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THE HAUSA REAWAKENING



Identity, Consciousness and Collective Purpose

ALIYU AMMANI

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ALIYU AMMANI

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Kaduna Nigeria

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to Ibrahim Aliyu Maisango (Bichiia Maisango) — Field Marshal IBM of the Awakening — presently in detention for his convictions, and to the young men and women of the Hausa Reawakening Movement who continue his work.

You are absent in body, present in every line.

"You can jail a Revolutionary, but you can't jail the Revolution."
— Huey P. Newton, 1968

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Preface

This small book grew out of a conversation with a reader who had followed my essays on Hausa identity and the reawakening movement. The reader suggested that the arguments scattered across my writings over the years deserved to be brought together in one concise document, so that they could be considered as a coherent whole rather than encountered separately in newspaper articles and online publications.

I found the suggestion worthwhile. Over the years, I have written about Hausa identity, language, history, religion, traditional institutions, political representation, insecurity and the need for collective organisation. Although these writings arose from different circumstances, they return to a common concern: whether the Hausa possess the consciousness and organisational capacity to understand their situation, articulate their legitimate interests and shape their future.

The purpose of this book is not to reproduce my articles one after another. It is to bring their central arguments into a logical sequence and offer readers a compact statement of the ideas and aspirations that inform the Hausa reawakening. I have sought to retain the force of

my arguments while making their logic clearer and avoiding unnecessary repetition.

This book does not claim to speak officially for every Hausa person or every participant in the reawakening movement. It is my personal contribution to the debate and an invitation to reflection and constructive action.

I hope these pages will encourage the Hausa to study their history, think seriously about their present circumstances, strengthen their institutions and take greater responsibility for their collective future. I also hope readers from other communities will recognise that a people's desire to understand itself and organise around legitimate interests need not threaten anyone else. Properly understood, it can provide a foundation for more honest and respectful coexistence.

Comments, observations, and suggestions for improvement, for consideration in subsequent editions, are most welcome and may be sent to: aaammani@yahoo.co.uk

Alhamdulillah!

Aliyu Ammani
U/Shanu Kaduna
Nigeria
20th October 2026

Preamble: A People Must Know Themselves

> *A people who surrender the right to define themselves may one day struggle to recognise themselves.*

The existence of the Hausa as a people should not be a matter for debate. Yet, over the years, Hausa identity has been suppressed, obscured and tacitly called into question. The mischievous use of "Bamaguje" to stigmatise or undermine Hausa identity, the masking of that identity under the compound label "Hausa-Fulani", and the subsuming of the Hausa under the broader designation "Arewa" have all contributed to this problem. More troubling still, some people, including religious scholars, have questioned whether the Hausa exist as a distinct people at all.

This situation demands a response. A people whose existence and identity are questioned cannot afford to remain indifferent. The Hausa reawakening is a response to this challenge. Its purpose is to affirm the existence of the Hausa as a people, stimulate a deeper consciousness of their identity, restore pride in their history and heritage, and inspire a renewed sense of

direction and collective purpose. It rejects the notion, whether openly expressed or subtly advanced, that the Hausa have no distinct identity worthy of recognition in their own right.

Current political developments in Nigeria make this reawakening especially urgent. We know that a day is coming when the different ethnic nationalities that make up this country will have to sit down together to agree on the way forward and on Nigeria's future. When that day comes, we hope the Hausa will represent themselves and speak in one voice—the Hausa voice—rather than have their voice and interests subsumed under "Hausa-Fulani" or "Arewa". That moment will require a clear sense of identity, credible representation and a people conscious of what they wish to say and defend.

The reawakening is not a single organisation or a centrally coordinated movement. It comprises a thousand and one individuals, small groups, associations and lone voices working independently, often with little coordination. Their approaches, specific objectives, temperaments and emotions may differ, but they share a common commitment to the recognition and conscious assertion of Hausa identity.

The expression "Hausa Zalla", which has become associated with this reawakening, requires

clarification. It was not originally coined by the movement as a declaration of genetic purity. It was used by opponents to ridicule or misrepresent the idea. Rather than allow the debate to be confined to the label, advocates adopted it as a slogan and gave it a clear operational meaning.

“Zalla” does not mean a genetically pure Hausa. Centuries of migration, intermarriage and interaction make the search for an entirely unmixed Hausa neither realistic nor necessary. The expression refers to the affirmation of Hausa identity in its own right, without its being subsumed under another identity or obscured by a compound label.

This brings us to the problem of “Hausa-Fulani”. The objection is not to people of mixed Hausa and Fulani ancestry, intermarriage between the two peoples, or the bonds of history, religion and neighbourliness that connect them. Such relationships are part of our shared reality. The objection is to the use of the hyphen in “Hausa-Fulani” to blur, diminish or erase the distinct identity of the Hausa. Two peoples do not cease to be distinct simply because they share a religion, inhabit the same geographical space, intermarry or participate in a common political history.

For a movement whose central purpose is to reawaken Hausa identity, rejecting a label that has too often obscured that identity is a necessary precondition. One cannot effectively restore an identity while accepting a label that repeatedly calls its distinctness into question. The Hausa must be able to recognise themselves as Hausa, and to be recognised as such by others, without having their identity qualified, diluted or merged with that of another people.

The movement is not a call for hostility towards the Fulani or any other group. It is a demand for recognition, self-definition and mutual respect. Respect for the identity of one people should not require the suppression of another's. Genuine coexistence is strengthened when peoples recognise one another honestly rather than allowing one identity to overshadow another.

This small book is my personal contribution to that struggle for recognition. I do not claim to speak for the reawakening movement, represent every person associated with it, or prescribe a single position on every question confronting the Hausa. My purpose is to state my arguments clearly, challenge narratives I consider damaging to Hausa identity, and encourage deeper reflection on the circumstances and future of the Hausa people.

The central argument is straightforward: the Hausa are a people, their identity deserves recognition in its own right, and their continued existence as a people must not depend on the permission or approval of others. The reawakening is a call to recover the consciousness, dignity and sense of purpose necessary to understand our past, confront our present circumstances and shape our future.

A people who does not consciously affirm their identity risk allowing others to define them. The Hausa reawakening is a call to end that passivity.

1. Who is Hausa?

> *A people who cannot answer the question of who they are will find others ready to answer it for them.*

Before we can meaningfully discuss the reawakening of Hausa consciousness, we must first address a fundamental question: Who is Hausa? In my view, Hausa identity can be understood in two broad categories: Hausa by ancestry and Hausa by assimilation.

Hausa by Ancestry

In its simplest sense, a person born to a Hausa father is Hausa by birth and paternal lineage. This is Hausa by ancestry, irrespective of where the person is born or raised.

However, ancestry alone does not fully explain the complexities of ethnic identity. Throughout history, people have migrated, interacted and assimilated into different societies. Ethnic communities have grown not only through descent but also through cultural integration.

Hausa by Assimilation

The second category comprises individuals of other ancestries who have genuinely embraced

Hausa identity through cultural assimilation. They speak the language, practise the customs, identify with the people and regard Hausaland as home. They laugh when Hausawa laugh, mourn when they mourn, celebrate their joys and share their sorrows. They identify with the community's struggles and aspirations, not as outsiders merely living among the Hausa, but as people who genuinely belong.

They are Hausa not because they deny their ancestral origins, but because they have embraced Hausa identity as their own.

Research has documented how individuals and communities of diverse ancestral origins have become members of different ethnic groups through sustained cultural interaction and assimilation. In the case of the Hausa, the historical spread of the language and culture demonstrates that ethnic identity is not an exclusively genealogical category, but also a product of shared culture and belonging.

Living Among the Hausa Is Not Necessarily Becoming Hausa

There is, however, a distinction between living among the Hausa and becoming Hausa. Some people have lived in Hausaland for generations without identifying as Hausa. They may speak

the language and participate in aspects of Hausa social life while retaining a distinct ethnic identity. Their long residence among the Hausa does not, by itself, make them Hausa. There is nothing wrong with maintaining a distinct identity. The point is simply that geographical residence, language proficiency and cultural interaction do not automatically establish ethnic belonging.

Conversely, a person of non-Hausa ancestry who has genuinely assimilated into Hausa society and identifies as Hausa should not automatically be excluded because of their ancestral origins. We must also recognise that Hausa is widely spoken as a lingua franca by people who do not necessarily identify as Hausa. Speaking the language alone, therefore, is not sufficient to establish Hausa identity.

Defining Our Identity

The Hausa reawakening must be grounded in a clear understanding of who we are. We should neither reduce Hausa identity exclusively to bloodline nor extend it indiscriminately to everyone who speaks the language or lives in Hausaland. Hausa identity rests on the relationship between ancestry, cultural belonging and self-identification. These elements

may reinforce one another, although they do not always coincide.

For the purposes of the Hausa reawakening, we must recognise both Hausa by ancestry and Hausa by genuine assimilation, while respecting the right of other peoples to retain their distinct identities.

This, in my view, is a reasonable starting point for understanding who is Hausa and for building a Hausa consciousness movement grounded in historical awareness, cultural confidence and a clear sense of belonging.

2. Hausa Identity Without Erasure

> *We cannot reclaim our identity while accepting a name that obscures it.*

The reawakening rests on a fundamental principle: the Hausa have a God-given right to their identity and a constitutional right to associate among themselves and with other Nigerians without surrendering or qualifying that identity. Section 40 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria protects the right to assemble freely and associate with others, including to form associations for the protection of one's interests. Nothing in this right requires the Hausa to merge their identity with that of another people.

Qur'an 49:13 offers a relevant religious perspective: “O mankind, indeed We have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another…” The verse recognises the existence of peoples and tribes and presents their differences as a basis for mutual recognition, not hostility. The Hausa demand no more than the right to be recognised as a people in their own right, just as

they recognise the identities of others, that we "may know one another".

The Hausa have the right to be Hausa without a hyphen, to associate without surrendering their identity, and to seek a fair place in the traditional institutions of their homeland. Anything less calls for scrutiny, not unquestioning acceptance.

Having established this right to identity, association and participation, we must address the label most often used to blur it: "Hausa-Fulani".

The reawakening seeks to restore Hausa identity and consciousness. Rejecting the label where it diminishes or erases that identity is therefore a necessary precondition. This is not a mere dispute over terminology; it is about a people defining themselves and being recognised on their own terms.

The asymmetry is clear: the Hausa are often expected to identify as Hausa-Fulani, while the Fulani may choose either Fulani or Hausa-Fulani. The former is thus asked to qualify an identity that the latter can assert without qualification.

Hausa Zalla is an insistence on a standalone Hausa identity and an outright rejection of the

continued imposition of the Hausa-Fulani label. It rejects the deceptive and manipulative use of a compound identity that has too often obscured Hausa distinctness and subordinated Hausa interests. In doing so, it sends two clear signals.

First, it is a vote of no confidence in Fulani hegemony. It rejects the assumption that Hausa identity must be subsumed under a political or social order dominated by Fulani interests. The Hausa cannot continue to be expected to accept another group's leadership or agenda as their natural political destination simply because of shared religion, historical association or an imposed compound label.

Second, it declares the end of automatic alliance. The Hausa can no longer be expected to align unquestioningly with Fulani interests, whether or not those interests coincide with their own. The era of *zaman-kara-zubanci* and *bita-zai-zai* must end.

This does not mean Hausa and Fulani interests can never coincide, or that cooperation is undesirable. It means cooperation must be based on mutual respect, reciprocity and identifiable common interests, not on an assumed and automatic political allegiance. The Hausa must be free to cooperate with the Fulani, as with other peoples, without surrendering their

independent identity or compromising their legitimate interests.

The point is straightforward: the Hausa-Fulani label must go, and automatic alliance must end. Neither requires hostility towards the Fulani. Both require the Hausa to recognise that they are a people in their own right, entitled to define their identity and determine their collective interests.

A people that cannot define its identity for itself will struggle to determine its own destiny. The Hausa reawakening is therefore about more than rejecting a label or an alliance. It is about recovering the consciousness, confidence and independence of thought necessary for the Hausa to take responsibility for their collective future.

3. Asabiyyah and The Hausa Reawakening

> *A thousand scattered voices cannot become one powerful voice without a bond that unites them.*

Why are some peoples able to build large, powerful and influential societies while others remain fragmented and weak? Why can some peoples mobilise around their common interests, defend their collective dignity and shape their destiny, while others struggle to act together even when their interests are at stake?

The fourteenth-century historian and thinker Ibn Khaldun offers an important explanation. He identifies a driving force behind the rise of states and the consolidation of political power, which he calls asabiyyah (عصبية). The concept encompasses group solidarity, collective consciousness and a deep sense of belonging.

Asabiyyah is the bond that makes an individual feel that their fate is tied to the fate of their people. It may begin with kinship and common ancestry, but it can extend beyond blood relations to embrace shared language, culture, history, values and a sense of common destiny. It enables people to rise above narrow personal interests and cooperate towards larger collective

goals. For Ibn Khaldun, the strength or weakness of this bond is a major factor in the rise and decline of political societies.

The tragedy of the Hausa today is the conspicuous weakness of positive asabiyyah. This does not mean that Hausa people lack family loyalty, community bonds or pride in their language and culture; rather, these attachments have not been sufficiently translated into a wider consciousness of shared interests, responsibilities and future.

The reasons are not difficult to identify. As explained in the preamble, Hausa identity has been suppressed, obscured and called into question through the mischievous use of "Bamaguje", the masking of Hausa identity under the compound label "Hausa-Fulani", and the subsuming of the Hausa under the broader designation "Arewa". Some people, including religious scholars, have even questioned whether the Hausa exist as a distinct people.

When a people are encouraged to doubt their identity, or to accept labels that obscure their distinctness, the development of a strong collective consciousness becomes more difficult. The consequences are reflected in the weakness of the Hausa collective voice, the difficulty of mobilising around common interests, and the

failure to translate individual achievements into sufficient collective strength.

This is the central concern of the Hausa reawakening: to rebuild positive asabiyyah among the Hausa by strengthening their consciousness of identity, restoring pride in their common heritage, encouraging solidarity across internal differences and developing a sense of shared purpose.

Positive asabiyyah is not a call for hostility towards outsiders or a claim of Hausa superiority. It is the solidarity that enables a people to recognise their common interests and act together without necessarily agreeing on every issue. The Hausa can maintain respectful relations with their neighbours while consciously affirming their own identity and pursuing their collective advancement.

The history of the Hausa kingdoms, their traditions of commerce, scholarship, urban life and statecraft, and the extensive reach of their language provide grounds for historical confidence. But pride in past achievements is not enough. The challenge is to translate that heritage into renewed consciousness, effective organisation, responsible leadership and institutions capable of advancing the common good.

Without positive asabiyyah, individual brilliance cannot reliably become collective strength. Without collective strength, a people's identity remains vulnerable to definitions imposed upon it by others. And without a sense of shared destiny, a people will struggle to shape their own future.

The Hausa reawakening is therefore not an exercise in tribal arrogance. It is an effort to restore the solidarity, dignity and collective purpose necessary for the Hausa to defend their identity, build effective institutions and pursue their common interests.

A conscious people are better positioned to distinguish its genuine interests from those imposed upon it, to identify the causes of its difficulties, question arrangements that disadvantage it, and propose practical solutions. It is less likely to accept inherited assumptions without examination, or to depend indefinitely on others to define its identity, articulate its interests, or determine its destiny.

This is where consciousness connects with Ibn Khaldun's concept of positive asabiyyah. Consciousness helps a people understand what binds them together, what challenges they face, and why collective action is necessary.

Asabiyyah, in turn, provides the solidarity required to translate that awareness into action.

Our vision is clear. The uncritical Hausa of today must give way to the conscious Hausa of tomorrow: a person who understands their identity, history and rights; appreciates their responsibilities; distinguishes genuine partnership from dependence; and does not apologise for being Hausa.

This transformation does not require every Hausa person to think alike or agree on every political, religious or social question. It requires a shared understanding of identity and a willingness to cooperate where common interests are at stake. That is how consciousness becomes positive asabiyyah, and how positive asabiyyah becomes a foundation for collective advancement.

We do not seek an identity against anyone. We seek an identity strong enough to stand on its own. We seek neither isolation nor hostility, but the confidence and capacity to engage with other peoples as equals, conscious of who we are and what we have a right to expect.

A people who does not define themselves will have others define them. A people who does not organise around their legitimate interests will have others determine those interests for them.

The Hausa reawakening must therefore move beyond awareness to solidarity, and beyond solidarity to purposeful action.

4. Recovering Our History

> *A people who forget the chapters before their subjugation risk mistaking that subjugation for their beginning.*

We cannot confidently reclaim an identity whose history we do not understand. A people cannot understand themselves fully without taking their history seriously. For the Hausa, recovering history is part of restoring the consciousness and confidence needed to understand who we are and how our present came to be.

The history of the Hausa should not begin with the nineteenth-century Sokoto Jihad, as though nothing significant existed before it. The ancient Hausa kingdoms had their own rulers, political institutions, commercial networks, scholarship and cultural traditions.

The emirates, the religious and political changes associated with the Jihad, colonial rule and modern Nigeria are also important. A comprehensive history must include these periods without allowing one to erase the others.

The histories of Kano, Katsina and Zazzau are incomplete if their earlier Hausa kingdoms and Sarakuna are reduced to a brief prelude to the post-Jihad emirates.

We want prominent palace displays in Kano, Katsina and Zazzau listing all recorded Sarakuna, from the earliest known rulers to the present. The lists should include both the pre-Jihad Hausa kings and the post-Jihad Fulani Emirs, with transitions clearly explained. Official palace records and publications should follow the same principle.

This is not a demand to erase the history or significance of the Fulani Emirs, or to deny the transformation brought about by the Jihad. It is a demand for historical completeness: the Emirs are part of the history of these kingdoms, but they are not the beginning of that history. A political transition must not become a historical erasure.

Restoring the pre-Jihad Sarakuna to the official record is more than a matter of historical curiosity. It affirms that the ancient Hausa kingdoms have a history and identity that cannot be reduced to the period of Fulani rule. It also recognises the generations of Hausa rulers, institutions and communities that shaped these kingdoms before the Jihad.

Only by documenting the Hausa Sarakuna and the Fulani Emirs side by side can we restore integrity to the historical record and give full recognition to the ancient Hausa kingdoms of

Kano, Katsina and Zazzau. Their histories must be presented as continuous, acknowledging both the Hausa dynasties that preceded the Jihad and the emirate dynasties that followed it.

We cannot reclaim our history by remembering only the chapter that began with our political subordination. Our palaces and official records must tell the whole story, from the earliest recorded rulers to the present.

5. Right to Participate in Hausa Traditional Institutions

> *To belong to a land is not merely to inhabit it, but to have a voice in shaping its destiny*

Identity is not only about language and culture. It is also about a people's relationship with their historical homeland and participation in the institutions that shape its affairs.

This raises an uncomfortable but unavoidable question concerning the traditional institutions of mainstream Hausaland, particularly the emirates of Kano, Katsina and Zazzau. These are historic Hausa kingdoms, yet the traditional order that emerged from the Sokoto Jihad has left the Hausa in a position that demands serious examination.

Since the Jihad, the kingmaking offices in these emirates have been occupied exclusively by Fulani aristocrats, with succession to these titles largely governed by inheritance, as with the emirships themselves. The Hausa are thus excluded not only from aspiring to the highest traditional office, but also from the institutions that determine who occupies it.

No rational, self-aware Hausa person should be comfortable with an arrangement that leaves the Hausa as spectators while those who openly identify as Fulani occupy the highest traditional positions in Kano, Katsina and Zazzau. The question is why the Hausa should be denied a comparable opportunity to aspire to the throne and to participate in selecting their rulers.

The question is also who holds the authority to determine who becomes Emir. When kingmaking titles are held exclusively by one aristocratic group, the exclusion of another people raises fundamental questions about representation and traditional authority in their own historical homeland.

The Hausa cannot affirm their identity proudly while remaining indifferent to their exclusion from institutions that embody traditional authority in Hausaland.

This is not a call for hostility towards the Fulani, nor a demand for exclusion on the basis of ancestry. It is a demand for recognition, fairness and meaningful participation. The Hausa should be able to aspire to traditional leadership and participate in the selection of their rulers without their identity constituting a disadvantage.

6. The Need for A Common Voice

Scattered voices may express our pain; organised voices can help shape our destiny.

A troubling consequence of weak positive asabiyyah among the Hausa is the failure to recognise the need for a common voice, even when collective interests, security and identity are threatened. The problem is not only the lack of effective representation, but also the weak consciousness and solidarity needed to appreciate why it matters.

A conscious people understand that, despite differences in religion, politics, social status and local allegiance, certain interests are shared. It recognises that threats affecting one community may have implications for others, and that problems which individuals or isolated communities cannot solve may require collective action. Such a people understand the value of organisation, representation and a common platform for articulating legitimate concerns.

Despite their numbers, history, intellectual resources and geographical spread, the Hausa remain divided by competing loyalties and individual interests. Weak positive asabiyyah has

prevented shared concerns from becoming coordinated responses and durable institutions.

The cost is most visible in insecurity — killings, kidnappings, displacement and destruction of livelihoods across Hausaland. These shared threats have not produced a coordinated response: communities struggle alone, prominent individuals speak in isolation, and associations pursue separate agendas. Common suffering alone cannot create effective communication, representation or practical solutions.

This fragmentation is reinforced when each community sees its suffering only as a local crisis rather than part of a wider pattern requiring a collective response.

That is why the Hausa reawakening must go beyond affirming identity. It must awaken the consciousness that makes solidarity possible, and the solidarity that makes organisation necessary. Positive asabiyyah provides the bond through which a people can recognise common interests and mobilise to pursue them.

It must produce more than a feeling of belonging. It must drive organisation, collective responsibility and the search for solutions. The Hausa need credible institutions and platforms through which they can articulate common

concerns, document threats, engage governments, demand accountability, support victims and develop practical responses to shared challenges.

Such platforms need not be consolidated into one single organisation claiming to speak for every Hausa person. A decentralised network of individuals, associations and institutions can cooperate where their interests converge while retaining their independence. What matters is that their activities do not remain isolated. They must share information, coordinate responses, establish common priorities and sustain engagement beyond moments of crisis.

The same solidarity must support the broader advancement of the Hausa through education, human capital development, preservation of language and history, economic cooperation and stronger institutions. A people who organises only when threatened will remain vulnerable. A people who organises to develop their capabilities, preserve their heritage and pursue legitimate interests will be better positioned to shape their future.

Consciousness without solidarity produces awareness without collective strength. Solidarity without organisation produces goodwill without sustained results. Organisation rooted in

historical awareness and positive asabiyyah gives a people the capacity to pursue common interests and seek solutions to shared problems.

The Hausa do not need to agree on everything before they can work together on something. They need to recognise what they share, organise around legitimate interests and develop the capacity to act collectively.

A people who cannot recognise a common threat will struggle to formulate a common response. A people who recognises shared interests but fail to organise will struggle to defend them. Positive asabiyyah must therefore lead the Hausa from consciousness to solidarity, from solidarity to organisation, and from organisation to the purposeful pursuit of solutions.

7. From Reawakening to Collective Advancement

> *Identity is the beginning of consciousness; consciousness is the beginning of purpose; purpose is the beginning of progress.*

The Hausa reawakening cannot end with the affirmation of identity or the recognition of common problems. It must lead to practical efforts to improve the condition of our people. Identity consciousness matters because it enables a people to recognise shared interests, organise around them, and take responsibility for their collective future.

Education and human development must be priorities. We must renew our commitment to education, scholarship, scientific inquiry, technical competence and professional excellence. The achievements of earlier generations should inspire us to prepare the next, not provide an excuse to live on past glory.

We must also preserve and develop our language and cultural heritage. Hausa should continue to grow as a language of literature, scholarship, technology and public discourse. Our oral traditions, manuscripts, historical sites and cultural practices must be documented and

made accessible. Universities, researchers, writers and community historians must investigate our history and make reliable knowledge available. For example, the histories of Kano, Katsina and Zazzau should record their pre-Jihad rulers alongside the political transformations that followed, rather than allow the histories of ancient Hausa kingdoms to be overshadowed by the emirates that succeeded them.

Economic advancement is equally vital. We must encourage enterprise, agricultural productivity, trade, vocational competence, innovation and professional cooperation. Our identity consciousness should help us create opportunities, develop capabilities and confront the poverty and underdevelopment in our communities.

We must also demand security, justice and accountable leadership. Hausa people should judge political leaders by performance, not by ethnicity or appeals to ethnic solidarity. No leader should be exempt from scrutiny because he claims to represent us, and no perpetrator of violence should be shielded from accountability by ethnicity, religion or political connections. Our solidarity must protect lives and livelihoods, not become an excuse for silence in the face of injustice.

Our Place in Politics and Traditional Governance

The reawakening must translate into greater participation in politics, governance and the traditional institutions that shape our society. The Hausa must become more conscious of their political interests, participate actively in elections and public affairs, seek elective and appointive offices at all levels, and hold their representatives to account. Our objective should not be merely to mobilise political support for others, but to develop the capacity to articulate our interests, influence decisions and contribute meaningfully to the governance of our country.

This aspiration extends to the traditional institutions of mainstream Hausaland, particularly the emirates of Kano, Katsina and Zazzau. We desire to see Hausa people with a fair opportunity to aspire to emirship and to participate in the kingmaking institutions of these historic kingdoms. We cannot claim to have recovered our historical consciousness while remaining indifferent to our participation in institutions that embody traditional authority in our homeland.

This is not a demand to exclude the Fulani or to deny them their legitimate aspirations. It is a demand for fairness — that Hausa identity

should not be a disadvantage in the land of our ancestors. The Hausa should have the opportunity to participate in selecting their traditional rulers and to aspire to those positions on fair terms, rather than remain permanent spectators in the affairs of their own historical homeland.

Achieving this requires effective institutions and purposeful organisation. Writers, historians, teachers, students, professionals, farmers, traders, traditional leaders, religious scholars and community associations all have roles to play. The movement need not become a single organisation claiming to speak for every Hausa person. Its strength can lie in the contributions of individuals and independent groups working towards common objectives. What matters is that our efforts produce results, rather than remain confined to rhetoric.

Our Place Among Other Peoples

The Hausa reawakening is not a call for isolation. For centuries the Hausa have interacted with other peoples through trade, migration, scholarship, marriage and shared residence. These relationships are part of our history and will remain important to our future.

The relationship between the Hausa and Fulani is particularly significant. The two peoples share

much in common, yet possess distinct identities and historical experiences. Both realities deserve recognition. The Hausa should be free to identify as Hausa without being accused of hostility towards the Fulani, just as the Fulani should be free to identify as Fulani. Shared history does not require the erasure of difference, and distinct identities do not preclude cooperation.

We must reject the notion that the Hausa must remain unconscious of their identity to prove their commitment to peaceful coexistence. Nor should the assertion of Hausa identity become a justification for hostility towards others. We seek relationships based on mutual respect, reciprocity and shared interests, not assumed allegiance or the suppression of legitimate difference.

The same principle applies to our relationship with other Nigerians. We do not have to abandon our identity to be loyal citizens of Nigeria. We can preserve our heritage, pursue our legitimate interests and participate fully in national affairs while respecting the rights and dignity of others.

We seek an identity that stands on its own feet, not one that must stand on the neck of another people.

The Road Ahead

The Hausa reawakening is a broad intellectual and social mobilisation, not the possession of any individual, association or political faction. No person or organisation should claim a monopoly over it. Its strength will depend on the willingness of individuals, groups and institutions to contribute to a common purpose while retaining their independence.

The movement must welcome informed criticism. Not every argument advanced in its name will be correct, and not every proposed solution will be effective. We must be prepared to reconsider our positions when better evidence becomes available. Intellectual maturity requires the courage to question not only the narratives imposed upon us, but also our own assumptions.

Above all, we must understand that the responsibility for defining our interests, organising our affairs and shaping our future cannot be delegated indefinitely. We must study our history, educate our children, strengthen our institutions, protect our communities and create opportunities for future generations.

A genuine reawakening cannot be sustained by anger alone. Anger may draw attention to a problem, but it is knowledge, solidarity,

organisation and purposeful action that will address it.

Consciousness must lead to responsibility. Responsibility must lead to action. And action must be directed towards a future in which the Hausa can live with greater dignity, security and opportunity.

That is the task before us.

8. Why Danfodiyo Must Be Demystified

> *No man should stand so tall in history that the truth must kneel before him. No figure in history should cast a shadow so long that the truth cannot be seen.*

A frequent accusation against the Hausa reawakening movement is that it is anti-Danfodiyo. This accusation rests on a deliberate conflation of Danfodiyo the Islamic scholar and Danfodiyo the political actor. The movement's contention is not with his scholarship but with his politics, and it cannot afford to ignore that politics precisely because that politics did not ignore the Hausa.

The 'Jihad' which he led established the Fulani emirates in Hausaland and, in the reading of this movement, institutionalised a hegemony that has constrained the free expression of Hausa identity for two centuries. It is a settled principle that when a man of religion enters the political arena, his religious standing cannot shield his political actions from public scrutiny and accountability.

It is on this principle that the Hausa movement stands, namely to subject the political legacy of Danfodiyo, not his faith, to careful, fair and open examination.

The Sokoto Caliphate and its emirate system established by Danfodiyo have become so closely associated, rightly or wrongly, with Islam that any challenge to their political foundations is instantly misrepresented as an attack on the religion itself.

Danfodiyo has thus been elevated to a status that renders critical examination of his political legacy almost impossible. He is celebrated, never examined. To question his actions, or to interrogate their consequences, is to invite accusations of blasphemy. Yet Islam was established in Hausaland long before Danfodiyo was born. As his early followers understood, he did not bring Islam to the Hausa; he sought to reform an existing tradition. It was in that limited sense that he was regarded as a Mujaddadi — a religious reformer. That religious standing cannot and should not place his political legacy beyond scrutiny.

The contradiction is striking. Islamic groups that disagree vehemently on almost everything else are united in their reverence for Danfodiyo. As I noted in Chapter 14 of my autobiography, an

Izala preacher may openly denounce the founders of the Qadiriyya and Tijjaniyya orders and condemn their followers, yet shower unreserved praise on Danfodiyo, who himself belonged to the Qadiriyya tradition. Similarly, some Shi'ite preachers freely criticise major figures of early Islamic history revered by Sunni Muslims, yet Danfodiyo remains untouchable. This raises an unavoidable question: why should one historical figure be exempt from the critical scrutiny that these same traditions readily apply to others?

This selective reverence has consequences that extend far beyond religious debate. When Danfodiyo's name is rendered sacred, anyone who invokes it can shield his actions from accountability. In my view, the aura surrounding him and the Jihad has been exploited to justify misconduct, to manipulate others, and to evade questioning. When criticism of such conduct is framed as an attack on Danfodiyo, and criticism of Danfodiyo is equated with an attack on Islam, a formidable barrier is erected against legitimate inquiry. No name, however revered, should serve as a shield for exploitation or a licence for impunity.

This is why demystifying Danfodiyo is indispensable to the Hausa reawakening. By demystification we mean neither demonisation

nor the denial of his Islamic scholarship. We mean stripping away the aura of unquestionability that surrounds him so that his politics, his Jihad, and their consequences can be examined openly, honestly, and critically. Until that becomes possible, the Hausa cannot interrogate the historical narratives that erase their pre-Jihad history, examine the foundations of the political order imposed after it, or challenge arrangements they consider unjust. A movement committed to recovering Hausa historical consciousness cannot leave the most consequential episode in that history outside the bounds of discussion.

The Hausa reawakening does not attack Islam, nor does it promote hostility towards the Fulani. It seeks to draw clear lines: between religious faith and political power, between historical inquiry and accusations of blasphemy, between legitimate respect and unthinking submission.

We cannot reclaim our history while being forbidden to question the very figure around whom a dominant and self-serving interpretation of that history has been built. Demystifying Danfodiyo is therefore not a distraction from our objectives; it is a precondition for achieving them.

Only when the Hausa can examine their past without fear can they understand their present, reclaim their historical consciousness, and pursue their legitimate aspirations with confidence.

9. Why Are Some Vociferous Fulani Elites So Unsettled by The Hausa Reawakening?

> *They grew comfortable in the long night of our slumber, mistook our silence for consent, and now dread the dawn of our awakening.*

The Hausa reawakening movement has provoked a disproportionate hostility from sections of the Fulani community.

Across social media, mosque pulpits, radio programmes and public gatherings, it has been recast as an anti-Fulani enterprise and charged with a litany of offences: promoting prohibited tribalism, fracturing the unity of the Ummah, denigrating the legacy of Ɗanfodiyo's Jihad, resurrecting pre-Islamic 'maguzanci' rhetoric, trafficking in hate speech, assigning collective ethnic guilt for banditry, inciting vigilante violence, engaging in historical revisionism, fabricating notions of ethnic purity, undermining Arewa solidarity, and acting as a proxy for external destabilization agendas — with some even invoking the spectre of a Rwandan-style Hutu–Tutsi tragedy.

The sheer scale of this indictment is itself revealing. It compels a more fundamental question than the accusations themselves: why should the peaceful, introspective act of a people seeking to recover its identity, articulate its history, and organize for its legitimate interests, be construed as an existential threat by anyone?

To understand this hostility, we must look beyond the accusations to what the movement actually challenges. Its rejection of the Hausa-Fulani label, its questioning of the political foundations of the Fulani emirates in mainstream Hausaland, and its opposition to what it regards as Fulani hegemony strike at three pillars upon which some Fulani have built a sense of entitlement over the Hausa. For those who benefit from the existing arrangement, the prospect of an awakened Hausa population — capable of questioning inherited narratives, privileges, and power structures — is unsettling.

For generations, the Hausa-Fulani label has blurred the distinction between two peoples with distinct historical identities. The political consequences of the Sokoto Jihad transformed the traditional order across much of Hausaland. The Hausa reawakening asks a legitimate question: should these historical developments confer permanent political or traditional privilege on particular lineages? It insists that the Hausa

have the right to recover their history, affirm their identity, and seek fair participation in the institutions of their homeland.

Questioning historical privilege is not hostility towards those who have benefited from it. Rejecting the Hausa-Fulani label is not a rejection of the Fulani. Challenging Fulani hegemony is not a call to persecute Fulani people. And demanding fairness in traditional institutions is not a demand to deny the Fulani their history, culture, or legitimate aspirations.

Why, then, should any Fulani person fear a movement whose objective is to make the Hausa more conscious of who they are and better equipped to determine their own future? A Hausa man who understands his history, takes pride in his language and civilisation, and assumes responsibility for his destiny does not thereby become an enemy of the Fulani. On the contrary, he becomes a more productive citizen, a more dependable neighbour, and a better partner in any relationship grounded in mutual respect.

Perhaps the real difficulty lies in a confusion of friendship with unquestioning allegiance. The language of Arewa unity and Hausa-Fulani brotherhood has often been deployed to discourage the Hausa from asking legitimate

questions about their identity and political circumstances. Yet friendship does not require one people to surrender its identity to another. Brotherhood cannot mean that one party must remain silent whenever the interests of the other are at stake. Genuine unity is only possible when the identities and legitimate aspirations of all parties are respected.

The comparison with Rwanda is particularly unfortunate. It seeks to recast a movement for historical awareness and identity consciousness as a precursor to ethnic violence. The Hausa reawakening does not advocate the persecution, expulsion, or humiliation of the Fulani. Its objective is to liberate the Hausa mind from what it considers historical misconceptions, political subordination, and an unhealthy dependence on labels that obscure their distinctiveness. To equate that objective with ethnic extermination is to wilfully misrepresent the movement and to inflame suspicion where none need exist.

Of course, the movement must be judged by its actual objectives and conduct. Its advocates must reject incitement, collective blame, and attacks on innocent people. Equally, its opponents must desist from verbal attacks, propaganda, and deliberate misrepresentation. Disagreement over history and political

arrangements is no justification for hostility between ordinary Hausa and Fulani people.

Indeed, any sincere Fulani who believes in justice and peaceful coexistence has no reason to oppose this movement. He should recognise that the awakening of Hausa identity does not diminish Fulani identity. There is room in Nigeria for both peoples to understand themselves, preserve their respective heritages, and cooperate in pursuit of shared interests. We do not ask the Fulani to become Hausa, just as we do not expect the Hausa to become Fulani. What we ask is mutual respect: respect for our identity, our history, our right to question the past, and our freedom to pursue our legitimate aspirations.

But let us be frank. If some are comfortable with Hausa identity only when it is submerged in the Hausa-Fulani label, if they welcome Hausa loyalty only when it comes without questions, and if they regard Hausa consciousness as a threat simply because it may challenge inherited privilege, then the problem is not the movement. The problem is the expectation that the Hausa must remain unconscious for the comfort of others.

The Hausa reawakening is not a declaration of hostility towards the Fulani. It is an invitation to

a more honest and equitable relationship between two peoples whose futures are intertwined. We seek cooperation, not confrontation; mutual respect, not domination; peaceful coexistence, not ethnic antagonism.

No people should be required to remain asleep to make another people feel secure. If the objectives of the Hausa reawakening are understood in their proper context, there is nothing for the Fulani to fear. The movement asks only that the Hausa be allowed to know themselves, reclaim their historical consciousness, and determine their future without intimidation. Any Fulani who genuinely values justice, dignity, and peaceful coexistence should be able to respect that aspiration.

10. A Message to The Young Men and Women of The Hausa Reawakening Movement

The torch is in your hands; keep its flame alive.

Dear young activists,

I write with pride, hope and admiration. Through you, I wish to reach every young man and woman who has embraced the noble cause of awakening Hausa consciousness in Nigeria.

I am immensely proud of you.

Yours is no ordinary undertaking. You are part of a historic struggle to restore dignity, self-awareness, solidarity and purpose to a people whose contributions to Nigeria are profound and enduring. You carry a torch lit by generations past, and by protecting its flame, you illuminate the path for generations yet unborn.

The road you have chosen will not be smooth. Those who challenge established narratives and awaken a people to their identity must expect resistance. You will be ridiculed, misrepresented and deliberately provoked. Some will question your motives; others will portray your movement

as a threat to religion, peaceful coexistence or national unity.

Do not be discouraged.

Every movement that challenges an established order passes through ridicule, resistance and, eventually, acceptance. Those who laugh at you today may be compelled to take you seriously tomorrow. But do not mistake every criticism for proof of success. Learn to distinguish deliberate misrepresentation from sincere disagreement. Expose the former with facts and composure; welcome the latter.

Above all, be clear about what you are fighting for. This reawakening is not merely about rejecting a name or correcting a historical injustice. It is about recovering our collective memory, affirming our identity, strengthening our solidarity and creating the conditions for a people to determine their future with dignity and confidence.

For too long, Hausa identity has been obscured by labels and political arrangements that do not reflect our distinct historical experience. Our history deserves honest examination, our culture deserves preservation, and our people deserve the freedom to understand themselves without intimidation or imposed definitions. We must distinguish between our religious convictions

and our right to cultural self-awareness. They are not mutually exclusive, and no one should be permitted to use one to extinguish the other.

This brings me to a matter of particular importance: do not allow anyone to drag you into religious controversy and divert you from your purpose.

You will encounter those who call you Maguzawa, ’Yan Bazata, Arnan Arewa and other names intended to provoke you and question your faith. Do not let such tactics dictate your activism. You do not need to abandon the discussion of Hausa identity to prove your religious sincerity, nor must you turn every accusation into a public defence of your faith.

The reawakening must remain open to all who identify as Hausa, regardless of belief or sectarian affiliation — Muslim, Christian and traditionalist; Izala, Sufi and others. Our common denominator is Hausa identity. If we allow religious politics to set our direction, we will reproduce the very divisions we seek to overcome. A house divided against itself cannot build anything enduring. Our unity must rest on shared identity, not religious uniformity.

I therefore urge discipline in your words and conduct. Do not exhaust your energy answering every insult, and do not let provocation turn you

into what your detractors claim you are. There is a difference between firmness and recklessness, between courage and belligerence, between defending a cause and letting anger take control of it.

You do not have to answer every sparrow that chirps at an eagle. But neither should you dismiss every opposing voice as insignificant. Some criticisms will expose weaknesses in your arguments or methods. Have the intellectual courage to listen, reflect and correct yourselves. A movement that cannot examine its own assumptions will become a prisoner of them.

Study your history. Read widely. Verify claims before repeating them. Learn from other peoples and movements. Do not rely solely on social media posts, slogans and emotional pronouncements. Build your arguments on evidence and let knowledge strengthen your convictions. The recovery of Hausa consciousness must be an intellectual undertaking as much as a social and cultural mobilisation.

Remember also that reawakening is not about replacing one form of domination with another. We do not seek to humiliate the Fulani or any other people, nor must we deny their identity to affirm ours. We seek recognition, fairness,

reciprocity and freedom to pursue our legitimate aspirations. We can insist on historical truth without promoting hatred. We can defend our interests without denying the rights of others.

Do not let anyone convince you that asserting Hausa identity is inherently hostile, and do not allow legitimate grievances to become an excuse for collective blame. Hold individuals and institutions accountable for their actions, not entire communities for the conduct of a few. Let your cause be guided by justice, not vengeance.

There will be moments when progress seems slow and resistance heavier than your strength. In such moments, remember the ordinary Hausa men and women whose hopes are tied to this awakening — young people who deserve greater opportunity, families who desire security and dignity, and generations who should inherit a clearer understanding of who they are.

But consciousness is not the destination. It must lead to responsibility and purposeful action. Let your awakening produce scholars, writers, historians, entrepreneurs, professionals and institutions capable of advancing our people. Let it inspire you to preserve our language, document our history, improve our communities and prepare the next generation. A movement

that generates noise but builds nothing will eventually exhaust itself.

Do not imagine that the Hausa reawakening belongs to any one individual, association or faction. It belongs to no self-appointed gatekeeper. Its strength lies in the contributions of countless people who share a common purpose, even when they differ in methods or opinions. Work together where you can, respect one another's independence, and never allow personal ambition to outweigh the cause.

Stand firm, but remain thoughtful. Be courageous, but remain disciplined. Be united, but do not demand uniformity. Be proud of who you are, but never build that pride on contempt for others.

The road ahead may be rough, but do not let its difficulties extinguish your hope. Those who labour for a worthy cause may face delays and disappointments, but their efforts are not wasted when they leave behind greater knowledge, stronger institutions and a more conscious people.

I have lived long enough to appreciate the importance of historical memory and the consequences of allowing others to define a people in their own image. You are not merely participating in a debate on social media. You

are contributing to a conversation about the identity, dignity and future of a people.

The responsibility is considerable, but so is the opportunity.

Do not surrender your identity to intimidation, your unity to religious manipulation, your judgement to anger or your future to fear.

Let the Hausa reawakening be remembered not merely for the questions it dared to ask, but for the knowledge it recovered, the divisions it overcame, the institutions it strengthened and the future it helped to build.

I salute your courage. I believe in the worthiness of your aspiration, and I urge you to persevere.

May you have the wisdom to know what is worth fighting for, the courage to stand by your convictions, the discipline to resist provocation and the foresight to build for generations yet unborn.

The torch is in your hands. Keep its flame alive.

Your victory will not be measured by how many opponents you silence, but by how much knowledge you recover, how much dignity you restore and how much progress your people achieve.

May the Almighty guide us all towards a future of greater understanding, dignity and collective advancement.

Forward, with courage and purpose.

11. A Resource for Learning and Discovery

> *A people who seeks to reclaim their history must first arm themselves with the knowledge to understand it.*

Over the past few years, I have devoted considerable time and effort to curating a collection of books, book chapters, journal articles, theses, dissertations, and audio-visual materials relating to the Hausa people — their land, language, culture, religion, politics, folklore and other aspects of their historical and contemporary experience. This collection is hosted on Telegram under the name The Nigerian Bahaushe Library.

Beyond Hausa-related materials, the library contains resources on Nigeria, Africa and global affairs, with the aim of broadening the intellectual horizons of readers, particularly those living in Hausaland.

Although the collection was initially conceived with the Nigerian Bahaushe in mind, its usefulness extends far beyond this audience. Students, researchers, writers, historians and all those interested in learning about the Hausa people and their place in the wider world will

find materials of considerable value for academic and personal study.

I particularly encourage young Hausa activists to take advantage of this resource. A movement seeking to recover its history and awaken the consciousness of its people must be built on knowledge, not merely emotion; on evidence, not simply assertion. We cannot effectively challenge inherited narratives, correct historical misconceptions or articulate our collective aspirations without first equipping ourselves with the knowledge needed to do so.

The Nigerian Bahaushe Library is one modest contribution towards that effort. I invite you to explore its collection through the link below: https://t.me/thenigerianbahaushe

Please feel free to share the link with friends, colleagues, students and anyone else who may benefit from the collection. The wider these resources circulate, the greater their potential to inform minds, stimulate research and contribute to the recovery of Hausa historical consciousness.

Knowledge acquired must be knowledge shared. And knowledge shared can become the foundation of collective awakening.

Conclusion: A People Cannot Be Kept Asleep Forever

> *Once a people begin to see themselves clearly, it becomes increasingly difficult to persuade them to close their eyes again*

The Hausa reawakening begins with the recognition that the Hausa are entitled to know themselves, preserve their heritage and express their identity without apology. It proceeds through historical awareness, an examination of present circumstances and recognition of legitimate collective interests. But consciousness is not an end in itself. It must be visible in the kind of people we become and the contribution we make to our communities and country.

We want to see a new Hausa in Nigeria: a person actively seeking knowledge, sharing it with others and contributing positively to the growth and development of the country; a person who is useful to himself, his community and his country. We want to see Hausa men and women participating confidently in business, enterprise, innovation and the creation of decent livelihoods, rather than being confined by poverty, dependence or the expectations others impose upon them.

We want to see the Hausa actively participating in leadership at every level. In political leadership, that means contesting for and occupying key offices at local-government, state and federal levels, and helping to shape public policy rather than remaining spectators. In traditional leadership, it means Hausa people having a fair and meaningful opportunity to become Emirs and kingmakers in Kano, Katsina and Zazzau. It also means taking an active part in religious leadership, scholarship and the institutions that guide community life. The aim is not to exclude others, but to end exclusion and ensure that Hausa identity is no barrier to participation.

We want to see an end to zaman-kara-zubanci among the Hausa: the habit of passive acquiescence, unquestioning alignment and accepting arrangements that work against our legitimate interests. We want an end to barace-barace, almajirci and other forms of exploitation carried out in the guise of religion, which have condemned too many Hausa people—especially children—to humiliation, dependency and lost opportunities. Religious faith should inspire knowledge, dignity, service and compassion, not provide a cover for exploitation.

We want to see a new Hausa, conscious of his identity and proud of his heritage, standing

upright among his compatriots and saying no to manipulation, humiliation and exploitation. A Hausa who can cooperate with others without surrendering his judgement; who can disagree without hatred; who demands justice without denying justice to others; and who refuses to be anybody's karen farauta—an instrument to be used for another person's purposes.

We also aspire to a Hausa community that values education and critical thought, honours honest work, protects the vulnerable, encourages the talents of women and young people, supports its writers and scholars, preserves its language and cultural heritage, and builds strong, accountable institutions. We want citizens who take responsibility for their communities, participate intelligently in public affairs, hold leaders to account and contribute to Nigeria's progress without losing sight of their distinct identity and legitimate collective interests.

This vision does not promise that identity consciousness alone will solve every problem, nor does it absolve the Hausa of responsibility for their circumstances. It calls for knowledge, organisation, enterprise, discipline and purposeful action. Meaningful cooperation is best built among people who respect themselves, recognise one another's identities and understand their mutual responsibilities.

We seek neither to dominate nor to be dominated, neither isolation nor assimilation. We seek the freedom and capacity to stand confidently as Hausa, to participate fully in Nigeria's political, economic, traditional and religious life, and to work with other peoples on the basis of mutual respect.

The Hausa reawakening is an invitation to assume that responsibility. It is a call to move from unconsciousness to awareness, from awareness to solidarity, from solidarity to organisation, and from organisation to constructive action.

A people cannot be kept asleep forever. The question is not whether the Hausa will awaken, but whether they will turn that awakening into a lasting force for collective advancement. The task before us is to ensure that this reawakening produces not merely a people who know who they are, but a people who understand what they must do—and possess the will, unity and organisation to do it.

We seek not a Hausa identity that stands against other peoples, but one that stands confidently among them. We seek a people who can speak for themselves, defend their legitimate interests, contribute to the common good and determine

their future without surrendering their identity or dignity.

That is the purpose of the Hausa reawakening.

Selected Writings and Sources

This section presents a list of some of my selected writings on the Hausa reawakening, together with links to the original essays. They are included as further reading for interested readers.

[1] Aliyu A. Ammani, “Reawakening Hausa Consciousness,” The Nation. https://thenationonlineng.net/reawakening-hausa-consciousness/

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[4] Aliyu A. Ammani, “Language, People and Land: A Little More Light on the Hausa Reawakening Movement,” The Oasis Reporters. https://www.theoasisreporters.com/language-people-and-land-a-little-more-light-on-the-hausa-reawakening-movement/

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[6] Aliyu A. Ammani, “Squeezing the Rich 1000-Year History of Zazzau into a Two-Century Window of Fulani Emirate Rule: Harvest the Fruit, Deny the Roots,” The Oasis Reporters. https://www.theoasisreporters.com/squeezing-the-rich-1000-year-history-of-zazzau-into-a-two-century-window-of-fulani-emirate-rule-harvest-the-fruit-deny-the-roots/

[7] Aliyu A. Ammani, “What Has Decades of ‘Arewa Unity’ Produced for the Hausa People? A People Cannot Be Kept Asleep Forever,” The Oasis Reporters. https://www.theoasisreporters.com/what-has-decades-of-arewa-unity-produced-for-the-hausa-people-a-people-cannot-be-kept-asleep-forever/

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for-the-reform-of-succession-laws-of-the-emirates-in-hausaland/

[10] Aliyu A. Ammani, “Resurgence of Interest in Hausa Identity on Social Media: A Perspective,” Daily Trust. https://dailytrust.com/resurgence-of-interest-in-hausa-identity-on-social-media-a-perspective/

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[12] Aliyu A. Ammani, “Walking on a Tightrope,” Blueprint. https://blueprint.ng/walking-on-a-tightrope/

[13] Aliyu A. Ammani, “Re: Sultan’s Address to Senate Committee on Constitution Review,” Daily Trust. https://dailytrust.com/re-sultans-address-to-senate-committee-on-constitution-review/

[14] For historical context discussed in Chapter 14, the following were cited Dahiru Yahaya, “The Cattle, the Horse and the Mosquito: The Role of Environment in Labour and Race Relations in the Sokoto Caliphate,” in The Sokoto Caliphate, Volume One: History and Legacies, 1804–2004,

edited by H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu (Arewa House); and Sir Bryan Sharwood Smith, Recollections of British Administration in the Cameroons and Northern Nigeria 1921–1957: "But Always as Friends" (Duke University Press, 1969), Chapter 13. These are cited as works referred to in Chapter 14.