

THE CALABAR HISTORICAL JOURNAL

Volume 7, No. 2 December, 2017

ISSN: 2315-8816

Published by
Department of History & International Studies
University of Calabar,
Calabar, Nigeria

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Vol. 7, No.2 December, 2017

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26 - FEB 2019
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Published by
*Department of History & International Studies,
University of Calabar
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THEORIES SURROUNDING LEBANESE IMMIGRATION INTO WEST AFRICA IN THE COLONIAL ERA, 1890-1960: A CRITIQUE

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Abstract

This paper discusses critically colonial theories surrounding Lebanese immigration into West Africa as propounded by Marwan Hanna, the Lebanese scholar. Since the arrival of first and second generations of Lebanese immigrants in West Africa questions have been raised among Lebanese and migration scholars as regards the theories surrounding their arrival as well as the first Lebanese presumed to have arrived in West Africa. The objective of this paper is to shed more light on these issues. The methodology adopted for the study is the multidisciplinary approach. This is supported by ethnographic data collected in the villages of Mizyara in Northern part of Lebanon as well as Jwaya in the southern part of Lebanon in 2006 and 2008 respectively. The findings of the study shows that there is no single theory that can adequately explain the Lebanese immigration to West Africa because of the complexity of migration and its process. The study concludes that in order to have a proper understanding of the issue of Lebanese immigration in West Africa it would be appropriate to relate it to theories of migration as propounded by other migration scholars. It is hoped that the paper will contribute to the literature on Lebanese studies in particular and generally on theories of migration.

Key words: Lebanese, Immigration, Immigrants, Theories, Middle men minorities, West Africa.

Introduction

The Lebanese immigrants' presence in West Africa is symptomatic of the mid-to-late 19th century world-wide migratory phenomena that witnessed Lebanese immigration to places such as the United States of America, Mexico, Brazil, Australia, New Zealand etc. Migration scholars have to a large extent continued to debate the various theories surrounding their arrival to the aforementioned places including West Africa.¹ However, following criticism leveled against the Lebanese immigrants for their activities in West Africa during the late nineteen fifties and early sixties, Marwan Hanna a Lebanese scholar was invited by the West African Magazine to defend his countrymen.² The migration of the Lebanese immigrants to West Africa had been provoked by what sociologist Clark Knowlton has stated as 'the effects of faltering rule- banditry, economic decay, poverty and religious and social conflict and propensity of the better armed Druz and Muslim' inhabitants of Mount Lebanon to perpetuate exactions upon their Christian 'neighbors 'in times of religious strife'.³ Also, Charles Issawi, an economic historian of the Middle East stated that 'the continued clashes and upheavals of the 1840s and 1850s provided the stimulus for large scale emigration from Lebanon'.⁴ These factors could certainly be regarded as the 'push' factors of migration while the abundant economic opportunities prevalent in West Africa acted as the 'pull' factors of attraction for the Lebanese emigrants. The 'push' and 'pull' factors of migration analysis reflects to a large extent Todaro's perspective in migration studies.⁵ However, before going into a detailed theoretical discussion of our main issue it will be appropriate to make brief comment on the development of theories in international migration .

Theories have become relevant tool of analysis to the studies of international migration following the revelation of Ernst Ravenstein who in 1885 espoused his central idea on migration through 'The laws of migration'.⁶ Since then, there have been several theories written by scholars who have analysed international

migration from different perspectives.⁷ But Lebanese immigrants within the period of this study and even up till early part of 21st century were mostly discussed through the prism and perspectives of Bonacih and Van den Berghe 'middlemen minority theories'.⁸ For Bonacih, an American Sociologist, his seminal article on early development of middle men minorities titled 'A Theory of Middlemen Minorities' focused on the development and persistence of middleman minorities as minority groups serving an intermediary position between the majority group and other segregated minority groups.⁹ A basic characteristics which is also peculiar to the Lebanese immigrants is the tendency of middlemen minorities to be sojourners-people who intend to return to their country of origin that the Lebanese immigrants do' as when they return to their villages in Lebanon.¹⁰

In support of Bonacih, Pierre Van den Berghe observes that middlemen minorities "are typically found in complex agrarian societies that have a rigid stratification system and that such minorities, more often than not originate in immigration rather than conquest and that they occupy the position of an urban petty bourgeoisie".¹¹ They are mainly involved in rendering mercantile services such as buying of produce, money lending, retail trading in merchandise and so on that are in growing demand because of an expanding market economy. Berghe further observes that such minorities are excluded from playing a significant political role in their host societies and are often-political hostages to the ruling class.¹²

They are socially ostracized by the ruling elite and are frequently scapegoat and accused of being cunning. According to Berghe the acculturation and assimilation process of the middlemen minorities to the host, societies are often slow.¹³ Differences in culture outlook, and above all fear of expulsion appropriation, as well as threat and hostility from other groups make them feel vulnerable to Local Government, and eventually they organize themselves in the protection of an ethnic enclave. Such minorities

have a tendency to keep a low profile and more often than not, prefer to be left alone. According to Berghe, the "middleman minorities" socio-economic organization is often based on kinship and there economic enterprises take the form of family firms, where credits is organized on ethnic and family basis.¹⁴ They exhibit a form of behaviour often associated with the Protestant Ethic-frugality, hard work, austere living saving, and postponement of what gratification and so on.¹⁵ Berghe insists that such groups possess certain organizational and/or account for the technical skill lacking in the masses of the indigenous population, while at the same time they are willing to work for lower economic returns than classes above them.¹⁶

The study of the Lebanese immigrants in West Africa demonstrates that the above characteristics were clearly evident within the West African Society. In many regards, the Lebanese in West Africa exploited the African scene and the colonial environment and made profits there from. In addition, they helped in servicing important sectors of the west African economy, thus contributing, minimally to the improvement of life in many west African urban centers such as Lagos, Accra, Dakar, Abidjan etc.

Still on the 'push' and 'pull' factors of migration, most migration theories during the period of our study have placed emphasis on the 'Push' and 'Pull' factors of migration which is in line with Todaro's perspective.¹⁷ This has made it possible to reduce the theory of emigration to 'Push' and 'Pull' thinking. The long-standing dominance of these concepts reflects the traditional influence of natural science, on economics and social science in general.

A salient feature of these theories is the fact that the occupational mobility theory which states the ease at which labour moves from one place to another for profit and economic interest.¹⁸ Or that labour diffuses to various locations in search of better pay and conditions of service explains the rationale behind the movement of labour from Lebanon to West Africa. The Lebanese having possessed the irresistible urge and instinct, for trading were guided

by occupational mobility theory¹⁹. This also explains the driving force to seek market and economic opportunities anywhere. And because West Africa satisfied many of these conditions it served as a form of attraction and they could therefore not resist the burning mercantile urge to come and settle there. 'Economic occupational theory' thus comes into play when trying to unveil the motivating factor for the migration of the Lebanese immigrants to West Africa

While this brief remarks have provided a bird's eye view of 'middlemen minorities theory' that were used in viewing the Lebanese and other immigrants during colonial post-colonial periods respectively, it should be noted that theories on immigration have gone beyond the 'push' and 'pull' theory of Todaro.²⁰

The issue of the theories will be revisited but consideration is now on the theories propounded by Marwan Hanna as this is what is concerned with in this paper. The first is Marseilles theory. This theory derives its name from the conception and belief of some writers who believed that the Lebanese journey to West Africa began in Marseilles in France, and that most of all the West bound Lebanese immigrants regardless of their hope for destination went to Marseilles to book onward passage.²¹ According to the chief exponent of this school of thought, Marwan Hanna, 'most of the Lebanese who came to West Africa and assembled at Marseilles had no prior knowledge' of Africa.²² They only heard that Africa was a jungle, where danger was always near.²³

But there are available evidences that point to the contrary. This is because the Lebanese progenitors, the Phoenicians had in the centuries before Christ circumnavigated Africa for business purposes through ship²³. This is corroborated by Johnson who said "the historical colonization of African peoples (if we regard the dynastic Egyptians as autochthonous) commences with the exploitation of Phoenicians in Mauretania²⁴. The Phoenicians began the sailing of Africa from the Islets off the Syrian coast, which eventually grew into the peninsulas. From these strong holds, their galleys ranged the

Mediterranean and reached the North African coast the strait of Gibraltar and the open Atlantic Ocean.

He went further to state that by about the twelfth century B.C. the Phoenicians from Sidon had established trading stations out Utica (Atiqua) at the mouth of the Majerda River in North East Tunisia and at Lixus on the coast of Morocco (perhaps mouth of River Area, opposite to the Canary Islands. But their metropolis in North Africa did not come into existence until about 822 B.C.²⁵. In later years when the Phoenician sailors were also hired by one of the Egyptian Pharaohs, Niku (Necho) II who summoned a captain of the Phoenicians and dispatched him in command of an expedition of two or three vessels with the order to attempt to sail round the peninsular continent of Africa with the provision of information on the navigability of Africa from the land of the Negroes on the east to the land of black men in the West by 'some Carthaginians who moved Southwards along the Morocco and Sahara coast²⁶.

Consequent upon this available information, the Phoenicians had circumnavigated Africa and re-entered the Mediterranean strait of Gibraltar, which separate Morocco from Spain²⁷. They also circumnavigated Africa from the east coast round to the West coast and then North and later in the reverse direction. Furthermore, their influence was more felt in North Africa where the Phoenicians introduced Syrian ideas of religion especially the worship of Baal-hamman (the Lord Ammon) or milk (Molech the King)²⁸. Probably, they introduced Syrian beads of horses, cattle pigs into North Africa. Equally, their language left much impression on North Africa where it became accepted as the means of communication among the civilized tribes between Tripoli and Western Morocco.

It can thus be said that the Phoenicians who had circumnavigated Africa before Christians left their impact in North Africa and provided information about Africa, which might have been passed to subsequent generations of Phoenicians. As a result of this development, contact between Africa, Europe and other parts of the world increased gradually as from the fifteenth-century and

gathered momentum in the nineteenth century during the era of European imperialism in Africa.²⁹ In fact, from the time of the Phoenicians, there had been a close connection between colonial enterprise and urban development. The process was well illustrated in the nineteenth century. In the Sudan, the Turco-Egyptians transformed that area from a small fishing village into the commercial and administrative centre of a vast area.³⁰ Zanzibar underwent a similar development as a result of Omani enterprise.³¹

In Senegal, the French founded the new town of Dakar, in Algeria they created a number of new urban centers, among them Orleans Ville, which began as an army camp, and Philippe Ville, a new port built on a deserted Roman site³². Thus, since contact had been maintained with Africa right from the time of Phoenician, it is possible that during the 19th century when European imperialism was at its peak, some French traders who have been raiding in West Africa could have provided information about Africa to Lebanese traders that assembled at Marseilles.³³ There was therefore more information about Africa in the nineteenth century than in the previous centuries. A cursory look at this Marseilles theory reveals that the assertion by Marwan that the Lebanese that assembled at Marseilles for departure to West Africa had not heard about Africa before was false. In fact they must have heard about Africa earlier especially about the receptivity of the society to strangers.³³

A second theory related to their migration to West Africa has to do with that of limited choices³⁴. This is related to the fact that most of the Lebanese emigrants had limited choices apart from Africa. Implicit here is the fact that the early immigrants to West Africa diverted their journey to West Africa because of the strict health regulations of U.S., which made it difficult for them to enter the U.S.³⁵

Indeed, the number of those who were debarred from U.S. for failing to satisfy the health regulations mainly because of trachoma was considerable. Thus, those that were debarred had either to return to

Lebanon or go to some other country with less stringent regulations.³⁶

Their choice was also affected by their financial position. Almost all these emigrants were members of large, poor families. While raising money for this voyage they had to exhaust all the family's savings and sold personal belongings or borrowed money. All the family sacrificed in the hope that the one member emigrating would be able to collect a fortune and send remittances to allow them live on easier better life. An emigrant contemplating return from Marseilles had to think of all these facts and the disillusionment and disappointment he would cause to all family.³⁷ Therefore, they found West Africa a convenient place to emigrate than the USA³⁸.

The third factor was that some emigrants could not get passage to the United States early and had to spend weeks and months in Marseilles, drawing on their meager resources. When an emigrant family succeeded in getting a passage, he might not have enough money to pay for the trip to America. That problem was further compounded by the refusal of shipping agents who failed to lend them money as their traveling fares. Moreover, it was only in Marseilles that the emigrants first realized how costly it was to travel to America and travel agents there were foreigners mostly French, Italian or Greek³⁹.

Faced with this situation, the hard pressed emigrant found West Africa the best way out. This was because fares were cheap and emigrants did not have to acquire travel documents or to pass any physical test. The only difficulty and fear was the erroneous conception about Africa being the 'White man's grave' but it was easier to face these difficulties than stay with their hungry families and disgrace in their country⁴⁰.

It should be noted that since no strict registration of immigrants was enforced in West African colonies during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it is very difficult to name the year when the first colony received them. One theory is that in 1892, four or five Lebanese men between the ages of twenty and twenty two

arrived on the coast of Senegal and settled somewhere between St. Louis and Conakry. They were wearing 'oriental dress', and had small quantities of coral and similar goods, which they peddled in public squares.⁴¹ Expectedly, it is more logical to assume that emigrants who were traveling in French parts of which the most important were Dakar, St. Louis and Conakry. But, in 1890, a Lebanese emigrant called Elias el Khouri, originally from a village in the northern part of Lebanon arrived in Nigeria coming from Sierra Leone⁴².

This indicates that immigration to Sierra Leone must have taken place sometime in the late 1880s but Elias el-Khouri does not seem to have said anything about other Lebanese in Sierra Leone. Old emigrants in French Guinea told this story to his countrymen who did not believe him and found it profitable in Guinea. From all this account, it would seem that Sierra Leone was the first country to receive the Lebanese emigrants even if it is unlikely that emigrants in French ships would pass French ports and arrive at Sierra Leone. Even if they wanted to do this they would have had to change ship and wait in French West Africa⁴³.

It has also been suggested that the first Lebanese in West Africa might have come from Manchester, where a large Lebanese merchant's community had been established since 1870. It was thought that Lebanese firms in Manchester might have sent representatives to West Africa to buy produce and ship it to Manchester⁴⁴.

Though the Lebanese merchants in Manchester ruled out this theory. Up to 1972, Lebanese Merchants in Manchester had not heard of any of their member doing business in West Africa, their main activity being confined to the Middle East, while a few exported to South America and West Indies. In 1972, a Lebanese merchant in Manchester, Mr. Fadlow Haorani, later Honorary consul for the Lebanon in Manchester got in touch accidentally with a Lebanese trader from Lagos, and started doing business with him and other traders in British West Africa⁴⁵.

If, however, this Lebanese Manchester West Africa theory is dismissed, there remains three explanations of how the Lebanese could have arrived in Anglophone West Africa before French West Africa. First, some emigrants might have found a British ship in Marseilles or a ship of neutrality for the British West Africa and boarded it. The second possibility is that emigrants aboard French ships chose to move southwards by land or sea after calling in the main French ports or deciding not to stay. It is however difficult to explain why they chose, British West Africa – unless it is accepted as a few early immigrants told Hanna that they chose British West Africa because they had a much higher opinion of British justice and administration than of French; and in Africa they thought peace and order were essentials for safety.⁴⁶ Finally, a third possibility is that the early Lebanese emigrants did come to French West Africa first, but the French researchers were unable to trace them before 1892 while those in British West Africa were traced more easily back to the late 1880s.⁴⁷

Be that as it may, It is certainly obvious that a lot of research will still need to be done at the archives in Paris, London and West African countries to be able to unravel the contentious issues surrounding the theories of Lebanese immigrants to West Africa. A linkage to modern migration theories such as New labour migration coupled with its network will certainly assist in elucidating further on the connectivity between the old and new migrants as regards the process of disseminating information on the suitability of West Africa with its abundant economic opportunities to the early immigrants who passed the information to other prospective emigrants.⁴⁸

However, one visible fact that still remains evident till date is that since their first arrival in West Africa, they have remained widespread throughout the region and are even called the 'Jaliya', the 'Jews' of West Africa because of their business acumen.

The Tables and figures indicating their wide spread in West Africa is provided below.

First in the figures cited in 1931 by Marwan Hanna.

Year	Ghana	Nigeria	Sierra Leone
1901	-	-	41
1911	46	90	266
1921	234	143	536
1931	1,140	419	166
1948	1,370	-	1,116
1951-52	-	1,895	1,204
1957	-	-	2,612

Source: Marwan Hanna, 'The Lebanese in West Africa', (3) May 3rd, 1958, pp. 417.⁴⁹

Again from Desbordes Jean Gabriel, we have the following figures in Table 3: Estimated Lebanese and Syrian Population in the territories of AOF 1897-1936

Dakar	Senegal	Guinea	Soudan	Cote d'Ivoire	Dahomey	Niger	Mauritania
1897	10 (incl.Dakar)	18					
1898			150				
1900	99 (incl.Dakar)	163	14				
1904	101 (incl.Dakar)	260					
1907			477	8		1	
1908	281 (incl.Dakar)	554	16	3	10	1	2
1909	173	211	697	16	4	8	
1923	578	651	684	165	156	18	
1929	2,088	925	183				
1930	1,389	1,599	909	402	243	35	1
1931	1,130	2,002	1,011	315	148	45	2
1932	1,400	1,938	1,184	303	174	49	1
1933	1,836	2,064	250	18			
1935	1,272	2,714	417				
1936	1,269	2,560	1,367	305	254	33	4

Source: Desbordes, Jean-Gabriel, *L'Immigration Libano-Syrienne en Afrique Occidentale Francaise*, Poitiers: Renault & Cie, 1938, pp. 17-18.

Also from Lebanon Foreign Ministry, the following figures below shows that the Lebanese immigrants are well spread in Africa⁵⁰

South Africa	60,020
Egypt	33,008
Senegal	10,000
Nigeria	6,000
Guinea	3,008
Sierra Leone	2,900
Liberia	2,697
Ghana	2,200
Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire)	1,854
Sudan (Mali)	1,600
Portuguese Guinea	1,050
Gambia	650
Dahomey	95
North Africa	350
Total	125,65

Source: Lebanon, Foreign Ministry, 1962 but cited in D. M. Misra, 'The Lebanese in Nigeria, 1890-1960', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Calabar, 1985.⁵⁰

Conclusion

This paper has taken a critique of the Lebanese immigration theories as propounded by Marwan Hanna. It began by highlighting some relevant issues in the development of migration theories and their relevance as well as the highlights of Middlemen minorities' theory that was mostly used in analyzing Lebanese immigrants during the colonial and postcolonial periods respectively. We have discovered that no single theory can adequately explain the Lebanese immigration theories. But a linkage of the theories and explanation provided by the early immigrants to current theories of international migration will obviously assist us in providing a better understanding

of the theories surrounding the Lebanese immigration to West Africa.

Endnotes

¹See for instance the following studies, R. Baylay Winder, 'The Lebanese in West Africa'. Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol.4, No. 3 (April, 1962), pp. 296-333, Marwan I. H. Hanna, "Lebanese emigrants in West Africa", Ph.D. Dissertation, St. Anthony's College, Oxford University, 1959, 23-45, Sabo Albasu, 'The Lebanese in Kano: An Immigrant Community in Hausa Muslim Society in the colonial and post-colonial periods', Published Doctoral Thesis, Bayero University, Kano, 1989, pp. 23-54; P. F. Adebayo, Lebanese in Nigeria: The Lebanese and the Economy of Lagos, 1890-1980, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Ilorin, 2005, Toyin Falola, 'The Lebanese Traders in South-western Nigeria, 1900-1960' in Journal of African Affairs, Vol. 89, No. 357, October 1990, pp. 523-553.

²Marwan Hanna in defense of his countrymen wrote series of articles that appeared in West African Magazine of April 19, 1958, titled 'The Lebanese in West Africa, and 26 April, and May covering Historical Background, (2) How and When They Came (3) Number, Distribution and Activity. For details see M.I. Hanna, "The Lebanese in West Africa' West Africa, No. 2142, May 3, 2017, and 24 1958, pp. 369, 393, 415, 417, and 487. This paper was inspired by the arguments put up by Marwan Hanna. Also, Aluko, S.A. reacted to Hanna's reply. For details see, Aluko, S. A., "The Lebanese in West Africa' (Letter to the Editor the Editor), West Africa, 14th June 1958, p. 64.

³Andrew Arsan, Interlopers of Empire: The Lebanese Diaspora in Colonial French West Africa, Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 25-27.

⁴Arsan, Interlopers of Empire---

⁵For details on Todaro's Perspective on Migration, see for instance.

⁶See Ravenstein, E. G. 'The Laws of Migration', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, No. 48, 1885.

⁷See amongst others Cohen, R., Introduction, in Cohen, R. (ed.) 'Theories of Migration', Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, xi-xvii, 1996, Arango, J. Theories of International Migration. In D. Joly (ed.), *International Migration and the New Millennium*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 15-36, 2004.

⁸For details see Edna Bonacich, 'A Theory of Middlemen Minorities', *American Sociological Review*, vol.38, October: 583-594, 1973, Pierre Van Der Berghe, 'Asian Before and After Independence' *Kroniek Van Africa*, pp. 97-204, 1975/3.

⁹Bonacich, "A Theory of Middlemen Minorities" ---

¹⁰Many Lebanese-Nigerians return to their villages in Lebanon. I interviewed some of them at Mizyara in the northern part of Lebanon and Jwaya in the southern part of Lebanon as stated earlier in 2006 and 2008.

¹¹Berghe, 'Asian Before and After Independence'.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷For details see, Harris, John R & Todaro, Michael P., "Migration, Unemployment and Development: A Two sector Analysis", *American Economic Review*, pp. 120-142, 1970, 60(1) (Justor, 1878).

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰See for instance G. S. Kainth, "Push and Pull factors of International Migration: A case of Brick Kiln Industry of Punjab state", *Asia -Pacific Journal of Social Sciences*, 182-116, Dorigo G. and Tobler W. 1983, "Push-Pull Migration Laws", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 73(1) pp. 1-11.

²¹M. I. Hanna, "Lebanese emigrants in West Africa".

²²Ibid.

²³A. Johnson Henry, *A History of the Colonization of Africa*, (New York: Allen Races), 1996, pp. 33-57.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸For details on European Imperialism in Africa see among others, Frederick Cooper, "Africa and the World Economy", *American Historical Review*, 24, 2/3 (1981), pp. 1-86; Robinson & J. Gall, *The Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperial Britain*, (London: Macmillan), 1965.

²⁹For details on Turco-Egyptian Administration see – P. M. Holt, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan: A Study of its Origins, Development, and Its Overthrow*, (Oxford University Press, 1970); P. M. Holt, and M. W. Daly, *A History of the Sudan, from the Coming of Islam to the Present Day*, (London 1989), Ibrahim, Hassan Ahmed, 'The Sudan in the Nineteenth Century', in J. F. Ade Ajayi (ed.), *General History of Africa*, VI, (London, 1989), 356-75.

³⁰On the Omani Enterprise see J. Mangat, *A History of Asians in East Africa* (London: O. U. P., 1969), pp. 24-45.

³¹Philip Curtin, D., *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade*, (Madison WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975).

³²African receptivity to strangers was well mentioned by the hospitality of Lagosians to the Lebanese immigrants during their early arrival to Lagos. For details see P. D. Cole, "Lagos Society in the nineteenth century" in A. B. Aderibibge (ed.) *Lagos: The*

Development of an African City (London: Longman, 1975), 'The Lebanese – Nigerians also mentioned this hospitality aspect to me during a business lunch.

³³M. I. Hanna, 'The Lebanese in West Africa', *West Africa*, No. 2142, May 3, 1958, p. 418.

³⁴Oral interview, Victor Rosek, Mizyara, Lebanon, 2008. He corroborated this assertion

³⁵M. I. Hanna, 'The Lebanese in West Africa', p. 415.

³⁶Ibid. See also Engin Akarli, "Ottoman Attitudes Towards Lebanese Emigration, 1885-1910" in Hourani, Albert and Nadim Shehadi, eds., *The Lebanese in the World : A Hundred Years of Emigration* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1992), pp. 109-38.

³⁷Interview. Hasib Moukarin, Ras Matn, 2008. He corroborated this statement. According to him, many other emigrants first arrived in one first West African country before finally settling in any of the countries. For instance, Chief Hasib Moukarim stated that his father first went to Republic of Benin, then known as Dahomey before moving to Majia, a village in Kano.

³⁸M. I. Hanna, 'The Lebanese in West Africa', p. 415.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Interview Victor Rosek, Mizyara, 2008. Albasu Sabo has also argued in this manner. For details see Albasu, 'The Lebanese Immigrants 'The Lebanese in Kano: An Immigrant Community in Hausa Muslim Society in the colonial and post-colonial periods', unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Bayero University, Kano, 1989. pp4570.

⁴²M. I. Hanna, 'The Lebanese in West Africa', p. 415.

⁴³Hanna carried out an investigation on this issue. For details see 'The Lebanese in West Africa', *West Africa*, No. 2142, May 3, 1958, p. 418.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷For details on the New Labour Migration Theory see Faist Thomas 2000 *The Volumes and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), and Adrian Favell, 2008a. "Rebooting Migration Theory, Interdisciplinarity, Globality and Postdisciplinarity in Migration Studies." In: C.B. Brettell and J.F. Hollifield (Eds.), *Migration Theory. Talking Across Disciplines*, Second Edition. (Routledge, 2008), pp. 259-278.

⁴⁸Marwan Hanna, 'The Lebanese in West Africa', (3) May 3rd, 1958, pp. 417.

⁴⁹Lebanon, Foreign Ministry, 1962 but cited in D. M. Misra, 'The Lebanese in Nigeria, 1890-1960', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Calabar, 1985.

