

INTER-GROUP RELATIONS IN ZAMFARA: A CASE STUDY OF GUSAU TOWN

¹Dr. Umar Mohammed Alhassan and ²Dr. Sha'aban Magaji

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Abstract

This paper is a study of intergroup relations in Zamfara in the 20th century with special reference to Gusau town. The study shows a case in which the area has established a long association as a host to a number of Nigerian ethnic groups. The work attests the impacts of the guests on the socio-economic and infrastructural transformations of the town. It also uncovered the relevance of the guests communities in the area both as government workers (civil servant) and as ordinary businessmen such as artisans, traders and craftsmen as well as a numbers of professionals such as lawyers, medical practitioners, bankers etc. The paper furthermore shows that being Gusau town as an important trading center, in pre-colonial period, it graduated into an important commercial center during the colonial period, The paper attests that the post-independence period equally saw the emergence and growth of new and existing enterprises and number of processing industries. These developments not only increased the population of skilled and semi-skilled guests. Finally, it also helped greatly in foregoing intergroup relations in the study area.

Introduction

Gusau emerged as an important host to some migrant communities' in the Zamfara region of the Sokoto Caliphate due to its socio-economic advantages. Gusau and its surrounding areas has attracted a large presence of agriculturists, farmers and livestock rearers and skilled and unskilled workers to settle in the Zamfara.

Gusau occupied an important position as a trade link in the all-important trans-Saharan trade in Hausa land as they lie along an important trade routes that lead to the North Eastern market towns of Zamfara and Gobir region; they also connect with Katsina and hence to Kano as important trade links. Therefore, trade was fundamental to the continued growth and expansion of these towns under study throughout their periods of transition.

¹ Department of History and International Studies, Federal University Gusau, Zamfara State

² Department of Public Administration Studies, Zamfara College of Arts and Science, Gusau Zamfara State

Email: Umaralhassan111@gmail.com, Ibnmagaji2@yahoo.com

Phone Number: 08034248769, 08036529231

The advent of colonialism caused certain developments and the transformation of the society in Northern Nigeria. Colonial infrastructures such as tarred roads, railways, colonial enterprises; markets, modern stores, businesses, modern manufactures, colonial structures, residences, offices, schools, hospitals etc all heightened the expansion and modernization process of most traditional settlements in Northern Nigeria. The town (Gusau) was among the towns to be so affected by colonial intervention 20th century. The expansion of the railway to Gusau and Kaaura Namoda as well as their emergence as provisional centers all have a direct bearing on the influx of Nigerians and non-Nigerians alike for different purposes in the study area.

INTER-GROUP RELATIONS IN GUSAU TOWN

This paper examines intergroup relations in Gusau city and the socio-economic and political transformation of Gusau not only as a commercial but also as viable administrative center of the newly created State (Zamfara State Government, 1998). Among the numerous impacts are the influxes of people into the town both as government workers (civil servants) and ordinary businessmen (traders, artisans and craftsmen) as well as a number of professionals (lawyers, medical practitioners, bankers etc). The status of the town was accelerated by expanded of infrastructures projects, residential accommodations and other social services.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION AND SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PEOPLE IN GUSAU CITY

Scholarly studies have established the long association of Gusau town as a host to a number of Nigerian and non-Nigerian ethnic groups (Usman, 2003). Thus, apart from the indigenous populations of Hausa and Fulani, Gusau is today home to a number of ethnic groups such as Yoruba, Igbo, Bare-bari, Nupe, Gbagyi, Edo, Tiv, Idoma, Igala, Zabarmawa, and a host of other tribal and ethnic groups. These people live side by side, with the host community with whom they interact and carry out their various activities in the town. Furthermore, it is their activities that inform the economy of the town.

Gusau town, had for centuries been a viable trading center as it lies across the great trans-Saharan trade routes in north-west and north to eastern directions (Zamfara State Tourist Guide, 2010). From being an important trading center, in pre-colonial period, it graduated into an important commercial center during the colonial period, consequent upon the construction and opening of the rail services in the town in 1929. It thus became an important produce collection and buying center. It also became home to cotton processing industries.

The post-independence period also saw the emergence and growth of new and existing enterprises such as the Gusau Textiles, Gusau oil mills, sweet factory and several processing industries. These developments not only led to the increase in the population of skilled and semi-skilled workers but also helped in no small measure toward capital formation and in forging intergroup relations in the town (Bako, 2007).

The growth of commercial enterprises in Gusau in the post-independence period did a lot in enhancing the social status of the town, which came to be seen as next in importance to Sokoto and as a commercial town of note in the defunct Sokoto province, North-Western State and old Sokoto State (Nakabo, 2017). The prospects for economic advancement as well as the opportunities that the town offers, became its pulling power in attracting some of people to settle there. Its numerous commercial and industrial enterprises easily lend to the inhabitants, an avenue for easy capital formation among other benefits.

Today, Gusau readily harbors the largest concentration of migrant communities than any town in Zamfara State. Furthermore, this is not without its impact on the social, economic and political fortune of the town.

HOST COMMUNITIES AND INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

The hosts made up of Hausa and Fulani elements are historically and linguistically the earliest known indigenous inhabitants of Gusau, and even today, they formed the largest percentage and occupied the larger

segment of residential accommodations in the town. Hausa and Fulani elements are synonymous with the history and founding of Gusau as a settlement dating back to 1799 (Wakili, 2017). Spatially, the Hausa and Fulani are found in every nook and cranny of the town and formed the predominant population in old residential areas such as Kanwuri, Birnin Haza, Filin Habibu Maigadaje, Kofar-Jange and Birnin Ruwa. Others include Sabon-gari, Sabon-Fegi, Tashar-Mota, Tudun-Wada and Unguwar Mangwaro. Again, since the creation of Zamfara State, new residential areas have emerged that are equally dominated by the hosts. These include Unguwar Yarima, Unguwar Dallatu, Samaru, Unguwar Shado, Low-cost extensions, Unguwar Gwaza, Filin Jirgi, Unguwar Danbaba, Damba, GRA, Gada Biyu, Janyau, Eastern bye-pass, Yar Dantsi and Mareri new extensions.

Although these residential areas are largely dominated by the indigenous people, some of them, such as Sabon-Gari and Tudun-wada, have a large concentration of Yoruba and Igbo people. The economy of the Hausa Fulani people also spanned various trades and enterprises. In areas of traditional crafts and occupations, they dominate farming and animal rearing, local industry, blacksmithing, pottery, local barbing, trading, scholarship and manufacturing.

Even before the creation of Zamfara State, the ownership structure of most modern enterprises such as cotton-ginneries, metal works, furniture, etc showed years of predominance by the indigenous people. State creation in 1996 and its attendant opportunities also aided in the rise of new investors and local entrepreneurs and businessmen, some of whom became renowned government contractors. They equally dominated the commercial segment, as evident by the ownership structures of businesses across the principal markets in the township. These markets are the old market at Kanwuri, new market at Unguwar Dallatu, Kara market, Kasuwar Danjuma, and Tudun-Wada markets.

The State Civil Service also affords the people an important economic avenue for capital formation and social advancement. In all of these institutions. However, the host communities are in constant touch with the settler (migrant) communities, and it has gone a long way in forging a harmonious inter-group relations amongst people in the town.

ROLES OF MIGRANT COMMUNITIES AND INTER-GROUP RELATIONS IN GUSAU CITY

Gusau town played host to some migrant communities from various parts of Nigeria. The earliest recorded presence of Southern Nigerian migrants was during the colonial period when the declaration of a British protectorate over Northern Nigeria and the subsequent amalgamation of Southern and Northern protectorates facilitated the flow of colonial officials across the country.

For instance, to consolidate British Colonial enterprise in Nigeria, some far-reaching infrastructural projects were executed in the country. One of these was the railway project, which was constructed with the sole purpose of providing communication/transport access to colonial officials across the country and to facilitate the exploitation of the local resources that abound in different parts of the country.

The construction of the rail lines provided the first direct and easiest access between the North and the South, and it facilitated the earliest contact between the people of the South and their Northern counterparts.

Studies by Bako (2007) and Usman (2003) have established the centrality of the colonial rail services to the formation of communities of Southern Nigerian migrants across the northern cities of Kano and Gusau , among others. For instance, Usman, who conducted an extensive study of the Yoruba migrant communities in Gusau, has established that the first set of Yoruba migrants to Gusau came as aides of the colonial officials (cooks, drivers, clerks, etc). The same goes for the Igbos whose recorded presence is equally dated back to the colonial

period. Today, these migrant communities constitute a significant population of Gusau town such that any work on the modern history and economy of the town must take notice of their contribution. Some more prominent migrant communities include among others:

THE YORUBA COMMUNITIES

The Yorubas are the earliest known migrant communities to settle in Gusau. As one of the leading ethnic groups in the country, they constituted a significant majority in the southwestern area of Nigeria and in the northern Nigerian states of Kwara and Kogi. Usman (2003) established the earliest presence of Yoruba migrants in the period between 1910 and 1915 when they came in as aides of colonial officials. The period coincided with the period of improved motorable transportation by the colonial regime. However, the rail construction of 1917 to 1921 brought about a tremendous increase in the population of Southern migrants, including the Yorubas who came in as construction workers, clerks, drivers etc, during the colonial period. The post-independence and post-civil war period equally saw the rise of migrant communities in the town due mainly to the employment and sundry economic opportunities that abound in the town.

Today, the Yorubas are by far the most successful of all migrant communities in Gusau town, giving their level of acculturation or assimilation and integration with the hosts. Parts of their successful integration as established by Usman ranged from the fact that they shared certain cultural similarities with their host, such as religion, dress, and their acceptability. Although not all Yorubas are Muslims, a significant number are practicing Muslims, which made it possible to easily interact with the host communities.

The Yorubas are equally found in almost all residential areas of Gusau, but they are significantly found in the Yarloko – Sabon-gari areas, and Tudun-wada where there is a heavy concentration of migrant communities in the town. They are also found in relatively large concentrations in new areas such as Unguwar Yarima, Mareri new extension, Damba, Filin-Jirgi and Gada-biyu among others.

An oral informant which is equally the ward head of Unguwar Yarima (Shagerawa) noted that the area became populated two years into the administration of Ahmed Sani Yarima. He further informed that.

Apart from the Hausas, the Yorubas are the only people who owned residential houses in the area, and other migrants are tenants.

For both existing and newcomers among the Yorubas, an important means for capital formation include trade, civil service, artisanship, and service industries such as automobile repairs, transportation, printing, photography, tailoring (fashion-designing) etc. In most cases, they started as apprentices before eventually becoming masters or owners of their respective businesses. A significant number of them also traded in all the existing markets in the town. Also, some of them are found in professional services such as legal services, education, medical services and religious services. Through these various services/avenues, they interact and relate with other members and groups in the town. The Yoruba community is no doubt one of the successfully integrated settler communities in Gusau and indeed Zamfara State.

THE IGBO COMMUNITY

The Igbos are among the predominant migrants in Gusau town whose original home is in South Eastern Nigeria (Daryll and Jones, 1962). The causes and nature of their migration away from their original homelands to various cities and towns across the country have been widely treated by scholars (Onwubu, 1975). As in most human migrations, the central theme in Igbo migration to Gusau as in other cities, centered on 'push' and 'pull' economic factors as extensively studied by scholars like Amin (Amin, 1974). Thus, the Igbos, like other migrants in Gusau, came primarily to explore economic/employment opportunities that were first created by the

colonial establishment and later by the post-civil war economic boom. Like the Yorubas, they toed the path of the railway construction and other colonial services as aides' cooks, drivers, clerical assistants, stewards and laborers among others. Today, in term of numerical strength, the Igbos are second to none among migrant communities in Gusau. For instance, the 1991 census (population head count) put their figure above that of the Yorubas and other migrant communities.

The Igbos are also among the most enterprising migrant communities in Gusau as they enjoyed almost a near-monopoly in certain specialized businesses such as trade in automobile spare parts. The Igbos are found in most residential areas of the town but are highly concentrated in the Tudun-wada and Sabon-gari areas. Other newly developed areas where they are found include Gada-Biyu, Unguwar-Gwaza, Damba and Mareri new extensions; Unguwar Yarima, Tashar Mota and Samaru. The Igbos are also represented in most of the commercial segments of the state as artisans, professionals, civil-servants, traders etc, which form the basis of interaction with their hosts and other members of the larger society. Although the Igbos controlled a significant share of commercial activities in Gusau, they are however trailing their Yoruba counterparts in terms of integration with their hosts as well as in assimilating the dominant culture of the host community. This, according to Mainama (2017), was largely due to religious factors. The Igbos are and remain strongly attached to the Christian faith as opposed to their host who professes the Islamic faith. Although many Igbos have converted to Islam in Gusau, their number falls far below that of the Yorubas despite their numerical advantage. There are also rare cases of inter-marriage with their host communities largely due to religious barriers.

The above notwithstanding, the Igbos have forged strong inter-group relations not only with their hosts but, also with the other migrant communities in the town. Their involvement in a wide range of economic activities in both the formal and informal sector presupposes strong ties and inter-group relations with other groups in the town.

THE ZABARMA COMMUNITY

The Zabarmawa people are among the earliest known migrant settlers in Gusau town. Unlike the Nigerian migrant communities, the Zabarmawa are a Nigerien community from the neighboring Niger Republic. Although the Zabarma have a recorded presence in the Sokoto and Kebbi regions, which predated the colonial period (Temple, 1976), however, their influx into the Zamfara region and especially Gusau town was very much a fall out of the colonial encounter.

Their home country, the Nigerian Republic, occupies a Sahelian region, a region that is among the driest in the world, thereby making sustenance a difficult task (Mabogunje, 1979). Additionally, their originating country was colonized by France, which entrenched one of the most repressive colonial policies in its West African colonies. Among the French repressive policies were forced labor and taxation. These two policies coupled with a harsh climatic environment necessitated human flight to less repressive colonies in search of greener pastures. Thus, Nigeria, being a British colony and coupled with its vast economic and employment opportunities, and also its proximity, led many Nigerian groups such as Zabarmawa, Arawa, Gobirawa, Madawa, Maradawa and Tuaregs among others to migrate to Nigeria (Usman, 2003). It was such flights that brought a significant number of Zabarmawa into Gusau during the colonial period. Others were still maximizing by the post-independence economic boom. Some also came in search of religious knowledge and trade.

The Zabarmawa, unlike the Nigerian migrant communities such as Igbos and Yorubas, are easily assimilated and integrated given their strong cultural and religious affinities with the host community. This is true as the Zabarmawa are wholly practicing Muslims who came as pupils, clerics and traders. Also, their dress sense and

physical features are hardly distinguishable from those of Hausa and Fulani. In addition, they hardly stay apart from their host even in terms of religious practice as they do not have separate Qur'anic schools or Mosques such as those that exist among the Yoruba Muslims who have built their separate Mosques and schools especially Jumu'at Mosque. According to an informant, the continued growing incidence of Zabarmawa migrants in Gusau in recent times was due to abundant economic opportunities in Nigeria coupled with recurrent incidents of famine in the Niger Republic. This has forced many to cross over to Nigerian cities to improve their economic conditions.

The Zabarmawa, like their hosts, are found in most residential areas such as Kanwuri, Birnin Ruwa, Sabon-gari, and most especially at Tudun-Wada. They are also very enterprising people and their traders are found in all the principal markets in Gusau town such as Tsohuwar Kasuwa, the central market, Kasuwar Danjuma, Tudun-Wada, and the Polo Market where they trade in assorted merchandise such as second-hand clothes, cassettes and cassette-players (electronic goods), women and children's clothes, cosmetics etc. A number of them can be seen hawking assorted merchandise, especially cosmetics and electronic items. Other businesses they popularized and controlled include water-hawking as (water-vendors), tea-selling, shoe-cobbling and polishing among others. Among the early settlers, a number of them have risen to become prominent businessmen and public servants.

However, these early groups have become fully integrated and are therefore hardly distinguishable from their host apart from the origin of their ancestry. Other migrant communities such as Tiv, Idoma, Igala, Ebira, Nupe, Edo, etc. exist and live side by side with the more visible migrant groups such as Igbos and Yorubas. One important discovery concerning most (if not all) of these migrant communities is that they were attracted to Gusau town by the same socio-economic forces of pull and push factors. However, the public/civil service establishment, especially since 1996, has through its posted personnel, equally swelled the ranks of settler communities in the town. This is true of federal institutions and establishments such as the Nigerian Army, the Police, Prisons service personnel the Nigeria Customs Service, Federal Road Safety personnel, Immigration personnel, Civil Defense etc. The presence of these services has continued to ensure a fair representation of migrant communities in Gusau.

URBAN FACTORS OF INTER-GROUP RELATIONS IN GUSAU CITY

Gusau has acquired a commercial status since the advent of rail services in the 1930s and was further boosted by the post-independence economic boom of the 1960s and 1970s. This is true because, even before the creation of Zamfara State in 1996, Gusau town was second only to Sokoto in terms of social and economic development. The creation of Zamfara State coupled with the emergence of Gusau as its administrative capital opened a floodgate of opportunities that uplifted the status of the town. This is in respect of the industrial and commercial enterprises that characterize the economic dynamism of the town and its inhabitants. Today, apart from a long list of wealthy businessmen and women, Gusau boasts of a number of trading and commercial enterprises such as large wholesale and retail stores, supermarkets, restaurants, pharmaceutical stores, electronic shops, computer business centers, clothing and tailoring services. Others are petrol stations, private schools, water packaging businesses, modern bakeries, hotels and guest houses, transport businesses, modern farm centers (poultry, fisheries) and manufacturing/processing industries among others.

These manufacturing and commercial enterprises have for long served as important channels for forging intergroup relations among the various components of the inhabitants of Gusau town. A closer look into the ownership, location and patronage of business enterprises in Gusau shows a chain of daily interaction amongst

the various people and groups. For instance, modern food restaurants in the town enjoy wider patronage from all categories of people and their ownership reveals a fair representation of all existing groups in the town i.e. Yorubas, Hausas and Igbos. Pharmaceutical and bakery businesses also enjoy wider patronage among the people of the town. Pharmacies and Bakeries ownership cut across all segments of the inhabitants of the town. Cosmetics and provision stores, super-markets, GSM sales and repairs, electronic stores, stationeries/bookshops, computer business centers, textile sales, tailoring and fashion design also show an ownership that cut across the board. However, while the Hausas dominate the automobile sales (cars and motorcycles), the Igbos predominate in automobile spare parts business just as the Yorubas dominate automobile repairs. All these tend to ensure inter-communal harmony and peaceful co-existence among the people. Thus, through the provision of assorted services such as feeding, accommodation, transport, communication, print and electronic services, the numerous business outlets in Gusau create an avenue for daily interaction and inter group relations. Likewise, through their systems of apprenticeship, they further helped to ensure manpower training, skills acquisition and employment to members of the society. This system of apprenticeship also assists in forging intergroup harmony among the various groups in the town. This is particularly true of such enterprises as automobile repairs, electronic repairs, and tailoring/garment designing in which apprenticeship are all inclusive and open to all willing members irrespective of ethnic affiliation.

In addition to the above business enterprises, Gusau also boasts of small-scale manufacturing and processing industries. Gusau has 23 industrial establishments made up of Ginneries, Oil Mills, Chalk, Flour, Textile, Confectionary, and Fertilizer Blending Industries (Abubakar, 2017). Thirteen (13) of these industries are operational even if intermittently due to erratic power supply as well as seasonal breaks in the supply of raw materials such as cotton for the ginneries. These industries have through the numerous opportunities they create such as employment; skills transfer etc also affords the opportunity for inter-group relations and harmony.

IMPACT OF FAITH-BASED ORGANIZATIONS IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN GUSAU CITY

There is no way one can describe inter-group relations in Gusau without discussing the role of religious faith-based organizations as a factor. This is because religion, like economic enterprises, brings people together on a daily basis and the harmonious conduct of such interactions goes a long way in determining a flourishing peace or otherwise in any given society. Gusau was founded by Fulani Muslim clerics and aristocrats under the leadership of Malan Muhammadu Sambo Dan Ashafa. Moreover, its founding was premised upon the nineteenth century Islamic reform movement in Hausa land led by the legendary Shaykh Usmanu Danfodio in 1804. Given all these historical circumstances, its location as well as ethnic composition, one can validly claim that Gusau was predominantly a Muslim-populated town, at least up to the period of the European conquest of Hausa land in 1903 (Adeleye, 1977). Thus, colonial contact with the people could be said to be the first event that caused a gradual alteration of the population composition of Gusau town. The construction of motorable roads and the commencement of the railway service led to the arrival of the first wave of Southern migrants who followed colonial officials as aides (Chafe, 1990).

However, while the arrival of the Europeans as well as the influx of Southern migrants into the town, did not change the religious practice of the people, it brought about followers of a new faith namely Christianity into Gusau. From the 1920s and 1930s, the two religious faiths came to exist side by side and have lasted up to this time.

THE MUSLIM COMMUNITIES

This is wholly made up of the host communities of the indigenous Hausa and Fulani, as well as a large segment of the migrant communities such as the Yorubas, Nupes and Zabarmawa amongst others. Giving the people's long-standing Islamic tradition in relation to the pre-existing Sokoto caliphate, Islam among the indigenous people of Gusau is represented today in a number of movements namely, Qadiriyya and Tijjaniyya brotherhoods, the Izala movement, the Salaafiyya group, shi'ites and 'Yan Zando groups. The Qadiriyya and Tijjaniyya brotherhoods are the earliest known groups in Hausa land (Abdullahi, 2011). The Izala movement came about in the early 1980s having been formed in 1978 in Jos.

The Izala group today, is by far the most widespread faith-based organization in Gusau or at least, the most visible and the more outspoken, in terms of open-air preaching, ownership of Islamic schools and other proselytization activities (Muhammed, 2011). *Yan Shi'a* and *Yan Zando* are the other Islamic faith-based groups that followed different doctrinal persuasions. These groups are clearly identified with the host communities. The Yorubas, Nupe and Zabarmawa are largely identified with the Tijjaniyya brotherhood though some of them have equally come to be identified with the Izala movement. The strength of these Islamic-based groups can be judged from the ownership of Jumu'at Mosques in Gusau. In addition, to the establishment of Jumu'at Mosques in most residential areas of the town, these faith-based organizations have equally been at the forefront of establishing Islamic schools. This has made them important agents of change in the society.

This is so because mosques and schools have historically offered powerful forums for the communal expression of Islam and through them, Muslims identify and solidify their social cohesion. Furthermore, notwithstanding their perceived doctrinal differences, these Islamic faith-based organizations have gone a long way in fostering intergroup and intra-faith relations in the town.

HOST COMMUNITY AND ISLAMIC PROSLETISATION IN GUSAU

Gusau town has had a rich history of Islamic tradition in its two centuries of existence. The founders of the town were renowned Islamic scholars of the famous 'Yandoto tradition as noted earlier. It is not surprising that the history of the town is inevitably intertwined with that of the theocratic Sokoto Caliphate which flourished under the guidance of the legendary triumvirates of Shaykh Uthmanu ibn Foduye, Abdullahi Foduye and Muhammad Bello. Mallam Mustapha and Muhammadu Sambo Dan Ashafa have always been in touch with the leaders of the Sokoto Caliphate even before the outbreak of the jihad in 1804. Being reputed Islamic scholars, the town they founded and the progenies they left behind continued in their tradition such that by the turn of 20th century, Gusau had become renown for its Islamic centers of learning.

Thus, like most communities in Hausaland, it weathered the storm of colonialism and Western influences while retaining and preserving its strong Islamic faith and tradition. This last was evident in the number of important Islamic learning centers which have metamorphosed with the evolution of the town. Today, such religious centers in the form of Qur'anic cum Islamiyyah schools dotted every nook and corner of the town carrying the torch of Islamic civilization and prosletisation.

THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES

Christianity in Gusau as in most Northern Nigerian cities came with colonialism and the colonial establishments. From the late 1920s and early 1930s when Southern migrants began to make their way into Gusau following the start of the railway services, Christianity also came to gain entry into the town. Usman (2003) noted, for instance that by 1926, a Yoruba section of the railway workers had founded a church. Others followed in that order and the trend continued ever after. These churches which came in different denominations such as Native African Churches, Baptists, Anglican, Catholic and Sudan Interior Mission

Churches (ECWA) equally became important channels through which the Christian migrant settlers expressed their identity, their solidarity and communal fellowship in relation to the hosts and other faith-based organizations.

CONCLUSION

Migration and settlement of people often come with attendant of economic benefits or rather social cost for example scarcity of houses, inadequate water supply, waste disposal, and high rate of unemployment and underdevelopment, poverty and social problems are worrisome to the settlers. This is the case of most migrants interviewed in Gusau where the researcher was conducted. Another social cost relative to rapid urban renewal and development to settlers in these town borders in the area of cost of living. For instance, residential rent has gone up astronomically especially in Gusau where more federal civil servants reside. Today tenants in some areas in Gusau have continued to complain as the rents regime has shot up. In most areas where new structure has sprung up, a single bedroom (self-contained) cost between ₦10,000 and ₦12,000 per month, while 2 bedroom self-contained flat cost between ₦200,000 and ₦250,000. Apartment flat costs even more. This has left many civil servants (most especially federal workers) complaining. Similarly in some instances, residents have to resort to buying water vendors in areas where pipe borne water has not been extended or during the dry season. In such areas, residents often resort to using water from dug wells or boreholes as the case may be. All these add up as a social cost to migrant communities as it experienced in this town over the last fifteen years. The more the government tackles all these social issues, the better for the development and peaceful settlement to both migrant and hosts of the case study area in particular and by extension of Zamfara State in general

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