

## ORGANIZATION OF THE HAUSA COMMUNITY AND THE CHANGING PATTERNS OF HAUSA-YORUBA RELATIONS IN AKINYELE TOWN, 1960-2002

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### Abstract

Human society is usually conceived of as the collectivism of individuals' economic, social, political, and cultural activities, giving them access to life's necessities. There is nothing unusual about this precisely because man, by nature, is a dependent creature: he depends on his environment and others for food, shelter, and clothing, all of which provide him with a feeling of meaning in life. Hausa-Yoruba relations spanned several centuries before colonialism emerged in Ibadan, Nigeria. Indeed, the extension of the railway in the 1920s and the presence of multinational companies in Ibadan made it possible to assume a cosmopolitan outlook and undoubtedly attracted Hausa migrants, who were pulled in by attendant economic opportunities among the Yoruba communities in Ibadan. A community where Hausa settled after a period of peregrination for their business activities was Akinyele town in Ibadan. In this study, the researcher employed a multidisciplinary approach to gather essential information, which was subsequently subjected to descriptive and critical analysis. Primary and secondary sources were used to gather information, while corroboration was employed to confirm the veracity of the information obtained from the respondents. This study investigated Hausa-Yoruba relations in Akinyele from 1960 to 2002 in the context of the socio-political and economic dynamics and structures of the Hausa community as well as interrogated the changing patterns of the Hausa-Yoruba relations in Akinyele within the aforementioned periods. The study concludes that despite conflict or dispute between the two ethnic groups within the study period, cordial relations remained.

### 1. Introduction

Human society is usually conceived of as the collectivism of individuals' economic, social, political, and cultural activities, giving them access to life's necessities. There is nothing unusual about this precisely because man, by

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nature, is a dependent creature: he depends on his environment and others for food, shelter, and clothing, all of which provide him with a feeling of meaning in life. At least two important issues emerge from this that should be explained. The first is that no group or human community, notwithstanding its level of development, can be an island entirely to itself.<sup>2</sup> This happens to be so because, as Otite tersely contends: "...the fundamental need of man is the provision of material goods, which itself compels (by implication) cooperation with others in production\consumption relationship, involving competition for access to scarce resources."<sup>3</sup> The second point relates to the significance of contact and interaction between groups, which is a logical sequence from the first point.

The extension of the railway in the 1920s and the presence of the Multi-National Companies (MNCS) in Ibadan undoubtedly attracted migrants who were pulled in by attendant economic opportunities in the native authorities, railways, or European companies. These developments and other developmental dynamics led Ibadan to assume a cosmopolitan outlook. For the most part, Hausa combines production for subsistence and exchange; subsistence is derived primarily from farming, while cash income comes from cotton, peanuts, cash crops, livestock, forest products, craft products, services, and trade. General trade in local staples, as well as large-scale kola-nut trade, and cattle shipment to Southern Nigeria, clearly requires constant attention.<sup>4</sup> Traders are more likely to devote their full time to commerce than craftsmen. A truly pastoral people depends entirely for its means of livelihood on its herds of cattle. Their primary concern is to find suitable grazing grounds, and they are thus nomads. Most of the Hausa are cattle-owning, but the characteristic pastoral groups are the Fulani, who are ubiquitous. Some Hausa people are also pastoral peoples, but there is a general tendency among these, as well as among Fulani, to adopt a more settled mode of life, which invariably enables them to find settlements among their Yoruba host communities.<sup>5</sup>

Trade within a Hausa community never ceases; children hawk-cooked food around the village from dawn until dusk; petty traders keep tables laden with kola nuts, cigarettes, matches, soap, and kerosene at their entrance hut while carrying on some craft or conversation. However, most exchanges occur at regular market meetings.<sup>6</sup> Each market has a headman (the *SarkinKasuwa* or *MagajinKasuwa*) responsible for the village or town chief. He, in turn, has several assistants: the *SarkinAwo* (Chief of the grain sellers, often a woman), the *Sarkin Pawa* (Chief Butchers), the *Sarkin Dillalai* (Chief Broker), and so on. Each craft official knows the group he represents and is regarded by its members as its market leader. One sense is that for many who attend, the market is a major social event, while others derive pure pleasure from trading, regardless of profit or turnover, and still others attend (of necessity) to earn the money they urgently need.<sup>7</sup>

Hausa constituted what can be aptly described as a trading 'diaspora', "a nation of socially interdependent, but spatially dispersed, communities", developed to overcome the many problems inherent in long-distance trade, such as the exchange of information, the speedy dispatch of goods, especially perishable ones, provision of credit,

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<sup>2</sup>Okpeh, O. O. (2006). Conceptual and Theoretical Issues Arising from Studies in Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria in the 20th Century. *Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria during the 19th and 20th centuries* O. Akinwumi, J.D. Gwamna and O.O. Okpeh Eds. Makurdi: Aboki Publishers.6.

<sup>3</sup>Otite, O. (1971). The concept of a Nigerian society. *The Nigerian journal of economic and social studies*, 13, 299-311.

<sup>4</sup>Smith, M. G. (1965). The Hausa of the Northern Nigeria *Peoples of Africa*, James L. Gibbs, Ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, Inc...127

<sup>5</sup>Meek, C.K. (1925). *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria: An Ethnographical Account of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria with A Report on the 1921 Biennial census (Vol.1)*. London: Oxford University Press.115.

<sup>6</sup>Smith, M. G. (1965). The Hausa of the Northern Nigeria *Peoples of Africa*. 127-128.

<sup>7</sup>Smith, M. G. (1965). The Hausa of the Northern Nigeria *Peoples of Africa*. 127-128.

and the adjudication and maintenance of authority structures. The Hausa, both in and outside their community, were held together by common material interests and the ideological pulls of shared language, the invented tradition of ethnic homogeneity, and adherence to Islam. Islam offered merchants a uniform legal structure and moral code that regulated and facilitated relations over vast distances within different political, economic, and social systems. Thus, Islam amounted to a passport for the traders: it gave them both identification and mobility.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, it needs no mentioning that the complexity and dialectics of existence ordinarily dictate that each human group must consciously and unconsciously relate with other groups to survive. Thus, extrapolating from these two points, it is easy to understand why human groups are necessarily dependent on each other.<sup>9</sup> As a result, communication, interaction, and dependency are universally fundamental and constant aspects of life. The factors that characterize this interdependence and lead to dynamic changes over some periods between groups have continued to engage the keen and critical interest of scholars over the years. It is however against this background that the changing patterns or trends in Hausa-Yoruba relations, as well as the factors that shaped and conditioned the dynamics of these relations between the two groups in Akinyele, are interrogated in the light of pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial epochs.

## 2. Objectives of the Study

The primary objective of this study was to investigate Hausa-Yoruba relations in Akinyele from 1960 to 2002. Specifically, the study (i) interrogated the socio-political and economic dynamics and structures of the Hausa community in Akinyele and (ii) investigated and historicized the changing patterns of the Hausa-Yoruba relations in Akinyele within the periods above.

## 3. Methodology

The researcher used a multidisciplinary approach to gather the essential information for this study and then subjected it to descriptive and critical analysis. Both primary and secondary sources were used to gather data. The following are the main sources of information used in the data-gathering process: gathering historical facts from people through interviews on their oral traditions and oral evidence. This formed the basis of the primary source of reconstructing their history. Corroboration was employed to confirm the veracity of the information obtained from the respondents. The secondary sources included government reports, unpublished theses and dissertations, online sources, textbooks, journal articles, newspapers, magazines, and government reports.

## 4. The Political Structure of Hausa Migrants in Akinyele Town

Hausa culture is not just a way of life; its identification is, in many ways, a political ideology, emphasizing identity and exclusiveness. This identification was upheld not only by Hausa migrants in Ibadan in the early 60s but also by old-timers who had hitherto been living in their community in Ibadan. Meanwhile, each of the established communities needed to organize politically to maintain the Hausa monopoly in trade and prevent any form of disruption.<sup>10</sup> The political ethnicity of the Hausa people is often considered a sociocultural strategy for informal grouping under special structural circumstances. Meanwhile, basic political functions in formal political groupings among the Hausa are organized legally and bureaucratically through the manipulation of symbolic formations derived from their traditional culture.<sup>11</sup>

Hierarchically, the Hausa community in Akinyele town was organized politically according to the functions assigned to each individual in the position of authority. The structural configurations of the Hausa political

<sup>8</sup>Lovejoy, P.E. (1980). *Caravans of Kola, Hausa Kola Trade: 1700-1900*. Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press. 638.

<sup>9</sup>Okpeh, O. O. (2006). Conceptual and Theoretical Issues Arising from Inter-Group Relations Studies in Nigeria in the 20th Century.7.

<sup>10</sup>Cohen, A. (1969). *Customs and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*. 22.

<sup>11</sup>Cohen, A. (1969). *Customs and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*. 27-28.

authority in Akinyele town were predicated on a set of individuals in positions of authority among the people, some of which were as follows: *Seriki* (the overall Head of the Hausa community), *MogajiNgeri* - (Subhead of the Hausa compound in the Hausa community), *Seriki Fulani* and *Seriki Beriberi* (heads of Cattle sellers), *Seriki Sanu* (the head of the cattle controllers), and *SerikiPawa* (the head of butchers).<sup>12</sup> Other positions of authority that form part of the political structure in the Hausa community include *Wakili*, *Waziri*, *Madawaki*, *Serikingida*, *Turaki*, and *Gwam Bai* (personal assistance to the *Seriki*).<sup>13</sup>

### 5. Economic Structure of Hausa Migrants in Akinyele Town

There is often a correlation between ethnic group and occupation. Thus, most Hausa in Ibadan were directly or indirectly dependent on cattle and kola farming. Like the cattle trade, the kola trade was highly competitive and required considerable experience. Therefore, it is given an intensive degree of specialization.<sup>14</sup>

Most of the Hausa who migrated to Akinyele before the 21st century was engaged in rearing and selling cattle. However, some of them were equally involved in the buying and selling of kola. There still exists a particular designated place in the town where buyers and sellers often meet to conduct their businesses.<sup>15</sup> Meanwhile, while some of the Hausa kola dealers frequented the south and north to purchase and sell kola consignments, others often managed to sell all or some of their consignments along the way, toward the end of the journey.<sup>16</sup> According to Adijatu Usman:

*...during this period, few Hausa men carried kola from Akinyele village to the Northern part of the country for sale. Furthermore, whenever they were coming, some of them would buy cattle and journey back to the village where buyers would sometimes wait to buy the cattle. Only four Hausa men engaged in butchering cattle during this period. Also, most of the Yoruba specialized in selling beef, which they did by hawking from one village to another. The activities involved in selling beef were coordinated by the head of the beef seller named Salawu.*<sup>17</sup>

In addition, another economic activity that became famous and lucrative among the people in the Hausa community in Akinyele town right from the mid-20th century up to today is the buying and selling of different fruits such as Oranges, Tangelo, Tangerine, and *Agbalumo* (a common local fruit in the western part of Nigeria) in large quantities from Yoruba farmers both in Akinyele town and in other nearby communities.<sup>18</sup> Significantly, Akinyele town became the main hub or commercial center for these fruits because beginning in the early 20th century, a large number of Yoruba farmers in the town planted large hectares of these fruits in large quantities. Thus, the business attracted many Hausa migrants to the town.<sup>19</sup> In addition, this business was so lucrative that most of the Hausa youth in Akinyele engaged in it. Only a few Yoruba youths who could speak the Hausa language engaged in this line of business. Therefore, before the establishment of the *Kara* market in 2002, only a few Hausa remained involved in rearing and selling cattle. The main occupation of most of them has shifted to buying and selling the aforementioned fruits in large quantities.<sup>20</sup>

Furthermore, having realized how lucrative the business of buying and selling fruits in the town was, many farmers in the neighboring communities planted cash crops to take advantage of the large markets readily provided

<sup>12</sup>Interview held with Iliasu Garuba, 46 years, businessman, at Akinyele Trailer Park, Akinyele, 23-04-16.

<sup>13</sup>Interview with Alhaji Danlami Hassan, 66 years old, a businessman from *Aba Ebo* compound in Akinyele Town, 09-04-2016.

<sup>14</sup>Cohen, A. (1969). *Customs and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*.77- 80.

<sup>15</sup>Interview held with Huseni Abdullah, 85 years, an older adult man, *Ago Awusa* in Akinyele town 3-04-2016.

<sup>16</sup>Cohen, A. (1969). *Customs and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*.76-77.

<sup>17</sup>Interview held with Adijatu Usman, 86 years, an older adult woman, *Ago Awusa*, in Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.

<sup>18</sup>Interview held with Mr. Mallam Bala, 88 years, an older adult man, *Ago Awusa* in Akinyele town, 26-03-2016.

<sup>19</sup>Interview with Mr. Kazim Ajibola Osundiran, 45 years old, a businessman, at *Olosun* Compound in Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.

<sup>20</sup>Interview with Alhaji Madu A. Ali, 65 years old, Cattle dealer, *Ago Awusa* in Akinyele town, 26-03-2016.

by the Hausa community in the town.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, the early part of the 21st century marked a phenomenal increase in the numbers of Hausa and Yoruba buyers and sellers penetrating the hinterlands of various Yoruba communities to obtain these fruits in large quantities and sell them to places like Lagos, Ilorin, and some other states in the Northern parts of Nigeria. The business strengthened the level of inter-group relations and cooperation between the Hausa and Yoruba in Akinyele. Therefore, apart from selling these fruits to different states in the Northern part of the country, they were equally sold to places such as Ketu, Ikotun, Mile 12, etc. in Lagos state. In Ibadan, however, the fruits were sold in markets such as *Oje*, *Ojaoba*, and *Ojoo*.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the business strengthened the father-son relationship, which had hitherto been a hallmark of Hausa communities in Yorubaland even before this era.<sup>23</sup>

Another form of occupation, mostly common among the Hausa people in Akinyele town, was selling water. Formerly, this form of occupation was carried out via the use of 2 or 4 sizeable aluminum containers, but from the beginning of the 21st century, the business took another dimension, as the use of carts containing between eight and twelve kegs (of 25 liters in size) was often used to carry the water to prospective consumers or buyers<sup>24</sup>. Besides, a few of the Hausa men were involved in the occupation of Islamic clerics - *Alfas*,<sup>25</sup> while, clearing the farm for the farmers (both in Akinyele town and the neighboring communities) was another engagement for a few of the Hausa. The *Agatus* (a particular ethnic group among the Hausa) and Fulani often engaged in clearing land for Yoruba farmers who would pay for it.<sup>26</sup> The Hausa were mostly interested in selling cooked food items such as "Amala", "Tuwo", "Kunnu", "Koko", groundnut, and other fruits.<sup>27</sup>

## 6. The Religious Life of Hausa Migrants in Akinyele Town

Hausa-speaking peoples have been profoundly affected by the impact of Islam over a prolonged period, with the result that at present, the vast majority of these people are practicing syncretism whereby there exists a blending of "paganism" of African origin with Islam.<sup>28</sup> Islam is ascribed to the political revolution affected by the Fulani, which had a significant impact on Hausa languages, the majority of which have strong Arabic roots.<sup>29</sup>

For Hausa, Islam is a way of life and a set of beliefs in Allah and his Prophet. The five daily prayers, the attendance at the mosque on Fridays, the three main annual festivals, the yearly grain tithe, the annual fasting of Ramadan, and the recurrent fact of pilgrimage together represent local Islam most strictly. In addition, courts administer Muslim law modified by Hausa customs, and traditional schools teach Islamic texts. Much of Hausa folklore is Islamic, together with urban house types, dress, script, and other cultural forms; and the standard Islamic injunctions and taboos are regularly observed in country towns as well as in cities. Even in rural areas, men of middle status eagerly attend visits to *Malam* to learn more about Islamic lore and tradition. The actual comprehension of Islam may be inadequate, especially among the rural peasants; but if questioned, any Hausa would point to their history as evidence of Islamic affiliation.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>21</sup>Interview held with Gbadamosi Amope, 84 years, an older adult woman, on *Onikeke Compound* in Akinyele, 24-03- 2016.

<sup>22</sup>Interview held with Mrs. Osunyemi Amuda, a 45-year-old businesswoman, at Akinyele Market in Akinyele town. 24-04-16.

<sup>23</sup>Cohen, A. (1969). *Customs and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*. 86.

<sup>24</sup>Interview held with Mr. Muraina Olojede, an 85-year-old farmer and trader, *Iyana Agbirigidi* in Akinyele town, 23-04-2016.

<sup>25</sup>Interview held with Mr. Mallam Bala, 88 years, an older adults man, *Ago Awusa* in Akinyele town, 26-03-2016.

<sup>26</sup>Interviews held with Mr. Peter Olabanji Osunrinade, 63 years, civil servant, at Olosun Compound in Akinyele on 03-04-2016.

<sup>27</sup>Interview held with Adijatu Usman, 86 years, an older adult woman, *Ago Awusa*, in Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.

<sup>28</sup>Greenberg, J. H. (1960). Aspects of Black Mohammedan cultural contact among the Hausa. *Cultures and Societies of Africa*. Simon and Phoebe Otterberg, Eds. New York: Random House. 477.

<sup>29</sup>Meek, C.K. (1925). *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria: An Ethnographical Account of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria with A Report on the 1921 Biennial census (Vol.11)*. London: Oxford University Press. 1.

<sup>30</sup>Smith, M. G. (1965). *The Hausa of the Northern Nigeria Peoples of Africa*. 150.



As Greenberg has demonstrated, Muslim Hausa *bori* (spirits) have pagan Hausa antecedents, but they also include certain Arabic elements derived from the *jinn*, together with the practice of spirit possession. By appealing to spirits, women particularly seek benefits, personal relief, and entertainment. The women's exposure to Islam has been severely restricted by conditions that subordinate them to men while segregating them from men, women's greater interest in the traditional cult is easy to understand.<sup>31</sup> The performance of the ritual was almost confined to the elderly, who spent 30 to 40 min on prayer. These prayers were mostly performed individually, and it was only on Friday and on feast days that a larger proportion of men gathered in the village mosque to perform collective prayers. In contrast, all Hausa men in most communities, excluding only a handful of those who practice the "pagan" *Bori* cult, observe the five daily prayers. Only the Morning Prayer is performed individually, while the other four are performed collectively, in groups of 20 or more, under the leadership of a *Mallam*.<sup>32</sup>

Most Hausa in Akinyele town were Muslims, while only a few were Christians. The Christians among them came from states such as Nasarawa, Kogi, and Jos. For instance, a particular Hausa man whose name is Yidi Idris is a Christian. He migrated to Akinyele town from Nasarawa state. Perhaps, if the few Christians among them were many, they would have founded a Church where they would worship. There is a central mosque in the Hausa community in the town; however, both the Yoruba and Hausa Muslims worship in this mosque, which formed one of the forces of intergroup relations between the Hausa and the Yoruba Muslims in the town.<sup>33</sup> Another feature of the Hausa religion in the community was the presence of a relatively large number of *malams* and the establishment of *Madrassa*, where the children of both the Hausa and Yoruba learn. Some of these *malams* combined occupations such as trading with religious work. Others, among them, devoted their entire time to attending to the ritual requirements of the community's teaching and increasing their Islamic learning. Also, religious functionaries played no significant role in the political organization of the community, whereas the Hausa community performed crucial political roles.<sup>34</sup>

For Hausa people, the good life is a combination of success in trade and progressive attainment of Islamic education. Riches and Islamic education are sources of power and achievement that complement one another. All Hausa education is Islamic, or as the people call it "Arabic". The Hausa children attended Arabic schools run by the *malams* and their assistants within the community. For many, learning does not stop at maturity. Adult Arabic classes given by some of the leading *malams* have an average daily attendance of about 20 men and are held during the morning and afternoon. In these classes, the men read, and after the other, from theological texts in Arabic, which the *malam* then translates and explains in Hausa.<sup>35</sup> A major part of these religious rituals is the loud choral recitation of certain phrases and passages, each of which is repeated a prescribed number of times. The counting is performed with the help of a long rosary, which is a constant companion of every Hausa. Several sentences and phrases are recited hundreds of times in daily life.<sup>36</sup>

## 7. The Sociocultural Life of Hausa Migrants in Akinyele Town

Hausa culture in most communities is not an extension of Northern Hausa cultural differences. There is no uniform, homogenous Hausa culture. There are significant cultural variations among the various concentrations of Hausa communities. In many ways, the Hausa culture in these communities is new, and a Hausa newcomer

<sup>31</sup>Greenberg, J. (1955). *Studies on African Linguistic Classification*. New Haven, Connecticut: Compass Publishing Co. 150-152.

<sup>32</sup>Cohen, A. (1969). *Customs and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*. 10.

<sup>33</sup>Interview held with Mr. Rasak Isiaka, a 51-year businessman, Ago Awusa in Akinyele town on 28-04-2016.

<sup>34</sup>Cohen, A. (1969). *Customs and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*. 10-11.

<sup>35</sup>Cohen, A. (1969). *Customs and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*. 11.

<sup>36</sup>Cohen, A. (1969). *Customs and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*. 10.

from the North must learn and adjust to it. A newcomer would achieve this new status only through the process of progressively acquiring the role of a Hausa community settler.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, some non-Hausa can acquire such roles and thereby become, in effect, part of the Hausa community. Not all the Hausa in most Yoruba communities are regarded as "authentic" Hausa. In most of the Hausa communities, man can qualify as Hausa if he satisfies the following conditions: speaks Hausa as a first language; can name a place of origin in one of the seven original Hausa States; is a Moslem; and has no tribal mark on his face, which indicates affiliation to another ethnic group.<sup>38</sup> In addition to the foregoing, Hausa also categorizes weddings into first- or later-order marriages based on the type of arrangement used and the extent to which the wife is segregated. *Aurenkulle* (purdah or complete wife seclusion) is mainly practiced by wealthy merchants, aristocrats, and clerics. *Aurencare* (partial seclusion), under which the wife can obtain her husband's permission to leave the compound rather more easily, is widespread. Butchers and other people who are of low SES typically have *aurenjahilai* ("the marriage of the ignorant"), or no-wife seclusion. Unions distinguished according to their differing bases include *aurenzumunta*, "the marriage of kin or close friends"; *Laurensadaka*, in which a maiden is given to some suitable *mallam* as representative of the Prophet without his prior knowledge and request for bridewealth; *aurendaukisandanka*, in which the woman remains in her own home and receives visits from her husband. This form is favored by young widows whose reputation requires their remarriage but who desire to remain in their late husband's compound to protect their children's inheritance rights; and finally, *aurenmutsayi*, or marriage by exchange, traditionally used by owners to arrange marriages for their slaves and now extremely rare.<sup>39</sup>

Relations between husband and wife are governed by a mixture of *al'ada* (Hausa custom) and *shari'a* (Muslim law). The traditional division of labor among Muslim Hausa involves a pervasive separation of the sexes and emphasizes their divergent interests, even within the framework of marriage. Men are solely responsible for providing the traditional household needs: shelter, food, water, firewood, and an annual outfit of clothes for their wives. Some husbands who are short of grain may not provide for a midday snack, leaving their wives to supply this food themselves from their craft earnings.<sup>40</sup> Women's domestic obligations, on the other hand, involve no regular cash outlay but consist simply of cooking, tending infants, and sweeping their quarters. Since sewing and laundry are male activities, husbands either undertake these tasks for their wives or arrange for their performance by others. Farming; repairing buildings and houses; gathering firewood, grass, and forest products; marketing, and transporting household supplies are all male responsibilities in which wives take no part. The co-wives address one another's offspring with greater ease than they do their own, and both sexes must maintain lifelong avoidance of their firstborn. This avoidance often extends to the second and third children, though with diminishing intensity; and these early children are most likely adopted by their grandparents or by close collaterals, such as the mother's brother or the father's sister. Such adoptions are especially likely when the parents' divorce occurs.<sup>41</sup>

One of the main cultural values of the Hausa community in Akinyele town was found in their marriage pattern, which is somewhat different from the foregoing description. For instance, the suitor or would-be husband needed to be adequately known to the family of the girl he intended to marry. Even if the suitors are four or five, it is the responsibility of the girl to identify a particular suitor she loves the most out of all the suitors. Once this has been

<sup>37</sup>Cohen, A. (1969). *Customs and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*. 47- 49.

<sup>38</sup>Cohen, A. (1969). *Customs and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*. 49.

<sup>39</sup>Smith, M. G. (1965). The Hausa of the Northern Nigeria *Peoples of Africa*. 146-147.

<sup>40</sup>Smith, M. G. 1965. The Hausa of the Northern Nigeria *Peoples of Africa*. 142.

<sup>41</sup>Smith, M. G. 1965. The Hausa of the Northern Nigeria *Peoples of Africa*. 142-143.

completed, her parents and key representatives of her family will be duly informed. These processes are often devoid of secrecy both during dating and courtship (between the would-be wife and husband). It was expected that awareness of this would be generated between the two families after both had reached a consensus as husband and wife. After all these, the next step would be preparation for the wedding, with the announcement of a specific date that might have been agreed upon by both families. However, on the eve of the wedding day, several activities coupled with singing and dancing would occur in the family of the bride's family. Also, the bride's hands and legs would be embellished with "*laali*" (a kind of leaf that is used for the esthetic 'design' of the hands and legs of young Hausa ladies).<sup>42</sup>

On the deal day, most especially early in the morning, the celebration would begin with different songs for the bride. Next, the bride would sit on the mortal, and some old women in the community and among the family of the bride would gather around to bathe the new bride. As this was going on, each of the older adult women would sing and put money inside a designated pan placed beside a bucket of water used for bathing the new bride. The bride would equally cover her face until she finished bathing. The bride would then be carried from that mortal to a designated room near the bathroom where she would be dressed up.<sup>43</sup> The clothes of the bride would then be changed usually until the night when other activities or ceremonies follow. Meanwhile, it was the main onus of the older adult woman to subsequently take the bride to her husband's house that night. On the second day, each of the older adult women and their entourage would return to their various places of residence in the town, while other ceremonies would follow in the husband's residence.<sup>44</sup>

The Hausa are polygamous, and most have two or more (up to four) wives. Because divorce is frequent, children may either stay with their father, by the injunctions of Islamic law, or they may go with their mother; however, the tendency is that sons stay with their father, and daughters go with their mother.<sup>45</sup> The issue of divorce was somewhat intractable because it required a lengthy process. For instance, if there is any conflict between the husband and wife, the wife would first go back to her father's house. Later, the husband or his family would come to the settlement to occur. If the two families were amicable in settling the issue, the couple would continue to live together again.<sup>46</sup> However, if the conflict between the couple could not be settled at the end of the day and they finally agreed to divorce, then there would be a paper bearing the names of both of them, which would be duly signed to authenticate the fact that they were divorced on a particular date specified in the paper. The family of a married person's wife would then wait for 3 months before she could be allowed to take up another husband in marriage (remarry). Hence, a woman cannot go directly to another man's house even after the evidence of a divorce note has been provided to that effect until after three months of divorce have elapsed.<sup>47</sup> This was also done to ensure that such a divorced woman did not take the pregnancy of her former husband to another man's house.

It is significant to note that it is the sole responsibility of the parents of the bride to buy the necessary materials needed by the would-be bride and keep such materials in a room until the day when the nuptial knot is tied. Also, materials such as mattresses, pillows, carpets, and some clothes would be bought by the father of the bride. The purchase of these materials begins immediately after a female child is given birth until she grows to the stage of

<sup>42</sup>Interview held with Adijatu Usman, 86 years, an older adult woman, *Ago Awusa*, in Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.

<sup>43</sup>Interview held with Adijatu Usman, 86 years, an older adult woman, *Ago Awusa*, in Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.

<sup>44</sup>Interview held with Alhaja Wulematu Omolangbejo, 100 years +, an older adult woman (*Ago Awusa*) at 100 years old in Akinyele Town, 03-04-2016.

<sup>45</sup>Cohen, A. 1969. *Customs and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*. 86.

<sup>46</sup>Interview held with Mrs. Amuda Osunyemi, a 45-year-old businesswoman, at Akinyele Market in Akinyele town. 24-04-16.

<sup>47</sup>Interview held with Adijatu Usman, 86 years, an older adult woman, *Ago Awusa*, in Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.



marriage. In other words, the buying of these materials begins when the girl is still at a tender age.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, prostitution was not a common profession during this period. Therefore, any Hausa woman who might want to engage in prostitution would go and obtain an apartment outside the settlement for such business. In addition, such a woman would not be allowed to return to her father's house after everyone in her family had become aware of her new profession (prostitution).<sup>49</sup>

In conclusion, it can be extrapolated from the foregoing that the metamorphosis of Akinyele from village to town was not unconnected with the increase in the population of Hausa and other migrants who subsequently became settlers and contributed to the growth, consolidation, and transformation of the town. However, more development took place in the town in the early part of the 21st century, when the *Kara* market was established there. There have been several ways in which both the Hausa and Yoruba communities interacted, and these interactions were mainly precipitated by the diverse ways in which changing patterns in socio-economic, political, and religious relations emerged right from the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods. Therefore, the succeeding sections of this treatise attempted to analyze various levels of interactions and relations between the Hausa and Yoruba communities in Akinyele and examined the dynamics of these relations during the period under study.

### **8. Changing Patterns of Hausa-Yoruba Relations in Akinyele Town, 1960-2002**

Inter-group relations are often complex and dynamic; they involve historical, economic, psychological, and other factors. Thus, a comprehensive analysis of inter-group relations should give due weight to these factors.<sup>50</sup> One of the historical facts of the Hausa community in Akinyele was that its establishment took place during the pre-colonial period. This was in contrast with the establishment of the Hausa settlement (*Sabo*) in 1916, which was spearheaded by the colonial administration. The settlement also pointed to some social realities in inter-group relations between Hausa migrants and the Yoruba host community. First, the migrants felt culturally incompatible with the host community and wanted to protect their own culture. That is, it provided an environment in which a particular way of life could be sustained and effectively transmitted to the next generation. Second, which is quite about the first reality, is the fact that the establishment of ethnically segregated residences was a psychological threat to immigrants' way of life. This is a form of cultural avoidance and nonviolent conflict in intergroup relations. The third reality is that these ethnically segregated settlements sprang up within the colonial environment because of colonialism.<sup>51</sup>

The 1950s saw the rise of Nigerian Federal Politics, following the development of a Nigerian nationalist movement and the introduction of constitutional reforms after the Second World War. Federal politics brought about political parties that were in principle national and not tribal, and the subsequent elections as well as the reorganization of the administration affected a shift in power from the traditional "tribal" Chiefs who had ruled the Native Authorities to a new, nationalistic, western-focused elite gradually but steadily. The word "tribalism" became associated with imperialism, reaction, and the antithesis of the program. The two southern parties, the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (N.C.N.C) and the Action Group (A.G) hoped that through activities in *Sabo*, they would influence not only the other Hausa Communities in the Western Region but also the massive population of the North. These parties condemned tribalism and, on many occasions, declared in Ibadan that Hausa community members should be treated no longer as native strangers but as equal citizens.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup>Interview held with Alhaja Wulematu Omolangbejo, 100 years +, an older adult woman (*Ago Awusa*) aged 100 years in Akinyele on 03-04-2016.

<sup>49</sup>Interview held with Adijatu Usman, 86 years, an older adult woman, *Ago Awusa* in Akinyele town, 03-04-2016.

<sup>50</sup>Tijani, A. 2012. Intergroup Relations and Nation Building in Nigeria 1970-2000 AD: 248.

<sup>51</sup>Tijani, A. (2012). Intergroup Relations and Nation Building in Nigeria 1970-2000 AD: 248-249.

<sup>52</sup>Cohen, A. (1969). *Customs and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*.12-13.

One aspect of the outcome of social interaction is the assimilation or integration of strangers from different racial and ethnic backgrounds into the host community.<sup>53</sup> This process was achieved by the Yoruba migrants in Kano through the rites of incorporation, adoption of the Hausa language, customs and costumes, mode of livelihood, kinship, and religious practices. Yoruba traders enjoyed the confident hospitality and reception of the Hausa. Intermarriages were also integrating tools.<sup>54</sup> Significantly, descendants of these Yoruba traders in Kano were integrated into Hausa in the same manner that Hausa settlers in Yorubaland were assimilated into Yoruba. Therefore, and to some extent, the cultural boundary between Yoruba and Hausa migrants was difficult to fix because of the crisscross migrations and relations between the two ethnic groups before colonialism.<sup>55</sup>

Several decades of inter-ethnic engagement between the Hausa and Yoruba in some Yorubaland towns gave them a certain degree of cultural affiliation. For example, many loan words were borrowed from each other's languages for religious, commercial, equestrian, geographical, and sundry matters. This created a common platform for interaction that flourished in diversity. These factors facilitated ethnic harmony, marriage, and friendly relations that reinforced commercial links.<sup>56</sup> However, the segregation policy of the colonial government made Hausa themselves explain their ethnic exclusiveness within these "foreign" towns in cultural terms, repeatedly offering the simple, cliché-like motto: "Our customs are different". What is more important for this discussion is that not all Hausa migrants to Yorubaland found it necessary to live within the autonomous Hausa community founded by the colonial government because of the age-long relations they had with their Yoruba counterparts in other communities before colonialism began.<sup>57</sup>

### 8.1 Political Relations between Hausa and Yoruba in Akinyele

Politically, the Hausa were organized in terms of the hierarchical configurations of the government of their community. Meanwhile, none of the Hausa in Akinyele town during the period of our study engaged in contesting for positions of local or state authority in elections in post-colonial politics in the state and local government. This did not rule out their support for any Yoruba who vied for one post or the other and who might have won the interest of most of the Hausa people in the town. The Hausa would support anyone they preferred among the Yoruba contestants. Hussein Abdullah and Alhaji Danlami Hassan stated:

*We would only support any of our chosen Yoruba contestants. Even, some had already won our support before they canvased or vied for any post or position of authority because of their character and friendly relations with this Hausa community. Politically, none of the Hausa men or women has ever vied for any political position in the Akinyele Local Government of the town. However, whenever the Yoruba politicians canvased for our support, we would only support the candidates of our choice.*<sup>58</sup>

The establishment of *Kara* (a large market) in Akinyele in 2002 was a function of political relations and cooperation between the then *Seriki* of Hausa in Akinyele town (Alhaji Danlami Hassan) and *Baale* of Akinyele town (late chief Oladejo Olaomi).<sup>59</sup> Perhaps the *Kara* market would have been founded at Oluyole Local

<sup>53</sup>Olaniyi, R. (2003). Yoruba Commercial Diaspora and Settlement Patterns in Pre-colonial Kano. *Nigerian Cities* T. Falola & S. J. Salam, Eds. Eritrea: Africa World Press, Inc. 92.

<sup>54</sup>Olaniyi, R. (2003). Yoruba Commercial Diaspora and Settlement Patterns in Pre-colonial Kano. 92.

<sup>55</sup>Olaniyi, R. (2003). Yoruba Commercial Diaspora and Settlement Patterns in Pre-colonial Kano. 93.

<sup>56</sup>Olaniyi, R. (2003). Yoruba Commercial Diaspora and Settlement Patterns in Pre-colonial Kano. 93.

<sup>57</sup>Cohen, A. (1969). *Customs and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*. (2015).

<sup>58</sup>Interviews held with Mr. Huseni Abdullah, 85 years old, an elderly man, *Ago Awusa* in Akinyele, 03-04-2016, and Alhaji Danlami Hassan, 66 years old, a businessman, at *Aba Ebo* compound in Akinyele, 09-04-2016.

<sup>59</sup>Interview with Mr. Kazim Ajibola Osundiran, 45 years, a businessman, *Olosun* Compound, in Akinyele on 03-04-2016.

Government without the political influence of the leaders of the Hausa and Yoruba communities before 2002.<sup>60</sup> According to Mr. Peter Olabanji Osunrinade:

*The Hausa migrants in Akinyele are not strangers to us because the relationship we witnessed between our parents and their parents was cordial and mutual. During our interactions with the current generation of Hausa, many of them alluded that they seldom visited their hometowns, which their forebears had historically described as their origins. The current Hausa generations can be aptly regarded as the third, fourth, and fifth generations. The relations between us, according to our forefathers, spanned over a century.*<sup>61</sup>

The dynamics of the changing pattern in the political relations between the Hausa and Yoruba communities in the town, especially during the post-colonial era, culminated in significant recognition accorded to the leadership of both communities in the Local Government Areas. However, postcolonial ethnic politics sometimes interjected the cordiality of age-long political relations that existed since the precolonial era.

## **8.2 Sociocultural Relations between Hausa and Yoruba in Akinyele Town**

The Hausa settlement in Sabo (a colonial creation) was greeted with their community almost entirely segregated into specific quarters, while in other communities of Hausa (which were not the creation of the colonial government), such as the Hausa community in Akinyele town, multi-ethnic occupation of dwellings as well as robust relations among various ethnic groups were common.<sup>62</sup> The Hausa community (*Ago Awusa*) was opened to the Yoruba who lived there because of the cultural affinities between them. Likewise, in the Yoruba community, one could see buildings that belonged to the Hausas. Socio-culturally, this relationship bridged the gap between the two ethnic groups. In addition, inter-ethnic marriage between Hausa and Yoruba in Akinyele town and other nearby villages from the early 20th century strengthened relations between the two ethnic groups. This inter-ethnic marriage did not only occur between the Hausa and Yoruba within the town, but it also took place between the Hausa and Yoruba in neighboring villages and communities. Examples of these villages and communities included *Alagbaa*, *Amosun*, and *Ashimo Deidun*.<sup>63</sup>

Initially, the Yoruba and Hausa in Akinyele did not extend their relations to inter-ethnic marriage. Meanwhile, from the late 50s, people from both ethnic groups began to get married. The first Hausa man to marry a Yoruba woman was the father of Adijatu Usman (a fostered daughter) who married a particular woman in the "*Ile Omo Ise Owo*" compound in a village near Akinyele town.<sup>64</sup> Initially, marriage between Hausa and Yoruba was not considered as a result of glaring cultural differences. One of these cultural differences was the treatment of wives among the Yoruba, which differed from that of the Hausa. Some of the Hausa women acted as "full" housewives and were not peripatetic in their economic activities; rather, they were sedentary and engaged in menial jobs within the vicinity of their residents. This was not the case with the Yoruba women who were mostly fond of hawking<sup>65</sup>, according to Hussein Abdullah: "I was born here, and my father (Abdullah) narrated the history of our migration from Kano. I belong to the 3rd generation of Hausa in this town."<sup>66</sup> In addition, he underscored that:

<sup>60</sup>Interview with Mr. Kazim Ajibola Osundiran, 45 years, a businessman, *Olosun* Compound, in Akinyele on 03-04-2016.

<sup>61</sup>Interviews held with Mr. Peter Olabanji Osunrinade, 63 years, civil servant, at *Olosun* Compound in Akinyele on 03-04-2016.

<sup>62</sup>O'Connor, A. (1983). *The African City*. London: Hutchison & Co (Publishers) Ltd. 120-121.

<sup>63</sup>Interview with Mrs. Mobolaji Osundiran, 79 years old, a trader in Akinyele Market, 3-04-2016.

<sup>64</sup>Interview held with Adijatu Usman, 86 years, an older adult woman, *Ago Awusa*, in Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.

<sup>65</sup>Interview held with Adijatu Usman, 86 years, an older adult woman, *Ago Awusa*, in Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.

<sup>66</sup>Interview held with Huseni Abdullah, 85 years, an older adult man, *Ago Awusa*, in Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.

*...the new set of the Hausa that migrated here in the early part of the 21st century often expressed wonder about the relationship between us and our Yoruba host community. They could see that most of us had embraced the cultural values of the Yoruba, and we could speak their language. Most of them could also speak our language very well. These and other hallmarks of cordial relations convinced this new generation of Hausa migrants that they would be permanently resident here.*<sup>67</sup>

A typical example of inter-ethnic marriage occurred over 5 decades ago between a Hausa man and a Yoruba lady (whose name was Zainab). This marriage strengthened the relationship between the families of the bride and groom. The couple, according to Mr. Mallam Isiaka, had four children. Also, he said *inter alia*:

*...the first woman from the Olosun compound in Akinyele town to marry a Hausa man was Zainab. They had four children. The marriage occurred about fifty years ago. The name of the husband is Ibrahim. It is therefore important to note that since then, more than 12 Hausa men have married Yoruba women.*<sup>68</sup>

In addition to the above, in a nearby village (*Deidun*) close to Akinyele, there was a Hausa man whose name was Adamu. He married Romoke (a Yoruba woman), and they had four children. Similarly, another Hausa man, Lukman, married a Yoruba woman, Taiba, who migrated to Akinyele town from a nearby village in the early 80s.<sup>69</sup> Another Hausa man from Akinyele (Musa) married a Yoruba woman from a village in proximity to Akinyele town (Akingbala). In the analysis of Mobolaji Osundiran:

*...the marriage between the Hausa men and the Yoruba women strengthened the bonds of cordial relations among us. Apart from these two examples, other marriages occurred between Yoruba and Hausa in Akinyele town and other nearby villages or communities.*<sup>70</sup>

All the inter-ethnic marriages caused development and mutual trust between the two ethnic groups.<sup>71</sup> Relations between the Hausa and Yoruba in terms of marital relationships went beyond ethnicity and tribalism. Corroborating this, Mallam Bulu opined that

*...the relationship between Hausa and Yoruba in Akinyele town goes beyond ethnicity. The issue is that if any of our children decide to get married to a Yoruba, we will give express support. However, we realize that several marriages that have taken place in the past have bred cordial relationships among all people, irrespective of ethnic affiliation.*<sup>72</sup>

Assigning cognomens (*orikis*) to some of the Hausa newly born children was part of the friendly gestures from the Yoruba in the town until the latter part of the 20th century. The Isiaq family in the Hausa community was well known and identified with various *orikis*, which some members of the family have carried up to now. This family also was genealogically connected to the first set of Hausa migrants that were hosted in Akinyele village in the 19th century. They bear cognomens because they have been culturally acculturated (*yorubalized*).<sup>73</sup> In his views, Mallam Isiaka alluded that:

*...one of the major gestures of friendliness from the wife of Baale of Olosun compound in Akinyele town during this period was connected with the giving of "Orikis" i.e. cognomens to any of the newly born*

<sup>67</sup>Interview held with Huseni Abdulah, 85 years, an older adult man, *Ago Awusa*, in Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.

<sup>68</sup>Interview held with Mr. Mallam Bala, 88 years, an older adults man, *Ago Awusa* in Akinyele town, 26-03-2016.

<sup>69</sup>Interview with Mrs. Mobolaji Osundiran, 79 years old, a trader in Akinyele Market, 3-04-2016.

<sup>70</sup>Interview with Mrs. Mobolaji Osundiran, 79 years old, a trader in Akinyele Market, 3-04-2016.

<sup>71</sup>Interview held with ja Wulematu Omolangbejo, 100 years +, an older adult woman (*Ago Awusa*) at 100 years old in Akinyele Town, 03-04-2016.

<sup>72</sup>Interview held with Mr. Mallam Bulu, a butcher, 80 years, *Ago Awusa* in Akinyele town 23-04-2016.

<sup>73</sup>Interview held with Mr. Huseni Abdullah, 85 years, an older adult man, *Ago Awusa*, in Akinyele on 03-04-2016.

*Hausa children apart from the given names from the parents. Both male and female children were given cognomens such as Abike, Aduke, Labake, Akanni, Atanda, and Alamu.*<sup>74</sup>

The cordial relations among the forebears of both the Hausa and Yoruba communities in the town in the mid-20th century created a new dimension of relation that would influence relations among the new generations. For instance, the then *Baale* of the Yoruba and the leader of the Hausa (Baba Osundiran and Mallam Muhammad) were bosom friends. They often ate together, and their children were equally friendly. While Baba Osundiran could speak the Hausa language appreciably, Mallam Muhammad was also fluent in his Yoruba language. This acculturation is still reflected in the family of the duo.<sup>75</sup> Some descendants of the first generation of Hausa migrants speak Yoruba fluently, and except they speak their Hausa language to one another, they are not able to differentiate between them and their Yoruba counterparts. This is equally applicable to some Yoruba who speak the Hausa fluently. It should be underscored that most of the Yoruba elders in Akinyele town and a few youths could speak the Hausa language very well. This, to a large extent, reduces the challenges posed by language diversities.<sup>76</sup>

The relationship between the Hausa and their Yoruba counterpart was cordial in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that during the *Osun* festival, most of the Hausa expectant mothers would attend the festival and consult the *Osun* deity to seek "the fruit of the womb".<sup>77</sup> This was a rationale behind why few of these Hausa children bear tribal marks like those of the *Osun* people.<sup>78</sup> Both Hausa and Yoruba girls participated in cultural dances during the festival and other cultural activities of all ethnic groups. It is significant to note that the worship of *Osun* deities occurred every 8 days while the festival was conducted every year. Among the neighboring villages, three usually maintained their presence to participate in this festival: *Oloje, Oloro, and Ajobo*. Of the other festivals, the Hausa did not participate in the *Ogun festival*, where the use of dogs is of great importance in the shrine. Perhaps their religious beliefs precluded them from participating in this festival. Meanwhile, while activities relating to the festival would be going on, it was customary for the Yoruba elders to send a pitch-black goat to leaders of the Hausa community as a token of love and for them to kill and share among themselves.<sup>79</sup> Therefore, apart from the *Ogun festival*, Hausa participated in the other festivals that concerned the Yoruba community. They exchanged gifts of food items and other valuables with one another.<sup>80</sup>

Furthermore, in terms of occupations and business activities, most of the Hausa women in the town engaged in the business of selling cooked food items, such as bean cake, *Koko*, groundnut, rice, and beans.<sup>81</sup> Some of these Hausa women were fond of the exchange of food items with their Yoruba friends, while the latter equally

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<sup>74</sup>Interview with Mr. Muhammed Isiaka, 73 years old, an *Alfa* \Imam of the Hausa Community, *Ago Awusa* in Akinyele town, 24-04-2016.

<sup>75</sup>Interview held with Alhaja Wulematu Omolangbejo, 100 years +, an older adult woman (*Ago Awusa*) aged 100 years in Akinyele on 03-04-2016.

<sup>76</sup>Interview held with Adijatu Usman, 86 years, an older adult woman, *Ago Awusa*, in Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.

<sup>77</sup>Interview with Mr. Kazim Ajibola Osundiran, 45 years, a businessman, *Olosun* Compound, in Akinyele on 03-04-2016.

<sup>78</sup>Interview held with Alhaja Wulematu Omolangbejo, 100 years +, an older adult woman (*Ago Awusa*) aged 100 years in Akinyele on 03-04-2016.

<sup>79</sup>Interview held with Alhaja Wulematu Omolangbejo, 100 years +, an older adult woman (*Ago Awusa*) aged 100 years in Akinyele on 03-04-2016.

<sup>80</sup>Interview held with Huseni Abdullah, 85 years, an older adult man, *Ago Awusa* in Akinyele town 3-04-2016.

<sup>81</sup>Interview held with Alhaja Wulematu Omolangbejo, 100 years +, an older adult woman (*Ago Awusa*) aged 100 years in Akinyele on 03-04-2016.



reciprocated this kind gesture by doing the same.<sup>82</sup> Therefore, the exchange of food items was one way in which both Hausa and Yoruba women reciprocated and made kind gestures to one another. For instance, every one of the Yoruba women who engaged in the production of palm oil often freely gave part of their oil to the Hausa women, while the Hausa women on their part often gave the Yoruba women food items such as *Koko* and groundnut and other food items that they sold.<sup>83</sup>

There was an extension of camaraderie among the younger generation, and this fostered a cultural blend in terms of the eating patterns of the people in both communities. For instance, Mrs Adijatu Usman recounted that her family compound (when she was a teenager) was a place where the majority of Hausa and Yoruba children would converge to eat together. *Amala* and *Tuwo* were staple foods that they ate together during the period. There was an element of trust between the two ethnic groups, and this was manifested in the relationship between their offspring.<sup>84</sup> Another aspect of cultural exchange between the two communities was the invitation of the Yoruba Disc Jockey (DJ) to entertain the Hausa during any ceremony organized by the latter. Listening to Yoruba music became part of the cultural values of the Hausa youths in the town. Therefore, there was no room for pronounced ethnic divergence, which would have been catalyzed by the divergences in their languages.<sup>85</sup>

Youth participation in sporting activities in both communities also served as a springboard for inter-group relations. In 2001, a general soccer competition occurred in Akinyele, among different communities near and far from the host community (Akinyele town). One unique feature of the Akinyele soccer team was that it comprised both Hausa and Yoruba youth. This indeed made the team vibrant and eventually won the cup, which was donated by the then Local Government Council chairman. Significantly, there were a few other ethnic groups on the team; however, the “bulk” of them constituted both Hausa and Yoruba youth. Similarly, in the following year, the team won cups in many communities, such as Moniya, Sasa, and Iroko, all in the Akinyele Local Government Area.<sup>86</sup> Another aspect of cultural affinity between the two communities is the patterns of dressing among the people. The intermarriages between the two ethnic groups allowed for cultural relations in terms of their patterns and styles of dressing. Most Hausa often dressed like the Yoruba, and the latter equally emulated some patterns of dressing from the former. For instance, dressing in “Senegal style” which became popular among the Yoruba in the 21st century, was a pattern that was practically identified with the Hausa people.<sup>87</sup> The same concept was also applied to their cooking patterns, and feeding and food items.

Cultural affinity and relationships also touched on the aspect of communication through the languages of the two ethnic groups. Therefore, apart from the Hausa who migrated from *Bodija* market to Akinyele town in 2002 when the then state government established the *Kara* market, most of the first to fourth generations of Hausa migrants in the town could speak the Yoruba language fluently. Additionally, some Yoruba could appreciably speak the Hausa language. This indeed aided their communication and therefore bridged a communication gap that would have, in one way or the other, threatened their relations. According to oral testimony from one of the grandchildren of the first generation of Hausa settlers in Akinyele town:

*...we are no longer recognized as Hausa at home again (whether in Kano or Sokoto or other parts of the Northern part of Nigeria). We were only told by our parents about their migration patterns to this community, as well as the accommodating gestures of the inhabitants of the town. At present, this generation of Hausa settlers can be aptly regarded as the fourth and fifth generations. This is the rationale behind our being treated here by our host community as part of the people of this town. They*

<sup>82</sup>Interview held with Alhaja Wulematu Omolangbejo, 100 years +, an older adult woman (*Ago Awusa*) aged 100 years in Akinyele on 03-04-2016.

<sup>83</sup>Interview held with Alhaja Wulematu Omolangbejo, 100 years +, an older adult woman (*Ago Awusa*) aged 100 years in Akinyele on 03-04-2016.

<sup>84</sup>Interview held with Adijatu Usman, 86 years, an older adult woman, *Ago Awusa*, in Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.

<sup>85</sup> Interview with Mr. Alidu Mumuni, a 65-year-old businessman, *Iyana Orioke Olorunkole*, in Akinyele Town, 9-04-2016.

<sup>86</sup>Interview with Mr. Kazim Ajibola Osundiran, 45 years, a businessman, *Olosun* Compound, in Akinyele on 03-04-2016.

<sup>87</sup>Interview with Mr. Kazim Ajibola Osundiran, 45 years, a businessman, *Olosun* Compound, in Akinyele on 03-04-2016.

*took us as theirs in terms of our relationship. I believe that was a result of the cordial relations that our grandparents and theirs had established several years ago.*<sup>88</sup>

However, because of the peaceful co-existence of the Yoruba and Hausa in Akinyele town, some Hausa in other communities elsewhere in Ibadan often migrated to Akinyele to take refuge, especially during any form of skirmishes between the Hausa and Yoruba at *the Bodija* market before government intervention decongested the market.<sup>89</sup> The installation and coronation of leaders in both the Hausa and Yoruba communities was one of the events that united the two ethnic groups in Akinyele. This period was often greeted with the display of cultural practices by the people from the two communities. Therefore, as the Baale of the Yoruba community attended and performed the necessary rituals and ceremonies before the installation of a new *Seriki* (Hausa leader), the *Seriki* and his entourage also attended any coronation of a Yoruba chief or Baale (Yoruba leader) in the community.<sup>90</sup> Significantly, the cultural affinities between the two ethnic groups were invariably influenced by cultural blends that had subsisted right from the pre-colonial to the post-colonial era.

### **8.3. Economic Relations between Hausa and Yoruba in Akinyele Town**

In terms of the economic relations of some migrants in African towns, ethnic exclusivity is one of the hallmarks of migrants that could aptly be regarded as only temporary town dwellers who tend to retain their “tribal” identity because their residence in the host town is too short to allow for much cultural assimilation. Besides, these migrants are constantly aware of the “full” other native communities, partly for consideration of economic security and partly for kingship obligations.<sup>91</sup> However, this scenario was quite different from the relations of the Hausa migrants in Akinyele town because most of these migrants were a highly sedentary and settled population that had mingled with the host community to the extent that the amount of cultural blends and affinities made them possess their community, which had been in existence for over a century. Specifically, this population of Hausa migrants maintains buoyant economic activities in the town.<sup>92</sup>

In the pre-colonial era, kola and cattle trades were the main industries that characterized the economic activities of Akinyele. The trades influenced the allocation of land for settlement by Hausa migrants, most especially for the accommodation of those who often stayed for a couple of weeks to conduct their business activities. The trade indeed influenced the migration of many Hausa migrants to this community, and these migrants subsequently decided to stay permanently in the town. In other words, apart from the kola trade, which attracted most of the Hausa migrants to the town, the rearing, and selling of cattle and beef were among the main occupations that boosted the economic activities of the town from the inception of the 20th century. In addition, most of these Hausa migrants, along with traders from their host communities, engaged in the buying and selling of fruits such as oranges, tangerine, tangelo, and *Agbalumo*. These fruits are often sold in the northern part of the country. Thus, the original business of most of the first set of Hausa migrants in Akinyele town was the rearing and selling of cattle, as well as trading in kola. Those who engaged in selling beef were given a designated place for the abattoir and their business activities. Corroborating this historical fact, Mrs. Mobolaji Osundiran narrated her experiences as follows:

*...I grew up witnessing and experiencing the economic activities of buying and selling cattle and beef by Hausa migrants before they were allocated a designated place to conduct their business. The trading activities between the Hausa and Yoruba communities became evident from the early part of the twentieth century up to the late 70s, after which other business activities occurred between them.*<sup>93</sup>

In the post-colonial era, fruit trading changed the dynamics of local economic activities. The new generation of Hausa migrants who became sedentary and others who tended to be peripatetic in their businesses engaged in the buying and selling of fruits in large quantities from local farmers both in the host community and nearby

<sup>88</sup>Interview held with Iliasu Garuba, 46 years, businessman, at Akinyele Trailer Park in Akinyele town, 23-04-2016.

<sup>89</sup>Interview held with Gbadamosi Amope, 84 years, an older adult woman, on *Onikeke Compound* in Akinyele town, 24-03-2016.

<sup>90</sup>Interview held with Huseni Abdulah, 85 years, an older adult man, *Ago Awusa*, in Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.

<sup>91</sup>Cohen, A. 1969. *Customs and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*.47.

<sup>92</sup>Interview held with Gbadamosi Amope, 84 years, an older adult woman, on *Onikeke Compound* in Akinyele, 24-03-2016.

<sup>93</sup>Interview with Mrs. Mobolaji Osundiran, 79 years old, a trader in Akinyele Market, on 03-04-2016.

communities. This group of Hausa migrants transported these fruits to states such as Kano, Sokoto, Abuja, Minna, and Kaduna. Both the then *Baale* Oladejo Olaomi (1993-2005) and incumbent chairman of the Akinyele Local Government Area accelerated the allocation of several hectares of land for fruit farming, which blossomed in the later part of the 20th century. The business became booming, and most local farmers often paid for their fruits before they became ripe during the season.<sup>94</sup>

Attesting to this historical fact, Mr. Kazim Ajibola Osundiran (one of the sons of Chief Ajibola Salami – a former *Baale* of Olosun compound in Akinyele town), who also engaged in fruit business and could speak the Hausa language fluently said *inter alia*:

*...the business of buying and selling these fruits became part of the main occupation of most of the Hausa and Yoruba youth in the latter part of the 20th century. This trade strengthened the cordial relations between the two communities and facilitated understanding, which subsequently minimized the challenge of a language barrier between the two communities. Indeed, almost all the youth in the Yoruba community could speak the Hausa language, whereas the Hausa youth could also speak the Yoruba language very well. On the other hand, business changed the demographic composition of this town because it witnessed an influx of more Hausa migrants than ever before.*<sup>95</sup>

Finally, the emergence of a large market (*Kara* market) in the town in the early 21st century, precisely, 2002 marked the beginning of mega-economic relations between the Hausa and Yoruba communities in the town. In other words, the establishment of the market increased the level of economic activity and caused several phenomenal developments in the town. Similarly and concurrently, the establishment of a trailer park in the town of a nearby community (*Aba Ebo*) in proximity to the Hausa community resulted in several phases of social and economic activities in Akinyele. Therefore, the dual establishments increased not only the population of Hausa as a result of their migration from *Kara* market in Bodija, Ibadan but also the tempo of economic activities, which strengthened the relations of the two communities and other neighboring communities to the town.<sup>96</sup>

Repeating the significance of the *Kara* market in the town during this study, Mr. Peter Olabanji Osunrinade said *inter-alia*:

*...the development of this town cannot be divorced from the cordial relations between the Yoruba and Hausa who have been living peacefully together in this community. Indeed, no one among the people in our community can refer to them as strangers because their relations with our forebears are based on the oral traditions of our town. The town witnessed another dynamic level of development as a result of a new event. This was made possible by cordial relations between the then Seriki of the Hausa community and the Baale of the Yoruba community in conjunction with a few elders from both communities.*<sup>97</sup>

In the final analysis, the establishment of the *Kara* market and trailer park in 2002 increased the influx of people from various ethnic groups, and the number of Hausa migrants was greater than that of other ethnic groups. The Hausa came in large numbers - both the market and the trailer park were populated by them. Thus, many of the new set of Hausa migrants that found the town accommodating bought pieces of land-built houses got married, and became permanent residents or settlers in the town.<sup>98</sup> Significantly, various new developments in the town altered economic activities and the articles of trade among the people in the town and its neighboring communities.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>94</sup>Interview with Mr. Kazim Ajibola Osundiran, 45 years old, a businessman, at *Olosun* Compound in Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.

<sup>95</sup>Interview with Mr. Kazim Ajibola Osundiran, 45 years old, a businessman, at *Olosun* Compound in Akinyele, on 03-04-20.

<sup>96</sup>Interview with Mr. Kazim Ajibola Osundiran, 45 years old, a businessman, at *Olosun* Compound in Akinyele, on 03-04-2016.

<sup>97</sup>Interviews held with Mr. Peter Olabanji Osunrinade, 63 years, civil servant, at *Olosun* Compound in Akinyele on 03-04-2016.

<sup>98</sup>Interview held with Alhaja Wulematu Omolangbejo, 100 years +, an older adult woman (*Ago Awusa*) aged 100 years in Akinyele on 03-04-2016.

<sup>99</sup>Interview held with Alhaja Wulematu Omolangbejo, 100 years +, an older adult woman (*Ago Awusa*) aged 100 years in Akinyele on 03-04-2016.

#### 8.4. Religious Relations between the Hausa and Yoruba in Akinyele Town

The place of religion in society is essential. This facet of the human experience can interact with, encompass, or surpass other facets of existence and community. Hand-in-hand with economic interaction, are other forces that helped in the integration of the Hausa community in any of the Yoruba towns in Ibadan; and these include language, inter-ethnic marriage, and the religion of Islam. Islam, in particular, provided a framework upon which the Yoruba and Hausa communities interrelate. As a large number of Hausa migrants are Muslims, Islam has promoted and enhanced cooperation and understanding. The acceptance of Islam by some groups of people in any of these towns has meant the acceptance of a universalistic view, as opposed to tribal law, governing the organization of families. This must have led to intermarriage. Because of these conditions, non-Hausa individuals and groups have become "Hausarized" and their Hausa counterparts have become "Yorubalised". The Hausa in most of their communities are aware of many of these processes whereby non-Hausa became Hausa, and many cases of individuals who are in various stages of becoming Hausa are known in the communities.<sup>100</sup>

In terms of religious relations, both Hausa and Yoruba Muslims worship in the same place (Mosque). In other words, they often converge every Friday at the central mosque to worship, while on other days, a handful of Muslims from both ethnic groups converge in mosques located in different compounds to perform their hourly religious obligations.<sup>101</sup> Also, the season of any yuletide such as *EldelFitri* was a period when Muslims in both communities and their neighbors shared love. One significant religious event that has characterized *EldelFitri* or other Islamic festivals is that Hausa and Yoruba Muslims often converge at *Yidi* (a designated praying ground) to worship together. In addition, any of these periods was marked by activities such as the exchange of pleasantries, gifts, and other food items among the inhabitants of both communities. This exchange was not exclusively reserved for Muslims in the communities; Christian members were not excluded in acts of kindness.<sup>102</sup> These successes have indeed brought mutual trust among the people of both ethnic groups. One could plausibly argue that one of the factors that conditioned these religious relations was the fact that most Yoruba and Hausa in Akinyele town are Muslims. At the same time, only a few Hausa are Christians.

#### 9. Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper has interrogated the changing trends and patterns of the inter-group relations between the Hausa and Yoruba in Akinyele within and after the advent of colonialism (the post-colonial era). It is however significant to note that despite the elements of cordiality and conviviality that characterized the Hausa-Yoruba relations within the preceding periods, there existed pockets of conflict and/or dispute that partly threatened the established cordial relations, but both parties or communities often engaged in means through which the conflicts were resolved through the use of various mechanisms for conflict resolution.

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Names of Informants	Age	Occupation\Position	Interview Place	Date of Interview
Abdulah, H (Mr)	85		Ago Awusa, Akinyele Town	03-04-2016.
Alidu, M. (Mr)	65	Businessman	Fruit market, <i>Iyana Orioke Olorunkole, in Akinyele Town</i>	09-04-2016.
Bala, M. (Mr.)	88		Ago Awusa, Akinyele Town	12-09-2015, 28-09-2015, and 26-03-2016.

<sup>100</sup>Cohen, A. (1969). *Customs and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*.49-50.

<sup>101</sup>Interview held with Huseni Abdulah, 85 years, an older adult man, Ago Awusa in Akinyele town 3-04-2016.

<sup>102</sup>Interview with Mrs. Mobolaji Osundiran, 79 years old, a trader in Akinyele Market, on 03-04-2016.

Danlami, H. (Alhaji)	66	Cattle Selling\ <i>Seriki Hausawa</i> , Akinyele Town	<i>Aba Ebo and Ago Awusa</i> in Akinyele	09-04-2016 and 24-04-2016.
Gbadamosi, A. (Mrs.)	84		<i>Onikeke</i> Compound in Akinyele	24-03-2016.
Iliasu, G.(Mr)	46	Businessperson (dealing in the selling of goats)	International Trailer Park, Ibadan, Akinyele	23-04-2016.
Madu, A. A.(Alhaji)	65	Buying and Selling Cattle	<i>Kara</i> Market in Akinyele	05-12-2015 and 24- 04-2016.
Olojede, M. (Mr.)	85	Farming and Trading (dealing in buying and selling of cocoa and groundnut)	<i>Iyana Agbirigidi</i> , Akinyele Town	23-04-2016 and 8-05-2016.
Osundiran, A. K. (Mr.)	45	Businessperson (dealing in buying and selling of fruits and land)	Fruit market <i>Iyana Orioke Olorunkole</i> in Akinyele town	03-04-2016.
Osundiran, M. (Mrs.)	79	Trading	Akinyele Market, Akinyele Town	30-04-2016.
Osunrinade, O.P. (Mr.)	63	Civil servant	Olosun area in Akinyele	12-09-2015, 28-09-2015, and 03-04-2016.
Osunyemi, A.(Mrs.)	45	Businesswoman	Akinyele Market, Akinyele Town	24-04-2016.
Rasaq, I. (Mr.)	51	Businessperson (dealing in buying and selling of fruits)	<i>Ago Awusa</i> , Akinyele Town	23-04-2016.
Usman, A. (Mrs.)	86		<i>Ago Awusa</i> , Akinyele Town	03-04-2016.
Wulematu,O. (Alhaja)	100+		<i>Ago Awusa</i> , Akinyele Town	03-04-2016.

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