katsina metropolis and hospitality of *Katsinawa* was not only the factor behind the success of Igbo business in Katsina metropolis. It was discovered that quite number of factors are responsible for the Igbo business success, out of whichthe Igbo Trade Apprenticeship System (ITAS) and high risk-taking spirit were isolated as the most paramount business success factors of the Igbo entrepreneurs in Katsina metropolis. It was also discovered that Igbo entrepreneurial activities play pivotal roles in the Nigerian economy. That is, the Igbo contributed significantly to the stable growth and development of the economy at large. It was further discovered that the Igbo entrepreneurs treat business like a new born baby. Therefore, they give business ultimate support and protection, and cuddle it with all their lives. It was discovered that there is a legible cleavage between the Igbo businesses and their families. This implies that there is no cogent relationship between business and family. Therefore, business issues have no tangency with family issues. The research found that one of the strategies for the Igbo businesses is the return of earnings to the business to enhance expansion for a considerable period of time. The research also found that among the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria, the Igbo entrepreneurs are most rated in terms of innovative skill, creativity and technological skill.

In like manner, the study has showed that the Igbo Community Association (ICA) was the central body and the unifying force and tool for the promotion of unity and peace among Igbo not only Katsina metropolis but the state as a whole. It also promotes inter-group relation between the Igbo community, other migrant communities and the host. Important role played by the ICA in seen in encouraging all Igbo business men and women to pay their tax promptly to the local, state and federal government. It also ensures that, Igbo are not left

behind in any community development project in Katsina. A good example is seen where the ICA constructed bore-holes in *Sabuwar Unguwa* in Katsina metropolis, at the same time donate the sum of ₦ 600,000.00 in support of Katsina *Gidauniya*. Of equally importance lied in the fact that ICA settled dispute among the Igbo, convey Igbo corpse down to the south-east.

On the basis of all these, we can conclude that the Nigerian people were never isolated in all the epochs of its history. There was significant intermingling through migrations as well as economic and social relationship among the people of Nigeria. These issues therefore open our minds to the study at hand and to the understanding of the work in general and of the place and people in the study. The level of cooperation that existed among the Nigerian peoples was very commendable. As we have seen in this study there was serious interdependence among the peoples of Nigeria.

NOTES ON SOURCES

For this study, we used variety of sources, ranging from oral to written sources. In other words, the information used in writing this dissertation wasobtained from both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources included archival materials and oral information among others. The secondary sources were largely in form of published books and unpublished books, articles, journals, as well as internet and electronic materials.

We, particularly, looked at the background of those that provided us with oral information that helped in this study. This was done in order to appreciate the study and to present those people as part of the history of which we are presenting.

National Archives of Nigeria, Kaduna branch

The Archival materials which we obtained from National Archives of Nigeria, Kaduna branch (NAK) and National Archives Enugu (NAE) for this research were the reports written by British colonial officials in the course of discharging their duties. The officials included the High Commissioner or Governor General, Residents, Assistant Residents, District Officers, touring officers and numerous other officials. Their documentation enabled the researcher to obtain relevant information in respect to Igbo and

other migrant communities in Katsina Province in form of quarterly and annual reports. The materials used for this research were mainly files from the Departmental, Provincial and District Offices.

The documents used can be seen in the footnotes andbibliography. The importance of archival materials is enormous as far as this work is concerned, particularly in the establishment of the period of study.

Select List of Informants

Apart from the significant role played by the archival sources, the oral interviews conducted were also very helpful in the reconstruction of Igbo migration into Katsina metropolis.

. It was through these oral interviews that I was able to establish the starting point of this study. The oral interviews confirmed that it was the colonial government activities, the independence of Nigeria, the effect of the Nigerian Civil, the creation of Katsina State and above all the hospitality and peaceful nature of Katsina and *Katsinawa* that encourage Igbo migration to Katsina metropolis. This category of source has been very helpful indeed. Below is a select list of some of the people interviewed and some brief biography on them:

Chief Enukora Christian, Aged 68, was born in Katsina at *Uguwan Madawaki* in 1946.His father came from*Ichi* in *Ekwusigo* area of Anambra State in the 1920s as a trader of textile materialsand later to Boutique business. His mother sold palm oil and kerosene. Chief Enukora was trainedin Boutique business by his father.

Mr. Michael Ilanya, Aged 75, was brought to Katsina from Nnewi area of Anambra State by his master. He settled at Sabon Layi in 1959 at the age of 12, and was trained as a driver and transporter of people and goods to various markets in Katsina and Daura Emirates. Inaddition he did business in textile materials, particularly wrappers and yard.

Chief Anthony Obi (Ikenga 1 of Katsina), Aged 84, hailed from *Ezinifile* town *Agyuabta* in Anambra State andattended the same primary school with the late Emir of Katsina Alhaji Mohammadu Kabir Usman. He came to Katsina in the early 40s.

Mr. Michael Ochukwu, Aged 70, came to Katsina from Anambra in 1965 as a dealer of textile materials but left in 1966 and came back in 1972.

Chief Hillary Chukwuma Okonkwo (The Eze Igbo I of Katsina), Aged 82, hailed from Akpim, Ekwereazu in Mbaise Local Government of present day Imo State, came to Katsina from Kano in 1971.

Chief John Chukwuemeka Uguagwu (who died shortly after the interview), Aged 75, and hailed from *Awkuzu* Local Government Area of present day Anambra State, came to Katsina in 1971.

Dr. Eze Ernest Moses, Aged 57, is an indigene of Orumba South Local Government Area of Anambra State who is a medical doctor (General Practitioner [GP]). He was posted to Katsina metropolis in 1983 for NYSC Service after which he established a private clinic in 1985.

Mr. Gabriel Okoli, Aged 54, an indigene of Nnewi-South Local Government of Anambra State came to Katsina on October 10, 1987 from Abuja as a Timber Merchant.

Mr. Adebamiwa Adeniyi, Age 70, a Photographer, hailed from Ede Local Government Area of the present day Osun State, came to Katsina in 1962 with his elder brother Mr. Isa Adeniji as a photographer and dealers of textile materials (known as *Akwal-kwasa*) in the Charachi Local Government Area of present day Katsina State. He then moved to Katsina metropolis in 1965 as a photographer and established his photo studio and lab.

Mr. Mohammed Jimoh Shehu, Aged 61, a Photographer, hailed from Ogbomosho which is in the present day Oyo State. He came to Katsina from Kaduna in 1974 as a photographer and met a Hausa photographer with quite a number of Yoruba and Igbo photographers.

Dr. Johnson Ademilu, Aged 56, Proprietor, Alheri Clinic and Maternity Katsina, hailed from Ondo Local Government Area of the present day Ekiti, came to Katsina metropolis as a medical doctor posted for NYSC service after serving at Katsina General Hospital in 1988 established a private clinic in 1991.

Dr. E.O Abioye, Aged 56, Proprietor, Alheri Clinic and Maternity Katsina, hailed from Osun State, came to Katsina metropolis as a medical doctor posted for NYSC service after serving at Katsina General Hospital in 1988 established a private clinic in 1993.

Dr. Achemu M. Ajayi, Aged 58, Proprietor, Sauki Clinic and Maternity Home, Katsina, hailed from Kogi State, came to Katsina in 1992 as a medical doctor posted for NYSC service, after serving at Katsina General Hospital established a private clinic in 1998.

List of Informants

Abdullateef, Alhaji. Age 75, Businessman. Interviewed November 6, 2014 at IBB Way, Katsina, 10:00AM – 11:00AM.

Abioye, Dr. E.O. Age 58, Proprietor, Amana Clinic Katsina. Interviewed Sunday 13th December, 2015 at Amana Clinic Katsina, Maiduguri Road, Sabuwar Kasuwa Cikin Gari, Katsina, 2:00-2:30PM.

Abubakar, Alhaji Saidu. Age 50, Businessman (Dealer of Bicycle and Motorcycle Spare Parts). Interviewed Sunday 13th December, 2015 at 2:30-3:05PM at Old Central Market Road Opposite Central Police Station (CPS) Mosques, Kofar Soro, Katsina, 2:30-3:05PM.

Adamu, Alex Pam. Age 40, Interviewed Sunday 6th December, 2015. 02:00PM-2:40PM at Police Compound Sabon Layi, along Ahmadu Bello Way Sabon Layi, Katsina.

Ademilu, Dr. Johnson. Age 56, Proprietor, Alheri Clinic and Maternity Katsina. Interviewed Monday 14th December, 2015 at Alheri Clinic and Maternity Katsina, 9:00-9:45AM.

Adeniyi, Adebamiwa. Age 70, Photographer. Interviewed Friday 11th December, 2015 at Sabon Layi, Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Opposite Marry Yar'Ghana Restaurant, Katsina, 6:00-6:35PM.

Ahononu, Chief Charles Ositadimma. (Omereoche I of Katsina), Age 53, Businessman (Dealers of Electrical/ Electronic materials). Interviewed September 9, 2014 at IBB Way, Tsohun Tasha Round About, Katsina, 12:00Noon-01:30PM.

Ajayi, Dr. Achemu M. Age 58, Proprietor, Sauki Clinic and Maternity Home, Katsina. Interviewed Tuesday 8th December, 2015 at Sauki Clinic and Maternity Home, No. 235 Abdullahi Sarki Mukhtar Road, Kofar Marusa, Katsina, 7:14-7:36PM.

Amakwe, Mrs. Eunice (alias Madam Shekina). Age 50, Business Woman (Restaurant and Catering Services). Interviewed Monday, November, 2014 at Shekina Restaurant, along Yahaya Madaki Way Katsina exactly 09:00-09:30PM.

Anulugw, Mr. Atuchukwu. Age 50, Business Man (Building Materials). Interviewed Monday. April 13, 2015 at Kofar Sauro Round About along Nagogo Road Katsina exactly 02:30PM-03:30PM.

Anusien, Chief Joel (Eziokwubundu). Age 75, Businessman (Food Stuff and Textile Materials). Interviewed November 7, 2014 Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 02:00OM-02:30 PM.

Anyaegbu, Chief Emmanuel. Age 73, Businessman (Proprietor Liberty Hotel and Yellow Wheel Balancing and Alignment). Interviewed September 9, 2014 at Murtala Mohammed Way, Tayoyi, Katsina, 10:30 AM– 11:00AM.

Anyanwu, Mr. Cletus. Age 62, Banner Beating/Welfering Services. Interviewed November 11, 2014 at Dutsin-Ma Road, Fire Service Station, Katsina, 02:45PM-03:15PM.

Ayemi, Dr. Age 60, Proprietor, Amfani Clinic and Maternity Katsina. Interviewed Wednesday at Amfani Clinic and Maternity Katsina, 8:00-8:45PM.

Benjamin, Mr. Muoghara. Age 70, Electronic Technician (Radio/Television). Interviewed November 7, 2014, Off Usman Nagogo Road, Sha iskawa Quarters, Katsina, 04:40PM-04:59PM.

Chikelu, Chief Anthony C. Age 61, Proprietor Peace Mans Transit. Interviewed Tuesday, April 15, 2015 at Peace Mass Transit Motor Park, along IBB Way Katsina exactly 03:00PM-03:30PM.

Chikelu, Chief Anthony C. Age 61, Proprietor Peace Mans Transit. Interviewed Tuesday, April 15, 2015 at Peace Mass Transit Motor Park, along IBB Way Katsina exactly 03:00PM-03:30PM.

Chikelu, Mr. Toni. Age 51, Manager Peace Transit. Interviewed Tuesday, 8th December, 2015 at Peace Mass Transit Motor Park, along IBB Way Katsina Kofar Kaura Katsina exactly 3:09-04:00PM.

Chinewendu, Miss Mary. Age 39, Business Woman and Health Worker. Interviewed at Nagogo Road, November 9, 2014 at 07:00PM-7:30PM.

Christian, Chief Enukora. Age 68, Businessman (Boutique). Interviewed November 6, 2014, Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 06:30PM-07:30PM.

Christopher (Danja), Mr. Obi. Age 75, Businessman (Textile Materials/Wrappers and Transporter/Driver). Interviewed November 7, 2014, Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 05:30PM-06:30PM.

Christopher, Mrs. Terezah Obi. Age 60, Businessman (Restaurant Business). Interviewed November 7, 2014, Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 07:00PM-07:30PM.

Dan- Halilu, Alhaji Lawal. Age 82. A Retired Teacher (LEA Staff). Interviewed at Kofar Marusa, Katsina Metropolis dated Thursday November 14, 2014 at 05:15-05:45.

Dan Rimi, Malam Kabir Haruna. Age 61. A Carpenter. Interviewed at Sha'iskawa Quarters, Off Nagogo Road Katsina dated Tuesday November 11, 2014 exactly 08:30pm-08:45pm.

Eke, Mr. Idika O. (alias Wood Mark), Age 52, Businessman (Carpentry/Furniture). Interviewed Friday, April 10, 2015 at Ring Road along Katsina State Secretarial exactly 11:30-AM-12:15PM.

Eke, Mr. Idika O. Age 52, Businessman (Furniture Maker & Interior Decorator), Interviewed Friday, April 10, 2015 along Old Mani Road, Ring Road near Katsina State Secretariat Office exactly 11:30AM-12:30AM.

Ekwtosi, Mr. Net. Age 43, Businessman (Dealer Trading/Building Materials).Interviewed November 6, 2014 at IBB Way, Tsohun Tasha Round About, Katsina, 05:00PM-06:15PM.

Elijah, Dr. Ajao. Age 56. Proprietor and Medical Doctor, New Millennium Clinic Katsina. Interviewed Monday 14th December, 2015 at Ahmadu Bello Way Katsina, 10:00-11:00AM.

Ernest, Dr. Eze. Age 57, Medical Practitioner and Proprietor Okmos Clinic Katsina. Interviewed November 9, 2014 at IBB Way Okmos Clinic Katsina, 08:00PM-9:00PM.

Eze, Mr. Augustine. Age 68, Businessman (Boutiques: Shoes and Bags). Interviewed November 6, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 09:00AM-09:45AM.

Ezebulu, Chief Sylvanus Eze Amama (Odu 1 of Katsina). Age 77, Proprietor New Palace Hotel. Interviewed November 8, 2014, Off Sarki Muhktar Way, Sabuwar Unguwa Katsina, 12:00Noon-02:00PM.

Ezeike, Chief Nze Duruakebuoh E.A. Age 68, Civil Servant. Interviewed Friday, April 17, 2015 at Custom Wire House Katsina exactly 10:00AM -11:00AM

Francis, Mr. Age 54, Businessman (Dealer of Volkswagen Spare Parts). Interviewed Friday, April 17, 2015 at Volkswagen Spare Part Business Venture at IBB Way Katsina exactly 10:30AM – 11:30AM.

Godwin, Mrs. Lillian. Age 46, Business Woman (Boutique and Interior Decoration). Interviewed Monday, April 13, 2015 at Sabon Layi, Ahmadu Bello Way, Katsina, 07:00PM-07:30PM.

Haruna, Nura. Age 30, Businessman (Dealer of Motorcycle Spare Parts). Interviewed Wednesday 9th December, 2015 at Maska Road, Sabon Layi, Katsina, 5:40-6:25PM.

Hyat, Mr. Bagudu Baba. Age 50 (Carpenter and Furniture Maker). Interviewed Thursday, April 9, 2015 at Kofar Durbi - Glorious Furniture.

Ibrahim, Usman. Age 58, Medical Officer, Sauki Clinic and Maternity Home, Katsina. Interviewed Tuesday 8th December, 2015 at Sauki Clinic and Maternity Home, No. 235 Abdullahi Sarki Mukhtar Road, Kofar Marusa, Katsina, 7:40-8:20PM.

Ifeagwa, Mr. Josephat. Age 60, Contractor/Electrical Engineer. Interviewed November 11, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 07:20PM-08:00PM.

Ilanya, Mr. Michael. Age 70, (Textile Materials/Wrappers and Transporter/Driver). Interviewed November 7, 2014, Off Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 4:30PM-05:25PM.

Ishaya, Zacharia, Age 45, Zonal Inspector National Youth Service Corps (NYSC), Katsina State. Interviewed Friday 14Th November, 2014 at NYSC Permanent Orientation Camp, Kilometre 4, Old Mani Road Katsina, Katsina State. Time 10:00 – 11:00AM.

Itoya, Mr. Frederick. Age 65, Businessman (Leather/Poly Bags). Interviewed November 6, 2014 at IBB WayKofar Kaura Katsina, 01:00PM-01:40PM.

John, Mrs. Ngozi. Age 37, Business woman (Fashion and Design & Interior Decoration). Interviewed Friday, November 7, 2014at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 07:30PM-08:00PM.

Kahblid, Alhaji Abdu-Aziz Kahlid. Age 52, Assistant Director PAYE. Interviewed Thursday 17th December, 2015 at Board of Internal Revenue Katsina State, Justice Muhammadu Bello Road GRA, Katsina exactly 2:40-3:20PM.

Kalu, Mr. Okechukwu Uzor. Age 42, Proprietor Onward International Schools. Interviewed November 7, 2014, Off IBB Way Behind GT Bank, Katsina, 12:00Noon-02:00PM.

Kalu, Mrs. Esther Age 36, Proprietress Top Onward Private Schools. Interviewed Thursday, November 13, 2014 Off IBB Way, Katsina exactly 2:00PM-3:00PM,

Kankara, Alhaji Mansir Bature. Age 46, Assistant Chief Inspector of Internal Revenue. Interviewed Thursday 17th December, 2015 at Board of Internal Revenue Katsina State, Justice Muhammadu Bello Road GRA, Katsina exactly 3:00-4:00PM.

Kofar Soro, Alhaji Ibrahim Mamman. Age 49, Assistant Personal Income Tax. Interviewed Wednesday 16th December, 2015 at Board of Internal Revenue Katsina State, Justice Muhammadu Bello Road GRA, Katsina exactly 3:00-4:00PM.

Louis, Mrs. Nkemdirim. Age 48, Administrative Officer, Federal University Dutsin-Ma. Interviewed at Shagari Lowcust, Along Batsari Road, dated Sunday April 5, 2015.

Mai Hoto, Alhaji Abashe Jibril. Age 70, First Hausa Photographer in Katsina State. Interviewed Tuesday November 11, 2014 exactly 10:00am-12:00Noon and Saturday 12th December, 2015 at Usman Nagogo Road, Gwangwan, Katsina, 12:00Noon – 1:15PM.

Mai Zare, Alhaji Shehu Sani. Age 60, Proprietor and Director General Green House (Dealer of Textile Materials). Interviewed Friday 12th December, 2015 at Green House, along IBB Way, Near Katsina Central Mosque, 5:05-6:00PM.

Na-Funtua, Alhaji Saidu (Sa'in Katsina a Traditional Title Holder), Age 85. Interviewed at Sararin Kuka - Unguwan Alkali, Off IBB Way, dated Thursday November 14, 2014 at 09:30AM-10:05AM.

Nnamanni, Mr. Ifeanyi. Age 50, Businessman (Dealer Domestic Industrial Gas). Interviewed October 2, 2014, at IBB Way Opposite UBA Bank, Katsina, 12:00Noon-02:00PM.

Nwoso, Chief Jonathan C. The Onowu Igbo Katsina (Igbo Prime Minster). Age 84, Igbo Prime Minister and Acting Eze Katsina State, Businessman(Dealer of Generator and Blubber), Interviewed November 5, 2014 at IBB Way Tsohuwar Tasha Round About, Katsina, 10:00AM – 11:00AM.

Obi, Chief Anthony. Age 84, Businessman (Dealer of Iron and Steel Materials). Interviewed September 6, 2014 at IBB Way Adjacent formal Nakowa Bakery, Katsina, 12:00-01:30PM.

Obiora, Mr. Fordile Augustine (alias Cognate- No event no history). Age 50, Businessman (Patent Medicine Store). Interviewed Friday, April 3, 2015 at Old Katsina State Government House exactly 03:30PM-04:30PM.

Ochukwu, Chief Sylvanus. Age 75, Proprietor New Palace Hotel. Interviewed November 8, 2014, Off Sarki Muhktar Way, Sabuwar Unguwa Katsina, 12:00Noon-02:00PM.

Ochwukwu, Mr. Michael. Age 70, Businessman (Textile Materials/Yard Trading).Interviewed November 7, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 8:40AM-09:20AM.

Ofordile, Mr. Augustin (Cognent). Age 65, Dealer Patent Medicine Store. Interviewed November 16, 2014 at IBB Way, Opposite formal Nakowa Bakery Katsina, 7:30PM-8:00PM.

Ogbu, Mr. Daniel. Age 35, Fashion and Designer. Interviewed Friday 11th December, 2015 at One Way Sabon Layi. Opposite Mary Yar'Ghana Restaurant, Katsina, 2:00-2:30PM.

Okoli, Mr. Gebriel. Age 54, Dealer of Building/Furniture Materials. Interviewed November 11, 2014 at Usman Nagogo Road, Gongon, Katsina, 08: 40AM-10:00AM.

Okonkwo, Chief Hillary Chukwu. Age 82, Eze Igbo I of Katsina State, Businessman (Proprietor Luna Castle hostel Katsina). Interviewed September 6, 2014 at Luna Castle hostel, Katsina, 10:00 AM– 11:00AM.

Omeje, Mr. Festus. Age 42, Cashier, Peace Transit. Interviewed Tuesday, April 15,2015exactly 03:35PM-04:05PM and Tuesday, 8th December, 2015 at Peace Mass Transit Motor Park, along IBB Way Katsina Kofar Kaura Katsina exactly 2:30-03:05PM.

Onuma, Mrs. Ngozi (aliasMaman Ada). Age 41. Restaurant Business and Beans Cake. Interviewed Wednesday, November 12, 2014 Off IBB Way exactly 03:40PM-o4:10PM.

Onwudigbo, Mr. Godwin. Age 54, Businessman (Dealer of Bookshop and Stationeries Materials). Interviewed Monday, April 13, 2015 at Sabon Layi, Ahmadu Bello Way, Katsina, 07:35PM-07:15PM.

Onyia, Chief Okechukwu (OK 2000). Age 41, President Igbo Community Association (ICA) Katsina State. Interviewed November 14, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 12:00Noon-02:20PM.

Sada, Dr. Bello. Age 67, Medical Officer, Umaru Musa Yar'adua University, Katsina. Interviewed Friday 18th December, 2015 at Umaru Musa Yar'adua University Clinic, Katsina, 10:00-11:00AM.

Sadiq, Alhaji Sani. Age 40, Businessman (Dealer of Motorcycle Spare Parts). Interviewed Tuesday 8th December, 2015 at Maska Road, Sabon Layi, Katsina, 6:00-6:35PM.

Sani, Alhaji Lawal Abdu. Age 65, Retired Civil Servant (Chief Education Officer at Ministry of Education Katsina). Intervied Monday, April 13, 2015 along IBB Way Opposite Katsina Central Mosque exactly 02:00PM-02:40PM.

Sani, Umar. Age 35, Businessman (Dealer of Motorcycle Spare Parts). Interviewed Wednesday 9th December, 2015 at Maska Road, Sabon Layi, Katsina, 5:00-5:35PM.

Shehu, Mohammed Jimo. Age 61, Photographer. Interviewed Friday 11th December, 2015 at Sabon Layi, Ahmadu Bello Way, Katsina, 2:50-6:35PM.

Shehu, Salisu. Age 30, Managing Director Green House (Dealer of Textile Materials) Katsina. Interviewed Friday 12th December, 2015 at Green House, along IBB Way, Near Katsina Central Mosque, 4:25-5:00PM.

Solomon, Mr. Emeka Age 43, Businessman (Dealer Bookshop & Stationeries). Interviewed Tuesday, November 11, 2014 at Mexico Bookshop, along Usman Nagogo Road, Gwangwan Katsina exactly 10:05AM-11:00AM.

Sunday, Mr. Age 50, Manger Luna Castel Hotel Katsina. Interviewed Friday, April 17, 2015 at Luna Castel Hotel, IBB Way Katsina exactly 10:00AM-10:45AM.

Uduagwu, Chief John Chukwuemeka. Age 75, Contractor/Electrical Engineer. Interviewed November 7, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 11:20AM-12:00 Noon.

Uduagwu, Mrs. Amaka Gladys John. Age 65, Fashion & Desig and Dealer of Bridal and Decoration Materials. Interviewed November 7, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Layi Katsina, 03:00AM-32:00 PM.

Ugwuanyi, Mr. Ejimnkeonye Age 40, Businessman (Dealer of Motorcycle Spare Parts). Interviewed Wednesday 9th December, 2015 Off Maska Road, Sabon Layi, Katsina, 3:40-4:25PM.

Umeagudosi, Chief John (The Eze Udogachi). Age 58, Businessman (Dealer of Generator). Interviewed September 9, 2014 at IBB Way, Tsohun Tasha Round About, Katsina, 9:00PAM-9:30PM.

Umetiti, Chief Josiah (alias as Bugashi). Age 75, Businessman (Dealer of Generator and Plumbing Materials). Interviewed September 9, 2014 at Ahmadu Bello Way, Sabon Lay, Katsina, 10:00AM-10:40AM.

Usman, Dr. Sani. Age 48, Proprietor and Managing Director, Suru Clinic ENT and Medical Services. Interviewed Monday Tuesday 14th December, 2015 at Clinic ENT and Medical Services, Lawal Kaita Close Street, Katsina, 8:41-8:55PM.

Wada, Alhaji Nura Ibrahim. Age 55, Businessman (Dealer of all kind of Electronics). Interviewed Friday 12th December, 2015 at, along IBB Way, Adjacent Katsina Central Mosque, 3:45-4:15PM.

Wada, Mal. Hassan. Age 55, Manager, Katsina Central Market, Katsina. Interviewed April 13, 2015 at Katsina Central Market along Dutsin-Ma Road, Katsina exactly 10:00AM -11:00AM.

Wycliff, Samuel, Personal observation, tour and experience in the Field Work from May – November, 2014.

Yakubu, Christian. Headmaster and Director Emirate Science Nursery and Primary Schools, Opposite INEC Headquarters GRA, Daura Road Katsina. Age 40, Interviewed Sunday 6th December, 2015. 01:00-1:40PM.

Yar'adua, Alhaji Abashe Mai Hoto .Age 69. A Photographer. Interviewed at his Studio-Gwongwon, Usman Nagogo Road dated Tuesday November 11, 2014.

Yusuf, Dr. S.A. Age 60, Proprietor, Allah Ba Mu Lafia Clinic Katsina. Interviewed Thursday 17th December, 2015 at Maiduguri Road, Katsina, 8:00-8:45PM.

Internet Sources

We made use of internet source materials while writing this dissertation. Various site and blogs provided us with relevant information. The jstor site was very helpful in the collection of material that we documented under the classification of sources in the bibliography. Search engine such as Google, was also helpful while conducting the research.

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APPENDIX

MAP 3

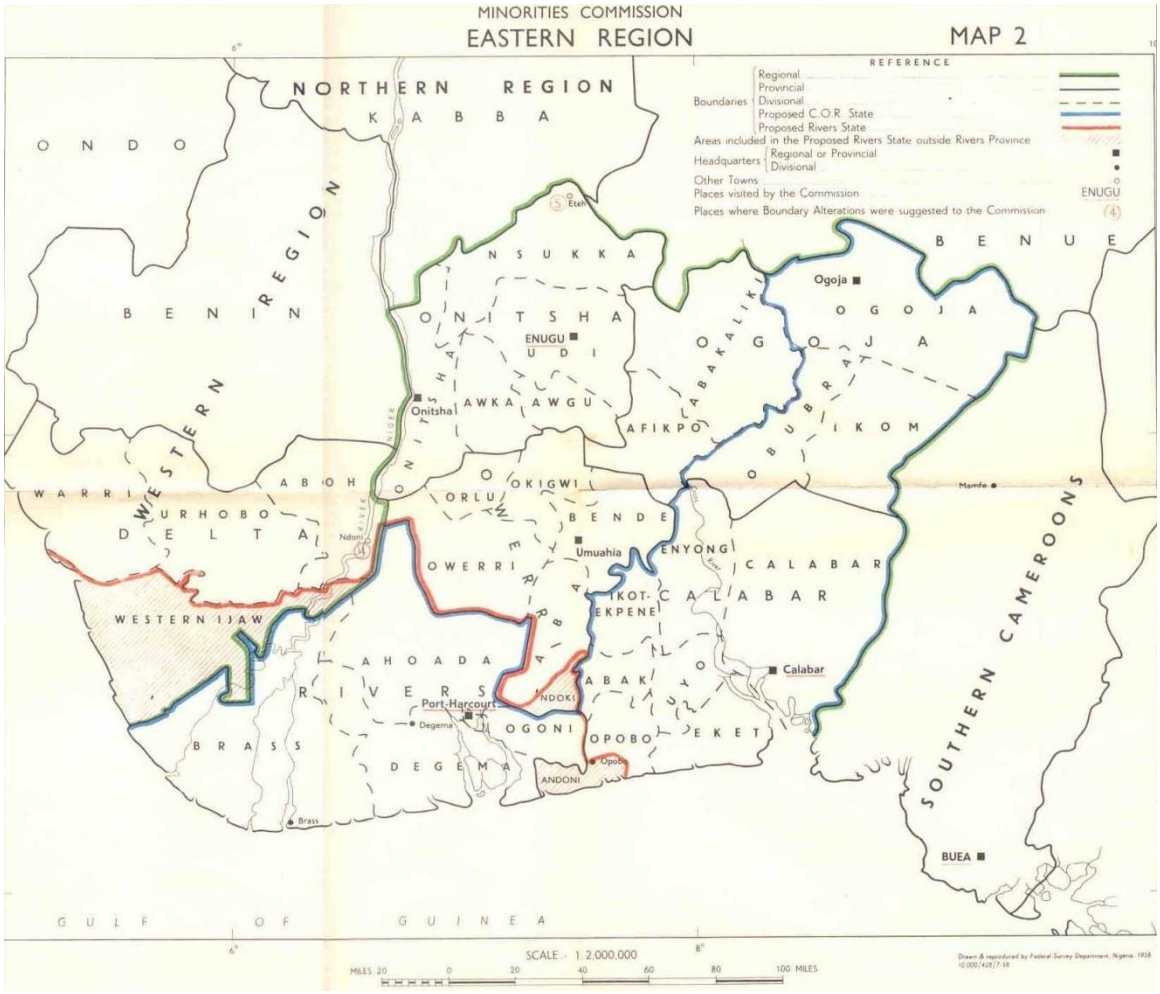
MAP OF NIGERIA THE SHOWING LOCATION OF KATSINA STATE



Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/States_of_Nigeria

MAP 4

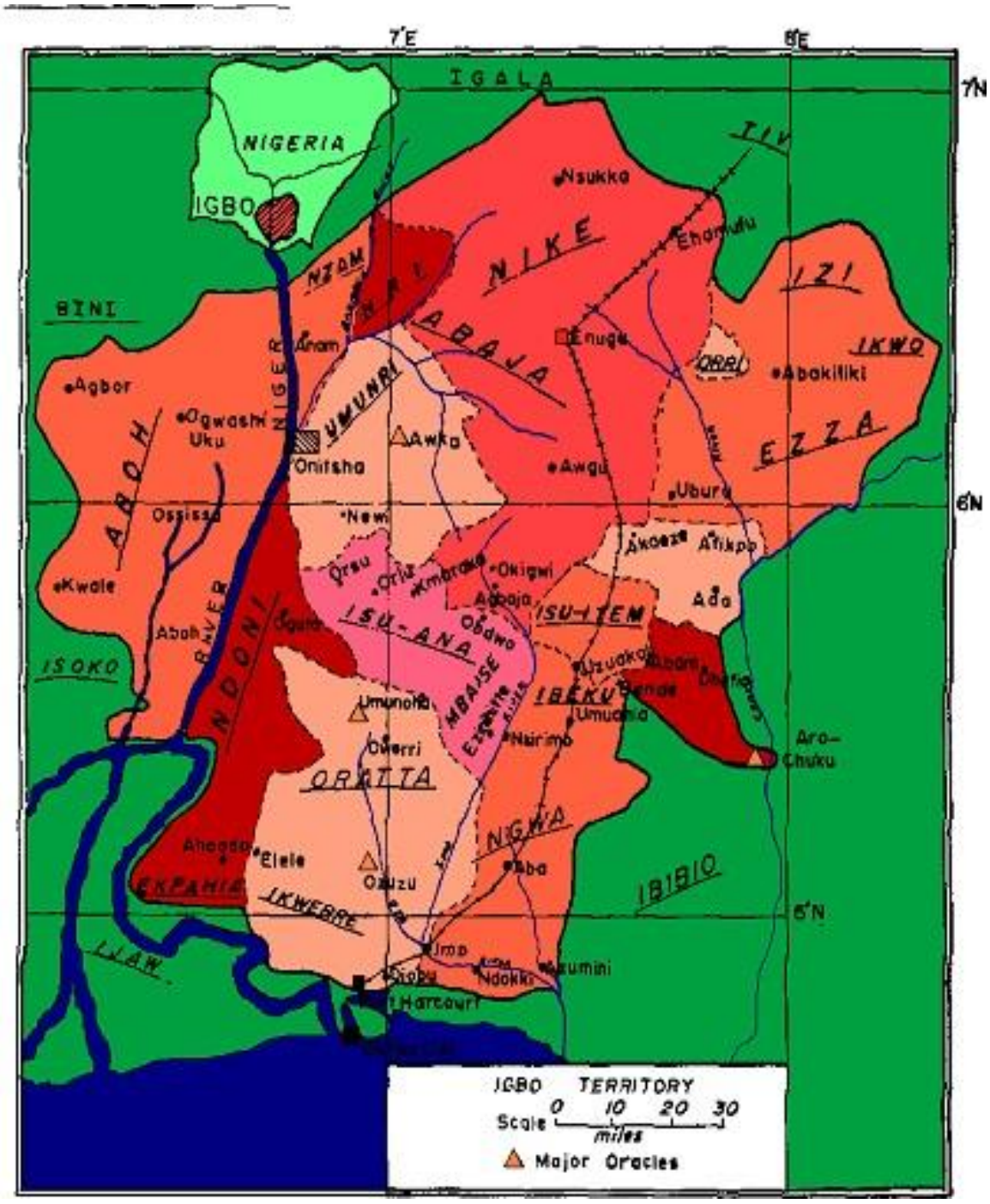
MAP OF FORMER EASTERN REGION OF NIGERIASHOWINGTHE SHOWING LOCATION OF IGBOLAND



Source:http://www.nairaland.com/793254/correct-map-delta-state-official

MAP 5

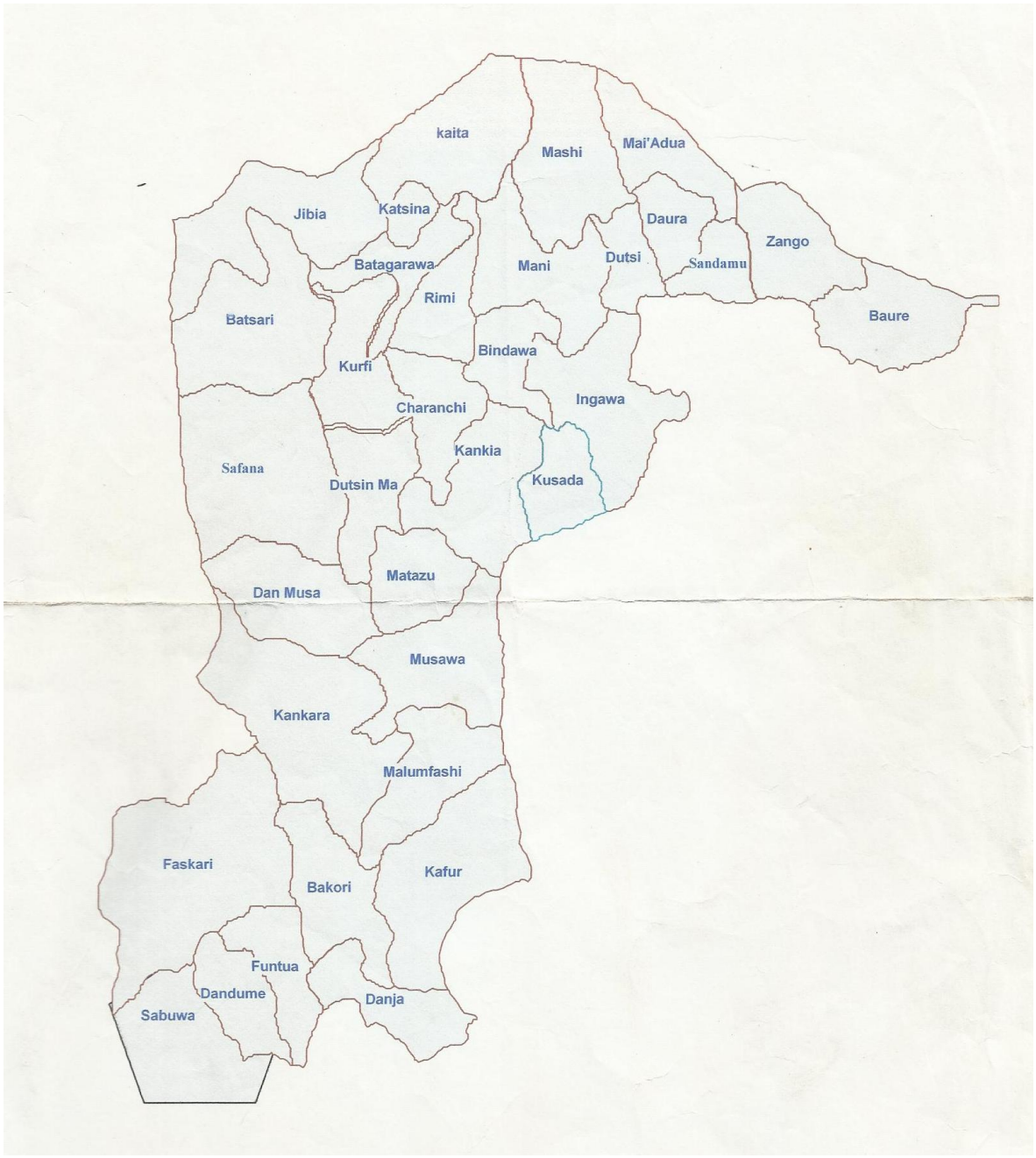
MAP OF IGBOLAND



Source: http://www.nairaland.com/500126/true-extent-alaigbo-igboland

MAP 6

MAP OF KATSINA STATE SHOWING THE SHOWING LOCATION OF KATSINA METROPOLIS AND ITS NEIGHBOURING LOCAL GOVERNMENT



Source: Katsina State History and Culture Bureau, 2007

TABLE B

AFRICAN POPULATION OF KATSINA PROVINCE CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO DIVISIONS, EMIRATES AND DISTRICTS BY MAIN TRIBAL GROUPS, JULY 1952.

Division (Div.), Native Authority (Emirate), District (Dist.)	Total Population (Both Sexes)	Tribal Group								
		Fulani	Hausa	Ibo	Kanuri	Nupe	Yoruba	Other Northern Tribes	Other Nigerian Tribes	Non-Nigerians
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
KATSINA PROVINCE	**1,483,400**	**527,765**	**612,130**	**2,722**	**148,895**	**1,789**	**1,389**	**179,613**	**6,538**	**2,559**
Katsina Div.	1,483,125	527,742	612,033	2,704	148,893	1,785	1,381	179,504	6,525	2,558
Daura Emirate	**143,127**	**47,983**	**85,328**	**127**	**5,750**	**12**	**16**	**3,373**	**391**	**147**
Baure Dist.	35,063	6,978	26,599	5	1,458	1	1	1	5	15
Magajin Gari Dist.	15,799	6,832	7,923	48	243	3	7	703	14	26
Maiaduwa Dist.	34,611	11,185	18,218	11	2,426	5	8	2,580	101	77
Sandamu Dist.	20,840	12,818	7,386	4	573	—	—	43	—	16
Zongo Dist.	36,814	10,170	25,202	59	1,050	3	—	46	271	13
Katsina Emirate	**1,339,998**	**479,759**	**526,705**	**2,577**	**143,143**	**1,773**	**1,365**	**176,131**	**6,134**	**2,411**
Danja Dist.	99,960	32,032	58,849	65	4,800	137	138	3,280	586	73
Dankama Dist.	9,738	1,769	4,165	—	1,274	—	—	2,397	11	122
Danyusufa Dist.	37,186	12,951	9,917	—	6,832	6	—	7,293	160	27
Durbi Dist.	90,694	30,498	24,488	1,221	14,161	37	5	20,078	28	178
Galadima Dist.	107,637	34,194	43,301	47	5,716	174	98	23,706	372	29
Ingawa Dist.	61,836	29,371	18,967	—	10,190	30	—	2,924	176	178
Jibiya Dist.	31,529	10,506	18,143	—	1,902	6	18	816	126	12
Kaita Dist.	68,190	22,933	26,359	—	11,672	8	3	4,850	2,217	148
Kankara Dist.	60,946	22,980	17,943	10	4,560	61	13	15,299	78	2
Kankiya Dist.	76,568	24,398	32,860	51	8,676	14	3	10,544	16	6
Kaura Dist.	76,754	24,606	23,643	63	14,930	41	24	13,305	64	78
Kogo Dist.	32,976	6,320	21,333	11	1,178	23	52	3,789	264	6
Magajin Gari Dist.	52,672	14,394	28,911	187	5,999	384	109	1,995	414	279
Mallamawa Dist.	11,122	3,057	4,602	—	1,474	27	—	1,962	—	—
Marusa Dist.	26,841	14,869	7,417	4	3,665	4	1	720	156	5
Mashi Dist.	54,208	17,540	22,850	205	7,307	26	1	5,918	300	61
Maska Dist.	88,393	29,668	46,717	671	4,894	223	863	4,820	397	140
Musawa Dist.	83,997	33,505	28,882	19	5,582	91	10	15,606	156	146
Ruma Dist.	75,257	33,855	24,099	—	9,943	60	1	6,536	34	729
Tsagero Dist.	16,942	4,752	5,849	1	3,233	24	—	2,592	489	2
Tsaskiya Dist.	56,653	22,239	16,422	7	5,492	57	1	12,307	76	52
Yandaka Dist.	119,899	53,322	40,988	15	9,663	340	25	15,394	14	138
Unspecified (Provincial Total)	**275**	**23**	**97**	**18**	**2**	**4**	**8**	**109**	**13**	**1**

TABLE B

AFRICAN POPULATION OF ZARIA PROVINCE, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO DIVISIONS, EMIRATES, NATIVE AUTHORITIES AND DISTRICTS BY MAIN TRIBAL GROUPS, JULY, 1952.

Division (Div.), Native Authority (N.A. or Emirate), District (Dist.)	Total Population Both Sexes	TRIBAL GROUP														
		Edo	Fulani	Hausa	Ibo	Kanuri	Nupe	Yoruba	Other Groups Recorded in Remainder of this Province					Other Northern Tribes	Other Nigerian Tribes	Non-Nigerians
									Gwari	Jaba	Jaba	Kaduna	Katab			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
ZARIA PROVINCE	805,095	1,581	82,630	362,198	20,157	13,555	3,636	10,329	36,047	41,082	35,787	30,687	28,605	131,152	5,944	1,442
Zaria Div.	795,922	1,451	82,287	360,443	17,994	13,416	3,516	9,531	35,937	41,042	35,722	30,652	28,602	130,420	3,985	924
Zaria Independent Districts	75,129	1	2,221	7,515	176	504	129	92	4,555	24,342	368	25	2,493	32,511	156	50
Birnin Gwari N.A. Birnin Gwari Dist.	18,874	—	586	6,309	18	472	117	9	4,542	10	24	11	—	6,657	107	12
Jaba N.A. Jaba Dist	25,547	1	104	352	8	19	3	6	1	24,293	3	2	3	719	21	10
Kagoro N.A. Kagoro Dist.	16,361	—	708	388	84	13	1	38	10	39	335	1	1,431	13,285	8	20
Moroa N.A. Moroa Dist	14,347	—	823	466	66	—	8	39	2	—	1	11	1,059	11,850	14	8
Zaria Emirate	720,793	1,450	80,066	352,928	17,818	12,912	3,387	9,439	31,332	16,700	35,357	30,627	26,109	97,909	3,835	874
Cikum Dist.	18,539	—	376	3,631	93	132	53	169	13,967	—	6	48	8	19	37	—
Giwa Dist.	40,024	—	7,480	30,262	144	1,350	117	52	133	31	—	7	—	367	16	65
Igabi Dist.	38,426	—	6,144	29,165	136	628	24	25	1,524	8	3	664	—	67	32	6
Ikara Dist.	52,846	3	12,015	38,426	23	1,833	24	54	7	1	—	3	—	375	59	43
Kaduna Sabon Gari Dist.	36,388	—	1,278	3,904	104	23	2	61	114	15,635	1,742	10,082	5	3,407	13	18
Kagarko Dist.	44,540	465	2,088	21,100	9,066	745	1,617	4,258	2,090	24	14	56	26	924	1,793	274
Kajuru Dist.	36,590	—	1,780	4,655	7	10	9	3	12,409	459	2	—	7	17,134	114	1
	22,911	455	74	2,101	94	15	4	34	633	3	11	19,427	—	35	23	2
Kauru Dist.	25,711	—	398	9,129	6	192	1	1	64	—	2	129	—	15,789	—	—
Kubau Dist.	49,818	13	4,550	42,188	171	1,418	76	120	105	32	1	15	9	977	55	88
Lere Dist.	65,301	—	7,026	25,038	270	793	32	241	53	17	25	7	9	31,710	71	9
Makarfi Dist.	59,231	1	10,940	45,071	101	2,343	230	66	56	4	—	2	1	106	274	36
Soba Dist.	41,931	5	6,741	32,392	156	2,085	31	49	127	13	6	31	5	243	45	2
Zaingon Katab Dist.	98,610	—	5,254	6,860	551	33	23	90	1	396	33,492	130	25,959	25,726	89	6
Zaria City Dist.	59,389	35	11,216	44,125	614	951	727	525	89	57	37	24	75	622	182	109
Zaria Sabon Gari Dist.	30,538	473	2,706	14,881	6,282	361	417	3,711	10	20	16	2	5	407	1,032	215
Kaduna Township	6,095	106	221	1,073	1,579	89	90	630	103	39	49	28	3	570	1,246	269
Zaria Township	2,281	21	93	414	489	39	25	110	5	1	15	—	—	352	582	135
Unspecified (Provincial Total)	797	3	29	170	95	11	5	58	2	—	1	7	—	171	131	114

TABLE B

AFRICAN POPULATION OF KANO PROVINCE, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO DIVISIONS AND DISTRICTS BY MAIN TRIBAL GROUPS, JULY, 1952

Division (Div.), Native Authority (Emirate) and District (Dist.)	Total Population (Both Sexes)	Tribal Group													
		Edo	Fulani	Hausa	Ibibio	Ibo	Kanuri	Nupe	Tiv	Yoruba	Recorded in this Prov. only. Magazawa	Other Northern Tribes	Other Nigerian Tribes	Non-Nigerians	Unspecified
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
KANO PROVINCE	3,396,350	4,737	968,257	2,109,654	7,849	13,341	198,968	1,945	358	8,363	49,659	19,395	4,069	2,679	7,076
Kano Div.	2,969,046	4,681	872,377	1,857,050	4,188	12,279	128,715	1,864	301	7,533	49,385	18,022	3,385	2,393	6,873
Kano Emirate	2,882,414	4,681	836,730	1,813,340	4,188	12,225	125,865	1,861	300	7,498	47,874	15,350	3,341	2,337	6,824
Babura Dist.	102,582	10	36,604	57,158	1,543	11	7,082	10	1	24	44	21	4	14	56
Bici Dist.	190,370	7	70,615	107,353	2	19	8,449	62	1	28	3,539	290	5	—	—
Birnin Kudu Dist.	121,705	1	43,315	65,417	2	12	9,532	5	3	22	926	2,117	7	8	338
Danbatta Dist.	111,868	—	35,730	73,979	—	11	2,035	13	—	1	62	23	9	5	—
Dawakin Kudu Dist.	135,341	—	37,727	91,575	—	6	4,186	57	2	—	1,527	260	—	1	—
Dawakin Tofa Dist.	212,523	11	91,918	104,171	5	24	7,126	112	1	7	3,967	491	131	9	4,550
Dutse Dist.	145,797	1,981	49,019	80,091	9	17	13,400	3	—	4	1,243	—	6	—	24
Gabasawa Dist.	69,279	—	19,139	47,135	—	20	2,789	—	—	11	174	—	9	2	—
Gaya Dist.	162,824	—	70,955	81,371	—	29	8,824	20	—	2	1,612	—	4	7	—
Gezawa Dist.	69,024	—	19,212	48,384	—	20	1,332	—	5	1	—	70	—	—	—
Gwaram Dist.	67,645	—	16,090	41,202	—	42	4,378	—	—	1	—	4,767	2	2	1,161
Gwarzo Dist.	159,037	—	42,132	95,282	—	18	9,319	73	—	13	8,294	2,380	1,297	2	227
Jahun Dist.	101,554	—	17,964	77,911	—	96	5,575	1	1	6	—	—	—	—	—
Kano City Dist.	127,204	839	12,119	88,715	564	11,135	3,673	1,103	110	5,783	23	435	1,075	1,478	152
Karaye Dist.	101,871	2	24,985	67,258	—	1	4,162	33	112	1,156	4,129	1	2	30	—
Kiru Dist.	96,463	—	16,814	72,813	—	58	2,674	22	11	47	2,876	530	422	29	167
Kumbotso Dist.	52,884	—	14,184	36,219	28	224	2,106	54	11	49	—	—	9	—	—
Kura Dist.	122,182	10	20,159	97,381	—	103	2,642	144	—	100	1,066	184	1	392	—
Minjibir Dist.	71,013	9	20,742	49,770	—	9	441	—	—	1	—	3	37	1	—

Rano Dist.	130,129	—	23,510	98,043	—	5	6,364	15	3	—	2,144	—	—	—	45
Ringim Dist.	138,347	232	37,394	90,695	1	189	8,048	37	3	156	890	476	51	175	—
Sumaila Dist.	130,602	6	35,288	82,062	6	7	4,835	4	—	5	6,967	1,414	1	7	—
Tudun Wada Dist.	78,479	8	12,029	56,432	1	139	1,827	28	35	60	5,965	1,487	192	172	104
Ungogo Dist.	59,044	120	29,279	26,928	5	26	2,440	49	—	17	3	100	77	—	—
* Wudil Dist.	124,647	1,445	39,807	75,995	2,022	4	2,626	16	1	4	2,423	301	—	3	—
Kazaure Emirate	**86,632**	—	**35,647**	**43,710**	—	**54**	**2,850**	3	1	**35**	**1,511**	**2,672**	**44**	**56**	**49**
Amaryawa Dist.	14,156	—	5,366	8,605	—	—	185	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kazaure Dist.	8,669	—	2,294	6,130	—	22	99	—	—	10	—	85	2	4	23
Roni Dist.	38,645	—	18,447	14,827	—	32	1,383	3	1	25	1,354	2,538	—	9	26
Yankwashi Dist.	25,162	—	9,540	14,148	—	—	1,183	—	—	—	157	49	42	43	—
Northern Div.	**423,998**	**43**	**95,689**	**251,729**	**3,604**	**357**	**70,200**	**54**	34	**406**	**259**	**1,128**	**86**	**206**	**203**
Gumel Emirate	**148,361**	**10**	**42,557**	**95,519**	**3,364**	**129**	**6,457**	2	28	**51**	**197**	**1**	**2**	**6**	**38**
Dan Zomo Dist.	26,906	—	8,789	18,111	—	—	1	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—
Gagarawa Dist.	33,014	1	5,207	27,524	—	100	124	—	27	22	—	—	—	5	4
Gumel Dist.	10,406	2	2,240	7,090	—	28	1,036	1	—	5	4	—	—	—	—
Maigateri Dist.	40,014	7	8,995	24,342	3,364	1	3,224	1	1	6	55	1	—	1	16
Sule Tankarkar Dist.	38,021	—	17,326	18,452	—	—	2,072	—	—	13	138	—	2	—	18
Hadejia Emirate	**275,637**	**33**	**53,132**	**156,210**	**240**	**228**	**63,743**	**52**	6	**355**	**62**	**1,127**	**84**	**200**	**165**
Auyo Dist.	26,118	—	2,216	23,557	1	—	341	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—
Birniwa Dist.	49,625	—	13,823	11,655	1	73	23,975	—	—	34	—	18	2	42	2
Bulangu Dist.	29,244	—	9,824	18,056	—	—	1,364	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Guri Dist.	19,591	—	780	5,332	2	2	12,390	—	1	3	19	987	35	3	37
Hadejia Town Dist.	10,453	—	220	9,608	226	47	112	9	—	82	5	3	1	25	115
Keffin Hausa Dist.	40,493	—	12,901	26,087	—	—	1,505	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kirikasamma Dist.	33,410	—	2,101	17,352	—	—	13,907	—	1	—	3	6	29	11	—
Mallam Maduri Dist.	66,703	33	11,267	44,563	10	106	10,149	43	4	236	32	113	17	119	11
Kano Township	**2,969**	**13**	**114**	**756**	**57**	**676**	31	**25**	**22**	**420**	**13**	**193**	**571**	**78**	—
Unspecified	**337**	—	**77**	**119**	—	**29**	**22**	**2**	**1**	**4**	**2**	**52**	**27**	**2**	—

TABLE B

AFRICAN POPULATION OF SOKOTO PROVINCE CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO DIVISIONS AND DISTRICTS BY MAIN TRIBAL GROUPS, JULY 1952.

Division (Div.), Native Authority (N.A. or Emirate), District (Dist.)	Total Population (Both Sexes)	Tribal Group												
		Fulani	Hausa	Ibo	Kanuri	Nupe	Yoruba	Other Groups Recorded in Respect of This Province			Northern Pagan Tribes	Other Northern Tribes	Other Nigerian Tribes	Non-Nigerians
								Adarawa	Arawa	Zabermawa				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Sokoto Province	2,680,333	396,340	1,825,537	3,767	26,800	21,414	6,514	206,709	56,933	59,542	53,079	19,238	1,697	2,763
Argungu Division	170,603	16,757	93,871	114	969	266	182	3,113	31,511	23,219	23	261	123	194
Argungu Emirate														
Arewa Gabas Dist.	16,842	1,548	5,166	—	25	—	—	390	8,668	1,010	—	—	—	35
Arewa Yamma Dist.	24,133	1,568	5,995	—	180	6	2	727	12,667	2,543	3	235	117	90
Argungu Dist.	9,402	163	8,187	103	10	14	42	87	470	316	2	1	1	6
Augi Dist.	37,770	4,459	27,902	—	442	64	1	1,243	1,679	1,950	6	—	—	24
Dendi Dist.	40,942	3,845	19,156	6	81	142	130	171	5,471	11,883	10	25	—	22
Gulma Dist.	41,514	5,174	27,465	5	231	40	7	495	2,556	5,517	2	—	5	17
Gwandu Div.	488,898	62,572	308,424	512	4,450	8,521	3,561	4,031	10,756	25,549	47,520	12,027	614	361
Gwandu Emirate	416,579	57,889	286,504	334	2,947	7,336	3,002	3,549	10,621	25,000	9,189	9,336	518	354
Aliero Dist.	14,954	610	12,134	—	49	12	—	349	1,786	14	—	—	—	—
Bahindi Dist.	13,018	1,275	8,287	14	23	12	42	11	47	2,214	147	946	—	—
Bakwai Dist.	24,633	5,392	13,112	5	1,074	1,722	1,195	542	460	405	—	702	24	—
Besse Dist.	18,984	3,156	11,044	35	71	179	54	214	52	2,447	1,209	517	5	1
Birnin Kebbi Dist.	60,736	10,059	40,290	90	335	795	71	659	2,645	5,569	2	156	12	53
Bunza Dist.	21,621	5,169	8,169	—	634	1,918	827	380	1,972	1,629	2	915	—	6
Dakingari Dist.	22,399	4,375	10,481	—	39	65	38	128	895	5,754	54	542	1	27
Giro Dist.	7,124	1,294	5,322	2	47	200	12	98	4	107	—	26	2	10
Gwandu Dist.	47,336	8,560	37,814	—	1	—	—	151	119	687	—	—	—	4
Illo Dist.	13,501	1,773	2,756	63	34	402	196	31	154	2,054	4,287	1,604	11	136
Jega Dist.	85,470	3,412	80,128	12	340	514	93	264	151	193	280	69	7	7
Kalgo Dist.	34,879	5,552	24,948	—	12	49	6	314	2,168	1,752	—	29	—	49
Ka'oje Dist.	13,506	2,788	3,272	111	107	753	391	143	8	634	2,771	2,417	95	15

Koko Dist.	19,284	1,282	17,771	2	1	—	3	57	28	140	—	—	—	—	—
Zagga Dist.	19,134	3,192	10,976	—	180	715	74	208	132	1,401	437	1,413	361	45	—
Yauri Emirate	**72,319**	**4,683**	**21,920**	**178**	**1,503**	**1,185**	**559**	**482**	**135**	**549**	**38,331**	**2,691**	**96**	**7**	—
Bin Yauri Dist.	7,969	1,103	3,012	1	47	28	28	27	5	15	3,327	372	3	1	—
Gungawa Dist.	11,537	147	1,799	11	40	35	14	27	1	47	9,043	369	4	—	—
Kwanji Dist.	7,583	441	771	76	82	152	83	21	2	61	5,431	459	4	—	—
N'gaski Dist.	16,087	122	2,474	18	128	177	117	24	4	47	12,521	415	40	—	—
Shanga Dist.	24,362	2,606	10,389	35	1,043	558	54	326	106	300	7,973	957	14	1	—
Yelwa Town Dist.	4,781	264	3,475	37	163	235	263	57	17	79	36	119	31	5	—
Sokoto Div.	**2,020,340**	**316,972**	**1,423,103**	**3,059**	**21,377**	**12,627**	**2,764**	**199,562**	**14,665**	**10,771**	**5,531**	**6,835**	**882**	**2,192**	**—**
Sokoto Emirate															
Acida Dist.	21,519	4,322	15,649	—	—	—	—	1,503	27	11	7	—	—	—	—
Anka Dist.	22,303	2,820	18,262	14	73	84	12	953	9	8	38	29	—	1	—
Bakura Dist.	42,077	3,845	35,991	5	248	22	1	1,919	2	18	8	4	13	1	—
Binji Dist.	31,082	5,274	20,784	—	196	48	—	2,974	342	1,447	1	15	—	1	—
Bodinga Dist.	14,944	2,495	12,147	—	7	75	1	209	—	10	—	—	—	—	—
Bukkuyum Dist.	42,918	7,386	32,222	2	1,379	125	4	1,245	41	29	20	358	103	4	—
Bungudu Dist.	54,934	11,298	42,104	24	714	193	20	357	3	64	134	6	14	3	—
Dange Dist.	51,069	11,408	34,209	5	2,905	652	1	1,818	20	28	19	4	—	—	—
Dingyadi Dist.	15,428	4,285	9,798	—	—	554	—	786	—	5	—	—	—	—	—
Dogondaji Dist.	12,544	1,935	9,925	—	126	177	—	192	169	6	14	—	—	—	—
Dundaye Dist.	18,986	2,965	10,654	—	249	168	5	4,843	6	72	—	—	—	24	—
Durbawa Dist.	22,768	4,340	15,466	—	153	143	—	2,648	—	8	—	10	—	—	—
Gada Dist.	73,024	3,021	26,462	—	212	—	7	42,675	194	244	184	6	—	19	—
Gandi Dist.	34,557	4,859	26,118	—	8	322	18	2,821	83	38	52	238	—	—	—
Goronyo Dist.	68,415	4,144	47,966	5	—	188	—	15,764	214	62	36	31	5	—	—
Gumbi Dist.	20,028	4,500	12,998	6	891	644	2	902	8	5	64	2	6	—	—

TABLE B

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Division (Div.), Native Authority (N.A. or Emirate), District (Dist.)	Total Population (Both Sexes)	Tribal Group												
		Fulani	Hausa	Ibo	Kanuri	Nupe	Yoruba	Other Groups Recorded in Respect of This Province			Northern Pagan Tribes	Other Northern Tribes	Other Nigerian Tribes	Non-Nigerians
								Adarawa	Arawa	Zabermawa				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Gummi Dist.	69,120	10,083	55,676	—	310	196	—	2,546	99	66	143	1	—	—
Gusau Dist.	86,601	19,915	61,658	1,440	395	409	975	951	52	428	99	22	181	76
Gwadabawa Dist.	158,545	11,906	88,134	—	—	706	340	52,828	2,494	1,024	205	217	57	634
Hamma Ali Dist.	21,413	2,372	18,606	—	184	—	—	222	20	9	—	—	—	—
Isa Dist.	93,986	10,718	82,169	88	27	18	5	751	5	11	22	—	1	171
Jabo Dist.	14,288	2,549	9,706	—	1,298	342	24	322	3	33	—	8	3	—
Kaura Namoda Dist.	108,935	20,894	83,870	177	937	525	336	1,608	29	21	321	92	27	98
Kebbe Dist.	27,454	3,499	21,162	—	—	140	22	1,147	16	113	1,191	164	—	—
Kilgori Dist.	8,422	2,172	5,553	—	422	87	—	125	8	10	1	—	44	—
Kuyanbana Dist.	20,850	958	19,306	2	218	22	7	160	9	11	118	10	4	25
Kware Dist.	21,245	2,204	9,990	1	4	74	40	5,635	15	3,000	2	20	1	259
Kwatarkwashi Dist.	23,716	3,691	18,817	1	524	16	6	617	2	9	6	2	12	13
Maradun Dist.	69,737	15,600	51,708	—	68	142	6	1,837	19	212	12	82	36	15
Maru Dist.	31,715	7,354	23,613	40	210	41	67	301	6	28	19	4	15	17
Moriki Dist.	26,894	4,251	21,724	5	83	51	—	598	2	—	177	—	—	3
Rabah Dist.	37,889	4,596	27,781	—	—	801	—	3,392	632	682	—	5	—	—
Sabon Birni Dist.	71,528	3,082	61,803	1	298	2	—	5,691	36	98	426	57	2	32
Sanyinna Dist.	7,452	1,599	5,284	—	—	105	5	190	2	266	1	—	—	—
Shuni Dist.	48,536	10,947	30,811	6	1,186	630	—	4,856	8	41	26	16	3	6
Sifawa Dist.	10,104	1,967	7,571	—	244	121	—	201	—	—	—	—	—	—
Silame Dist.	37,706	7,433	28,044	—	36	63	—	2,025	26	79	—	—	—	—
Sokoto Dist.	51,986	9,603	33,260	1,151	953	1,202	476	3,447	749	697	24	114	242	68

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	476	3,447	749	697	24	114	242	68
Talata Mafara Dist. . . .	66,504	11,398	52,624	38	325	85	80	1,615	74	149	12	66	30	8
Tambawal Dist.	40,717	4,875	20,866	11	1,247	1,511	194	5,680	970	290	165	4,835	51	22
Tangaza Dist.	57,145	8,696	30,897	—	12	16	8	8,042	7,832	920	126	87	7	502
Tsafe Dist.	38,961	8,043	29,800	31	285	68	30	500	14	26	63	2	15	84
Tureta Dist.	5,967	800	3,933	2	206	4	15	988	—	4	—	15	—	—
Wammako Dist.	22,321	5,634	13,083	—	547	67	—	2,904	66	20	—	—	—	—
Wurno Dist.	61,528	10,647	43,718	—	762	679	4	5,138	219	287	—	9	—	65
Yabo Dist.	67,726	15,978	45,027	1	2,742	969	46	2,422	70	158	238	72	—	3
Zurmi Dist.	64,753	14,611	46,154	3	693	140	7	1,214	70	24	1,557	232	10	38
Unspecified (Provincial Total)	**492**	**39**	**139**	**82**	**4**	**—**	**7**	**3**	**1**	**3**	**5**	**115**	**78**	**16**

23

LIST OF NAMES OF PEOPLE FROM OTHER PARTS OF NIGERIA AND WEST AFRICA EMPLOYED IN THE NATIVE ADMINISTRATION OF KATSINA

Engineering Section			
S/No	Name	Country	Town
1	A.S. Ola Salvador	Colony (N)	Lagos
2	J.O. Majigyabe	Kani(N)	Kano
3	J.O. Ouanum	Dahomey (D)	Whydah
4	J.A. Badele	Colony (N)	Lagos
5	F.B Davis	Kano (N)	Kano
6	S.A. Ogunleye	Ondo (N)	Owo
7	C.C. Okoye	Onitsha (N)	Onitsha
8	B.A. Chibozo	Dahomey (D)	Whydah
9	Bello	Zaria (N)	Zaria
10	Labaran	Zaria (N)	Zaria
Hospital Section			
S/No	Name	Country	Town
1	M. Nuhu	Kano (N)	Gaya
2	M. Muhammadu	Zaria (N)	Zaria
3	M. Usman Carpenter	Damagaram (N.R)	Garin Malanthasa
4	Amadu Lab	Bornu (N)	Yarwa
5	Ahmadu Hel.	Bornu (N)	Yarwa
6	Ali Dawai H.	Bornu (N)	Namai
7	Ali, B.B.	Bornu (N)	Baman
8	Samali (Abdul)	France (N)	Bagarmi
9	Jidda	Bornu (N)	Maiduguri
10	Dansokoto	Sokoto (N)	Sokoto
11	Bagobiri	Maradi (N.R)	Chikaji
12	Mamman Washim	Daura (N)	Zangon Daura
13	Auwa F. (Female)	Kano (N)	Rogo
14	Binta Kaza (Female)	Kano(N)	Zarewa Kwanaka
15	Buzuwa (Female)	France (F)	Tanbari Jaku
16	Yarbayi (H.C.(Female)	Kazaure (N)	Cikin Gida
17	Kulu F.S.I. (Female)	Kazaure (N)	Kofar Fada
Police (Yandoka) Section			
S/No	Name	Country	Town
1	Galadiman Yandoka (Garba)	Borno (N)	Yarwa
2	Garba Kofar Samari	Kano (N)	-

3	Corp. Audu Saye	Tuntakofa (?)	Uhoya
4	M. Audu	Sokoto (N)	Birini Gada
5	Audu Kura	Kano (N)	Kura
6	Ahmadu Gwandu	Gwandu (N)	Gwandu
7	Bako Sokoto	Sokoto (N)	Gwadabawa
8	Musa Iyatawa	Farance (F)	Iyatawa
9	Madawaki Hadeija	Hadeija (N)	Hadeija
10	Mamman	Sokoto (N)	Zugana
Prison-Warders (Dogaran Yari) Section			
S/No	Name	Country	Town
1	Yari Hassan	Damagaram (N.R)	Danladi
2	Audu Gya	Kano (N)	Dogara
3	Jibirin	Damagaram (N.R)	Damagaram
4	Mamman Ba'are	Daura (N)	Daura
5	Bara	Farance (F)	Age
6	Magaji	Tesawa (N.R)	Tesawa
7	Iron dan dagami	Kano (N)	Kano
8	Jatau Kogo	Mina (N)	Mina
9	Audu Kushereke	Kano (N)	Kano
10	Maikauwa	France (N)	Salifawa
11	Namina	Mina (N)	Kiza

Source: NAK/KATNA 2/36 No. W202, Foreigners Employed by N.A 1942-47. Pp. 1-4

Note: N means in Nigerian Territory

F French Territory of West Africa

N.R in Present Niger Republic

D in Dahomey

In 1903 Sir Frederick Lugard the High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria came to Katsina on his way back from Sokoto. Outside the Kofar Kwaya he was met by Abubakr and his leading notables. Abubakr made formal submission to the High Commissioner and was formally installed as Emir. In 1905 Abubakr was deposed. He was accused, some say falsely, of having caused a dead dog to be thrown into the Resident's well, and was sent in exile to Ilorin and Yero, son of Musa, was appointed Emir of Katsina. Yero was not slow to repay the indignities which he and his family had suffered at the hands of Abubakr. As an Emir he proved a complete failure, and his unsatisfactory behaviour at the time of the Satiru disaster resulted in his deposal in 1906.

On January 25th 1907 Sir William Wallace K.C.M.G.

Acting

Acting High Commissioner formally installed Muhamadu Diko as Emir of Katsina. Muhammadu Diko is a Ba-Sulube who has risen by his own merits. His grandfather Dahiru of Shinkafi was given the post of Collector of Caravan Tolls and a house at the Kofar Samri. Gidado son of Dahiru was the favourite of the Emir Ibrahim who gave him one of his daughters in marriage. He held in succession the titles of Marusa, Kankiya, and finally of Durbi. He died during the reign of Musa, and on his death Yero son of Musa was given the title of Durbi. When Abubakr became Emir Yero was dispossessed in favour of Sada, a younger brother of Gidado, and when he died Abubakr appointed Mohammadu Diko son of Gidado to be Durbi.

The story of his appointment as Emir has been told by Miss. Perham :-

"At the time of the Satiru revolt when for a moment
"the situation was regarded as grave, a Resident
"in one of the Northern Emirates was ordered to
"build a fort as rapidly as possible. He called
"the Emir and his leading men and asked them to
"arrange for the work to be done. One by one they
"began to make excuse, till the turn came to a
"certain District Head, who at once volunteered to
"produce so many thousand men, and complete the
"work in some many days. Within the period he
"fulfilled his promise. Asked to name his reward
"he asked not half, but the whole of the Kingdom,
"and when, not long afterwards the Emir was deposed
"for general incompetence, he received it".

(Native Administration in Nigeria page 70).

Events have proved that the choice was amply justified.

Mohammadu

Mohammadu Diko has acquitted himself successfully, and is generally recognised as one of the most progressive of the Native rulers. He has twice made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and has visited England on four occasions up to 1937. He has been honoured with the C.B.E. and with the King's Medal for African Chiefs.

NAK | KATPROF/SNP 17 K.2076 -
History of Katsina

6. Tribal Statistics :-

	Katsina	Daura
Habe	420201	66290
Fulani	366563	42987
Bêrê bâri	74005	2847
Bugaje	38094	2067
Yoruba	1267	13
Maguzawa	114604	-
Gobirawa	14329	-
Tu'areg	19315	-
Gwari	1128	-
Ibo	322	-
Daura	2373	-
Zanfara	3787	-
Kebbi	721	-
Bedde	336	-
Nupe	221	-
Miscellaneous	13	-

The predominant tribes are Fulani and Habe, the latter representing the indigenous stock. The Maguzawa are a pagan tribe distributed chiefly throughout the western and southern districts. The Beri beri have come from Bornu, and Bugaje, Tu'areg and Gobirawa are immigrants from French Territory.

The Katsina dialect of the Hausa language is spoken throughout the Province, even by Fulani, many of whom no longer understand the Fulani langugage. Hausa is the mother tongue of the Habe, Fulani, Maguzawa, Gobirawa, Gwari, Daura and Zanfara. The Beri beri, Bugaje, Tu'areg, Kebbi, Bedde and Nupe are acwuiring linguistic affinities by absorption in the native population. The minority of southern natives includes Yoruba, Ibo, Ibibio and Sierra Leoneans.

7.

NAK/KATPROF/3813 Katsina Province General Information 19/09/1949