

MALLAM DENDO

The Role of Traditional Rulers in Conflict Prevention and Mediation in Nigeria



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Prepared for DFID, Nigeria

Thursday, 09 November 2006

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ACRONYMS

ADO	Assistant District Officer
CAN	Christian Association of Nigeria
CCCN	Council of Christian Churches of Nigeria
COCIN	Church of Christ In Nigeria
CUN	Council of Ulama of Nigeria
DFID	Department for International Development [United Kingdom]
DO	District Officer
FGN	Federal Government of Nigeria
GoN	Government of Nigeria
GPC	General Purpose Committee (of JNI)
HRH	His Royal Highness (always His!)
HRM	His Royal Majesty
IG	Inspector General of Police
JEWEL	Jigawa Wetland Livelihood Project
JIWNAJ	Jigawa Women's Network for Access to Justice
JNI	Jama'atul Nasril Islam
LG(C)	Local Government (Council)
LGA	Local Government Area
MACBAN	Miyetti-Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria
NA	Native Authority
NEPU	Northern Elements Progressive Union
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPC	Nigerian People's Congress
NSCIA	Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs
PFN	Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria
PRP	Peoples' Redemption Party
SG	State Government
SSS	State Security Services
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WB	The World Bank

PREAMBLE

The Role of Traditional Rulers in Conflict Prevention and Mediation

Objective

The objective of this study is to document the current and historical role of traditional rulers in the prevention and mediation of conflict in northern Nigeria, with a focus on North-Central Nigeria. The study will inform ongoing national discussions on the role of traditional rulers, and DFID and other development partner programmes dealing with conflict, livelihoods and governance. The study is also intended to feed directly into current policy debates about the nature of authority in Islam.

Scope of Work

Nigeria has traditionally had a large number of traditional authorities and rulers who have played an important role in community coherence and traditional justice systems, especially in the North and Middle Belt of the country. During the colonial era, the positions of existing authorities were recognised, and new chiefs were created to harmonise the system. Although this system has persisted until the present day, the rise of alternative poles of power, in particular the local and state governments, has tended to undermine the powers of such individuals or councils.

It has been observed that in parts of Nigeria, because traditional rulers' long establishment and the respect in which they are held makes them more effective in conflict resolution than 'official' mechanisms. They are also able to take pre-emptive action through their familiarity with the different sections of the community, where the government has been observed to be reactive. Some traditional rulers work extremely hard with little official recognition of their efforts.

Not all rulers have equal respect or equal authority. In much of the south (with a few important exceptions), their posts are little more than ceremonial. The Hausa Emirates in the north retain significant authority and influence, but the role of traditional leaders in that region is relatively well documented and understood.

This study will therefore focus mainly on the Northern and Central Zones (the North and the Middle Belt), where there have been significant violent conflicts in recent years. The northern region is generally much better documented than the Middle Belt, but nonetheless, the researchers believe there are new developments which affect our previous understanding of the role of traditional rulers.

The 1999 constitution does not define the role of traditional rulers. This is now seen in some quarters as a policy failure, and the President had invited some of them to a national conference to look into the part they should play in a revised Constitution. The Government Panel established in Plateau State in 2004 to make recommendations following the State of Emergency consisted of 'Elders' representing each ethnic group. This choice of traditionally respected individuals is an example of recognition of the impotence of government officials in these situations and the corresponding importance of respected individuals. Greater information on this topic should thus feed directly into high-level policy debates within Nigeria and also illuminate the nature of Islamic authority systems across the wider region. The Constitution review exercise has been stalled but the debate is far from being over.

Method

The methods employed in this study are based on those outlined in the Terms of Reference:

“The study should;

1. Conduct a literature review on the origins, distribution and current legal and political status of traditional rulers in North-Central Nigeria;
2. Review the origin and evolution of the power of traditional rulers, both within a framework of Islamic law and the Nigerian legal system;
3. Design and carry out a survey of traditional rulers in areas where their power is still functional but largely undocumented. For the reasons given above, the main focus of the work will be the North Central zone of the country. The survey should interview a wide range of stakeholders, including the rulers themselves, palace officials, local politicians, security officials, and subjects of the rulers. The survey should concentrate on the following questions:
 - Where are the traditional rulers who still have recognised authority? What is the basis of that authority, and how do they exercise it? Are there case studies, with a particular focus on their role in prevention or mediation of conflict?
 - How do the affected populations rate their exercise of that power?
 - How do those rulers acquire and maintain their power?
 - How are they funded?
 - What are the constraints on that power?
 - What advice can be given to government concerning the constitutional position of traditional rulers, to enhance their role in conflict mediation and prevention?
 - Should donors be involved in assisting such rulers, or other engagement with them, and if so in what way?”

Materials for literature review have been drawn from libraries and archives in Nigeria and the UK, academic and other resources available on the Internet, and local publications purchased and borrowed in the course of the study. Survey work in Nigeria has been conducted by two Nigerian researchers, with training and other technical inputs provided by U.K.-based researchers. The survey is based on a sample of emirates and chiefdoms in all of the states in the study area. We have sampled as many of the large and nationally important emirates and chiefdoms as possible together with a selection of the smaller ones. Within each of these traditional units semi-structured interviews have been conducted with office holders and other key informants at different levels of the hierarchy, from the emir or paramount chief down to village and ward heads and including ordinary men and women. Certain topics - e.g. the role of radical or reformist Islamist organisations - have also been singled out for special attention.

Two pilot case studies were undertaken at the beginning of the fieldwork in Nigeria and detailed training notes and guidance prepared on this basis. These are available in a separate report, *The Role of Traditional Rulers in Conflict Prevention and Mediation in Nigeria: Notes on Research Methodology* (November 2005), accompanied by PowerPoint presentations on photographic and other techniques (included on the CD-ROM *Resources for Understanding Conflict in Nigeria: Studies conducted 2003-06*, produced for DFID by Mallam Dendo Ltd. in March 2006).

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. The objective of this study is to document the current and historical role of traditional rulers in the prevention and mediation of conflict in northern Nigeria, with a focus on North-Central Nigeria. The study will inform ongoing national discussions on the role of traditional rulers, and DFID and other development partner programmes dealing with conflict, livelihoods and governance. The study is also intended to feed directly into current policy debates about the nature of authority in Islam.

2. A current review the status and role of traditional rulers and their role of peacemaking and conflict resolution is long overdue. Most of the well-regarded monographs on chieftaincy institutions in Nigeria date from the 1960s while more recent literature has an immediate political agenda and can only be used with considerable care. Recent concerns about the role of Islam in worldwide political instability need to be considered for their relevance to Nigeria. Traditional rulers have traditionally had an important role in conflict resolution, but should this be replaced by institutions more in keeping with a modernising state? Do unelected authorities still have a role to play in the twenty-first century?

3. The report is based on a series of interviews both with traditional rulers and local officials around Northern Nigeria during 2005-6. This resulted in a large number of case studies of individual conflicts and the role of traditional rulers in their resolution or lack of it. The case studies show that the current situation of traditional rulers is very ambiguous. While they command considerable traditional allegiance in certain areas, their non-elected status makes them a target for local politicians and other critics. Some are impressively hard working in the promotion of their region and the representation of the interests of the people they serve, others are corrupt and have been summarily ejected for factional behaviour or financial misdemeanours. During political periods some have been dismissed simply for supporting the wrong party, which contributes to the insecurity of their position. Government is content to make use of their services in peace-making and reconciliation, but is unwilling to give them the political and administrative support required to make chieftaincy institutions function adequately.

4. A particular trend from the 1990s onwards has been the widespread upgrading and creation of chieftaincies either to reinforce ethnic agendas or to reward wealthy political donors. As a result, the position of these 'new' chiefs is regarded with scepticism by the general population and they do not command the allegiance essential to effective functioning. The sheer numbers of recently created chiefs inevitably contributes to the dilution of the authority of traditional chiefs as well as reducing the extent of their domains.

5. Another issue is the role of Islam in supporting the authority of traditional rulers and its significance for conflict resolution. While it is certainly true that Islamic theology is used in the promulgation of chiefly status in the northern Emirates, in reality, rulers stand or fall by their behaviour. Unpopular rulers will be forced out, regardless of their religious affiliation. In terms of conflict, although Christian/Muslim conflicts tend to attract more media coverage and are probably the focus of external interest, internal conflict between Muslim factions is almost equally prevalent. However, a recent trend, certainly exacerbated by access to international media, but also probably a consequence of action by groups outside Nigeria to influence the agenda, is the development of radical groups that reject all external authority, as the 'Taliban' episode in Yobe State in 2004 clearly showed. Combined with the unchecked flow of arms into the country, this could be the beginning of a worrying future trend.

6. Traditional rulers have proven much less effective in dealing with confrontations within Islam. A characteristic asymmetry of the situation in Nigeria, is that intra-Islamic strife is common, whereas violence between Christian groups is rare. When a conflict arises is between Christians and Muslims, the perceived identity of the players is more obvious, the strategies more informed by precedent. Muslim sects are harder to characterise and attempts to rein them in made problematic by the ever-present accusation of heterodoxy.

7. The tenor of numerous interviews as well as the pronouncements of politicians is that traditional rulers enjoy continuing and indeed increased support in many regions of the North. In an ideal world, as Nigeria moved towards a representative democracy, the authority of such rulers would wither away and their role

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become essentially ceremonial. However, in the real world, many ordinary citizens perceive justice to be remote. Traditional rulers are often much more responsive to the travails of individuals and have a much stronger investment in the broader harmony of the community. By contrast, politicians usually represent narrow factional interests and may well leave as soon as they have looted whatever funds are available.

8. As of 2006, the Nigerian constitution has no provision for traditional rulers and legally they continue under the dispensation of the 1979 constitution, which is an unrealistic representation of their actual role. In actuality, policy is made on an *ad hoc*, state-by-state basis and evolves rapidly. Government should consider;

- ❖ Creating a clear and constitutionally specified role for traditional rulers with transparent mechanisms for either making or approving choices and for demoting or dismissing those who fail in their tasks;
- ❖ Specifying remuneration for traditional rulers and the sources of that remuneration;
- ❖ Reducing the creation of 'new' traditional rulers and halting the upgrading process;
- ❖ Specifying more clearly the role traditional rulers would be expected to play in conflict resolution.

9. Remuneration needs to move on from fixed percentage systems, which make no distinction between effective and ineffective incumbents, to allocations by responsibility and results. This would intentionally discriminate against new traditional rulers who are political creations and they would only be able to generate income through action with proven outcomes.

10. The process of creation and upgrading of traditional rulers should be in the hands of the Federal Government. While it remains with the States, it will be in the service of highly ephemeral interests and will simply lead to a multiplicity of overlapping interests without any benefit to the communities in question. This is not to say that communities should not have the right to establish whatever ceremonial posts they consider appropriate, but these should not be integrated with the authority system.

11. Although traditional rulers are often made use of in conflict resolution processes this is entirely *ad hoc* and informal as well as reactive. At least some traditional rulers are well aware of underlying problems that can result in trouble and if state and local governments were more able to make use of their knowledge as well as investing in their presence earlier, such meetings could be more effective.

12. For international donors concerned about the situation in Nigeria and willing to provide assistance, for example, to conflict resolution, traditional rulers present something of a problem. They can clearly be effective, and yet they are unelected and sometimes side with factional interests. Moreover, some of their actions clearly take place outside any usual framework of human rights, no matter how much they have local support.

13. Many of the examples of traditional leaders and conflict resolution given here suggest reactive strategies. Once a violent confrontation has occurred, officials contact whoever they consider has the gravitas to call and preside over peace talks. But it would be a more effective investment to support institutions and actions that are both predictive and pre-emptive (§11.1). There appears to be an astonishing lack of political will to resolve even rather obvious problems such as the Sayawa desire for their own District Head (Case Study 4) even though it should be clear that this one will continue to generate friction. It is principally District Heads, Village Heads and occasionally lower level chiefs who are most active in developing regular meetings and discussions to try and defuse potential areas of friction between communities and who are therefore most worthwhile considering for support.

14. Another conclusion of this study is that it is only worth supporting rulers at a certain level. Emirs and other First Class Chiefs are too entangled in the web of local politics and too beholden to the Federal and State Governments to pay any pro-active role in conflict reduction. They often sit on peace committees, but they are unlikely ever to take any position that will threaten their own status.

15. To this end, donors could consider;

- ❖ Developing a ‘good rulers guide’, an examination of the traditional rulers’ institutions that are functioning effectively;
- ❖ Assist in developing government policy both to provide traditional rulers with more political support while maintaining the capacity to get rid of wayward individuals;
- ❖ Providing funds for conflict resolution out of a pool, so that they can be available flexibly and rapidly where conflict breaks out;
- ❖ Work with traditional rulers to develop an ‘early warning’ system, to identify potential sources of conflict.

16. These recommendations could be summarised in another way as providing more informed appreciation of the situation on the ground in respect of traditional rulers and supporting those both politically and financially who appear to be making a difference.

17. How could this work in practice? A key element is to try and provide selective financial support. As the report shows, the existing subventions to traditional rulers are of limited value in terms of the demands on them. As a consequence, a great deal of their attention is focused on raising money from a variety of sources, not all conventional. Relatively small amounts of funding could support activities such as peace-making committees, familiarisation visits, printing of documents relative to agreements reached and the like. It is proposed that a fund be created which traditional rulers could apply to for small sums to facilitate their work.

18. The image presented in the literature of Nigerian traditional rulers is either significantly out-of-date, reflecting the immediate post-Independence era, when the NA system still persisted, or else it is coloured by recent hagiography. Traditional rulers still have an important role to play in the governance of Nigeria but their position is blurred by a lack of a constitutional frame for their activities and inconsistent financial support.

1. Introduction: background to the study

1.1 Background

Nigeria is a large and populous West African nation with a complex history of pre-colonial polities, a colonial era characterised by multiple administrative strategies and a post-independence history of alternating military and civilian rule. Since the 1970s, much of the particular colour of events has been shaded by the impact of oil revenues, exported principally from the Niger Delta and offshore rigs. Since 1999, Nigerian has been under democratic rule, with an elected President, House of Assembly, Senate and a Federal system characterised by States and Local Governments. This is specified in a constitution dating from 1999, which was to have been revised in 2005-6, but presently stands unaltered. Despite this, a significant parallel system exists of 'traditional rulers', unelected individuals whose roots sometimes stretch back to the authority systems of the pre-colonial era. Many, however, do not, but are relatively recent creations. Even those with older roots, such as the Shehus of Borno and the larger Northern Emirates, have found the nature of their authority significantly reconstructed in recent times. Despite predictions in the 1960s that this type of traditional ruler would disappear, they have persisted and flourished in Nigeria. Hypotheses abound to explain this, but clearly the problematic issue of trust in officially constituted authority in Nigeria play a part.

A recent review of the situation in other countries of West Africa (Perrot & Fauvelle-Aymar 2003) has found that there has also been a resurgence in the prestige of chiefs in neighbouring countries as well. The authors observe;

Au lendemain des Indépendances le destin des Rois africains paraissait scellé: souvent accusés d'avoir servi les colonisateurs, dans tous les cas considérés comme une force rétrograde, ils semblaient avoir perdu toute raison d'être dans le cadre des nouveaux États. 40 ans après les autorités traditionnelles ont presque partout survécu et de plus en plus souvent sont intronisés des fonctionnaires, des universitaires, des membres de l'élite lettrée qui autrefois les combattait.¹

This multiplication of 'traditional' authorities which continues to flourish is in sharp contrast to other regions of Africa, where such systems have tended to wither away, especially when not rooted in the long-term social structures of the peoples over whom they were set to rule. From the point of view of the colonial authorities, supporting traditional governance was a convenient and cheap method of both maintaining order and collecting tax with limited resources. Nonetheless, it remained very clear where the ultimate power lay; leaders who demonstrated any significant independence of mind were rapidly hustled into exile and replaced with more pliant substitutes (§8.2). At the same time, the colonial authorities were anxious to create an orderly system, where they perceived chaos. One aspect of this was a grading system, where all chiefs were assigned grades from I-IV, with the most senior emirs being First Class Chiefs. At the other end of the scale, even where the position of 'chief' in the society was nebulous in the extreme, the need to collect taxes at the local level implied the creation of chiefs.

In other countries, national governments were unwilling to share power with bodies whose exact remit was unspecified, whose administrative boundaries were debated but who could mobilise ethnic populations rapidly in time of crises. Moreover, many African countries were in the first instance led by individuals trained in Britain in the 1940s and 1950s and had often absorbed quasi-socialist ideas before being thrust into authority. For them, chiefs were as much a relic of a former era as the British monarchy. There were thus also ideological reasons for attempting to eliminate traditional rulers. Tanzania, for example, passed a law eliminating the authority of traditional leaders in 1963² (Miller 1968). Between 1957 and 1965, the

¹ "Just before the period of Independence, the destiny of African leaders appeared to be sealed; often accused of simply serving the colonisers, and under all circumstances considered a backward-looking force. It seemed that there was no longer a case for their existence in the new states. Forty years later, traditional authorities have generally survived and often it is the same government officials, university members and the literate elite who previously criticised them who are now being enthroned."

² African Chiefs Ordinance (Repeal) Act of 1963

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Convention People's Party in Ghana eliminated almost all the residual authority of chiefs that had been maintained in the post-colonial constitution (Brempong 2001).

By contrast, in Nigeria, the institution of traditional leadership has developed and flourished. There are many more 'traditional' rulers today than at Independence in 1960. Politicians try to win votes by promising to upgrade chieftaincies or create new ones. Pressure from communities to create or upgrade chiefships goes hand in hand with the desire for local governments and sometimes ethnic agendas, especially in the Middle Belt. Clearly, such rulers continue to strike a chord in the twenty-first century, when power is diffuse and chaotic. Why this should be and why Nigeria should be so different from neighbouring states is in part the subject of this study.

There is no doubt that the size and population of Nigeria at the beginning of the colonial era and the specific military circumstances of its conquest influenced the evolution of chiefship (Ikime 1977). The size and power of the Emirates and the multiplicity of diverse ethnic groups meant that it would be extremely difficult to rule by force alone. Local rulers had to be co-opted to act for the British authorities, hence the use of 'indirect rule', the governance of a region through existing institutions (Orr 1911). This had the advantage of being relatively cheap, making use of only a small number of officers, compared with true military overlords. The disadvantage, as Temple (1918), a political officer in Bauchi Emirate shortly after the conquest, observed, was that it required the authorities to turn a blind eye to practices which were repugnant to them and often contrary to a growing body of law. Temple's humorous account of this set out these paradoxes very clearly.

An aspect of the use of indirect rule that deserves comment is that it was only ever implemented in the northern two-thirds of the country. This roughly corresponds to the zone of influence of the major Muslim Emirates, which were largely northern of the Niger-Benue system except in the southwest, where they stretched down in Yorubaland. In part this was historical, as the conquest of Nigeria had begun much earlier along the coast and direct rule systems were already established. However, in addition, it was tacitly recognised that the type of authority exercised by non-Muslim rulers in the south was very different in nature from the Islamic states further north. Power in the traditional states of the forest belt, Wukari, Calabar, Benin, Owo, Ife and others was ultimately religious in nature; the position of the ruler was guaranteed by a complex of beliefs, and the correct performance of ritual was essential to the power of the state. Such rulers were hedged about with restrictions and did not have the flexibility to build up an effective bureaucracy. This is not to say that they were unable to mobilise significant human resources (hence the earthworks surrounding the Benin Kingdom) but the underlying sources of their power made it difficult to rapidly meet the requirements of a secular bureaucracy.

It might seem that the Northern Emirates were also underpinned by religion, namely Islam. Islam has a distinctive ideology of authority, stretching back to the Caliphate in Bagdad, and this has been codified in numerous texts. This creates transferability, the potential to operate broadly similar systems in very different contexts, which is quite distinct from the kingship systems that evolved within Africa, whose structures were underpinned by ethnicity and the specificity of particular environments. As a consequence, the Emirates tended to have officials, bureaucracies, courts and other institutions that could in some way be mapped against the expectations of the colonial authorities. Indirect rule thus made a certain kind of sense, and many of its features persisted long after it formally ended. The Islamic courts, for example, continued to operate in non-Muslim areas into the 1980s.

The persistence and expansion of the system of traditional rulers is thus crucial in understanding the broader dynamics of power in Nigeria in recent decades. Part of the logic of this persistence is that traditional rulers are often more trusted than local and state government officials during post-conflict situations, which are themselves becoming more common. They have played a significant role in the peace conferences following civil disorder that are a semi-permanent features of the political landscape in Nigeria. But this increased prominence has excited increased opposition. Especially in the South, where chiefs never have had the sort of prestige they enjoyed in the North, many activists and lawyers are questioning the need for institutions they perceive as archaic. During the long years of military government, traditional rulers largely preserved their status, except for a major change in 1967-68 when their powers over judicial affairs were significantly

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reduced. But with the introduction of democracy in 1999, and the need to establish a more perdurable constitutional framework, the issue of traditional rulers has again come to the fore.

If traditional rulers have evolved and multiplied so has the opposition in the North. Civil conflict in Nigeria is often religious and Islamic culture in Northern Nigeria is nothing if not fractious. The tendency to divide into sects, ever more radical, has become extremely marked from the 1970s onwards and a very obvious characteristic of these new groupings is their challenge to the old order of Emirs and brotherhoods. These organisations justify their activities in the name of a purist Islam, but the end result is recurrent affrays that seem to have less to do with theology than a desire to overturn the established order.

For these reasons, a current review the status and role of traditional rulers and their role of peacemaking and conflict resolution is long overdue. Most of the well-regarded monographs on chieftaincy institutions in Nigeria date from the 1960s and present a somewhat rosy view, coloured by the stability of the immediate post-colonial era. More recent literature, locally published, is either pseudo-historical or has an immediate political agenda and can only be used with considerable care. Recent concerns about the role of Islam in worldwide political instability need to be considered for their relevance to Nigeria. Traditional rulers have traditionally had an important role in conflict resolution, but should this be replaced by institutions more in keeping with a modernising state? Do unelected authorities still have a role to play in the twenty-first century?

1.2 Review of existing literature

Existing publications on traditional rulers can be divided into three categories. During the early period, the main emphasis was historical, with colonial officers recording lengthy and often frankly mythical accounts of the oral narratives of the main pre-colonial states. Typical publications of this era are Burdon's (1909) *Northern Nigeria, Historical Notes on Certain Emirates and Tribes*, Schultze (1913) *The Sultanate of Bornu*, Temple's (1918, 1922) *The Native Races and their Rulers and Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, Meek's (1925, 1931) *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria and Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria*, and Hogben's (1930) *The Muhammadan Emirates of Nigeria*, revised and updated by Hogben and Kirk-Greene (1966) in *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria*.

From the 1930s, anthropological accounts which described the sociology of traditional states began to appear. An early study of importance was Meek's (1931) *A Sudanese Kingdom*, which described the kingdom of the Jukun in traditional ethnographic mode. With the appearance of social anthropology, a new type of monograph began to appear. The most influential of these was probably the *Black Byzantium* of Siegfried Nadel (1941) with associated publications on smaller chiefdoms such as the Kede (Nadel 1940). Also highly influential were the trilogy of studies on Hausa kingdoms by M.G. Smith, *Government in Zazzau* (1950), *The Affairs of Daura* (1978), and *Government in Kano* (1997). Two studies of the Sokoto Caliphate appeared in the same year, Last (1967) and Johnston (1967). Paden's (1973) study of *Religion and political culture in Kano* has proved highly influential. The Kanuri Shehus of Borno are described in Brenner (1973) with a follow up in an edited volume (Usman & Alkali 1983). In the post-Independence era, Nigerian scholars began to play a greater role in the production of historical monographs. Katsina was described by Usman (1981) and the Lamidate of Yola by Abubakar (1977). Further south, R.E. Smith (1988) surveyed the kingdoms of the Yoruba as part of a general synthesis; individual Yoruba states have been the subject of more general monographs (e.g. Law 1977; Biobaku 1973). Other important states include the Benin Kingdom (Bradbury 1957; Ryder 1969) and the Igala Kingdom (Boston 1968). Low (1972) extended the oral historical method to three smaller Hausa/Fulani kingdoms (Gombe, Katagum and Hadejia). Basic anthropological information is collected in the volumes produced for the *Ethnographic Survey of Africa* (e.g. Forde 1950; Gunn 1953; 1956; Gunn & Conant 1960).

It is rather evident from the publication dates of these monographs and edited collections that they emerged from a very particular impetus, to try and develop a coherent historical and cultural background for Nigeria, something that would place the country in the context of wider regional history and eventually situate it within a global narrative. Since the 1980s, the production of historical/anthropological monographs has

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almost ceased. In part this reflects the decline of the universities as academic institutions, but also the sense that this literature has served its purpose. Henceforth, priorities have shifted to local productions that represent justifications for indigenous political legitimacy. The most rapidly expanding and vibrant category of historical literature is that of locally published histories and hagiographies written by Nigerians themselves. These various works draw upon local histories and chronicles and in turn have spawned more detailed histories of individual polities. These may be said to have begun with the history of Benin by Jacob Egharevba, first published in 1936, but continually revised until the edition of 1968. As Eisenhofer (1995, 1998) has pointed out, the text evolved in terms of the changing political dynamics of the Benin kingship during the colonial era. In the North, as pioneering work of this type of local history, written in Hausa was Garbosa (n.d. but before 1956) describing the Chamba kingdom in present-day Taraba State. Examples are recent works on the Berom chieftaincy (Nyam & Jacobs 2004; Dung 2005), the Tanglae kingdom (Ankruma 2005) and on past and present Emirs of Zazzau (Dalhatu & Hassan 2000; Dalhatu 2002). Many more examples are cited in this report. Studies such as these are important both as sources of information and as active contributions to debate about the contemporary significance of traditional rulers and related institutions.

The analytic literature on traditional rulers and institutions is much more patchy in coverage and its emphases have changed over time in response to changing political circumstances and related academic fashions. The primary agenda for anthropological analysis during the late colonial period was set by a classic text of the British structural-functionalist school, Fortes and Evans-Pritchard's *African Political Systems* (1940). This edited collection helped to shift the focus of attention to the problem of political order in the absence of powerful rulers and the role of lineages in both acephalous and centralised polities. It directly mirrored the problems of the British in establishing structures of Indirect Rule in Central Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa. Its ethnographic fruits included detailed studies of segmentary lineage organisation among the Tiv people of Central Nigeria (e.g. L. & P. Bohannon 1953; P. Bohannon 1957).

The Emirates of Northern Nigeria were less responsive to this approach. Nadel's study of the Nupe kingdom, *A Black Byzantium* (1942), has been described as 'the most compendious monograph on a complex society ever produced by an anthropologist', anticipating a focus on historical political economy that did not become prominent until the 1970s and 1980s (Hart 1985: 246-247). It was not, however, particularly influential at the time, and Nadel's own contribution to *African Political Systems* (1940) attracted little attention. By contrast, M.G. Smith's (1956) research in Zaria did feed into the debate on segmentary lineage systems, and his historical study of Zazzau Emirate (Smith 1960) is judged to have led 'directly to the postcolonial flood of interest in the history of African states' (Hart 1985: 247). But its turgid theoretical approach exemplified the difficulty that structural-functionalists had in converting the twists and turns of history into comparative sociology. Moreover, the denser the narrative, the more difficult it was to draw any conclusions for governance, which caused practical administrators to turn away from this literature.

As it happens, the contingencies of history were already reframing academic interest in traditional rulers and institutions. The politics of the post-war years and the new paradigm of international development ('modernisation') had far reaching effects on policy and practice in the British colonies as they moved towards independence. In the early 1950s, the principle of Indirect Rule was widely challenged and indigenous structures were increasingly sidelined and/or modified to meet the requirements of impending decolonisation and self-government. In Nigeria, the Native Authorities were developed as agencies of democratic local government to be integrated into a parliamentary system of government (Yahaya 1980). This new system was designed to meet the aspirations of emerging regional elites and the new political parties they were joining. In the process, the authority of traditional rulers was seriously undermined.

The wider literature on traditional rulers and institutions reflected the same set of political processes:

"Post-war analyses of chieftaincy structures were initially dominated by the now largely discredited mid-century modernization paradigm. Premised on positivist and evolutionary assumptions, these earlier studies of the nation state project predicted the imminent demise of chieftaincy structures in African politics. Analysed in the context of third world decolonization, the cold war and global

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capitalism, modernization theorists emphasized the erosion of chiefly power in the postcolonial African state. [...] These dominant post-war social science perspectives drew heavily from Max Weber's notion that power is legitimate only when the political community expresses voluntary consent. This conceptualization is based on the assumption that rational human behaviour is best mediated by the agencies of the modern state and civil society. Thus, since indigenous African structures were widely held to be dysfunctional in this post-war political context, modernization theorists contend that their marginalization is an essential precondition for the socio-political and economic development of African states."

(Vaughan 2000:3)

Political scientists were the most active proselytisers for the modernisation paradigm, which was most influential in the 1960s and still lingers in the literature today, especially in the grey pages of development reports and local academic publications. Debate about the pros and cons of political modernisation in Nigeria continued into the 1970s and beyond. Whereas Sklar (1963) and Dudley (1968), for example, had contended that traditional political authorities were unresponsive to change, Whitaker (1970), Yahaya (1980) and others used case studies to argue that these traditional structures remained resilient and in many respects were compatible with the modern state. Similar arguments were made by scholars working elsewhere in Africa, and called into question the relevance of the modernisation approach in this context (Vaughan 2000: 4; cf. essays in Crowder & Ikime 1970).

Modernisation as the paradigm of international economic development received something of a battering from neo-Marxist dependency theorists in the 1970s and 1980s. Here is Vaughan (2000: 4-5) again:

"The dependency paradigm, which gained currency as a radical alternative to modernization theory, was equally short-sighted. Preoccupied with the advance of global capitalism, the marginality of third world economies, and the role of "comprador" classes in the economies of new states, dependency theorists underestimated the critical role that indigenous structures - most notably chieftaincy institutions - might play in the transformation of African states. In short, while modernization analyses dismissed indigenous structures as dysfunctional to a Western-style developmental process, the dependency paradigm reduced these institutions to mere reflections of social class. Thus, the dependency paradigm's instrumentalist Marxist preoccupations ignored the continuing relevance of indigenous structures as modern expressions of communal and class interests."

In some respects dependency theorists and their intellectual descendants, world systems theorists and the analysts of globalisation, merely picked up where the political modernisers left off. The effect of this was to drive serious discussion about the role of traditional rulers and institutions into an academic backwater from which it struggled to recover for the best part of two decades. When analysts turned to interrogate the legitimacy of failing African states in the 1980s and 1990s, most of them continued to employ notions of governance and civil society that were based on Western models and paid little attention to the possible relevance of traditional political institutions (Vaughan 2000: 5). This was simply modernisation in new apparel.

Nonetheless, the ongoing political significance of traditional structures did attract the attention of some political scientists working in Nigeria. Miles (1987), for example, picked up on earlier studies and argued that Hausa chieftaincies in both Nigeria and Niger had been co-opted by the nation state and owed their survival and continuing legitimacy to this source rather than to traditional loyalties. Much more wide-ranging and influential, though, has been the work of Sklar (e.g. 1993; 1999a; 1999b; 1999/2000; 2003) and in particular his concept of 'mixed government', used to describe the dualism and symbiotic relationship between traditional and state-derived institutions that characterises government in Nigeria and many other African countries. Like Miles, Sklar (2003: 4) argues that 'The durability of traditional authority in Africa cannot be explained away as a relic of colonial rule'. Instead he emphasises the role of local initiative: 'African agency in the construction of colonial institutions was largely responsible for the adaptation of traditional authorities to modern systems of government and the legitimacy they continue to enjoy among ordinary people' (Sklar 2003: 4).

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Academic debate about the resurgence of traditional political structures in Africa took off in the mid-1990s and has since drawn in historians, anthropologists and others (see, for example, van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal & van Dijk 1999; van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal 2000; Englebert 2002). In Nigeria perhaps the most detailed recent work has been that of Vaughan (2000) on the twentieth-century history of chieftaincy among the Yoruba. Vaughan (2000: 3) argues that ‘Given the resilience of indigenous political structures and the colossal failure of the Nigerian state, it is essential to re-open the discussion on the role of chieftaincy in colonial and postcolonial Nigerian politics’. Vaughan summarises his main thesis as follows:

“The crisis of political legitimacy confronting the Nigerian state is intimately linked to the ambiguous nature of the public sphere and the absence of viable national institutions capable of unifying a deeply fragmented nation state. The narratives of local politics that are the focus of our analysis here will be viewed in the context of a process of state formation that rests on a tenuous interaction between ambiguous “traditional” structures and modern bureaucratic institutions. The main concern of regional political classes has been to protect their interests by seeking refuge behind traditional structures, themes and symbols that are summoned to validate local aspirations. In this context, state structures are hardly used as effective institutions of administration and governance. Rather, they function largely as mechanisms for allocating patronage and ensuring political domination. Thus, chieftaincy structures - as communal and ethnic-based institutions - partly reinforce a rentier state dominated by ethno-regional commercial and bureaucratic classes.”

(Vaughan 2000: 12-13)

Vaughan (2003, 2005) has also edited collections that make further contributions to the wider debate. In Nigeria itself there has been growing interest in these issues, linked to discussion about the future of the constitution and the role of both traditional structures and related concepts of citizenship, in particular ‘indigeneship’ (e.g. Awe 1999; Agbese 2004; Sklar 2004; Rinyom n.d.).

The compendium edited by Elaigwu (Elaigwu & Erim 2001) examines the pre-colonial antecedents of Federalism in Nigeria and concludes that the existing states were in strong inter-group relations and if that had been exploited positively, a virile and harmonious federation would presently thrive in Nigeria. The neglect of the heritage of traditional institutions could thus be at the root of an unstable polity in Nigeria today. The general editor of the compendiums observes, “It is hoped that this (trilogy) will generate informal debate ... especially how to make federalism to serve the generality of Nigerians. This is a necessary step as we work towards a more harmonious federation.” (Elaigwu & Erim 2001:x). To date, however, there have been no studies of these issues in Northern Nigeria to correspond to Vaughan’s detailed historical work on Yoruba chieftaincies.

Growing pressure at international level for the promotion of democratisation and participatory processes of governance has also seen the increasing involvement of development agencies and NGOs in programmes designed to build upon the political strengths of traditional structures. Englebert (2002: 13) noted:

“It comes as no surprise, therefore, that fostering the role of traditional authorities has been a common theme among recent donor-sponsored conferences on development and conflict resolution. In March 1995, for example, conference on “Civil Society and National Reconciliation in Mali and Niger,” in the wake of Tuareg unrest, proposed a program of reinforcement of traditional chiefs “towards the enhancement of their capacities in the prevention and management of sub-regional conflict.” A further “Workshop on Increasing the Capacities of Traditional Structures in the Prevention and Management of National and Sub-regional Conflict in West Africa” took place in November 1995 in Niger. In 1997, the Commonwealth Local Government Forum held a conference in Gaborone on traditional leadership and local government [...]. The World Bank has also sponsored research on the possible development benefits of indigenous structures.”

Similar initiatives are now beginning in Nigeria. A recent conference on *Peace-building and Conflict Resolution in Northern Nigeria* included a special session on ‘The Role of Traditional Rulers in Peace-building and Conflict Resolution’ (Bobboyi & Yakubu 2005: 133-155). The current study is conceived as a further contribution to such an endeavour. The clamour for a sovereign national conference between 1999

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and 2005 subsided in the light of the April-July 2005 Political Reform Conference. Hope for a constitutional review and reform was scuttled by the national assembly in June 2006 but it is only a matter of time before the debate will be foregrounded again. This current study should also feed into such future endeavours by presenting fresh case studies on the relevance of traditional institutions in conflict management.

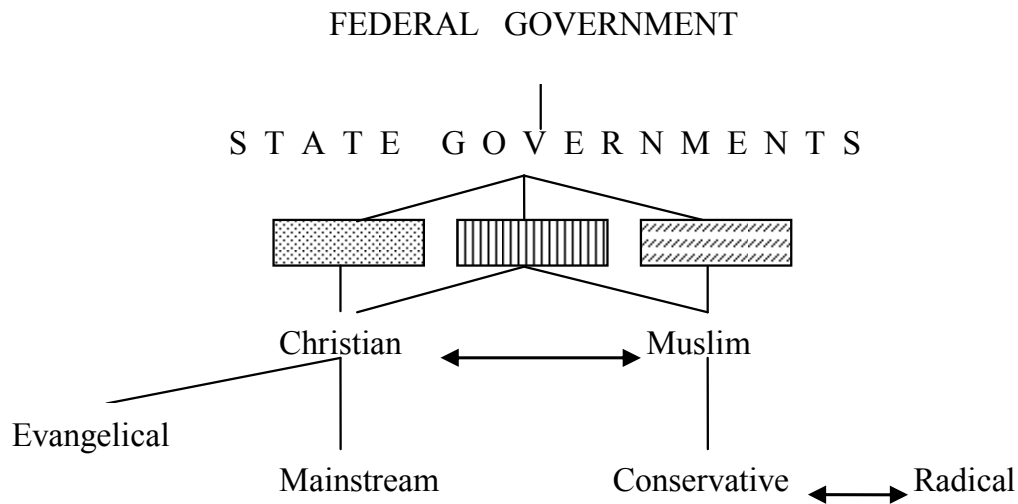
A rapid comparison with the situation in other West African countries reveals that the situation in Nigeria is unique. Although there were comparable chiefdoms and emirates, especially in the Sahelian countries, in pre-colonial times, the French system of governance treated them very differently, effectively downgrading their power to that of entirely ceremonial rulers. In a useful comparison of the two systems written shortly after the era of Independence, Crowder (1964) compares their functioning, noting that the French essentially converted traditional rulers into *chefs de canton*, turning them into tax collectors and making them administer boundaries arbitrarily different from their traditional domains. In many Anglophone countries a system of 'Indirect Rule' was adopted, at least in the early colonial era. Further east, the situation is somewhat different, as in Northern Cameroun and Chad, the problems of governance in the early colonial period mean the colonial authorities reached a similar solution to Nigeria by allowing rulers to maintain power, as long as the justice they administered was considered by colonial standards as not too transgressive.

1.3 Power, religion, ethnicity

Much of the debate the nature of authority in Islam and analysis of conflict between established nation states and terrorist groups takes place within a context where all groups claim to be Muslims, albeit of different persuasions. However, Nigeria represents a major exception, as it is both multi-faith and highly ethnolinguistically diverse. In addition, as a consequence of exceptional revenues from oil, it has a kleptocratic elite on a scale unparalleled elsewhere in Africa. The large sums regularly repatriated from foreign bank accounts and the wealth of Nigerian expatriate communities in countries such as Dubai tell us as much as we need to know about the underlying motivations of such elites. However, religion and ethnicity are highly flexible cards to play in the quest for power and access to resources. As a consequence, different types of authors attribute different motivations to politicians, church leaders and other authority figures.

Figure 1 represents graphically these oppositions in a simplified manner. The Federal government is mandated to treat all states equally, regardless of religious persuasion. State Governments, however, are of three types, those that function in a predominantly Muslim area, those that function in a Christian area and those that are mixed. Islamic States come under strong pressure to implement Sharia law or otherwise to introduce laws that promote Islam. A significant asymmetry with Christian-dominated States is that there is no comparable body of law or doctrine that the community of believers is trying to introduce, partly because Christianity is so fragmented. Christians and Muslims find themselves in opposition to one another, especially in particular states such as Kaduna, Borno or Gombe where their numbers are broadly similar. In the wholly Muslim areas, Islam is constantly riven by disputes between sects and less formal groupings under charismatic individuals. Christian groups, on the other hand, compete principally with one another for adherents, and power comes almost entirely from the magnetism of individual leaders, since doctrine and observance are of much lesser importance. Evangelical groups therefore try and influence Christian policy at the highest level rather than engaging in theological disputes with mainstream Christians.

Figure 1. Religious /political oppositions in Nigeria



Another major asymmetry is that the basis of the authority of traditional leaders in the non-Muslim areas derives from highly local conditions, connected with a particular geography and cosmogony. As Nigeria has opened up to a wider world, it has become more difficult to accept this worldview as coherent, so in reality such rulers have lost power. Moreover as Christianity is extremely recent in historical terms, the type of theocratic legitimacy that kept European rulers in place for more than millennium never had a foothold in Nigeria. No-one is going to obey a chief because they believe the chief was appointed directly by God and that his commands are a reflection of the wishes of the deity.

Figure 1 omits ethnicity, even though it is clearly a major factor in power relations in Nigeria. Nigeria is highly ethnolinguistically diverse, with more than five hundred languages (Ethnologue 2005) and there is a strong relationship between ethnicity and religion. Wholly Muslim ethnic groups are relatively few and their members relatively numerous. Effectively, the main Muslim groups in Nigeria are the Hausa, the Fulbe, the Zarma and the Kanuri, with some of the more recently converted groups on their periphery. Many groups have substantial numbers of converts, but they do not see Islam and their ethnic identity as inseparable. Many Northern Yoruba would identify their religion as Islam, but their adherence to Yoruba custom would appear to trump their Islamic affiliation. The centuries' old process of Islamisation has been strongly connected with Hausaisation, a process that continues today on the periphery of Hausaland. Christianity, with its strong centripetal forces, is well suited to zones of ethnic diversity; conversion is not associated with pressure to switch ethnic group.

Another omission is what may be called 'traditional' religion. As little as two centuries ago, the great majority of inhabitants of present-day Nigeria would not have been adherents of any world religion, but of their own local belief system. There is little doubt that the spread of both Islam and Christianity has strong connections both with the expansion of trade and the difficulties of sustaining local religions in a more broadly connected world. The Hausa and the Kanuri dominated the long-distance trade in this part of the Sahel prior to the colonial era, whereas once the British came and began to build railways and improve communications, Christianity spread along these new fault-lines. Needless to say, neither world religion simply replaced these older beliefs, but simply adopted and adapted more or less of their features. In many parts of Nigeria, it is perfectly possible to be bicultural, to attend masquerades and also go to church. The aspect of traditional belief that has been most persistent is a belief in the significance of charms and other magical procedures. These have long been considered an *asiri*, a secret within Islam and it is widely supposed that no leader can gain and maintain power without powerful magical assistance. Beliefs that particular occupational groups such as butchers or blacksmiths have magical powers remain widespread and as some of the case histories will show, traditional rulers have relied heavily upon such groups to bolster

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their powering times of crisis. Power, professed faith and ethnicity thus form a nexus and whatever motive is ascribed to an action on the surface it is almost certain that the others will be implied.

1.4 Conflict resolution and the donors

Nigeria has a long history of riots and civil disturbances, going back at least to the Aba riots of 1929. During the colonial era, the usual response was military, although it occurred to the authorities that such disturbances must have an origin in legitimate grievances, and the Aba riots culminated in two separate studies of the lives of Igbo women (Leith-Ross 1934; Green 1947). Indeed much of the focused anthropology (for example on chieftaincy disputes and land tenure) during the colonial era was in part an attempt to head off this type of problem. Nonetheless, any policy changes that occurred were strictly top-down and depended on the colonial authorities making decisions based on reading reports.

Post-colonial responses to civil disorder in Nigeria have been quite different. Following some sort of violent confrontation, with loss of lives and burning of shops, churches and mosques, a Commission of Enquiry is established, which usually sits for a couple of years collecting fees, produces a report which was not read, was probably not worth reading and on whose recommendations no action was taken. For a long while, Nigeria coasted on its oil revenues, as life improved for so many communities in the 1970s and 1980s that rioting was a limited strategy.

It is not quite clear when conflict resolution began to make an impact on donors and government. Evidently this was a worldwide trend stimulated by serious inter-community strife such as that witness during the war in Bosnia. NGOs everywhere began to work on conflict resolution and increasingly donors replaced technical experts on their staff with political scientists, so that funding increased dramatically. International experts in conflict resolution began travelling the globe, developing theories and applying them almost regardless of local context. So it was in Nigeria and from 1995 onwards, conflict resolution became a popular strategy with its concomitant paraphernalia of stakeholder workshops. At the same time, an extensive literature developed, most of which is breathless narrative, relating move and counter-move in various conferences. Much of this is almost instantly forgotten, because almost none of it has had any real impact. Donors and local entrepreneurs remain locked in a ritual dance, with publications and reports flooding the 'market', but with absolutely no long-term consequences. Government was encouraged to fund an Institute for Peace and Conflict resolution, which rapidly became ineffective to internal political disputes. This is not necessarily because the advice given was bad, simply that there was no likelihood that government would ever develop and implement any policies that were recommended.

The view taken here that no direct subvention to conflict resolution processes is likely to have a positive result. The underlying assumptions are first that we need a better understanding of the long-term threads running through these conflicts, and second that the only methods that will produce sustainable peace are those that grow out of existing institutions and sets of cultural assumptions. If ways can be found to support these then more effective conflict resolution is an inevitable by-product.

2. Methods

2.1 Literature Review

The principal published literature on the subject has been highlighted in (§1.2). In addition, there is a substantial ‘grey’ literature of reports and other documents, which are listed in the references. Newspapers provide a valuable source of information about particular incidents, especially conflict, although often the factual information is very hazy, with inaccurate dates and names. Some extracts from newspaper reports on traditional leaders are given in Appendix 1. For the legal status of traditional rulers there are both Federal government documents and also white papers and others published by individual states³. Nigerian Archives are somewhat scattered. Table 1 shows the main archives for the study of traditional rulers in Northern Nigeria with comments on their contents.

Table 1. Main archives for the study of traditional rulers in Northern Nigeria

Institution	Location	Status	Contents
National Archives	Kaduna	Government	Government documents, principally colonial era
Arewa House	Kaduna	Private	Books and documents on Northern Nigeria
Institute for Administration, Ahmadu Bello University	Zaria	Government	Reference library on local government and chieftaincy affairs
Abdullahi Smith Centre for Historical Studies	Zaria	Private	materials on research methodology and posthumous publication of Prof. Abdullahi Smith
League for Human Rights	Jos	NGO	Does this have an archive though?
University Libraries	Sokoto, Kano, Jos and Maiduguri	Government/State	Books and xeroxed materials
Jos Museum	Jos	Government	Archival materials on the Middle Belt region
Archives of Traditional Rulers	Kano, Potiskum and Maiduguri	Private	

Further information is given in Annex 3.

2.2 Interviews

The strategy for this study was to interview a wide range of stakeholders to get opinions not only from the rulers but from all those with an interest in their status. Interviews are conducted in all the states of central and northern Nigeria where each traditional council is located. At least one first class emir/chief and the full range of rulers below them were interviewed to provide case studies relevant to their role in conflict prevention and mediation. Needless to say, reactions to the survey were highly variable and not all rulers agreed to be interviewed or even to make their councillors available. Nonetheless, many were very co-operative, and it can be said that a broad range of opinion has been canvassed. Schedules for the field visits are given in Appendix 1.

Government officials were generally less responsive, demanding extended notice to supply classified information on traditional councils in their states. This may have been a strategy to avoid answering

³ The authors are indebted to Philip Ostien, Jos University, for photocopies of these documents.

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questions especially as whatever information came from this source was also likely to be highly inaccurate. In addition, most officials requested anonymity in any final report. This is consonant with the general low level of competence of government officers and their lack of interest in their work, which is mirrored at the highest levels of the Nigerian government.

3. Historical development of Emirate/traditional councils

3.1 Historical background to the Northern emirates

In pre-colonial Northern Nigeria, Islamic rulers had full authority and ruled through their councillors, district and village heads. Prior to the reforms of Usman dan Fodio, political systems were extremely variable and much of the state organisation was focused on acquiring and maintaining military force. Following the Jihad, Emirs began to function as both religious and administrative leaders; they were responsible for the promotion of Islam and for judicial matters while continuing to lead their people to war. This was also the beginning of a more elaborated system of taxation which replaced the previous haphazard demands and impromptu levies. Traditional rulers typically consulted with their councillors and other officials although they usually had final decision. In most Emirates, a council of kingmakers was responsible for choosing the successor to a deceased ruler, an important function as claimants were often numerous.

When the British conquered northern Nigeria, they adapted a policy of indirect rule that had already been tried in other African countries (Smith 1937; Crowder 1964; Tibenderana 1988; Reynolds 2001). Indirect Rule meant taking over existing power structures, harmonising them and eliminating flagrant abuses of human rights, otherwise leaving many elements intact. Needless to say, many rulers who failed to meet colonial standards were summarily ejected. The underlying logic of this was primarily cost and as well as the logistical difficulties of directly governing so vast an area with so few officials. After the conquest of Bida and Ilorin, George Goldie declared 'If the welfare of the Native races is to be considered, if dangerous revolts are to be obviated, the general policy of ruling on African principles through Native rulers must be followed for the present' (Smith 1937:371).

The Native Authority (NA) was the administrative name for the ensemble of Emir and councillors who were responsible for a defined area, such as Zaria. Yahaya (1980) provides a valuable history of the Native Authority system as seen from the viewpoint of Zaria. The Emir and his council in turn constituted a Native Administration which took care of much day-to-day administration under guidance of the Resident. Generally speaking, after the early period of discord, Resident and Emir found ways to co-exist. However, in the post-war period, Junior Officers were coming out from Britain to Nigeria as ADOs who opposed this antiquated, and as they saw it, corrupt, system which oppressed minorities. At the same time, Nigerian political parties were just forming and Northern politicians were beginning to protest the undefined and sometimes uneven power of the NA. In 1950, the Honourable Tafawa Balewa proposed a motion to reform the NA system in the Northern House of Assembly. By 1954, discontent with the system had led to the passing of the Native Authority Law. This defined the responsibilities of traditional rulers more clearly and also increased the pressure to improve participation at the level of local government. This led to the establishment of Zaria Town council in 1955 and Councils for the minority areas of Southern Zaria (Igabi, Ikara, Kachia and Zangon Katab) at Independence in 1960. There was another consequence of the increasingly sceptical attitude taken by the educated elites towards the traditional rulers; increasing complaints led more of them to be dismissed for corruption and other malfeasance.

Indirect rule was inherently unstable; the inequities implicit in such a system became more apparent as colonial rule became more established. Temple's (1918) 'Native Races and their Rulers' is a sardonic but probably accurate account of the operation of the system in the early period. The liaison between the rulers and the colonial authorities was the political officer, often an experienced administrator, usually with adequate linguistic competence and generally sympathetic to the local situation. Nonetheless, between rulers and political officer a sort of cordial distrust seems to have operated, each trying to second-guess the other. Although indirect rule was formally abolished in 1921, its significant legacy was the status of traditional rulers and the NAs in the north.

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There was furthermore quite a strong element of fantasy in the notion of indirect rule, which in Lugard's view amounted to little more than reforming the taxation system and allow 'native' institutions to function. As Tibenderana (1987) points out, from the surrender of the Waziri of Sokoto in March 1903 to the 1930s, the British authorities in fact over-rode traditional kingmakers and appointed the Sultans, fearing Mahdist-inspired revolts, such as that at Satiru in 1906. Indeed, Governor Hugh Clifford's 1923 reference to 'these days of Pan-Islamic propaganda' has a curiously modern ring to it (quoted in Tibenderana 1987:245). Similarly, Hamman Yaji, the Emir of Madagali, was purportedly arrested in 1927 because of his slaving activities. Vaughan & Kirk-Greene (1995:17) establish that he had ceased slaving some years before and the administration's real motive was fear of his Mahdist sympathies.

In some respects, the powers of traditional rulers were reinforced during the colonial period as they could veto any decision taken by the members of their councils. The judiciary, the Native Authority police and the prisons were under the direct control of traditional rulers; and they had the full support of the colonial authorities in maintaining law and order. However, as increasing numbers of western-educated individuals became available, things started to change. Such people were appointed to the Emirate councils and had to consent to any decisions before they were passed. The appointment of district heads was increasingly based on merit and local acceptability, even in areas where such appointments were reserved for hereditary candidates.

One of the engines driving the pre-colonial Emirates that continues to have consequences in the present was chronic slave-raiding. Demand for slaves from North Africa remained strong, in part because of the high mortality on the trans-Saharan caravan routes and the Sahelian Emirates regarded all non-believers as legitimate targets for slaving. The injection of cash that this trade brought far outweighed all other types of trade and made possible the raising of larger armies and the purchase of more horses. As a consequence, much of the territory south of Hausaland was turned into a wasteland during the nineteenth century, as the forces originally raised for the Jihad turned to raiding. There are many testimonies to the brutality of this system, from Denham, Clapperton & Oudney (1826) to the diaries of Hamman Yaji (Vaughan & Kirk-Green 1995). Although there is currently a tendency to whitewash this trade and to pretend that the minorities submitted peaceably to the rule of the Emirates, it remains the source of immense anger from the descendants of those affected and episodes from the slave trade are still recalled in oral tradition.

One of the consequences of the slave trade was to establish outposts of Hausa traders in Zongos all across the Middle Belt. In some cases, towns such as Keffi and Kontagora became important centres for the slavers and were eventually converted into chiefdoms. Part of the logic of indirect rule was to maintain these islands of Hausa dominance throughout much of the colonial era and to preserve their authority through the court system. This in turn affected such issues as the boundaries of post-colonial states. The original Kaduna state, for example, was a long narrow strip that stretched from Katsina on the northern border down through Zaria, Kaduna and included many of the communities in Southern Zaria that were subjugated by Zazzau in the slave-raiding era. Even when Katsina Emirate became a separate state, the remaining Kaduna State persisted with this awkward conjunction, binding together resentful minority communities, generally Christian-oriented, with their old antagonists further north. This has often been the source of conflict and is likely to continue. In the decades since Nigerian Independence, the slow growth of the schools system, Local Government and ethnic self-awareness, has made indigenous communities increasingly aware of these anomalies. As a consequence, resentment over the dislocations of the slaving era and have intensified, culminating in a series of communal riots, probably beginning with those in Kafanchan in 1987, in which the indigenous populations attacked the Hausa trading community. The consequence has been that the Hausa (and indeed Muslims in general) have tended to leave these areas and retreat further north, just as attacks on Christians in northern towns have reduced the resident southern communities and further polarised the opposition between them.

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3.2 Post-Independence

Further changes followed independence in 1960. Emirs had to work with another constituted authority known as the council; a system referred to as the 'Emir and Council' as opposed to the 'Emir in Council' of the colonial period. Rulers had to abide by the majority decision of their councils, although they still retained control of most local government affairs. In each region, a House of Chiefs was created and any decision taken by members of the regional House of Assembly had to be referred to it for endorsement before becoming law. The 1976 Local Government laws changed the status of traditional rulers from administrators of local government to advisers. During 1967-68, the judiciary, prisons and Native Authority police were removed from their control. This dramatic change eliminated their most significant powers although their prestige was probably less affected.

At the time of the first military coup in January 1966 there were 70 NAs in Nigeria, 54 of which were associated with chiefs and 16 composed by councils. Younger men who were less committed to the NA system than their predecessors but more dedicated to tackling national political issues dominated the new military leadership. In May 1967, the four regional governments were replaced by 12 states, six of them covering northern Nigeria: Benue Plateau, Kano, Kwara, North Central, North East, and North West. The reorganization of local government and other measures reducing NA powers followed. Key law and order functions were removed from the NAs by stripping them of their control over courts and the police. In April 1968 the administration of justice at local level was taken over by the government when Area Courts were established to replace the previous Native Courts. Following an earlier recommendation, the NA Police were also taken over and integrated into the national police force (a process that was still underway in 1970).

The military regime also sought to undermine the political influence wielded by the NAs so that popular loyalty shifted towards the state governments. In the early years of military control the NAs were allowed only a minimal role in the wider political process and its newly created legislative apparatus. The Military Governor of Northern Nigeria announced that NA staff were to be denied active participation in party politics and excluded from holding political office.

Two local government reorganizations were undertaken and implemented by the military government in the first instance. The first was carried out on a state basis. The term 'Native Authority' was everywhere replaced. In North-Central State, the NAs became 'Local Authorities' (LAs) and all of the councils became 'chiefs-and-council', meaning that chiefs had to abide by majority council decisions. LA councils were also required to have a majority of elected members. Two-thirds of the new Zaria LA Council was elected and many old council members with royal connections were replaced.

This is reflected in the provisions of the 1979 Nigerian Constitution, where the functions of the councils are purely advisory and include but are not limited to the following:

- (a) formulation of general proposals and advice to local government;
- (b) provision of advice on religious matters;
- (c) support for arts and culture;
- (d) chieftaincy matters and control of traditional titles and offices;
- (e) mobilisation of people for self-help projects;
- (f) assistance in the collection of levies and local revenue;
- (g) making representations to government on matters referred to council by government.

However, all of that was expunged from the 1999 Nigerian Constitution. President Chief Olusegun Obasanjo addressed traditional rulers during his state visit to Ogun State in January 2006, promising that significant roles would be established for traditional rulers when the Constitution is amended. However, in the event, these promises came to nothing.

Emirs and chiefs continue to perform their roles with varying degrees of attention and commitment. The visible structures of the institution can be seen at the federal, state and local government level in times of crisis. District heads were part of the pre-colonial state systems in northern Nigeria and their role was

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modified after Nigeria became a British colony in 1900. A district head is the most senior administrator and community leader in his area, responsible for the maintenance of law and order, and collection of taxes and other revenue. District heads are expected to initiate development at local level and to mobilise people to undertake communal works. They are also charged with educating people concerning government policy. Heads derive their authority from the councils and local government, and are appointed, disciplined and paid by the former.

Village heads work under the district heads and are expected to tour frequently and acquaint themselves with the feelings of the people. They must keep their councils and local government informed of local developments, submitting regular reports on a range of matters. District and village heads perform the role of traditional rulers in their respective communities, and command wide respect for this.

The Emirate system at its zenith aimed, in true federal spirit, at uniting people irrespective of ethnicity or religious belief. District heads, for example, were often appointed to districts different from their places of origin for maintenance of peace and to keep trading routes open. At the council level, various interest groups from within the emirate met periodically to discuss not only local issues but national issues as well. Awoniyi (2000:9, 12, 14) contrasts the more recent situation with the colonial and post independence eras, bathing them in a rosy glow;

“The peace and tranquillity, which we enjoyed before independence was painfully established over the years by the colonials for their own ends. The harmony, which we enjoyed, especially between our common peoples after independence, was painfully worked for by the Abubakar Tafawa Balewas, the Ahmadu Bellos, the Awolowos, and the Azikwes, the Akintolas, the Osadebes, the Okparas and their political associations and traditional leaders. They believed in the Nigeria enterprise. [...] As can be seen, within the north itself, a great deal of restorative work will have to be done with honesty and humility and even penance where necessary, to restore even a semblance of the past unity and mutual respect. There is urgent need to repair the thoughtless damage done to relationship with the North in the past 34 years since the Sardauna’s death. The repair work can only be done by northerners themselves and it has to begin now. The old northern rapid response to crises and issues, the old reaching out to others within and outside the region (and converting those who would want to be our foes into friends through accommodation and compromise as the Premier would put it) must be restored and directed towards the overall good of the nation. Sitting down and wringing our hands, indolently and fatalistically passing everything to God for treatment will not do. [...] Who would have imagined the May riots in Sir Ahmadu Bello’s Kaduna? Their causes, be they religious, ethnic, political, economic or social, would have been identified and sorted out long before the thoughtless mayhem was engineered and unleashed.”

This is a fetching picture but the element that is excluded from this type of nostalgic account is the ruthlessness with which unco-operative and reactionary Emirs and chiefs were deposed and sent into exile or hanged in the early days. Natural selection left a cadre of politicians and chiefs in the immediate post-colonial period who were indeed committed to the federal ideal. But it would be a mistake to think such a generation could ever be rebuilt.

Traditional rulers became *ex-officio* members of the councils; they had no vote but were free to take part in council debates and express their opinions. They acted as advisers to all local government councils within their domain. The Local Government system was reformed in 1989 in line with the operational pattern of the American presidential system. The chairmen became chief executive officers and house leaders headed the local government legislatures (Sani 2003:47). The graded rulers became members of the security councils together with Divisional Police Officers, State Security Service (SSS) agents and Magistrates. This reform defined a role for traditional rulers in maintaining peaces. They were considered custodians of traditions, culture and customs; a polite way of substituting prestige for power. To pacify traditional rulers, 5% of the income of LGCs in their respective domains was allocated to the traditional council. Ciroma (1994:23,34) argued:

“No one can doubt the great value of having an effective local government system at the grassroots level. ‘Grassroots’ here also should not be in words alone. But no serious observer of our recent experience can

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fail to have noticed the serious problems of that system. On the whole we can say the system is largely unrelated to reality or relevant to the experiences of our people. [...] Straight-forward approach and pragmatism which characterised the roles of leaders of the calibre of the Sardauna was the rule rather than the exception, in the by-gone days; and the values they left behind were not phantom legacies but the shining examples we have endeavoured to emulate and live by. It is only with this type of leadership that the usually natural disposition of the ordinary people for peaceful co-existence and collective wellbeing can be effectively channelled to produce a virile united nation. In the absence of this leadership, the fear of the unknown, the fear of the unusual, of the different (which paradoxically is again more pronounced among the ordinary people) coupled with friction created by the scrambling for limited resources, will lead to crisis, conflict and unhappy dissolution of the community.”

Consider the strong evaluation by Buhari (1998:2-5);

“Whether it is the efficiency and effectiveness of the Native Authority system as compared to the rampant purposelessness of the present local governments... it is the past that is being remembered with nostalgia. It is manifestly clear that there is today a dearth of leadership everywhere – spiritual, social and political. What has happened to our people’s sense of justice? Part of the answer is the grinding poverty which occupies people’s attention and allows little time for the luxury of concern in bringing about changes. Individuals are too busy trying to engineer one square meal a day. The poor become easy prey to manipulation by the nations elite. Wrapped up in their exclusive isolation, the elite for example – technocrats, business, religious and traditional – give divisive calls while the people suffer. This is not leadership.”

One area that makes the traditional institution to appeal very much to the elite is the prestige honorary traditional titles confer upon them. It provides the ruler the leverage to use the award to attract government projects for his domain, appointment to high office by politicians and as a tool for conflict resolution. General Ibrahim Babangida and General Muhammadu Buhari were both pacified with chieftaincy titles⁴.

3.3 Traditional leaders and reform in the post-colonial era

Following independence, the system of indirect rule continued, as British officials were replaced by Nigerians. Some sub-NAs were upgraded to NAs on religious, political and administrative grounds. Population and tax assessment were key criteria for the creation of chiefdoms. Yergam NA was the last to be created in the Middle Belt by the government of Northern Nigeria. Ethnic groups seeking self-determination used the conversion of their paramount ruler to Islam and support for the ruling party to attain that status. Traditional rulers were part and parcel of government. Indirect rule formally came an end in 1975 by Decree 32 of 29th July. The old NAs and Local Authority were replaced by Local Administration and in 1976, by Local Governments. The Policy Guidelines to the 1976 Local Government Reforms anticipated that each LG should have an Emirate or Traditional Council with the following functions:

1. To formulate general proposals as advice to Local Governments.
2. To harmonise the activities of Local Government Councils through discussion of problems affecting them generally, and giving advice and guidance to them.
3. Co-ordination of development plans of Local Governments by joint discussion and advice.
4. Community Tax Assessment within the area as a whole in consultation with Local Government Councils, and announcement of tax. Also to aid, as is the usual practice, in collection of tax.
5. Determination of religious matters where appropriate.
6. Support of arts and culture.
7. Chieftaincy matters and control of traditional titles and offices where these are traditionally the executive prerogative of the Emir or Chief in which case the Council’s function shall be advisory to the Emir or Chief.
8. Determination of customary law and practice on all matters including that relating to land.

⁴ Nigerian Tribune 27th June, 2006 p. 4.

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9. Making representations or expressing opinions to government or any other organisation on the collective behalf of the Local Governments in the area.
10. Deliberating on or making representations or expressing opinions to government or other organisation on, any matters which it deems to be of importance to the Emirate or Chiefdom as a whole, or which may be referred to it by government or other organisation.

These reforms render traditional rulers absolutely impotent.

3.4 Recent changes to the system

During the Second Republic, especially in Plateau state, new chiefdoms were created and old ones upgraded under a political programme Governor Solomon Lar called 'Emancipation'. The Kanuri Emirate of Lafia in Nasarawa state of today was reduced in size with the upgrading of Doma and Awe to first class status, and creation of Keana and Migili chiefdoms. Electoral votes and political loyal were they principal factors that informed such reforms. Jahr and Bashar chiefdoms were created to spite the Emirs of Kanam and Wase respectively. The case of Mwaghavul chiefdom of Mangu LGA was even more public. The *Miskaham* in person and not the stool was downgraded from second-class to third class for the reason of 'acts of disloyal during an official visit to his domain by the Governor'. However, it was an open secret that Mangu was controlled by an opposition political party.

The demand for chiefdoms in northern Nigeria is taking on greater significance, both to reinforce ethnic identity and as a mean of getting government appointments. Plateau State provides some striking examples. In the election campaigns in 2003, the incumbent Governor, Joshua Dariye, created or upgraded 89 chiefdoms from an existing 15. In his home village, Mushere, within 2 weeks of the creation of the chiefdom and the upgrading of the District Head to a 3rd class Chief he was re-upgraded to 1st class. The defence for this action is that the people now have the opportunity while one of theirs is at the helm. There are now well over 300 chiefdoms in the state and most of them have no legal backing yet. Some are not geographical entities but names with office-holders. This is the case with rulers of old districts amongst the Tarok and Berom that have been fragmented into so many units. The Gbong Gwom of Jos and and the Ponzhi Tarok are now called His Majesty and their lesser chiefs on grade 2 and 3 (His) Royal Highness. The case of *Long Kwo* of Kwande in Qua'an Pan illustrates further the political motivation in upgrading chiefdoms. The stool has been vacant for over ten years when the appointee was disqualified by a court of law. In 1999 he became a godfather to the governor and the chiefdom was upgraded from 3rd class to 1st class. The political godfather is unable to occupy the post because the subjects are determined that correct procedure be followed in the selection of the ruler. Case Study 1 illustrates another case where this type of inept political appointment can lead to death and destruction over what are essentially minor matters;

Case Study 1. The Long Jan chiefship

Another example of political interference is the creation of Jan chiefdom in the Kofyar area in April 2003. The district head was upgraded to 3rd class status which immediately sparked off protest from a section of the chiefdom. The Kofyar people believed that since the nomenclature of the chiefdom was in their tongue, they have the right to occupy. However, the *Long Jan* who was appointment is a Goemai man. With the crisis still unresolved, the government created a Development Area at Namu, a Goemai town and headquarters of the Jan chiefdom. This led a serious communal clash and massive destruction of property and lives. The ruler was sacked in the crisis and took refuge in Shendam. The government set up the Justice Constance Momoh Judicial Commission to investigate the crisis and determine the owners of Namu town. Before the Commission could complete its assignment, a disagreement broke out in Namu over the right to pack building sand in the bed of a stream and one Kofyar man was killed. The Kofyar people reacted violently and killed over 20 people at Namu. This immediately sparked off trouble in Shendam and Qua'an Pan LGAs. Goemai and Kofyar people were hunting down and killing each other. The crisis escalated and security agents took over a month to stop it only after the army had been drafted in. Now the ownership of Namu and chiefdom had been determined to the judicial commission and uneasy peace has been restored. In

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the process the 1st class chief, the Long Pan, was suspended from office for allowing crisis to have broken out in a domain under his supervision.

In Kaduna state, the Governor increased the number of Emirates and Chiefdoms from 10 to 35 in 2004. The exercise was a payback for massive support for the Governor from southern Kaduna. This exercise goes on all over the Middle Belt and northeast Nigeria as Yobe, Gombe, Taraba and Adamawa states, partly to meet the aspirations of the minority groups and in return for political support. The guidelines for Local government Reform state that:

It is not the intention of Government to destroy the organic unity of the Traditional Chiefdoms, Emirates or similar institutions. Where a large traditional Emirate or Chiefdom is to be subdivided into several Local Governments, the latter will not become “Emirates” or acquire new traditional heads. The traditional Emirates and Chiefdoms will remain, although their function will be changed to accord with the present day circumstances. By definition, the traditional institutions are those which have been accepted and derive their strength over a history or many generations. It would be ludicrous to try to invent new institutions, with traditional labels but lacking this sanction of history and legitimacy, as rivals to the established ones.⁵

Theaw cases demonstrate that state governors and their respective houses of assembly create chiefdoms with utter disregard to the above guidelines. People in many places see the creation of development areas and chiefdoms as precursors to the creation of local governments. Thus demands for chiefdoms are not only in vogue but are used as weapons of blackmail to coerce government in finding lasting solutions to ethno-religious conflicts. The 2004 peace conference in Plateau state recommended that for peace to last in Wase LGA of the state, a chiefdom, one each for the Jukun and Tarok communities be created. This was done in October 2005 and both chiefdoms have become development areas.

3.5 The nature of authority in Islamic conceptions

Islam, with its different schools of law and internal groupings, allows for a wide variety of conceptions of authority. It is used to legitimate very different forms of government, and these can sometimes be bitterly contested, as current events in the Arabian Peninsula and wider Middle East region make clear. We need hardly be reminded that there is a considerable political space between the House of Saud and the radical Islamists seeking to overthrow the rule of this and other dynasties.

The earliest record of an Islamic perspective on political authority appears to be the fifteenth century *Risālat-al-Mulūk*, ‘Letter to the King’ addressed by Al-Maghili to the Emir of Kano, Muhammad Rumfa (Paden 1973:213). Kingship was regarded as a sacred trust from Allah, and the duties of a ruler were defined as administering a legal code in order to ‘divert people from sin’. Al-Maghili also includes a list of state officers, including scribes, accountants, informers, patrols, learned men, judges, governors and waziris (Paden 1973:217). This essentially theocratic view was restated by Abdulahi dan Fodio in the *Ḍiyā’ al-siyāsāt* [the light of politics] in 1819. An issue discussed here for the first time was succession; the Hausa pattern of first sons succeeding their fathers was condemned as un-Islamic, and instead it was recommended that the new ruler be chosen by a council of learned mallams. Once selected, his authority cannot be challenged, except in the case of incapacity. The colonial authorities recognised this and in an introductory text on ‘Mohammedanism’ (Northern Province Secretariat 1927:5) said;

‘Something must be said about the close connection between law and religion in Islam. Essentially Islam rejects the theory of Western legal systems that law is a science of experiment, tabulation, correction and codifying. The law in Islam is a set of rules revealed to God which it is the business of man to know and administer –not to invent⁶.’

⁵ Federal Republic of Nigeria, Guidelines for Local Government Reform, nd.; p. 15.

⁶ Quoted in Paden (1973:230-1).

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Originally, Emir and imam were one and the same; Suleiman, the first Fulbe emir of Kano, would lead Friday prayer himself. Subsequently the Emirs appointed imams to take over the management of worship and Muslim festivals. When Paden was writing in the 1970s, no Imam had ever been deposed, but the evolution of radical Islam has exacerbated the split between ruler and Imam and just this type of deposition has occurred.

In some ways, the impact of colonial rule was to strengthen the authority of the Emirs. The types of military and intra-familial challenges characteristic of the pre-colonial era disappeared and were replaced by the implicit coercion of British rule. At the same time, Emirs became financially weak, unable to raise taxes except through legitimate channels. As a consequence, there was a strong push to expand symbolic legitimacy. Regalia and ceremonies were codified and their density increased (13.).

3.6 Islamic rulers and the brotherhoods

Within the context of indirect rule, the British colonial authorities assumed a studied air of neutrality, claiming not to distinguish between sects and even between Muslims and non-Muslims. This could never entirely work as Reynolds points out;

‘[...] while the British sought to legitimize their rule by maintaining a public image of neutrality towards the various Islamic groups found in Nigeria, their investment in the system of Indirect Rule required them to be supportive of those in power and to repress those who were perceived to threaten the status quo.’

(Reynolds 2001: 601)

The particular consequence of this was that in practice they had to support the Qadiriya *tariqa*, which was characterised as ‘peace-loving’;

‘In practice this meant supporting the indigenous system of government in the north and a regional ruling class who ‘were generally descendants of the founders of the Sokoto Caliphate, and like them, were Sufi Muslims who belonged to the Qadirriya brotherhood. Thus the system of Indirect Rule obliged British colonial administrators to show a certain degree of respect for and deference to this particular state-centered form of Islam.’

(Reynolds 2001: 601).

Conversely it meant suppressing other Muslim groups that had expanded considerably following the imposition of colonial rule; not only the Mahdists, who by leading the revolt at Satiru in 1906 marked themselves as potential troublemakers, but also the Tijaniyya and Sanusiyya brotherhoods. These different groups and the scholars within them have their own conceptions of political authority:

“Islam provides the grammar for political thought and a set of ideals for political conduct; those skilled in Qu’ranic studies, the mallams, are best placed to formulate political innovations and manipulate definitions of legitimacy.”

(Foltz 1976: 495)

These conceptions have evolved in response to changing political circumstances and since independence have played an increasingly important role in northern Nigerian politics. Paden’s (1973) *Religion and Political Culture in Kano* provides a particularly detailed account of the concepts of leadership and legitimacy espoused by different brotherhoods and how these impacted on political culture and conflicts in Kano Emirate.

Conflicts of the kind described by Paden have continued to occur throughout northern Nigeria, reflecting regional schisms within Islam as well as collective responses to interventions by different postcolonial governments (e.g. the military government’s interference in the succession to the Sokoto caliphate in 1988; cf. Last 1999: 147). Oluniyi (2006:16) posited that perhaps, worrisome to principled Muslims, was the fact

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that there was no corresponding number of violent clashes in the Christian community during the same period. And with the growth of radical Islamist organisations like Yan Izala (the Society for the Removal of Innovation and the Reinstatement of Tradition), these conflicts have increasingly come to reflect those occurring in the wider Islamic world. The Yan Izala are very active in the Middle Belt states and wish to 'purify' Islamic practices in Nigeria⁷.

4. Overview of traditional leadership institutions in north-central Nigeria

4.1 Introduction

The geography of the domains of traditional rulers in north and central Nigeria is the outcome of a combination of factors, which can be traced from the boundaries of pre-colonial states through to political manoeuvrings that followed the present dispensation of democratic rule since 1999. These factors include the processes that led to the founding of pre-colonial polities, modifications during the colonial period, the impact of post-colonial government policies, the local government reforms of 1976 and 1985, the proliferation of new domains during democratic rule of 1979-83 and the 2005-2006 national debate on the review and amendment of the 1999 constitution.

There is a broad distinction between the wholly Islamic Emirates, typically in the far North of Nigeria and those kingdoms of the Middle Belt, whose religious identities are more ambivalent. Very often these were smaller geographically in size and have increased in extent and power in the post-colonial era. The religious affiliation of their rulers is often Muslim, but can vary from one chief to another. Table 2 lists the principal traditional domains in northern Nigeria by State, divided by religious affiliation and Figure 2 shows the main locations of the chiefdoms featured in the text;

Table 2. Emirates and Chiefdoms in North-Central Nigeria¹⁶

State	Traditional Islamic Emirates	Non-Islamic Chiefdom
Adamawa	Adamawa, Mubi	Bachama, Mbula, Longuda, Jada
Bauchi	Bauchi, Dass, Katagum, Misau, Jama'are and Ningi	-
Benue	-	Tiv and Idoma
Borno	Borno, Biu, Bama, Shani, Gwoza, Askira and Uba	-
Gombe	Gombe, Nafada and Dukku	Tangale, Kaltungo, Balanga, Pindiga, Tula, Dadiya and Cham
Jigawa	Dutse, Hadejia, Gumel, Ringim and Kazaure	-
Kaduna	Zazzau, Jema'a and Birnin Gwari	Kagoro, Jaba, Marwa, Atyap, Bajju, Gwong, Numana, Adara, Gbagyi, Lere, Saminaka, Kurama, Piriga, Jere, Kagarko, Koro, Kauru, Kunama, Tsam, Godo-godo, Kaninkon, Nyenkpa, Fantwan, Akulu,

⁷ In Plateau, the use of derogatory terms and name calling e.g. *kafiri*, *arna* etc. was a major source friction resulting into provocation and anger.

¹⁶ There are over 300 chiefdoms in the state and only 1st Class ones are listed here.

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State	Traditional Islamic Emirates	Non-Islamic Chiefdom
		Anghan, Kajuru, Takad, Ninzo and Ayu
Kano	Kano	-
Katsina	Katsina, Daura	-
Kebbi	Gwandu, Argungu and Zuru	-
Kogi	-	Igala, Ebira, Lokoja, Koto, Kabba
Kwara	Ilorin, Pategi and Liafiagi	Offa
Nasarawa	Lafia, Keffi and Nasarawa	Eggon, Doma, Awe, Kokona, Karu, Yeskwa, Toto, Mada, Nunku, Migili, Kwarra and Wamba
Niger	Minna, Bida, Kontagora, Suleja, Agaie, Borgu	-
Plateau	Wase and Kanam	Berom, Ngas, Izere, Tarok, Goemai, Mushere, Pan, Mwashavul, Ron-Kulere, Kwo, Tel and others
Sokoto	Sultanate	-
Taraba	Muri, Gashaka	Jukun, Mambila, Zing, Ibi, Bali, Donga, Takum, Bankudi, Daka, Wurkum, Karim, Mutum Biyu, Gassol, Kwaji, Mumuye, Old Muri, Lau and Kurmi.
Yobe	Fika, Bedde, Pataskum, Tikau, Damaturu, Gujiba, Gulani, Ngazarmu, Nguru, Machina and Gudi	-
Zamfara	Anka	-
FCT	Bwari (Hausa)	Bwari (Gbari), Kuje, Kwali, Garki

There are two issues to be noted when interpreting a list such as this. Most importantly, not all of these rulers are 'traditional' in the sense of being pre-colonial. Especially in Kaduna, Plateau and Nasarawa States, many of the chiefs are twentieth century creations. This is not to say some of these communities did not have ritual leaders prior to 1900, but these individuals did not have a category of political authority corresponding to the notion of chiefship. The key factors in advancing a claim for chiefship were the proximity of the Hausa chiefdoms and the early impact of missionary education. As a consequence, the possession of a traditional ruler was seen as a *sine qua non* of political identity, and regalia were often appropriated from Islam, even where the area was wholly Christian. For example, the ruler of the Ninkyob people in southern Kaduna State, who was only appointed in 2005¹⁷, has surrounded himself with Islamic regalia, despite the fact that the area has almost no Muslims at all. The rise in political awareness in the Middle Belt has accelerated the evolution of Christian or unaffiliated rulers, who take their model of kingship from their Muslim neighbours.

Part of the impact of the colonial system was to formalise the extent of the territory over which a traditional ruler exercised power. The colonial provinces were transformed into States in 1967, at which time there was a rough correspondence between the larger northern Emirates and the relevant states. Thus Sokoto, Kano and Borno States reflected their pre-colonial boundaries. However, with increasing population, greater awareness of individual ethnic groups, and improved communications, came demands for more states and local governments. This was undoubtedly also powered by a mistaken belief that if a state split into two, it would have the same income from Federal Government as the former larger unit. In the window of democracy in the early 1990s, this was a persuasive view and states such as Sokoto were first divided in 1991, with the creation of Kebbi state and then again in 1996 with the creation of Zamfara. Local rulers in the new states increased their authority and that of the Sultan of Sokoto was correspondingly reduced.

In the Middle Belt, the situation was somewhat different since there were no large pre-colonial polities. Created and extended chiefdoms began to claim authority over regions that traditionally had no rulers at all. Very often this involved trying to enfold minorities into a larger ethnic grouping in order to do this, and very often this was reflected in attempts to control Local Governments. This has sometimes been responsible for violent local riots, such as the problems in Shendam in 2006, but on the whole has been accepted, since such

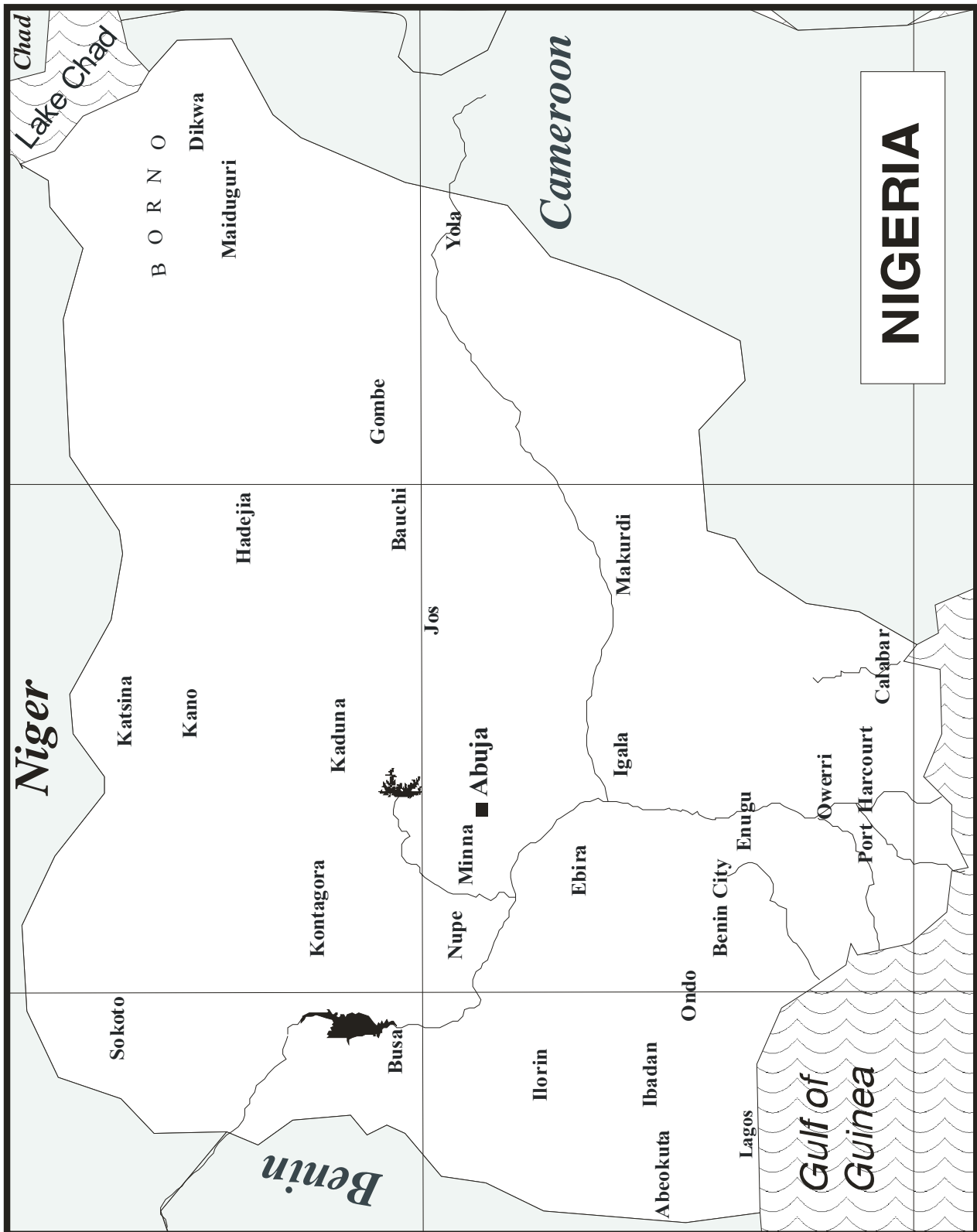
¹⁷ Visit to Ninkyob, Roger Blench, July 2006.

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chiefs cannot really exercise significant power and certainly do not dispose of substantial patronage or financial resources.

Individual states may demonstrate a mixture of both Islamic and non-Islamic systems. The typical Hausa/Fulbe Emirates stretching from Sokoto to Gombe and parts of Adamawa/Taraba are fairly uniform in administration and regalia. But where there is an articulate population of Christians, Emirs must operate with a fair degree of subtlety. A good example of failure is Muri Emirate in Taraba State (§4.2.11), originally a slaving outpost and now an Islamic enclave surrounded by the Mumuye people, who are either Christian or traditionalist. In 1985, the Emir was dethroned following land misappropriation and a new one is still to be appointed following protests from the dominant non-Islamic inhabitants. A combination of a painful historical record and a background population with acephalous social structures probably means that Muri Emirate will never now revive.

Figure 2. Main towns and locations of traditional chiefdoms featured in the text



The focus on Northern Nigeria reflects the fact that the institution of traditional rulers in the South is very different in character. Only in the southwest were there kingdoms with substantial territorial domains and many of these were partly Islamic, for example, Ilorin (§4.4.4). The traditional kingdoms of the Yoruba were as follows (Table 3);

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Table 3. Kingdoms of the Yoruba

Location	Kingdoms
Primary	Ife, Oyo
Eastern	Ijesha, Ekiti, Igbomina, Owọ, Ondo
Western	Ketu, Shabe, Dassa
Southern	Ijebu, Egba, Egbado, Lagos
Islamic	Ilorin

Source: Smith (1988)

The non-Islamic kingdoms were as much ritual entities as political institutions which probably explains their very different fates in the twentieth century. The colonial authorities saw no reason to prop them up in the same way as Northern Emirates and they were never integrated into a system of indirect rule. As a consequence, none have retained the type of authority that is common in Islamic areas and those that have retained power have achieved it through savvy political and financial manoeuvrings.

In the Niger Delta, the patchy nature of aquatic resources prior to outside contact resulted in an acephalous social structure until trade and guns changed the equations of power. As it became possible to accumulate resources, the 'house' system developed, for example among the Kalabari (Horton 1969), and larger political units, 'city-states', existed from the sixteenth century onwards. These have always been viewed as much as commercial entities as political authorities worthy of respect and the current chaos in the Delta and along the coast, with youth organisations in conflict with 'elders', suggests strongly the weakness of their reach¹⁸.

The situation is broadly similar in other parts of the South. None of the rulers have any deep historical legitimacy, and the 'King in every man' (Henderson 1972) philosophy of many societies as well as the largely ritual nature of kingship has not translated well in the modern political arena.

4.2 Hausa/Fulɓe

4.2.1 Introduction

Northern Nigeria has long had centralised polities; Leo Africanus mentions Gobir, Katsina, Kano, Zaria and Borno in the early sixteenth century (Bovill 1968:130). The Kano Chronicle lists forty-seven rulers between 998 and 1892 AD (Palmer 1908). However, the scale of these was very different from their modern counterparts. When Clapperton entered Kano in 1824 he estimated the population at just 30-40,000 (Denham, Clapperton & Oudney 1826). Although many of the pre-Jihad states were broadly of Islamic orientation, the Jihad of Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio that began in 1804 and was initially intended as a movement for reform soon became a military adventure. Dan Fodio and his followers imposed the emirate system throughout most of what is now Northern Nigeria and the ruling Hausa dynasties were replaced by Fulɓe. Although these families were initially Fulfulde-speaking, they had little in common with the Fulɓe cattle-herders in rural areas. Over time, almost all of them took on the language and culture of the peoples they ruled. Thus most of the northern rulers became Hausa-speaking whereas those among the Nupe

¹⁸ Cf. This Day Newspaper, 22/10/05, presents a graphic picture of current politics of traditional rulers in the Niger Delta;

Monarchs at War: Members of the Traditional Rulers of Oil Producing Communities (TROMPCON) in the Niger Delta are at daggers-drawn over an attempt by their leader to extend his tenure. What baffles everyone, is that why would the traditional rulers, the custodian of the culture and morals of the society now show examples in line with the mood of the democratic nature of the country. NDDC official said, "Everyday, we get one request or the other from them. Hardly do they stay in their domain, we work here with them and it's amazing at the speed with which they struggle for contracts with registered contractors. So one is not surprised at the struggle to stay in office when the term of office of the executive has extended. Apparently, they are now good students of our national politics. Or what else do you expect.

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gradually switched to the Nupe language. Nonetheless, a claim to Fulbe ancestry remains highly prestigious, even today, when hardly any trace of Fulbe culture remains among the ruling classes. The one exception to this in Nigeria was the Lamidate of Adamawa, based in Yola, which has remained Fulfulde-speaking, as have some of the chiefdoms across the border in neighbouring Cameroun.

The flag-bearers of the Jihad were given the task of conquering seven crucial polities and seven deemed less important, the so-called Hausa Bakwai and the Banza Bakwai (Table 4);

Table 4. Emirates conquered following the 1804 Jihad

Hausa Bakwai	Banza Bakwai
Kano	Gombe
Katsina	Kazaure
Zaria	Daura
Bauchi	Hadejia
Adamawa	Misau
Nupe	Katagum
Ilorin	Borno [not conquered]

Today, only a vestige of the Sokoto Empire exists, as the Sokoto Sultanate has no supervisory role over any emirate or chiefdom. The Sultan of Sokoto still functions primarily as the paramount leader of the traditional institutions in Sokoto state. However, his supreme authority in Islamic matters still transcends territorial boundaries as he is considered the overall leader of Nigerian Muslims.

The hierarchical structure of traditional leadership in the core Hausa and Fulbe states is as follows:

Emir/Lamido	Paramount Ruler in-charge of one or more LGAs
District Head	= Hakimi, a traditional ruler in charge of one or more village areas
Village Area Head	= Dakaci
Ward Head	= Mai Ungwar

Today these rulers function basically as government appointees and are subject to civil service rules. However, they can appoint officials directly as well as allotting titles to individuals who then become advisors to the ruler. One of the most important duties of traditional rulers is to be present at government occasions such as foundation laying ceremonies, project commissioning, welcoming visiting government officials and so on. From the point of view of government, this has the advantage of reducing pressure on civil servants, but also gives an impression (sometimes false) that traditional rulers fully support government activities.

The daily business of most traditional leaders is the settling of disputes involving family, communal and religious life, and in many ways this is both useful to the community and valuable to the state, as many disputes that might otherwise clog up court system are settled informally and usually in ways that accord with the local community's sense of appropriateness. In some matrimonial cases for instance, rulers provide hospitality to a woman perceived to be suffering injustice from both religious and judicial point of view, for the period of arbitration.

A relic of the Native Authority structure of the Colonial and post-Independence eras that persists in most Emirates are the Senior Councillors. Individuals with this title have no portfolios in the local government system although they are honorary officials of Emirs with considerable influence. They are generally members of the ruling family whose function is to guarantee the Emir is seen not to have arrogated power to himself alone. This system is re-interpreted in the complex multi-ethnic Middle Belt chiefdoms as a mechanism for sharing out power between political sub-units in order to defuse rivalry. For example, one clan of the ethnic group might provide the *Galadima*, another the *Madaki*, yet another the *Waziri* to assist the chief. This type of delegation frees up the chief for more important tasks but also distributes

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responsibility for controversial actions. The Hausa/Fulbe kinship-based court is thus given new meaning in the Middle Belt.

These titles have no very fixed authority and may vary from one chiefdom to another. In the colonial era, there was some attempt to formalise the system. Table 5 shows the typical portfolio councillor system as at July 1962 in Northern Nigeria;

Table 5. Typical Former Portfolio Councillor System

Divisions	Councillors	Departments	Head of Departments
Administration and Judicial	<i>Emir</i>	Central Administration, District Administration, Village Administration, Native Courts	Chief Scribe
Natural Resources and Cooperatives	<i>Ciroma</i>	Veterinary, Agriculture, Forestry	Chief Alkali (Judge) Veterinary Supervisor Supervisor Agriculture Chief Forestry Assistant
Works, Local Government, Medical and Health	<i>Wambai</i>	Works, Survey, District Council Funds & Medical	Works Supervisor, Development Secretary, Superintendent of Health
Police and Prison	<i>Sarkin Yaki</i>	Police and Prison	Chief of Police, Chief Warder
Education	<i>Dan Iya</i>	Provincial Secondary School Senior and Junior Primary Schools Adult Education	School Manager Senior Literacy Organiser
Finance	<i>Ajiya</i>	Treasury	Ma'aji (Native Treasurer)

Source: Sani (2003:47)

Other titles include Madaki, Shamaki/Baraya, Galadima, Dangaladima, Ubandoma, Maga'ajin Gari and Makama. Kingdoms such as the Nupe, with a mixed linguistic heritage may adopt some Hausa titles while retaining indigenous titles from their own system.

4.2.2 The Sokoto Sultanate

Amongst the emirates of Northern Nigeria, Sokoto is the most prestigious, because the Jihad of Uthman Dan Fodio began from Sokoto. The Sultan of Sokoto has the title *Sarkin Musulmi*, Commander of the Faithful, and he is considered the most senior of the first class chiefs in Northern Nigeria¹⁹. The Sultan is recognised as the voice of the Muslim community in Northern Nigeria, and he is the President of Jama'atul Nasral Islam (JNI), the officially recognized body that oversees Islam in Nigeria in partnership with Supreme Council on Islamic Affairs (§10.3.1). The Sultan announces the sighting of the moon to mark the month of *Ramadan* and the beginning and end of the annual fast.

The pre-eminence of Sokoto itself dates only to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Prior to that, a complex of states controlled by different ethnic groups controlled the Sokoto-Rima system (cf. Hogben & Kirk-Greene 1966:367-417; Last 1967; Johnston 1967). Two kinglists compete for the prehistory of the Sultanate, that of the kings of Zamfara, said to stretch back to the thirteenth century and those of Gobir, located in Arabia and the Sudan, and thus more evidently in a mythical realm. Following the battle of Tabkin Kwatto in 1804, when the forces of the Jihad defeated the Gobirawa, Uthman Dan Fodio conferred flags and titles on the local chiefs. Namoda was made Sarkin Zamfara and the Sarkin Zamfara of Zurmi and the Sarkin Kiawa of Kaura Namoda are descended from him. Mojiju became Sarkin Kebbi of Yabo, a title

¹⁹ During the field visit to Sokoto, Sultan Alhaji Muhammadu Maccido personally met with the research team before directing the Senior Councillor of the Sultanate to grant the rest of the interview on 18th February 2006.

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his descendants still bear. The titles of Ardo Ding Yadi and Ardo Shuni (Dangara) are still held by descendants of the first titleholders, and the Sarkin Yaki of Binji descended from the original Sarkin Yaki, Aliyu Jedo.

The Waziri of Sokoto surrendered to Lord Lugard in 1903 and until the 1930s, the British authorities appointed a succession of weak rulers. The one ruler who did not bend to their will, Sultan Muhammadu Tambari, was repudiated by his own people for occult activities, deposed and banished to Wukari in 1931. However, when the power to appoint officeholders was returned to the kingmakers, the Sultanate began to gain in eminence again.

In 1986, interference of government in the appointment of the Sultan after the death of Sultan Abubakar III resulted in a decline in respect and authority for the office. When in 1988 Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki, (rather than Muhammed Maccido the heir), was installed by General Ibrahim Babangida's military administration it was a rather public insult to the institution of the sultanate. The week-long riots following this imposition were quelled by troops. A continuing lack of support for Dasuki made it imperative for the Federal Government to get rid of him, and in 1996, during the Abacha era, the Military Administrator of Sokoto deposed Alhaji Dasuki and installed Alhaji Muhammadu Maccido. The justification for this was that Dasuki had been involved in financial misdeeds, although clearly this was little more than a pretext. The rather evident ease with which the Federal Government could replace and appoint the Sultan has undoubtedly led to an overall decline in the political authority of the Sultanate and a rise of scepticism among its subjects.

Another aspect of this decline is that although Sokoto was once the capital of a substantial empire the area of its suzerainty has been much reduced. Sokoto State, created in 1967, was roughly coterminous with the previous domain of the Sultanate. But the characteristic process of states creation during the 1990s gradually broke up its territorial coherence. The fragmentation of Sokoto state into the present Sokoto, Kebbi and Zamfara states in 1991 and 1996, also weakened the authority of the Sultan. This political decline has been partly counterbalanced by an increased emphasis on religious leadership. The engagement of the Sultan with spiritual and administrative matters at the national level that day-to-day administration is delegated to official titleholders both at the palace and in the districts²⁰. However, in spite of the wrangling in the Sultanate palace, district, village and ward heads and councillors still continue to resolve issues affecting their communities.

In view of his leadership role, the Sultan is often the first leader called when religious crises occur. He has mediated by meeting with different groups and government functionaries; for example, during the Tiv-Jukun crisis in 1992, Tafawa-Balewa crisis in 1995, Jos crisis in 2001-2004, Kafanchan crisis of 1999 and Zangon-Kataf crisis of 1997 in Taraba, Bauchi, Plateau and Kaduna states respectively. In November 2002, when some incautious remarks by a newspaper columnist concerning the Miss World Beauty pageant led to a severe crisis in Kaduna, with significant loss of life, the Sultan appealed for calm and met with Muslim leaders to contain the situation. When conflict erupted in Sokoto between two Islamic sects (the Shi'ites and Izala) in 2005 the Sultan had to act personally to support his Councillors and District Heads in ending the crisis. The strong identification of the Sultan with Muslim interests makes it more difficult to mediate effectively in an inter-religious crisis. For example, in the Plateau crises of 2003-2004 the Sultan was described by Christian leaders as 'meddling' and contrasted unfavourably with the perceived more neutral religious stance of the Federal government²¹.

4.2.3 Argungu and Gwandu Emirates, Kebbi state

Kebbi state, which was created from the former Sokoto state in 1991, now has four Emirates, Gwandu, Argungu, Zuru and Yauri. Zuru and Yauri are recent creations and are not treated in detail here. Emirs and chiefs in Kebbi state are given full recognition and assigned important roles. Although they have been

²⁰ Fieldwork was conducted in Wamako, Kuane, Goronyo, Rabbah and Isah districts. Some village and ward heads were interviewed too from 18-23rd February 2006. See Annex D for details.

²¹ Interview in Jos on 26th July, 2006

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restricted from full participation in the control and supervision of local government, they can contribute to the decision-making processes. An Emirate or traditional council is authorized in every local government.

4.2.3.1 Gwandu Emirate

The history of Gwandu is intimately linked to the history of the Fulbe jihad in Sokoto. Hogben & Kirk-Greene (1966: 418 ff.) provide a summary history of Gwandu in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The founder of Gwandu, Abdullahi, in 1808 was the guardian of the administration of the western part of Sokoto Emirate. The British occupied Gwandu in 1902 and the Emir died shortly thereafter. His successor, Muhammadu, was deposed in 1906 as part of the colonial authorities' reaction to the Satiru 'Mahdist' incident (§3.1). Shortly after this the capital of Gwandu was moved permanently to Birnin Kebbi, where it is based today, a move that is responsible for the location of modern Kebbi State. Unlike Sokoto, Kebbi includes a substantial population of non-Muslims in the southern Local Governments and traditional rulers have to move much more carefully to avoid sparking conflicts.

Gwandu Emirate council has jurisdiction throughout the territorial boundaries of the historic Emirate. The Emirate council was established ostensibly to reconcile the traditional rulers, although it is now accepted that Emirate or Traditional council cannot veto any decision of local government. The Emirate council has the responsibility of holding Chieftaincy, Traditional and customary matters. The Emir has certain specific responsibilities including the settlement of crises, the maintenance of law and order, assistance in tax and rate collection and the compilation of nominal rolls, the settlement of disputes and to provide leadership to the people, especially in national activities. Family matters, disputes between neighbours, disputes about farm plots, marriage disputes, allegations of witchcraft, assaults on women and girls, market disputes, minor pilfering and the like are cases that are still handled on a daily basis by the traditional institutions at various levels in the state in addition to settling major conflicts.

In Jega district, pastoralists reported extortions by the police in cases of crop damage. The intervention of the district head of Jega reported the matter to the Gwandu Emirate council at Birnin-Kebbi²², which in turn reported the case to the Kebbi State Commissioner of Police. This earned the Divisional Police officer immediate redeployment and led to other rank and file being punished.

4.2.3.2 Argungu [Kebbi] Emirate

Argungu Emirate originated in the town of Birnin Kebbi in the sixteenth century (Hogben & Kirk-Greene 1966: 238 ff.). The ruling family of Argungu, the Lekawa have an elaborate mythological history tracing their ancestry to 'the East' and then Sokoto, but they enter history when their first ruler Kanta revolted against the Songhai in 1516. Kebbi fell to the forces of the Jihad in 1805 and spent much of the nineteenth century in wars against the other Emirates. The British captured Kebbi in 1902 and part of the historic territory of Kebbi became French territory after a boundary demarcation in 1907. In the early 1950s an investigation of the NA concluded that it was a 'web of intrigue and nepotism' and after a purge of officials a new Emir was appointed in 1953.

Northern Kebbi state has experienced conflicts between farmer and pastoral groups especially on *fadama* lands²³. While attempts have been made by the traditional rulers to bring about peace within the Emirates, some district heads were accused of favouring crop farmers against the pastoral groups. The Emir of Argungu suspended some local rulers as a result of their negative attitude to pastoral groups. Peace committees were set up in 2005 to tackle the increasing threat to peace caused by conflict between crop

²² In Gwandu Emirate, interviews amongst farmers and pastoral groups were conducted at Wandu-Sulei in Daliyam District, Jega in Jega district and Kola in Kebbi district from 28th February – 3rd March 2006.

²³ The Emir of Argungu (Alh. Mahammadu Meua) was interviewed on 24th February 2006; likewise some councillors and district, village and ward heads. Some fisherman, farmers, and leaders of pastoral groups were also interviewed on 25th – 27th February 2006.

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farmers and pastoralists. The district head of Augil has also been active as the chairman of the Niger-Nigeria Border peace-making committee. The committees have evolved a strategy and drawn up dry season crop residue grazing calendar. This same system exists in Hadejia and Katsina Emirates of Jigawa and Katsina states. Although occasional problems still occur, the experience has been that there were fewer conflicts between the two groups in 2005 than there were in the whole of the past decade.

The situation was different in Daliyam and Kebbi districts. In early 20006, relations were tense between crop farmers and pastoralists because the Kebbi state authorities had taken over the grazing lands of the pastoral groups for a cassava project. The traditional rulers are losing respect from pastoralists who see them as sympathising with government policy. Apparently many decisions in recent times have been taken by the local government without reference to the rulers and this has resulted in chaos and disorder.

4.2.4 Zazzau (Zaria) Emirate, Kaduna state

Zazzau was one of the original seven Hausa states of northern Nigeria. The Hausa rulers of Zazzau are said to have converted to Islam around 1500 and they remained in power until the Fulbe jihad of 1804. The new Fulbe Emirate of Zazzau became a vassal state of the Sokoto Empire with authority over several smaller chiefdoms. It was brought under British rule in 1903 and later reorganised as a Native Authority (NA). Although the area immediately around Zaria is Muslim, much of the Emirate consists of non-Muslim peoples, especially in the region around and south of Kaduna. As there was extensive slaving in this area in the nineteenth century, bad feeling has long persisted between the peoples of Southern Zaria (who were early attenders at mission schools) and the Emirate.

There are good published sources on the history and administrative development of the emirate through to the early decades of independence. Smith's (1960) monograph on *Government in Zazzau 1800-1950* is a detailed study of changes in political structure before and during British rule. Yahaya's (1980) *The Native Authority System in Northern Nigeria 1950-70* describes and analyses political developments in Zaria from the final decade of British rule through to the second decade of independence (which despite its title includes discussion of the local government reforms of 1976). In the colonial era, the principal administrative officer in Zaria Province was its British Resident, who was responsible for maintaining law and order and good government. A Senior District Officer (DO) and a number of Assistant District Officers (ADOs) who were also concerned with the maintenance of law and order as well as a range of economic duties, including tax assessment and the promotion of agricultural and infrastructural development, assisted him. The centre of power in the Native Authority was the Emir, assisted by an Advisory Council, who was both morally and legally responsible for the wellbeing of the people in his area. The Emir was the only person formally allowed to contribute to policy-making at higher levels, and to this end attended the Annual Conference of Chiefs in northern Nigeria in addition to meeting regularly with the Resident. The Emir's political influence was further enhanced by his economic status: he was a large landowner and perhaps the richest individual in the emirate. He also collected a large salary and allowance from the administration and controlled appointments to the NA and therefore access to the concomitant social and economic benefits.

A typical NA would be organized into the following departments: central administration, treasury, district administration, village administration, police, prisons, education, medicine and health, welfare services, and miscellaneous services. The NA was divided into districts under appointed district heads. Technical departments – principally agriculture, veterinary medicine, forestry, medicine and health - were duplicated at district level. The NA enjoyed a monopoly over the instruments of coercion – the police, courts and prisons. Most cases were heard in the courts of the *Alkali* (indigenous judges) or, in non-Muslim areas, in tribal courts. The NA with the approval of the Resident appointed all *Alkali*, and they could be readily dismissed by the NA. This compromised the independence of the local judiciary and further reinforced the local political dominance of the NA.

Within the NA social status was closely linked to title holding and rank in the political hierarchy: royal officials enjoyed the highest status and members of the occupational guilds the lowest. All officers of state

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possessed symbols of their status in society, for example a corps of clients, a retinue of eulogists, or a team of drummers. The Emir had certain exclusive status symbols for he alone is to be accompanied by a *kakaki* (long trumpet) player, and the state *tambura* (drums) was kept inside his palace.

A system of clientele penetrated every level of Hausa society and this enhanced the political domination of the authority. The Emir was the chief patron and all other members of the Hausa-Fulbe dominated districts of northern Zaria society were in effect his clients. The southern districts were ethnically diverse and less directly under central control. They were also less prosperous economically and this generated a sense of deprivation that led to increasing resistance to the NA system.

The principle of Indirect Rule under the British created a political coalition between the NA and the Provincial Administration, and this remained unchallenged for much of the period before World War II. In the early 1950s this situation began to change, following wider developments in British colonial policy that were influenced by the socialist politics of the post-war period and the changing international context. Although some British commentators argued that the existing NA system could become the primary basis for Nigerian self-government, the prevailing view was that the NAs should be developed as agencies of democratic local government and integrated into a parliamentary system of government. This approach questioned the authority of traditional rulers but came some way towards meeting the aspirations of the emerging regional elites and the new political parties that they were joining.

The Native Authority Law of 1954 established the new system of local government which succeeded Indirect Rule, although some reforms preceded its enactment. The new law was a compromise which both recognized the importance of chiefs and provided for popular participation in local government. Participatory local government was to be achieved through the democratization of councils at village, district and central levels. In practice most NA council members – only some of whom were elected - remained loyal to their chiefs and traditional authority.

Zaria was no exception to this rule. Zaria NA had revived the post of *Waziri* in 1951, giving it to the Chief *Alkali*, a non-royalist. Five new educated members of council were appointed in 1953, but this had little impact on the balance of power and general allegiance to the Emir. By 1960 only three of 18 council members came from outside the NA organization and the Emir's control was such that council decisions were always unanimous and never went to a vote. And although Zaria had led the way in creating subordinate councils, most of these were deliberative bodies with no power to authorize expenditure. The NA remained dominant in both urban and rural areas despite the establishment of participatory local government.

The problem of southern Zaria, however, required government intervention. In 1953 representatives of the districts petitioned the Minister for Local Government and demanded a role in their own administration. In 1957 three districts (Kwoi, Moroa, and Kagoro) were detached from the Zaria NA to form a new administrative division with Jema'a. Following this four predominantly non-Muslim districts (Zangon Katab, Kagarko, Kachia, and Kajuru) benefited from a change of NA policy encouraging qualified locals to enter NA service, and political resistance to the emirate weakened there after 1960 in theory. Yahaya (1980: 8) argues that British support for the Emir was such that they were prepared to turn a blind eye to the real causes of conflict:

“Thus the Provincial Administration consistently supported the NA during a wave of political crises in the southern districts of the Emirate in the 1940s. The official explanation for these crises was to attribute them partly to inadequate supervision, or inadequate touring by administrative officers, and partly to the laxity of control of the NA, but never to the genuine demands by the people for improved social and political conditions.”

This example suggests that the maintenance of the political status quo, including the authority of the Emir and the NA, took precedence over the solution of conflicts that questioned it.

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Following independence, the government moved to establish greater political control at local level. In 1961, the NA law was amended to require that government approve key NA appointments. The Provincial Administration Law of 1962 provided for the replacement of the Residents by Provincial Commissioners who were appointed by the Regional Premiers. In the same year the Nigerian People's Congress (NPC) government of Northern Region issued an order which made it clear that it saw chiefs as fulfilling an essentially symbolic role. Although they still possessed important functions in local government it was difficult for traditional rulers and the NAs to resist increasing subordination to the Federal government. Zaria NA fell increasingly under the control of the Provincial Administration and the NPC government, a development that was facilitated by the pro-NPC attitude of Muhammadu Aminu, who had succeeded as Emir in 1959.

In North Central State these changes were reinforced in April 1970 by the creation of an additional tier of government between the LAs and the districts, the Area Councils. Three Administrative Areas were established in the Emirate: Zaria, Saminaka, and Kachia. An attempt was made to group culturally related districts together and Zaria Administrative Area was by far the largest of them. The new councils were given financial independence from the LA and allocated most of the major functions relating to the provision of social and welfare services.

In February 1976, the number of states was increased from 12 to 16 and North Central State was renamed Kaduna State. A second local government reorganization was carried out nationwide in the same year. Local governments were strengthened as a third tier of government independent of the states, autonomous units within the federal structure. All of the emirates including Zaria were allowed to establish Emirate Councils, but executive powers were clearly vested in new Local Government Councils which were conceived as being composed of representatives of the people with an elected majority. Zaria Emirate (and the old NA) was divided into four Local Government Authorities (LGAs): Ikara, Zaria, Saminaka, and Kachia. Each of these had a full set of functions covering the maintenance of law and order, economic development, and the provision of services to the local population.

The Emirate Council was conceived largely as an advisory body:

“The Emirate Council has been assigned the responsibility of holding chieftaincy, traditional and customary matters. Under the new local government system the Emir has certain specific responsibilities including the settlement of crises, the maintenance of law and order, assistance in tax and rate collection and the compilation of nominal rolls, the settlement of disputes and to provide leadership to the people, especially in national activities. Despite these responsibilities emirs have been insulated from politics to the extent that even minor chiefs with territorial responsibility have been prevented from contesting elections. What is significant is that the indigenous political class which under the old NA was the most powerful group in the local area is now gradually losing control to a popularly elected group.”

(Yahaya 1980: 211)

Note the reference to “the settlement of crises” as one of the specific responsibilities of the Emir.

The basic functions of the Emirate Council have changed relatively little since the 1976 reform: it remains a largely advisory body with the Emir at its head. But since the 1970s there has been a considerable reorganization of administrative units. When the current Emir came to power in February 1975 he inherited 16 districts. The number of districts in the emirate was progressively reduced during the early colonial period: by 1934 it had been cut from 32 to 17 (Hogben & Kirk-Greene 1966: 215-237). At the same time, the creation of many separate chiefdoms in southern Kaduna reduced the territorial jurisdiction of the Emir to perhaps a quarter of its former extent. The creation of Katsina State in 1987 was followed by local demands for the re-establishment of older districts in Zaria, a change supported by the Emir. The eventual result of this process was that the number of districts increased to 38 (covering 337 villages), a proliferation seen as beneficial to the emirate.

Other changes were viewed as negative. Following the Zangon Kataf crisis, four additional chiefdoms were created in 1996: Jaba, Agwam Bajju, Agwam Atyap, and Ikulu. The Emir was reportedly unhappy with

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these excisions, but was not in a position to criticise the then military government openly. In order to survive successive regimes and their different policies and interventions, traditional rulers have often had to hold their counsel in this way, and the Emir of Zazzau has been no exception in this respect.

The current Emir, Alhaji Shehu Idris CFR, enjoys a considerable reputation for his role as a peacemaker and mediator both inside and outside of Zazzau Emirate²⁴. Although Zazzau does not rank as one of the most senior of northern emirates, many people regard its present ruler as the most active and experienced Emir in the national arena. Shehu Idris was born in 1936 into the Katsinawa dynasty, one of four that traditionally provide candidates for the position of Emir of Zazzau (*Sarkin Zazzau*) (Photo 1). Before his accession to the throne he served for many years in the Zaria NA, rising to become the District Head of Zaria and Kewaye (the *Danmadamin Zazzau*) in 1973. The biography (hagiography) of the Emir by Dalhatu and Hassan (2000) provides a glowing account of his life and character and good deeds while in office. The Emir is described as a learned and committed Muslim, a “Grand Patron” of Jama’atu Nasril Islam, and a “modernist” who has worked tirelessly to promote social and economic development in the emirate while also taking care to revive some of its cultural traditions. He is depicted as a benevolent and popular ruler, sometimes distributing grain from his own farms to his subjects. But he has also faced criticism at times: notably in the immediate aftermath of his selection as Emir in 1975 and later, during the oil shortages in 1993, when he was accused of being a black marketeer.

The Emir’s views on the past, present and possible future roles of traditional rulers in Nigeria have been clearly set out in a number of public addresses and debates. One of these is a paper on traditional leadership in Nigeria submitted by the Emir to a conference in the Sudan in 1995. Another is his opening contribution to a roundtable discussion on ‘The Role of Traditional Rulers in Peace-Building and Conflict Resolution’ that took place during the peace conference convened by the Northern Governors’ Forum (NGF) in Kaduna on 1-2 December 2004.

Photo 1. Emir of Zaria and kingmakers in the palace, November 2005



He listed the full and part-time advisors of the Emir, together with the five kingmakers who are eligible to elect a new Emir when the post is vacant. Some of the kingmakers are also councillors to the Emir. The fulltime members of the council report to the palace every day to discuss matters affecting the Emirate. The

²⁴ Interview with Alhaji Ahmadu Fatika, the Sarkin Padan Zazzau, one of the Emir’s senior councillors. On 11th November 2005, the Emir granted a brief interview and his chief palace official was interviewed on 14th November 2005. See Annex A9 for details.

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part-time members attend meetings as and when invited by the Emir, especially during emergency cases. Although each councillor holds a portfolio, they can also be assigned to handle other affairs.

When crucial matters such as conflict arise within the Emirate, councillors are dispatched immediately to assess the situation and report back to council for further instructions and action. The district, village and ward heads in whose domains conflict has erupted are put on alert to communicate with their subjects. The councillor Sarkin-Fada recalled that when the Kafanchan religious crisis began in 1987 an emergency meeting was held to discuss the possibility that the conflict might spread to the Emirate and to consider what actions were to be taken if it did.

The councillor attributes the ability of the Emir to prevent and mediate major conflicts to his family background and personal ability. Zazzau Emirate has four potential ruling houses and the Emir is selected from one of them. When the post is declared vacant, the kingmakers meet and deliberate before choosing the most suitable candidate. According to the councillor, a transparent and honest process produced the present Emir of Zazzau, who has now spent many years on the throne. The Emir is from a decent family, trusted and respected by his subjects. He also received sound Islamic and western education, and spent some time in public service. The experience and abilities of the Emir's councillors may also be an important factor. The Sarkin-Fada himself rose from being a classroom teacher to become, at different times, Minister of Finance, Agriculture, Health, Social Welfare and Information in the Northern Regional Government led by Ahmadu Bello. He also served as councillor to two of the present Emir's predecessors.

Following nominations by the district heads the Emir also appoints all the Imams of Friday mosques, and they are turbaned by him. The Emir has successfully reconciled the various Islamic sects - Izala, Darika and Shi'ites - through dialogue and continuous mediation. Their leaders have on several occasions met with Emir in his palace to discuss matters affecting them.

Kaduna state is noted for a high incidence of ethno-religious conflicts, reflecting the conflict of interest between the Emirate and the minority peoples. Since the mid 1980s, the state has experienced a series of crises: Kafanchan (twice), Zangon-Kataf (twice), Kaduna (five times), Zaria (mainly student riots on the instigation of the Shi'ite sect), Kasuwan-Magarni, Soba, Birin-Gwari, Yar Kasuwa and Saminaka. Of these only Soba and Yar Kasuwa crises were in connection with chieftaincy disputes and the rest were ethno-religious in nature. In all of these crises, the Emir of Zazzau and the Emirate Council have been in the forefront of efforts to prevent and mediate conflict. The Emir has appeared in the media calling for his subjects to end violence. Emergency meetings have been held between the Emir and his council, district heads, religious leaders, government functionaries, elders in the communities and security agents. The non-partisan and active role played by the Emir earned him respect not only among his subjects and in the local and state governments but also at federal level.

Local governments in tense areas, for example, Soba in Kaduna State, have a security committee which meets twice a month to review the security situation (Annex A)²⁵. The main function of the committee is tackling problems relating to Religious and Chieftaincy Affairs. Matters are tabled in committee for deliberation and resolution. Cases that cannot be settled are referred to the main committee for further consideration. In 2001 it was able to resolve a dispute surrounding preaching by Shi'ites. The preaching of the Shi'ite sect was considered critical of the authorities and traditional rulers and likely to incite trouble among youths. The authorities felt if this continued unchecked it was likely to result in clashes between members of this sect and others. The sub-committee invited leaders of the Shi'ites and all other sects to dialogue with them and pointed out the concern of the authorities and appealed to the group to moderate their preaching. The initial response was slow but because the committee persisted in meeting with all the groups on a weekly basis and also co-opted leaders from all the sects, acceptance was gradually achieved at the end of 2002, with the help of both Zazzau Emirate council and the Kaduna State Government. A committee of Imams and Preachers was created in 2003 to moderate all religious messages.

²⁵ Interviews in Rahama district, about 40 km from Zaria, with district, village and ward heads.

4.2.5 Kano Emirate, Kano state

Kano emirate is reputed to have a history that reaches back more than a millennium although prior to the sixteenth century much of this history is mythological (Hogben & Kirk-Greene 1966: 185-214). The Kano Chronicle, written out only in the last decade of the nineteenth century but undoubtedly representing a much earlier record, is the main source for Kano's pre-Fulbe history (Palmer 1928b). The most comprehensive account of the history of the Kano Emirate is undoubtedly Smith (1997) although this only covers the period to 1950. The 1000-year anniversary was celebrated in 1999 in great pomp and pageantry²⁶.

The Emirate of Kano in its present form came into existence in the Habe era, which ended in 1805 when the Muslim Jihadists conquered Kano. The Hausa dynasty was replaced by the Fulbe in 1807. Kano fell to the British in 1903 and the ruler was replaced by Muhamadu Abbas. In the pre-colonial period, Kano Emirate was organized along feudal lines. The Emirate was divided into districts and each district was further split into villages, with each village was made up of wards. At the apex of the system was Sarkin Kano, the Emir, who was assisted by the *Hakimai* (district heads). Below the village heads were the ward heads who controlled the local people. These Emirate functionaries represented Sarkin Kano in their respective territories. They pay homage to the Emir in recognition of his supreme state powers. Tributary gifts were collected from farmers' harvests and a portion of these retained by traditional rulers at different levels. During the colonial era, despite the foundation of Kaduna, Kano became the pre-eminent northern city, a base for light industry and a hub of communications. Perham (1937: 81 ff.) describes the workings of the Emirate in the mid-1930s, while the main account of the evolution of Kano Emirate in the immediate post-colonial period is Paden (1973).

Despite the importance of the Emir of Kano, the population of Kano is by no means a passive supporter of the institution of the Emirate. Indeed, the politics of Kano State and the Emir's court have been deeply intertwined since independence in 1960. In the immediate post-independence era an opposition party, the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU), came into power despite the Emir, who was a staunch supporter of the Northern People's Congress party. His inability to secure victory was seen as an embarrassment and so he was sent into exile in Cameroun after an accusation of misappropriation of funds was levelled against him.

Following the creation of Kano state in 1966, an Emirate council has been in place with the Emir as its chairman to advise government on religious, cultural and security matters. It also serves as an instrument for interpreting government policies and disseminating information from the state government to the grassroots. It also functions to promote Islam and by helping to maintain law and order within its territory. The Emir holds courts daily to confer with dignitaries and interest groups, and to adjudicate minor civil cases.

Despite this early defeat, support for individual Emirs has remained strong. In 1981, when the populist administration of Abubakar Rimi (Governor of Kano State during the 2nd Republic) tried to subvert the authority of the Emir, his subjects rose up against the government. The city was in flames and several government dignitaries were killed, including the Secretary to the Kano State government. For two days the violence continued and government law enforcement agents were unable to control the situation. The Emirate Council stepped up appeals to end the violence, which finally ended after direct contact with youth leaders. Although the Emir and his court were not directly to blame, the Nigerian government evidently considered them culpable, as it then took action to reduce his power. The Emir lost much of his domain to four newly upgraded 1st class Emirs in Gumel, Hadejia, Dutse and Kazaure.

During subsequent military regimes the Emir consolidated his position and became the most financially secure traditional ruler in the country on account of the population in his domain and revenue profile of the state, being the commercial hub of the north. The long military rule in Nigeria actually strengthened the

²⁶ The representative of the Emir of Kano, some district, village and ward heads were interviewed. Leaders of *Yan Daba* (magicians) and *Sarkin Bambadawa* (traditional musicians) were also interviewed and we participated in the 2006 Sallah Id-el Kabir celebrations from 5th – 9th January 2006..

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Emirate council in Kano as the military supported the council through the provision of expensive cars, buildings, and the furnishing of palaces in addition to finance. Presumably one non-elected authority had sympathy with the operations of another. With the initial transition to democracy in 1999, the ruling party (People's Democratic Party) formed the government in Kano which provided support for the Emir. In 2003, this was replaced by an opposition party which promised to introduce the Shari'a legal system. The introduction of the Shari'a legal system has facilitated the development of a close relationship between the government and the Emir; the state government had to seek the co-operation of traditional rulers in implementing Shari'a.

Another factor in this context was the support given by the strongest Islamic sects in Kano to the traditional rulers. Kano Emirate is home to both Tijjaniya and Quadiriyya sects (§3.). These Islamic sects are firm supporters of traditional institutions and in turn enjoy the support of the Emir. However, the more radical Izala and Shi'ite sects, which can be highly critical of traditional rulers, has been the source of considerable trouble in Kano. Indeed, in June 2005, two of their members forced their way into the Emir's palace in order to preach to him. These groups claim to be purists and opposed to all types of non-Islamic practice, but it seems that they may covertly represent popular opposition to the old ruling class. They are in league with rather more traditional subversive groups in Kano, notably the 'Yan Daba (invincibles who believe that their bodies are impregnable to metal), 'Yan Daure (special housebreakers or robbers using mystical powers) and 'Yan Dauka Amariya (rapists who use mystical powers). Typically, radical preaching at the Friday mosque leads to street marches and protests and the subversive groups make use of this to loot shops and stalls in the market. The radical preachers then pretend to condemn this and protest that is not their fault; but clearly they benefit, not only from the disruption, but also from the looted goods. More bizarrely, they clearly also accept the mystical claims of the looters, despite their professed attachment to purist Islam.

Another important element of instability in Kano is that it is a focus of 'reactive' and reprisal riots. One of the consequences of the complex and wealthy economy of Nigeria is the presence of migrant communities originating from other parts of the country in every large city. Northerners live in large southern cities where they are particularly associated with the livestock trade and money-changing. Southerners are scattered throughout all major northern towns and are often the main players in long-distance trade. Lebanese families, often long-resident in Nigeria, are strongly associated with light manufactures, milling etc. Southerners tend to be concentrated in particular areas in northern towns, usually known as the *Sabon Gari* ('New Town'). Ethnic sensitivities and economic disparities make riots, looting and ethnic killings not uncommon and these often take on a religious colour, exacerbated by radical preaching. So, for example, when a northern community is attacked in the south, there may well be a reprisal riot against southerners resident in northern towns. Kano, as the largest of the northern towns and one with the most extensive community of poor, rootless residents is the most likely flashpoint for such riots.

One example of this was the reaction to the killings of Muslims by Christians in Yelwa – Shendam in Plateau State in April 2004. This resulted in several days of anti-Christian riots in Kano. The Emirate made concerted efforts to stop the killing of Christians and the looting of Igbo businesses and others and the Emir sheltered fleeing southerners in the palace. The Emir summoned all of the district heads and councillors in the Emirate council to ensure that the crisis did not spread outside the city to other parts of the state. It is very noticeable that despite the avowedly Muslim affiliation of the Emir and supposedly federal character of the police, southerners clearly considered the Emir more likely to protect them effectively.

4.2.6 Gusau Emirate, Zamfara State

The people of Zamfara generally claim descent from the Maguzawa or pagan Hausa, and their kinglists go back to the thirteenth century (Hogben & Kirk-Greene 1966: 369 ff.). They were originally based at Dutsi in Zurmi district but eventually moved to Anka, the present day centre of the Zamfarawa. Following the battle of Tabkin Kwatto, the Sarkin Zamfarawa received a flag from the Jihadists. A number of smaller Emirates were created in this region following the Jihad in the nineteenth century, but none became powerful. Zamfara State was created out of Sokoto State in 1996 and the Sarkin Zamfara has become correspondingly more influential. In 2000, Zamfara State became the first state to adopt Shari'a and to try and enforce its

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more controversial provisions. Attempts to prosecute and enforce Islamic criminal penalties in Zamfara State have led to both national and international outcries. Amputations of the hand for thieves have been carried out, but more problematic provisions, such as stoning to death, remain unimplemented. In addition, specifically anti-Christian policies such as the demolition of churches and the prosecution of Muslims who convert to Christianity have been enforced, to the dismay of resident communities²⁷.

This suggests that Sharia has become a political tool valuable to the current ruler, His Excellency Alhaji Ahmad Sani Yarima Bakura, in reinforcing his power and authority. For instance, a *Hisbah Sharia* enforcement Aid Group has been created and is recruited in consultation with the Royal fathers. After training its members are posted back to the communities to enforce Sharia rules. *Hisbah* are responsible for ensuring that the okadas, motor-bike taxis, do not carry women. Women are supposed to travel in buses provided by state governments. The *Hisbah* also prevent the drinking of alcohol and arrest free women who are arraigned before the Shari'a Courts. They also regulate traffic during Friday prayers and at traditional festivals such as Sallah. This is little more than a vigilante group, and suggests that the underlying motivation is not properly speaking religious but the quest for power. By emphasising Shari'a law, local politicians can take back some of the power they considered to have been arrogated by the Federal government, while escaping criticism in the political arena.

Zamfara State is one of the less populated northern states and as a consequence, has open spaces attractive to pastoralists, many of whom have migrated across its plains towards the riverine pastures for several centuries. As the population of farmers has increased, there have been an increasing number of disputes with the herders and these have resulted in violent clashes. The chairman of the state council of chiefs, the Emir of Anka, initiated peace committees comprising the rulers, crop farmers, pastoralist leaders including leaders of Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN), community elders and religious leaders, with the support of the state and local government. The committees have begun to recover major grazing reserves and stock-routes. Although the impact is yet to be felt statewide, the committee has had one major success in 2004 in Gidan Jaja Grazing Reserve where a large area of encroached land was recovered and crop farmers were successfully relocated. A Stakeholders' Committee was also established after the eviction of the farmers who had encroached on the reserve.

Elsewhere in Zamfara, the District Heads of Maru and Dan-Sadau intervened between 2002 and 2003 to resolve the conflict between crop farmers and pastoralists and prevent further escalation in Dan-Sadau forest reserve and Kamuku National Park (on the boundary of Zamfara and Kaduna States)²⁸. The District Heads held meetings with the ruler of Birnin-Gwari and staff of Kamuku National Park. This intervention has now led to peaceful co-existence between the various groups and bi-annual meetings are held every year to monitor compliance of the accords.

Another similar initiative of the committee of traditional rulers was successful mediation between pastoralists from Niger visiting the state during the dry season and the crop farmers. The committee established dialogue with the Nigerien traditional rulers across the international frontier and agreed definite dates for evacuation of crops from fields and for the pastoralists to commence grazing residues, an arrangement which has reduced the incidence of clashes and loss of life.

4.2.7 Hadejia Emirate, Jigawa state

The Hadejia Emirate was originally composed of seven separate chiefdoms, whose chiefs received their titles from, and owed allegiance to the Habe Galadima of Borno (Hogben & Kirk Greene 1966:484-491). The history of Hadejia in the nineteenth century is recounted in some detail in Low (1972) and on the Hadejia Emirate website²⁹. The seven chiefdoms were brought together following the Jihad of 1804 and Hadejia Emirate as presently composed is considered to date from 1808. Hadejia fell to Lugard's forces in

²⁷ cf. for example <http://www.ishr.org/activities/campaigns/stoning/sharianigeria.htm>

²⁸ Interviews conducted 7–9th May 2006 with the district heads of Maru and Dan-Sadau.

²⁹ <http://www.hadejia.com>

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1903 (Backwell 1927) but the Emir, Muhammadu, returned to resistance and was broken in 1906 (Burdon 1909). Hadejia's evolution has always strongly been bound up with the power of the Emir of Kano, but the creation of Jigawa State in 1991 was actually contrary to popular demand which had been seeking a proposed 'Hadejia State'. Jigawa state was carved out of the old Kano state and currently has five Emirates, Kazaure, Gumel, Hadejia, Ringim and Dutse, each with a first class Emir³⁰.

The creation of Jigawa state in 1991 gave the Emir of Hadejia a degree of independence which he had not possessed previously³¹. The current Emir of Hadejia is receptive to modernisation and women have considerable freedom to voice their concerns. Efforts are being made to provide them with adult and Islamic education at the Emirate and district levels. District heads reported that this was helping to reduce marital conflicts. Traditional rulers give their attention to family conflicts, conflicts between neighbours, boundary disputes, witchcraft allegations, and political and religious disputes. The senior councillor of the Emirate council, the district head and vice-chairman of Mallam-Madori local government described how a land conflict between a family and a construction company had been settled³². A construction firm working along Hadejia-Ringim road needed laterite soil for its work and was able to source that from Mallam Madori District. However, because of disagreement among members of the family who owned the plot, construction work was held up. The District head therefore reported the matter to the Emirate Council, after failing to resolve the issue and a Senior Councilor of the Emirate was asked to handle the matter. The disputed members of the family were then invited by the District, village and Ward Heads of Mallam Madori and a representative of the Local Government. At the end of the dialogue, a price was agreed for the piece of land as compensation to the family and in addition alternative farm plot was to be allocated to the family by the District Head.

Throughout the 1990s, there were intense conflicts between cultivators and pastoralists in the Hadejia-Nguru wetland and particularly in Kirkassama and Gwuri districts (Blench 2005). Although problems of encroachment and access to grazing lands and watering points were responsible for the clashes, the construction of dams at Tiga-Chalawa and Baguda upstream of the Hadejia and Kafin-Hausa rivers precipitated this situation. Traditional rulers at district level in particular continue to mediate between the two groups in order to prevent a recurrence. The district head of Kirkassama has initiated the formation of a peace committee which meets regularly to review issues. The DFID-funded Jigawa Wetlands Livelihood Project (JEWEL) has mobilised different user groups and they have nominated representatives to a wetlands forum. This forum meets regularly to discuss problems in the wetland and their possible solution.

However, interviews with those outside government also produced accounts of episodes where leaders had abused their powers. A Community Law Centre was initiated and established by DFID so as to support the process of justice in the state. The centre deals with cases of conflict ranging from marriages, land matters, misunderstandings between neighbours etc., trying to settle cases outside the courts and police stations. The centre also represents the less privileged in courts. It relates with traditional rulers on a number of issues affecting communities. The personnel are drawn from Justice and Social Development Ministries of Jigawa State.

Hadejia Emirate is one example of the significant underfunding of traditional rulers, especially when they are remote from the centres of government. The palaces of district heads are highly dilapidated. A district head claimed he was finding it difficult to maintain his seven horses, one of the most powerful symbols of authority. The Emirate was short of cash and important meetings had been postponed a number of times because there was no money to fund them. This can be contrasted with extensive government support to Kuje Emirate in Abuja (§4.4.3).

³⁰ Emir of Hadejia's senior councillor, Dr. Usman Medugu, district heads of Birniwa, Kirkassama, Gwari and Auyo, some village heads (*bulamas*), subjects of traditional rulers including staff of Community Law Centres, leaders of Jigawa Women's Network for Access to Justice (JIWNAJ) and Yakub Memorial Youths Development Association, Birnin Kudu were interviewed from 21-24th January 2006.

³¹ Hadejia Emirate now has its own website: <http://www.hadejia.com/wordpress>

³² Dutse Emirate, interview at Mallam-Madori, 22nd January 2006.

4.2.8 Katsina Emirate, Katsina state

Katsina dynasty was probably originally founded at Durbi in the twelfth century, some 30 kilometres from present-day Katsina (Hogben & Kirk Greene 1966:156-183). The district head continues to bear the title Durbi, and locally the generic name Durbawa is used to refer to the original inhabitants. Katsina was visited by Leo Africanus in the early sixteenth century when it seems to have virtually disintegrated as a state. However, after becoming free of the overlordship of Gao in the mid-sixteenth century, the modern walled city began to develop. Historically Katsina Emirate is one of the seven original Hausa states that took the flag of Uthman Dan Fodio. Usman (1981) is the most extended account of the early history of the Katsina Emirate.

Despite Katsina's historical importance, it was not awarded separate status in the colonial era. Katsina Emirate originally incorporated in Kano, and in 1926, it was transferred to Zaria. A separate Katsina province was created in 1934 combining Katsina and Daura Emirates, but was incorporated into North-Central State after Independence. When states came to be created in 1976, North-Central was renamed Kaduna and Katsina remained linked to Zaria, despite the inconvenient geography. Katsina State, following the boundaries of the former Katsina province, was created in 1987.

Like much of the north-central corridor, Katsina has an extremely high population density. Katsina State has experienced incessant conflicts between crop farmers and pastoralists, especially since the mid-1980s³³. Since then, the Emir of Katsina has formed committees at ward, village and district levels comprising local traditional rulers and representatives of farmers, pastoralists and community elders. These meet regularly to discuss issues relating to conflict prevention and mediation. Pastoralists coming in from Niger during the dry season were accused of participating in conflicts in Katsina and other states in Nigeria. The committees located in the border areas, in particular Jibiya, have linked up with traditional rulers and the leaders of pastoral groups in the Niger Republic to agree on migration times and avert further clashes. The Katsina state government has also given their support to these processes, with key staff from the Ministry of Agriculture seconded to committees at different levels. The committees are also supported financially by the state and local governments. At the time of the study it seemed to be working well. A similar approach has been adopted in Hadejia Emirate in Jigawa state.

The present Emir of Katsina Alhaji Muhammadu Kabir Na-Goggo has also taken another initiative and established an umbrella peace committee at the Emirate level and directed all District heads to establish similar committees. The peace committee had taken root in Jibiya District while others were at various levels of formation. Conflicts being settled by traditional rulers at various levels include matrimonial and witchcraft matters, land matters both within families and communities, family disagreements, misunderstanding between neighbours, minor thefts (mainly of farm produce), disputes between co-wives, political power tussles, rape cases, adultery, quarrels between youths and women etc. Some committee members criticized government for not giving the traditional institution the befitting legislation to perform. Their desire was for traditional rulers to be allotted full responsibility of peace making and be supported with a budget.

The main Islamic sects, especially the Tijaniyya, are behind the traditional rulers and the Imams appointed for the central mosque in Katsina belong to the Tijaniyya sect. But the radical groups, notably the Shi'ites and the Izala, have regularly been in conflict with the traditional authorities. The leader of the Shi'ites, Mallam Yakub Muhammad Katsina, has been critical both of the government of the day and traditional rulers, which led to his arrest in 1997. A dialogue established by the Emirate Council has seen some improvement in understanding between the authorities and the Shi'ite group. The Izala sect, however, has defiantly established its own mosques and appointed mosque leaders without the consent of the Emirs or

³³ A representative of the Emir of Katsina, District Heads of Jibiya, Safana, village and ward heads, representatives of Yan-Agaji (Muslims Aid Group), leaders of Market Association, civil servants and Fadama farmers were interviewed. Sallah (Id-el Kabir) homage and celebrations for the Emir of Katsina (Alh. Muhamadu Kabir Usman) were covered from 14th – 18th January, 2006.

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district heads. These actions were followed by clashes between supporters of the two Islamic sects. The Emirs were gradually able to contain this situation and currently have reached an accommodation with the Izala sect, which has recently moderated some of its positions.

As in Kano, the intense Islamic tradition in Katsina makes it a locus for reprisal killings. There were riots in April 2004 as a reaction to the murder of Muslims in Yelwa in Plateau State. Violent demonstrations took place in Katsina in February 2006 for three days over the 'cartoon palaver'. When conflict erupted in the state capital, many Christians and Igbo traders took refuge in the Emir's palace. The Emir made continuous appeals to the rioters to stop the carnage; and to this end emergency meetings were held with the Emirate councillors, officials of the Katsina state government, and subsequently with all districts heads. This suggests that traditional institutions and in particular the Emir of Katsina still command respect among the general population. However, it is clear that this type of urban violence is intentionally exacerbated by shadowy political forces, often making use of the preaching of the radical sects.

4.2.8 Bauchi Emirate, Bauchi state

Bauchi Emirate came into being with the Jihad of Uthman Dan Fodio (Hogben & Kirk Greene 1966:454-464). The first Emir, Mallam Yakubu Bauchi, was a student of Dan Fodio and the Shehu and gave him a flag to establish a Fulbe Kingdom in 1805. He was an accomplished military strategist who in eight years conquered much of the hinterland of Bauchi, as far as the Wurkum hills, Lafia and Lere. The British conquered Bauchi in 1902 and the then Emir, Umaru, was deposed.

The Emirate has witnessed a series of major ethno-religious crises since 1991³⁴, reflecting the resentment of the Sayawa of Tafawa Balewa and Bogoro LGAs against its rule. Case Study 4 in §10.2 recounts this story in more detail.

4.2.10 Gombe Emirate, Gombe state

Gombe Emirate was created by Buba Yero in the early nineteenth century as part of the Jihad of Uthman Dan Fodio³⁵. The original boundaries of the Emirate stretched from Old Gombe to Jalingo, but the creation of Muri Emirate in 1833 to accommodate the interest of the Emir's brother reduced it to roughly its present extent (Hogben & Kirk Greene 1966:465-474). The British conquered Gombe in 1902 at the battle of Tongo and the capital of Gombe moved to Nafada when the British Military Camp/UAC Trade Centre was set up in 1913. The present Gombe town was established in 1919 as a colonial settlement. In 1930, Waja was excised from Gombe to become an independent District. Low (1972) presents an account of the founding and evolution of Gombe in the nineteenth century.

At Independence, the Gombe Native Authority (NA) system inherited from the colonial government continued to function. However, in 1976 sweeping reforms were embarked upon by the military and Gombe NA was divided into Gombe, Akko and Dukku LGAs. In 2002, Governor Hasidu broke up Gombe Emirate into parts, ruled by 2nd Class Emirs and two Senior District Heads, but the following year Governor Goje reduced this to five and created two additional Senior District Heads.

Gombe was originally a Fulbe settlement, established in a non-Muslim hinterland and until the 1960s the town was largely Fulfulde-speaking. However, many of the minorities surrounding the town were converted to Christianity during the colonial and post-Independence era and Gombe town itself was increasingly the focus of migrations from other regions of Nigeria. As a consequence, Hausa has become the dominant

³⁴ Fieldwork was carried out at Tafawa Balewa among the Siyawa people. The historical summary was supplied by Mr. Jonathan Manzo and others in a group interview at Mwari on 21st and 22nd February 2006.

³⁵ The Waziri deputizes for the Emir. The Senior Councillor granted an interview at his residence on 27th January 2006 but insisted that the opinions he would express were his and not that of the Emir, Alhaji Shehu Usman Abubakar.

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speech-form in the town and the Emir is obliged to pursue policies to reduce friction between different religious groups. The splitting up of the Emirate during 2002-3 has significantly reduced the authority of the Emir.

Although court officials such as the Waziri Gombe were keen to emphasise the tranquillity of the Emirate and the role of the Emir in maintaining the peace, the facts are rather against them. There have been two major sources of conflict over recent decades, the fraught relations between mobile and settled pastoralists, and the spillover from radical Islamist sects. Even apart from this, since January 2006 there have been two major conflicts in the state involving loss of lives and property on the outskirts of Gombe town over the Danish cartoons and between Dadiya and Tula over population census of March 2006.

Udawa pastoralists have been a particular problem to the security of the state. There has been a long-standing relationship between the Udawa and the Fulbe of Gombe because both are nomadic pastoralists. Land was once so abundant that grazing rights were no issue. The laws of cattle routes were observed until about 1990 when it became increasingly difficult for Udawa to graze freely. However, as sedentary farmers are now cultivating grazing reserves and the nomadic pastoralists began to violate established procedures put in place by government and traditional rulers to forestall conflict. Government came down heavily on the nomads in a military operation in 2003 which has reduced the number of incidents significantly. The Emir of Gombe was able to convince his district heads to find a sustainable solution to the problem. The Senior District head of Malam Sidi said that Udawa are Fulbe like them. For self-defence the Udawa started carrying weapons and arms. The conflict between the pastoralists and sedentary Fulbe farmers became worse and the Udawa started hiring armed guards for protection, but these guards began to loot the cattle of their patrons. The attempt to make Udawa leaders observe a strict calendar of movement broke down and lawlessness resulted. When the state government began to take the problem seriously, the Emirate council resolved to use military force. His District Heads co-operated with the army to flush out the Udawa by revealing their hideouts in game reserves and other places. A comprehensive security arrangement was made to flush out armed bandits in 2003 in the last year of Governor Hashidu. The success story had given him the name: *Hashidu Maganin Udawa*, 'Hashidu the equal to the Udawa'. In the final operation in 2003, the pastoralists were surrounded and cut off so that they could not cross the Gongola River. In many ways this is an unsatisfactory solution since the Udawa response has been to become better-armed and seek grazing elsewhere, but it was inevitably popular with the settled agropastoralists in the Gombe area.

Apart from these dramatic large-scale episodes, the ordinary work of officials concerns domestic issues. The Senior District Head had two women who had been staying with him for fourteen days awaiting an amicable resolution of their marital disputes. One of the women was a girl who was forced by her siblings to marry a man against her wishes. She ran to the Senior District Head who was trying to get the siblings to understand that it was not fair to force her to marry against her wish. He holds such sessions on a daily basis because most of his subjects do not like taking matters to court because of delays and unequal access to justice.

The same Senior District Head provided refuge for Christian students from the secondary school in the town when there was a religious crisis in the school. He took care of all these students without any financial assistance from government or relief agency. Trouble broke out in the market in 2005 over collection of market dues by the local government. The sellers refused to pay because they alleged that the local government had left the road leading to the market in complete disrepair and there was no point in paying dues. The local government Chairman came to calm the situation and he was almost lynched. However, the Senior District Head was able to stop the riot due to the respect people still accord the institution.

4.2.11 Muri Emirate, Taraba state

The Emirates of Taraba state are Muri and Gashaka and the chiefdoms include Wukari, Ibi, Mambila, Zing and Karim. Muri Emirate was created in 1833 and assigned to Hamman Ruwa by Buba Yero the ruler of Gombe (Hogben & Kirk Greene 1966:447-453). Muri became an important centre for slavers and was targeted by the British for this reason, who finally defeated the Emir's forces in 1901. As a consequence, the

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Emir of Muri was never respected by the non-Muslim population, despite the rosy image presented by Hogben & Kirk Greene (1966:453). Muri was originally a province in its own right but was eventually subsumed into Benue province in 1926. This important Emirate controlled a vast area from the Benue River to Katsina Ala.

In 1985, Governor Yohanna Madaki, a Christian, dismissed the last Emir over the confiscation of land from the local people while boasting over his mission to rid the area of feudal practices (§8.2)³⁶. The land was returned by government to the original owners and since then the local population has strongly resisted the appointment of a new Emir, with some reason. Muri Emirate is thus technically managed by the Emir of Gombe, but in practice it is unlikely to ever be restored.

However, this does not mean there is no appetite for local chiefs who are more representative of the indigenous populations. In March 2006, the Taraba State government upgraded 16 traditional rulers³⁷. Those upgraded to 1st class status include Lamido of Gashaka, Gara of Donga, Kpanti Zing, Chief of Mambila and Igwe of Takum. Newly created 3rd Class chiefdoms are Bankudi and Daka in Bali LGA, Wurkum and Old Muri in Karim Lamido LGA, Mutum Biyu and Gassol in Gassol LGA, Kwaji, Mumuye, Lau, Kurmi and Ibi³⁸. This was confirmed by the Commissioner for Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs Alhaji Mustapha Hama Gabdo. Government is planning to set up a high power committee to come out with criteria on how to fill the long vacant stools of Mambila, Muri and Takum.

4.2.12 Adamawa Emirate, Adamawa state

Adamawa was originally a geographical term, describing the region south and west of Lake Chad, especially around present-day Yola during the nineteenth century. It was dropped in favour of Yola during the early years of the British administration, but in 1926 it was revived to describe both the Lamidate and the new province of Adamawa (East 1935; Kirk-Greene 1958; Hogben & Kirk-Greene 1966: 428-446; Abubakar 1977). The Emir of Adamawa is known by a Fulfulde title, Lamido. Throughout the nineteenth century, a continuous series of wars against the minority tribes throughout this region led to the creation of a large territorial block. Apart from expansion, the Yola Lamidate was motivated by extensive slave-raiding. The British captured Yola in 1901 and the 4th Lamido, Zubeiru, was deposed. He fled to Gurin and made a last stand there before being finally defeated. The British appointed Bobbo Ahmadu to succeed him, then deposed him in turn in 1909. For some time, this remained an 'unpacified' region and the slave-raider, Hamman Yaji, continued to operate between 1912 and 1927 until captured by the British (Vaughan & Kirk-Greene 1995). Memories of the cruelties practised by Hamman Yaji are still vivid today and for this reason, allegiance to the Lamidate among minority peoples in Adamawa is very limited.

The Lamidate, although a product of the Jihad of 1804, is distinct from all the other Emirates in remaining Fulbe and Fulfulde-speaking. Similar Lamidates in Northern Cameroun also persist although the different French approach to traditional rulers meant that their power was long ago eliminated. Adamawa is an important region for nomadic pastoralists and its low human population density has meant that they are in abundance there. The Lamidate has always supported the rights of herders over the farmers and this has been a long-term source of tension with the farmers.

Before the coming of the current Emir, Alhaji Dr. Aliyu Mustapha, in Adamawa there was no clear-cut or watertight separation of powers with a centralized system of administration. The titles of administrators in Adamawa and Mubi emirates is as follows (Table 6);

³⁶ "I have dealt a lethal blow to feudalism." Text of an interview with Tell Magazine Associate Editor, Ima Niboro. January 29, 1996

³⁷ Interview was conducted at the Ministry of Chieftaincy Affairs with its Director in Jalingo on 14th May 2006.

³⁸ Daily Trust 31st March 2006.

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Table 6. Administrative titles in Adamawa

Title	Function
Lamido	Emir
Hakimi	District Head
Kadi	Judge/Leading prayers in the Mosque
Sarkin- Fulani	Adviser to the Lamido
Ardo	Head of Fulbe nomadic pastoralists
Jauro	Village Head

The increased political power of minorities has led to the expansion of chiefdoms in Adamawa³⁹. Four traditional rulers in the Lamidate were recently upgraded to 1st class status namely: Mbula, Bacama, Longuda and Jada, but the Lamido remains Chairman of the state traditional council. Nonetheless, this has reduced his domain to just Yola, Gombi, Giri and Hong LGAs. The Huba [=Kilba] people are presently exerting strong pressure for a chiefdom of their own and it is likely the Lamidate will soon be confined to Yola town.

4.2.13 Mubi Emirate, Adamawa state

Mubi Emirate is not a traditional Emirate, but was created by the Sardauna administration in the post-independence era⁴⁰. Mubi was originally an outpost of the Mandara kingdom, and was taken over by the forces of the Jihad during the campaign for Adamawa (Hogben & Kirk-Greene 1966: 428-446). The purpose was to establish a unifying institution for the multiplicity of ethnic groups in the then Sardauna Province. In principle any of five senior district heads in the 5 LGAs (Maiham, Mubi North, Mubi South, Michika and Madagali) of the Emirate can contest the post of Emir when it becomes vacant. The populations of Muslims and Christians in the Emirate are approximately the same. Slavery persisted in this region until after the First World War (Ubah 1991) and resentment between the two religious camps remains at a high level; as a consequence, the Emir is frequently called upon to resolve conflicts.

A typical example is the Miss World riot in Kaduna in November 2002. Anger from the Muslim community resulted in cars being burnt at EYN Church No. 1. The Emir personally hurried to the church on foot not only to quench the fire but pleaded with the church not to react. His plea was heeded and a crisis was averted. The person inciting Muslims to riot was arrested and handed over to the police. A rather more striking case was the near-riot on market day in April 2004. Some Hausa artefact traders had on display photographs of people from Mubi North from the period when they still practised nudity. The traders were taunting local people and calling them savages and *arna*, 'infidels'. When information about this reached the remote villages of the people in question, they mobilised and went to take over the police station before chasing out all the Hausa in Mubi Emirate. The Emir hurried to the police station and pleaded with his people to show restraint. The culprits were arrested and taken out of the domain of the Emir, thereby averting a potential riot. In 2003, there was a serious fight between Bahuli and Wudili villages in Mubi North LGA over the ownership of farmland. The Emir went in person to pacify the warring peoples by declaring the land a 'no go area'. The parties accepted the decision and peace was restored.

All these actions are commendable and the prestige of the Emir was clearly of importance in preventing civil disorder. However, not all the actions of the Emirs fall within generally accepted standards of human rights. In 2001, during the reign of the late Emir of Mubi Alhaji Ahmadu Isa, the father of the present Emir of Mubi, Alhaji Abubakar Isa Ahmadu, 7 prominent Igbo traders were arrested in a robbery attack. All of them were later released but the Emir ordered for their execution in a dawn operation. They were hunted down in their houses and killed by Mubi residents. This did not provoke any reaction from the Igbo community was perceived by residents as a confirmation that the culprits were guilty.

³⁹ Interviews conducted at Yola on 11th May 2006.

⁴⁰ HRH Alhaji Abubakar Isa Ahmadu, Emir of Mubi, was interviewed at the palace 8th May 2006.

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The Emir of Mubi operates in a highly unconventional manner that would not be acceptable were it closer to the centres of power in Nigeria. This part of Adamawa has always been somewhat lawless partly because of the proximity of Cameroun and Chad and the guns that circulated following the Chadian civil war. At the same time, government is too remote to address the security problems effectively and as a consequence, the Emir can and does take direct action. As a consequence, he is generally popular in the region and can exercise authority in a way that has become impossible for more visible traditional rulers in the centre of the country⁴¹.

In 2004, cases of armed robbery in the Mubi area became very common after the 213 Tank Battalion was moved from Mubi to Biu. The Emir made a formal request to the government and some units were posted back. The robbers typically hid out in the inaccessible hills behind Mubi. A search was made for the gang, and the soldiers were guided by the local *sarkin pawa*, the butchers' guild, who know the terrain and are reputed to have mystical powers to protect them from attacks by metal objects. Four of the bandits were killed and eleven others arrested. The Emir ordered them to be executed publicly at the police station on market day. This was carried out and since then the incidence of robbery has declined dramatically. From the local point of view, the ineffectiveness of government security is such that drastic measures are called for and generally have the assent of the local populace. This type of action is clearly unacceptable within the broad context of law and national system of justice. The remoteness of the area may explain why such acts did not attract press coverage. Nonetheless, the state can hardly tolerate regular extra-judicial killings.

4.3 Kanuri

4.3.1 Borno State

The most ancient Islamic Emirates within Nigeria are the kingdoms of Kanem/Borno in northeast Nigeria first founded by the Sayfawa Dynasty in the ninth century (Schultze 1968). Its rulers were originally called *Mai*, but when the Saifawa collapsed in the eighteenth century AD and was replaced by the Al-Kanemi dynasty their title changed to Shehu (Brenner 1973; Usman et al. 1983; Mahadi, 2001). The original focus of the Kanem kingdoms was further north, partly in Niger and Chad, and these areas are noted for the large brick-built cities, such as Birni Gazargamo, now largely under the sand. The Kanem kingdom reached its height in Kukawa, a capital city visited by Heinrich Barth in the 1850s (Barth 1857:304). The present-day capital of the Kanuri, Maiduguri (originally Yerwa) is a relatively recent foundation and only became the residence of the Shehu in 1907 (Kawka 2002).

Throughout much of its history, Borno-Kanem was a highly expansionist kingdom and its wars are recorded at some length in a series of chronicles (e.g. Palmer 1928a). Many of the minority peoples south of Borno were subjugated and in some cases, assimilated. However, Borno-Kanem was dealt a series of blows in the nineteenth century from which it never truly recovered. First, the Jihad from 1804 onwards took away its suzerainty over many southern areas, when the Lamidate of Yola was created. Its most important source of income, the slave trade, gradually dwindled during the nineteenth century, as prohibitions were gradually implemented. When Shehu Ibrahim came to power in 1884, the kingdom was in a state of crisis, riven by internal dissent and unable to unify in the face of external threats. From 1892 onwards, Rabeh, a former slave from the Sudan, began effective empire building in the whole region south of Lake Chad and Borno simply crumbled (Babikir 1950; Gentil 1902). Rabeh was in turn defeated by French forces in 1900 and the whole region came under joint German-French rule for a short period. By 1902, the British took over northeast Nigeria and installed Bukar Garbai as Shehu, first in Kukawa and then in Maiduguri.

Over the twentieth century, Kanuri influence has progressively waned. The domain of the Shehu has shrunk as various Emirates were established and eventually, with the creation of Yobe State, a large region of Borno was excised. Moreover, the expansion of the Hausa through trade and culture has pushed the Kanuri language into serious decline; no longer is it spoken as a second language by the peoples south of Borno. Nonetheless, the Kanuri remain numerous and as the largest non-Hausa Muslim group in Nigeria, the views

⁴¹ Interview in Mubi on 9th May, 2006.

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of the Shehu are always treated with respect. Borno was never conquered during the Jihad but the Shehu can deputise for the Sultan in matters affecting the Nigerian Muslim Community.

Kanuri administrative titles were somewhat different from their Hausa equivalents and when the colonial authorities regularised the situation the hierarchy was established as follows (Table 7);

Table 7. Kanuri titles and their equivalents

Kanuri	English	Hausa
Shehu	Supreme Emir	
Mai	Emir	Amiru
(Hakimi)	District Head	Hakimi
Lawan	Village Head	Dakaci
Bulama	Ward Head	Mai Angwa

District Headship was a British creation introduced into the Kanuri system. All the traditional rulers in the domain of the Shehu and Bama are Kanuri. In Marte and Mafa, where the population of Shuwa Arabs is high, a few *Lawans* are Shuwa. The Emirates and the period of their creation are shown in Table 8;

Table 8. Kanuri titles and their origin

Emirate	Title and Status
Borno	Shehu, 1 st Class but Supreme Ruler and Chairman of Traditional Council of the State. Pre-colonial creation.
Bama	Mai – 1 st Class and pre-colonial
Biu	Mai – 1 st Class, colonial creation
Gwoza	Mai – 1 st Class, creation in the 1 st Republic
Shani	Mai – 2 nd Class, colonial creation
Askira	Mai – 2 nd Class, creation in 1 st Republic
Uba	Mai – 2 nd Class, creation in 1 st Republic

The financing of the Shehu is unusual by the standards of the Hausa Emirates. The Shehu is deemed not to own any property and has no farms or livestock and is supported entirely by revenues drawn for the State government and donations.

Maiduguri is a city of immigrants, since it was effectively a colonial creation. As a consequence it has always attracted traders and settlers from other parts of Nigeria and in particular has always had a large Christian community. Needless, to say, relations between its communities have not always been harmonious. However, the most violent civil disorder in Maiduguri has been the result of confrontations with the Muslim community. The Bullumkuttu riots of October 1982 were instigated by the Maitatsine sect who attacked innocent people on the outskirts of Maiduguri (see §10.5.2 for a more detailed account of this episode). The Shehu acted to contain the crisis by bringing in the army. In 2000, there was a conflict over the introduction of Shari'a law; the Shehu took the view that Shari'a had always operated in his domain and there was no need for a new law. Nonetheless, it went ahead, and when the House of Assembly and the State Governor passed the bill establishing Shari'a there was rioting by Hausa, Fulbe, Chadian and Nigerian elements. The rioters destroyed statues of animals that adorned the major roundabouts of Maiduguri as not acceptable to Islam. The Shehu requested the law enforcement agents to shoot the rioters and the situation calmed down.

A far more serious incident occurred on February 18 2006, when a public lecture on the Danish cartoons of Mohammed transformed into a violent protest against the Obasanjo third term. The Shehu was absent from the city and there seems to have been an authority vacuum, allowing the riots to go on unchecked. By the time soldiers restored calm, the mob had looted and burned churches, shops, hotels and homes all over Maiduguri. More than 43 churches and 400 shops were burnt and over 60 Christians were killed by the Muslim mobs.

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4.3.2 Yobe State

Yobe state was created in August 1991 from the former Borno State and the population remains largely Kanuri, although with a significant population of minorities. When the state was created there were just two Emirates, Fika and Bedde, both of which have pre-colonial roots. The first Governor, Bukar Abba Ibrahim, created twelve new Emirates in 1991 as part of the process of buying political favours. When the military took over in 1993, the new Emirates were all scrapped. However, in 1999, the same governor was re-elected and the Emirates summarily restored. These are shown in Table 9;

Table 9. Traditional rulers in Yobe State

Emirate	Status	Year	Dominant Ethnic Group
Fika (Potiskum)	1 st Class	1905	Bole
Bedde (Bedde)	1 st Class	1905	Bedde
Gujiba (Binyadi)	1 st Class	1999	Kanuri
Gulani (Gulani)	1 st Class	1999	Kanuri
Ngazargamu (Geidam)	1 st Class	1999	Kanuri
Damaturu (Damaturu)	1 st Class	1999	Kanuri
Nguru (Nguru)	1 st Class	1999	Kanuri
Machina (Michina)	1 st Class	1999	Kanuri
Gudi (Gadaka)	2 nd Class	1999	Kanuri
Pataskum (Pataskum)	2 nd Class	1999	Ngizim
Tikau (Sabon Gari Nangere)	2 nd Class	1999	Karekare [=Karai-Karai]
Funei (Damagu)	2 nd Class	1999	Karekare [=Karai-Karai]
Jajere (Babbangida)	2 nd Class	1999	Fulbe
Ganzarma (Ganzarma)	2 nd Class	1999	Fulbe

This type of instability hardly builds respect for the institution, and it remains to be seen how many of these new Emirates will survive the political process. According to the District Head of Tikau, Alhaji Hamidu Mani, the Emir of Fika, has the ability to unite all the ethnic groups⁴². The new Emirs look up to him and request his counsel in all matters related to chieftaincy. However, a history of problems in Fika Emirate (Case Study 2) suggests that this may be a rather optimistic view.

Case Study 2. Fika Emirate

Fika Emirate is unusual in being a multi-ethnic emirate with roots in the pre-colonial era. It is dominated by the Bole people and claims to have been established in 1805 from a settlement named Daniski⁴³. Historical traditions claim that the institution dates back to the 15th century and that the Bole were Islamised prior to the move to Fika. Fika town itself was abandoned in favour of Potiskum in 1924 (Hogben & Kirk-Greene 1966:359-361). The confluence of two other peoples laying claim to the land (the Ngizim and Karekare) has developed into a complex history of plot and counter-plot over the twentieth century, and this continues to create rivalries into the present.

One example of this ethnic rivalry was the riot at Ganzarma in June 1982. The government of Borno state under the Great Nigeria People's Party demoted the District Head simply because he was a member of National Party of Nigeria. Mai Yari was Fulbe and was concerned that a Karekare would replace him as District Head. With the connivance of the State Police Commissioner he instigated his subjects to go on the rampage. In another case in 1994, 19 Churches were burnt by the Izala sect and the Emir acted promptly to prevent reprisals. Similarly, in February 2006, seven churches were burnt over the cartoon riots. The Emir was instrumental in the rapid restoration of peace.

⁴² Interview on 12th April 2006 assisted by Mal. Manu Umaru Karofi, a retired teacher.

⁴³ Interview with a group of palace officials in Potiskum on 11th April 2006.

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4.4 The Middle Belt Emirates

The Middle Belt states include Niger, Kwara, Kogi, FCT, Nasarawa, Benue, Plateau and Taraba. Given the political connotation of the name, minority ethnic groups of southern Kaduna, Bauchi and Gombe are included. Before the coming of British rule in 1903, Islam had deep roots in these areas, excluding Plateau, Benue and Taraba states. The Emirates found in this zone are Ilorin, Borgu, Minna, Kontagora, Bida, Agai, Suleja, Nasarawa, Keffi, Jema'a, Lafia, Wase, Kanam, Gashaka and Muri.

4.4.1 Kontagora and Busa Emirates, Niger state

In Niger state there are six first class rulers: Emir of Minna, the Etsu Nupe in Bida and the Emirs of Agaie, Suleja, Kontagora and New Bussa (Borgu). Of these, only the Etsu Nupe and the Emir of Busa are long-established. Suleja, Kontagora and Minna were established after the Jihad of 1804.

Kontagora is noted for its ethno-religious and political violence, but there are also clashes between crop farmers and pastoral groups. In 1994 violence erupted when two political parties disagreed; this resulted in the burning of many buildings, including the local government secretariat, in front of the Emir's palace. In Kontagora Emirate council efforts began in 1995 to reduce the violence in the area⁴⁴. The council tried to organise a committee of leaders representing the various ethnic groups resident in Kontagora. Regular meetings were held to discuss issues affecting the peace in the area. Although this forum was helpful it did not stop the excesses of local youths.

In February 2006, ethno-religious conflicts erupted in Kontagora leaving many people dead. Although the Emir summoned emergency meetings and appealed to the subjects to end the violence this was largely ineffective. The Emir's intervention prevented the spread of the violence to other districts in the Emirate. The riots only ceased following intervention by the military. Political wrangling and interference in Kontagora Emirate has reduced the authority of the Emir. The district head of Igede flouted the order of the Emir not to allow encroachment in Bobi Grazing Reserve and argued with the Emir in public.

Similarly, Kainji National Park in New Bussa has been a flashpoint for clashes between pastoralists and the National Park guards. The ruler of New Bussa has intervened several times to stop the violence between Kainji National Park guards and pastoralists. The pastoralists claimed that the park had been their traditional halting point en route to dry season grazing. The National Park used armed force to stop them from passing through with their herds. The mediation of the Bussa traditional ruler succeeded in minimising the conflict in a situation that both the government and the administration of the National Park found difficult to handle.

The Emir of Borgu Alhaji Haliru Dantoro, used chieftaincy titles to reconcile two former Heads of state General Ibrahim Babangida and Major-General Muhammadu Buhari.

“Buhari has been angry with Babangida following the coup which ousted him and led to the emergence of Babangida as head of state, an act Buhari saw as betrayal by his Chief of Army Staff. However, the turbaning ceremony of the duo provided a meeting point for the two men who decided to bury the hatchet after the Emir had a meeting with them before the installation ceremony. General Buhari was the first to be invited to the podium for the turbaning as protocol demanded but immediately the master of ceremony invited the former military leader to the stand, Gen. Babangida stood up and followed him. The crowd cheered as both Generals walked holding hands. They were not turbaned but given spears as their instrument of office. Gen. Buhari was appointed Maje of Borgu kingdom (Strong Pillar of Borgu Kingdom) while Gen. Babangida was made Mayaki of Borgu kingdom (Invisible War Commander of Borgu Kingdom).”⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Interview 16th December 2005 with the Emir and his Senior Councillors at the palace.

⁴⁵ Two other prominent Nigerians – Chief Sunday Awoniyi, Chairman Arewa Consultative Forum and Dr. Orji Uzor Kalu, Abia State Governor and Presidential aspirant were also turbaned at the occasion as Ba'a

The conferment of the titles created an avenue for the Emir to talk privately with the warring Generals.

4.4.2 Bida Emirate in Niger State

The kingdom of the Nupe stretches back to the 15th century when it was founded by the semi-mythical figure of Tsoede who fled the Igala kingdom at Idah in the early sixteenth century to found a confederation of towns along the Niger. The Nupe were converted to Islam at the end of the eighteenth century by Mallam Dendo, a wandering preacher, and were incorporated into the Fulbe kingdoms established by the Jihad after 1806. However, the traditions of Nupe were retained, hence the ruler of Nupe is the Etsu Nupe rather than being called Emir. Nupe fell to the British forces in 1897, the Etsu Abubakar was deposed and replaced by the more pliable Muhammadu (Vandeleur 1898). More detail on the history of the Nupe kingdoms can be found in Burdon (1909), Nadel (1942), Hogben & Kirk-Greene (1966:261-282) and Mason (1981).

One arrangement that developed following disputes over accession to the position of Etsu was the post be circulated among three ruling houses, all of whom maintain bases in Bida. This tradition has been maintained, although not without dispute, and it provides an opportunity for the houses not in power to stir up popular agitation to try and get rid of an unpopular Etsu. In 2003, when the long rule of Alhaji (Dr.) Umaru Sanda Ndayako ended, there was immediate controversy over the succession and long letters with tendentious historical accounts were sent to the press by various factions. The turbaning of the new Etsu, Alhaji Yahaya Abubakar took place in September 2003 in Minna rather than Bida, presumably reduce controversy.

Although the realm of the Etsu Nupe is dominated by the Nupe people, these are divided into a number of groups, some of whom speak languages very distinct from standard Nupe. In addition, although the main Nupe towns are dominated by Islam, traditional religion remains very strong in many rural areas and the Nupe are well-known for their masquerades. Christianity has made some impact in rural areas but without any allegiance from the ruling group will remain weak.

The Etsu Nupe is the President of the traditional rulers' emirate council in Niger State. Although there are five other first class Emirs (the Emirs of Suleja, Kontagora, Agaie and New-Bussa), the president of the council of chiefs in Bida is the most powerful and respected by subjects and government authorities and has been appointed to many national and state assignments. The late Etsu Nupe was twice a member of Local Government Reforms Committee established by the Federal Government in 1988 and 2003.

Nupeland, where the Etsu Nupe reigns, has been relatively peaceful and the majority of conflicts arise in Suleja and Kontagora Emirates⁴⁶. The credit for low levels of conflict in the domain of the Etsu Nupe is attributed to the good governance of the traditional rulers. Regular meetings with senior councillors and District Heads is one strategy adopted by the ruler. The district heads in turn meet with village and ward heads to discuss issues affecting insecurity, banditry and conflicts within their domains. The dominant cases recorded during the fieldwork were marriages, witchcraft, and farmer/pastoralist conflicts. There were few cases related to minor theft and rape in towns. However, the Etsu Nupe being the president of the state council of chiefs has been involved in mediating crises outside Bida Emirate. Etsu Umaru Sanda was chosen by the 36 traditional rulers that met the then Head of State, General Abdulsalami Abubakar in their individual capacity; as the Chairmen of the various State Council of Chiefs to speak on their behalf following their exclusion from the 1999 constitution. The Etsu was called to advise in the Suleja chieftaincy crisis, the Kontagora uprisings and also the Kainji National Park Crisis. The issues were confronted during the state council of chiefs' meeting he chaired.

Zhukun of Borgu Kingdom 'Most respected Elder Statesman' Ba'a Danide 'The Epitome of Integration' respectively. (Nigerian Tribune 27th June 2006, p. 4.)

⁴⁶ The interview was with the Senior Councillor to the Etsu, conducted at the palace on 2nd June 2006.

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A cross-section of the subjects, District, Village, Ward Heads (Bida, Lemu, Ibba, Doko and Mokwa), religious leaders, traders and pastoral groups in the Bida Emirate are of the opinion that the Etsu Nupe and other traditional rulers are highly proactive in maintaining peaceful co-existence among various communities⁴⁷. Most of them were surprised to hear that these roles are not entrenched in the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. They noted that it does not matter whether their role is entrenched in the constitution or not, since nobody can perform the role of peace builders better than traditional rulers.

Staff of the Bida and Mokwa Local Governments observed that they had been assisted by traditional rules in revenue collection. The royal bodyguards (*Dogarai*) were dispatched to markets, motor-parks, villages and roadblocks on several occasions to assist in tax collections. Some respondents had expressed the need for a fourth tier of government, which should purely be manned by Emirate councils. As of now the traditional institution is performing several functions without due recognition or legal backing. For instance, a group of students and staff interviewed at Bida Polytechnic opined that, apart from the role the Royal fathers played on conflict prevention and mediation, they also piloted public campaigns on some government programmes such as Census, National Immunization, HIV/AIDS, and Education etc⁴⁸. They recalled the timely intervention of the Etsu Nupe to end a students' uprising in the Polytechnic when the police failed to halt the crisis. However, they felt all these roles should be properly harmonized and entrenched in the constitution so that the former powers of the rulers can be restored.

4.4.3 Federal Capital Territory Emirate, Abuja

Before the decision to transfer the Federal Capital Territory from Lagos to Abuja in the 1980s, the principal subjects of the Gomo of Kuje were Gade, Gbagyi, Nupe, and a few Hausa. According to the Gomo these were ideal people to rule⁴⁹. However, once the capital moved to Abuja, it brought an influx of settlers and traders of very different backgrounds and thus less religious and ethnic uniformity. As a consequence, Kuje moved from being a sleepy backwater to a large, diverse settlement closely linked to the ribbon development along the roads out of the FCT. New disputes emerged and the traditional council had to be proactive to cope with these new issues. The Emirate and Chieftaincy councils in the FCT were restructured by the Abacha regime in 1995. The Gomo had to expand his council to include leaders of the ethnic groups settled within his chieftom. The representation of these groups gave the Gomo the opportunity to gain respect and allowed his authority to flourish (Photo 2). While the council was able to handle different kinds of dispute, the problem of cultism was one of the areas still to be tackled effectively. Cases of child abuse, rape, unwanted pregnancies and land disputes are some of the issues being handled by the traditional institution.

Photo 2. Hunters paying homage to the Gomo of Kuje



Being relatively close to Abuja, Kuje was also being watched; the Federal Government would clearly be unhappy if there were serious disturbances in Kuje and furthermore they had to be sure the ruler would follow their instructions. Senior councillors and district heads interviewed reported that there is currently more recognition of the traditional institution by government than in the past. For instance, the palaces of the rulers are properly renovated, expensive cars are provided by government, and the police and State Security Services (SSS) are permanently attached to the rulers to provide back-up security in addition to their

⁴⁷ Interviews 3rd – 5th June, 2006.

⁴⁸ Interview 5th June, 2006.

⁴⁹ Interviews were conducted in Kuje Area Council, at the Gomo's palace in Kuje on 10th January 2006. The chief of Kuje (Gomo) was interviewed; likewise the district head, Sarkin Kasuwa (Market Leader), Sarkin Wanzamai (Leader of Local Barbers), the Chief Imam and others. Sallah homage was observed and recorded in His Royal Highness's (Gomo's) palace during the Id-el Kabir celebrations.

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traditional bodyguards (*Dogarai*). The rulers are also well funded to support them in performing their traditional roles. This might suggest to an external observer that this is not a reflection of greater government respect for a traditional institution but rather a need to control closely activities in areas close to the seat of the Government.

4.4.4 Ilorin Emirate, Kwara state

The kingdoms of the Yoruba stretch back to at least the sixteenth century and once mythological and Egypt-centred narratives have been excluded, most accounts point to Ile-Ife as their original centre. However, historical records all focus on the kingdom of Oyo as the most important political entity from the seventeenth century onwards. By the end of the eighteenth century, the region was politically extremely complex and the development of walled towns throughout the region suggest a highly militarised culture. Islam came relatively late to the Yoruba area and was only of significance in the northernmost kingdoms. An overall account of the Yoruba polities is Smith (1988). Further important syntheses of Yoruba history can be found in Johnson (1921), Biobaku (1973) and Law (1977). However, the literature is now extremely voluminous and only the Emirate of Ilorin is relevant to the present topic.

The early history of Ilorin is recounted in Hogben & Kirk-Greene (1966:283-306). It was founded following disputes in the ruling house of Oyo, when one of the claimants to a title invited Mallams representing the Jihad to support the establishment of Ilorin. Although the early rulers of Ilorin were converted Yoruba, the Fulbe eventually took over the Emirate and their descendants remain in power. The current ruler of Ilorin Alh. (Dr.) Ibrahim Sulu-Gambari is of the Fulbe descent. Ilorin was brought under British rule following a treaty between the Emir and Sir George Goldie in 1897. The mixed Yoruba/Fulbe heritage of Ilorin has been a source of tension since this era and the numerous political quarrels of the colonial era made Ilorin a difficult place to govern.

To neutralize the efforts of Yoruba claimants to overthrow the Fulbe dynasty and defuse criticism of the northern Emir, the Emirate council of Ilorin appointed a second-class ruler, Oşekina III, from the Yoruba ruling house (Photo 3). This reduced the levels of hostility but did not eliminate it completely⁵⁰. Although the Emir passes daily administration to the Oşekina III he is constantly briefed on his activities. In February 2002, a major crisis erupted when the State Governor upgraded the traditional title, *Magaji Ilorin*, to first class status and thus to a level equal to Emir. He then appointed his father to the post. This move was resisted by the Fulbe dynasty and several lives were lost in the ensuing conflict. The Governor lost the elections in 2003 and the aged ruler passed away, so the post has not been filled. Following this, in April 2004, the Yoruba organisation, the Oḡdua People's Congress (OPC), marched from Lagos and Ibadan to Ilorin to depose the Emir of Ilorin and install a Yoruba replacement. This was countered by strong local resistance and violence ensued. Despite the religious overtones, the underlying basis of these conflicts is undoubtedly ethnic.

Photo 3. Oşekina III wearing typical Yoruba beaded crown



The Emir of Ilorin is a powerful Northern traditional ruler respected by his non-Yoruba subjects, State Government and Federal Authorities. He has been the Chairman of Northern Traditional Rulers' Forum in the absence of the Sultan of Sokoto, as well as being on the committee to resolve the Plateau conflict. The Emir has built an effective and sustainable model for conflict at Lata in Lafiagi Emirate (§11.2). Within his domain, conflict prevention and mediating committees have been established from the Emirate council to the district, village and ward levels. The committees are called to resolve conflicts between communities, such as boundary issues or farmer/pastoralist disputes. District, village and ward heads' committees handle

⁵⁰ Interview was conducted on 23 May 2006 with Oşekina III of Ilorin.

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marriage matters, witchcraft, minor theft, minor conflict among neighbours and a range of other conflicts within the communities.

The Oşekina III of Ilorin and the village head of Sobi described the initiatives of the Emir of Ilorin on conflict prevention and mediation that have been responsible for the positive responses from the various groups in the Emirate⁵¹. The rulers of Pategi and Lafiagi were also members of the peace committee. The intervention of the peace committee set up by the Emir facilitated the 2002 and 2004 settlement of the conflicts between pastoralists and crop farmers in Lata Grazing Reserve in Edu Local Government. From the lessons learned, the Emir set up to handle the Lata crisis, efforts were made to replicate the strategy and efforts to resolve the Offa and Erin Ille communal clashes. A committee comprising some councillors of the Emirate Council and District Heads in the affected areas is already making efforts to resolve the matter. At least fighting has stopped and discussions have commenced with the warring factions. A major crisis erupted in June 2006 at Offa in eastern Kwara state over boundary disputes between Offa LGA and Erin-Ille LGA. The Emir of Ilorin despatched his peace and reconciliation committee under the auspices of the Ilorin Traditional Council to deal with the matter. The State Committee worked with Local Government and District Peace Committees to bring the crisis under control in just two days. Two weeks later, students in the College of Education in Offa wanted to stir up trouble but again the Peace Committee went into action and the crisis was headed off.

The Emir tries to predict likely flashpoints and take preventative action. The Emir has summoned peace meetings more than five times in 2006. All the above listed groups are always represented and are given opportunity to express their views. Monthly meetings are held among religious leaders of the two major religions in the country⁵². This was initiated by the Emir who has sustained it. Recognition of the importance of traditional institution by Federal, State and Local Government is not to the satisfaction of subjects because rulers are not given adequate roles with corresponding regulatory powers and constitutional backup. President Olusegun Obasanjo paid a courtesy visit to the Emir and reiterated the same point in July 2006.

4.5 Pastoral peoples

4.5.1 Overview

The chiefdoms and Emirates so far discussed are principally those of settled populations. However, Nigeria has a rich pastoral heritage and this has been linked to the evolution of political authority following the Jihad of Uthman Dan Fodio. The role of the Fulbe in initiating the Jihad of 1804 has already been discussed, but by and large the Fulbe are pastoral nomads with a highly ambivalent attitude towards authority and a tradition of aggression in protecting their animals and seeking pasture and water for them. Many of the conflicts described under the individual Emirates are between the mobile pastoralists and the settled farmers. Nigeria has a wealth of pastoral peoples, all of whom are at least nominally Muslim. They have their own authority systems over time which intersect with those of the established Emirates. This section describes those systems and the organisations they have set up to represent their interests.

⁵¹ Interview was conducted with the District Head of Sobi near Ilorin on 24th May 2006.

⁵² Interview with the Imam of the Ilorin Central Mosque on 30th May 2006.

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Table 10 shows the main pastoral peoples of Nigeria, with their locations and species herded;

Table 10. Pastoral Peoples of Nigeria

Group	Location	Main Pastoral Species*
Arabs		
Baggara	South of Geidam	Cattle
Shuwa	Eastern Borno/Cameroon	Cattle
Uled Suliman	Komadugu Yobe valley	Camels
Fulbe		
Anagamba	Eastern Borno	Cattle
Bokolooji	Northern Borno	Cattle
Maare	South-eastern Borno	Cattle
Sankara	North-western Borno	Cattle
Uda'en	Northern Borno	Uda Sheep
WoDaaBe	Central Borno	Cattle
Kanuri Group		
Badawai	Central Borno	Cattle
Jetko	North of Geidam/Niger	Camels
Kanuri	South-central Borno	Cattle
Koyam	South-central Borno	Cattle
Manga	North-west Borno	Cattle/Camels
Mober	North-eastern Borno/Niger	Cattle
Kanembu Group		
Kuburi	Extreme north-east Borno/ Niger	Cattle
Sugurti	Lake Chad shore	Cattle
Saharans		
Teda (Tubu)	Northern Borno/Niger	Camels
Others		
Yedina (Buduma)	On Lake Chad	Cattle

4.5.2 Fulbe

Leaders of pastoral communities are usually appointed by the traditional rulers in the jurisdiction in which they settle and subsequently pay allegiance to them. All the Fulbe groups within a particular Emirate fall under one *Sarkin Fulbe*, appointed by the by district heads and are turbaned in ceremonies performed by the Emirs or their senior councillors. Below the *Sarkin Fulbe* is the *Ardo*, a traditional Fulbe title, which although mostly appointed by district heads, represent the interests of particular Fulbe clans, *leyyi*, and is acceptable to the pastoral community. There are usually several *ArDOS* within a district who are responsible to the District Head. Through this hierarchical structure the Emirate council can monitor and manage conflict, in particular the frequent disputes between crop farmers and pastoralists. The *Sarkin Fulbe* typically meets with all the *ArDOS* to discuss issues of concern, including ongoing disputes about the management and use of pastoral resources. Practice can differ from Emirate to Emirate; in Zaria, for example, the district head appoints the *Sarkin Fulbe* of Rahama district and turbans him at the palace of the Emir of Zazzau. He is a member of the district's security committee chaired by the district head and reports all cases of insecurity to the committee or directly to the district head.

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The Kaduna state government has upgraded one *Sarkin Fulbe*, Haruna Jangidi, to the position of District Head of Hedduga district in Kachia Grazing Reserve, reporting to the Chief of Ikulu, a non-Muslim leader in southern Kaduna. The district head is a member of the Ikulu Chiefdom council, which has given confidence to pastoralist groups living in the area and facilitated mutual understanding and the development of trust between different ethnic groups. The voices of the pastoralist groups are not only heard in the district but also in local and state government.

In Dalyam district in Kebbi, and Gashish and Panyam districts in Plateau states, the *Sarkin Fulbe* or *ArDOS* are included in all peace meetings. For example, during the Plateau state crisis in 2001, *ArDO* Gidado Ideris and *ArDO* Abubakar Idris of Gashish and Panyam respectively were able to liaise with the district heads and successfully prevent reprisal attacks. Hadejia Emirate in Jigawa state has accorded similar recognition to pastoralist leaders. A joint farmer-grazier committee set up in Kirkassama district has pastoral leaders as members including leaders of the Miyetti-Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN). Similarly, in its strategy to support the process of resource sharing in the Hadejia-Nguru Wetland, six elected pastoralist representatives take part in the mega-wetland committee, complementing other peace processes initiated by traditional rulers.

Pastoralists have undergone a major identity shift in the public eye since the 1960s. When population densities were lower, and conflict was less prominent, relations between officials, farmers and herders were generally good. It was recognised that pastoralists made an important contribution to the economy in terms of milk and meat and many development projects were begun, for example, to improve meat marketing or to collect milk from the herds for small dairy industries. However, over time these projects failed, and meat and dairy products were increasingly imported from outside the country. As the urban Fulbe broke their links with the pastoralists they were increasingly seen as a irrelevance, a relic of an older period with a potential for civil disorder. As conflicts between herders and farmers are now common and are generally presented entirely negatively in the media, pastoralists have few voices to articulate their concerns.

The individualistic nature of pastoralism can make it difficult to develop collective representation and hard to co-ordinate and maintain an organisation. The most well-established Pastoral Organisation in Nigeria is the Miyetti Allah Cattle breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN), which has been in place since the middle 1970s, with branches all over the Federation. It has over half a million members and in the early days of its existence, MACBAN was very popular among its members. This was the period when genuine pastoralists were leaders of the Association from the national level down to the districts and members felt that their ideas and perceptions were being presented at the regional and national stage. MACBAN was seen to make significant efforts towards conflict prevention or mediation in relation to pastoral problems. However, from the middle 1990s, the situation changed as the urban Fulbe elites (*Fulbe wuro*) gradually took over the leadership of the Association. The *Fulbe wuro* are not seen as representing the interest of herders (*Fulbe na'i*) in the rural areas, grazing their animals and exposed to all forms of hazards including epizootic disease and conflicts with crop farmers.

One element that has changed is the increasingly role of the police in settling crop damage cases. In the past these were usually dealt with by the Village Head or failing that, the District Head. However, crop farmers are increasingly likely to go to the police, especially in non-Muslim areas, where they perceive, rightly or wrongly, a potential for collusion between the Village Head and the herders. The reputation of the Nigerian police does not necessarily inspire confidence and from the herders' point of view, they are likely to extort money from them regardless of the justice of the case. The takeover of MACBAN by the Fulbe wuro seemed to be more about a chance to get a share in the money extorted than about seeking a fair settlement for the herders. Similarly, there were other opportunities for diverting government money intended for herders, for example the National Commission for Nomadic Education. At any rate, the outcome was constant struggles within the leadership of MACBAN at a national level, which led to intense disillusionment at the grassroots.

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Previously, MACBAN had included by default the herders of north-eastern Nigeria, the Shuwa and Kanuri, but these developments led to establishment of a separate association in Borno and Yobe States. In the late 1980s, the Shuwa Arabs and Kanuri pastoralists formed the Al Haya association in part because MACBAN was not representing their interests. Al Haya is well organised and seems to have support and respect from its members and also follows a more coherent approach to lobbying central government.

Meanwhile, the tail end of 1990s witnessed a proliferation of pastoral associations after discontented MACBAN members deserted the organisation. Between 1995 and 2003 about four new pastoral associations were formed, including Mobgal Fulbe Development Association (MOFDAN) based in Southern Kaduna, the Fulbe Development Association of Nigeria (FULDAN) based in Kano and Jigawa States, Kautal Hore Fulbe (KAHF) based in Bauchi, Gombe, Kebbi and South West States of Nigeria and Tabital Pula'aku based in Adamawa and Taraba.

The fragmentation of Fulbe pastoral groups has led to further disunity places them at a comparative disadvantage since crop farmers are more organised and have better access to authorities. Where MACBAN had maintained its representation, as in Hadejia Emirate, they have collaborated with traditional rulers to form farmer/rearers' associations to successfully address conflict issues. The MACBAN branch also liaised with their counterpart pastoral associations (AREN and LAWOL BALI) in Niger in 2002 to reach agreements on how transhumant pastoralists would conduct themselves when they pass through Jigawa State during the dry season. Although this arrangement has succeeded, the long-term prospects for MACBAN are poor.

Broadly speaking, in the past, the relative wealth of cattle herders and their close cultural links with traditional rulers mean that their interests were considered in making policy. However, as pressure on land has become more intense and pastoralists have move away from being nomads embedded in a way of life to commercial livestock producers competing for resources alongside farmers the links with traditional rulers have become more tenuous and will increasingly snap entirely.

5. Evolution of the chieftaincy system in the Middle Belt

5.1 Overview

The Nigerian Middle Belt is a loosely defined collection of states north of the humid zone and south of the main Islamised area. It is extremely diverse in ethnolinguistic terms and in most areas, traditional society was acephalous without polities headed by rulers with significant territorial domains. However, there were some traditional kingdoms of varying size and these gained in strength in the nineteenth century in the wake of the extensive slave raiding. The degree of Islamisation varies in different courts, but the development of Christianity has also been a powerful influence during the twentieth century. In some cases, the religious affiliation of the ruler may change as the succession passes from one individual to another.

Traditional rulership using the Islamic model is the dominant system in the core middle Belt states that were not conquered during the Jihad of Uthman Dan Fodio. These are found on the fringes of the Kanem Borno Empire, Kwara, Plateau, Southern Kaduna, Nasarawa and Benue states. Unlike the Islamic states, these rulers are not religious leaders even where traditional religion is still strong. The absence of a military history of conquest makes these leaders weak by comparison.

The Emirate system discussed in §3. was hereditary although mediated by kingmakers and was well entrenched before the British administration. However, in the Middle Belt, the nature of traditional authority was complex and variable in the pre-colonial period (Perham 1937:144 ff.). Although there were powerful kingdoms such as the Jukun, Igala, Nupe and Bacama, most minorities were acephalous, that is they had no system of chiefs. The ethnolinguistic diversity of this region reflects a long-term tendency to fission and

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migration, exacerbated by the chronic slave-raiding during the nineteenth century. Individual groups were forced into montane areas, thereby intensifying inter-group differentiation. Governance was through the assembly of elders and most groups also had religious leaders, 'chief priests', who made important decisions. Warfare between ethnic groups seems to have been endemic although probably of limited significance in territorial terms. Despite this, some of the larger ethnic groups seem to have been able to mount tactical military campaigns against the slave-raiders. The Mwaghavul people, for example, were able to repel the raids mounted by the Emir of Bauchi (Isichei 1982b). However, as Morrison (1982) points out, access to improved military resources (such as large horses) also increased the frequency with which groups attacked one another.

The authority system of the acephalous societies of the Middle Belt is described by Nengel et al. (2002) in a discussion of the Chawai people in Kaduna State;

The two institutions of the *Yekut* and the *Res* would seem to have emerged initially as the heads of religious and political affairs respectively. The problem of when and how these institutions emerged will probably never be determined precisely, nor which of them emerged before the other. The oral traditions however insist that the two offices have always existed right from the beginning. The need for greater agricultural productivity, good luck in hunting, the fecundity of women, prevention and regulation of internal crises, and security and external relations, may have given rise to the emergence of *Yekut* and *Res*. The *Yekut* would appear to have emerged from among the elders on the basis of bravery, age and right as the first person to establish the village, and the ability to communicate with the ancestral spirits. As the society grew larger and new villages were established, the need for the creation of a purely political, distinct from the religious one arose leading to the emergence of *Res*. He was chosen from among the elders on the basis of his wisdom, generosity and good human relations. Though the *Yekut* and *Res* were themselves engaged in farming and hunting, it was believed that through the performance of their ritual and political functions, they could exercise supernatural powers to create conditions which were favourable or unfavourable for production. The *Yekut* performs rituals at the beginning and end of each farming season. He performs rites of safe delivery for pregnant women too. He offered sacrifices in times of stress to avert natural and human disasters such as thunder, floods, epidemics, famine and wars. The *Res* as the head of the political institution was in charge of external relations. It was his duty to settle disputes arising from members of his polity and between them and their neighbours. However, as a ruler, he had no exclusive power, as his decision was subjected to the approval of the *Yekuts* and village elders.

(Nengel et al. 2002:38-40)

When the Middle Belt peoples were subjugated by the British, systems of local administration were studied and adapted to suit the specific conditions of each ethnic group pursuing the philosophy of indirect rule. Perham (1937:144 ff.) presents a rather optimistic picture of this, assuming that ethological studies, such as those of Meek (1931a,b) would in due course lead to cultural sensitive administrative structures. Beginning with the pioneering work of N.W. Thomas in Southern Nigeria, the British set great store by this type of anthropology in producing recipes to help them govern. For example, where traditional leaders existed these were adopted, for example the Jukun *Aku Uka* (§5.2.1), the Igala *Attah* (§5.2.2), the Nupe *Etsu* (§4.4.2), the Bachama *Hama* and the Tangale *Mai* (§5.2.3). However, where no chiefs existed beyond the clan level, paramount rulers were created, as in the case of the *Gwom Gworok* for the Kagoro, *Gbong Gwom* for the Berom, *Ponzhi* for the Tarok, *Tor* for the Tiv and others. These new traditional institutions were upgraded and re-structured following the pattern of the Emirates, with the same hierarchies; districts, village areas and wards. The grades ranged from 1st to 4th class status. Hausa titles were adopted by some ethnic groups. The paramount ruler was an upgraded clan leader who became the chairman of a traditional council. Succession by rotation among ruling houses was the dominant system. In practice, however, the type of indirect rule that existed in the Northern NAs was not practical in the Middle Belt because of the inexperience of the new rulers. Residents and District Officers (DOs) were thus the *de facto* rulers, judges and administrators. The Resident was the court of appeal and the DO the High Court Judge. The 'traditional' rulers were taught how to take over the day-day administration of the NAs, assisted by clan chiefs, councillors and village heads. Throughout the colonial period only an Emir could be in charge of a prison and not a Chief. In a Division

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where there were several paramount rulers, a Federated NA System was established, with each ethnic unit constituting a sub-Native Authority.

The political re-organization by the British of the Middle Belt peoples on the southern fringes of Emirates was ironically within a cultural context of hostility and hatred against the Emirates, especially in Southern Zaria. James (1997:125-126) observes:

‘During the NA system of administration, 1903-1960, the colonial authority was super-imposed on the Emirate through conquest. The colonial administration legitimized the NA System through her idealization and romanticization of the Indirect Rule Policy. In actual fact, there was nothing “native” in the system as far as Southern Zaria communities were concerned. It was merely a means of sanctioning and legitimizing the imposition of alien forms of control. Endorsing this assertion, E.P.T. Grampton observed that ‘there was the general belief that pagans were of inferior stock... as such, employment in the emirate native administration was open only to those who were Muslims.’ The Emirate System of Zazzau pivots on the subordination and sublimation of southern Kaduna peoples under the control of resident district chiefs from Zaria posted to Hausa trading colonies. The Emirate System of administration introduced by these resident district chiefs/heads culminated in the miniature re-duplication of the Zaria hierarchical model at the district, village and hamlet levels. As a result, in almost every southern Zaria village settlement, there was the mechanical transplantation of the Zaria metropolis titles and associated fief-holders.’

Interpretations such as this suggest a more malicious intent than is likely to have been the case and exclude the significance of sympathetic early ethnographies such as Tremearne (1910).

5.2 Middle Belt Chiefdoms

5.2.1 The Jukun kingdom of Taraba state

The Jukun kingdom, based in Wukari probably has deep historical roots, as many writers consider it possible that there is a connection between Kwararafa, an alternative name for the predecessor of the Wukari polity and the *Koroafa* recorded as raiding and burning Kano in the sixteenth century (Palmer 1928). It was indeed this connection which Palmer used to direct Charles Meek to undertake a monographic description of Jukun society (Meek 1931b). Other descriptions of the Jukun kingship can be found in Young (1966), Adamau (1983) and Abubakar (1986), CAPRO (1992:182) and Unomah (2001). The ruler of the Jukun kingdom based in Wukari called *Aku Uka* is one of the three paramount rulers who lead the traditional council of Taraba state on a rotational basis every two years. The other rulers are the Emir of Muri (§4.2.11) and the chief of the Mambila.

The conception of kingship among the Jukun is quite different from those described for northern Nigeria. The *Aku Uka* was a divine king, and the kingdom was a theocracy. Government, legislature and judiciary were combined in a single institution and tributes rather than standardised taxes were its main source of income. There was no standing army but a system of elaborate cults contained external aggression and indeed spread the influence of the Jukun along the valley of the Benue. This lack of an organised military culture has led historians to question whether Kwararafa can have been the extensive territory oral traditions indicate. However, during the nineteenth century the armies of the Emir of Bauchi began spreading further southward establishing slaving and trading bases into northern Jukun territory and Wase became a Muslim base which controlled the northern Jukun.

Unlike northern Nigeria which was conquered in a series of short military campaigns, Jukun country slowly handed over power to the Royal Niger Company during the second half of the nineteenth century as it established bases further and further up the Benue. The Royal Niger Company came up against the expanding Fulbe armies and captured Wase in 1889 and Wurio in 1899. In 1900, the British Government took over the administration of this region from the Royal Niger Company and the area was rolled into the colony as a whole.

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Jukun territory is very sparsely populated and as the population of Nigeria has increased, it has presented a temptation to more dynamic groups. The Fulbe herders began to expand through this region in the nineteenth century when clearance of the thick forest created tsetse-free corridors (Blench 1991, 1994). From the west Chamba raiders began to penetrate the region coming in from modern day Cameroun (Fardon 1988). Finally, during the twentieth century, expanding Tiv shifting cultivators increasingly pressed northwards. This conflict has become the most pressing in recent years with one violent confrontation after another. In part this is due to a clash of culture; the Jukun believe that the land is theirs and that the Tiv should request the right to settle and if necessary pay for that right; at any rate they should follow established custom. However, the Tiv, economically dynamic and without a system of chiefs, consider it their right to settle uncultivated land without permission. Moreover, their aggressive culture leads them to believe they should defend it, with whatever weapons they can acquire.

The conflicts between Jukun and Tiv have been over land, claims to traditional rulership, political authority and the settler phenomenon⁵⁴. The Jukun have always considered the Tiv as settlers and for a long period they seemed to have accepted that position. During the 1990s, however, the Tiv began to claim that they were the founders of Wukari and that its original name was Waka⁵⁵. In the colonial period, Waka was becoming urbanised and so the Tiv left for the villages. According to this version, the Tiv invited the Jukun to settle with them. The palace officials said that cannot be the case because until the 18th century, the Jukun had no boundary with any ethnic group except the Kanuri to the northeast, the Hausa to the northwest, and the Igbo to the south. However, with the arrival of Tiv from Cameroun, problems began. They came to area with a well established administration and kingship. The traditional kings Wukari secured the allegiance of rulers in outlying towns and villages not through conquest but by respect for the spiritual hierarchy which kept the communities in harmony. Any disrespect to the *Aku Uka* is an affront to divinity. The Jukun allege that the Tiv have Benue state to exercise such rights and not to deprive their host community. The interviewees recalled how they had been 'disgraced' on three occasions by the meddling of Tiv in local affairs. Since the Hon. Sangari was elected to the Federal House of Representatives in 1945, the Tiv through the influence of Joseph Tarka have been fighting for rights of indigenes. First, Hon. Sangari was defeated by a Tiv man called Mr. Charles Tangur Gaza in a federal election in 1956. Another Tiv man, Mr. Iyotyer Tor Musa as Chairman of Wukari LGC by late Governor Alhaji Abubakar Barde in 1979 and further problems arose in 1983 with the appointment of Dr. Samuel Tor Agbideye as Commissioner by Governor Alh. Bamanga Tukur.

The position of the *Aku* was perceived by the Jukun to be threatened in 1954, when the Tiv attempted to challenge the stool, despite the existence of clear traditional procedures for succession. This perception was reached in the interpretation of Manu Uva Vaase's gesture for allowing people to carry him shoulder high amidst dancing in the fashion of a royal procession, during the reign of *Aku Uka*, Atoshi Ugbumanu. It would be impossible to grant the Tiv the privilege of being appointed into the traditional council because membership is open to only titleholders. The crisis between the Tiv and Jukun had always been fierce with the loss of lives and property very high in the 1992 crisis. At times Tiv villages had been destroyed completely and refugees fleeing to Benue state were not allowed to cross to Katsina Ala, but had to go through Plateau state or northern part of Taraba. The conflicts afforded the Jukun the opportunity to repossess the land as part of the deal that allowed the Tiv to come back in 2002.

There were further incidents in 2001 of a still more serious nature when the soldiers in the Nigerian army took revenge on villagers in Benue State for the killing of Jukun soldiers by Tiv⁵⁶. Large settlements were burnt and up to two hundred villagers were murdered. No efforts were made by traditional rulers to intervene and it is generally supposed that these were sanctioned revenge killings. Although the government promised an enquiry, no one was ever prosecuted, presumably because of a long-term fear of the army. The

⁵⁴ Group interview with Mal. Ibrahim Sangari at the palace on 15th May 2006 in Wukari, Taraba State.

⁵⁵ This is an excellent example of a quite incredible story based on a transparently invented etymology that can be rapidly constructed to meet the requirements of a current political issue. Instead of dismissing it with the contempt it deserves, the Jukun have spent considerable energy in elaborating disproofs which are themselves of limited credibility.

⁵⁶ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/1650848.stm> and additional links

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Sultan of Sokoto and Emir of Zaria visited the area to calm the situation during the conflicts. Their recommendations on constitutional reforms included a proviso that protects the rights of indigenes to own and manage their land resources, political offices, selection, appointment and removal of traditional rulers. Settlers should not meddle in local affairs because they do not allow non-indigenes access to elective positions in their homelands.

All of this suggests rather strongly that the ethnic rivalry and cultural incompatibility between Tiv and Jukun is unlikely to be resolved quickly. Moreover, the Aku Uka does not represent an impartial local ruler trying to ensure peaceful relations between his subjects but rather a representative of a particular ethnic group, acting in its interest. This is a direct consequence of the pre-colonial traditions of the Jukun, which were belief-centred and did not involve setting up structured bureaucracies or tax systems.

5.2.2 Igala chiefdom, Kogi state

There are four major kingships in Kogi state which include Ebira, Igala, Kabba and Lokoja⁵⁷. Of these, the Igala Kingdom is the oldest and most elaborate. Clifford (1936) was the first to draw attention to the Igala kingdom and it became the subject of a classic monograph by Boston (1968) as well as more recent work by Spann & Shelton (1971), Okwoli (1973), Sargent (1984) and Ukwedeh (1987). Remarkably, the same ruler who features in Boston's monograph is still the chief of the Igala.

The ruler of the Igala is known as the Ata (Attah in some spellings) and this is the name given to the dynasty that has ruled Igala for several centuries. The exact date of the emergence of the Igala kingdom is disputed but probably dates from the seventeenth century, when the Igala came into the area and intermarried with or conquered the indigenous Okpoto people. Although the traditions collected by colonial officials in the first three decades of the twentieth century portray the present four royal houses at Idah as originating from Abutu Eje, the evidence indicates that the Otutubatu is the only shrine of the Ajakogu royal lineage, and it is the Attah from his lineage that goes to its grave at Amagede to offer sacrifice, on installation. The present Attah, Alhaji Ali Obaje, for example, has not been to Amagede to worship at the grave of the Otutubatu since his installation in 1957, because he belongs to the Akumabi lineage of the royal dynasty.

The Igala are divided into an elaborate network of exogamous clans, some of which constitute royal lineages whereas others are commoners. The traditional structure of authority was related to the clans in that clans had sovereignty over particular land areas. The village group head was the *onu anẹ*, or 'chief of the land' and these were the recipients of tributes which flowed upwards to the Ata-Igala. The *onu anẹ*, however, was very different from corresponding posts in the Islamic areas; they were responsible for the masquerades, *abule*, and the 'cleansing of the land' and other rites to prevent pollution of the community. Perham (1937:147) describes how Igala was first fragmented under colonial rule and then brought together again in 1928 after a 'study of Igala custom'. This is probably a good illustration of the fantasies that attended British rule, since the outcome was a structured hierarchical court system based on the *onus*, which had certainly never existed in the pre-colonial era. The Igala were originally neither Muslim nor Christian and traditional rites and ceremonies still play an important role in the maintenance of authority regardless of religious affiliation.

The present Attah is a Muslim, but most of his district heads are Christians and the Ata Igala must balance Muslim and Christian interests in his administration. The turbaning of two long-serving missionaries in the kingdom was clear testimony to this. Of the five district heads interviewed, four are Christians and one was a Muslim. The marked lack of ethno-religious conflict in the Igala area over the past half-century is a striking testimony to the potential for a subtle ruler to maintain peace through good practice. In Igala, good leadership of traditional rulers provides the right atmosphere for peaceful coexistence. However, minor

⁵⁷ Fieldwork focused on Igala kingdom, where His Royal Majesty (HRM), Alh. Dr. Aliyu Obaje, was interviewed along with his council members. Some village and ward heads were also interviewed. Similarly, religious leaders including adherents of traditional religion were interviewed.

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disputes among families include conflicts relating to marriage, land ownership, forests, fishing ponds, and crops and herds.

5.2.3 Tangale Maidom, Gombe state

The Tangale people of Gombe State have a rich history recounted in both publications and archival materials (e.g. Hall 1994; Ankruma 2005). Tangale migration history recounts an origin in the East, settlement for some time in Ngazargamu in Borno, before finally reaching the legendary pond at the foot of Billiri Hill, where seven settlements emerged. A power struggle ensued that was finally settled by the throwing of spears, a ritual (*Bolpondi*) still observed every October at Billiri. The ritual spear is a symbol of authority as well as the staff of office (Photo 4). The traditional ruler of the Tangale has the Kanuri title *Mai* and his chiefdom is referred to as a Maidom. At the coming of the British there had been eleven previous *Mais*. The stool was considered so important that in 1945 the Mai was awarded the medal of a Knight of the British Empire (KBE). Until the early years of colonial rule the Maidom solely was solely for the Tangale, but in 1948 the British relocated the palace to the plains, its present location and incorporated other ethnic groups.

Photo 4. Mai Tangale with the sacred spear



The chief historian of the Tangale, Ankruma (2005:30-33) describes the Maidom as follows;

The area roughly covers 720 sq kilometres and is bounded in the North by Akko emirate, in the West by Bauchi and Pindiga emirates and in the South and East by Kaltungo (Kamo) Chiefdom. Tangale Maidom is medium state system which had its roots right in the pre-Jihad (and hence precolonial) era. The Tangale state system was uprooted by the British in 1906. However, the Maidom was recognized by the British, hence it continued to maintain its identity and recognition throughout the past eras of northern Nigeria, North eastern state, Bauchi state and present day Gombe state. Tangale Maidom is one of the twelve recognised trade-political units of Gombe state, namely: Gombe, Kaltungo, Tangale, Waja, Cham, Dadiya, Akko, Deba, Yamaltu, Dukku, Pindiga and Tula. The principal towns of the Maidom are Billiri, Tal, Kalmai, Todi, Banganje, Kwaya and Tanglang. These represent the seven clans that spread in 8 districts. About ninety percent of the people are Christians while Islam and traditional forms of worshippers avail (sic) Tangale Maidom.

The Chief of Billiri was the Tangale ruler before the colonial era⁵⁸. The council is called Ponar and the remaining four traditional councils were: Kwipandi-Anamai (where peace accords between Tangale and Shongom were entered into); Kwadiyo (adjudicated over matters affecting Tangaltong hamlets); Fobune (discusses problems between Tangale and Fulbe) and Ladum (handled cases of homicide among the Tangale people (Ankruma 2005:139-141). The office of priest for each settlement was separated from that of the Mai before the advent of the British. There were priests for the deities of *Yeku* – an ancestral cult; *Swar* – ritual sites for skulls of enemies killed in battle; and *Sokome* – rain divination (Ankruma 2002:9-13; 2005:142-143). The traditionally defined responsibilities of the Mai Tangale were;

⁵⁸ Dr. Abdu Buba Maisheru II, the 15th Mai Tangale, granted an interview at his palace in Biliri on 26th January 2006. He invited two court scholars, Dan Masani ('Scholar') and Alkalami ('Scribe'), to present a written response to the main agenda of the research.

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1. *Foduk muto*: a religious duty intended to remove all sorts of epidemic among the Tangale people.
2. *Angu shira*: payment of a ransom to secure the liberty of a slave or compensation to pre-empt retaliatory action by relations.
3. *Wul yis saw*: contracting a compulsory marriage between a man and a woman.
4. Administering oaths and solemn actions in land disputes.

The situation in southern Gombe can at best be described as unstable. It is a complex multi-faith, multi-ethnic region with potential with a shortage of high-quality farmland. The current Mai Tangale takes the view that the underlying sources of conflict in southern Gombe are either religious or over natural resources. Since the mid-1990s, the Tangale area, along with much of Bauchi and Gombe has been subject to problems with Uda'en pastoralists migrating seasonally from Niger. At first this was simply a problem of pastoralists destroying crops and being unwilling to be responsible for damages. However, as the Uda'en became better-armed, they seem to have been transformed into bandits. Although the government has stated that it is taking action to block these incursions it seems they are ineffective. Udawa bandits stole some 100 head of cattle in January 2006, apparently using trucks rather than herding cattle as in the past, suggesting a worrying degree of professionalism and complicity with the police.

The incorporation into Tangale of a number of other ethnic groups has also led to a series of long-running boundary disputes. Disagreement over the extent of Tangale is a sensitive issue that results in frequent conflicts with the neighbouring peoples. A major clash took place from 23rd – 26th November 1990 (Ankruma 2005:150-187). These ethnic disputes have now been reframed as boundary disputes with a neighbouring LGA and look set to continue.

People fear the outbreak of religious crises because of the mixture of religious groups in Gombe state: Muslims, Christians and traditionalists. The Mai gave an example of the type of fear his Muslim subjects expressed when he was contesting the position. They were apprehensive that a mosque building project would lapse during the reign of a Christian Mai. However, immediately after being enthroned he set up a new Mosque Committee. Now the mosque has been constructed and is in use, ironically, since it had been neglected for twenty years by a Muslim Mai. Table 11 gives some examples of the type of problems the Mai Tangale is called upon to deal with and the actions he has taken.

Table 11. Examples of action by Mai Tangale towards conflict resolution

In 2004, the Mai Tangale undertook a two weeks' tour throughout the length and breadth of his domain to listen to grievances and complaints of the people to make representation to government on their behalf. Common issues were the need for potable water, electricity, health care and protection against armed robbery. He offered solutions to some on the spot and referred others to the relevant government agencies.

A local problem has been the drinking of *agogoro* gin by unemployed youths but the Mai consulted with the community and it is now banned. Interestingly, compliance seems to be effective, in marked contrast to the failure of a previous attempt by the LG to tackle the same problem.

Gombe State, as elsewhere, has suffered from the activities of locally recruited youth (here known as *Kalare*) who foment trouble in political contexts. By taking local action, these groups have been eliminated from the whole Tangale area.

At the period (the early 2000's) when Shari'a law was being introduced in many Northern Nigerian States, the Mai Tangale made representations to the governor of Gombe state which was in part responsible for it not being adopted.

A recent boundary dispute led to a murder and the beating of a district head. The Mai went the domain on foot to plead with his subjects not to take the law into their own hands. Fortunately, this calmed the situation and the dispute ended without further violence.

Another source of local friction has been the phenomenon of young Tangale men marrying girls from other ethnic groups due to high bridewealth demands. The Mai Tangale has set up a committee to study this and the matter is now being addressed with recommendations made by the committee.

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However, keeping the peace inevitably depends on a politically astute and tolerant Mai; which may not always be the case. The Mai's role in this regard has been recognised and he has received several awards including one from the President.

The Mai Tangale has strong views about the role and functions of traditional rulers. The main points he makes are as follows;

- Security is a major preoccupation of traditional rulers and requires more active co-operation with Local and State Governments
- Local Government showed no interest in the documentation of the traditions of the people but the Mai through the assistance of the Tangale Community Development Association has been funding such projects. The Mai Tangale suggested that the LG should be a mere liaison office between the State government and the grassroots.
- Ward heads should be able to identify strangers coming into their communities and channel information on any suspicious person to the village head who would in turn pass it on to the district head and finally to the Mai.
- Traditional rulers should realise that they are working for their people and not to make money
- Vocational Training Centres should be established by the state government in every LG to curb youth unemployment through learning a trade.

and the Mai argues that;

‘Traditional rulers possess accurate local knowledge going back many years and may also have good networks of communication with the grassroots through titleholders. His political neutrality helps prevent conflict and is important in mediating conflict. Traditional methods of conflict resolution are more cost effective than modern ones. Traditional rulers must not abuse their office in order to command public respect. Visits to other traditional rulers is an effective tool for conflict management.’

Whether such principles can be sustainable given the continued instability of the region remains open to question.

5.2.4 Berom Chiefdom, Plateau state

The Berom are the largest ethnic group in Jos North, Jos South, Barkin Ladi and Riyom LGAs in Plateau State, and claim to be the indigenous population of Jos. Descriptions of Berom society can be found in Gunn (1953), Baker (1954), Gwom (1992), Jacobs (1995, 1997) and Nyam and Jacobs (2004). Despite their numbers, the Berom had no centralised chiefdoms until the colonial era but were divided into a number of small groups based on single villages or village clusters. Before the arrival of the British there were perhaps as many as 80 separate villages in Beromland, and these increased under colonial rule, as did the number of local chieftaincies. Nyam and Jacobs (2004) describe these small polities as follows:

Each polity was characterised by a chieftaincy institution of a limited kind. The chiefs, *Begwom*, were chosen from certain royal lineages whose right to produce candidates for the chieftaincy was generally based on either the leadership of a wave of migration or priority of settlement in a particular area. In most polities; but not in all, the chief was a priest-chief (*gwom kwit*) for his village group. It was from his overall ritual responsibility for the well-being of his village group that he derived his judicial and political powers. Due to the nature of his office the priest chief was surrounded by personal taboos which severely restricted his personal mobility.

He did not lead his people in war but confined himself to blessing the warriors on their departure for war. With a few exceptions, such as the chief of Kuru, Berom chiefs were usually not as wealthy as some rich commoners (*bedarwei*). The chiefs did not possess great powers of independent action since they were expected to consult and work in close collaboration with the elders who represented the kinship groups, sitting in council, the *bekanat* and since the chiefs possessed no

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regular army or bureaucracy they were dependent to a large extent on ritual sanctions to ensure that their wishes were carried out. Thus in most Berom polities there were chiefs with fairly limited powers whose most important role was in the ritual sphere, and who to a large extent shared power with the council of elders, the *bekanat*, who were the senior men of their lineages.

Since there was no overall political organisation there was no recognised judicial procedure for the settling of inter-village disputes. In consequence, when disputes arose between individuals from different polities, they resorted to self-help. This frequently led to armed clashes, and to a pattern of retaliation. Thus some districts which were short of land such as Gyel were frequently at odds with their neighbours. In addition raiding, *jugu*, was a source of profit and prestige to great warriors, (*besuga*) and this would in turn precipitate reprisals. However, while it cannot be denied that a state of insecurity prevailed in Berom land, it is worth pointing out that the scale of these military operations was very small, and that when engaged in military operations against fellow Berom it was a universal convention of war that heads were not taken, and that somewhat less lethal weapons were employed.

(Nyam & Jacobs 2004: 2-3)

Such a system was very remote from the Islamic and quasi-Islamic Emirates elsewhere in Northern Nigeria, and the British struggled to bend this relatively decentralised system to their own purposes. In the early period this was achieved with bloodshed and burning of Berom settlements, a process aided by internal disputes among the Berom (Isichei 1982b:210). The Berom chiefdom was a creation of British rule and the current paramount, the Gbong Gwom Jos, is only the fourth to be appointed. The Berom chiefdom represents all the paradoxes of the British administrative system. The British wanted to create a northern chiefdom in a region where there were comparable chiefs and one who would administer a people whose subgroups were highly independent. Apart from an overall ruler of the Berom, the British also had to appoint village headmen. Status was acquired ritually in Berom society, whereas the British wanted flexible, secular individuals with whom to deal. Those who were appointed possessed little or no local legitimacy and were therefore largely ineffective. The consequences of these acts are only now becoming plain.

The creation of Jos, with its focus on tin, a valuable resource, would inevitably attract immigrants from all over Nigeria with a broad spectrum of religious persuasions. The growth of the tin mining industry created a further problem:

“The development of mining in the Berom area brought a large turbulent stranger population whom the Berom Chiefs could not control. In addition the mining companies were anxious to control their own mining camps and were not to allow these to be placed under indigenous Chiefs. In consequence the colonial authorities created a system of dual administration in Berom land by which the indigenes came under the direct administration of political officers, while the mining camps and stranger settlements which had grown up were placed under a Native Administration headed by the Bunu, a brother of the Emir of Bauchi. The Bunu’s position was described as being somewhat like that of a District Head, but with scattered units of the mining camps and markets as his “Villages”. Some hopes were initially entertained that the Bunu might inspire sufficient confidence amongst the Berom so as to create a model for indirect rule; but this was never realised.”

(Nyam & Jacobs 2004: 5)

The Bunu died in 1917 and the British deposed his successor in 1921 for abuse of his position. An alternative arrangement was not devised until 1927 after the creation of Plateau Province of Bauchi Province. The stranger settlements were divided into four groups – Jos, Bukuru, Gurum and Gana Ropp – each with a Hausa headman and an *Alkali* court. This system survived until the 1940s when the Hausa settlements were absorbed by the Berom Native Authority.

The British, meanwhile, had considerable difficulty in identifying any kind of centralized authority other than their own to pull the Berom together into a single political unit. Jos Division was administered directly by District Officers dealing with each village separately. Indeed the lack of a coherent administration and administrative policy in Berom land and other non-Muslim areas was a key factor in the decisions that led to

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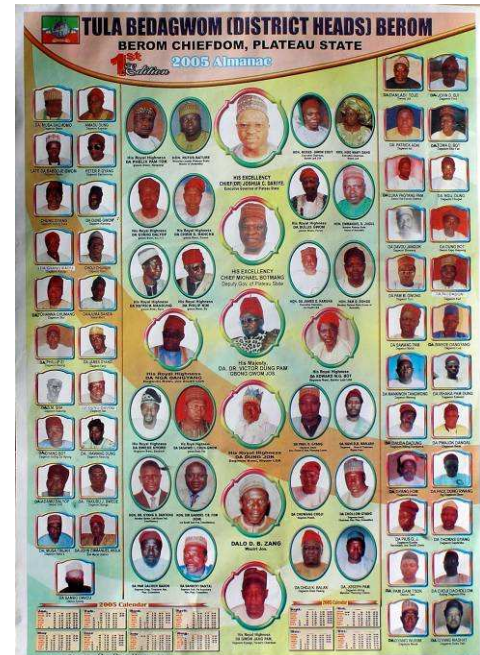
the separation of Plateau from Bauchi Province in 1926. Despite a series of investigations and reports, the British authorities did not agree on a system for administering the Berom until 1935.

The decision to revive the institution of Gbong Gwom in 1947 was taken in response to growing agitation by the educated elite of Berom society. After the war some of them had set up an organization called the Berom Progressive Union (BUP) to fight in particular for land rights, including increased land compensation and the rehabilitation of ex-mining land. Government taxes and the shortage of agricultural land were leading many communities to become increasingly dependent on mine labour, and the commoditization of land was accompanied by a growth in landlessness. At the same time, Christian missions and especially the Sudan United Mission (SUM) were beginning to undermine older beliefs as well as produce an educated class that was prepared to challenge the existing order. Nyam and Jacobs (2004: 19) write “The British who had hitherto been complaining about the conservatism and parochialism of the Berom chiefs found themselves faced with a ‘sudden political awakening’ of the Berom”. They therefore acquiesced to the senior chief’s request for a new permanent president of the Tribal Council, preferably an educated man who could represent their interests in the House of Chiefs in Kaduna. Rwang Pam was a school headmaster and BUP member who had already been appointed to the Northern House of Assembly to represent non-Muslims in Plateau Province. He was acceptable to all of the major parties involved, including the British, and was duly selected by the Tribal Council to be its president.

Unlike his predecessor, the second Gbong Gwom was given real executive powers and an office in Jos with easy access to the District Officer. In the following year, 1948, he also took over the position of *Sarkin Jos* when the last of the line of Hausa headmen died. Jos town was given a town council headed by a president (the *Magajin Gari*), while each of the three principal ethnic groups – Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba – was given a *Wakili*. This was the culmination of a long-standing policy of bringing stranger settlements into the Berom Native Authority. This policy and its implementation were also to have long-term significance, and form an important part of the background to the eruption of the Jos crisis in September 2001.

In 1949, the Gbong Gwom Rwang Pam was made a “chief in council” as a third class chief. In 1952 he was given a six member Executive Council and the Berom Tribal Council (*Gbong Duk Shot*) was reduced in overall size by cutting down the number of participating chiefs from over 80 to just 17 senior chiefs who represented the constituent districts. In 1957, the Gbong Gwom was elevated to the rank of second class chief. According to Nyam and Jacobs (2004: 23) he “had a somewhat stormy reign beset on one side by the Hausas and the non-Berom ethnic groups, and on the other by those Berom who were afraid that he intended to establish a dynasty”. But despite various challenges to his position he survived in office through to the first decade of Nigeria’s independence, and the Gbong Gwom throne remained firmly established. Table 12 shows the holders of the Gbong Gwom position from 1935 to the present;

Photo 5. Berom almanac of chiefs, 2005



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Table 12. Holders of the Gbong Gwom stool, 1935-present

Dates	Name	Comments
1935-41	Dachung Gyang	Appointed by the British following inadequate consultation and later removed by them
1941-47	Interregnum	Rotating presidency of the Tribal Council and Native Court
1947-69	Rwang Pam	Appointed following the recommendations of the senior chiefs and all of the council
1970-2002	Fom Bot	Appointed after a keenly contested election that followed new rules gazetted in 1969
2002-04	Interregnum	Interregnum – prolonged because of the Jos crisis and subsequent political manoeuvring
2004-	Victor Dung Pam	Appointed from a ruling family

Photo 5 illustrates an almanac printed in 2005 that shows the current chiefs of Berom and by its structuring also represents a map of perceived power relations. The prominent position given to the governor and Deputy Governor of the State are an acknowledgment of their overarching role in the hierarchy of power.

When Rwang Pam's health began to fail in 1967, efforts began to revise the criteria for the selection or election of a successor. The Jos Native Authority Council decided not to make the office hereditary and after some debate a set of procedures for the appointment of future Gbong Gwoms were gazetted in 1969. To the consternation of many people in the chieftdom, eligibility to the stool was not restricted to the Berom and the composition of the Electoral College was likewise widened to include some office holders, including the presidents of Jos and Bukuru Town Councils, who previously had nothing to do with the Berom institution of Gbong Gwom. According to Nyam and Jacobs (2004: 30), "A cross-section of the Berom believe that some influential Berom connived with the Hausa Fulani oligarchy to make the stool as loose as possible in order to endanger it in the future as it is being currently, i.e. during the 2002-04 interregnum experienced".

Rwang Pam died in office in July 1969 and was succeeded as Gbong Gwom Jos by Fom Bot, a well-educated candidate who had served as a Local Government Secretary since 1958. During his long reign of 32 years he became the first chairman of the Plateau State Council of Chiefs and also served as the president of the Jos Joint Traditional Council, comprising Jos North, Jos South, Barkin Ladi and Riyom Local Government Areas. Fom Bot successfully defending the royal stool against a series of legal challenges from other ethnic groups and claimants but he was also widely criticised for responding weakly to the Hausa-Fulbe challenge and especially their claims to the ownership of Jos. Indeed some Berom believe that his timidity in this regard was one of the factors that led to the crisis that engulfed Jos in the year before his death.

Role of the Gbong Gwom Jos

A booklet, *An Evaluation of the Gbong Gwom Institution* by Nyam and Jacobs (2004), provides a useful account of the history of this institution through to the death of the third Gbong Gwom in 2002. Indeed it was rushed into print so that it could provide an input to deliberations over the selection of his successor.

The Berom chieftdom was caught up in the severe crisis that began in Jos in September 2001 and which subsequently fuelled many other conflicts in Plateau State. There is a large and evolving literature on the Jos and Plateau State conflicts (e.g. Human Rights Watch 2001; Bawa & Nwogwu 2002; Danfulani & Fwatshak 2002; Bagudu 2004; Fwatshak 2005). The growing pile of paper includes the published and (mostly) unpublished reports of a series of peace initiatives headed by senior judges, administrators and others (for an overview see Plateau State of Nigeria 2004). These various papers and reports deal with different aspects of the Jos crisis and its aftermath. The role of traditional leaders is only of many issues discussed in the literature, but is the focus of the present case study, with particular reference to the Berom.

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The conflicts spawned a series of organized peace initiatives culminating in the Plateau Peace Conference held in Jos 18th August to 21st September 2004. On 18 May 2004, the President of Nigeria declared a State of Emergency in Plateau State and appointed Major General M. C. Alli (Rtd) as sole Administrator. The Plateau Peace Conference was then convened by the state government with representatives from all of the recognized ethnic groups in the state. The conference report was submitted to the Administrator on 28 September, accepted by the Plateau State Administrative Council on 4th October, and gazetted on 11th November 2004 (Plateau State of Nigeria 2004: i-ii). The Conference took into account previous initiatives and their reports (Table 13):

Table 13. Plateau State Judicial Enquiries

Justice Niki Tobi Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the Jos Civil Disturbances which submitted its report in September 2002.

Hon. Justice C. Okpene, Federal Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Communal Conflicts in Benue, Nasarawa, Plateau and Taraba States, 2002.

Rev. Dr. Pandang Yamsat High Powered Committee on Peace and Security in Plateau State submitted in 2002.

Presidential Peace Initiative Committee on Plateau State Headed Alh. Shehu Idris, Emir of Zazzau, Submitted in May, 2004.

Private Peace Initiative on Southern Senatorial Zone of Plateau State Headed by Alh. Shehu Idris, Emir of Zazzau.

Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Communal Clashes in Wase, Langtang North, Shendam, Qua'an Pan Local Government Areas headed by Justice Jummai Sankey submitted in May, 2001.

Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the Civil Disturbances in Shendam, Langtang North, Langtang South and Wase Local Government Areas Headed by Justice Felicia K. Dusu submitted in June 2003.

Source: Plateau State of Nigeria 2004: 2-3

The report of the Conference (2004: 3) comments "At best, these efforts have seemed more a palliative than making any appreciable impact since recommendations of the reports have not yet been released or implemented". The report goes on to list the negative consequences of government inaction in this regard, and recommends that these different reports should be released, gazetted and implemented (2004: 3, 143-145). The two initiatives headed by the Emir of Zazzau have received much the same treatment as all the others. The 2004 conference generated numerous resolutions of its own, covering the full range of issues that were thought to have played a part in causing the 2001 crisis and its aftermath. The principal headings under which resolutions are listed are "Land Use and Land Ownership", "Indigeneship, Citizenship, Settlership Syndrome", "Traditional Matters", "Social Factors", "Religious Factors", "Political Factors", "Security Matters", "Economic Factors", "Farmer-grazer Conflict", "the Role of the Media", "Youth Matters", "Women Issues", and – as already mentioned – "Non-release and non Implementation of Previous Reports of Administrative and Judicial Commissions of Inquiry on Conflicts in Plateau State" (2004: iii-xii).

Da Victor Pam became the Gbong Gwom in 2003 at the time when the Jos crisis had spread to the southern part of Plateau state⁵⁹. The Gbong Gwom was of the view that the role of traditional rulers is the maintenance of peace at all levels whenever it is threatened. They are able to do this because they are the custodians of the grassroots and enjoy considerable goodwill from their people. He was invited by the President to offer some solutions given his former experience as a senior police officer. He suggested an operation with the name "Operation Seal Plateau", involving roadblocks and the use of metal detectors. He further suggested that Pankshin, the only place not badly affected by the crisis, should be its operational base. He also recommended to the President that the operation should last only three months. The President accepted these suggestions and directed that he should liaise with the Inspector General of Police (IG). He did this and suggested that the army and air force should also be involved in Operation Seal Plateau. The funds of this were provided by the office of the President. Within one week of the inauguration of the

⁵⁹ Interview was conducted at 'Little Rayfield' residence of the Gbong Gwom on 19th November 2005.

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operation hostilities ceased. Unfortunately, a state of emergency was declared soon thereafter and sporadic outbreaks of violence continued to occur.

The role of other traditional rulers

Edward Bot was the district head of Ropp until 2003 when he was upgraded and appointed *Dagwom Rwei* of Barakin Ladi.⁶⁰ His colleagues in the Berom chiefdom are the *Dagwom Rwei* of Jos-South and Riyom LGAs. Under the *Dagwom Rwei* of Barakin Ladi are five 3rd class chiefs known as *Gwom Rwei*. The district heads under them are called *Dagwom* and under them are ward heads called *Gwom* and numerous village heads called *Damajei*. The 2003 exercise was undertaken throughout Plateau state and further restructuring of the traditional hierarchy in the area was in progress at the time of our research.

The *Dagwom Rwei* described events of the recent crisis and his role in them. By 11th September 2001, tension had built up in Barakin Ladi town and surrounding villages and so he had to mobilise his subjects to resist the temptation of being drawn into a crisis that had nothing to do with them directly. Reports of killings of relatives by word of mouth and in the media did not help matters. He took a pragmatic and symbolic action by buying white handkerchiefs for each traditional ruler and community leader, leading a procession of them through the LGA capital and major settlements. Everywhere they went he would explain to people the advantages of not being drawn into the conflict. Fulbe settlements were not left out; in the LGA they have an overall *Ardo* assisted by *Chiromas*. The other ethnic groups that have recognised leaders are Igbo, Yoruba, Mwaghavul, Idoma, Ngas, Ron, and Hausa.

There was a minor incident involving a Fulbe man at Fan who received the news that Christians in Jos killed his brother. He climbed a tree and started shooting aimlessly at people. He was easily overpowered and killed, but as a result the Fulbe started packing up to leave. Their houses were then burned down, so Fulbe returned in the night and attacked Fan. The youths were very restive during the crisis period and were demanding the heads of Fulbe people in revenge for Berom people killed in Jos. With the assistance of community and religious leaders, especially a prominent Christian leader, the Reverend Zongo, they were pacified and peace was maintained in the area.

There is an official Security Committee comprising the LGC Chairman, the *Dagwom Rwei*, Christian Association Chairman (CAN), Imam, Director Education Area Inspectorate, SSS, National Drugs Law Enforcement Agency and Divisional Police Office (DPO). At the peak of the crisis (2001-2004) youth leaders were co-opted into the Security Committee. Aside from this government institution, as the *Dagwom Rwei* he has the power to summon a security meeting, as he deems necessary. Most of the conflicts he deals with have to do with grazing rights, demarcation of farm boundaries, and various family matters such as disputes between husbands and wives. He has never clashed with the LG authorities in the discharge of his traditional duties as an advisor.

The *Dagwom Rwei* has no formal judicial functions but on a daily basis he mediates and arbitrate in cases brought before him by his subjects of their own volition. Where any aggrieved party feels dissatisfied with his arbitration the case can be taken to a conventional court. He recalled a case involving a dispute between him and another family over a farmland that was ruled in his favour on the basis of the witness of elders. His opponent was not satisfied and took the matter to court and won although he learnt later that the judge was bribed by the appellant to secure this favourable judgment. A typical day is spent attending to his subjects in the morning hours. For complicated cases, an appointment is given after the initial receipt of a complaint. Part of the day is spent inspecting disputed farmlands. There are constant meetings with traditional leaders at various levels.

The *Dagwom Rwei* laid all the blame for civil disorder on politicians and the government. He argues that the ongoing government exercise of creating new districts without due consultation could potentially lead to

⁶⁰ Interview was held on 16th November 2005.

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conflict. Barakin Ladi previously had five districts but now 40 new ones have been created and some new rulers have no villages or area to rule over. Instead they have resorted to collecting taxes from members of their own families. This proliferation has come about because of demands by people who want to assert their ethnic identity or gain political support. He believes that reforms of this kind should be based on current local knowledge rather than politically motivated actions. It would have been better to improve the conditions of existing traditional rulers with large domains than to create new ones with no domains.

The *Gwom Rwei* of Fan is another Berom leader who has had to manage community relations following the 2001 Jos Crisis. As chairman of the Youth Council he is very aware of threats to security. On being appointed he knew that he had to carefully manage post-crisis traumas and especially the lack of trust between Fulbe and the host community. The 2001 crisis began in Jos on a Friday, spread to Bukuru by Saturday and to Heipang on Sunday. The Fulbe at Nding decided to leave in spite of assurances given to them that they would not be attacked. They eventually did leave but the youth would not allow them to carry their belongings. Three days later, the Fulbe returned and attacked the village killing 13 people including the chief. The *Gwom Rwei* alleged that there was strong evidence implicating the security personnel in the crisis. In April 2005 some Fulbe came to settle along the Nding-Lo Fan axis. Conflict almost erupted when a Fulbe cow was killed by the Berom. His people were resisting the arrival of the Fulbe in the area because they were not known. He had to use the resolution of the 2004 peace conference which states that people should go back to their former places of abode to mediate the conflict successfully.

Another type of incident involved two families in a protracted land dispute that was resolved in a court of appeal after 22 years. Recently one of the protagonists, a retired reverend from the Church of Christ in Nigeria (COCIN), led family members in forcefully taking possession of the disputed land. Members of the other family were alerted and gathered at the scene. In the scuffle that ensued one person sustained machete wounds. The *Gwom Rwei* was informed and he drafted in the police to make arrests. The police detained the Reverend for four days before the *Gwom Rwei* requested that he be released. Unfortunately, the Reverend proved uncooperative and produced land documents to back his claims of ownership. The *Gwom Rwei* has now asked the police to establish the authenticity of these: if they are forged then the Reverend will return to police custody. The *Gwom Rwei* believed that if he had not intervened promptly then this dispute could easily have escalated into a larger conflict.

The case of Da Gyang Fom, the village head of Kassa, illustrates another side of the role of traditional rulers in recent events⁶¹. In this case, a sequence of revenge killings carried on unabated despite pleas from traditional leaders. During the attack on his village by the Fulbe in 2001, five people were killed. After the 7 September 2001 crisis in Jos, Fulbe and Hausa living at Kassa decided to leave in spite of the pleas and assurances of the locals. In May 2002 the neighbouring village of Kwi was attacked and ten people were killed. The Fulbe issued a written threat to another village near Kassa called Hwolayal. Two days later Hwolayal was attacked, four people were killed and the whole village relocated to Kassa. The Hausa and Fulbe were told to leave Kassa for their own safety. The Hausa/Fulbe leadership was told by the LG security meeting to stop carrying out any form of activity at Kassa until total peace had been restored to the area. However, a few days later three Fulbe youths returned to the deserted village to harvest cabbages. The infuriated villagers waylaid them and one of them was killed.

Another incident was a result of the resumption of full grazing activities by the Fulbe, whose cattle encroached on farms. A Mr. Dung Fom attempted to protect his farm and received a machete cut on his head for his trouble. Two days later a Berom boy was shot dead. The Berom replied with a sweeping attack on all the Fulbe camps in the area. Five days later a reprisal attack on Kassa village by the Fulbe left five people dead and 80 houses destroyed. In both of these cases the Hausa/Fulbe leadership and local traditional rulers proved completely ineffective in preventing the violence.

Plateau State is a good illustration of the continuing patterns of conflict in the Middle Belt of Nigeria. A mosaic of ethnic groups with either no traditional rulers or chiefs who owe their existence to the colonial

⁶¹ Held on 21st November 2005.

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period, it is without strong traditional authorities. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have created islands of Islam, both in urban areas, where Hausa traders moved into the region and in the countryside where Fulbe herders are now well established with their cattle. As ethnic groups become increasingly self-aware, their resentment about the Hausa economic dominance in the towns and the herders' access to what they consider 'their' land is always increasing. Access to media, print, radio and mobile phones has expanded their ability to organise and chronic discord between the communities. Although chiefs in this region consider themselves 'traditional' in reality their authority is very weak as the various case histories have shown. Once a series of reprisal attacks has begun, neither the government nor the traditional leaders seem to have either the power or the will to be able to call them to a halt. Unless the Federal Government is willing to take a more active stance there is every reason to consider this will simply continue.

5.2.5 Chiefdoms of Southern Kaduna

In the nineteenth century a large part of the present Kaduna state was part of the Emirate of Zazzau [Zaria], described in §4.2.4. Southern Kaduna was a 'slave mine' and a source for tribute payments to northern Emirs. A major consequence was that the diverse peoples of this region were driven into the mountains of this region and this reinforced both their spirit of independence and their military organisation. According to James (1997:206) 'the colonial administration initially simply subordinated and sublimated these southern Kaduna peoples groups under emirate rule. From 1904-06 there were series of wars between Agworok and the British over sovereignty. The Agworok fought a war against the combined forces of Jema'a Dororo and the British when the latter demanded tax payment from the Agworok. In 1908, the Ninzo waged a war against the Emir of Jema'a and it was only the British that salvaged the Fulani Emir and the Emirate from being defeated. In 1908, the Agworok, Attakar, Ninzo, and Mada fought the British and Jema'a over tax claims. In 1912, the Agworok and Moroa waged a devastating war against Jema'a upon Jema'a's putative claims of overlordship status over them on the spurious claims of conquest. This war led the British to recognize the Ham, Gworok and Asholio (Moroa) as Independent Districts on November 4th 1913. Attempts by the British and Jema'a to collect tax in Kagoro and Mada Districts led to war in 1914. In the same year, the Bajju and Ninkyop attacked the Emir of Jema'a and drove him into Zaria province, and only the military might of the British brought him back'.

From the point of view of the colonial authorities it was administratively simple to treat the Southern Kaduna peoples as falling under the Zaria NA, despite their resistance and the striking cultural differences between them and Islamic Emirate. The sustained resistance of the southern Kaduna peoples to Emirate rule described for the 1910s and 1920s continued and in the 1930s Governor Cameron questioned the legitimacy of Fulani rule and embarked upon administrative reforms. However, the resident argued against the reform proposals on the grounds that they would undermine the authority of the Emir of Zaria. The Emir rejected the proposals, arguing that southern Kaduna peoples groups were so 'primitive' they would fight against each other over rotational presidency of a council of chiefs. As a compromise, the Secretary, Northern Province ordered that local elements be appointed district heads.

James' *Studies in the History, Politics and Cultures of Southern Kaduna Peoples Group* (1997) is a narrative of how these chiefdoms were revived, created, downgraded, upgraded throughout this period. In the colonial period, it was not uncommon for a traditional chiefdom to be abolished on economic reasons of the inability of the institution to fend for itself. Tax assessment and collection were the criteria for establishment or recognition of chiefdoms. Equally important was the supply of forced labour to carry out development activities. This situation was far from satisfactory and has been responsible for friction in the region, partly played out *in situ* and partly in Kaduna, where opposing forces confront one another on a daily basis. The most serious problem was the Zangon Kataf riot of 1992, but this was but one of series of violent affrays where the various Southern Zaria peoples expressed their discontent with Hausa presence in the region.

Bala's (ined a.) thesis on the Kafanchan riots helps illuminate the roles of traditional rulers in conflict prevention and mediation. In his words:

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‘The Kafanchan conflict of 1987 presented a new wave of ethno-religious turbulence and violence in northern Nigeria as epitomized in subsequent riotings in Zangon Kataf twice in 1992, Kafanchan between 1994 and 1999, Kaduna 2000 on Shari’ah and 2002 on Miss world pageant as well as in other states of the federation. The primary cause of the Kafanchan crisis of 1987, is rather the manipulation of religion and ethnicity by the elite, poverty, corruption, bad governance and other related issues rather than anything else. Many attempts have so far been made to examine what happened in Kafanchan in 1987. Majority of the researches conducted attributed the cause of the violent conflict to the marginalisation of the minority groups by the ruling class who were mostly Hausas and Fulanis. Others attributed the conflict to a long socio-political rivalry between the Hausa, Fulani minority ruling class and the significant majority ethnic groups surrounding the emirate capital who are mostly Christians. Others believe that events of the country in the colonial and post-colonial periods have a significant effect on the life of the people of Kafanchan. However according to my field research and the available written documents consulted, I observed that ethno-religious differences were not the major cause of the previous violence in Kafanchan, ranging from 1987-1999 violent communal clashes. The conflict was primarily caused by the elite who have over the years been able to divide the people along ethnic and religious lines.’

Resentment against emirate rule forms the bedrock of manipulation of religion by the elite. James (1997:154) writes:

As early as 1938 tribal progressive unions have started in the Middle Belt for Tiv, Berom, Bacama, Netzit (Southern Kaduna), and Narbe etc. By 1951, the trigger for the evolution of tribal political parties had been released. In 1949, a motion was sponsored in the Kaduna House of Assembly that the activities of missionaries should be watched. This immediately, triggered off some reaction from a group of missionary educated elite from Plateau and Southern Zaria and Non-Muslim League which later became Middle Zone League was born at a solidarity meeting in Kafanchan. Throughout the period of the First Republic, Southern Kaduna politics oscillated between two conflicting and contradictory tendencies. These were the tendency towards greater accommodation and integration with the North and assumed clientele political status and the tendency towards the cultivation of a distinctive independent political posture by agitating for the creation of a Middle Belt Region, the creation of a separate State for Southern Kaduna communities and the creation of Chiefdoms and its corollary in the creation of indigenous District Heads. These tendencies were ruthlessly exploited to the detriment of the Southern Kaduna people themselves. The general policy direction was that of coaxing, cajoling Southern Kaduna educated elite into abandoning the tendency towards greater autonomy and self-determination towards embracing the tendency towards accommodation and integration with the Muslim North. The subtle approach adopted by the then Premier of Northern Region Sir Ahmadu Bello yielded greater dividends in the period from 1960-1965.

In the post-Independence era, it proved impossible for the Southern Zaria peoples to entirely shake off the influence of Zazzau Emirate and this pre-colonial slaving emirate became the basis for the modern Kaduna State, bringing together entirely incompatible groups. The history of Southern Zaria has largely been one of greater pressure for more ethnically delimited LGAs and for the creation of chiefs reflecting the large peoples. In the 1990s, demand for new chiefdoms accelerated. In 1996, Mallam Sambo, Chief of Marwa, headed a Technical Committee on the creation of new chiefdoms that led to four, namely Atyap, Bajju, Atyap, Gwong and Sanga being gazetted. The procedure used was for ethnic groups demanding chiefdoms to submit memoranda. Elders and representatives of village areas were invited to defend their submission. The Committee also laid the groundwork for the creation of other chiefdoms such as Adara, Koro, Akurmi, Gbagyi, Ninkyop, Agbiri, Atsam although a lack of unity among their proponents has meant that these are still in abeyance. Nonetheless, even at this late date, Southern Zaria peoples were still required to request permission from Zaria to create chiefdoms which was perceived as humiliating. This procedure was subsequently abrogated by the Kaduna state government under Governor Ahmed Makarfi.

Islamic settlements are generally in a minority in this region but there are some outposts of Muslims whose position on Shari’a has been problematic even in Southern Zaria. Case Study 3 illustrates the problems in

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Gwantu, a small chiefdom that had previously been dominated by Muslims, despite the fact that the majority of the Gbantu population were Christians;

Case Study 3. The Gwantu Crisis of 2000

The Chief of Numana, Mr. Gambo Makama, Etun Numana is a second-class chief at Gwantu in Sanga LGA and a Christian⁶². Gwantu is the main settlement of the Gbantu people, on the Fadan Karshe-Akwanga road in Plateau State which experienced a major religious crisis over Sharia in November 2000. His predecessor, Alhaji Ahmadu Yakubu was not tactful in handling the consultation with local government officials on adopting the Islamic penal code. An announcement that Shari'a would be adopted was made, leading to riots and the chief was arrested. The chiefdom is not an Emirate and no religious system can be forced upon the people simply because of the wishes of palace advisers. The loss of lives and properties could have been avoided if the dethroned chief had taken a more neutral position. He is now in constant dialogue with every segment of the chiefdom to promote peaceful coexistence. As he says, "In the past, our people had fought on the side of the emirate system but now we do not want to take side again."

The issue of the religious affiliation of individual chiefs and the general infrastructural progress of their region is also increasingly fraught. In the case of the chiefdom of Marwa, the centre of the Moroa or Sholyo people in Kaduna State, it has been in existence since 1911⁶³. Its chief, Mallam Tagwai Sambo (OFR), is a first-class chief and Deputy Chairman of Kaduna State Traditional Council. He served the late Premier as private secretary, was a commissioner in North Central State in 1967-74 and was appointed the Chief of Marwa in 1980. There have been no conflicts in his domain, but he has been active in peace and reconciliation meetings in the aftermath of the crises of 1987, 1992 and 1999. He now considers that he has pursued a misguided strategy in relation to the development of his own area. Adopting the late Premier's policy of accommodation and integration with the Muslim North, his region has become something of a backwater. He now believes that it would be more fitting to announce his own faith openly and he has embarked upon a campaign for Christian spiritual revival, which he believes will follow the development of infrastructure for Marwa.

5.2.6 Chiefdoms of Akun and Migili, Nasarawa state

Nasarawa State, created from the southern segment of Plateau State in 1991, was a major raiding zone for the northern slavers in the nineteenth century and is dotted with smaller Hausa trading settlements. These were expanded during the colonial era, thereby reinforcing Hausa hegemony. As a consequence, many populations have a split allegiance between Islam and Christianity. However, as in Southern Zaria, there has been a gradual growth of movements to create new local chiefdoms. The Akun and Migili chiefdoms are described as examples of the evolution of the Middle Belt pattern. Akun Chiefdom is centred in Nasarawa Eggon LGA which is predominantly Eggon-speaking. Although a creation of the colonial government, it was upgraded in 1980 to first-class status by the civilian administration⁶⁴. Mr. Bala Amgbazo has been the paramount ruler since that time. He is a devout Christian and is very accessible and listens to every issue with rapt attention. Although the population of Muslims and Christians is roughly half and half there has been no religious crisis during this period. The Akun chief liaises closely with the Emir of Lafia and the *Chun Mada* to avoid clashes over farmland; Eggon speakers also live adjacent to other indigenous populations in their respective domains.

The central region of Nasarawa State was formerly dominated by the Lafia Emirate, a chiefdom founded by migrant Kanuri people, locally known as Beriberi (Hogben & Kirk-Greene 1966:544 ff.). The history of this is rather similar to Zazzau (see §5.2.5) although the territory of Lafia was never so extensive. Nonetheless, throughout the colonial and post-Independence period, local non-Muslim populations have gradually been

⁶² Interview on 9th February 2006.

⁶³ Interview in the palace at Manchok with District heads on 6th and 7th February 2006.

⁶⁴ Interview at the palace of the Aren on 15th February, 2006.

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trying to extricate themselves from its authority. The former governor of Nasarawa State, now the *Zhe Migili*, Mr. Ayuba Audu, is a second-class ruler overseeing the Migili people⁶⁵. This whole region had previously been under Lafia, and when he was appointed Sole Administrator of Lafia LGC in 1992, he perceived that the emancipation programme was incomplete. As part of an emancipation programme to free oppressed communities from emirate rule he created the Migili Chieftdom out of Lafia Emirate as a third class stool and appointed leaders over village areas without reference to the Emir. This earned him dismissal from the military regime but local approbation and undoubtedly contributed to his selection as *Zhe Migili* when the post became vacant in 1996. The biggest challenge in Obi LGA is the frequent clashes between his people and the migrant Tiv over farmland. This has left the domain in a state of perpetual insecurity because they have to fight to secure the land for future generations. Apart from mobilizing his people to protect and defend their land his time is spent settling disputes bordering on family relations, witchcraft and community development.

6. How are traditional leaders funded?

The costs of running an effective operation as a traditional leader depend strongly on how active the leader is and the expectations of the local populace. For example, further south, where leaders have more a ritual function, the population has low expectations in terms of peace-making, public awareness and attendance at ceremonial functions and costs are correspondingly lower. Further north, traditional rulers are expected to keep a traditional bureaucracy working, which includes court officials such as bodyguards (*zaigi*), police (*dogarai*), scribes, secretaries, personal aides etc. However, the haphazard positioning of traditional rulers within the governance of Nigeria has meant that funding for this is highly variable officially and unofficially. The official systems mean that in principle traditional leaders have a stipend, but this is often not commensurate with their responsibilities. However, government is less likely to pay this stipend regularly and without holdbacks, because it is more difficult for them to protest. As a consequence, traditional leaders have constant recourse to unofficial systems of raising funds. Sometimes this can be fairly well codified; for example, the local population agrees to spend one or several days working on the chief's farm every year. Elsewhere it is informal and clandestine and sometimes frankly illegal. This section describes what information it was possible to gather on this sensitive subject, with the caveat that it will be very incomplete.

6.1 Official systems

In the older Northern Emirates, formal tax-collection systems existed in pre-colonial times and the ubiquitous warfare meant that plundering was a significant source of income. Conquered states were expected to remit tribute and the sale of official posts was common. There were also significant taxes on the movement of trade goods and a cattle tax, *jangali*, which was much hated. Special taxes were levied on the professions such as butchers as well as the various classes of craftsmen. The *zakka*, a tithe on agricultural products could be collected for charitable purposes (Perham 1937:51). Further south, systems were less formal and the income of rulers was based on tribute and impromptu levies. The colonial system formalised much of this, with the NAs being paid a regular subvention from the Treasury. Salary regimes of colonial times found in Sani (2003:28);

In appreciation of their (traditional rulers) middlemanship function and role in this respect (in the Indirect Rulership Enterprise), the chiefs were generously remunerated, judged by the general standard of living at the time. For example, in 1900, the Sultan of Sokoto, the Shehu of Borno, and the Emir of Kano were each placed on a fixed salary of £6000 (pounds) per annum. In addition, they each received a yearly establishment allowance which for the Sultan was £3000 and £1500 for each of the other two. In 1991, a first class chief in Kogi state is paid ₦42,000 p.a. with allowances, third class ₦20,000 p.a.⁶⁶.

⁶⁵ Interview at Zhe's palace at Duduguru on 16th February 2006.

⁶⁶ In other words, barely 1% of the colonial era remuneration

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The colonial system persisted through the post-Independence era until the Local Government reforms of 1976. Presently, traditional rulers from the paramount ruler to the village head are paid a stipend either by State or Local Governments, depending on level. In most states, traditional rulers are paid by local governments according to the civil service salary scale. The ward head are generally not paid and in some places village heads are not paid, but depend on *wushira*, 'tithes of collectable taxes'. Where payment of the poll or cattle tax has been stopped such rulers are left to the goodwill of their appointee. The system in Gombe state is representative of northern Nigeria (Table 14):

Table 14 Salary scales of traditional leaders in Gombe State

Title	Salary Grade
Senior District Head	Grade Level 12
District Head	Grade Level 06
Village Head	Grade Level 03
Ward Head	Not paid
A monthly allocation of ₦11.7 million is being released to chiefs and senior district heads for their upkeeps apart from their monthly salaries.	

Source: New Nigeria Newspapers, 31/5/2005:2

In 1985, a guideline of 5% of the total income of the local government is supposed to go to the resident paramount ruler. This has not a legal provision but merely an official circular letter and even the principle is not being observed in most places. Where the state governor is on good terms with the traditional rulers the arrangement may be implemented. In a local government with more than one paramount ruler it will be difficult to find the money. The approximate values of monthly salaries in 2005 at Ropp, Plateau State,⁶⁷ were as follows (Table 15);

Table 15. Monthly income of traditional chiefs in Ropp, Plateau State, 2005

Level	Monthly income
2 nd Class Chief	ca. ₦40,000
3 rd Class Chief	ca. ₦15-18,000
District Head	ca. ₦5-8000
Ward and Village Heads	10% of community tax collections

Needless to say, as with many other areas of the civil service, payments may be long in arrears or never paid at all. As an example of this, the Mai Tangale (§5.2.3) reported the following situation in January 2006;

'Only the paramount ruler (Mai), district heads (Hakimai) and village heads (Dakatai) are remunerated. The lowest cadre who are ward heads (Joro) are no longer remunerated because of the abolition of poll and cattle taxes. The state government pays the Mai and the LG pays district heads and village heads. When the present Mai came into office in 2002 these traditional rulers were without pay for two years. This debt was reduced and by end of 2003 they were owed arrears of six months only. This needs to be addressed constitutionally. The 5% meant for traditional rulers should be deducted at source and channelled straight to them and not through the LG system.'

As noted in §4.4.3, a high-profile chieftaincy close to the Federal capital such as Kuje can receive regular funding for reasons that are unconnected with its efficiency or otherwise. Even if paid, they represent a small remuneration for the work chiefs and ward heads have to do, settling civil cases that take the burden off the judicial system. The temptation will clearly be to look elsewhere to support their position.

⁶⁷ Field notes collected on 17th November 2005 at Ropp, Barakin Ladi LG, Plateau state

6.2 Other sources of income

The amount that a ruler can generate from legitimate sources of income depends strongly on the respect in which they are held by the local population. If that respect is high, then they will work on his farm or otherwise carry out civil works. Almost all rulers engage in agriculture and some have very large farms. Indeed the profits to be made from farming effectively are such that in some cases this has led to misappropriation of land, something a traditional leader is well-placed to do. During the military era in the 1980s and 1990s, generals were well known for their large farms often carved out of bush areas without any legal documentation. Most of these have reverted to their original owners, but nonetheless, as pressure on land grows, the practice of seizing farmland may accelerate again.

A transaction in title deeds for land is a legitimate income for traditional rulers at all levels as they can charge for appending signatures to such documents (Aboki 2003:26). Traditional rulers also derive income for signing indigenisation forms⁶⁸. At the same time, there will be competition for local titles and the ruler can expect recompense for awarding these. The payment of up to ₦100,000 for a traditional title is not uncommon in Nigeria. Omopariola (1985:201) has suggested this as a service a traditional ruler can offer on a commercial basis to generate income. This view may be practical in the south, but rather goes against northern cultural traditions. This could be compared to eighteenth century England, where titles such as Baronetcy could be bought for fixed sums. Even in present-day Britain, large donors to political parties expect a title to be conferred in due course, while avoiding an obvious public equivalence between payment and that title.

Rather more shakily, but again in line with practice in developed countries, is the award of contracts to the traditional leaders. If the local government has a good rapport with the local leader and perceives the need for further subventions for them to carry out their duties it is possible to direct contracts towards them. These may be for construction, supply of goods and services and so on. Clearly this is undesirable since the local leader may well not be the best value contractor, but this probably works better in Nigeria than elsewhere where all contractors have corrupt relationships with those who award contracts.

More problematic still are anecdotal accounts of bribery and illegal payments for clandestine services. For example, in areas where there have been conflicts between nomadic pastoralists and farmers, local chiefs have been accused of taking payments to allow the herders free passage through their area. Indeed, customary justice is sometimes a tense area, with both parties accusing the chief of taking bribes. The truth of accusations in individual cases is hard to determine, but it is certain that such payments are sometimes made.

6.3 How should traditional leaders be paid?

As the material shows, it is hard to determine what the true income of traditional leaders is and it probably varies with their perceived status in different parts of Nigeria. It is clear, however, that their official income is grossly inadequate, compared with the duties they have and the responsibilities they are expected to fulfil. If the incomes cited above are compared with the monthly allowance of ₦150,000 for a ward Councillor, the lowest person on the political ladder, who sits in the local government legislature perhaps five times in a year, their insufficiency is plain. The ward head, the lowest level of traditional ruler, is often not paid at all, despite their importance in resolving disputes or conflict.

It seems reasonable to significantly increase the remuneration of traditional rulers. However, there are problems in finding a flexible solution that reflects the amount of work individuals must do. The main issues are;

⁶⁸ Indigenisation has become increasingly important in recent years in Nigeria, with school and University places and land title being dependent on such affirmations. It is very much the case that this contributes an increasing proportion of the income of traditional leaders.

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- a) ceremonial or ritual rulers (more typical in the south) carry out many fewer tasks than those in the north and deserve correspondingly less
- b) because there is no schedule for the activities of a traditional leader some may be far less active than others
- c) some rulers have considerably greater access to non-formal sources of income
- d) the 1990s and more recently have seen a massive expansion of the number of 'traditional' rulers as well as the upgrading of those already in post. If there were a significant increase in standard remuneration, then there would be still more competition for these positions and yet more pressure to create further chiefs. Since many of these new chiefs do not yet have responsibilities commensurate with more established chiefs this would be clearly be unjust.

The obvious response to this situation is the creation of a flexible source of funding for traditional rulers which could take into account all these factors and make reasonable additional payments to rulers who are short of funds. This possibility is considered in more detail in the recommendations to donors (§14.4).

7. Traditional leaders and the justice system

7.1 Legal status of traditional leaders

The legal status of traditional rulers goes back to the system of Indirect Rule introduced by Lord Lugard which maintained and regularised their position. Although the British were quite prompt in getting rid of rulers who displeased them, as the historical record shows, the presentation was of a harmonious relation between the Native Authorities and the Residents. The notional basis of this is set out in Lugard's *Political Memoranda* (1918), which was intended to be a confidential handbook for colonial officers. Although the British established the system of grades for chiefs and tried to extend this system even where it was manifestly non-traditional, they did not create a single legal provision that established the status of traditional rulers.

Traditional rulers are mentioned in the post-Independence constitution, which, however, provided for a Federal State and a parliamentary form of government. The Local Government reforms (guidelines) of 1976 removed a great deal of their power in practice, although this was not reflected in any constitutional document. They appear again in the 1979 constitution but their role is merely ceremonial and advisory on cultural matters. In practice, therefore the amount of authority they have and their income depends heavily on their relations with the State Governors, and particularly in the military era they could be summarily dismissed. The 1999 Constitution is completely silent on traditional rulers. Section 4 of the report of the Presidential Committee on the Review of that Constitution is too broad to be useful. The issue was purportedly to be dealt with in the revision of the constitution that was under way in 2005-6. Some of the submissions by traditional rulers are given in §8.1. However, excitement over the 'third term' controversy caused this to be dropped and it is unknown when the issue may be revived again.

The situation is thus somewhat paradoxical; although traditional leaders continue to play an important role in the life of the nation, their status in law is weakly defined, existing laws are outmoded and in no way consonant with what happens on a day-to-day basis. Some activities by Emirs are clearly contrary to established standards of human rights but carried out with strong popular support (§4.2.13). It is regrettable that the self-obsessed legislators in Abuja are unable to see this clearly, but as the anarchic impeachment of State Governors proceeds apace and civil disorder shows no sign of slackening, traditional rulers' skills will be ever more in demand.

Paradoxically, at the level of the State, law is made concerning chiefs and paramount rulers quite regularly. State Governors and the various Houses of Assembly have been passing laws on chieftaincy affairs since the military era. Examples are Laws of Katsina State Volume 2 of 1991, p. 1195, Part VIII, on Emirate or Traditional Councils. Kano State Laws of 1991, p. 341 deal with the Council of Chiefs. For the most part, these laws are highly technical and deal with the composition of councils. It is evident that each state will

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continue to make differing and sometimes contrary legal provision for traditional rulers (often in clear contradiction to everyday realities) without and overall constitutional framework.

7.2 Nigerian court systems

Most Nigerian societies had mechanisms for resolving legal cases in the pre-colonial era. The Islamic system of justice, Shari'a, was maintained under Indirect Rule but restricted to civil law (Keay & Richardson 1966). The abolition of native *criminal* law only took place in 1960. A specifically Shari'a Court of Appeal was created in 1960. Non-Muslims had access to customary or native courts are presided over by Area court judges of various grades handling minor and civil litigations. The 'Lyttleton' Constituion of 1954 applied the Federal system to the courts and introduced the potential for regional variation (Ostien 1999:11). Magistrate courts handle both criminal and civil cases and a lawyer can represent his client at this level, unlike the Customary or native courts. State and Federal high courts exist where English Law is practised. Customary or Native Courts of Appeal and Shari'a Courts of Appeal at the state level are at par with the High court. Cases from high courts go to Federal Appeal courts and ultimately to the Supreme Court. During the colonial era, Emirs played a greater role in handling high-profile court cases within their jurisdiction, but this has virtually disappeared with the Courts Edict of 1967-8. This important piece of legislation;

- a. took away the power of appointment and removal of native judges from NAs, i.e. Emirs could no longer appoint and dismiss judges on a whim
- b. Emir's and Chief's courts were abolished and replaced by Upper Area Courts, whose judges were appointed on the same basis as other judges
- c. Upper Area Court Judges became state employees and unconnected financially to the NAs

(Adapted from Ostien 1999:14)

The role of traditional rulers is thus most prominent in settling family matters, cases of witchcraft, land disputes and religious disputes. For instance, the district head of Maru in Zamfara State reported that he handled over 17 cases of witchcraft and 21 matters related to marriages in first few months of 2006. Only 2 witchcraft cases and 3 marriage ones were transferred to court for further settlement. Generally speaking, it is cheaper and quicker to resolve this type of local dispute with a traditional ruler. Taking matters to the police and courts can turn a simple case into a protracted dispute with no greater chance that a fair judgment will be reached.

7.3 The Shari'a system and recent changes

From 2000 onwards, beginning in Zamfara State, laws have been passed establishing Shari'a (شريعة) law for criminal cases. This has now been extended to twelve northern states, including those with large non-Muslim populations. This has been subject to legal challenge in Nigeria, but the Federal Government has hardly been articulate in its opposition to these unilateral impositions. Some decisions involving extreme punishment such as stoning and amputations have caused international outcry, and many judgments have yet to be executed. It has been pointed out that there is a certain asymmetry in the application of Shari'a in Nigeria; harsh punishments have been adopted but not the higher standards of evidence upon which these are premised. Certain states such as Zamfara have recruited *hisba*, enforcers, who ensure that Islamic regulations are kept. At the same time, non-Muslims in these states have been repressed by threats of violence and this has in turn led to fatalities.

This change dramatises the sidelining of traditional rulers in the political process. Shari'a is divisive in the community and leads to conflict; generally speaking this is against the interests of the old ruling class. However, it is a flexible tool in the hands of the new political elites, as it allows them recruit private militias in the same way as rogue politicians in the south but also claim the moral high ground. Their profession to be following an ever stricter version of Islam gives them power over the older more established sects in the North and allows them to justify restricting a greater range of civil liberties. There is an argument for suggesting that this is related to the immense wealth brought to Nigeria by oil. Unearned income of this type

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gives politicians the freedom to engage in policies that restrict trade and more normal patterns of economic development while still presenting minor infrastructural improvements as achievements. African countries that have to earn development through building up enterprises are notably less interested in introducing restrictive religious practices. So, while traditional leaders have inevitably gone along with Shari'a in the heavily Islamic states, it may be with scepticism. For example, the Shehu of Borno protested about the 'introduction' of Shari'a in 2000, claiming that it had always operated (§4.3.1). However, he was over-ridden by the State House of Assembly, which introduced a repressive version of Shari'a and which would lead to violent confrontation.

8. Traditional leaders and the nation-state

8.1 The Nigerian Government and traditional rulers

The underlying logic of indirect rule was that the colonial government be not seen to interfere too visibly with the NAs, otherwise the authority of the ruler would be thereby undermined. In fact, of course, the British authorities manipulated both the choice of rulers, and many other subsidiary elements to ensure the smooth running of government. The Northern Province Advisory Council, established in 1931, was intended to bring together Northern Emirs, but was also attended by colonial officers (Paden 1973:231). These meetings were not always harmonious and relations between the resident and Emirs were often strained, which accounts for the introduction of the messenger system to encourage more considered communication between the two.

One of the issues that always excited disagreement between the NAs and the colonial authorities was the extent to which Islamic law should be maintained, where it appeared to conflict with international assumptions about rights. For example, on the subject of the education of girls, this was strongly opposed by the assembled Emirs (Perham 1937:130). They accepted that if extended by the colonial authorities it should remain within very strict limits. Similarly on the issue of punishment, the British had already forbidden mutilation such as amputation. However, the Maliki law operating in the period made it difficult to pronounce a punishment intermediate between the death penalty and imprisonment with a hundred lashes. There was considerable pressure to try and make the system more flexible.

With the transition to an Independent Nigeria in 1960, the powers of traditional rulers began to wane with the demise of the NA system. A 'House of Chiefs' with legislative functions was established in Kaduna⁶⁹. Membership included all first-class and second-class Emirs and Chiefs. This opened up the institution to political manipulation. During the immediate post-Independence era, left-wing populist ideologies were common in Nigeria and the traditional rulers were seen as representatives of the old order, social and religious conservatives holding back progress. As Nigeria fell victim to a series of military coups and the rather haphazard authoritarianism that resulted, the prestige of the unelected traditional rulers rose alongside the military officers who now supported them. The traditional rulers gave military dictatorship a kind of legitimacy in exchange for prestige. Their pronouncements suggested that military rule was acceptable as governance and on the whole improved the response on the ground. The laid-down procedures were adhered to strictly and traditional rulers became mobilisers of the people to support government programmes.

The political reforms under the military led to the adoption of the American Presidential system and local governments were restructured in line with that. No role has been provided for traditional rulers. During the 2005 Political Reform Conference, a special committee was established to propose some roles for traditional rulers to be enshrined in the Constitution. The Tor Tiv was the Chairman of that Committee. Some Emirate Councils submitted memoranda to the Committee. The submission of the Kano Emirate Council recommended⁷⁰:

⁶⁹ Until recently, a series of painted gates could be seen along Ahmadu Bello Way in Kaduna marked 'Emir of Zaria's house' and similar, dating from this era.

⁷⁰ New Nigerian Newspaper, 26/3/05

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- ❖ Federal Senators should be nominated by the Paramount Chiefs from each state.
- ❖ States should have Houses of Chiefs as well as Houses of Assemblies.
- ❖ There should be on the High Court one Chief from each LGA, nominated by the state premier in consultations with the state council of chiefs.
- ❖ “Fora” should be formed to discuss and resolve areas of misunderstanding in a state: under the Committees of Traditional Rulers, Paramount Chiefs and Selected Elders.
- ❖ 1976 LG reforms alienated Traditional Rulers from active participation in running the Councils: this should be revisited; Traditional Rulers should be integrated into the system.

The recommendations of the Tangale Traditional Council is given below. It suggested that if a constitutional amendment is to be made it should recognise with regards to Traditional Rulers:

- ❖ Judicial powers in farmland disputes.
- ❖ Custody of traditional rites and rituals; traditional rulers to be allowed to use traditional methods (e.g. ordeals) for resolving social conflicts.
- ❖ Judicial powers over marriage disputes.
- ❖ In short all former powers under the Native Authority System should be restored in the constitution.
- ❖ Governors should not be given the power to remove traditional rulers; at present the tenures of traditional rulers are not secure.
- ❖ A disciplinary committee must be established before a traditional ruler is removed.
- ❖ Ward heads should be given allowances.
- ❖ High morals should be demanded of traditional rulers especially in the context of farm and marital disputes.
- ❖ Traditional rulers should at least be allowed to make LG accountable in LG budgets and development projects.
- ❖ Selection of traditional rulers should be strictly according to the traditions of the people.

The 2005 document on reforms of traditional institution is summarised below:⁷¹

- ❖ It is recommended that some role be found to traditional rulers by state Governments to enable them have a feeling of participating in government.
- ❖ They should be paid for such job.
- ❖ The present state council of chiefs should be given additional responsibilities in accordance with local peculiarities.
- ❖ The conference also recommended that Traditional council of chiefs should be recognized at the local Government level.
- ❖ In order to enhance the desirable rapport and co-operation which necessary for the smooth running of local Governments, local Government Chairmen should attend Emirate Traditional councils meeting as non-voting members.
- ❖ Every Traditional ruler should as a father of the people throw the full weight of his traditional authority to accelerate the task of mass mobilization of the people for active participation in community development programmes within his area of jurisdiction especially community self help projects.
- ❖ Local Government Areas security committees should be established comprising the local Government council chairmen and their councillors and the entire members of the local government council of Traditional Rulers, to review advice and proffer strategies for maintaining peace and security in the local Government areas.
- ❖ Traditional Rulers should be recognized as the Traditional officers of their domain and be held accountable for intercommunal conflicts.
- ❖ Traditional rulers should be involved in the resolution of boundary disputes within and outside their domains.
- ❖ The state Government in conjunction with the local Government should determine appropriate enumeration for recognized traditional Rulers and Chiefs to be paid by the local Government.

⁷¹ Document collected from the Office of Secreatry to Federal Government, Abuja

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The current policy on traditional rulers is that they are at the mercy of the state governor and the House of Assembly. They are treated with respect when politicians need honorary traditional titles and political support. This is far from the prestige they enjoyed under the era of House of Chiefs in the First Republic at the Regional level. The current membership of Chairmen of state traditional councils on advisory council at the Federal level called the National Council of State is a weak arrangement.

8.2 How can Traditional Rulers be removed from office?

8.2.1 Colonial era

During the colonial era, in the early period immediately following the conquest, numerous Emirs were dismissed and deported, often for visible and unattractive practices such as slaving⁷², but also because they were simply not pliable enough to the new conditions of British rule. Gradually, as the new rulers and the colonial authorities became more comfortable with one another, this slowed down, but Emirs were always aware that they could be summarily dismissed and sent into exile, sometimes in highly undesirable conditions. Under the NA system it was also possible for rulers to be repudiated by their own people. For example, in 1930, the Sultan of Sokoto, Muhammad Tambari, scandalised the ordinary population by his resort to magical practices. He fled across the border into Niger and was deposed on his return and then sent into exile in Wukari, which was considered particularly shaming as this was a non-Muslim area. This was approved at the 1931 conference of chiefs who considered he had both brought Islam into disrepute and shed doubt on their allegiance to the crown (Perham 1937:128).

8.2.2 Independent Nigeria

The practice of removing traditional rulers whose actions or opinions were unacceptable to government continued after Nigerian Independence. Table 16 provides a summary list of rulers who were dismissed by both military and civilian governments after 1960;

Table 16. Some traditional rulers dismissed by government post-1960

Date	Emirate or Chiefdom	Ruler/Position
1963	Kano	Mohammed Sanusi
1987	Muri	Emir
1996	Sokoto	Ibrahim Dasuki
2005	Gwandu	Haruna Jokolo
2005	Numan	Hama Bachama

In 1963, the government of Northern Nigeria dethroned Emir Mohammed Sanusi of Kano. A Sole Commissioner, Mr. D.J.M. Muffet, was appointed to investigate the finances of the Kano Native Authority. The Emir was found guilty and was removed from office against the wishes of his people.

In 1985, the Military Governor of the defunct Gongola state, Colonel Yohanna Madaki, removed the Emir of Muri for confiscating farmland from peasant farmers. He declared, with admirable bluntness, 'I have dealt a lethal blow to feudalism. The man was a rogue.' This move did not sit well with the other Northern Emirs, although it is likely that the Emir of Muri was guilty, as they considered things should be handled in a more discrete manner. In the event, government did not reverse its position, and the post has remained unfilled up to the present, but pressure from the Emirs led to the dismissal of Colonel Madaki. Sultan Ibrahim Dasuki was removed from office in 1993 by the Military Administrator of Sokoto for financial misdeeds relating to a failed bank. His removal sparked celebrations in Sokoto because many subjects believed that he had been imposed on them by the military. Alhaji Haruna Jokolo, Emir of Gwandu, was removed from office in 2005 for his continuous criticism of the Federal government on issues as local government and constitutional reforms and national immunisation.

⁷² Although domestic slavery continued in Northern Nigeria until 1936 (Jumare 1994)

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In 2005, the Hama Bachama, Freddy Soditi Bongo, was removed from office by the state governor for instigating violence against Hausa and Fulbe in Numan. There was violent religious conflict in Numan near the palace of the Hama Bachama twice in 2005 in relation to the location of a Mosque. Worshippers were attacked by the Bachama people during Jummat Prayer under the pretext that the noise from the public address system of the Mosque was a nuisance to the chief. Government advised the Hama to assist the Local Government to provide land to the Muslims to relocate the Mosque. He failed to do this and was accused of personal involvement in the second crisis, leading to his dethronement. President Obasanjo has been called on to intervene in the chieftaincy crisis in Bachamaland by returning Mr. Bongo to his throne. The Bachama Heritage Foundation says the installation of Asaph Zadok in 2006 as the paramount ruler of Bachama went against the traditions, resulting in restiveness and indeed Mr. Zadok has had to be guarded by troops at great expense.

Broadly speaking, the post-Independence Nigerian government has removed traditional rulers summarily⁷³, in much the same fashion as in the colonial era. Under military rule or in the intermittent periods of civilian government has made little difference. The imposition of rulers is much less common, despite the striking exception of Sultan Dasuki in Sokoto. Sometimes these actions were with the assent of the local people, sometimes very much against their wishes, especially if the leader had been pursuing an ethnic agenda of which they approved, even if the outcome was violent riots and fatalities, as in Numan. The motives are very different in individual cases; occasionally they were blatantly political, as in Gwandu in 2005. But deposing the Hama Bachama for his role in the anti-Fulbe riots in Numan seems appropriate. Since these events now excite much comment in the media, they are probably contribute to a poor overall image of traditional rulers, but it is hard to imagine any government not reserving the right to dismiss such rulers. The failure to operate a transparent process for such dismissals and the lingering suspicion that the motives are other than those presented publicly argues for a more formal, open process.

At a lower level in the hierarchy, District and Village Heads often find themselves in opposition to Local Government chairmen. This can occur because of split ethnicity within one LG or simply that the two find themselves on different political sides. The traditional ruler is always at a disadvantage under these circumstances, usually because he is financially dependent on the Local Government. Politics is probably thus more important at this level than for higher level chiefs.

9. Traditional leaders and the political process

In theory, traditional rulers are intended to stand outside politics, both constitutionally and in fact. The 1976 Local Government Reforms are clear that a traditional ruler can be removed from office if he is identified as participating in politics. Section 7(1) of the 1979 constitution provides that the members of the Local Government be democratically elected. This should automatically exclude traditional rulers from local government business except if they stand as candidates. Even where a traditional council exists at the local government level, the Chairman attends the meeting to moderate any decision it takes.

At the level of political parties, Northern elections in the early 1980s were dominated by opposition between the NPN, a conservative party which was considered to represent the interests of the old Hausa-Fulbe aristocracy and the PRP, a brash young grouping led by Mallam Aminu Kano that challenged the NPN on the grounds that it perpetuated a 'feudal stranglehold' on the population in the Northern States (Miles 1989). In this era, radical opposition was secular and leftist, as opposed to the fundamentalist Islam that later came to challenge traditional rulers. With the return of military rule, this impetus stopped and by the time democracy returned, opposition was coming from quite different sources.

⁷³ It is increasingly the case that State Governors are also being impeached, dismissed and remove either by the Federal Gvoernment or by the legislature, so this may reflect a broader instability in the hierarchies of power.

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In a more recent example, the Emir of Mubi is considered to have inappropriately solicited support for the Governor during the 2003 elections in Adamawa state. A district head⁷⁴ alleged that the Emir of Mubi instructed them to vote for the government in 2003. The Emir's brother was a member of the Adamawa House of Assembly in 1999-2003 under the platform of the opposition party ANPP, but was not re-elected because it would embarrass the Emir.

At a lower level, the reality is somewhat different and depends on the relative status of the traditional ruler. A powerful traditional ruler can simply become chairman of the Local Government Council and effectively undermine all decisions that counteract his interests. A less powerful ruler, one who can be dismissed by a Local Government Chairman, is afraid to take significant decisions contrary to the Local Government, for fear of losing his position. Obviously, it is important for government to have the power to get rid of unsatisfactory rulers but this power is often trivialised by using it to remove foci of political opposition.

An example of this is the Dagwom Foron in Barakin Ladi, Plateau State in 2002. He was previously an opposition party leader before being appointed chief. This history meant that he was opposed to the ruling party and there was political pressure to get rid of him. His activities were investigated by a special committee set up by government and he was dethroned and sent into exile to Qua'an Pan LGA.

Increasingly, the reverse is also true, Local Government chairmen choose to appoint medium level chiefs against the wishes of more senior rulers and sometimes despite opposition from local people. In Kwami, Gombe State, the local government Chairman appointed a village head without consultation with the traditional emirate council. It appeared that the former village head supported a rival political party and the chairman wanted to replace him. Although the people rejected the new appointee the local government went ahead to build him a palace, putting in place a ruler without followers.

This type of political interference with traditional institutions is a source of concern to many of those interviewed. Ibrahim Hamman Degri, Head, Personnel Management, Balanga LGA, Gombe, said;

'The title 'traditional' should be removed because of the interference by politicians at every level. The federal and state governments now control the Traditional Rulers: from emirs down to village heads they are appointed or elected with great "interference" either directly or indirectly by the government. Traditional Rulers not popularly elected either by subjects or designated kingmakers or religious leaders; are appointees of government which is the determinant factor. They are tied to the apron or strings of government; no wonder every top politician is becoming a traditional titleholder.'

The view is that at every level, the rights and responsibilities of traditional rulers, and by extension, kingmakers have been reduced by government. They no longer have the right to appoint or discipline or depose village heads, only report to the government. They are banned from partisan politics. Traditional councils can no longer make traditional religious or administrative decisions or apply rules and procedures to execute policies coming from their traditions or religion. Traditional rulers are no longer rallying points for their communities.

In the light of this, it might seem that to be a traditional ruler was hardly an attractive ambition. The paradox is that numbers of chiefs keep rising, existing chiefs are upgraded, politicians make the creation of chiefs part of their campaign pledges, and succession struggles occupy significant amounts of local time and resources that could be spent on more appropriate development activities. Disputes occasionally lead to violence and certainly sharpen ethnic rivalry. Why then compete? The explanation is complex, but one perspective is that this is a key strategy in developing and extending networks of influence and patronage. For example, although a Local Government Chairman may gain control of the secular positions and resources associated with the Federal System, the 'traditional' allegiance associated with non-government leaders is less easily captured. Even though the 'traditions' associated with such chiefs appear to be rapidly and freely invented, the key feature is a lack of direct association with government. So in a perverse way, this reflects a ubiquitous distrust of government prevalent among the ordinary population; representatives of

⁷⁴ Alhaji Yashua, District Head of Mubi South, interviewed 7th May 2006.

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government must then try to capture these alternative allegiances. Presumably, however, they will fail in the long term, because by turning the traditional rulers into contrafacts of their own hierarchy they will simply ramp up distrust.

10. Traditional leaders and religion

10.1 Should Traditional Rulers be neutral? What is their position in fact?

Emirs appointed in a wholly Muslim region combine religious and legal functions in a single person and thus are not expected to be neutral on religious matters. They appoint the Imams of major Mosques, lead prayers and act as patrons to Islamic scholars. However, in modern Nigeria, they have responsibility for the security of non-Muslims within their domain, a situation which inevitably leads to tensions. In pre-colonial times, Muslim leaders were positively expected to encourage forcible conversion of non-believers. Since the colonial era, extensive economic migration has resulted in significant communities of southern traders in all Northern towns and the establishment of churches where they can worship freely. Under the Federal Constitution of Nigeria, with its provisions of freedom of religion and residence, Emirs are bound to protect such outsiders. The extent to which the activities of such groups can be constrained has been a constant point of contention between State and Federal authority. With the introduction of Shari'a law in northern states from 1999 onwards, it has generally been said the law only applies to Muslims within individual states. In reality there is strong popular pressure to apply it to all residents, with the consequence that significant communal strife has affected many northern towns and a large proportion of the non-Muslims have left to other states. This in turn has led to major changes in the internal economy of North-Central Nigeria, with Southern residents of Sharia states relocating to Plateau and other Middle Belt states with multi-faith politics.

These popular calls for exclusively Islamist legal regimes have placed traditional rulers in a difficult situation, for they are obliged by Federal law to be neutral but if they want to maintain popular support, they cannot be seen to be too active in the protection of minority interests. Hence they typically issue calls for calm and urge peace while the rioting continues unabated. One consequence of the disappearance of southern traders has been marked declines in local economies, although this has been partly concealed by the rising oil income of Nigeria. A common response to attacks on southern residents in the north has been retaliatory attacks on northerners in the south, leading to overall reductions in north-south trade, much of which is based on confidence and informal relations.

One solution adopted in very mixed states such as Kaduna, Gombe and Borno has been to impose Sharia at level of local government. Broadly speaking, the southern LGs in these states have declared for Christianity and those in the north for Sharia, which has resulted in internal migration within the states. However, this does not resolve the issue of complex towns such as Kaduna, which have no traditional ruler as they are colonial creations but where old-established Christian and Muslim communities live side-by-side. Communal strife in these towns has led to a ghettoisation of religious subgroups, with different suburbs now increasingly monolithic and providing an intensive breeding ground for the more extreme manifestations of intolerance.

In a Federal State with a constitution that explicitly provides for freedom of religion and residence, traditional rulers should be neutral. In practice, this is impossible in the current climate if they wish to maintain their position as too many forces are acting on them to promote particularly ethnic and religious agendas. The end result can only be a further slide in their prestige.

10.2 Traditional Rulers in multi-ethnic, multi-faith constituencies

Along the southern edge of the North are the multi-ethnic, multi-faith constituencies, such as Gombe and Kaduna States. Kaduna State still conjoins the acephalous peoples of Southern Zaria and the Islamic Emirate of Zazzau and it is increasingly unclear how these two can be administered together. Gombe was originally a

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Fulbe Emirate, one of the Banza Bakwai, and thus originally a southern slaving outpost. Its hinterland is almost entirely non-Muslim peoples and Christianity is widespread. The difficulties of preserving the authority of the Emir with a distasteful historical background have been such that the whole state is a constant ferment in terms of the creation and splitting of new chiefdoms, reflecting the shifting balance of ethnic interests.

Even more problematic is the situation in Bauchi Emirate, which came into being with the Jihad of Uthman Dan Fodio (Hogben & Kirk Greene 1966:454-464). Although conquered, the diverse hinterland populations did not undergo a cultural shift, and indeed have remained resolutely opposed to the dominance of the Emirate. British policy, to promote the Hausa Fulbe rulers at the expense of such populations, only served to reinforce their resentment. As a consequence, Bauchi Emirate has witnessed a series of major ethno-religious crises since 1991, reflecting the resentment of the Sayawa people of Tafawa Balewa and Bogoro LGAs against its rule. Case Study 4 recounts the rather intricate tale;

Case Study 4. The Sayawa versus the Bauchi Emirate

The Sayawa people claim they were never conquered by the Fulbe but were subjugated and placed under the Emir of Bauchi with whom they negotiated and signed a peace treaty. In the agreement, they affirmed loyalty to Mallam Yakubu Bauchi, paying tax and voluntarily contributing soldiers to the army of the Emir. By 1900, when a new Emir came to the throne, the agreement lapsed after Emir Mallam Umaru demanded slaves from Bogoro, which they refused in line with the terms of the previous agreement. The Emir attacked the village of Rukan Dole, enslaving its people and indeed continued slave-raiding in Sayawa country until arrested by the British.

In the administrative re-organisation that followed the conquest, Mallam Attahiru Aliyu I, a Fulbe, was appointed from Bauchi in 1906 as the first District Head of Lere, a predominantly Sayawa area. The extortion of taxes in farm produce, cash, livestock and bad treatment of defaulters laid the foundations for the protracted conflicts. The Sayawa made efforts to attain self-government but did not meet the criteria set out by the British, mainly because of internal squabbles. There is an argument that indirect rule destroyed their traditional authority system which was controlled by masquerades (*Dodo*). By 1916, Christian missionaries started coming to Sayawa land and by 1926, a formal school had been established. The spread of education culminated in the first formal protest by the Sayawa people against Emirate rule at Bogoro in 1948, led by Peter Gonto, the first Christian convert among the Sayawa. The Sayawa requested the Emir to appoint one of their people as District Head. All the village heads joined together to take the decision, but they were arrested, jailed and new ones appointed in their place.

Following this, an anti-Fulbe Habe Tribal Union was formed which later joined the United Middle Belt Congress, an opposition party. In 1959, Peter Gonto contested the election to the Federal House of Representatives but lost to Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. The elected member and Sir Ahmadu Bello brokered peace between the Sayawa and the Emirate by reaching a compromise whereby the Sayawa voted for the ruling party in order to be given an indigenous District Head. In the 1965 elections the Sayawa voted overwhelmingly for the NPC, but the 1966 coup then aborted the agreement after the chief negotiators were assassinated. In 1967, the Sayawa again petitioned the Military Governor and requested an indigenous District Head. Unfortunately, before action could be taken, the country had been split into twelve states. The Sayawa then took their demand to the Governor of Northeast and in 1970, their petition was granted. Mallam Aliyu Wulumba Dadi, a scribe in Bauchi Emirate Council and a Sayawa was appointed the District Head.

In 1976, Lere was broken into 2 districts, Lere and Bogoro, against the wishes of the Sayawa people. A Sayawa man was appointed District Head of Bogoro, but in Lere, a predominantly Sayawa area, a Fulbe was chosen. Three months after the appointment, Lere District Head was assassinated. However, another Fulbe was appointed but the Sayawa would not co-operate with him. Relative peace reigned till 1991 when a Sayawa man was elected Chairman of Tafawa Balewa LGC for the first time. This led to discontent and a conflict broke out over sales of meat in the market that violated Islamic injunctions. A judicial committee

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was constituted by the Federal government to look into the remote and immediate causes of the crisis. In their submission, the Sayawa changed their demands and requested a chiefdom. This recommendation was accepted by the Federal government but was not implemented until 1995 after another major crisis in Tafawa Balewa. A Sayawa man had been dropped in a Cabinet reshuffle and was replaced by a Hausa man from the same area. In July 1995, a conflict started as a protest by women who blocked the road to stop guests from attending a reception party in honour of a newly appointed commissioner. The situation deteriorated and for the first time sophisticated weapons were used.

This is a good example of the type of long-running conflict over chiefship which does not cast the institution in a good light. The cultural outlook of the Sayawa people has been ignored throughout both the colonial and post-Independence eras and their demand for self-determination has not been met. As a consequence this particular conflict is likely to continue.

In Gombe State, the creation of new Emirates and Chiefdoms has presently defused some of the tension associated with the old Emirate which was dominated by the Fulbe through the colonial era. However, because the town has grown tremendously, the Fulbe are now in the minority. A policy of giving visitors tax exemption for three years has led to an influx of Kanuri, Hausa and southern migrants. Indeed, the *Sarkin Fada* (Chief of the Palace) is a Yoruba. The Gombe Emirate Council has taken steps to try and pre-empt potential sources of conflict⁷⁵. The *Yerima* Gombe has an oversight function to ensure religious harmony in the Emirate and his door is permanently open to all community leaders. Christians pay him a special visit every 25th of December, he hosts Christians children every 26th December and on *Sallah* for an all day party. Christians are allocated land by the traditional council to build churches without discrimination even in densely populated areas as Nasarau, Jiro-Kura and Madaki. Annex A6. gives a more extended series of suggestions by the *Yerima* Gombe for policy towards traditional rulers. Gombe Emirate Council has a policy where non-indigenous communities can organise themselves and elect a leader; the name is then forwarded to the Emir for recognition. Such a recognized leader is co-opted into the security committee of the Emirate.

Another multi-ethnic area, Southern Kaduna, has been the site of serious inter-ethnic rioting, most notably the Zangon Kataf riots in 1992, when the local Tyap people and other groups rose up and killed many Hausa traders and residents. Although this ended with senior members of the ethnic group in jail, it dramatised all too clearly the discontent felt by these peoples over continued Zazzau hegemony (James 1997 and §5.2.5). The state government has defused much of this tension by breaking up Zaria Emirate into very small units and there are now 32 Emirates and chiefdoms instead of the former 2 Emirates and 8 chiefdoms that existed before 1999. Muslim or Christian traditional rulers inevitably learn to be neutral to their subjects.

10.3 Traditional Rulers and lobbying bodies

10.3.1 Jama'atu Nasril Islam (JNI)

The Jama'atul Nasrul Islam (JNI) is an association for the support of Islam and the most important body to unite Nigerian Muslims under a single organisation. It is the only Muslim organisation to bring together religious scholars and religious movements of different and opposing tendencies to discuss and make coherent their political and religious aims and to present them to the Nigerian public (Loimeier 1997: 135). As such the JNI has contributed considerably towards the development of Islam in Northern Nigeria.

In November 1960, Abubakar Gumi, then the religious adviser of the Prime Minister, and Dr. Abubakar Imam, treasurer of Nigerian Peoples' Congress (NPC), suggested that an umbrella organisation for all Muslims should be created. A preliminary meeting was held on 15 January 1962 in Kaduna attended primarily by close associates of Ahmadu Bello. During the Kaduna meeting, participants agreed upon the future name of the organization (JNI) and undertook concrete steps to set it up. Bello provided credit for a piece of land in Kaduna to build the first JNI school and the new organisation quickly attracted financial

⁷⁵ Interview at the palace, Gombe town, 28th January 2006.

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support from outside. Copies of the Qur'an were donated by a Pakistani businessman and JNI's first centre, the new Sultan Bello mosque in Kaduna, was constructed with Saudi support. The formal foundation of the JNI was proclaimed on 9 March 1964 in Kaduna. The Waziri Sokoto, Junaidu, was elected first Chairman of the JNI, and the Prime Minister acted as its supreme patron. The Sultan of Sokoto succeeded the premier after his death in 1960. Ibrahim Dasuki remained Secretary-General of JNI until his nomination as the new Sultan of Sokoto in November 1988.

Various committees were created to help in the day-to-day running of the organisation. Among these is a General Purposes Committee (GPC) with the responsibility of leading the JNI and managing its everyday affairs. This committee also drafted the revised 1975 and 1988/89 constitutions of JNI. The aim of the JNI was defined as first, the promotion of Islam; the establishment of schools and hospitals; the organisation of lectures, conferences and seminars; and the dissemination of propaganda relating to the unity of all Muslims. Other committees included the Central Council Committee, responsible for approving changes in the constitution, and committees for finance and education.

Jama'tul Nasrul Islam operates from a national secretariat at Kaduna, with branches in each state capital in the North and all local government headquarters of the North. The patron of each branch is the respective traditional ruler of the region. Each state branch delegates one representative to the GPC. The state branch is responsible for the work and financing of the JNI in their respective areas. Area councils and local government branches were also established to facilitate the organisation's work. In 1979, the JNI had about 100 local government branches across Nigeria, the majority of them in the north. The day-to-day operations are handled by an Executive Secretary who is learned in Islamic affairs and has the status of a renowned scholar. The Sultan of Sokoto provides spiritual and honorary leadership at the national level and the most senior Emir in a state does the same at that level. The Sultan sits on the National Council of State, the highest security organ of government comprising the president, all former heads of state, state governors, chairmen of traditional council of each state, head of police, army etc.

JNI finances its projects in part through its own income, including donations from members and supporters. Until 1984 all members contributed a monthly fee of at least ten kobo. The JNI received further fees from every new member and also part of the annual *zakat* payments, which could be made through JNI. The JNI drew further income from the rent of its houses and received annual dividends from shares.

In principle, the JNI is well-connected and able both to lobby for the interests of Islam and to play an important pre-emptive role in preventing brewing crises. The Emirs in northern Nigeria have a Rapid Response Committee headed by the Emir of Birnin Gwari to keep them current on threats to Islam. In reality, however, it has been seen as a reactionary body, mired in internal political disputes and has played almost no role in damping down potential conflicts. As long ago as the 1970s, the Nigerian Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs (SCIA) was created to try and overcome the perceived stagnation of the JNI (Loimeier 1997:147). In 1987, the JNI went virtually bankrupt and was saved by a reorganisation.

The JNI, despite its exalted membership and national coverage is an impotent lobbying organisation, unable to act in times of crisis, but engaged by lobbying in relatively minor matters (Box 1);

Box 1. JNI/SCIA oppose the Abuja carnival

As an example of the sort of lobbying that the JNI undertakes, in late 2005, the Federal Government proposed to have a carnival in Abuja, based on the Notting Hill Carnival. The SCIA opposed the carnival on the grounds that it would be another jamboree reminiscent of FESTAC 77 and could corrupt Islamic teaching. Minister of Culture and Tourism Frank Ogbuewu said, "I have talked with CAN, Sec-Gen of SCIA and they now understand. Nigerian culture abhors immorality, nudity and crime."⁷⁶ Sec-Gen Justice Abdulkadir Orite said the carnival could portray the country as backward in the international arena. Obnoxious customs and practices should not be promoted. The statement read, "The Muslim Ummah learnt with surprise that a carnival will soon to be held by the Govt. Federal

⁷⁶ A rather idiosyncratic summary of Nigerian culture given the content of the average Nigerian tabloid newspaper.

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Republic of Nigeria in Abuja. The entire Muslims of this country are opposed to this carnival and we call upon the government to stop it. This country should not be portrayed to the entire world as paganistic, barbaric and fetish. In a country where Muslims and Christians number over 90 per cent of its population, nothing should be done to elevate obnoxious customs under the guise of culture or carnival. In a country which is also multi-religious and multi-ethnic, it is fair and just that people's views ought to be sought before anything which is considered repugnant to the beliefs of the majority of its citizens could be done without consultations. We the entire Muslims of this country are opposed to the carnival and call for its stoppage. Also in a situation of this nature where the scarce resources of this nation as well as the tax-payers' money the majority of whom are people of faith – Christians and Muslims, better opinion ought to prevail as to what is in the best interest of the citizens.” (Punch, 18/11/05,7,12). Despite this rather inflated rhetoric, the carnival went ahead as planned and included the masquerades and other types of dancing which was presumably behind the JNI protests, only underlining its impotence on the national stage.

Many ordinary Muslims in Nigeria see the JNI as an elite organisation that does not represent their interests and is not in touch with new currents of thinking on the ground. An early attempt to develop something more radical was the Marxist Muslim Committee for Progressive Nigeria (MCPN). This organisation argued that the demand for Sharia was a stratagem of those who enslave others to sow seeds of division and confusion to divert attention from exploitation and theft of resources. The MCPN claimed that Shari'a had no positive answer for chronic problems as starvation, unemployment, high rents, failure of primary education, disease control etc. Marxism has fairly well left the historical stage and been replaced by a more radical and vocal mouthpiece for Muslims, the Council of Ulama of Nigeria (CUN) in Nigeria. CUN was formed in 1978 to press for the implementation of Sharia, a proposal that was defeated during the preparation of 1979 Constitution (Oluniyi 2006:14-19). CUN also aimed at maintaining Muslim unity since, 'intra-Muslim fratricide had become pandemic'. JNI was perceived by the CUN as ineffective and its revitalization a priority. CUN's position is that leadership of the Muslim community belongs to scholars, and not to the Emirs entrenched in the JNI. The 'scholars' it foregrounds might well be seen as radical preachers by the external community. The CUN regularly issues threats to government and to the non-Muslim community in Nigeria without regard to the Constitution, the Supreme Court or indeed human rights provisions.

10.3.2 Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN)

The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) was formed in August 1976 as a political arm of the Christian Church in Nigeria in the service of all Christian churches (Enwerem 1992: iv, 5). Protestant Christians are members of the Council of Christian Churches of Nigeria (CCCN) which does not include Catholics, so CAN serves an umbrella organisation to harmonise the political response of Christians to national issues. Its creation can be seen as a somewhat belated response to the establishment of the JNI following a series of inter-faith disturbances. As with Islam, Christianity has a more radical fraction, represented by the Pentecostals, 'born-again' and other semi-independent evangelical groupings. The most important of these on the Christian side is the Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN). The PFN was founded by the late Archbishop Benson Idahosa and its membership runs into millions. The PFN is very radical, both in theology and practice, and can be very uncompromising as far as inter-faith debates are concerned. CAN incorporates the PFN as a semi-autonomous branch to take account of the different ways in which non-denominational churches operate. As a consequence, PFN is very influential in CAN.

CAN has also added youth and women's wings in addition to the PFN. By the middle 1980s, the youth wing was providing martial training to its members in response to attacks on Christians in the 1970s and 1980s. CAN believes that;

“[T]he Islamic elite of the North has political domination over the country and its ethnic/religious groups. In other words, Islam and the political realities of the North dominate and dictate the tone in which the national politics is played out. Why? It is as a result of the elevation and subsequent institutionalization of the Hausa/Fulbe Islamic group to superiority over the other ethnic/religious

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groups in the country by the British Colonial Administration. How has the Hausa-Fulbe been able to maintain this aspect of the colonial legacy in the Nigerian political terrain? It is by way of the Hausa/Fulbe elite locating, defining and grounding their politics within a cultural discourse, specifically in the religion of Islam. Thus political opponents are depicted not as politicians with different views, but as being bad Muslims. CAN is the most visible attempt through which Christians in Nigeria as a group have made their most coordinated impact on the politics of contemporary Nigeria. Kukah noted that Christianity in Nigeria which hitherto, has been ‘always protesting against discrimination and domination by Muslims’ is beginning to shed this ‘weeping-child’ image and replacing it with a self-confident face “seeking to shape the direction and content of Nigerian politics.”

(Enwerem 1992: 24-25)

CAN is basically reactive in its management of religious crises. It comments on national issues that it perceives as detrimental to its freedom to practise its faith. Problems over the national census in March 2006 illustrate how this works. Nigerian colonial censuses included questions about religion and ethnicity, but after Independence these were deemed too controversial and also perhaps somewhat outmoded in a modernising world. In a striking reversion to an older adherence it was decided to include these questions again and then dropped after pressure from the northern Emirs. Believing that the figures would show a predominance of Christians in Nigeria and that Hausa ethnicity was not as extensive as is regularly claimed, CAN protested the government decision to exclude questions on language and religion⁷⁷. A Christian news magazine reported;

“Early in 2005, the Traditional and political leaders in the largely Muslim northern states, through the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Muhammadu Maccido announced their strong opposition to the inclusion of questions on religion and ethnicity in the census questionnaire. They warned that they would mobilize Muslims in their domains and in the country to boycott the census if the questions were included. ... The leadership of CAN has responded with a counter warning that all Christians be mobilized against the headcount if the data to be collected did not include the numerical strengths of every religion and ethnic group. ... Efforts by the CAN leadership to dialogue with President Olusegun Obasanjo over the matters has not yielded any positive result in their favour. Chief Obasanjo has consistently argued that the census was not meant to advance the course of religion or ethnicity, but is towards developmental purposes. Nigeria is still not mature enough politically and socially to include these questions. These have been the bane to development.”

Today’s Challenge, No. 2, February 2006, p. 9.

CAN engaged in private dialogue and the questions were restored, if in somewhat attenuated form. Nonetheless, an unlooked-for consequence was the Middle Belt peoples were mobilised both to respond to the census and to claim both their Christianity and their ethnicity. This had the effect of stimulating considerable debate about ethnic affiliation and the final results (as yet unreleased) will no doubt differ from existing projections.

State branches of CAN are semi-autonomous and may act independently in the event of an emergency, as in the case of the Maiduguri cartoon riots in February 2006. During this crisis, hundreds of Christians were massacred and over 50 churches were burnt. Accusations soon circulated that the panel constituted to probe the riots was simply a proxy for the Borno State security council and so would cover up government complicity. CAN cried foul of the composition of the panel and described the report as a verdict passed by a judge on his own case. Government reneged on its agreement to amend the composition of the panel⁷⁸. The CAN Chairman was relieved of his post immediately and the acting Chairman immediately dissociated itself from the report.

⁷⁷ Interview with a CAN official in Jos on 25th June 2006.

⁷⁸ Today’s Challenge, No. 5 May 2006, p.17.

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Member organizations of CAN can take far-reaching decisions on their own without reference to CAN by way of press conferences or communiqués. Here is one example from the ECWA 53rd General Church Council, reported by a Christian magazine:

The Council observed with great concern the unrelenting persecution and killing of Christians in several Northern States as amply demonstrated by the recent premeditated murder and maiming of Christians in Borno, Niger, Yobe, Gombe and Bauchi states. These are callous acts, which were intended to undermine the growth and practice of Christianity in the north. Those behind the dastardly acts should be brought to book by the Federal government so as to serve as a deterrent to others. The Council further observed that the government in many Northern States implement policies and programmes that clearly discriminate against Christians. For example, Christians are denied land to build places of worship, admission into educational institutions. Some church buildings are destroyed in order to frustrate Christian worship. The teaching of Christian Religious Knowledge and worship activities are prohibited in schools while Islamic programmes and activities are promoted and funded by these state governments.⁷⁹

CAN and JNI are far from a mirror image of one another. JNI represents the old Northern political elite and has clearly lost touch with its grassroots. CAN is significantly more coherent than JNI but it can also fragment locally due to its diversified membership. CAN is an uneasy alliance of multiple churches with very different theologies and incorporates radical evangelicals whose Muslim counterparts would dissociate themselves from the JNI. Although it clearly represents the interests of a powerful Southern and Middle Belt elite, it is less transparently linked with an old power structure. The Christian church in Nigeria is significantly more meritocratic than Islam, in the sense that preachers can rise rapidly in the hierarchy simply through force of personality. As a consequence, it has never experienced the same level of internal dissent that has virtually anaesthetised the JNI.

10.4 Traditional Rulers and Islamic sects

10.4.1 Classification and history of Islamic sects

In the early 1970s, John Paden (1973:xx) could write that ‘the two Sufi brotherhoods, that is the Qadiriyya and the Tijaniyya, are the only brotherhoods of importance in Nigeria’. However, since that date, Nigeria has seen a flowering of Islamic sects, in response to the what is seen as the conservatism of the older brotherhoods. Table 17 shows the main Muslim groupings in Northern Nigeria;

Table 17. Principal Islamic groupings in Northern Nigeria

Names	Sects	Notes
Qadiriyya-Nasiriyya		The oldest brotherhood, formed prior to the 1804 Jihad
Tijaniyya		Reinvigorated by Danfodio’s Jihad
Sunni	Izala	Introduced by Sheik Gumi
Shi’a		Introduced after Iranian revolution in 1979

This section discusses their origins, beliefs and their functioning today.

10.4.1.1 The Sufi Brotherhoods: Qadiriyya-Nasiriyya

The Qadiriyya have been present in Hausaland for several centuries and played an important role in the Jihad of 1804-1808. The sect of the Tariqa developed around the Kano based scholar, Sheikh Nasiru Kabara. The Qadiriyya-Nasiriyya came under pressure from the dynamic expansion of the Tijaniyya-Ibrahimiyya in the nineteenth century. To revitalize the Qadiriyya, Nasiru Kabara used policies similar to the Tijaniyya.

⁷⁹ Today’s Challenge No. 5, May 2006, p.11-13.

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These policies helped him to empower the Qadiriyya which transformed into a religious mass movement along the lines of the Tijaniyya-Ibrahimiyya.

When the Emir of Kano Wali Suleiman went on Hajj to Mecca 1937, Kabara used the opportunity to give Wali Suleiman a letter for the Khalifa of the Qadiriyya-Samaniyya in Mecca, Sheikh Abu-I-Hassan as-Samaniyya. He requested the Samaniyya leader to initiate him and make him his Muqaddam of the Samaniyya branch. Abu-I-Hassan was impressed by his versatility in Islam and granted his request by appointing him his Muqaddam and leader of the Qadiriyya-Samaniyya in Kano. He established direct contact to the centres of origin of the different branches of the Qadiriyya and once in possession of the new Silasil became the focus of attention for other followers and Malamai of the Qadiriyya in Kano and Nigeria who wanted to renew their Silasil through him. Between 1937 and the late 1950s Kabara's bid for leadership within the Qadiriyya in Kano and Nigeria was essentially successful. Kabara later got into direct contact with the leader of the Qadiriyya-Samaniyya during his first Hajj in 1949. He also received further Silasils from other scholars. These include Qadiriyya-Amaniyya, which at that time was led by Muhammed as-Sayyid Sa'd, Qadiriyya-Shadhiliyya and the Qadiriyya-Arusiyya. The Muqaddam and leader of the Qadiriyya-Shadhiliyya in Kano was Ahmad bin Ali. He was a dynamic personality and was able to look over the Qadiriyya-Arusiyya during its time of stagnation. He was one of the most important disciples of Kabara; he also represented like Kabara a younger generation of scholars of the Qadiriyya in Kano who supported the revitalisation and Tajdid of the Tariqa.

The 1940s and 1950s saw an increasing number of new networks competing against each other in Kano. Because of this, Nasiru Kabara became aware of the need to establish direct contact with the original centre of the Tariqa in Baghdad. In 1953 he travelled to Baghdad where they met the supreme leader of the brotherhood, Sheikh Sharif Ibrahim Saif ad-ain al-Filani. As a result of this visit, Kabara was appointed the supreme leader of all the branches of Qadiriyya in West Africa, increasing his prestige in Kano and Nigeria. How important Kabara became for Baghdad is indicated by the fact that Sheikh Saif ad-Din visited Kabara twice in Kano on the occasion of the Maulid' Abd al- Qadir. Kabara became the first scholar of the Qadiriyya in Nigeria and the whole of West Africa to establish a direct personal link to the spiritual centre and the supreme leader of the brotherhood.

Kabara faced serious challenges in the course of his efforts to unify the Qadiriyya. For example, his teacher Muhammed as-Sayyid Sa'id at first refused to acknowledge his overall leadership. In 1956 he recognised Kabara as the supreme leader of the Qadiriyya. As a result, Kabara unified all branches of the Qadiriyya in Kano. Still, the old centre of the Qadiriyya in Sokoto continued to resist his efforts. Acknowledgement by Sokoto of the leading role of Kabara was to come later in the 1970s under growing pressure from Abubakar Gumi and Yan Izala. The breakthrough occurred in 1978 when Kabara visited the tomb of Dan Fodio and was handed the 'sword of the army of Dan Fodio' with the mission to lead the Qadiriyya in Nigeria in its struggle against the 'Yan Izala by the then Sultan of Sokoto.

Kabara has defended the Qadiriyya rites and rituals criticised by the Tijaniyya and the 'Yan Izala. Nasiru Kabara's position as an important scholar is underlined by the fact that he conducts the annual Ramadan Tafsir in the Emir's palace. In 1958, he was appointed the principal of the Shahuqi School of law, and he joined the Kaduna council of Malamai in 1964. He was also a member of JNi and the Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA) and the council of Ulama.

10.4.1.2 The Sufi Brotherhoods: Tijaniyya-Ibrahimiyya

The establishment of the Tijaniyya in northern Nigeria goes back to al-Hajj Umar Tai al-Futi who stayed in Borno and in Sokoto from 1831-1838 on his way back from the Hajj (cf. Paden 1973: 73 ff.). He was initiated into the Tijaniyya in the late 1820s, by Abdul al-Karim a Naqil whose own *Silsila* (chain of transmission) led back to Ahmad al Tijani. His short stay in Borno led to the initiation of his host, Muhammad Na Kumani, as well as the future Shehu, Umar and Shaykh al-Miskin into the Tijaniyya. When he left Borno for Sokoto, he had already won many supporters. In Sokoto, he gained the trust of the then Sultan, Muhanimad Bello, became one of the sultan's councillors and married one of his daughters. During

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his six-year stay in Sokoto, al-Hajj Umar initiated a number of religious scholars into the Tijaniyya. In 1852, he left Gwandu and Sokoto and went eastward with the intention of undertaking the Hajj. However, he was to settle in Adamawa where he died in 1862.

Muhammad Sani Kafanga (1909-1989) was another leader of the Tijaniyya in Kano. He originally studied under the supervision of his father, a Kanuri Malam from Kibiya (Rano). After that he studied under many scholars in Zaria, Birnin Kebbi and Kano. He started trading in Biayeles and later concentrated on the trade on gems and mirrors on the Kurmi market in the old city of Kano. He became a scholar and wrote some 50 small booklets. His centre of teaching was the Sanka Mosque in Unguwan Sanka. Like Tijani Usman and Umaru he was a follower of the NPC and later opposed Emir Muhammad Sanusi's claim of overall spiritual leadership within the Tijaniyya in Nigeria. Until his death in May 1989, he was one of the most renowned scholars of the Tijaniyya in Kano. One of his disciples was Aminu Dantata of the great trading house of the Dantata family, who in turn became one of the most important financiers of the Qadiriyya in Kano.

The following of the Tijaniyya-Ibrahimiyya not only grew in northern urban centres like Kano but was also propagated by the trader-scholars in the trading outposts of the Hausa in the cities of the south. Finally, they pushed further along the new roads and railway tracks into the rural regions and established bases in rural centres like Gusau, Argungu, Kaura Namoda, Funtua, Malumfashi and Ringim.

In the 1930s, the Salgawa, one of the networks of the Tijaniyya, tried to draw support from outside by using their extended trade networks. In the 1930s trade contacts had been established with Senegal, where the rise of Ibrahim Niass was already underway. The Emir of Kano, Abdullahi Bayero, in 1937 was advised by Wali Sulaiman to go on pilgrimage in order to meet Sheikh Niass. Ibrahim Niass had laid the foundations for his rise within the Tijaniyya in Senegal prior to meeting Abdullahi Bayero. While in Mecca, the Emir of Kano, Abdullahi, and his advisor, Wali Sulaiman, met and acknowledged the authority of Niass as the leader of the Tijaniyya. Bayero further invited Niass to visit him in Kano. Before coming back, both Abdullahi and Wali received a new Silsila from Niass. The first official visit of Niass to Nigeria took place in 1944, but was kept secret from Tijaniyya followers. He used that opportunity to distribute copies of his works to the people through Emir Abdulkhi and Wali Suleiman. The second public visit of Niass to Kano took place the following year. This time he met not only the Emir but also a number of selected Malamai of the Tijaniyya and explained some of his teachings to them. He gave new Silsila to some religious scholars and was acknowledged by them as the overall leader of the Tijaniyya.

The development of the Tijaniyya in Kano and northern Nigeria in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s was dominated by the efforts of the Tajdid of Ibrahim Niass. He succeeded in uniting the various competing networks of the Tijaniyya in Kano under his authority and he established the Tijaniyya-Ibrahimiyya as a mass movement in northern Nigeria. Niass appointed various Muqaddamun scholars and they consequently set up their own networks. The connection they had with the populist movement, the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU), under the leadership of Aminu Kano and Sa'adu Zungur, whose centre of activities was Kano gave them a mass of followers. In the course of an increasing politicisation of public life since the late 1940s, more and more young followers of the Tijaniyya felt themselves drawn to this party. The increasing radicalisation of many young Tijanis, however, was seen by the leader of the ruling party in Northern Nigeria, Ahmadu Bello, as well as by a number of conservative Malamai of the Qadiriyya and the Tijaniyya, as a threat to the further development of their own policies in the north.

In 1956, on the occasion of a public Tafsir (interpretation of the Qur'an) Nasiru Kabara forbade his followers to join NEPU, and some Malamai of the Tijaniyya like Tijani Usman, Muhammad Sani Kafanga also followed suit. Despite the support of this group of Malamai by Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Tijanis preferred to keep their links with the NEPU and to end their affiliation with the above mentioned Malamai. An official political alliance between the NEPU and the Tijaniyya-Ibrahimiyya was realised only after the deposition of Muhammad Sanusi in 1963. Until then he was one of the leading politicians of the NPC in the north. After the withdrawal of Ibrahim Niass from Nigeria in 1963, quarrels between these networks broke out thereby permanently weakening the Tijaniyya in northern Nigeria. The Emirs exploited the differences between both networks, especially Abdullahi Bayero, so as to maintain their own claims of political and spiritual leadership.

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The dynamism of the Tijaniyya-Ibrahimiyya was reflected in its development as an organisation. Other organisations included *Jama'at al faida* founded by Niass in Senegal in 1930, *Jama'at Ansar ad-Din* (the community of the supporters of the Religion) 1946, *Jama'at Anwar al-Faidat* (the community of the Rays of Grace) 1958. Significantly more powerful among them was the *Fityan al-Islam* (The Heroes of Islam) founded on 11 November 1963. The Fityan al-Islam was founded by Sheikh Mudi Salga, a Kano-based Tijani leader. It originated as a reaction to the emergence of the dissident Ahmadiyya movement in Kano in 1962 and as a forum of the conservative Kano Malamai against the modernising efforts of Ahmadu Bello and his new Kaduna-Sokoto based Islamic organisations with *Jama'at Nasr al-Islam* (JNI) in the lead. Mudi Salga was elected first national president of the Fityan al-Islam.

Sir Ahmadu Bello registered Fityan al-Islam in 1963 after JNI's Secretary General, Abubakar An-nafaty, convinced him that the Fityan al-Islam would not oppose the JNI. In the 1960s, the Fityan al-Islam rapidly became the most dynamic Islamic organisation in northern Nigeria and was soon able to set up regional headquarters in all the northern provinces, including Sokoto, Niger, Kaduna, Plateau and Bauchi. Membership fees, contributions and donations financed the movement. The Fityan al-Islam had modern Islamic schools and mosques. They also maintained a team of preachers in order to fight the anti-Sufi propaganda of the Yan Izala; the leader of this team of counter-propagandists was Sheikh Dahiru Bauchi.

In 1962, Abdullahi Salga and Umaru Falke died and in 1970 Tijani Usman and in 1974 Abubakar Atiku were to follow. This led to a change of generation in the leading circles of the Tijaniyya in Kano. As a consequence, a multitude of locally competing networks developed within the Tijaniyya in the 1970s. No scholar within the brotherhood since Niass had left in 1963 was able to unite them to the extent of being recognised as its leader in Nigeria. By the mid-1980s, the Tijaniyya presented the picture of an accumulation of numerous quarrelling networks, and only some of them have gained regional importance.

10.4.2 Official Imams and freelance preachers

Imams in Nigerian mosques can be either officially appointed or become significant figures through personal charisma. The Sultan of Sokoto appoints official Imams of the central mosques such as the Abuja National Mosque and Sultan Bello Mosque, Kaduna. At the state level, Emirs appoint and discipline Imams, giving them firm control over the Imams' teachings and activities. A case in Yola illustrates the point. The current Lamido considered the preaching of the former Chief Imam of the Yola central mosque as too radical and requested him to desist. The Imam would not comply and was dismissed by the Lamido. This type of control does not sit very well with many would-be preachers, and many set themselves up as freelances.

Freelance preachers are the body of Ulama in Nigeria. They are very influential and have very strong followership. They do not lead public prayers but publish widely and command a large readership. Their public pronouncements on any issue can determine the direction Muslims may take in Nigeria. Their power base was derived from the patronage of respective Emirs and wealthy personages who were willing to pay for their services as guides and private family teachers and seers. They can join people of goodwill to calm nerves in the event of national religious crises by calling of followers to exercise restraint. Sheikh Dahiru Bauchi joined CAN to call on residents of Kaduna who are Christians, Moslems or traditionalists that they must continue to live together as one people united by God. He criticised the actions of some Moslems who had defied the month of Ramadan to take up arms against their Christian brothers and looted their property⁸⁰.

Izala, the Society for the Removal of Innovation and the Reinstatement of Tradition

The Izala sect has probably been one of the most influential in developing radical Islam in Northern Nigeria. Its genesis is described in a monograph by Kane (2003) who covers its history in great detail up to 1990,

⁸⁰ Punch 28/11/2002 p. 64

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when the original organisation dissolved in factional disagreement. However, its career has by no means ended as Kane (2003:225) seems to indicate. Sheikh Abubakar Gumi, an erudite scholar and international figure was the Grand Khadi of the northern region. In the early seventies, when Sheikh Ibrahim Niass, a Senegalese, visited Nigeria, he instructed the Tijjaniyya Sheikhs and their disciples to always observe the act of folding the arms under the chest while saying their prayers. This attracted many people from the Qadiriyya Sufi order to Tijjaniyya but also led to the emergence of a group known as *Izalatul bida'ah wa iqamatus sunnah*, inspired by Sheikh Abubakar Gumi. Under his influence, Sheikh Aminudeen Abubakar founded the Izala group which, in its nascent form inside the Muslim Students' Society, was originally part of a broader current of Islamic radicalism inspired by the Iranian revolution. However, by 1982 Izala had declared against Iran and the Shi'a (see below) went on to become an independent movement.

The Izala did not as a policy challenge the state, political authority or the Sufi orders in principle, hence the name, *The Society for the Removal of Innovation and the Reinstatement of Tradition*. They attacked primarily particular Muslim Sufi groups for innovations, apostasy, intercession. Its young followers had uniforms and were given drills in organisation and would mount a guard of honour at public functions where Gumi would speak. An aura was created around him, creating a model for upcoming freelance preachers. The Izala continue to enjoy financial support from within and outside the country from individuals and organizations. Saudi Arabia, in particular saw them as a counterweight to the growing influence of Iran and must have been a significant source of funds. In spite of the freedom they have to operate, and disagreement over theological issues notwithstanding, they still defer to Emirs.

Shi'a

Historically speaking, all the Muslims in Nigeria were Sunni, as are almost all Muslims in the Near East and Africa. However, following the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979, a Shi'a movement developed in Northern Nigeria led by the student leader Ibrahim Elzakzaky of Ahmadu Bello University (Kane 2003: 95 ff.). Disgruntled youths gave impetus to the rapid growth of a Shi'ite movement in Nigeria. The Nigerian Shi'a admired Ayatollah Khomeini for promoting a worldview that aimed at replacing existing 'western' and 'secular' models with Islamic government, economy and society. The Nigerian Shi'a rejected western education for children or holding government appointments. The impact of this was voluntary retirement of their adherents from the civil service as well as the withdrawal of many Muslim brothers from tertiary institutions. They were in control of students' organisations known as MSS and held demonstrations in major cities of northern Nigeria; calling for debate over the integration of Shari'a in the federal constitution in the late 70s. Its members under the leadership of the then deputy national chairman, Ibrahim Elzakzaky, declared that they did not recognize nor could they abide by this constitution. Non-recognition was to be extended to the federal Government and all its symbols. The group began to make social reforms in their campuses, prohibiting alcohol, free association between male and female students and introducing women's dress codes. Under the command of Elzakzaky, they organised demonstrations in Muslim towns of Northern Nigeria, condemning the Nigerian constitution for being anti-Islam, calling for Islamic social reforms and urging Islamic students to rise against the federal government. The Muslim student society also demanded the recognition of the Shari'a law. The protesters took to the streets carrying banners like: *No Shari'ah No peace, No Shari'ah No constitution, No Shari'ah, No Muslims, No Nigeria*.

Government took no serious steps to contain the Shi'ite movement. Zakzaky went to Iran and returned ideologically reinforced and presumably with substantially greater financial resources. The movement used the Izala as a cover and militant MSS unionism became common in Ahmadu Bello University and other northern universities. In many ways, the much of the Shi'a philosophy has become mainstream in Northern Nigeria. In the Abacha era, Zakzaky was arrested and jailed, but he has been free since 1999 and has gone underground.

10.4.3 Inter-sect conflicts

In the 1990s, the nature of these conflicts was transformed from mere disagreement to a trail of incessant hostilities within the Muslim community. Like all other inter and intra-communal conflicts in Nigeria, different interpretations and analysis were given depending on historical, socio-religious persuasions of the respondent. A number of theological issues surfaced which seem to be of very minor significance to outsiders but which became the cutting edge of disagreement between the various conservative and radical Muslim subgroups. The debate on the prayer *salaatul-faatih* was one of the issues. The Izala rejected it, stressing that it was innovated after the demise of Muhammad, and there is no justification for reciting it. While on the other hand, followers of the Tijjaniyya Sufi order argued that *salatul faatih* originated with the prophet. The Izala group also condemned this statement saying, whoever says Allah has revealed to him something after the demise of the holy prophet is a *kaafir*. Another conflicting area between Izala and the followers of the Sufi orders is the *bid'a a sunnah*.

Another cause of controversy within the Muslim community is the quest for material accumulation by the Ulama. Some scholars have published controversial pamphlets that appear to function to distract people from the processes of corruption and social stratification. The expression used to describe this is '*contradict and be popular*'. Some have argued that this has become an expression of political quietism; ordinary Muslims spend more energy debating minor issues of theology than developing a public critique of the theft of oil income and natural resources as well as administrative inefficiency and corruption that characterises modern Nigeria.

In January 2004, two Islamic sects, the Shi'ites and the Tijaniyya, had a sharp disagreement over the slaughtering and eating of horse during Sallah celebrations in Sokoto, the Emirate Council intervened to avoid bloody clashes amongst members of the sects. Because the matter generated so much debate, learned Imams from within and outside the state were also invited to participate in the mediation. The matter was settled amicably and peace lasted until early 2006 when the two sects disagreed again in relation to respect for the Nigerian Constitution. The Shi'ites opposed to the supremacy of the Constitution over the Qur'an but the Tijaniyya saw nothing wrong in respecting it. This again led to loss of lives and property and although the combined efforts of government and the Sultanate ended the crisis, this is unlikely to be end of the matter.

10.4.4 Interpreting the fragmentation of sects

By the standards of the Muslim heartland, the fragmentation of Nigerian Muslims into differing and conflicting sects is extreme. The older sects or brotherhoods have persisted, and even undergone renewal, partly because they are intertwined with the interests of the old ruling class, a class which remains wealthy and powerful. However, Nigeria is also a country where money flows in a great diversity of channels and accumulating followers is a classic mechanism for access to the same goods as the old elite control. This has always been very visible among the Christian churches where new 'start-up' churches arise, following a charismatic preacher and rapidly build congregations and infrastructure. The pastors acquire the trappings of success, the Mercedes-Benz and the plasma-screen television, with almost comical speed. However, a feature of Christians which cannot be mapped against the Muslim and largely Hausa North is the factor of ethnicity. Churches, particularly evangelicals and breakaway groups, are also pursuing ethnic agendas, either differentiating themselves from other language groups or clans within their own groups. Only in large urban centres where church services are conducted in English is a transformation towards wealth stratification.

The same processes occur within Islam although their external symbols are somewhat different. Radical preachers develop minor differences with existing theologies and use this to accumulate followers, most often the discontented urban poor. There is a strong link between violent confrontation within Islam and looting (cf. Kano §4.2.5), just as whenever there is church-burning in the north, the looting of shops is its inevitable concomitant. At the same time, it is almost certain that politicians and other wealthy elite figures give their support to the radical sects in order to create civil disorder and thereby challenge the established elite with a view to increasing their power. The argument by Kane (2003:2 f.) that in this way they articulate

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an ideology of economic modernity may be rather extreme, given their otherwise highly conservative agenda. Even the full name of the Izala sect he studied, *The Society for..Reinstatement of Tradition*, does not immediately suggesting a forward-looking posture. It is true, however, that they ‘mediate social change’. In the case of Northern Nigeria, they provide an ideological backbone for those who wish to overthrow the power of the Emirs and the Sufi brotherhoods. To this extent, since ethnicity plays no distinctive role, the situation in the north could be characterised as a class struggle, rather as the earlier ‘Muslim Marxist’ movements had it.

This has rather disturbing consequences for delineating a process of conflict resolution which depends on the assumption that all parties have rational grievances that can be resolved through discussion and greater understanding. If this interpretation is correct, then fragmentation of sects is part of the dynamic of social restructuring in Nigeria, as each generation attempts to seize power and resources from the previous one. Such intergenerational replacement is rather more obvious in the south, where violent youth movements such as the Bakassi boys or the Egbesu youths explicitly reject the posture of the ‘elders’ and openly seek their share of the oil wealth. Although the same processes are at work in the north, but their public face and rhetoric are rather different; still they must be read in a comparable manner.

10.5 Traditional Rulers and religious disorder

10.5.1 Introduction

One of the most significant challenges to traditional authority is religious disorder, especially when it arises between members of the same religion. If a ruler is to appear an honest broker, then a strategy to broker peace must negotiate a narrow line between the parties. Sometimes this is impossible and if the scale of the problem is such that the civil authorities are called in, the results usually disastrous.

10.5.2 Disaffected Muslims

10.5.2.1 Introduction

Section §10.4.1 describes something of the complexity of the Islamic sects in Northern Nigeria and the fragile balance between them. Even apart from the relatively established sects, a constant process of evolution is under way. New ideas quickly spread and some of these are extremely far from the mainstream. The more radical forms of Islam are often anti-statist and given the extreme *laissez-faire* that operates in the public sphere in Nigeria, even under military governments, the sects can operate with relative impunity. In addition, increasing external access to Nigeria has allowed proselytisation from outside, as well as flows of funds and resources for unspecified purposes. Within Nigeria, the availability of global media has acted as a further spur to radicalisation.

Within Nigeria, religious conflict is never without a political element. Politicians in Nigeria seek power to accumulate resources and a strategy of manipulating religion as a cover for other activities is very practical in a country with no effective investigative journalism, with a government whose self-absorption has left it virtually without skills in analysis and intervention. As the press has become more deregulated, local interests are increasingly able to support radical groups without interference.

Apart from the sects described, Islam in Nigeria has also faced what may be described as underground formations, groups with extremely deviant theologies, who recruit clandestinely and who have an explicit agenda of violence and political control. These only come to public knowledge at the point where there is a confrontation with the authorities. The fact that these groups can apparently operate for years without the knowledge of the Nigerian Security Services does not argue for their high level of competence. It is also interesting to speculate how these organisations can grow so formidably without drawing the attention of the more traditional Islamic community for whom they are also a threat. One explanation may be they are drowned in the ‘white noise’ of radical Islam, in other words, ordinary Muslims are exposed to so much

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inflated rhetoric that they simply dismiss it. More worrying is the possibility these ordinary Muslims live in a climate of fear, constantly afraid of being accused of heresy or 'being a bad Muslim' if they protest at the more extreme statements and practices of such groups. Nonetheless, the *Mai Tatsine* were able to build up a fortified and heavily armed settlement in the middle of old Kano, which suggests that the wilful blindness of their neighbours was not an effective long-term strategy. It also shows that traditional rulers, notably the Emir of Kano and the Shehu of Borno, seem both to be quite impotent and significantly ill-informed about the growth of radicalism on their territory.

This section describes two of the major internal conflicts within Islam in Nigeria during the twentieth century and discusses the response of the authorities.

10.5.2.2 Maitatsine Riots

Maitatsine is the general term given to a cultic Islamic group that surfaced on the Nigerian scene during the late 1970s. They were responsible for a series of violent confrontations in Kano and Yola which left thousands dead and revealed for the first time the ineffectiveness of official responses to this type of threat. The *Maitatsine* events have been described by a number of authors (e.g. Hickey 1984; Lubeck 1985; Hiskett 1987; Isichei 1987; Elaigwu 2005) Their leader, Muhammadu Marwa, probably came originally from Cameroun and although without theological training, he clearly had considerable personal magnetism and was believed to possess magical powers. Marwa was able to set up communal operations in a number major urban centres in Northern Nigeria, most notably in Kano. He recruited disciples and operated the first communes in Kano city, attracting outcasts and the dispossessed. Government turned a blind eye to these activities, assuming they were Islamic in their doctrines and practice.

Because of their profession of radical Islam, the group was simply left to develop throughout much of the 1970s. According to who is reporting, Marwa was either a promoter of utopian idealism or an instigator of violent criminal activity. There seems little doubt he soon developed highly heterodox ideas within the context of conventional Islam, declaring himself a successor to the Prophet. From this point of view, the major opponents of his sect were other Muslims. He slowly built up a significant cache of arms in a fortified house in Kano city, and when the major confrontation began in 1980, supporters from other Nigerian cities were also mobilised. Even where there was official concern the authorities seem to have been remarkably insouciant. The first reports were submitted in July 1973 when police command in Kano sent three intelligence reports on violent preaching at Friday mosques in the state. Six reports were sent in 1975, five in 1976, two in 1977, two in 1978 and one in 1979 according to Wakili (1997:177). Eleven different violent incidents involving the *'yan tatsine* with the Nigeria police were reported between 22nd June to 3rd December 1980 in Kano. In 1980, the violent preaching of the *'yan tatsine* increased and tension in the city became further heightened until there was an armed outbreak and several thousands were killed. The *Mai Tatsine* compound in Kano old city was eventually shelled by the Nigerian army, which in itself was controversial.

After the first wave of *Maitatsine* riots took place in Kano in December 1980 a ripple effect occurred as the followers of *Mai Tatsine* dispersed across Muslim Northern Nigeria. In October 1982, the Bullumkuttu crisis took place in Maiduguri and the Rigasa crisis broke out Kaduna in the same month. The *'yan tatsine* moved on to Jimeta-Yola and there were riots in February/March 1984 and in Gombe in April 1985 (Elaigwu, 2005: 741-752). The response of other Islamic groups, traditional rulers and the police and army was hardly calculated to inspire confidence. The aura of strict Islam that the *Maitatsine* promulgated made them fearful of taking any pre-emptive action. Even where there were clear warnings, no action was taken until the sect itself precipitated violence.

10.5.2.3 The Talibans

On 31 December 2003, 200 armed militants attacked security forces in Yobe state and set fire to government buildings in the capital Damaturu. They ransacked police stations, seized guns and ammunition and occupied the small town of Kanamma on the border with Niger state. The government sent soldiers in

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support of the local riot police. These 'Followers of the Prophet' (*Al Sunna Wal Jamma*), a militant group of Islamic extremists, modelled themselves on the Taliban of Afghanistan and during the short occupation of Kanamma, they flew an Afghan flag. The 'Followers of the Prophet' first emerged in 2001 and are thought to be led by a clique of university graduates from the north-eastern city of Maiduguri, some of them from the region's most influential political families. The militants abducted some 30 farmers and forced them to carry looted property and arms back to their camp. Following the attempted occupation, there were battles between militants and security forces in the area. During the first days, there was an exodus of refugees from the towns Geidam, Babangida and Dankalawa. The Gwoza Hills operation was on the scale of a small war, involving aerial bombardment, artillery and a ground offensive. It took almost four days for the 'Talibans' and terrorists to be dislodged.

In September 2004, the group surfaced again, attacking police posts in Borno State and killing four officers and a civilian in raids from bases on the Cameroonian border. They took seven people captive, two of whom they killed. Cameroonian and Nigerian forces cooperated and several rebels were shot or arrested. Security patrols have been stepped up in the border area and Cameroon is due to extradite five suspected fighters. Whether this is the last appearance of this group remains to be seen, but its ability to develop under the radar of the Yobe State authorities suggests that similar groups may well arise in the future.

10.5.3 Disaffected Christians

Christian Youth groups have also become disaffected from the hierarchy of Church leadership for many of the same reasons, the perception that the old guard remain passive on critical issues. The early 1990s saw a rise in martial training by Youth Wings of CAN in northern Nigeria. This trend is on the increase and is justified on the grounds of self-defence.

1995 Bauchi riots

The Bauchi 1995 riots started as clash between Sayawa Christian women and Muslim youths (§Case Study 4). The women had mounted a roadblock to stop guests attending a civic reception in honour of a newly appointed Commissioner who was to replace a Sayawa man. Hausa youths opposed them, Christian youths quickly took arms and there was a slaughter of Muslims in Tafawa Balewa. Some of the dead and wounded were taken to Bauchi, igniting a reprisal attack. The army had to call out armoured personnel for three days before the crisis was controlled.

Jos riots 2001

Disgruntled Christian youth escalated the crisis in the 2001 Jos Riots (§5.2.4). The September 2001 crisis and subsequent conflicts in Plateau state centre on contentious issues as the role of ethnicity, 'indigeneship', religion and chieftaincy in generating these conflicts. On 28th August 2001, before the start of the Jos crisis, Plateau State Youths sent a letter to the State Governor headed "Enough is Enough" and listing their various grievances. These included a call 'for the position of poverty eradication coordinator to be given exclusively to indigenes and for all Hausa-Fulani chieftaincy titles to be scrapped and replaced by indigenous traditional titles.' They would not listen to the plea of elders, calling the conflicts *raba reni* (literally in Hausa: to see who will be ashamed). The letter 'also called for the immediate renaming and re-organization of all our Electoral Wards to indigenous names and original interest of our people' (Human Rights Watch 2001: 6).

11. Traditional leaders and conflict

11.1 Categorisation of conflicts

There is no shortage of classifications of conflict, but they usually address the broader concerns of political science rather than the Nigerian situation. However, if a strategy is to be developed that is both predictive

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and pre-emptive then something more local needs to be to hand. With this in mind, four main underlying themes of conflict can be identified;

- Political
- Religious
- Ethnic
- Economic

Economic is a broad category that can include protests over petrol prices and disputes over access to grazing land. Any conflict can include multiple elements and in particular one type of conflict can morph into another; a political dispute can develop into religious confrontation. Another element is scale; conflicts can range from a momentary outburst of anger in a market, soon resolved, to national riots, seen on television and multiplied by revenge attacks.

Another way of thinking about conflict is their relative predictability; long-running land disputes or trade conflicts between communities will surface regularly. These actually appear as ‘copycat’ riots; urban radicals learn of some imagined offence to Islam on the radio or television and immediately incite rootless urban mobs to riot, regardless of actual circumstances. It would be hard to predict something like the ‘Miss World’ riots in 2002 (§4.2.2), born out of what was clearly an offhand flippant remark in a newspaper column. Similarly, the ‘cartoon riots’ in 2006 (§4.3.) were a reaction to international events with little or no relevance to Nigeria. Such spontaneous events are virtually impossible to predict and prevent; the only strategy to counter them is effective policing, not something not associated with Nigeria.

The ‘cartoon’ riots also reflect the gradual internationalisation of conflict. It is unlikely that any of those who rioted in Nigeria had ever seen the cartoons in question, and they were simply used as a justification for mayhem. As the international Islamic community has increasing access to international media it becomes ever more sensitive to perceived slights to their religion and sequential rioting is increasingly common.

Another key element of the civil disorder are reprisal riots. Many seemingly minor conflicts can set off large-scale violence. Issues such as allocation of market stalls, control of the Lagos slaughterhouse, taxes levied on vehicles registered elsewhere, OPC activities, and perceived slights to religious or community holidays can trigger such violence. The Oḡdua Peoples Congress (OPC) is a militant socio-cultural Yoruba nationalist organization formed in 1997. The southern Nigeria-based group opposed the late dictator Sani Abacha, and was originally at the forefront of the political struggle to restore democracy. But it also supports Yoruba nationalism and a strong federal system in Nigeria and its large membership makes it vulnerable to infiltration by radical elements. In early 1999, the dissident Oḡdua Liberation Movement (OLM) faction became more militant. By contrast, the OLM opposes Nigeria's federal system, and wants the southwestern part of the country to secede and create a separate Yoruba homeland.

A ricochet riot effect between Lagos and northern cities, frequently Kano, spreads violence from one area to another. The OPC's robust organization adds both a risk and an opportunity in this area, as this Yoruba group can mobilize many members, whether to spread violence or to calm communities. This was seen in Lagos in October 2000, when members of the Yoruba Oḡdua People's Congress (OPC) vigilantes suspected a Hausa man of harbouring a criminal. The dispute became ethnically polarized and led to riots. Comparable disputes have flared over rights to stalls in markets, levying local fees on vehicles registered in other states, parking rights for tanker trucks, and respect for ethnic holidays. Typically, a community attacks one another after a small dispute and once the news reaches other parts of Nigeria, there is a corresponding attack on the minority community of the original aggressors. Between June and August 1999, i.e. in the early days of the return to democratic rule, a series of reprisal riots in northern and southern cities left more than a thousand people dead⁸¹.

A clear change that has come about in Nigeria that has a strong relation to weak governance is the relative violence of conflicts. Armed only with spears and bows and arrows, the followers of Mai Tatsine were still

⁸¹ <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/mar/chronology.asp?groupId=47505>

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able to kill significant numbers of their imagined opponents. However, in the last few years, guns and more powerful weapons have spread widely through many communities, especially into rural areas and as a consequence, outcomes of conflict are likely to be ever more fatal (Blench et al. 2004).

Finally, conflicts can be classified according to the nature of response. Most small-scale local conflicts are settled locally often by traditional leaders. Anything on a larger scale usually involves the police and army, and they are unsubtle implements, burning down villages and often taking personal revenge for incidents in a highly unprofessional manner.

Not all conflicts are actually communal; some are merely banditry disguised as conflict. The late 1990s and early 2000s were characterised by a series of incursions, apparently from Niger and Chad by groups of unknown origin and motivation, who had possibly been financed by shadowy figures in the northern states. These groups seemed to roam areas of the Middle Belt, killing individuals and burning down villages. Sometimes, a political or religious motivation was claimed for these groups, but it seems they may have simply been bandits, intent on robbery.

Disaffection can lead to the growth of militia groups to protect all kinds of interest. Johannes Harnischfeger (n.d.) writes that, “there are too many gangs, and in addition, weapons and military expertise to make them dangerous are readily available: “acquiring any brand of firearm in Nigeria is as easy as purchasing toiletries from any provision store”. Retired army officers, many of them still young and enterprising, are training ethnic militias for ‘boundary wars’ with hostile neighbouring communities. Among the Tiv, in the Benue region of Nigeria, ex-officers were accused by the ministry of defence of training a paramilitary force of 6000 men. Tiv leaders denied having armed such a huge number of warriors, but at the same time they threatened the central government with a military confrontation: “We are giving the Federal Government an ultimatum to withdraw the soldiers from Benue (...) we would like to remind the Federal Government that we have 280,000 demobilised soldiers, and most of them are able and willing to fight for Tiv land.”

Apart from demobilised soldiers, potential recruits for militias or vigilantes can also be found among area boys, gangs of unemployed youth that can be easily mobilised in case of ethnic and religious clashes: With a few crates of beer “you can send this crowd running to whichever direction you want”. Most members of militias and vigilantes are recruited from the lower strata of society but there are also many academics involved in crime and other gang activities. As a Nigerian researcher observed: “youth with secondary and even tertiary education roam their villages aimlessly”. They have no interest in farming, so they look for other opportunities to make money. Rival militias, security guards and vigilantes have to operate within the same territory. This makes it difficult to evade each other or to reach stable arrangements about their spheres of influence. Nigerians who were interviewed about ethnic militias did not expect them to develop harmonious relations. Most respondents assumed that the coexistence of armed groups would lead to a “balance of terror”. With such a system, based on intimidation, attitudes towards violence will change. Groups that feel threatened by others have to demonstrate their strength and brutality in order to restrain rivals.

When bureaucratic organisations like the police are being replaced by gangs, then power becomes personalised, revolving around gang leaders. Opposition against such leaders can hardly be institutionalised. Rival leaders often break away with their followers and try to establish a new group. In order to keep the loyalty of their henchmen and attract new ones, they have to operate successfully, generating income and improving the status of the group. This may force them to seek alliances with politicians or traditional rulers, with oil companies or liberation movements. Such alliances, however, are fragile. They only last as long as both sides profit from them. As the behaviour of militia leaders is unpredictable, depending on their changing fortunes, they come to resemble tricksters (Harnischfeger n.d.).

11.2 Mediation and resolution

Village level mediation is very effective and takes place on a daily basis at the ward, village and district levels. Family issues are handled by traditional rulers at all levels including Emirs or Chiefs depending on

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proximity. In theory, an important Emir can never refuse to listen to a subject on the pretext that he is busy. Nonetheless, in reality, Emirs play their most important role in mediating and resolving larger-scale civil conflicts. The Northern Traditional Leaders' Forum has been reactivated with the Sultan of Sokoto as Chairman, meeting regularly to review the peace and security situation. All first class Chiefs and Emirs are members, in a structure reminiscent of the Northern House of Chiefs and indeed making use of the same building. The Forum has met three times in 2006 and on 17th August 2006, changed its name to a Council to reflect the increasing role it expects to play in peacemaking.⁸² This section provides some case histories of how conflict resolution by traditional rulers can play out in practice.

Kwara State: Lata farmer/pastoralist conflict

The Kwara Emirate was called to assist in resolving the farmer/pastoralist conflict in Lata which had persisted for more than seven years, regularly claiming life and property⁸³. Before the intervention of the Emirate Council, Kwara state government's efforts to resolve the conflict had failed. A state government committee established in early 1999 deployed large number of policemen in the area but violence continued unabated. In late 2005, Ilorin Emirate Council established a committee of traditional rulers from Pategi, Liafigi, Senior Councillors from the Council, District, Village, Ward heads from the area, representatives of farmers and pastoralists to discuss the causes of the conflict and propose lasting solutions. By mid-2006 there had been no further outbreaks of trouble. Indeed the success of the committee is now being replicated to resolve the communal clashes in Offa in July, 2006.

Niger State: Grazing Rights in Kainji National Park – Intervention of Borgu Emirate Council

Conflict persists over the rights of access in the Kainji National Park where pastoralist groups insisted that they be allowed to use the traditional stock route that passes through the Park against the policy of Park officials. Since 1995 there have been regular confrontations when the Niger State Government set up a committee to address the matter. Borgu Emirate Council intervened by bringing all the groups together for dialogue in 2004. At the end of the talks it was agreed that the pastoral group be allowed supervised access. The Emirate Council established a committee to oversee the implementation of the agreement. Pastoral leaders were expected to explain the agreement to their members adequately and ensure that there were no violations. The 2005/2006 dry season was a test period and it worked out successfully as no clashes were recorded. Niger State government has now urged all Emirate Councils in the state to copy and replicate the strategy of Borgu Emirate Council. Kontagora Emirate Council took up the challenge and had gone ahead to establish a nucleus committee which made its first attempt during the religious crisis of April 2004 in the aftermath of reprisal attacks in the wake of the killings of Muslims in Yelwa-Shendam, Plateau State. Where government could not achieve peace or prevent occurrence of crisis, the Emirate Councils have successfully carried out and evolved a peace process.

Kebbi State: Resolution of Conflicts over fish resources by the Argungu Emirate Council

When clashes broke out over ownership of a fishing pond between Silame and Augie communities in Kebbi State in 1996, the government of deployed law enforcement agents. The Government also set up a committee to find out the remote causes of the conflict, establish the true ownership of the pond and then mediate between the warring communities. The disagreement and occasional clashes lasted for two years without any acceptable solution in spite of the government's effort. In early 1999 the District Head of Augie was asked by the Argungu Emirate Council to constitute a committee comprising village and ward heads in the area and elders from the disputed and neighbouring communities to mediate the crisis. The committee of the District Head mediated for two months and requested government to withdraw the security agents because peace had been restored. Government was reluctant to oblige, but eventually did so after a second

⁸² News item on Radio Plateau Jos at 6.30 a.m. on 17th August 2006.

⁸³ Interviews were conducted at Lata on 28th-29th May 2006. See Annex D for details.

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request. Peace reigned among the communities until 2005 when some youths from within the two communities violated the agreement. The committee of the District Head quickly met and defused the tension and reported the outcome to the Argungu Emirate Council. This approach has not only been adopted within the entire Emirate, but also in other Emirate Councils in the state. Government is now willing to support the process financially.

Because of the success recorded by the committee, the process is being replicated in other Emirates of the state. Governments seem to be realizing the respect traditional rulers earned from their subjects and is gradually willingly to support them. In a show of appreciation, the Kebbi State Government purchased limousines in 2003 for all the Emirs in the state.

Zamfara State: Conflict over Grazing Rights: Gusau Emirate Council

In the south-west of Zamfara state is Dan-Sadau Forest Reserve and connected to it it is the neighbouring Kamuku National Park in Birnin Gwari Local Government, Kaduna State. A large number of the pastoral groups using the Dan-Sadau Forest Reserve as wet season base camps also use the converted Kamuku National Park as their traditional resting point en-route to the south for dry season grazing. However, in 2002 the National Park officials denied pastoral groups access to the area and blocked three stock routes leading into the area. There was resistance from the pastoralists and conflict between the herders and the National Park guards resulted in the shooting and wounding of three pastoralists. There were reactions and mobilization for revenge. Although the matter was reported to the Federal government and a committee set up to resolve the matter in liaison with Zamfara and Kaduna state governments, little was achieved. In the light of persistent clashes, the Gusau Emirate Council took the initiative to constitute a committee which included the District Heads of Maru and Dan-Sadau and the pastoral leaders. The committee then linked up with the Birnin-Gwari Emirate Council to discuss and resolve the matter. The two councils met the officials of the National Park and it was agreed that the pastoralists would have limited and supervised access with a payment of a token fee of ₦10 per cow. This system had been in place for four years and is being monitored by the Emirate Councils from the two states.

International Conflict Resolution by Katsina Emirate Council

Katsina state shares a common border with Niger Republic and there is typically a dense traffic of goods and animals across the frontier. Pastoral groups migrate into Nigeria for dry season grazing and they move back to Niger during the wet season. During these movements, conflicts occur between herders and farmers usually over damage to standing crops. Often this occurs because farmers have cultivated on existing stock routes, which, although they have no legal status, are regarded by the pastoralists as their right of way. In 1997, a traditional ruler, the District Head of Mai Ruwa, Funtua LGA, was killed along with some of the community. Since this incident government and traditional rulers have been conferring on how best to reduce the perennial conflicts. Although the Katsina state government constituted a committee to re-open stock routes that were gradually being eroded by crop farmers, nothing was achieved.

In 2003, there was another violent confrontation between farmers and pastoralists in Jibiya local government at the entry point from Maradi, Niger Republic. After this, Katsina Emirate Council initiated discussions with traditional rulers in Maradi. The committee of traditional rulers, Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN), Farmer Associations' representatives went to Niger for discussions. The two groups agreed to put early warning systems in place. The Nigerien pastoralists must await a signal from their leaders before moving. Crop farmers in Katsina State would be obliged to harvest their crops in good time and move the crops from the field promptly. Farmers who failed to do this stood the risk of losing their produce. On its return the committee embarked on mass enlightenment programmes and meetings with District, Village and ward heads to explain the agreement. These actions of the traditional rulers have reduced conflict markedly. The Emirate Council was able to re-activate a system that existed in the 1960s and worked very well. Bi-lateral relations between traditional rulers can be instituted across the frontiers of other nations if given the necessary backing and enabling environment.

Jigawa State: Hadejia-Nguru Wetlands Hadejia Emirate Council

The Hadejia-Nguru Wetlands in Jigawa and Yobe States is a rich pastoral and fisheries resource for which there is considerable competition. Farmer/pastoralist conflict was at its height between 1993 and 1997 when government intervened to resolve the matter. Police used helicopters for surveillance and were deployed to shoot on sight. However, the strategies adopted by the traditional rulers have reduced the level of conflict⁸⁴. In Guri and Kirikasamma Districts, the District Heads organised crop farmers and pastoralists to form an association, *Kungiyar Hadakan Manoma da Makiyaya ta Masarautar Hadejia*, (Farmers and Rearing Association in Hadejia Emirate). The District Heads are patrons of the Association. Regular meetings are held to discuss critical issues affecting the security of the area and quick resolutions are taken and implementation follows immediately. The local government security committee is at all times briefed by the District Heads who are members of the security committee. The District Heads insist that local governments respond to any need of the Association that would facilitate peaceful co-existence. The Hadejia Emirate Council is equally kept informed during its monthly meeting. This structure is currently being further facilitated by the Jigawa Enhancement Livelihood Project (JEWEL) funded by DFID. Efforts are currently made to expand the association to cover the entire Wetland area.

The Guri/Kikasamma case study demonstrates that law enforcement agents in most cases only escalate conflicts to unmanageable levels. These efforts have provided platforms for further improvement as being undertaken by the JEWEL Project. The replication of these efforts to cover the entire wetland areas may be able to sustain these efforts when coupled with the capacity building at all levels.

Kaduna State: Inter-religious strife

Because of its intermediate situation between Christians and Muslims, Kaduna State is a frequent site of ethno-religious crises since 1986 and most recently in 2000 and 2002⁸⁵. As soon as information got to the Emir of Zazzau that Kaduna city was burning because of clashes between Christians and Muslims, he summoned his Councillors and a decision was taken immediately to prevent the spread of the crisis to other areas within the Emirate. All District Heads were summoned and an emergency meeting held. Some District Heads could not attend because they were trapped in the violence. Every District Head was expected to call for an emergency meeting with all Village and Ward heads under them and the Emirate Council's decision conveyed accordingly. In turn, they were asked to meet with community elders, Imams, Pastors and other religious leaders such as the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and the Jama'atu Nasrul Islam (JNI). This strategy worked well in some areas within the Emirate. In Zaria and the surrounding Districts no violence was recorded. While these efforts were going on, His Royal Highness, the Emir of Zazzau was broadcasting on Radio and Television calling for calm and restraint. To get feedback, each Councillor was assigned to oversee some Districts and report back on daily basis.

This approach was so effective that some chiefdoms, such as Kagarko, adopted similar methods. The Emir of Zaria has served on many peace committees such as the Plateau Peace Mediation Committee. Although the authorities seem to be content with the role traditional rulers playing in mediating peace they make little effort to strengthen the institution to face such challenges. Strangely, when government does decide that it appreciates the work of a traditional ruler, it does not provide funds for the better functioning of committees but rather presents them with a new limousine, which sign of conspicuous wealth may only exacerbate the resentment of the urban poor. The government security vote is not generally remitted to Emirate Councils for maintaining peace in their areas and the majority of interviews clearly indicate that Councils are poorly funded.

⁸⁴ Interviews held on 22nd January 2006 at Kirikasamma and Auyo I Jigawa state. See Annex D for details.

⁸⁵ Interview with the *Sarkin Fadan Zazzau*, 14th November, 2005.

12. The representation of traditional leaders in the media

12.1 In the press

In a democratic context the press has a strategic role to play in moulding public opinion as well as reporting public reaction to government policies. Nigeria has a robust free press which can often be extremely critical of government, though often the tenor is abusive rather than a consequence of investigative journalism (cf. Umechukwu 1995). The Nigerian press has also been transformed from an era where government owned the most important newspapers (*Daily Times* and *New Nigerian*) and these could be described as semi-official mouthpiece, passing through a flowering of independent newspapers with high editorial standards, to the present situation where newspapers are abundant, low circulation and often represent narrow political viewpoints. Many newspapers have been bought up by wealthy businessmen, who certainly have no interest in investigative journalism.

Although traditional rulers have gradually become folded into government, press scrutiny appears extremely unsearching. However, unlike other organs of government, it does not come under strict public scrutiny by the press. Two reasons can be advanced for such a trend. In the first place, rulers should be accorded that respect by all followers irrespective of origin. They must project the dignity of the cultures they represent. Traditional rulers in the north are very sensitive and conduct their public affairs with decorum even when their ethics are not similarly codified. If a traditional ruler wants to criticise the government publicly, they will do so in coded language and at an occasion where they do not occupy the centre stage. These include convocation ceremonies of tertiary institutions they head in honorary capacities. This report from the Punch Newspaper illustrates the point:

The Emir of Kano has advised the political class to close ranks and desist from actions and pronouncements capable of plunging the country into chaos. Alhaji Ado Bayero Chancellor of the University of Ibadan gave advice at the 57th Graduation Ceremony, urged politicians to borrow a leaf from the decent politics of the late Owelle of Onitsha, Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe.⁸⁶

During Durbar and other cultural festivals a traditional ruler can make a critical comment and even when it is accurately reported, it causes minimal offence because of the spirit of the occasion. Sometimes the opinion of traditional rulers on burning national debates may be expressed in symbolic gestures or parables. In early 2006 the debate on tenure elongation for political office holders was raging on and the Northern Traditional Rulers Forum led by the Sultan of Sokoto and the press was expecting a categorical comment. However, their spokesman, the Emir of Ilorin, said their action that would be in the interests of their people.⁸⁷ That marked the obituary of the third agenda bid. The involvement of traditional rulers is hardly reported by the media even though critical remarks on them might be found in scholarly works. Both the print and electronic media present traditional rulers in good light.

However, given the new rules of press freedom since the democratic dispensation of 1999, when the media that are close to government perceive disloyalty to government on the part of traditional ruler, he becomes a subject adverse media coverage.

12.2 Radio and television

Radio and television broadcasting in Nigeria are much more closely controlled than the press. Television remains in the hands of Federal and State governments and is little more than a channel for official pronouncements. Access to satellite channels is widespread and as a consequence, Nigerians are often better informed about international affairs than about events in their own country. Radio is hardly more unchained, as almost all broadcasting infrastructure is owned by government; large cities have independent FM music stations but these do not represent any challenge to the government news agenda. Nigeria has never

⁸⁶ Punch 18/11/2005 p. 10

⁸⁷ Sun, 1st May 2006, p. 7

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permitted the type of vernacular FM radio stations common in other West African countries. Even attempts at rebroadcasting on FM, for example the BBC World Service, are regularly halted by government if anything they report is contrary to the official agenda. Correspondents for foreign news services are regularly deported for inconvenient new stories. Nigeria strongly resembles China in that it has an open, liberal economy and yet the typical strategy for government is to try and control the news agenda.

As a consequence, the image of traditional rulers on television and radio has an air of unreality. They appear, usually in full ceremonial dress and sunglasses, at endless government functions, launchings and other occasions, mouthing bland platitudes which have little to do with their real activities. Their image is nothing more than support to government and none of the ethical complexities described here get an airing. Government is respectful and yet the image of leaders is designed finally to enhance the image of their powerlessness; endorsing cultural projects, presiding over colourful festivities.

12.3 Internet

Nigerian Emirates have a limited visibility on the internet; Hadejia is notable for developing its own site⁸⁸. Although entirely upbeat about the Emirate and local officials it allows the posting of material highly critical of the Federal Government. Interestingly, too, it is almost entirely in English, whereas a number of other Northern websites are primarily Hausa with some English. So far this is unusual, as Northern Nigerian internet presence and it is dominated by State sites, which often give traditional rulers short shrift in favour of the Governor and his activities. This is Nigeria Direct⁸⁹, the official government gateway to Nigerian resources has an image gallery which effectively reinforces the typical television images, traditional leader attending ceremonies.

13. Regalia and the symbols of power

13.1 Symbolising traditionality

The nature of power held by traditional rulers required that they symbolise that power through its visible representation. This was well established during the pre-colonial era, with all levels of power having fairly standardised appurtenances, such as long trumpets, ostrich-feather fans and particular types of sandals. Sharada (2000) is a description of royal symbols found in Hausaland. Music played a major role in dramatising the power of the ruler, particularly at the major Islamic feasts of Id-el-Fitri and Id-el-Kebir. Social hierarchies and the authority delegated to individuals were reflected in dress codes and the appearance of uniformed retainers. On the edges of the Islamic zone, the symbols of power were less well codified. Islamic but non-Hausa Emirates such as Busa and Nupe had their own regalia, which related to their specific history (in both cases, powerful states prior to the spread of Islam). The beaded crowns of Yoruba rulers are maintained in the Islamic areas, despite their ambiguous elements.

Emirs celebrate the two Sallahs very elaborately and they are an occasion for titleholders, traditional rulers and subjects to pay homage. Table 18 shows some typical images of the Sallah celebrations in Kano in 2006. Any titleholder or ruler not seen at the Durbar is considered as disloyal. The Durbar is the climax of the celebrations, both mock warfare and show of loyalty from the horse to the riders. The Emir rides on a royal horse decorated specially for the occasion shielded from the sun by a ceremonial umbrella.

⁸⁸ <http://www.hadejia.com>

⁸⁹ <http://www.nigeria.gov.ng/default.aspx>

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Table 18. Images of the Sallah celebrations in Kano in 2006

Photo 6. Sallah in Kano I



Photo 7. Sallah in Kano II



Photo 8. Sallah in Kano III



Photo 9. Sallah in Kano IV



Photo 10. Sallah in Kano V



Photo 11. Sallah in Kano VI



Photo 12. Sallah in Kano VII



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In modern times, the symbolic representation of power is more confused. The oil-money flowing into Nigeria has created many wealthy individuals who are more likely to express their status with cars and large but idiosyncratic mansions and to compete to appear in celebrity magazines such as *Ovation*. Rulers who are sufficiently wealthy can buy impressive cars and upgrade their palaces, but there are difficulties in switching codes; if they exchange the traditional regalia for the markers of modernity, they jettison what makes them distinctive.

Upgrading palaces has also suddenly become fashionable. Typically, the palaces were larger versions of ordinary compounds; bigger buildings and large thatched roofs. However, as ordinary dwellings have increasingly switched to breeze blocks and tin sheeting, palaces began to look stylistically increasingly out of place. The archaism was maintained for a long time, presumably to symbolise continuity with the past. However, just as luxury cars began to replace horses, so new palaces are now being built, often with eclectic mixtures of modern and archaic features (Photo 13). The funding of these new palaces is often a bone of contention between the a chief and the local government; in some cases refurbishment or rebuilding is taken as a charge, while in other cases they refuse.

Photo 13. New palace of the Emir of Ilorin



Another type of re-invention of tradition is the ceremonial gateway. In the era of walled towns, many had large gates that could be closed at night. Some of these old wooden gates were large and finely decorated but they were seen as 'not modern' and many were simply got rid off in the 1960s and 1970s. However, the importance of gateways in the history of the Emirates and their symbolic significance was such that they have now made a major return. Almost every town in Northern Nigeria has a large imposing and often tastelessly decorated gateway at the entrance to the town, or even on the road some miles away from the actual dwellings. Competition between towns is such that often the first gateway has been knocked down and replaced with something far more grandiose.

13.2 Regalia

The symbols of office of chiefdoms or kingdoms that existed in the pre-colonial era have undergone a considerable transformation due to the influence of modernity, Islam and Christianity. The old Northern Emirates had a standard set of symbols of power on which they could improvise; long trumpets, sandals, ostrich-fan. Together with the flag, sending these to a newly created Emir was a typical method of symbolising their acceptance. But with the creation of a multiplicity of new chiefdoms, many of which are outside the Muslim area and many of whose rulers are not Muslim has created something of a problem in terms of symbols and ceremonies. Most have chosen to include a sample of Northern regalia while introducing local elements, particularly spears and leopard-skins. Similarly, the

Photo 14. Horse kept for the Emir of Gombe



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Sallah procession has now become a Christmas or New Year procession; in Kagoro, for example, the chief rides on horseback to the church.

The spear kept by the Mai Tangale is his traditional symbol of authority (**Photo 19**). He was very reluctant to hold it because of his religious persuasion. A traditional priest has been appointed by him to carry out functions that require the use of such symbols and regalia. The leopard skin is the regalia of most of the chiefs of the stateless societies of the Middle Belt (Nengel et al. 2002:40). Photo **26** shows the leopard skin still kept by the chief of the Boze people, near Jos.

The different styles of turbans worn by the Emirs and other titleholders are important symbols of power. The style worn by a new chief shows the link to the Emirate from which the chiefdom evolved. The unadorned style of the Shehu of Borno is copied throughout the Maidoms of Kanem-Borno. The Sultan of Sokoto, and the Emirs of Zazzau and Kano have distinctive turbans. The royal cloak, *alkyaba*, can also be identified with specific Emirates. Royal households also keep pets such as peacocks, ostriches and parrots as part of their identity. Another symbol is the coat of arm or seal of each Emirate or Chiefdom for authentication of official documents from their respective palaces. This is actually an innovation introduced in the colonial era, presumably drawing on the British monarchy but has been enthusiastically adopted in Nigeria. A Staff of Office is presented by state authorities to a traditional ruler during the installation ceremony, another colonial innovation. The head of the staff carries the emblem of the national coat of arms. Only rulers from grade 3 and above are presented with such a staff.

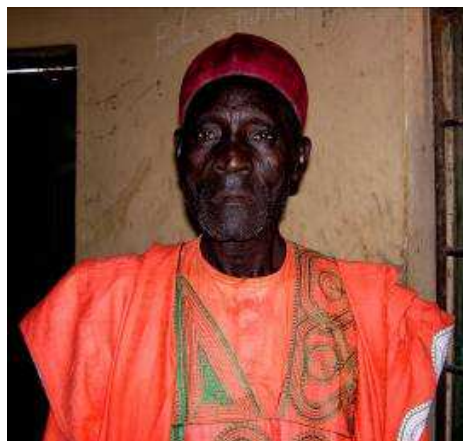
Table 19 presents a selection of images of the regalia of the rulers across Northern Nigeria⁹⁰;

Table 19. Images of regalia across Northern Nigeria

Photo 15. Royal drums, Zazzau



Photo 16. Keeper of the royal drums, Zazzau



⁹⁰ All Zazzau and Jos photos were taken by Martin Walsh on 14th and 19th November 2005 respectively. All Gombe and Tangale photos were taken by Gerhard Kosack on 28th and 27th January 2006 respectively. The Kano photos were taken by Mal. Umar Hassan on 5th January 2006.

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Photo 17. Turbanning ceremony in Zazzau



Photo 18. Bodyguard, Rahama District, Zazzau Emirate



Photo 19. Regalia of the Mai Tangale



Photo 20. Medals awarded to the Mai Tangale



Photo 21. Bodyguard, Berom Chieftdom, Jos



Photo 22. Royal guards, Tangale



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Photo 23. Hadejia palace guards



Photo 24. Ceremonial dress for horses, Gombe



Photo 25. Regalia of Senior District Head, Gombe



Photo 26. Ceremonial leopard skin of Boze chief



In many ways, the increase and expansion of ceremonial appurtenances is a response to the gradual decline in the secular power and authority of chiefs. Sallah processions become larger and more elaborate, and are the subject of a certain amount of internal tourism. They are regularly featured on television and in tourist brochures issued in the forlorn hope that visitors will be attracted to Nigeria. Very shortly, however, there will be a confrontation between the increasingly hard-line Islam being adopted in many northern States and the music and performances used to dramatise the position of rulers. Kano and Zaria in particular have very elaborate musical entourages yet there is increasing pressure to get rid of all types of music except for Islamic chanting. It will be interesting to see how this contradiction can be resolved.

14. Conclusions: is the system working and could it be improved?

14.1 Overview

As the case studies in this report show, the current situation of traditional rulers is very ambiguous. They command considerable traditional allegiance in certain areas, but their non-elected status also makes them a target for local politicians and other critics. Some are impressively hard working in the promotion of their region and the representation of the interests of the people they serve, others are corrupt and have been summarily ejected for factional behaviour or financial misdemeanours. During political periods some have been dismissed simply for supporting the wrong party, which contributes to the insecurity of their position.

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Government is content to make use of their services in peace-making and reconciliation, but is unwilling to give them the political and administrative support required to make chieftaincy institutions function adequately.

A particular trend from the 1990s onwards has been the widespread upgrading and creation of chieftaincies either to reinforce ethnic agendas or to reward wealthy political donors. As a result, the position of these 'new' chiefs is regarded with scepticism by the general population and they do not command the allegiance essential to effective functioning. The sheer numbers of recently created chiefs inevitably contributes to the dilution of the authority of traditional chiefs as well as reducing the extent of their domains.

Another issue is the role of Islam in supporting the authority of traditional rulers and its significance for conflict resolution. While it is certainly true that Islamic theology is used in the promulgation of chiefly status in the northern Emirates, in reality, rulers stand or fall by their behaviour. Unpopular rulers will be forced out, regardless of their religious affiliation. In terms of conflict, although Christian/Muslim conflicts tend to attract more media coverage and are probably the focus of external interest, internal conflict between Muslim factions is almost equally prevalent. However, a recent trend, certainly exacerbated by access to international media, but also probably a consequence of action by groups outside Nigeria to influence the agenda, is the development of radical groups that reject all external authority, as the 'Taliban' episode in Yobe State in 2004 clearly showed. Combined with the unchecked flow of arms into the country, this could be the beginning of a worrying future trend.

Traditional rulers have proven much less effective in dealing with confrontations within Islam. A characteristic asymmetry of the situation in Nigeria, is that intra-Islamic strife is common, whereas violence between Christian groups is rare. When a conflict arises is between Christians and Muslims, the perceived identity of the players is more obvious, the strategies more informed by precedent. Muslim sects are harder to characterise and attempts to rein them in made problematic by the ever-present accusation of heterodoxy. On a larger scale, this mirrors the intriguing war of words between Al-Qaeda and the Gulf States, most which are seen by the outside world as core inheritors of orthodox Islam, but are characterised as enemies by Al-Qaeda and other groups as in heretical partnership with non-Muslims and thereby justifying attacks.

Ethnicity as a factor underlying conflict remains a major problem, both for traditional rulers and for the state as a whole. The standard tenets of political science involve attributing rationality to the major players in conflict. But in Nigeria, ethnic conflicts may be informed both by a magical worldview and by ethnic tenets that are stubbornly resistant to reanalysis in terms of economic or political advantage.

14.2 Does the present system have popular support?

The tenor of numerous interviews as well as the pronouncements of politicians is that traditional rulers enjoy continuing and indeed increased support in many regions of the North. However, in the South, the ambivalence of their position is a continued focus of complaints. In an ideal world, as Nigeria moved towards a representative democracy, the authority of such rulers would wither away and their role become essentially ceremonial. However, in the real world, many ordinary citizens perceive Nigeria to be run by a kleptocracy, and justice to be remote. Traditional rulers are often much more responsive to the travails of individuals and have a much stronger investment in the broader harmony of the community. By contrast, politicians usually represent narrow factional interests and may well leave as soon as they have looted whatever funds are available. Politicians, however, are well aware of this and are using all means at their disposal to cow local rulers into assent.

An important shift in popular opinion in the Islamic areas is between the leftist rhetoric of the immediate post-colonial era, which characterised the NAs as tired relics of feudalism to be vanquished in the name of the *talakawa* (poor people) and the modern view of them as clinging to a syncretic Islam, and as supporters of the established brotherhoods which in turn should be replaced by more radical sects. This transformation is very much in line with the wider global trend, where an obsession with poverty has become the preserve of the middle classes and the dispossessed are increasingly concerned with radical spirituality.

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The reality is that most ordinary Nigerian do not perceive there to be a system and indeed this is probably an appropriate perception. Individuals come to power and they either prove themselves competent or ineffective, subtle or lumbering in dealing with ethnic and religious confrontations, and accessible or remote. On this basis they are assessed and this determines the local response. However, this is not a very adequate situation for a nation-state; it allows for unaccountable behaviour, no matter how locally popular.

14.3 Government policy and Recommendations

As of 2006, the Nigerian constitution has no provision for traditional rulers and legally they continue under the dispensation of the 1979 constitution, which is an unrealistic representation of their actual role. In actuality, policy is made on an *ad hoc*, state-by-state basis and evolves rapidly. Government should consider;

- ❖ Creating a clear and constitutionally specified role for traditional rulers with transparent mechanisms for either making or approving choices and for demoting or dismissing those who fail in their tasks;
- ❖ Specifying remuneration for traditional rulers and the sources of that remuneration;
- ❖ Reducing the creation of 'new' traditional rulers and halting the upgrading process;
- ❖ Specifying more clearly the role traditional rulers would be expected to play in conflict resolution.

The failure to deal with these issues in 2006, when the Federal Government was paralysed by a debate over a third term for the incumbent is an excellent illustration of the manner in which short-term expediency trumps long-term considerations of stability. Another opportunity to consider the role of traditional rulers is unlikely to arise for some time.

Remuneration needs to move on from fixed percentage systems, which make no distinction between effective and ineffective incumbents, to allocations by responsibility and results. This would intentionally discriminate against new traditional rulers who are political creations and they would only be able to generate income through action with proven outcomes.

The process of creation and upgrading of traditional rulers should be in the hands of the Federal Government. While it remains with the States, it will be in the service of highly ephemeral interests and will simply lead to a multiplicity of overlapping interests without any benefit to the communities in question. This is not to say that communities should not have the right to establish whatever ceremonial posts they consider appropriate, but these should not be integrated with the authority system.

Although traditional rulers are often made use of in conflict resolution processes this is entirely *ad hoc* and informal as well as reactive. At least some traditional rulers are well aware of underlying problems that can result in trouble and if state and local governments were more able to make use of their knowledge as well as investing in their presence earlier, such meetings could be more effective.

14.4 Recommendations to donors

For international donors concerned about the situation in Nigeria and willing to provide assistance, for example, to conflict resolution, traditional rulers present something of a problem. They can clearly be effective, and yet they are unelected and sometimes side with factional interests. Moreover, some of their actions clearly take place outside any usual framework of human rights, no matter how much they have local support. However, it is clear that Federal Government policies in the arena of conflict resolution are completely dysfunctional, suggesting that *any* civil society institution that can play a role in improving the situation is worth support.

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Many of the examples of traditional leaders and conflict resolution given here suggest reactive strategies. Once a violent confrontation has occurred, officials contact whoever they consider has the gravitas to call and preside over peace talks. But it would be a more effective investment to support institutions and actions that are both predictive and pre-emptive (§11.1). There appears to be an astonishing lack of political will to resolve even rather obvious problems such as the Sayawa desire for their own District Head (Case Study 4) even though it should be clear that this one will continue to generate friction. It is principally District Heads, Village Heads and occasionally lower level chiefs who are most active in developing regular meetings and discussions to try and defuse potential areas of friction between communities and who are therefore most worthwhile considering for support.

Another conclusion of this study is that it is only worth supporting rulers at a certain level. Emirs and other First Class Chiefs are too entangled in the web of local politics and too beholden to the Federal and State Governments to pay any pro-active role in conflict reduction. They often sit on peace committees, but they are unlikely ever to take any position that will threaten their own status.

To this end, donors could consider;

- ❖ Developing a ‘good rulers guide’, an examination of the traditional rulers’ institutions that are functioning effectively;
- ❖ Assist in developing government policy both to provide traditional rulers with more political support while maintaining the capacity to get rid of wayward individuals;
- ❖ Providing funds for conflict resolution out of a pool, so that they can be available flexibly and rapidly where conflict breaks out;
- ❖ Work with traditional rulers to develop an ‘early warning’ system, to identify potential sources of conflict.

These recommendations could be summarised in another way as providing more informed appreciation of the situation on the ground in respect of traditional rulers and supporting those both politically and financially who appear to be making a difference.

How could this work in practice? A key element is to try and transform the way information is collected and analysed. At present both writing about conflict and policy advice is in the hands of those who are by and large outsiders. As a consequence, the picture presented to donors is both urban and centralist; information that could be gathered by a close reading of newspapers. But this is a tainted source, informed as it is by political forces controlled by wealthy elites whose interests are their own. The anti-rural bias is very evident; many of the situations discussed in this study never make the national agenda.

Table 20, ‘donors’ decision grid’ synthesises some of the conclusions of this study into a single matrix and tries to suggest where investment would most likely make a difference to Nigerian governance;

Table 20. Donors’ decision grid

	Yes	No	Support
Does ruler have historical legitimacy?	+		+
Is ruler First Class or very high status?	+		—
Is ruler principally ritually significant?	+		—
Has ruler a track-record of reconciliation?	+		+
Does ruler represent a multi-ethnic region?	+		+
Does ruler represent known political grouping?	+		—

Essentially, if a chief is a recent creation with historical legitimacy, it will take time for the chiefdom to mature into respected decision-making institution and this may never happen, therefore donors should be wary of supporting it. Similarly, extremely high status rulers are generally wealthy and are furthermore intensively involved in national politics; donor funds are therefore unlikely to be well-used. On the other hand, if the ruler is one of those Middle Belt or southern chiefs with little secular power and only ritual

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importance, they will not have the institutional backing to succeed with subventions. Rulers with a track record of peace-making and reconciliation are worth supporting when not excluded by other criteria. Similarly, rulers facing complex multi-ethnic and multi-religious constituencies are more likely to face difficulties and financial shortfalls. Finally, some rulers have a known allegiance to a particular political faction; support to these should be excluded. Out of this selection process, the most likely 'candidates' are those at the mid to lower levels of the administrative web, the third-class Emirs, the District and Village Heads, who are often working hard to keep the peace and develop their area with little recognition and support by government.

The second element is to provide selective financial support. As the report shows, the existing subventions to traditional rulers are of limited value in terms of the demands on them (§6.3). As a consequence, a great deal of their attention is focused on raising money from a variety of sources, not all conventional. Relatively small amounts of funding could support activities such as peace-making committees, familiarisation visits, printing of documents relative to agreements reached and the like. It is proposed that a fund be created which traditional rulers could apply to for small sums to facilitate their work.

The image presented in the literature of Nigerian traditional rulers is either significantly out-of-date, reflecting the immediate post-Independence era, when the NA system still persisted, or else it is coloured by recent hagiography. Traditional rulers still have an important role to play in the governance of Nigeria but their position is blurred by a lack of a constitutional frame for their activities and inconsistent financial support. Moreover the recent flowering of new 'traditional' chiefs representing a variety of sometimes ephemeral interests is out of control and can only have the effect of lowering the overall prestige of the institution. International donors should consider selective support to some of the hardworking individual levels operating at intermediate levels who are probably doing more to maintain civil order in Nigeria than the vast apparatus of the Federal State.

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Annex A1. The Islamic Emirates of Northern Nigeria

Name or Title	State	Date of foundation
Sultan of Sokoto	Sokoto	Sokoto Empire
Shehu of Borno	Borno	Borno Empire
Emir of Kano	Kano	Hausa Bakwai
Emir of Zazzau	Kaduna	Hausa Bakwai
Lamido of Adamawa		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Gwandu		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Bauchi		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Gombe		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Daura		Hausa Bakwai
Emir of Katsina		Hausa Bakwai
Emir of Ilorin		Banza Bakwai
Etsu Nupe		Banza Bakwai
Emir of Borgu		Independent Origin
Emir of Muri		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Dikwa		Borno Empire
Emir of Fika		Borno Empire
Emir of Kebbi		Banza Bakwai
Emir of Yauri		Banza Bakwai
Emir of Bedde		Borno Empire
Emir of Gumel		Borno Empire
Emir of Kazaure		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Katagum		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Hadejia		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Jama'are		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Misau		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Kontagora		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Agaie		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Lapai		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Pategi		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Minna		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Lafiagi		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Keffi		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Nasarawa		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Lafia		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Jema'a		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Wase		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Kanam		Sokoto Empire
Emir of Suleja		Independent Origin
Emir of Biu		Independent Origin
Estu Nupe		Banza Bakwai
Emir of Gwoza		New creation, 2 nd Republic
Emir of Dass		Re-grading, 2002
Emir of Ningi		Independence
Emir of Mubi		Independence
Emir of Dukku		New creation, 2002
Emir of Potiskum		Colonial

Annex A2. The Principal Chieftaincies

Name or Title	Location	Date of foundation
Attah-Igala	Kogi	Colonial
Ohinoyi of Ebira	Kogi	Colonial
Tor Tiv	Benue	Colonial
Gbong Gwom Jos	Plateau	Colonial
Oci'Idoma	Benue	Colonial
Mai Tangale	Gombe	Pre-Colonial

Annex A3. Archival sources

The National Archives in Kaduna is located at No. 14 Yakubu Gowon Way. Documents exist from the Colonial period right to 1990 on general government administration including chieftaincy reforms. The staff are generally cooperative but poorly motivated. Therefore a tip will facilitate things better and documents not yet declassified can be made accessible. Most of the documents are in a sorry state because very sensitive documents as ones having to do with chieftaincy, creation of administrative units and population figures are misplaced or some pages cut out neatly.

The archive at Arewa House located on the Kaduna-Zaria Express Way at No. 1 Rabbah Road, in Kaduna. It is in the same building as the library. Photocopying facilities exist. Access to both facilities is on payment of a registration fee of N2000.00. The archives have materials general administration of Northern Nigeria during the first Republic up to 1966. The library and bookstore of the Centre are invaluable sources of information and major publications. Some major publications in the library are given in Annex B. The Librarian is Mal. Salisu Bala.

The Department of Local Government & Chieftaincy Studies at Institute for Administration, Ahmadu Bello University, Kongo in Zaria on the Old Jos Road, has a large reference library on local government and chieftaincy affairs. The Librarian is Mr. Andrew Sauki. The space is quite limited and publications are not easily accessible. The library serves as a sales outlet for publications too, but most of the titles are outdated. Key journal articles and books on local government administration and chieftaincy matters can be found. Documents on Federal government Reforms of 1976, 1985 and 1990 are found.

Abdullahi Centre for Historical Research is a private historical research centre with a wide range of academic publications. This centre is located at Hanwa, just before the Samaru Road Flyover on the Zaria-Kano Express Way. The centre is at the cutting edge of producing current materials on research methodology and historical research on Northern Nigeria and posthumous publication of Prof. Abdullahi Smith on.

The League for Human Rights is NGO that has an active publishing enterprise located at No. 6 Tafawa Balewa Street, Jos. It has archival materials on Reports of Judicial Commissions on major conflicts in Middle belt states. Some key books are relevant to the chieftaincy studies include:

1. League for Human Rights (ed.) 2003. *Proceedings at the Sir Henry Willink's Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Fears of Minorities and the Means of Allaying Them* (Vol.1). Jos: League for Human Rights.
2. League for Human Rights (ed.) Undated. *Sir Henry Willink's Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Fears of Minorities and Means of Allaying Them*. Jos: League for Human Rights.

Federal universities in Sokoto, Zaria, Kano and Maiduguri have rich archives in their libraries and Departments of History. University of Jos made photocopies of all archival materials at the National Archives Kaduna for its Centre for Central Nigerian Studies. The libraries of universities in the north have rich newspapers' archives.

Palaces of traditional rulers in Kano, Sokoto, Potiskum and Maiduguri have rich historical materials. Local publications and monographs on their respective emirates are kept.

Newspapers archives exist in head offices of the major dailies found in central and northern Nigeria. These are the Daily Trust, New Nigerian and The Nigerian Standard located in Abuja, Kaduna and Jos respectively. The Nigerian Standard has a very low circulation today and therefore has lost its position as the voice of the minorities of the North. The Daily Trust on the other is now the mouthpiece for the core North.

Annex A4. List of Members Northern House of Chiefs by Rank in 1964

Name or Title	State Today
Sultan of Sokoto	Sokoto
Shehu of Borno	Borno
Emir of Gwandu	Kebbi
Emir of Kano	Kano
Emir of Bauchi	Bauchi
Lamido of Adamawa	Adamawa
Emir of Katsina	Katsina
Emir of Zaria	Kaduna
Estu Nupe	Niger
Emir of Ilorin	Kwara
Emir of Kontagora	Niger
Emir of Dikwa	Borno
Emir of Argungu	Kebbi
Emir of Gombe	Gombe
Tor Tiv	Benue
Attah Igala	Kogi
Emir of Katagum	Bauchi
Emir of Misau	Bauchi
Emir of Hadejia	Jigawa
Emir of Daura	Katsina
Emir of Kazaure	Jigawa
Emir of Gumel	Jigawa
Emir of Agaie	Niger
Emir of Lapai	Niger
Emir of Pategi	Kwara
Emir of Yauri	Kebbi
Emir of Borgu	Niger
Emir of Jama'are	Bauchi
Emir of Muri	Taraba
Emir of Fika	Yobe
Emir of Biu	Borno
Emir of Bedde	Yobe
Ohinoyi of Ebira	Kogi
Emir of Keffi	Nasarawa
Emir of Nasarawa	Nasarawa
Emir of Lafia	Nasarawa
Emir of Jema'a	Kaduna
Emir of Suleja	Niger
Aku Uka	Taraba
Ohimege Koton Karfe	Kogi
Ochi' Idoma	Benue
Emir of Wase	Plateau
Gbong Gwom Jos	Plateau
Chief of Zuru	Kebbi

Name or Title	State Today
Agwom Gworok	Kaduna
Emir of Mubi	Adamawa
Emir of Ningi	Bauchi
Chief of Zing	Taraba
Chief of Bacama	Adamawa
Chief of Mbula	Adamawa
Chief of Batta	Adamawa
Chief of Shelleng	Adamawa
Chief of Longuda	Adamawa
Emir of Dass	Bauchi
Chief of Kaltungo	Gombe
Chief of Waja	Gombe
Chief of Dadiya	Gombe
Mai Tangale	Gombe
Sangari of Awe	Nasarawa
Chief of Takum	Taraba
Chief of Donga	Taraba
Mai Askira	Borno
Chief of Shani	Borno
Estu Lafiagi	Kwara
Estu Sharagi	Kwara
Obaro of Kabba	Kogi
Olu Jumu of Ijimu	Kogi

Source: Hogben & Kirk-Greene (1966) Appendix B

Annex A5. Sample Local Government Security Committee

Members of the committee for Soba Local Government in 2006 include:

- Chairman of the Local Government (also chairman of the committee)
- Divisional Police Officer
- State Security Services
- Criminal Investigation Department
- All eight district heads
- Councillor for Chieftaincy & Religious Affairs
- Councillor for Security
- Coordinators for Religious Affairs
- Two Imams
- Two Pastors
- Councillor for Land
- Three Sole Administrators of Development Areas
- Chairman and Secretary of the Cattle Breeders' Association
- Security Adviser
- Chairman of Civil Defence
- Legal Adviser (Secretary of the committee)

The Local Government also has a standing sub-committee on Chieftaincy and Religious Affairs whose members are as follows:

- Vice-Chairman of the Local Government (committee chairman)
- Councillor for Chieftaincy and Religious Affairs
- Secretary Chieftaincy and Religious Affairs
- District Head Soba
- District Head Richifa
- Liman Soba
- Pastor Tudun Saibu
- Sole Administrator Yakasai Development Area
- Adviser Religious Affairs
- Two local politicians
- Assistant Legal Adviser (committee Secretary)

Annex A6. Views from Gombe Emirate

Suggestions and observations from the *Yerima* of Gombe⁹¹

- ❖ During the colonial period, the authorities respected the religion and traditions of the people. At independence, Sir Ahmadu Bello the Sarkin Sokoto and Premier of Northern Nigeria and Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa the Prime Minister maintained the British practice with respect to traditional rulers. However, things changed drastically when an American style of government was introduced in 1979.
- ❖ Today traditional rulers have no power: neither the 'rope' nor 'whip', i.e. no prison and power to punish and are only recognised when trouble has erupted. When a traditional ruler maintains his integrity he will receive the co-operation of his subjects.
- ❖ The constitution should be amended to give powers similar to those of the old NA system but with provisions to reflect modern realities such as the practice of democracy and religious tolerance in a multi-religious society.
- ❖ He considered his brother, the Emir of Gombe, Alhaji Shehu Usman Abubakar, has played a valuable role as a peacemaker. The Emir brokered peace in the industrial crisis at Ashaka Cement Company when there was retrenchment of workers as a result of a takeover of the company in 2002. The workers were picketing the factory and threatened its total closure, but the Emir successfully persuaded the company to pay the retrenched workers their due. The Emir travels as far as Jalingo to settle disputes. This role is critical as the Muri Emirate is not functional since the dethronement of its Emir in 1985 by a military governor⁹².
- ❖ *Yerima* Gombe has an oversight function to see to it that there is religious harmony in the Emirate and his door is open to all community leaders twenty-four hours. Christians are allocated land by the traditional council to build churches without any form of discrimination even in densely populated areas as Nasarau, Jiro-Kura and Madaki.
- ❖ Gombe Emirate Council has a policy where every non-indigenous community can organise themselves and elect a leader and the name is forwarded to the Emir for recognition. Such a recognized leader is co-opted into the security committee of the Emirate.

Suggestions and observations from the *Ajiya Gombe*⁹³

Ajiya Gombe, the senior district head of Kwami, has ruled as District Head for 35 years and served as the *Ajiya Gombe* for the same length of time. Governor Hashidu who created the office of a senior district head of Kwami LGA in 2002. He is not a member of the royal family but an outstanding farmer who has merited the office of *Ajiya* 'the custodian of armoury of the Emirate'. Now he has ten districts under his supervision. His insights on the role of traditional rulers have been playing in conflict prevention and mediation.

Suggestions and observations from Facilitators of Fadama II in Gombe State⁹⁴

Six facilitators, two of whom were women, from the World Bank Assisted Fadama II programme described the roles traditional rulers have been playing in the smooth implementation of Fadama II programme in their respective LGAs. The facilitator from Nafada gave an example of how a group of politicians in the Local Government wanted to discredit them. They told farmers who had been mobilised for a community road project worth ₦11 Million not to contribute their own quota. The District Head had to invite them to address his subjects at the end of the Jummat Prayer and the people were happy with the briefing. This contribution of the traditional ruler led the people to give their counterpart funds and the road project is now completed.

⁹¹ On interview on 28th January at the palace of the *Yerima*.

⁹² Interviews on 14th May 2006 at Jalingo, Taraba state.

⁹³ Interview at *Ajiya*'s palace on 29th January 2006.

⁹⁴ Interview was conducted at State Project Office Gombe on 30th January 2006.

Annex A7. Recommendations by Tangale traditional council for constitutional amendments

The team visited the ancestral home of the Tangale at Kufai and this was followed by a group interview with the traditional rulers at the palace. They suggested that if a constitutional amendment is to be made it should recognise:

- Judicial powers in farmland disputes.
- Custody of traditional rites and rituals; traditional rulers to be allowed to use traditional methods (e.g. ordeals)⁹⁵ for resolving social conflicts.
- Judicial powers over marriage disputes.
- In short all former powers under the Native Authority System should be restored in the constitution.
- Governors should not be given the power to remove traditional rulers; at present the tenures of traditional rulers are not secure.
- A disciplinary committee must be established before a traditional ruler is removed.
- Ward heads should be given allowances.
- High morals should be demanded of traditional rulers especially in the context of farm and marital disputes.
- Traditional rulers should at least be allowed to make LG accountable in LG budgets and development projects.
- Selection of traditional rulers should be strictly according to the traditions of the people.

Annex A8. Views and suggestions from traditional rulers, Jos

Gbong Gwom

The Gbong Gwom indicated that the main peacekeepers should be security operatives, and that traditional rulers could only complement their role. The silence of the 1999 constitution on the role of traditional rulers has led some overzealous state governors to remove traditional rulers without regard for local traditions and he considered the traditional council of each chiefdom should be responsible for such matters and not politicians. Nasarawa state has passed a law providing an elaborate welfare package for traditional rulers in the state and this might be a model for the remainder of the country. The Gbong Gwom also suggested that current laws regarding the appointment of traditional rulers in the state should remain in place. When this was not the case in Plateau, the traditional rulers went to court to squash a move by the government to undermine them.

The Gbong Gwom has appointed a Hausa community leader as a member of the Jos Traditional Council as part of an attempt to rebuild bridges with the Hausa/Fulbe community. Nonetheless, one of his strategies to reduce levels of conflict was to ensure community leaders keep a register of movement of people into their domains to curb the arrival of strangers. He set out this and other opinions in an interview with *Tell Magazine*, which came to the attention of the President. It was considered that such comments were not appropriate for a traditional ruler. The Gbong Gwom defended himself by arguing that the Nigerian constitution recognises the concept of indigenisation in the selection of political appointees to high government positions.

The government was inaugurating an Inter-Religious Peace Committee with the Gbong Gwom as a member. Nonetheless, people had the right to retain small arms for purposes of self-defence. This committee will spearhead the education of youths on both sides of the religious divide and act as a forum for dialogue at the grassroots. To this end he supports a campaign against illicit gin and was keen to launch other programmes to stimulate economic production and promote education. His view was that government is actually a

⁹⁵ It is fascinating that this completely unrealistic proposal, which would be contrary to all international human rights norms is inserted in what are otherwise generally reasonable suggestions

stumbling block to progress, as government commodity boards buy produce very cheaply from farmers for resale at very high prices⁹⁶.

Gwom Rwei of Fan

The *Gwom Rwei* of Fan, His Highness Da Dashwei Iliya Chungwom noted that traditional rulers have handled cases of theft, adultery, fornication, farm disputes and so on⁹⁷. This was possible because the Berom communities were autonomous and independent. The chief was effective in the maintenance of peace and a symbol for the promotion of the socio-economic aspirations and security of his people. He considered the root causes of conflict in this area to be the following:

- ❖ high levels of poverty;
- ❖ uneven development with townships possessing most amenities;
- ❖ bad governance due to nepotism, favouritism, mediocrity of appointees and looting of the public treasury;
- ❖ lack of respect for traditional rulers who are recognised only when there is a crisis;
- ❖ the power to appoint and depose traditional rulers has been abused by state governors.

What can be done to improve this situation? The *Gwom Rwei* put forward the following arguments:

- ❖ Traditional rulers should be involved in the use of local public funds to ensure development and poverty eradication; monitoring should be undertaken at all levels: federal, state and LG;
- ❖ The 1976 reforms should be reviewed to return to traditional rulers the powers that they enjoyed under the Native Administration;
- ❖ Traditional rulers should be given formal powers to settle disputes using local customs. For example in Fan, there is a family charged with administering public oaths and ordeals concerning judicial matters. Such customs should be recognised;
- ❖ Land use legislation should return power over land matters to traditional rulers because they are the custodians of customs and traditions.

⁹⁶ This is an improbable presentation of the actual situation. Nigerian commodity boards are famously inefficient and very little of the national agricultural output passes through their hands.

⁹⁷ Held on 21st November 2005.

Annex A9. Schedule of field visits**Itinerary for Selbut Longtau**

Date	Activity/Location	Research Assistant
30/10/05	Meeting with Dr. Roger Blench & Mal. Umar Hassan in Jos to strategize commencement of fieldwork for traditional rulers (TR) study.	-
31/10/05	Continue discussion with Roger & Umar in Jos.	-
1/11/05	Meeting to reviewed draft proposal by Roger on the framework of study	-
5/11/05	Brief meeting with other team members (Roger, Martin, Phil & Umar) in Jos.	-
6/11/05	Final review of study framework and field trip to Kaduna.	-
7-8/11/05	Library research at Arewa House.	Mr. Salisu Bala and Staff
9/11/05	Library Research at Institute of Administration, ABU Zaria and return journey to Jos.	Mr. Andrew
10/11/05	Visit to Ministry for Local Government & Chieftaincy Affairs Jos and booking at Gbong Gwom's palace.	-
14/11/05	Visit to ministry for collection of documents and confirmation of appointment to see paramount ruler.	-
15/11/05	Received Dr. Martin Walsh and planning of research.	-
16/11/05	Interview with Dagwom Rwei of Barakin Ladi LGA at Lobiring Ropp.	Mr. Rwang Pam
17/11/05	Search of bookstores for local literature with Dr. Walsh.	-
18/11/05	Field trip to Foron for an interview with Gwom Rwei.	Mr. Rwang Pam
19/11/05	Interview with Gbong Gwom Jos at Little Rayfield.	Dr. Samuel Nyam Dung
20/11/05	Some analysis of field data with Dr. Walsh.	-
21/11/05	Interview of Gwom Rwei of Fan and Gwom Kassa.	Mr. Rwang Pam
22/11/05	Trip to Abuja together with Dr. Walsh.	-
23/11/05	Writing up more field notes and discussion with Dr. Walsh.	-
24/11/05	Joint training on PowerPoint preparation etc. together with Mal. Umar Hassan.	-
25/11/05	Return trip to Jos	-
28-30/11/05	Literature review	-
1-8/12/05	Newspapers review	-
12/12/05	Trip from Jos to Shendam and Ba'ap to book to interview Long Goemai and Long Pan.	-
13/12/05	Interview with the Long Goemai at the palace in Shendam.	Mr. Raymond Daze
14/12/05	Interview with District Head of Inshar	Mr. Raymond Daze
15/12/05	Interview with Long Pan at Ba'ap	Mr. Ayuba Damisa
16/12/05	Interview with subject groups at Ba'ap	Mr. Ayuba Damisa
17/12/05	Interviews at Namu with subjects	Mr. Ayuba Damisa

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Date	Activity/Location	Research Assistant
18/12/05	Return trip to Jos	-
28/12/05	Monthly report	-
25/1/06	Trip to Gombe together with Dr. Gerhard Kosack	Rev. Daniel Biliri
26/1/06	Group interviews at palace of Mai Tangale	Rev. Daniel Biliri
27/01/06	Trip ancestral home of Tangale people and group interviews.	Alkalami Tangale
	Interviews with Waziri Gombe	Mal. Dauda
28/01/06	Interview with Yerima Gombe & Senior District Head of Gombe.	Mal. Dauda
	Interviews with subjects	Pastor Michael Musa
29/01/06	Interviews with Ajiya Gombe and Senior District Head of Kwami	Mal. Dauda
30/01/06	Interviews with Fadama II Facilitators at Gombe	Mr. Moses Dogari
	Some analysis of Gombe data with Dr. Kosack.	-
31/01/06	Travel Gombe to Abuja	-
1/02/06	Completion of field notes from Gombe	-
2/02/06	Wrap-up meeting with Dr. Kosack & Mal. Umar Hassan.	-
3/02/06	Return trip from Abuja to Jos	-
6/02/06	Interviews with HRM Mal. Tagwai Sambo Chief of Marwa at Manchok	Mr. Raymond Gobum
7/02/06	Group interviews of District and Village Heads at Manchok	Mr. Raymond Gobum
8/02/06	Return trip to Jos	-
9/02/06	Interviews with HRH Mr. Gambo Makama the Etun Numana at Gwantu	Mr. Elias G. Mairabo
10/02/06	Interviews with subjects at Gwantu	Mr. Elias G. Mairabo
11/02/06	Return trip to Jos	-
12/02/06	Trip from Jos to Lafia, Nasarawa state	-
13/02/06	Visit to SSG's Office and interviews with officials in-charge chieftaincy affairs.	Mr. Peter Magaji
14/02/06	Interviews with subjects & women in Lafia and Nasarawa Eggon.	Mr. Aliyu Wana
15/02/06	Interview with HRM Mr. Bala Angbazo Aren Eggon at Nasarawa Eggon.	Mr. Aliyu Wana
16/02/06	Interview with HRH Mr. Ayuaba Audu Zhe Migili in Obi LGA.	-
17/02/06	Return trip to Jos	-
21/02/06	Trip to Tafawa Balewa and interview with Mr. Jonathan Manzo.	Mr. Sati Gwamna
22/02/06	Group interviews with agitators for Siyawa Chieftdom.	-
23/02/06	Return trip to Jos.	-
28/02/06	Monthly report	-
1-5/03/06	Preparation of draft interim report.	-
17-23/03/06	Editing of interim report	-
10/04/06	Trip to Postiskum, Yobe	-
11/04/06	Field interviews at Palace of Emir of Fika, Yobe	Mr. Luka Yerwa
12/04/06	Field interviews with District Head of Tikau, Yobe	Mr. Luka Yerwa
13/04/06	Trip to Damaturu, Yobe	-
14/04/06	Visit to Ministry of Local Government & Chieftaincy Affairs, Damaturu	-

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	Trip to Maiduguri	-
15/04/06	Literature review at the University of Maiduguri	-
16/04/06	Interview at Shehu's Palace	Dr. Andrew Haruna
17/04/06	Visit to Ministry of Local Government & Chieftaincy Affairs, Borno	-
18/04/06	Return trip to Jos	-
1/05/06	Field work in Bauchi at Ministry of Local Government & Chieftaincy Affairs, Bauchi	Mr. Kefas Daniel
2/05/06	Trip to Numan	
3/05/06	Field work at Numan, Adamawa	Mr. Adunu Jamla
4/05/06	Field Work at Numan District, Adamawa	Mr. Adunu Jamla
6/05/06	Trip to Mubi	-
7/05/06	Field interview with the District Head of Mubi, Adamawa state	Mal. Dauda Lamorde
8/05/06	Field work at the palace of the Emir of Mubi, Adamawa state	Mal. Dauda Lamorde
9/05/06	Field interviews with subjects at Mubi	Mal. Dauda Lamorde
10/05/06	Trip to Yola	-
11/05/06	Visit to Ministry of Local Government & Chieftaincy Affairs, Adamawa	Alhaji Waziri Wudili
12/05/06	Trip to Jalingo	-
14/05/06	Field interviews at the Ministry of Local Government & Chieftaincy Affairs, Taraba State	Dr. John F. Kazo
15/05/06	Field interviews with Wukari Palace Officials, Taraba State	Mr. Musa Hiko
12-25/06/06	Compilation of Final Report	-
7-9/06/06	Review meeting with Umar in Jos	-
2-29/07/06	Revision of Merged Final Report	-
5-6/08/06	Sessions with Roger and Umar in Jos towards finalizing report	-
12-17/08/06	Incorporation of comments in final report with Roger and Umar in Jos	-
19/08/06	Submission of Final Report to Roger for subsequent final meeting between Roger and Umar in Abuja	-

Itinerary for fieldwork by Umar Hassan

Date	Activity	Research Assistant
30/10/05	Travel from Abuja to Jos to commence preliminary discussions with Roger Blench (RB) & Selbut Longtau (SL) on the work plan.	-
31/10/05	Discussions continued in Jos	-
1/11/05	Met to review draft proposal on the frame work of study prepared by RB	-
2/11/05	Travel back to Abuja	-
5/11/05	Received Martin Walsh (MW) at Abuja Air-Port & travel to together to Jos	-
6/11/05	Further review of study frame with RB & SL in Jos	-
7/11/05	Final recap of study plan & travel together with MW & SL to Kaduna	-
8/11/05	Library search at Arewa House, Kaduna with MW & SL	Abdullahi(Librarian)
9/11/05	Library search continued	Abdullahi(Librarian)
10/11/05	Team travel to Zaria & continued with Library search at	Librarian(Local

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Date	Activity	Research Assistant
	Institute of Administration, Congo	Government Studies Library)
11/11/05	Met Emir of Zazzau briefly & established rapport with palace staff	Abubakar(Protocol Officer)
12/11/05	Visit to Soba LG with MW to prepare ground for field interviews. Training on camera handling & power point	-
13/11/05	Revisit to Emir of Zazzau's palace for more data, booking to meet Sarkin Fada(senior councilor of the Emirate). Further training by MW on camera handling & power point	-
14/11/05	Interview with Sarkin Fadan Zazzau, typing up field notes & further taining	-
15/11/05	Interview with staff of Soba LG, District & Village heads of Rahma District, Zazzau Emirate	Ismaila Maiwada
16/11/05	Travel from Zaria to Jos	-
19/11/05	Field interviews in Kwaru, Kaduna	Adamu Galadima
20/11/05	Field interviews in Badarawa, Kaduna	Adamu Galadima
21/11/05	Field interviews in Malali, Kaduna	Adamu Galadima
22/11/05	Revisit to Zaria to receive a write up from the emir of Zazzau	Bala Na-Sharu
23/11/05	Wrap up meeting with MW & SL in Abuja	-
30/11/05	Progress report preparation for the month of November, 2006	-
7/12/05	Visit to Kogi State Ministry of Chieftaincy Affaris	Sam A. Idah
8-10/12/05	IN Okene making efforts to secure interview with the Ohiniyi of Ebira land	Salihu Ibrahim
11/12/05	Trave to Idah, Igala land	-
12/12/05	Interview with HRM, the Attah of Igala & Councilors	Salihu Ibrahim
13/12/05	Interview with Distict, Village & Ward heads of Igala land	Salihu Ibranim
14-15/12/05	Visit to Niger State Ministry of Chieftaincy Affairs	Balarabe Ramalan
16/12/05	Interview with Emir of Kontagora and Senior Councilors in HRH's palace	Balarabe Ramalan
17/12/05	Interview with District head of Igede, Kontagora Emirate	Balarabe Ramalan
18/12/05	Interview with pastoral leaders and groups in Bobi grazing reserve.	Balarabe Ramalan
19/12/05	Interview with the Senior Councilors of the New Bussa Emirate Council	Balarabe Ramalan
20/12/05	Interview with District, village and ward heads of Wawa.	Balarabe Ramalan
21/12/05	Visit to Kainji National Park and interaction with the officials of the park	Balarabe Ramalan
22/12/05	Interview with pastoralist leaders and groups around the National Park	Balarabe Ramalan
31/12/05	Progress report preparation for the month of December, 2005	-
4/01/06	Travel to Kano and commence contact	-
5/01/06	Visit to the Ministry of Chieftaincy Affairs and Interview with the Wamban Kaon, representative of the Emir of Kano	Muhammadu Barkindo
6/01/06	Field work in Karaye District	Muhammadu Barkindo
7/01/06	Field work in Shanono and Gwarzo Districts	Muhammadu Barkindo

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Date	Activity	Research Assistant
8/01/06	Field work in Rano and Kibiya Districts	Muhammadu Barkindo
9/01/06	Interview with leaders of Yan-Daba (Leader of Magicians), Sarkin Bambadawa (leader of Musicians) and Some Imams of Jumma'a (Fridays) mosques in Kano city	Muhammadu Barkindo
10/01/06	Sallah ID-el Kabir coverage in Kuje, FCT, Abuja	Ibrahim Gaji
11/01/06	Id-el Kabir coverage in in ZAzzau (sallah homage), Zazzau Emirate	Ayuba Hussaini
12/01/06	Id-el Kabir Coverage in Kano, Kano Emirate	Muhammadu Barkindo
13/01/06	Id-el Kabir (Sallah) coverage in Katsina, Katsina Emirate	Saidu Galadima
14/01/06	Visit to Katsina State Ministry of Chieftaincy Affairs, interview with the representative of the Emir of Katsina and civil servants	Saidu Galadima
15/01/06	Interview with the District, Village and Ward heads of Safana at Safana	Saidu Galadima
16/01/06	Interview with the District head of Jibiya at Jibiya	Saidu Galadima
17/01/06	Interview with Village, Ward heads and pastioral leaders at Jibiya	Saidu Galadima
18/01/06	Interview with Yan- Agaji(muslim aid-group), leaders of market and fadama associations	Saidu Galadima
19/01/06	Received Gerhard Muller Kossack at Abuja Air- Port and travel to Hadejia, Jigawa State	-
20/01/06	Facilation by Steve Fraser, JEWEL, Project and Introductory letters from Emirate Council	Facilation by Steve Fraser, JEWEL, Project and Introductory letters from Emirate Council
21/01/06	Field interviews with the District, Bulama and Ward heads of Birniwa and Guri at Birniwa and Guri	Facilation by Steve Fraser, JEWEL, Project and Introductory letters from Emirate Council
22/01/06	Field interviews with the District, village and ward heads of Kirikasamma and Auyo	Facilation by Steve Fraser, JEWEL, Project and Introductory letters from Emirate Council
23/01/06	Travel to Dutse, Jigawa State with Gerhard, interviewed officials of the Community Law Center, Dutse and made booking to meet women group and male NGO	Facilitation by Ciroma, JEWEL, Project
24/01/06	Interviewed leaders of Jigawa Women for Access to Justice(NGO) in Dutse and Yakubu Memorial Youth Delopment Association , Birnin Kudu, Dutse Emirate, Jigawa State	Facilitation by Ciroma, JEWEL, Project
25/01/06	Travel to Bauchi with Gerhard and met Selbut. Selbut and Gerhard proceeded to Gombe and I travel to Abuja	-
31/01/06-1/02/06	Revisit to Katsina and Zazzau emirates to complete interviews and collect write-up from Emir of Zazzau	Saidu Galadima and Ayuba Hussaini
2/02/06	Wrap up meeting with Gerhard and Selbut in Abuja	-
8-9/02/06	Field interviews with pastorlists at Ladduga, Kachia	Haruna Kachia

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Date	Activity	Research Assistant
	grazing reserve, Kaduna State	
14/02/06	Interview with the Chief (Gomo) of Kuje And Council members at His palace	Ibrahim Gaji
15/2/06	Interview with the village and ward heads of Chibiri, Kuje Council	Ibrahim Gaji
16/02/06	Interview with District head, Sarkin Wanzamai, Sarkin Hausawa and Chief Imam of Kuje	Ibrahim Gaji
17/02/06	Travel to Sokoto	-
18/02/06	Visit to the Sokoto State Ministry of Chieftaincy Affairs and the Sultan's palace. Interview with the Senior Councilor of the Sultanate	Balabe Mahmood
19/02/06	Interview with the District head of Wamako, Sokoto State	Balarabe Mahmood
20/02/06	Interview with the District, Village and Ward heads of Kware, Sokoto State	Balarabe Mahmood
21/02/03	Field interviews in Goronyo and Rabah Districts, Sokoto State	Balabe Mahmood
22/02/06	Field Interviews in Isah Distict, Sokoto State	Balarabe Mahmood
23/02/06	Discussions with market traders, leaders of transport workers and pastoral leaders, Sokoto State	Balarabe Mahmood
24/02/06	Visit to the Kebbi State Ministry for Chieftaincy Affairs. Interview with the Emir of Argungu	Balarabe Mahmood
25/02/06	Field visit to the District head of Augie, Argungu Emirate	Balarabe Mahmood
26/02/06	Field work continued in Augie District. Interview with Village and ward heads, Argungu Emirate	Balarabe Mahmood
27/02/06	Interview with leaders of Fishermen, Farmers and Pastoralists, Argungu Emirate	Balarabe mahmood
28/02/06	Field work in Dalijam, Dalijam Distrcet, Gwandu Emirate	Balarabe mahmood
1/ 03/ 06	Field work in Gwandu district, Gwandu Emirate	Balarabe mahmood
2/03/06	Field work in Kola, Gwandu Emirate	Balarabe mahmood
3/03/05	Field work in Jega, Gwandu Emirate	Balarabe mahmood
4-16/03/06	Preparation of Interim Report	-
2-16/04/06	Sorting and labeling of field pictures. Further literature search	-
17-15/04/06	Intensive News paper search	Muhammad Barkindo and Ayuba Hussaini
7/05/06	Field interviews in Maru district, Zamfara State	Abubakar Bungudu
8/05/06	Field interviews continued with village and ward heads, Zamfara	Abubakar Bungudu
9/05/06	Field interviews in dan-Sadau District, Zamfara state	Abubakar Bungudu
10/05/06	Field interviews with village and ward heads	Abubakar Bungudu
11/05/06	Field interviews with pastoral groups and in Dan-sadau Forest Reserve	Abubakar Bungudu
12/05/06	Field interviews with pastoral leaders in Dutse, Close to Kamuku National park, bordering Kaduna State	Abubakar Bungudu
13/05/06	Visit to Zamfara State Ministry for Chieftaincy affairs	Abubakar Bungudu
14/05/06	Interview with leaders of the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders' Association of Nigeria(MACBAN) in Gusau, Zamfara State	Abubakar Bungudu
15/05/06	Field trip and interview with farmers and pastoralists in Gidan Jaja grazing reserve	Abubakar Bungudu
22/05/06	Field work in Ilorin, interview with OsekinaIII of Ilorin	Alpha Abdul-

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Date	Activity	Research Assistant	
		Raheem	
23/05/06	Visit to the Kwara State Ministry of local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs. Continued interview with Osekina III of Ilorin	Alpha Raheem	Abdul-
24/05/06	Field work at Sobi District, Kwara State	Alpha Raheem	Abdul-
25/05/06	Field Work at Lafiagi District, Kwara state	Alpha Raheem	Abdul-
26/05/06	Field work at Pategi, Edu local Govt., kwara State	Alpha Raheem	Abdul-
27/05/06	Field interview with the District head of Lata, Kwara state	Alpha Raheem	Abdul-
28/05/06	Field work continued at Lata with village and ward heads, Kwara state	Alpha Raheem	Abdul-
29/05/06	Field interviews with pastoral groups in Lata grazing reserve, Kwara State	Alpha Raheem	Abdul-
30/05/06	Interview with traders, Burchers, palace officials and Imam of the Central Mosque Ilorin	Alpha Raheem	Abdul-
2/06/06	Interview with the Senior Councilor of the Bida Emirate, representative of the Etsu Nupe, Niger State	Usman Indah	
3/06/06	Interview with the District, village and ward heads in Lemu and Doko, Niger State	Usman Indah	
4/06/06	Field interviews in Ibbā and Mokwa, Niger State	Usman Indah	
5/06/06	Field interview with Imams, Traders and Dikkos(pastoral leaders), Niger State	Usman Indah	
7-9/06/06	Review meeting with Selbut in Jos	-	
12-25/06/06	Preparation of the final report	-	
2-16/07/06	Continued with preparation of the final report	-	
5-6/08/06	Met with Roger and Selbut in Jos towards finalizing report	-	
12-17/08/06	Continued on the draft final report with Roger and Selbut in Jos	-	
19/08/06	Final review on report and workshop with Roger in Abuja	-	