



# **LASU JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES (LASUJOH)**

**Vol. 16, No. 1 | January 2023 Edition**

**ISSN: 978-274-384-4**

*A publication of:*

Faculty of Arts

Lagos State University, Ojo

Lagos, Nigeria.

Email: [dean-arts@lasu.edu.ng](mailto:dean-arts@lasu.edu.ng)

# **LASU Journal of Humanities (LASUJOH)**

Volume 16, No. 1 | January 2023

© 2023 Faculty of Arts  
Lagos State University, Ojo Lagos,  
Nigeria

ISSN: 978-274-384-4

Produced by

**FREE ENTERPRISE PUBLISHERS LAGOS**

**HEAD OFFICE:** 50 Thomas Salako Street, Ogba, Ikeja, Lagos.

☎ +234.814.1211.670 ✉ [free.ent.publishers@gmail.com](mailto:free.ent.publishers@gmail.com)



FREE ENTERPRISE PUBLISHERS

• • • • •

## EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor-inChief	Prof. T. M. Salisu, Dean, Faculty of Arts, Lagos State University, Ojo, Lagos, Nigeria
Editor	Prof. A. O. Adesanya, Dept. of Linguistics, African Languages, Literatures & Communication Arts, Lagos State University, Ojo
Managing Editor	Dr. D. A. Onyide, Dept. of Foreign Languages, Lagos State University, Ojo
Secretary	Dr. W. A. Balogun, Dept. of History & International Studies, Lagos State University, Ojo
Business Manager	Dr. A. O. Bello, Dept. of Theater Arts & Music, Lagos State University, Ojo
Associate Editor	Dr. G. A. Bamgbose, Dept. of English, Lagos State University, Ojo
Members	Dr. T. A. Onadipe-Shallom, Dept. of Linguistics, African Languages, Literatures & Communication Arts, Lagos State University, Ojo
	Prof. K. O. Paramole, Dept. of Religions & Peace Studies, Lagos State University, Ojo
	Prof. I. A. Yekini-Ajenifuja, Dept. of Theater Arts & Music, Lagos State University, Ojo
	Prof. A. J. Falode, Dept. of History & International Studies, Lagos State University, Ojo
	Prof. P. E. Akhimien, Dept. of English, Lagos State University, Ojo
	Dr. A. O. Oye, Dept. of Foreign Languages, Lagos State University, Ojo
	Dr. M. A. Akomolafe, Dept. of Philosophy, Lagos State University, Ojo

## EDITORIAL CONSULTANTS

Prof. Ihuah Aloysius Shaagee	Benue State University, Makurdi Benue State
Prof. I.S. Aderibigbe	University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia USA
Prof Rauf Adebisi	Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria Kaduna State
Prof. Gbenga Ibileye	Federal University, Lokoja Kogi State
Prof. Bode Omojola	Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts, USA
Prof. Emmanuel DanDaura	Nasarawa State University, Keffi Nasarawa State
Prof. Antonia Schleicher	Indiana University, Bloomington Indiana, USA
Prof. Toyin Falola	University of Texas at Austin, Texas, USA
Prof. Mashood Baderin	School of Law University of London, Russell Square London, UK

• • • • •

## SUBMISSION OF ARTICLES

(Published by the Faculty of Arts, Lagos State University, Ojo, Lagos, Nigeria), the LASU Journal of Humanities encourages submissions from a variety of theoretical standpoints and from different disciplines—especially those that traditionally belong to the all-encompassing “Faculty of Arts” including, however, other areas with which the Faculty has affiliation: anthropology, cultural studies, folklore, media studies, popular culture, communication, sociology and political science.

### GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS • Articles

Authors should submit research articles of (maximum) 10-20 A4 pages, double spaced, 12-point Times New Roman type, in accordance with the MLA or APA style, and include an abstract of not more than 100 words and a “Works Cited” section. Authors should email their articles as Microsoft Word (version 97-2000 or later) format attachment to: dean-arts@lasu.edu.ng

- **Journal Flyer/Call For Paper:**

Every article for publication must be accompanied by a processing fee of Ten Thousand Naira only in cash or by cheque payable to the Faculty Wema Bank Account: LASU FAC Arts Research, Publications & Conference Account Number: 0240791717. Please request a receipt or written acknowledgement for all such payments..

- **Illustrations**

If an article is selected for publication, electronic copies of accompanying illustrations, photographs and diagrams must be provided, as well as all necessary captions. Permission to publish images must be secured by the author. Uncompressed JPEG/ PDF file (300 dpi resolution) is the preferred format for all electronic copies. Electronic copies must be sent as e-mail attachments to: dean-arts@lasu.edu.ng

- **Warning**—Footnotes are absolutely prohibited

Journal Address: LASU Journal of Humanities

c/o The Dean, Faculty of Arts, Lagos State University, Ojo  
Lagos, Nigeria. e-mail: lasujournalofhumanities@lasu.edu.ng

- **Subscription**—The Journal is published twice annually although submissions are accepted throughout the year

## Contributors

1. Adeyemo, Julius Abioye  
Dept. of Public Relations & Advertising  
Faculty of Communication & Media Studies  
Lagos State University
2. Agbaje, Funmilayo Idowu  
Dept. of Peace, Security & Humanitarian Studies  
Faculty of Multidisciplinary Studies  
University of Ibadan, Nigeria
3. Aliu, Olayinka  
Dept. of History & International Studies  
Federal University Lokoja
4. Amende, A. Charles  
Dept. of Languages & Linguistics, Nasarawa State University, Keffi
5. Balogun, Wasiu A.  
Dept. of History & International Studies Lagos State University Ojo, Lagos
6. Bamisile, Sunday Dept. of Foreign Languages, Lagos State University.
7. Bello, Zainab,  
Dept. of Industrial Design,  
Faculty of Environmental Design, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
8. Ishola, Tajudeen Odebode  
Lagos State University, Ojo  
Dept. of Religions & Peace Studies Peace Studies Unit
9. Lawal, Muhammed Adeyemi  
Dept. of English  
Lagos State University  
Ojo, Lagos, Nigeria
10. Modu, Ibrahim Alhaji  
Dept. of History  
University of Maiduguri
11. Mohammed, Abubakar  
Dept. of History  
University of Maiduguri
12. Muojama, Olisa Godson  
Dept. of History  
University of Ibadan
13. Ogah, Ashikeni Thomas  
Dept. of Languages & Linguistics  
Nasarawa State University Keffi
14. Okutepe, Alhaji Momoh  
Dept. of History & International Studies  
Federal University Lokoja

15. Oladejo, Olanrewaju Abdulwasii  
Dept. of Peace, Security &  
Humanitarian Studies,  
Faculty of Multidisciplinary  
Studies,  
University of Ibadan, Nigeria
16. Olatade, Damilola Peter  
Dept. of Philosophy,  
Lagos State University  
Ojo, Lagos, Nigeria
17. Saidu, Amina Ramat  
Dept. of History University of  
Maiduguri
18. Salat, Abubakar Abdulahi  
salaty.aa@unilorin.edu.ng
19. Suleiman, Abdulsalam B.  
Dept. of Religions & PeaceStudies  
Lagos State University, Ojo
20. Suleiman, Hassan Biodun  
Dept. of Journalism & Media  
Studies  
Faculty of Communication &  
Media Studies Lagos  
State University Ojo,  
Lagos.
21. Umaru, Yakubu Jacob  
Dept. of Languages & Linguistics  
Nasarawa State University, Keffi
22. Warasini, Haruna Tsingari  
Dept. of History  
University of Maiduguri
23. Yusuf, Olanrewaju, Ph.D.  
Peace & Conflict Unit,  
Dept. of Religions & PeaceStudies  
Lagos State University, Ojo

# Contents

1	Nigeria's Gas Diplomacy and Regional Development in West Africa: The Role of Gas Supply Agreements—Balogun, Wasiu A., PhD . . . . .	1
2	Morphophonemics of Àlágò Noun Plural Formation—Ogah, Ashikeni Thomas, PhD, Umaru, Yakubu Jacob, PhD & Amende, A. Charles . . . . .	17
3	Appraisal of Indigenous Nigeria Press in Nationalism and Renaissance (1914–1960)—Suleiman, Hassan Biodun, PhD . . . . .	27
4	Buchi Emecheta's Fictional World and Her Concerns—Sunday Bami . . . . .	37
5	Stylistic Study of Some Syntactic Phenomena in Shaykh Muhammad Nasir Kabara's Panegyric Odes—Salat, Abubakar Abdulahi . . . . .	56
6	Waste Management Practices in Urban Ibadan: A Critical Review—Yusuf, Olanrewaju, PhD . . . . .	77
7	The Disposal of German Properties in the Cameroons Province of Nigeria in the Interwar Years—Muojama, Olisa Godson . . . . .	92
8	Sociolect as a Strategic Communication Tool among Lagos Youth—Adeyemo, Julius Abioye PhD . . . . .	106
9	Social Issues in Mukoma Wa Ngugi's <i>Nairobi Heat</i> —Lawal, Muhammed Adeyemi . . . . .	118
10	Migration as a Response to Environmental Push and Pull Factors: A Case Study of the Shuwa Arab Migration into Borno—Modu, Ibrahim A., Mohammed, Abubakar & Warasini, H. Tsingari . . . . .	129
11	Curtailing the Menace of Kidnapping and Ritual Killings in Nigeria—Ishola, Tajudeen Odebode, PhD & Suleiman, Abdulsalam B., PhD . . . . .	135
12	The Adversities of Maternal Healthcare Services Encountered by Displaced Persons in some IDP Camps in Borno—Saidu, Amina Ramat, PhD . . . . .	149
13	Gender Apartheid: Re-examining the Security of the Oppressor and the Oppressed in Nigeria—Agbaje, Funmilayo Idowu . . . . .	156
14	Religiosity, Spirituality and the Miraculous Utopian in Africa: Further Reflections on David Hume's Proposal on Miracle—Olatade, Damilola Peter . . . . .	166
15	Amotekun Corps Operations in Southwestern Nigeria: The Prospects beyond the Controversies—Oladejo, Olanrewaju Abdulwasii, PhD . . . . .	177
16	A Redesign of Punk Fashion for Delight—Bello, Zainab . . . . .	200
17	Nationalists Utterances, Nigeria Nation and Engendered Insurgency: A Case of if the Foundation be Destroyed, What Can the Righteous Do?—Aliu, Olayinka, PhD & Okutepa, Alhaji Momoh . . . . .	210

# 10

## Migration as a Response to Environmental Push and Pull Factors: A Case Study of the Shuwa Arab Migration into Borno

*Modu, Ibrahim A., Mohammed, Abubakar & Warasini, H. Tsingari*

### Abstract

*The Shuwa Arab movement out of the states of the Chad Basin area such as Wadai, Kanem and Baghirmi into Borno from the 14th century onwards was perhaps occasioned by the environmental push and pull factors as well as a result of actions of individual rulers. This paper examines the causes, pattern of migration and settlement of the Shuwa Arabs into Borno. The paper contends that the whole scenario of migration of the Shuwa Arabs into Borno can be understood better, if viewed within the context of the pull and push factors of migration, a phenomenon which seems to have continued deep into the colonial and post colonial periods. Analytical method was adopted in writing this paper. Keywords: migration, response, environmental, push and pull factors, Shuwa-Arab*

**Introduction** he Shuwa Arabs are a nomadic ethnic group and so called because of their racial affinity with the Arabs. It is generally believed that the present day Shuwa Arabs of Borno are descendants of Arab immigrants who found their way into Kanem in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, (Fadl-Hassan, Y. (1992:1). The term Shuwa is derived from shawa a Kanuri root word meaning handsome or beautiful.

Since that period, it has been suggested, they came to be locally called as Shuwa Arabs (Tijani 1979:416). In this paper, we are essentially concerned



with the causes of migration as well as the pattern of settlement of the people in Borno. One may ask, what induced the migration of the Shuwa Arabs into Borno? In answering this question, it is perhaps appropriate to start with the penetration of Arabs, the supposed ancestors of the Shuwa, into Africa and the central Bilad-al-Sudan; but before discussing the penetration of the Arabs into Africa, a conceptual framework for this study is being attempted.

### **Conceptual Framework**

The push and pull factor theory of migration posits that when conditions become adverse in a given polity, individuals or groups could be forced to migrate into areas with relatively favourable conditions for human existence. The push factors refer to the adverse conditions for human existence. These conditions inter alia include famine, population pressure, drought, cattle epidemics, war, etc, necessitating the movement of people from their original home. The pull factors, on the other hand, refer to the factors of attraction such as soil fertility, availability of pasture, peaceful environment, economic opportunities, and others in a new environment.

In the case of the Shuwa Arabs, it has been suggested that they immigrated into Borno in search of new suitable grazing areas west of river Shari (Braukamper, 1994:46). River Shari is located in Chari-Baghirmi area in present day Chad Republic and flows into Lake Chad. Apart from the grazing sites of Borno which served as a factor of attraction, (pull factor), the military conditions in the predatory States of Wadai and Baghirmi pushed the Shuwa Arabs to look for peaceful lands which Borno offered at the beginning of the 19th century. Borno also offered favourable conditions for human and animal habitation unlike Wadai, Baghirmi or Kanem (Zeltner, 1967: 132; Tijani, 1982:62; Levzion & Hopkins, 1981:346).

### **Arab Penetration into Africa**

There are several literatures on the penetration of Arabs into Africa Nachtigal 1967; Zeltner 1970; Saleh 1970 Mukhtar 2002; Fadl Hassan 1973; Al-Qalgashandi (1913-1919); and Abun Nasir (1974) are some of the wellknown writers who wrote on the Arabs in Africa. The general position is that Arab's penetration into Africa started with the conquest of Egypt in 639-642 under the command of Amr b. al-As a Muslim army General, with an army of over 50,000 composed of pure Arabs (Fadl Hassan, 1973:88). In the words of Yusuf Fadl-Hassan:

The flow of immigrants continued without restriction and was stimulated by frequent changes of governors, each of whom brought his own tribesmen or guards, who might have numbered as many as 6000, 10,000 or even 20,000. (Fadl Hassan, 1973:89).

Some of the Arabs, it is suggested, intermarried with the local population while a substantial number migrated from Egypt to Sudan. What brought about this

migration? We may assume that the Arabs, being principally nomads had always the interest of their livestock at heart. We are, for instance, informed that one of the Arab groups, the Judham, from whom the Shuwa Arabs came to the limelight of history in Borno, migrated from Egypt in the 11th century to the Central Biladal-Sudan (Algalgashandi, 1913–1919:214). The out-movement of the Judham Arabs from Egypt Southwards to the Central Bilad al-Sudan was perhaps as a result of the environmental push and pull factors as well as the actions of the rulers of Egypt. We can illustrate the situation as follows. First and foremost, as nomads, the Judham had never had an easy time with the various succeeding dynasties in Egypt. Although, initially, we are told, the Judham Arabs had been in control of some provinces in Egypt, but as soon as the Bahariya Mamlukes, one of the dynasties, came into power in Egypt in the middle of the 14th century, this new regime developed a hostile attitude towards the Bedouine Arabs and eventually forced the Judham to migrate out of Egypt (Braukamper, 1993:18). It has also been suggested that when the strip of land for grazing in Egypt became overgrazed, the Judham were faced with shortage of grazing areas in Egypt, and therefore had to look for alternative lands for grazing their herds of camels (Braukamper, 2004:212). Again, there is evidence to suggest that the Banu Hilalian invasion of the Maghreb in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, which was commissioned by the Fatimid dynasty of Egypt, forced the Judham Arabs to relocate their lot from Egypt Southwards to the Central Bilad al-Sudan ultimately reaching Kanem in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century (Alkali, 1978:218). In all the three instances cited above, one can clearly see the interplay of the push and pull factors as well as actions of ruling dynasties as accounting for the migration of the Judham Arabs from Egypt into the Central Bilad al-Sudan.

The action of individual rulers as a factor of migration of Arabs becomes apparent when one considers the movements of the Banu Hilal and Banu Sulaym into the Maghreb. Abun-Nasir (1974:85), for instance, indicates that, the Banu Hilal and Banu Sulaym were authorized by the Fatimids, the ruling dynasty of Egypt in the 11th century to invade the Maghreb. Thus, the source continues, the Banu Hilal, Bani Qais chiefly the Fezara and Banu Salem “Swammed like locust” to the northwest overrun provinces of Tunis and Libya intermarried with the local population and settled down (Aun Nasir (1974:86). Apart from the Banu Hilalian invasion of the Maghreb in the 11th century, there was also an eruption of another Arab group, known as the Juhaina, in the 14th century. Some authorities are of the view that by the 14th century, the Judham who had invaded Kanem, had become a spent force and were now replaced by this new group, the Juhaina Arabs (MacMicheal 1922:181). Yusuf Fadi-Hassan, on the other hand, is of the view that the Juhaina were the allies of the Judham Arabs who traversed the desert immediately west of the Nile to the region called the Baggara (Fadi Hassn, 1973:90). Our investigation in the

field, however, tend to give more credence to the Juhaina Arabs as many Shuwa Arab groups claim ancestry from this branch and not the Judham (Hamiad oral source, what year); Abubakar oral source, what year); isa oral source, what year?: Khalid, oral source; Al-amin, oral source what year?; and Nur oral source). What is important is that the migration of the Judham as well as that of the Juhaina was conditioned by ecological and political pressures e.g. cattle diseases. The Judham, it is reported, were initially forced to move southwards along the Nile Valley and then westwards into the Lake Fitri, Bahr al-Ghazal and Lake Chad areas (Mukhtar, 2002:2). While environmental push and pull factors are important yardsticks in the migration of the Arab nomads, political events also merit some consideration. For instance, the fall of the powerful Nilotic Christian Kingdoms of Nubia and Alwa in 1316 and 1504 A.D, respectively opened

the way for Arab migration westwards (Mukhtar, 2002:2). As soon as the westerly direction was secured, the Arabs moved towards Darfur, Wadai-Fitiri, Kanem and Baghirmi. This migration was also influenced greatly by the predatory nature of these governments (Mukhtar, 2002:5). Adam (1977:12) maintains that because of the pure nomadic nature of the Arabs, the authorities failed to hold them to a regular obligation and this necessitated their movements from one place to the other in search of pasture or to evade exploitative taxation.

### **Shuwa Arab Movement into Borno Proper**

The Judham Arabs had reached Kanem in the late 14th century. The movement into Borno can be regarded as a steady but slow process of the initial migration. Many sources suggest that the Jawama, Sarajiyye, Bakariyye, and Ma'in groups migrated into Borno with the Saifawa rulers at the very end of the 14th century (Adam, 1977:12). Furthermore, Patterson (Year?), relying on oral sources, suggests that the Banu Malik, Ajaini, Wulad Mihilit, Wulad Telel and Wulad Jellah also migrated together with the Saifawa rulers into Borno in the late 14th century (Patterson, quoted in Adam 1977:14). It is also important to note that the partition of Kanem in the late 16th century brought in a substantial number of Shuwa Arabs under Borno's administration (Adam, 1977:15). Furthermore, the overthrow of the Tunjur dynasty by the Maba or Abbasid dynasty in Wadai during the early 17th century led many Tunjur groups to migrate out of Wadai. Some groups settled in Kanem and later moved into Borno, (Adam, 1977:15). The 18th century saw a period of demographic transformation with major population movements of Tubu, Kanembu and Shuwa Arabs into Borno, (Adam, 1977:15). The push and pull

factors were again at display. The trouble in Baghirmi and the expansionism of Wadai forced the Shuwa Arab groups to relocate their lot to Boro, (Adam, 1977:15). This happened because the armies of Baghirmi in the reign of Mbang Mohammed Alamin who was noted for militarism raided the Shuwa Arabs possibly to force them to settle and to collect more taxes from them (Lavers, 1976:12; Adam, 1977:15). The Salamat and Baniset, it appears, migrated from Baghirmi into Borno on account of the predatory nature of this State. The State of Wadai was no better. The harsh government of Wadai and its policy of expansionism towards Shari (a base of the Shuwa Arabs) also accounted for the migration of some Shuwa Arab groups from that area into Borno. For example, the Dagana Shuwa Arabs, under the leadership of Sheikh Ahmed, migrated west for the fear of being plundered by the rulers of Wadai or by the state, (Denham, 1822:52). There was much exploitation which created a constant state of fear and insecurity, thus leading to the migration of nomad Arabs from Wadai to Borno, (Denham, 1850:52).

But the next momentous migration into Borno, as far as Louis Brenner is concerned, took place in the 18th and 19th centuries when they came to play an important determining role in shaping Borno history, (Brenner, 1973:89). Although this invitation was to assist El-Kanemi in wars with the Fulata, the Shuwa Arabs accepted the invitation with the hope that they might benefit from the alliance with El-Kanemi. They had, perhaps, hoped to obtain some privileges from El-Kanemi such as grazing right over some grazing areas, acquisition of free cattle passages, security for their livestock and perhaps they saw the invitation as an opportunity to participate in politics to further their groups interest. What these amount to is the force of the push and pull factors as determinant of Shuwa migration at the time of El-Kanemi in the early 19th century.

### **Pattern of Settlement of the Shuwa Arabs in Borno**

The Shuwa Arabs, being a nomadic group, had been naturally concerned with conditions favouring the survival of their herds of cattle both in time and space as indicated in the preceding sections of this paper. As they migrated into Borno, they settled in areas considered to be generally conducive to their livestock as this formed the mainstay of their economy and by extension their very survival. It appears that the early arrivals seem to have occupied the rich grazing lands on the western shores of Lake Chad before moving into the interior of Borno. The Ma'in, for example, settled on the shores of Lake Chad before moving on, after some troubles between the nomads and the farmers over resources such as grazing land and water resources for their livestock with the local settlers, into Uje and Kaga districts (Adam, 1977:17). The Joama and other groups were initially settled probably by Mai Ali Ghaji, in Dar Kazal north of river Yobe possibly to serve as a buffer between Borno and its

northern neighbours. They later moved, into Kaga region where, for example, the Village of Banisheikh received its name when a settlement of Bani Badr was established there (Adam, 1977:17; Modu, 1989:24). It is reported that some Shuwa groups came later into Borno, for example, the Baniset and some sections of the Salamat who came much later than the early arrivals, settled in the region South of Lake Chad known as Balge area, (Adam, 1977:18; Saleh, 1977:38; Modu, 1983:24). Finally, the latest and most momentous group which migrated into Borno at the invitation of El-kanemi, were predominantly settled in the Ngumati region, which became an important base of the Qawalme Arabs in Borno. This base is locally referred to as the *Naghamat al Arab*, meaning the base of the Arabs, which is the area known as Ngumati and its immediate environs, (Brenner, 1973:38; Saleh 1977:214; Jidda, 1977:24).

## Conclusion

The Shuwa Arabs, being predominantly a nomadic group had always been on the move in search of better pasture and general pastoral conditions for their livestock. Given the importance of ecology to their economy, their migration in the course of their history had been greatly determined by the environmental push and pull factors. Favourable conditions always attracted them but adverse conditions, like high taxation, political pressure, drought, and cattle disease wars among others

had always occasioned their migration elsewhere. This is what this study tried to document.

## REFERENCES

- 
- Abun Nasir, J. M. (1974). *A history of the Maghreb*. Cambridge University press.
- Adam, Mohammed. (1977). The Shuwa Arabs in the history of Borno. BA Dissertation submitted to Abdullahi Bayero College Kano.
- Alkali, Muhammad Nur. (1978). Borno under the Sayfawa: A study of the origin, growth and collapse of a dynasty. Ph.D Thesis, ABU Zaria.
- ALqalgashandi, A. (Year?). *Subh Al Asha*, Vol. IV, 1913-1918, Cairo.
- Braukamper, Ulrich. (1993). "Notes on the origin of Baggara Arab culture with special reference to the Shuwa" In Jonathan Owens. (ed). *Arabs and Arabic in the Lake Chad Region*. Sugia, Bond.
- Brenner Louis, (1973), *The Shehus of Kukawa*, Oxford University press.

- Denham, Clapperton and Oudney (1877), *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, London.
- Fadl-Hassan Yusuf, (1973), *The Arabs and the Sudan*, Edinburgh and Khartoum University press.
- Kings Mathias and Platte Editha, (eds) (2004). *Living with the Lake: Perspectives on History, Culture and Economy of Lake Chad*, Koln, Germany.
- Lavers, J. E. "Kanem Borno to 1808." In O. Ikime. (ed). (1980), *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan, Longman
- Modu, I. A. (1987), "The Shuwa Arabs in Kanem-Borno History" paper presented to the Workshop on the History of Kanem-Borno at the Centre for Trans Saharan Studies University of Maiduguri.
- Mukhtar, Y. (2002), *Musa Daggash: The Story of A Shuwa Arab Boy*, Ibadan. Heinrrnann.
- Nachtigal, G. (1870), *Sahara and Sudan*, Vol. 3, London.
- Saleh, S.S.I. (1970), *Tarikh al-Islam Wahayatal Arab Fi-Imbraturiyal Kanem Borno*, Khartoum.
- Tijani, K. (1979), "Political and Administrative Development of Borno", Vol. II Ph.D Thesis, ABU, Zaria.
- Usman, B. and Alkali, M.N (eds) (1983), *Studies in the Pre-colonial History of Borno*, N.N.P.C Zaria.
- Zeltner, C. (1967), *Histoire Des Arabes Sur Lac Chad in Annales de Universite* Abidjan