

**THE INTEGRATION OF THE TRADITIONAL
LEADERSHIP INTO THE STRUCTURE OF
LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN
YOBE STATE NIGERIA**

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by

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LIST OF ABBREBRIATIONS

AL	Association Leader
CBO	Community Based Organization
CSDP	Community and Social Development Project
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
EP	Expert
EFCC	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
GO	Government Official
LGA	Local Government Area
NBC	National Bureau of Statistics
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NPC	National Population Commission
PTA	Parent Teachers' Association
SBMC	School Basic Management Committee
SSS	State Security Service
TL	Traditional Leader
WHO	World Health Organization

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INTEGRASI KEPIMPINAN TRADISIONAL DALAM STRUKTUR KERAJAAN TEMPATAN DI YOBE STATE NIGERIA

ABSTRAK

Isu integrasi kepimpinan tradisional dalam kerajaan di peringkat tempatan telah menyebabkan timbulnya perbincangan mengenai dua isu. Pertama, berkaitan dengan kaitan kepimpinan tradisional dengan kebimbangan demokrasi kontemporari; kedua, ia berkaitan dengan dilema sama ada institusi tradisional merupakan sumber atau penghalang kepada kemajuan dan pemodenan. Kajian ini mengkaji integrasi kepimpinan tradisional ke dalam struktur kerajaan tempatan di Negeri Yobe. Kajian ini menggunakan teori Neo-tradisionalisme dan Interaksi Tradisional Negeri sebagai kanta teori. Kajian ini berbentuk kualitatif dan temu bual mendalam telah dijalankan ke atas 16 peserta yang terdiri daripada pemimpin tempatan, pegawai kerajaan, pegawai pertubuhan bukan kerajaan, pemimpin persatuan dan pakar yang dipilih secara sengaja merentas tiga kerajaan tempatan di negeri ini. Manakala data sekunder pula melibatkan artikel jurnal, laporan rasmi kerajaan, akhbar dan majalah serta tesis. Dari segi analisis data, enam langkah analisis tematik Braun dan Clarke telah digunakan. Penemuan ini meneroka strategi dengan mana pemimpin tempatan boleh disepadukan dalam struktur kerajaan tempatan dengan cara yang tidak akan bercanggah dengan kuasa dan tugas pegawai yang dipilih kerajaan tempatan berbanding dengan pandangan Neo-modernis. Penemuan juga menunjukkan bahawa pemimpin tempatan membentuk sumber yang mereka banyak menyumbang kepada pembangunan kerajaan tempatan di Negeri Yobe. Penemuan seterusnya mendedahkan bahawa terdapat hubungan baik dan kerja antara pemimpin tempatan dan pegawai kerajaan tempatan. Justeru, kajian ini boleh menjadi rujukan dan panduan kepada

penggubal dasar mengenai isu-isu yang berkaitan dengan pemimpin tempatan dan institusi mereka di Negeri Yobe. Justeru, kajian ini mencadangkan kerajaan untuk merangka undang-undang yang akan memberi kuasa kepada pemimpin tempatan untuk melaksanakan peranan mereka secara lebih rasmi agar tadbir urus tempatan dapat dipertingkatkan.

THE INTEGRATION OF THE TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP INTO THE STRUCTURE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN YOBE STATE NIGERIA

ABSTRACT

The issue of integration of traditional leadership in government at local level has led to the emergence of debates on two issues. The first, relates to the relevance of traditional leadership to contemporary democratic concerns; second, it relates to the dilemma on whether traditional institutions are resources or barriers to progress and modernization. This study examined the integration of traditional leadership into the structure of local government in Yobe State Nigeria. The study used Neo-traditionalism and State-Traditional Interaction theories as theoretical lens. The study was qualitative in nature and in-depth interviews were administered on 16 participants that comprised the traditional leaders, government officials, non-governmental organization officials, association leaders, and experts who were purposively selected across three local governments in the state. While the secondary data involves journal articles, government official reports, news papers and magazines, and theses. In terms of data analysis, Braun and Clarke six steps of thematic analysis was employed. The findings explores strategies with which traditional leaders could be integrated in the local government structure in such a way that it will not conflict with the authority and duties of the elected officials of the local government as opposed to the Neo-modernist view. The findings also show that traditional leaders constitute resources with which they enormously contribute to the development of local government in Yobe State. The findings further reveal that there is good and working relationship between the traditional leaders and the local government officials. Hence, the findings can stand as a reference and guidance to policy makers on the issues concerning the traditional

leaders and their institutions in Yobe State. Thus, the study recommends that government should design laws which will empower the traditional leaders to perform their role in a more official manner so that the local governance will be improved.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Historically, before the emergence of colonization in Africa, local government was synonymous with the traditional institutions in which the traditional leaders have held the grip of power with well-organized indigenous political institutions based on emirates, kingdom, sultanates, and empires (Sakyi, 2003). During that period, they implemented and maintained law and order, settled conflicts particularly land disputes, provided services and encourage people's participation in decision making through village and town meetings (Koenane, 2017). As observed by Zibi (1998) traditional leaders during pre-colonial period served as the custodians of values and culture; defenders of their people; a symbol of unity and integration; and judicial and political leaders responsible for enforcing law and order in their areas of domain.

The traditional institution is referred to "indigenous political arrangements whereby leaders with proven track records are appointed and installed in line with the native laws and customs to act as custodian of the people's norms, culture, and practices" (Peter, 2014: p.135). This shows that traditional leaders are hereditary in nature who ascribe to the native laws, customs and culture of the people and who do not ascend to the thrones through an electoral process.

In Nigeria, empirical evidence shows that there existed Benin Kingdoms from 1187-1987, Kanem-Borno Empire from c. 700-1380, Sokoto Caliphate from 1804-1832s, among others prior to the advent of colonialism in the country (Kayode, 2016). At that period, traditional leaders served as the policymakers as well as service providers in their respective domains; played a vital role in the day-to-day affairs of

their areas; protected the lives and properties of the people; maintained law and order, and administered social, economic and political affairs of their respective areas of domain (Majekodunmi, 2012). Thus, in most parts of the present-day Nigeria, local government was centred on the traditional leaders who were seen as repository of executive, legislative and judicial powers (Fatile & Adejuwon, 2013). In essence, traditional leaders constituted the basis for governance at that period (Tonwe & Osemwota, 2013).

However, the system of administration during that period in Nigeria varied from one region to the other. For example, in the Northern region, the traditional system of governance was synonymous with Emirate system which was highly centralised system in which the Emir (the paramount king) emerges as both political as well as religious leader (Osakede & Ijimakinwa, 2015). Under such a system there existed districts, villages and wards headed by the headmen (Hakimi, Mai Gari, & Mai Unguwa) who were accountable to the emir. Fatile (2010) observes that the emir was responsible for implementing laws and its enforcement and maintenance of order and peace in his area of domain. He also had the responsibility of ensuring that the conduct and affairs (day-to-day activities including social, economic, and political activities) of the people in his emirate are in congruent with the teachings of Islamic and Shari'a laws as stipulated by the Qur'an.

The administrative system in the Western region was based on monarchy under the leadership of Alafin (Oba i.e. the paramount king) who was supported in the administration of the kingdom by 'Baales' (other traditional title holders) that oversaw the towns and villages (Fatile, 2010). Unlike in the Northern region, the powers of the Alafin (Oba) were subjected to checks and control by the institution of Oyo-mesi headed by the Bashorun (Banji Fajonmi, 1997). The institution of Oyo-mesi was the

king making institution which had the powers to remove an erring king. However, this institution of Oyo-mesi was also accountable to Ogboni that represented the religion. With regards to the administration of justice, the Oba was the supreme judge whose judgement was unquestionable and unappealable at all situations (Ayodele, 2021).

While in the Southern region of the pre-colonial Nigeria was inhabited by the Igbo people who had no king but rather governed by the assembly of men called Ohaneze who consisted of the heads of the families of Ofo title (Fatile, 2010). The general administration functions were carried out by the council of elders assisted by various people in the region. These structures of traditional governance continued to exist up to the time when colonialism emerged in Africa and Nigeria in particular (Osakede & Ijimakinwa, 2015).

With the emergence of colonialism in the present-day Nigeria, the British colonial masters recognized the vital positions that the traditional rulers occupied in the country (Tonwe & Osemwota, 2013). This is because the traditional institutions had strong ties with the people and had well structures of governance and the potentials with which the British colonial administration could be achieved (Amoateng & Kalule-Sabiti, 2014). As a result, the then British administrator Lord Lugard resolved in his dual mandate that the traditional institutions be incorporated into the governance of the local levels in the country through an “Indirect Rule” i.e. ruling the colony of Nigeria through the existing traditional leaders and their institutions of governance (Ayodele, 2021).

Furthermore, after the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1914, British promulgated the ‘Native Authority Ordinance’ which recognized the traditional rulers as the sole Native Authority in the local governance

(Egbe, 2014). Where traditional rulers did not previously exist like in the Southeast, the colonial masters formed and empowered new ones (Blench et al., 2006). By so doing, the allegiance of the people to the British colonial administration was achieved through the traditional leaders and so also the law and order were maintained in the colony (Tomwe & Osenwota, 2013). Initially, the main function of the Native Authority was to maintain law and order (Agba et al., 2013). As time went on their functions were increased from the maintenance of law and order to involve the provision of services such as agricultural and educational services (Sokoh, 2018).

Even though the British colonial masters recognized the positions of traditional leaders, colonialism undermined and limited the powers of the traditional leaders hence negatively affected the traditional governance system in Nigeria (Sokoh, 2018). For example, the pattern of accountability of the chiefs has been changed to be upwardly rather downwardly to the people as it used to be before colonialism (Omitola et al., 2021). Furthermore, under the pretence of preserving traditional institutions, the colonial masters instituted a reform that shifted the administration system from traditional to British colonial (Chizea & Osumah, 2015). The reform did change the pre-colonial roles of the traditional rulers, led to loss of substantial executive, legislative, and judicial powers hence subjected them to the dictates of the British colonial administration (Olusola & Aisha, 2013).

However, the traditional leaders continued to wield powers in their areas of domain until from 1940 to 1950s when their powers substantially began to reduce as a result of the reforms that included elected representatives in the local government administration were carried out by the British colonial government in Nigeria (Wilson, 2013). This was necessitated by the riots and protests by the nationalists for the

inclusion in the colonial government as well as British's preparations to grant independence to Nigeria (Asaju, 2010).

Meanwhile, after the independence of Nigeria from 1966 up to 1976 were the periods when the traditional leaders continued to substantially lose their powers in the governance of local councils in Nigeria (Onyedikachi, 2016). For example, the Customary/Native courts were dispossessed by the States government while Police and Prisons were usurped by the Federal government. By 1976, a major local government reform was carried out which stripped off all powers of the traditional leaders from the administration of local government and relegated them to the background by assigning an advisory role to them (Onah & Anikwe, 2016). The 1976 local government reform provided that local government shall be run by the elected representatives throughout the country (Tobi & Oikhala, 2021). This was in attempt to have a uniform and fully democratic local government system throughout the country in Nigeria (Liberty & Mbaya, 2017). The 1976 reform saddled the local government with the responsibility of developing the rural communities, stimulating participatory democracy, mobilizing rural development, and effective two-ways channel of communication (Wilson, 2013). Egbe (2014) states that the 1976 local government reform was aimed at fully democratizing and strengthening the capacity base of the local government so that local government would provide better services, people's participation and ensure good governance at the grassroots. This is because it was observed and believed by the then political leaders in Nigeria that the traditional leaders were impediments for the development of the local government in Nigeria hence the need for the reform of the local government (Ayodele, 2021).

However, in recent years, there have been agitations and renewed interests in integrating traditional leaders in the existing structures of local government in Africa and Nigeria in particular (Acemoglu, Reed & Robinson, 2013; Amoateng & Kalule-Sabiti, 2011; Baldwin, 2016; Koenane, 2017; Logan, 2009; 2013; Osakede & Ijimakinwa, 2015; Fatile, 2010).

Thus, this study examines the integration of traditional leadership into the structure of local government in Yobe State in Nigeria by addressing the following issues: First, the recent agitations and interests of integrating traditional leadership into the structure of local government; second, the roles that traditional leaders play in mitigating challenges of local government; third, the strategies for integrating traditional leadership into the structure of local government; and finally, the study examined the relevance and compatibility of the traditional leadership to the modern local government system.

1.2 Problem Statement

One of the justifications for the existence of local government in Nigeria is to bring government closer to the grassroots communities, encourage participatory democracy, and mobilise rural development (Ayodele, 2021). On this account, evidence shows that series of reforms have been carried out to ensure that local government lives to its responsibilities in Nigeria (Onah & Anikwe, 2016). For instance, the 1976 major local government reform was to fully democratize and strengthen the local government so that it can provide better services, encourage people's participation, and ensure good governance at the grassroots level throughout the country (Egbe, 2014).

Unfortunately, despite the various reforms specifically at the local levels in Nigeria, scholarly evidences and media reports show that local governments have been facing spate of challenges of governance ranging from corruption (Fatile & Okewale, 2013; Olaleye-oruene, 2007) leadership failure and bad governance (Anazodo, Igbokwe-Ibeto, & Nkah, 2015) and crises such as farmers/herders clashes, armed banditry, kidnapping among others (Okonkwo, Amechi, Eme, & Ekekwe, 2019; Jāmi‘u, 2013; Okene, 2011).

Ascertaining the above assertions, ex-president of Nigeria Olusegun Obasanjo in 2003 revealed in his statement on the performance of the local governments (LGs) in Nigeria stated that “what we have witnessed is the abysmal failure of the LG system. It is on record that no time in the history of the country has there been the current funding accruing to the LGs from the Federation Account yet hope for rapid and sustained development has been mirage as successive councils have grossly under-performed in (their assigned responsibilities) almost all the areas of their mandate. Yet the clamour for the creation of more LGs has been abated” (Obasanjo, 2003 as cited in Agba et al, 2013: p. 458). Similarly, Bolatito & Ibrahim (2014) posit that the inability of the local government to provide social services and improve the well-being of the people at the grassroots makes people lose confidence in the local government in Nigeria. It was further pointed out that people nowadays seek the leadership position at local levels in order to enrich themselves rather than providing development services to the local communities (Fatile & Okewale, 2013).

Yobe State is one of the poorest states in Nigeria as a result of its experience with insurgency, which caused fatalities, mass evictions, and the destruction of critical infrastructure, including markets, hospitals, and schools (National Bureau of Statistics [NBC], 2022). In November 2011, Boko Haram launched its first offensive in Yobe

state when it struck Damaturu, the state's capital (Babagana et al, 2019). Since then, the group has continued to assault other Local Government Areas in Yobe State with increasing frequency. This crisis of Boko Haram has led to the loss of lives and displacement of many people. For instance, the Human Right Watch (2018) states that the insurgency of Boko Haram in the North-eastern states of Adamawa, Yobe and Borno has claimed the lives of more than 15,000 people, displacing millions of people and the destruction of businesses.

Despite efforts by the Nigeria's federal government, Yobe state government, and other NGOs, reports of persistent socioeconomic issues connected to the Boko Haram insurgency continue to come from many parts of the local governments severely affected by the seven-year insurgency. For instance, Babagana et al (2019) report that numerous social issues, such as a lack of potable water, a lack of electricity, increased fear, the delivery of epileptic healthcare, as well as an increase in crime rates, were discovered to be present in the communities. Meanwhile, economic issues related to the insurgency among the communities included the loss of business locations, the loss of sources of income, and reduced business activities all of which together caused increased poverty to affect many families.

However, going by these challenges of governance at local levels, substantial pieces of literature indicate that there have been agitations and renewed interests of integrating traditional leaders in the existing structure of local government in Nigeria especially at the local levels (Abubakar, 2015; Ajayi & Buhari, 2015; Aliyu et al., 2015; Aliyu et al., 2016; Chizea & Osumah, 2015; Fatile & Adejuwon, 2013; Fatile & Okewale, 2013; Nweke, 2012; Olusola & Aisha, 2013; Osakede & Ijimakinwa, 2015; Peter, 2014; Tonwe & Osemwota, 2013; Okonkwo et al., 2019). For instance, Omitola et al (2021) argue that traditional leaders and their institutions are still important to the

democratic process hence can be integrated in the local government, provided that doing so does not conflict in any way with the authority and duties of elected officials at all levels of government. Similarly, Hamisu et al. (2017), Garba and Jirgi (2018) posit that the deteriorating security situation in Nigeria has stemmed out of the non-participatory roles of traditional rulers in managing the affairs of their people. Thus, in order to have effective and efficient security management in Nigeria, traditional leaders should be taken into account as major stakeholders in the security architecture in the country as a whole.

On the other spectrum of the argument, there is an accentuating criticism of the engagement of traditional rulers in the political process of the country due to the following reasons: One relates to the propensity for traditional leaders and the people's elected representatives to engage in a power struggle. Second, others contend that the legacy of colonial involvement has turned traditional institutions into anti-democratic institutions and a tool for entrenching patriarchy, which keeps women out of the forefront when it comes to participation in politics at the top levels. Finally, it has been suggested that traditional rulers' involvement in national, state or local politics could result in archaic political decrees that may not be in line with the reality of the present (Tobi & Oikhala, 2021).

Similarly, Tonwe and Osemwota (2013) argue that despite efforts put in place to improve the working relationship between the traditional leaders and the local government in Nigeria, there are still misunderstanding and lack of peaceful co-existence. They further argue that traditional leaders have been preoccupied with systematic efforts to increase their influence in local politics and macro-political issues. Hence, their interest in and contribution to effectiveness of local government under current system have been significantly impacted by this stance.

Although various studies (Aliyu et al., 2015; Aliyu et al., 2016; Blench et al., 2006; Chizea & Osumah, 2015; Logan, 2009, 2013; Mohammed et al., 2017; Baldwin & Raffler, 2017; Baldwin, 2014, 2016, 2018; Amoateng. & Kalule-Sabiti, 2011; Koenane, 2017) examine issues surrounding the traditional leadership and their institutions in Sub-Saharan African countries and Nigeria in particular. However, what remains unknown is, how and capacity at which traditional leadership can be integrated in the democratic local government system in Nigeria in such a way that it will not conflict with the authority and responsibilities of the elected officials of the local government and contribute to mitigating those challenges facing local government in Nigeria.

Thus, this study examines the integration of the traditional leadership by exploring strategies with which traditional leadership can be integrated in the local government structure in a way that it will not conflict with the local government elected representatives and also contribute to mitigating challenges facing local governments with particular reference to Yobe State, Nigeria.

1.3 Research Objectives

Mainly, this study aims to examine the integration of traditional leadership into the structure of local government in Yobe State. The specific objectives are as follow:

1. To investigate the agitations and interests of integrating the traditional leadership into the structure of Local Government in Yobe State.
2. To identify the roles that the traditional leaders play in mitigating the challenges of Local Governments in Yobe State.
3. To explore strategies for integrating traditional leadership in Local Government Structure in Yobe State.

4. To examine how relevant and compatible are traditional leaders to modern Local Government system in Yobe State.

1.4 Research Questions

To address the problem under study, this research raises the following questions:

1. What informs the agitations and renewed interests of integrating traditional leadership into the structure of Local Government in Yobe State?
2. What roles do traditional leaders play in mitigating the challenges of Local Governments in Yobe State?
3. How can traditional leadership be integrated into the structure of Local Government in Yobe State?
4. How relevant and compatible are traditional leaders to modern Local Government system in Yobe State?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study is significant in a number of ways. Firstly, there is an ongoing debate on the relevance, resourcefulness or barriers to progress and modernization of the traditional leadership to local government, and the strategies for integrating them in the local government structure. The findings would contribute to the body of knowledge by supporting or disputing to the assumptions of the contending theories of traditional leadership. Secondly, the findings would also come up with the strategies for the formal integration of traditional leadership into the local government structure in Yobe State.

Thirdly, on the issue of governance and public policy, the study will contribute to the policymakers and the government on the recent agitations and the needs to formally assign traditional leadership roles in local government. Furthermore, the study will highlight to government and policymakers the merits of such integration as well as the best role to assign to the traditional leaders.

Finally, the study will serve as a reference point to students, academicians, government and non-governmental organizations on the significance, roles, and other important issues on the traditional leadership in the contemporary governance in Yobe State, Nigeria, and Africa at large.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study seeks to examine the integration of traditional leadership into the structure of local government in Yobe State. Thus, the scope of this study is confined to issues such as agitations and interests of integration, the roles of traditional leaders, strategies for the integration, and their relevance and compatibility to modern local government system in Yobe State. Moreover, the study selects Yobe state as a case study. Yobe State is one of the states in the North-eastern part of Nigeria which is composed of 17 local government areas. Hence, data will be purposively collected from the proposed selected participants within the state. Moreover, participants were drawn from three major local governments in the three geo-political zones of the state. This is to allow representation of the three geo-political zones and also allow the researcher examine the issues under study from different perspectives of the people in the state. In addition, the reason for selecting Yobe as a case study are: first, because of the limited time, it is not possible for the researcher to conduct the research in the whole country. Second, the researcher cannot bear financial implications that it may

cost in conducting the research in states other than Yobe State. Finally, more access to reliable data would be feasible because the researcher hails from the state.

1.7 Operational Definitions

Traditional institution: is defined as “indigenous political arrangements whereby leaders with proven track records are appointed and installed in line with the native laws and customs to act as custodian of the people’s norms, culture, and practices” (Peter, 2014).

This study will adopt the above definition throughout the study. Moreover, in the con text of the study, traditional institution, traditional governance, and traditional leadership have been used interchangeably to mean the same thing.

Traditional leaders: “Are rulers who have powers by virtue of their association with customary mode of governing a place-based community” (Peter, 2014, p. 135). This definition encompasses all other hierarchies of the traditional title holders. The study uses traditional leaders/rulers/chiefs to mean the same thing. The term traditional leader has been used interchangeably with the traditional ruler and traditional chief to mean the same thing in this study.

Governance: In the context of this study, 'governance' is defined within the framework of the three tiers of government - federal, state and the local governments as "the efficient, effective and accountable exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to achieve a society's objectives, including the welfare of the whole population, sustainable development and personal freedom" (Olowo-Okereke, 2005: p. 22).

Local Government: “Government at the local level exercised through representative council established by law to exercise powers within defined areas. It has substantial financial power to initiate and direct the provision of services and ensure that local initiative and responses to local needs and conditions are maximized” (Ndas, 2007 as cited Guidelines for the Local Government Reform, 1976). Olukotun defines local government as “public sector institutions at the lowest sub-national level of government, legally and constitutionally recognised, and mandated to carry out specific functions at the community level”. Adamolekun (1983) defines local government as “the bureaucracy that must perform the role of planning, coordinating, controlling, and directing the operation of local affairs”.

This first definition given by the Guidelines for the Local Government Reform has been employed throughout the study.

Local Governance: political and institutional processes through which decision are taken and implemented at the local levels.

Integration: means incorporating/ accommodating into a structure of something. In this study, the integration of traditional leadership means accommodating and assigning roles to traditional leaders in the public administration (Mustasilta, 2019).

Security Architecture: it is an overall system required to protect an infrastructure (Processes and Procedures involved in preventing, mitigating, and investigating different threats. In other words, it means security design that addresses potential risks involved in certain scenarios (Krasovec & Daniel, 2022). Thus, this study adopts this definition of security architecture.

Implementation Strategy: this entails assigning responsibility/roles and representation in the local government.

Public Policy: According to Dye (1972), Public policy is whatever government chooses to do or not to do. Knoepfel et al. (2011) define public policy as the power games in a specific institutional context played out between various public actors who make a concerted efforts to resolve a collective problem in collaboration with or in opposition to a para-state and private actors. In other words, it refers to the sum of government activities, whether pursued directly or through agents, as those activities have influence on the lives of the citizens.

Representation: connotes giving traditional leaders opportunity to represent their people in the activities of the local government for instance, designing public policy and implementation.

Public Mobilization: It is the process of bringing together as many stakeholders as possible to raise people's awareness of and demand for a particular programme, to assist in the delivery of resources and services, and to strengthen community participation for sustainability and self-reliance (World Health Organization [WHO], 2010).

Resource Mobilization: "is the process of mobilizing different types of resources including financial, technical and human to support your organization or mission". (Enhanced Integrated Framework [EIF], 2020).

1.8 Chapter Outline

Chapter one comprises introduction and background to the study, problem statement, research objectives and questions, significance of the study, scope and limitation operational definition of terms, and chapter outline. Chapter two discusses the historical overview of the traditional institutions in Nigeria and Yobe State. Chapter three includes literature review, theoretical and conceptual frameworks. Chapter four entails the methodology of the research. Chapter five involves the data analysis and discussion of the findings. While chapter six presents the summary of the findings, limitations of the study, contribution of the research, recommendation for future research and practical implication, and the conclusion.

1.9 Summary

This chapter begins with the background to the study that discusses the topic that has been investigated in the study. It covers the problem statement of the study, research objectives and research questions that have been developed based on the problem identified in the study. The chapter also encompassed discussion on the significance, scope, operational definition of basic concepts, and chapter outline of the study.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN NIGERIA

2.1 Introduction

This chapter gives historical background of the traditional institutions in Nigeria right before the advent of colonialism, during colonialism, and after independence up to 1976 local government reform. It also discusses the historical overview of the traditional institutions in Yobe State i.e. their formations and the roles. This chapter is important for the study because it will give the basis upon which local government was originated hence it will support some of the arguments and findings of the study.

2.2 Traditional Institutions in Nigeria

Nigeria is Africa's most populated state with a population of over 200 million people (National Population Commission of Nigeria [NPC], 2021). It has been endowed with enormous natural and human resources (Daudu, 2005). The country is situated between Sahel to the north and the Gulf to the South in the Atlantic Ocean with a total area of 923,769 square kilometres (Udogu, 2009). Nigeria is bordered on the north by the Niger Republic, on the northeast by Chad, on the east by Cameroon, and on the west by the Benin Republic. Nigeria is a federal republic with 36 states and Abuja as the Federal Capital Territory (Falola & Heaton, 2008). Nigeria's history can be traced back to traders who travelled between the Middle East and Africa as early as 1100 BC (Falola & Heaton, 2008). At that period, Kingdoms and Empires such as Nri Kingdom, the Benin Empire, and the Oyo Empire established themselves in the area

that is now called Nigeria (Sokoh, 2018). However, the modern state of Nigeria began with British colonization in the 19th century, and Lord Lugard's merger of the Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1914 which gave it its current territorial configuration (Sokoh, 2018). The British established administrative and legal frameworks in the country while exercising indirect rule through traditional institutions (Falola & Heaton, 2008). Nigeria gained independence from the United Kingdom on October 1, 1960. From 1960 to 1999, Nigeria was ruled alternately by a civilian elected government and a military dictatorship. Since 1999, the country has been governed by a democratically elected government (Udogu, 2009).

Furthermore, Nigeria is a multicultural country with over 250 ethnic groups speaking 500 different languages and identified with a diverse range of cultures (Falola & Heaton, 2008). The Hausa in the north, Yoruba in the west, and Igbo in the east are the three major ethnic groupings, accounting for about 60% of the total population (Sifawa, 2020). The official language is English, which was chosen to promote linguistic harmony across the country. Nigeria's constitution guarantees religious freedom, and the country is home to many of the world's largest Muslim and Christian populations cultures (Falola & Heaton, 2008). As evidence shows the Christianity arrived in Nigeria in the 15th century by Augustinian and Capuchin monks from Portugal, Islam entered Nigeria between 1068 and 1385 AD through the Bornu Empire and the Hausa States (Sifawa, 2020). Nigeria is roughly divided into two halves, with Muslims in the north and Christians in the south; indigenous religions, such as those of the Igbo and Yoruba ethnic groups, are in the minority. Currently, Nigeria is divided into six geopolitical zones namely; south-south region, southeast region, southwest region, northeast region, northwest region, and north-central region (Falola & Heaton, 2008).



Figure 2.1 Political map of Africa showing Nigeria (OnTheWordMap.com, 2023).



Figure 2.2 Political map of Nigeria depicting states and their capital (OnTheWorldMap.com, 2020).

2.3 Pre-colonial Traditional Political System

Against the backdrop of the belief among Western imperialists that pre-colonial Africa did not have any form of government where law and order prevailed (Peter, 2014). This belief has been reputed to be subjective and fallacious. History shows that Africa for the time immemorial before colonialism had a well-organised system of government where law and order were made, implemented and maintained; conflicts and disputes of any form were settled and resolved; public policies and

programmes like the construction of roads, wells, shrines, palaces, and town halls was made; and taxes were collected (Fatile et al., 2013).

Before colonization, the people of what is now Nigeria lived under several administrations or political structures. The pre-colonial period in Nigeria represents the models and strategies by which people governed themselves prior to colonization (Ayodele, 2021). This implies that Nigeria's traditional governing structure predates colonization. However, because of ethnic and ethno-linguistic diversity, pre-colonial Nigeria differs from one region to another. While some political systems were centralized or chiefly societies for example, the Yoruba and Hausa/Fulani pre-colonial systems, others were decentralized or chiefless societies, such as the Igbo clan system (Osakede & Ijimakinwa, 2015).

In the Northern part of the country where the dominant inhabitants were Hausa/Fulani, the system was synonymous with the emirate traditional political system which was highly centralized (Asaju, 2010). In this system, the Emir was both political and religious leaders who was responsible for making and maintaining laws. He was also responsible for ensuring that Islamic laws guide the activities of the people in his area of domain (Sifawa, 2020). In the West where Yoruba people were dominant, the administrative system was also monarchical in a form of Kingdom and Empire. The head of the administration is Oba supported by Baales who are in charge of the affairs of the towns and villages. Unlike in the Emirate system, the powers of Oba were subjected to control by Oyo-mesi and Bashorun (Majekodunmi, 2012). The Oyo-mesi is also answerable to Ogboni who acts on the authority of religion. While the Igbo people who live in the Eastern part of the country were decentralized who had no Kings or Chiefs that handled the affairs of the people as in the Northern or Western part of the country (Iweriebor, 1982). As a result, many scholars described Igbo pre-colonial

political system as ‘acephalous political system’. As regards to executive, legislative, and judicial decisions, it was the assembly of men called ‘Ohaneze’ that took the decisions on behalf of the people (Ndas, 2009).

2.3.1 Hausa/Fulani Pre-Colonial Political System

The Hausa/Fulani is believed to be the largest ethnic group not only in Nigeria but the West and Central African Regions. The Hausa/Fulani people as earlier stated had themselves a system of governance which predated colonialism. In that system the rulers had both executive and legislative powers, indeed it was a centralization of powers in the system (Fatile & Adejuwon, 2010). The King was an absolute ruler whose decisions and orders must be obeyed. This pre-colonial political system existed before the great Jihad (War) of Usman Danfodio (1804-1810) (Sifawa, 2020).

After the conquest of the then Hausa land, the emirate system introduced in the region. The Jihad did not change the already existing traditional system of the administration but established laws regulated by Islamic teachings (Sifawa, 2020). The Jihad had also set up a rigorous devotion to the Islamic precepts, but the emirs and chiefs continued to exercise their traditional authority as before. Moreover, after the great Jihad of Usman Danfodio in 1804, the then former 14 Hausa land and some state in the Yoruba land were submerged and divided into two Caliphate (Eastern and Western Caliphate) (Sifawa, 2020). For instance, the Eastern Caliphate comprised states such as Kano, Zaria, Yola, Katsina, and Gombe with its headquarters at Sokoto. While the Western Caliphate includes states like Argungu, Ilorin, and Kwantagora which had Gwandu as their headquarters. Consequently, Danfodio assumed the leadership of the whole Hausaland (i.e. the Sarkin Musulmi). While the control of

Sokoto and Gwandu Caliphate came under the leadership of his son Bello Danfodio and his brother Abdullahi respectively.

Furthermore, for the purpose of easy administration, these two Caliphates were (Sokoto and Gwandu) were subdivided into Emirates. Each Emirate was led by an Emir who was appointed from among the two ruling families subject to approval of Emir of Sokoto or Gwandu (Ayodele, 2021). These lesser emirs were answerable to the Emir of Sokoto or Gwandu. The Emir in each of the Emirates was responsible for making laws and enforcing them and ensuring peace and order in his Emirate. As the religious leader, he must ensure the strict adherence to the Islamic Shari'a (laws) and also guide the day-to-day activities of the people within his emirate (Olowu & Erero, 1997). As Sifawa (2020) postulated that in carrying out these duties, the Emir is supported in administering of the emirate by a number of other hierarchy of the traditional tittle holders. These include:

- i. The 'Waziri' (Prime Minister) who was responsible for the day-to-day administration of the Emirate and also in charge of the ministries who acts on behalf of the emir;
- ii. The 'Galadima' (Chief Administrator) was in-charge of the administration of the city;
- iii. The 'Dogari' was the chief police officer;
- iv. The 'Alkhali' was in-charge of the administration of justice. He passed judgments with the approval of the emir ;
- v. The 'Madawaki' was the commander of the armed forces;
- vi. The 'Ma'aji' was in-charge of the treasury;
- vii. The 'Sarkin Fada' was the head of the palace; and
- viii. The 'Sarkin Pawa' was the head of butchers.

These officials of the emirate were appointed by the Emir to assist him in running the affairs of the Emirate. As time went on, these Emirates were broken down into districts which also comprises of the villages. The districts were headed by Hakimis (District Heads) who managed the affairs of each district under their jurisdiction. They were responsible for maintaining peace and order in their respective districts, collections of taxes like the Jangali (Cattle Tax), Jizyah (Land Tax), and Zakat (Alms). The Hakimis were also assisted by the Village heads who were appointed by the district heads to oversee the affairs of their respective villages.

The figure 2.3 below depicts the political structure of the Hausaland Pre-colonial administration:

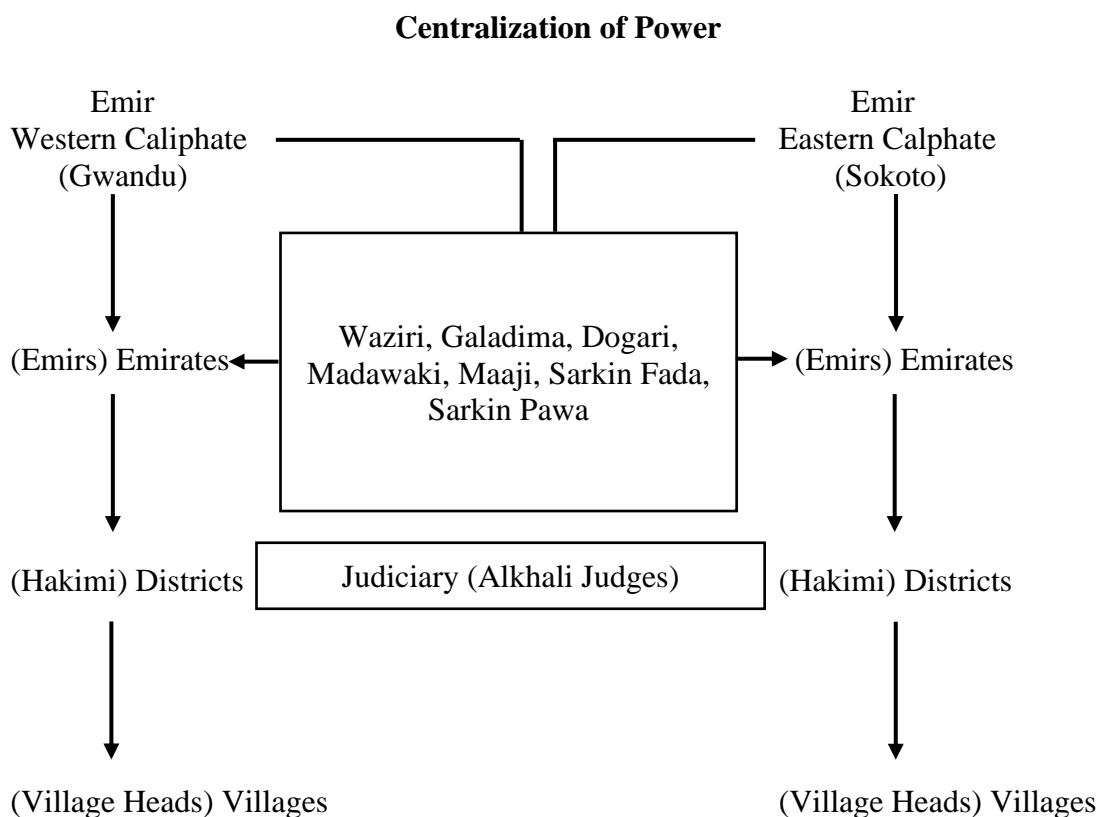


Figure 2.3 Hausa/Fulani Pre-colonial Political Structure (Oldnaija, n.d.).