

## **DYNAMISM OF CONFLICT IN KANO: RESPONSE TO A THREATENED IDENTITY**

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### **ABSTRACT**

The inherency of conflict among heterogeneous group(s) has been emphasized by some scholars of conflict studies. Kano, one of the oldest cosmopolitan urban cities in Nigeria, recorded its first eruption seven and half centuries of its multi-heterogeneity. What explains this unique phenomenon? And why did eruption occur at the time it did

As a commercial emporium, Kano became cosmopolitan as far back as the 15th century with settlement colonies for the Kanuri, the Arab, the Wangarawa, the Beriberi and later the Nupe and the Yoruba. While the demographic composition of the settlers posed no threat to the Kanawa (Kano indigenes), the influx of other Southern Nigerians, especially the Igbo, as from the 20th century and their dominant role in the economic life of Kano city since 1940s constituted a serious threat to the Kanawa identity and survival. Aside the fact that they were attempts to checkmate the ascendancy of the Southern migrants/settlers in Kano, eruptions, which began in 1953, reveal government's (Colonial and Nigerian) ineptitude in restructuring a new and balanced Nigeria at independence. With religious fundamentalism of the 1980s, the struggle to preserve Kano,s identity shifted from ethnic and assumed a religious dimension Nevertheless, while the population of the settlers keeps increasing, their new and creative adaptation models in today's Kano indicate that migrations are likely to transcend violent conflict if the governments - Local, State and Federal - play their part.

### **The Rise of Kano as a Cosmopolitan City**

Kano, one of the largest advanced cities in Nigeria,<sup>1</sup> started around 7th century as a settlement of immigrant Abagayawa blacksmiths, who came to mine iron from the ironstone outcrop of Dalla hill.<sup>2</sup> The Maguzawa immigrants, led by Bagauda conquered the settlement around 11th century and established a formidable political entity.<sup>3</sup> The construction of city walls from 1095 was completed in the 12th century.<sup>4</sup> Rimfa extended it by 54 per cent in the 15th century to accommodate immigrants from Borno and North Africa.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Paden, J. "Urban Pluralism, Integration and Adaptation of Communal Identity in Kano, Nigeria." In *From Tribe to Nation in Africa: Studies in incorporation Process*, Cohen, R. Middleton, J. (eds) 1970, p.250

<sup>2</sup> Willet, F., "A Survey of Recent Results on the Radio Carbon Chronology of Western and North Africa" *Journal of African History*, Vol. XII No. 3, 1971, p. 368

<sup>3</sup> Ibid

<sup>4</sup> Frishman, A. "Cited in Albert, O. "Ethnic and Religious Conflicts in Kano" In Otite, O., and Albert, O., *Community Conflicts in Nigeria: Management, Resolution and Transformation*. (Ibadan: Spectrum, 1999), p. 279

<sup>5</sup> — "The Impact of Islam on the Urban Structure and Economy of Kano, Nigeria." *Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority*, Vol. 7, No. 2, July 1986.

Kano's exposure to various cultures explains its early liberal policies towards strangers.<sup>6</sup> The emergence of a distinct Kanawa identity was a consequence of massive migratory trends and mixture of diverse social groups.<sup>7</sup> The Kanawa (Kano indigenes) engaged in long distance trade, pilgrimage and warfare. Islam was introduced in Kano in the 14th century by the Wangarawa traders from Mali.<sup>8</sup> It became the official religion of the state in the 15th century. Kano played host to a number of Islamic scholars whose activities facilitated the overthrow of the Maguzawa.<sup>9</sup> The city was also a major trading post in the trans-Saharan trade.<sup>10</sup> Kano skirmishes with the Kwararafa led to the assimilation of Kwararafa slaves into the Kanawa society.<sup>11</sup> It as well played host to war captives after the Fulani Jihad. Thus, unlike most cities in Nigeria that assumed their cosmopolitanism sequel to colonial migrations, Kano cosmopolitan outlook dates back to its formation stage. By the 16th century, its population was 74,000.<sup>12</sup> The Wangarawa the Kanuri, the Arabs, the Nupe and the Yoruba settlers' colonies were established as from the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup>

In 1903, Kano was occupied by the British.<sup>14</sup> The army of occupation comprised Southern Nigerians and few non Africans. With the establishment of the British administrative presence and location of European companies in Kano city, there was an influx of Southerners into the city. Kano, therefore, expanded as the commercial nerve center of Northern Nigeria. Its commercial and political orientation shifted from the trans - Saharan trade to a new Nigerian formation with Southern linkage.<sup>15</sup> The Southern migratory trend accelerated with the completion of Lagos–Kano railroad in 1912<sup>16</sup> and the groundnut boom of the 1920s. Colonial migrations into Kano were initially dominated by the Yoruba. Of the 2000 immigrants in

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<sup>6</sup> Shea, P., "Approaching the Study of Production in Rural Kano." In Barkindo, B., (ed) *Studies in the History of Kano*, (Ibadan: Heinemann, 1983), p. 107

<sup>7</sup> Adamu, U., *Confluence and Influence: The Emergence of Kano as a City-State* (Kano: Munarwa Books Foundation, 1999), p. 200-204.

<sup>8</sup> Albert, O., Urban Migrant Settlement in Nigeria: A Historical Comparison of the Sabon Gari' in Kano and Ibadan, 1893-1991. Ph.D Thesis submitted to the Department of History, University of Ibadan in 1994; p. 48.

<sup>9</sup> Paden, J., *Religion and Political Culture in Kano*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 42.

<sup>10</sup> Frishman cited in Albert, O., Urban Migrant Settlement *Op. cit*

<sup>11</sup> Abubakar, S., "The Kwararafa Factor in the History of Kano," In Barkind O. (ed) *Kano and Some Neighbours*. Department of History, Bayero University/Ahmadu Bellow University Press Ltd, 1981

<sup>12</sup> Mauny, R., cited in Osaghae, E., *Trends in Migrant Political Organization in Nigeria: The Igbo in Kano*. (Ibadan: IFRA, 1994), p. 27.

<sup>13</sup> Olaniyi, R., "From Citizens to Strangers: British Rule and the Transformation of Yoruba Migrants Identity in Kano" 1913-1958" In Akinwumi, O., et al (eds) *Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th and 20th Centuries*. (Makurdi, Aboki, 2006), pp. 389-390.

<sup>14</sup> Albert, O., Urban Migrant Settlement in Nigeria. *Op. Cit*, p. 52

<sup>15</sup> Coleman, J., *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*. (Berkeley: University of Californian Press, 1958), p. 39.

<sup>16</sup> Tamuro, T., "Genesis of the Nigerian Railway-II" Nigeria Magazine, 1965.39

Sabon–Gari, Kano in 1921, 1478 (73.9%) were Yoruba.<sup>17</sup> The Port Harcourt - Enugu railroad, which linked Lagos - Kano rail line in 1927 and the completion of Makurdi Bridge in 1932 opened up Northern Nigeria for the Igbo. Following the burden of taxation, and industrial expansion in Kano during the Second World War,<sup>18</sup> they flooded Kano. R.I. Maiden, a colonial officer, in 1938 captured this development thus: To the “ubiquitous Ibo and other tribes from the distant South”, the city of Kano was “an El Dorado.”<sup>19</sup> By 1948, the population of the Igbo (6,680) had surpassed that of the Yoruba (4,415). By 1950s, the population of Sabon – Gari Kano was: Igbo-54%, Yoruba-24%, Hausa/Fulani 4-%.<sup>20</sup>

The Muslim Kanawa detested the British hegemony and Christian South in Kano. Earlier on in 1901, the Emir of Kano dismissed two missionaries from Zaria<sup>21</sup> thus: “We do not want you: ...; I give you three days ... to carry your loads back to Zaria and we never wish to see you here again”.<sup>22</sup> The caliph in another context told Lord Lugard: “ ....Between us and you, there are no dwellings except as between Muslims and unbelievers – war”.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, the Kanawa maintained a near splendid isolation from westernization, an indirect invitation of more Southerners into Kano.<sup>24</sup>

### Settlement Patterns and Policies

Although its Islamic status was submerged with Sokoto as the headquarters of Islam in Nigeria, Kano remained a centre of Islamic civilization.<sup>25</sup> Islamic centers were characterized by specialized quarters.<sup>26</sup> By 1859, Kano was organized into 74 quarters,<sup>27</sup> each headed by Mai Ungawa - the Emir’s representative.<sup>28</sup> The quarters were divided into two – Birni (the walled city for Kano indigenes and other Muslim Hausas), and the Waje (the outside city for non - indigenes). The preservation of Islam from pollution informed the separate settlement. Thus, immigrants who were Muslim can be quartered inside the walled city. The Wagarawa, the Arabs and the Yoruba (in the 19th century) were quartered within the walled city at

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<sup>17</sup> National Archives Kaduna, cited in Albert, O., *Inter-Ethnic Relations in a Nigerian City: A Historical Perspective of the Hausa Igbo Conflict in Kano 1953-1991*. (Ibadan: IFRA, 1995), p. 6

<sup>18</sup> The period of the Second World War witnessed the establishment of import substitution industries in the British colonies. Kano was one of those places in Nigeria where such industries were cited in line with the British war effort.

<sup>19</sup> Maiden, R.O. cited in Albert, O., *Inter-Ethnic Relations in a Nigerian City* Op. cit, p. 6

<sup>20</sup> Albert, O., *Urban Migrant Settlement* Op. cit, p. 218

<sup>21</sup> Two missionaries, Bishop Tugwell and Dr Miller from Zaria who came to Kano in 1901 were sent away by the Emir of Kano, Aliyu. Christian Missionary activities had already begun in Kaduna and Zaria by the tail end of the 19th century.

<sup>22</sup> Miller, N., *An Autobiography* (Zaria: 1949), p. 35. Also see Crampton E.P.T. *Christianity and Northern Nigeria* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1975), pp. 37-40

<sup>23</sup> Lord Lugard, cited in Albert, O., *Urban Migrant Settlement* Op. cit p. 57.

<sup>24</sup> Paden, J. *Religion and Political Culture in Kano*. Op. cit, p. 315

<sup>25</sup> Osaphae, E., *Op. cit* p. 26

<sup>26</sup> Brown, C., cited in Albert, O., *InterEthnic Relations in a Nigerian City*. Op. cit, p. 7

<sup>27</sup> Mabagunje, A., *Urbanization in Nigeria*. (London: University of London Press, 1968).

<sup>28</sup> Crowther, M., *The Story of Nigeria*. (London: Faber and Faber, 1978), p. 30

Sharifai, Durimin Turawa, and Tudun Ayagi respectively.<sup>29</sup> The Kanuri were also quartered within the walled city.

Tension became imminent with the en masse movement of Southerners into Kano, Lord Lugard had earlier promised the Sultan of Sokoto the protection of Islam. In his word, a typical Southerner "... is quite certain to give much trouble in his dealings with the natives and by his fondness for litigation."<sup>31</sup> Attempts at curtailing Southern influx into Kano were not rewarding. As a solution to this problem, C.I. Temple, in 1911, established a separate settlement - Sabon-Gari:

The Sabon - Gari Kano should be occupied by non-native Africans. And by such natives as might cause trouble if they live in Kano city.<sup>32</sup>

Sabon - Gari was placed under the Colonial Authority while the Native Authority took charge of the Kano city. Quarterization system, therefore, continued in the colonial period. The only difference was the alteration of the status of the migrant. His position was no longer regulated by the hosts but rather by the new colonial law.<sup>33</sup> Non adherence to settlement policies elicited stricter measures including five pounds fine in 1914<sup>34</sup>

Separate settlement was also a measure against the influence of the already-nationalist conscious Southerners.<sup>35</sup> To forestall such influence in the North, other Northerners were moved from Sabon-Gari in 1914 to Tudun Wada under Native Authority.<sup>36</sup> Marriage between Muslims and non-Muslims was also forbidden.<sup>37</sup> During the Second World War, when Sabon-Gari came under Native Authority,<sup>38</sup> the settlement was neglected. Consequently, ethnic unions sprang up to articulate the interests of their members. Nevertheless, the settlers, especially the Igbo, made Sabon-Gari the beehives of economic activities in Kano. Its market established in 1918, had by 1940 reduced the Kano main market to insignificance and squeezed the indigenes out of business. Thus, the colonial settlement policies emphasized differences between the Kanawa and Southerners and fanned the embers of ethnic and religious consciousness.

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<sup>29</sup> Osaghae, E., *Migrant Settlement. Op. cit*, p. 50

<sup>31</sup> Lugards Annual Report 1901, *Ibid*

<sup>32</sup> Temple, C.I. quoted in Albert Urban *Migrant Settlement Op. cit*, p. 96

<sup>33</sup> Crowther, M. *Op. cit*, p. 340

<sup>34</sup> National Archives Kaduna. Cited in Albert O., *Ethnic and Religious Conflict in Kano Op. cit*, p. 279

<sup>35</sup> Osaghae, E., *Op. cit*, p. 35

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>38</sup> Olaniyi, R., *Op. cit*, p. 397

## Conflicts in Kano

The first host/settler violent eruption in Kano occurred in 1953. Following Northern backwardness, the Southern motion in 1953 for Nigeria's Political independence in 1956 was opposed by the Northerners as premature. The South decried this refusal in disparaging language and booed Northern representatives on the streets of Lagos. A Yoruba dominated "Action Group" decision to carry their campaign for independence to Kano sparked a riot in the city. The rioters attacked Sabon - Gari (especially the Igbo). 35 people were declared dead, while 251 were wounded.<sup>39</sup> This incident was immediately followed by a northernization policy.<sup>40</sup>

In the January 1966 coup d'etat led by an Igbo major, eminent politicians and high - ranked military men mostly from the North were killed. The North perceived this development as an attempt by the South (Igbo) to dominate them. The promulgation of decree 34 for unification of Nigeria by an Igbo general confirmed their fear. On March 29th 1966, the rioters again attacked Sabon-Gari. The counter coup d'etat of July, 1966 produced similar attacks in other Northern cities killing thousands of the Igbo.

After 1966, conflicts between the Kanawa and the settlers became more religiously defined. The 1980 Maitatsine riot and the 1996/97 Shiites attacks on orthodox Muslims were intra religious conflicts (with some political undertones) between the fundamentalist religious groups and orthodox Muslims in Kano. Kano had played host to many Islamic fundamentalists scholars from Chad and Cameroon from the 1940s. Several clashes between them produced hundreds of casualties.<sup>41</sup> In severe cases, death tolls were high.<sup>42</sup> Intra religious riots scarcely spread to other parts of Kano.

The 1980s/90s were periods of inter - religious violence as well. Nigeria opened up to fundamentalist Christian groups in the 1980s. Many of them are found in Kano.<sup>43</sup> Their activities, especially their mode of preaching, are often considered provocative by the Muslims.<sup>44</sup> Eruptions were moves to check their excesses and ascendancy of Christianity. The fagge crisis of 1982 aimed at preventing the reconstruction of a dilapidated church located close to a mosque.<sup>45</sup> Also, the Muslims, in 1991, detested the tone of advertisement for Reinhard Boonke's crusade. More so, the permission given to Boonke to preach in Kano could not be reconciled with the government's refusal to allow Sheikh Deedat from South

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<sup>39</sup> Northern Regional Government, *Report on the Kano Disturbance 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> May 1953*. (Lagos: Government Printer, 1953), p. 21

<sup>40</sup> Nnoli, P., *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria*. Enugu: (Fourth Dimension, 1978) p. 191. Also see Paden, J., *Religion and Political Culture op. cit* p. 325.

<sup>41</sup> Ekoko, A., & Amadi, I., "Religion and Stability in Nigeria" in Atanda, J. et al (eds) *Nigeria since Independence: The First Twenty-Five Years*. (Ibadan: Heinemann, 1989), p.73ff

<sup>42</sup> Weekend Times, 9<sup>th</sup> February, 1997.

<sup>43</sup> Albert, O., *Ethnic and Religious Conflicts in Kano. Op. cit*, p.289

<sup>44</sup> Bako, S., cited in Albert, O., *Ibid*.

<sup>45</sup> Ekoko, A., and Amadi, I., *Op. cit*, p. 121

Africa into Kano for Islamic revival.<sup>46</sup> Riot broke out on the 13th of October as soon as Boonke arrived in Kano. The 1991 riot marked a watershed in the history of conflicts in Kano. For the first time, the Southerners launched counter - offensive against their host.<sup>47</sup> Again, both Christians and Muslims from the South were attacked unlike before when such attacks were restricted to the former.<sup>48</sup> A riotous situation in 1994 following the beheading of an Igboman, Gideon Akaluka, by the Shiites for allegedly desecrating a Koran was quailed by the government.<sup>49</sup>

### **Migrants Ethnic Unions/ Empires**

As a way of adapting to the Kano environment of centralized political organization and sectional heads without losing their cultural identity; meet their material and security needs; articulate group interest through petitions, delegation or public protest; mediate the relationship between the governments/the host community and migrants, associational ethnicity has become a common phenomenon among migrant groups in Kano. Although it existed as village, clan and town unions, by the 1940s, it assumed ethnic character following the development in Kano. The Igbo community Association (ICA), for instance, made provision for a monthly allowance of seven shillings and six pence for the unemployed. Similarly, the Union in the 1960s built primary and secondary schools in Sabon-Gari for their neglected children.

Inter - ethnic collaborative mechanisms were also common among migrants. In 1944, leaders of ten ethnic groups and Landlords' Association jointly petitioned the resident officer over the demolition of their houses in Sabon-Gari. The Non-Indigenes Consultative Committee, formed in the 1980s to protect the lives and properties of the migrant in the wake of religious violence of the period also liaise with Kano governments towards peacemaking and peacebuilding. In 1993 for example, when non-indigenes in most part of the country, fearing a possible outbreak of a civil war, following the June twelve annulment fled home, Kano State Government through this committee and other central ethnic unions appealed to migrants in the city to remain. These unions also serve as rallying point for concerted actions against attacks and demands for compensations. The potency of the ICA, for example, in security provision and mediation has given it wide acceptance by non - Igbo groups from Bayelsa, Cross River River and Delta States

Furthermore, although the Yoruba had by the 1974, established their ethnic migrant empire with the installation of the Sarkin Yoruba by the Emir of Kano, the changing character of the Igbo migrants in Kano from temporary sojourner to semi permanent settlers after the Nigerian Civil War informed the emergence of the Igbo ethnic empire in the 1980s. The need for cultural revivalism/retribalization, better security for their huge investment and participation in the government and development of Kano, propelled them towards Kano centralized system of political organization. This point is validated by the fact that no such development was found at this period in Lagos and Ibadan with large number of the Igbo. It can therefore be argued that associational ethnicity as instrument of representation, protection and

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<sup>46</sup> Albert, O., *Ethnic and Religious Conflicts in Kano. Op. cit*, p. 291

<sup>47</sup> Newswatch, 28<sup>th</sup> October 1991. Also see Osaghae, E., *Op. cit*, p. 71

<sup>48</sup> Osaghae, E., *Ibid*, p. 51, also see Albert, O., *Ethnic and Religious Conflicts in Kano. Op. cit*, p. 219ff.

<sup>49</sup> Newswatch, 6<sup>th</sup> February, 1995.

welfarism strengthened the status of migrants in Kano, By conformity to the socio-political organization of Kano, migrants expect to enjoy greater respect and acceptance by the Kanawa.

#### Analysis/Conclusions

Conflict can be productive or destructive depending on the handling method.<sup>50</sup> There is neither recorded nor oral account of host/settler eruption in pre - colonial Kano. Although Albert<sup>51</sup> attributed this to religious homogeneity, pre-colonial settlers in Kano were not all Muslims. A good measure of the Maguzawa's(animists) theocratic practice was behind the invasion of Kano by the Jihadist.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, Islamic religion spread to middle belt and Yoruba land in mid 19th century. The Yoruba and the Nupe had developed settlers' colony in Kano by the 17th century.<sup>53</sup> The former lived with the Nupe weavers before the establishment of their special quarter in 1819.<sup>54</sup> Thus, both Muslims and non-Muslims lived in the pre-colonial Kano peacefully. However, the population of the latter was no threat to the Kanawa

The reverse became the case as from the colonial period. Population explosion and the concomitant economic domination constituted threat to Kano indigenes. The Igbo who dominated the economic sector as from the 1940s appreciate economic and social status attained by dint of handwork and personal effort,<sup>55</sup> a contrast to the feudalistic Kanawa known for subservience. Moreover, unlike the Yoruba, the Igbo were openly averse to the Kanawa cultural system. Thus, all riots except in 1991 were aimed at destroying them.

Furthermore, the 1953 and 1966 riots in Kano had their origins in national politics The fear of domination was entertained by the entire North. Its metamorphosis to violence in Kano was a clear indication of the level of animosity harbored by the displaced Kanawa host. Again, the attack on the Igbo instead of the Yoruba who proposed the campaign clearly revealed that the former by virtue of their number and economic aggressiveness was a serious threat to the hosts. It is pertinent to note that proposal alone precipitated the Killings in 1953. Could such have been the case if the campaign was scheduled to hold in Zaria or Jos with insignificant number of the Southerners (Igbo) compared to Kano? The May and July 1966 killings began in Kano and spread to other parts of the North only in September with the unfounded news of reprisal attacks in the East by Radio Cotonou. Again, while politically motivated sometimes,<sup>56</sup> religious conflicts of the 1980s/1990s were largely moves to protect and preserve Kano's identity as traditional Islamic city. Islamic fundamentalism constituted threat to Kano indigenes that belonged to the orthodox Kadriyya and Kabulu sects. On the other hand, the speedy proliferation of Pentecostal groups seems to be turning Kano to a Christian city. Hence, the struggle for identity assumed a religious dimension.

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<sup>50</sup> Burton, L., *World Society*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 1972, 137-138

<sup>51</sup> Albert, O., *Urban Migrant Settlement*. *Op. cit*, p. 52.

<sup>52</sup> Paden, J., *Religious and Political Culture in Kano*. *Op. cit*

<sup>53</sup> Fika, A., cited in Olaniyi, R., *Op. cit*, p. 390

<sup>54</sup> Olaniyi, O., *Op. cit*, p. 390

<sup>55</sup> Nnoli, O., *Op. cit*, p. 132

<sup>56</sup> Kukah, M., *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria*. (Ibadan: Spectrum, 1993), p. 257,  
Also see Ekoko, A., and Amadi, I., *Op. cit*, p. 123.

Though visible in ethnic and religious conflicts, population explosion, which reached a critical stage as from the late 1940s, and the concomitant threat to Kano indigenes and their identity formed the basis of conflicts in the city. Its dynamism indicates response to every new epochal reality(s). Avoidance; a common method of conflict management by the Nigerian government largely explains these eruptions.

However, while conflict are not likely to transcend migrations into Kano, the inclusion of ethnic leaders and chiefs in the Emir – in - Council has lessened suspicions, fears and discriminations. Furthermore, the Kanawa new elite viewed the settlers' investments as advantageous to Kano in the new global economy. All these are generating new understanding. Some Igbo migrants now live with the Kanawa in Gyedi Gyedi, Naibawa, Bompai, Nasarawa and Fagge. A good number of the Kanawa are in Sabon-Gari today. However, government's inertia may jeopardize these strides. Beginning from 1991, the residents of Sabon-Gari have beefed up its security on their own, collectively and individually. The rise of two armed race have generated some new trends ranging from relocation of part of families and businesses away from Kano to weekend flight<sup>1</sup> into Abuja hotels and other nearby towns. Similarly, its gains notwithstanding, migrant empire building does not express itself alone in cultural realism, but politics as well. There are some underlying tensions and area of possible political conflict.

Though Kano city may seem to be a volcano waiting to erupt ones threatened, its commercial importance have compelled the ever increasing migrants to adopt both positive and negative coping mechanisms. Their efficacy and transformation into durable civilizing arrangements depend largely on government's dispositions.

### **Recommendations:**

- 1 Dealing with "Street Culture"<sup>2</sup> in Kano by absorbing the amajiris into formal education system in Nigeria.
- 2 Establishment of fora where seasoned Christian and Islamic Scholars/clerics will regularly educate the public on the tenets of the two religions
- 3 Facilitation of constructive dialogue among several disputing groups in the city
- 4 Establishment of committee of community leaders to review

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<sup>1</sup> Riot in Kano since 1990s usually starts on Fridays when Muslims congregate for prayers. Hence, the weekend flights out of Kano and exorbitant hotel fee in Abuja and other nearby towns on weekends. Relocations of businesses to already congested towns like Onitsha, Aba, and Lagos make urban planning and policies difficult. Demolitions of illegal structures in those cities by the governments have become common in the last ten years.

<sup>2</sup>"Street culture" is a situation whereby poor people and beggars(amajiris) without home or workplace spend their time largely on the street and consequently become liable to illegal and antisocial activities. See Albert, O. "Kano: Religious Fundamentalism and violence" 1997, 286-287. Their presence in Kano often encourages troubleshooters to ignite riot. This help in no small measure in escalating conflict by buying such from interested party

regularly the relationship between the settlers and the Kanawa

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