

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF WURKUNS IN KARIM LAMIDO LGA OF TARABA STATE IN THE 20TH CENTURY

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Abstract

Wurkun as one of the major ethnic groups in Taraba State, not known by many outside the boundary of the state but occupies a strategic position in the political and economic discuss of the state. In the early 20th century, the groups involve most of the ethnic minorities east of the Muri Mountain but by the last quota of the century, the group disintegrated leaving the Piya and Kulung extraction to be what is known as Wurkun today. The Wurkuns have significant population, education and agricultural endowment in their area. These therefore, made them and their area to be precious jewel and a determining factor for electoral victory in the state. Because of scanty work on the topic in question the researcher used the available Europeans account, minutes and oral interviews to develop this work. At the end of our study, we will understand the meaning of 'WURKUN', its origin, their trade/economic life as well as contact with traders and missionaries outside their domain which brings about early civilization in the area.

Keywords: - Wurkun, Muri, Piya and Kulung

Introduction

The term 'Wurkun' is not derived from the groups that formed the Wurkun language rather a Jukun terminology referring to the settler on the hill¹.

During Jukun migration from the Zaria axis and passed through Gombe towards the hilly area occupied by the said Wurkuns before reaching their present day Kwararafa region, they called and described the people settled on the hills as *Kuni-kuni*. The *wur*-referring to people while *Kuni* refers to hill. That is ‘people on hills.’² According to Hamman, Wurkun were a composite group consisting of several small linguistic groups, which have been classified by Joseph Greenberg under the Central Branch of the Niger-Congo linguistic family. They derive their common name of ‘Wurkun’ from the nature their territory. The term is said to be of Jukun origin and it means, “people of the hill”.³ Their common features as that they inhabited the same territory, apparently not long before and in the 18th century, and they had not yet developed a common culture before the outbreak of the Jihad at the beginning of the 19th century. They were composed of the following linguistic groups, namely the Bakulu, the Walo, the Lelo, the Bambuka, the Gwomu, the Bandawa, the Karim, and the Munga. These various linguistic groups that were on territorial basis lumped together as the Wurkun occupied different villages or groups of villages. Each of the groups was divided into clans, a division that was reflected in their settlement pattern.⁴

Most of the groups as mentioned by Hamman that formed the Wurkun’ in the 19th century are today independent ethnic entity under their respective names as mentioned above. Only the Bakulu and Wulo are today regarded as Wurkun. Dispassionately speaking, there is nothing wrong if the term Wurkun stands the synonym of Kulung and Piya, because the purpose of the name of an ethnic group is usually for identification and unity.⁵ To this view according to Mahmud Pitiko, the term ‘Wurkun’ is used for political unity and administrative convenience to refer to people on the hill of Ambandi (piya) and the Kulung extraction.⁶

The Wurkuns are very friendly to visitors in their land which created intermarried, economic and political life among diverse ethnic in the area. These resulted to their early participation in the Nigerian political contest as well as dominance in the political sphere of the area. Their friendly attitude makes the Wurkunland accommodating to all visitors ranging from the Hausa traders from the northern part of Nigeria, the European traders and

missionaries as well as the Islamic clerics. Within a short period after their interaction with the outsiders trade/commercial activities booms which led to the introduction crops which are not initially grown in the area grown. The Usumanu river provide a gate way for onward shipment to goods acquired to the hinterland, donkeys and caravans used by the Hausa traders patronizes the northern route to Gombe and Kano.

A new form of worships later introduced were well accepted. This brought the manifestation of Masjid and Churches in the area leading to the reduction in the practice of traditional (*dodo*) religion. The new religions brought about the change in the settlement and political structure / pattern in the land. This development led to cultural, religious and ethnic integration between the Wurkuns and their neighbors’.

The Wurkun Economy in the 20th Century: Economy in Wurkun Communities

The principal occupation of Muri area are Agriculture, commerce, weaving, iron- smelting, smiting, tanning and leather working and other minor employment.⁷ Agriculture dominates the economic activity of the people practice in its traditional nature usually characterized by communal tendencies largely small scale, relying on old farming implement especially in the 19th century. The farms are scattered broadcast in the bush, on the hillsides, and hidden in the mountain recesses. It is difficult, therefore to arrive at anything approaching accuracy regarding the extent of land under cultivation. Statistics are based on the assumption that each man cultivates at least 3 acres (varied crops) to provide him food for year.⁸ The population is exclusively agricultural, even those who are industrial such as blacksmiths appear to be farmers as well.⁹ Their methods of agriculture are still very primitive and consist chiefly in growing sufficient foodstuffs with the least expenditure of energy. Men do most of the field work whilst women and children assist in reaping and bringing harvest home.¹⁰ However, with the mechanical development in agriculture, farming and agricultural activities have turn to the better for the Wurkun with lots of yield at the end of harvest and much more for commercial purposes. Buba the chief priest of Pitiko

said, one of the principal reasons for the Pitikos to migrate from the hill to massif was the availability of plain land for farming and easy access to Mutum Daya market¹¹. All farmers and Men of any importance have generally smaller farms near home and more distant one generally in the bush.

Agriculture: Guinea Corn is the most important of the crops grown and it is the chief food of the people. Millet, cassava, Maiwa, various kinds of beans, groundnuts, and pumpkins are also cultivated while most villages produce a small patch of coarse tobacco which is dried and smoked and made into snuff, and ridi (beniseed). The grain is stored in mud granaries, something of the shape of an elongated bee hive, which is covered by a neatly plaited straw cap to keep out rain. They vary from 8 to 10 ft in height and are usually cemented to rocks.¹² The industrial nature of the Wurkun encourage them to deal on other products such as Shea butter, Durowa and Kiria, which are the most important of the forest products which grow in the district. A fair trade is done in Shea nuts but the seeds of the Dorawa and Kiria are in greater demand and are bought up by the Nupe traders of Lau who transport them to Lokoja. The seeds are pounded and made into cakes and sold for food in the native market, the food is known as Lokkos. The seeds of the Durowa, pounded and mixed with broken stones forms hard cement (The floors of native huts and the sides of indigo pits are plastered with this).¹³ Cotton and its plantation became one of the major cash crops in the Wurkun massif and encouraged migration to other part of Nigeria in the 20th century. Gero the Sarkin Pitiko was a cotton merchant in the 20th century despite the stool he occupied and the terrene from the hill to the market.¹⁴

Cotton and peanuts (groundnuts) are the chief cash crops cultivated in the north, and soya beans and yams are important in the south. There is considerable fishing along the Benue River. Salt extraction is a traditional occupation of the women near Muri town, but imported European salt has reduced its significance. There is lead mining around Zurak, 21 miles (34 km) west of Muri town.¹⁵

Livestock: The stock is confined to sheep and goats, the latter of which preponderate considerably, owing to the fact that they are prolific and consequently not disposed of, if it can be avoided. That is why a sheep is always given as gift in preference to a goat.¹⁶ The Wurkun keeps chickens, guinea fowl and other domestic birds to welcome visitors. Donkeys are used for the conveyance of farm product from farm back home and to market. Similarly, cows are acquired for harrowing during farming season.

Industries: Pottery, weaving of mats and Iron work. Pottery is woman's work and is one of the essential domestic requirements of every woman. The manufacture of mats is work of the young boys. Mats are made from the leaves of the young Giginya Palms which abound in the valleys. It is usually done in a pit dug and covered to provide cold temperature which aid in quick making prevent the leaves from drying.¹⁷ The iron work is however more restricted and a qualified Blacksmith is to be found at most of the larger villages.

Commercial Activities in Wurkun Area

Trade was an important segment of the economy of the area before the Jihad. Three important levels of exchange were noticeable in this period, namely local, regional and long-distance. While some of the products of the area like salt, antimony and cloth found profitable markets at the different levels of some exchange, some, especially agricultural and sylvan product, were marketable only at the local and to a small extent regional levels, both because of their bulkiness and their relatively lower exchange value. The trading networks that evolved in the Middle Benue Region and beyond as a result of these exchanges formed the basis of an interaction between peoples occupying different territorial and ecological areas within and outside the region in the period before the jihad. With the establishment of emirate, there was defiant increase in the tempo of trading activity between the middle Benue Region and Hausa land to the north, which had become the heartland of the Sokoto Caliphate, and also with Borno to the north-east.¹⁸

In the 19th and early 20th century, Kiriin had the large market as well as population in the area. As confirmed by Sarki Umaru, it was in Kiriin that they first saw where kosai and Masah were fried. Sawing machine was first seen in Kiriin as well according to him.¹⁹ Initially, Wurkuns don't sell Muruci fruits but dashed them out, consequently, Dogon Koli Na Filiya in the 1950s advised them to stock it and took it to Kano for sale where it was highly appreciated.²⁰ This business skills acquired due to their early contact with the Hausa traders and their Agricultural production enable them to take charge cereal business in Jalingo and environs. Wurkun personalities such as Natoro, Aliu, sarkin Hausawa became notable in the area.²¹

Market and trade routes

In view of the position of the Wurkun massif or Wurkun land, which lies between the Benue valley and the Bauchi region, some crisscrossed trade routes, which originated far away from the massif passing through it followed by traders mostly from the Hausa areas into the Benue valley or even beyond. The most noticeable among them were: Gotshi-Gomu route; from Gotshi at the northern slope of the massif, then through Loh proceeded to Gomu at the southern slope where it grew into many branches to Jen, Bambuka, Karim, Lau and others.²²

The second route was the Filiya (in present Gombe state) – Pirago; Filiya at the northern slope of the massif and Pirago at the south of it. The route branched after Damwushi to Hakuri before reaching Pirago where it grew into many branches to places like Kodei, Mutum Daya, Zailani and other areas. The third as the Dogoyali- Mutum Daya route; which was likely developed during the colonial period. Dogoyali at the northern slope and Mutum daya at the southern slope. At Mutum-daya it grew into branches to several areas like Karim, Usumanu, Didango and others. Gwana- Kerum was the fourth route; Gwana in the Bauchi region and kerum in the Wurkun massif. It was followed by traders and hunters from Jos Plateau and Bauchi areas. The route extended as far as to Didango and Usumanu along the Benue valley, it joined another route from Jos Plateau at Andamin.²³

Most of the points within the Benue valley where the mention trade routes extended emerged during the colonial period. Though trade development in the area under consideration started earlier than that period, but was temporarily hampered by the Jihad of 1804. Notwithstanding, after the jihad a conducive atmosphere for commerce prevailed. The traders who followed the crisscrossed trade routes as earlier observed were mostly from the Hausa land. However, some were from Jos Plateau and Borno areas. They dealt in articles such as tanned leather, calabash, beads, lead sulphide and woven or dyed cloths. The lead sulphide was obtained from Jos Plateau, the beads, tanned leather and woven dyed cloths ere likely from the Hausa and Borno areas. The calabash was from the Bauchi area. In returned the traders who were mostly Hausa, Kanuri and later Fulani obtained mats, beniseed, salt, animal skins and forestry products. These articles were obtained from the massif settler, like the Wurkun, Gomu, Bambuka, Loh, Panya and other.²⁴

Some of the traders were learned men and they assisted considerably in the spread of Islam into the area under consideration.²⁵ Babakodei explained that the first Sarkin Kodei Jamnati was sold into slavery to the Hausa traders. He was taken to Sokoto but after the abolition of the slave trade in 1822, he found himself back home through Bida. While in Sokoto he accepted Islam and got married but on his way back he left the family there. With these account there are some Wurkun descendant in Sokoto today. In Bida Jamnati followed waterways to Lokoja, Makurdi, Ibbi then Lau. It was at Lau he spotted the Kodei hills and decided to tracked back to his ancestral home kodei.²⁶

Wurkun Contact with Others

a. Hausas

The Hausa traders are the first set of people to come to the Wurkun hills and the massif largely for commercial purposes. No definite records of date on when the relationship began but history have it that it was before the Usman Dan Fadio Jihad of 1804. According to oral tradition this can be proven in their names. That trading relationship with the Hausas served as bearing

during the Fulani influx to the area. Aside the Hausas, Wurkun had early contact with the Kanuri (Borno traders) which consequently brought about sending children to Borno among the Islamic faithful to acquire Qur'an knowledge.

b. Fulanis

After the Wurkun hill had been occupied for half a hundred years or more, another people began to come called the Kulata (the Fulani). They had been pastoral people, keeping cattle, and had come into Nigeria with their herds, from the west. At first they had been under the Hausa states in the North, but they finally rose up against them. Usman Dan Fodio, a famous Fulani teacher, rebelled against the Chief of Gobir and declared a holy war in 1804. Many Fulani groups rallied to his cause. One of his former pupils, Yakubu from Bauchi area, went to him and received a flag and authority for conquest.²⁷

Soon after this, Yakubu came through the Wurkun area with large party of horsemen. It is recorded that he pitched a war camp in front of Bam bur hill, but he made no conquest. He went on East, past Kwonci to Bambuka, Lamurde and Yola. This route later become the main path and the old men usually refer to it as "Njere Yakubu" (Road of Yakubu).²⁸

Another leader given a flag was Buba Yaro, who founded the entire emirate of Gombe, which claim territory down to the Benue River. His brother Hamman Ruwa ruled the southern area and made his capital at the old Jukun town of Muri in 1817.²⁹ Muri Division today comprises the Emirate of Muri, known earlier as the Hammaruwa kingdom, and the independent pagan district of Zinna (zing). These are the remnants of the old Muri Province which had existed from the British occupation in 1900 down to the reorganization of the Northern Province in 1926. The Division consists of 11,014 square mile, is almost square in shape and comprises a generous slice of territory on both sides of the river Benue. To the North-east it marches with Numan Division, to the north with the Gombe and Bauchi Divisions of Bauchi Province, to the West momentarily with the Pankshin and at length

with the lowland Division of Plateau Province, and to the South with Wukari Division of Benue Province. The eastern boundary marches with Adamawa Division throughout. The 1952 decennial census gave a population of 260,288 of whom 78 percent were pagans and 21 percent Muslims. The distribution of this population is uneven, the density in the predominantly pagan districts of Zinna, Mumuye, and Wurkun greatly exceeding that of the rest of the division.³⁰

The desire of these new neighbours was to conquer all the country and make raids for slaves. Since they fought on the horseback they had a great advantage in the plain, but they were never able to capture the hill fortresses of the Wurkun, who had been here for half a century before the Fulani came, now had continual danger of war and slave raids for the next hundred years. There are records of one severe battle in the Wurkun hills.³¹ The Wurkun tribes had defeated the Muri Fulani at Gwomu in the 1850.³²

c. The coming of Europeans

We must confess that the chief interest which first brought them was the tragedy of the slave trade. However, when the conscience of Britain was awakened to the horrors of slavery strong efforts were made to suppress it, and to develop trade in palm oil and ivory and other produce. To accomplish this, trading stations were opened along the coast, and in 1852 Macgregor Laird was able to bring two steamers up Niger as far as Lokoja.³³ The first Europeans to come within sight of these hills were with Dr. Baikie's expedition up the Benue in 1854. In the steamship plaid. They reached Lau and Djen, and Dr. Baikie and Samuel Crowther (later the first African Bishop) traveling in a small boat by way of Usumanu and Wuzu creeks, came to Kwatan Muri, and then overland to Muri, visiting Emir Haman. Crowther's diary mentions the Wurkun hills and the people living on them. Following this the Royal Niger company began to develop trade on the Benue river. Trading posts were built at Lau and Kunini, and at Numan and Yola. There was much opposition from the Fulani, as trade was a threat to slave raiding, as it has always been. In 1891 the trading posts at Lau and Kunini were destroyed by Muhammed Nya. He had moved his capital from

Muri to Jalingo to aid in attacking Kona. However, repulsed his attacks. But in 1892, France, seeking power on the Benue, sent Lieutenant Mizon with a company of well armed soldiers to explore the area. To obtain favor with Muhammed Nya, Lieut. Mizon agreed to help him attack Kona and with the soldier armed with rifles and cannon, they, of course, were able to capture the town. Many of the people were sold into slavery. Some rifles and two cannon were also given by Mizon to the Emir of Yola, which strengthened his opposition to the Niger Company, Mr. A. H. M. Kirk. Green, in his book "Adamawa, past and present" gave a clear account of this opposition.³⁴

On January, 1st 1900 the British Government took over the administration of Northern Nigeria from the Royal Niger Company Government records of Muri show that there were patrols in Wurkun country in 1902 and 1903, with no resistance offered. The new Government offered peace with an end to slavery and slave trading, and our people agreed.³⁵

Mohammadu Mafindi, a son of Mohammadu Nya was recognized by the British as Emir in 1903. He was to rule over Muri for the next half century. In 1912 Joro Bauro, a brother of the Emir, was appointed District Head of the Jalingo Habe District under the Emir. On January 1st 1914 the Wurkun sections of Balasa, Kakala and Gwomu were added to the Jalingo Habe District, with Joro Bauro continuing as District Head. In 1916 he received the title of Ubandoma.³⁶

The First World War of 1914-18 was important to this area since Adamawa Province bordered on German territory. Many of our men remember being called for special service at that time. The German troop came in from the Cameroons, and invaded down the Taraba valley. They captured Mutum-Biyu at that time the Muri Divisional headquarters, in April, 1915. The District Officer and the Emir, Mohammadu Mafindi, escaped across the Benue river, with the money from the treasury. Many of our men have told us how they helped carry ammunition and supplies for the Nigerian troops. A battle was fought at Garbabi where the Germans held a fort, but they were defeated and driven out, retreating back across the border. When the British

expedition was moving against Garua, a number of our people were asked to come to Lau to help in transferring a big naval gun from a large boat to a smaller one. We have heard them describe the gun as being like the trunk of a Giginya palm tree a very heavy. It aided in the capture of Garua on June 12, 1915.³⁷

d. The coming of Islam into Wurkunland

Islam was in Wurkun Land before Yakubu of Bauchi the flag bearer of Dan Fodio came to the region as the result of their early contact with the Hausa traders. The Bauchi province neighbouring towns occupied by Wurkun such as Futuk and Daja played a significant role toward converting Wurkun especially the Piya's to Islam.³⁸

Another factor that facilitated the spread of Islam was the trade route of:-

Daja	-	Kakala	-	Mutum daya,
Daja	-	Dogoyali	-	Mutum daya
Daja	-	Anjodo	-	Mutum daya

All the towns involved in route accepted Islam, and have influenced both in their political and social life. Major commercial hub and the most populated town in the Wurkun land in the early 20th century (Kirim) was a major sit of Islam before the coming of the White men. That was why after many years of preaching by the Christian missionaries the community resistance necessitated the missionaries' relocation to Bambur.³⁹

Interestingly, non-Muslims Wurkun who had good relationship with Hausas and Kanuri give out their male child to their Hausa and Kanuri friend to enable acquire Qur'an knowledge in Hausa land and Maiduguri. Prominent people in Wurkun land like Malam Hamidu Kwanci, Mustapha and the Late Sarkin Kwanci speak Kanuri fluently as a result of that. And my elder brother in his quest for Islamic knowledge left to Maiduguri in the 1940 and spent 34 years before coming back to our village. Within Muri province, out of the 270 Almajiris at Malam Lawn Mai Almajirai School in Garba Chede, only 30 were non-Wurkun. And Malam Mai Dogon Gemu came all the way

from Mutum biyu which is sit of Islam and encourages him to give them the best. And surprisingly, those non-Muslim parents that sent their children to acquire Qur'an knowledge, slaughter ram for alms during their graduation. The newly graduated students opened their own Almajiri schools in their respective home. Therefore, those who are pleased with their conduct and could not sent their children far took the advantage.⁴⁰

The case of Bachama was unique to the extent that, Yakubu of Bauchi the flag bearer of the region reported to Usman Dan Fodio that, he had met with peace loving people which the entire community accepted Islam without the use of sward. Astonishingly, the Tondolo hill in Wurkun land had horse footmark, a kettle base mark and praying site on the top of the hill till date. These opportunities gave the Wurkun a leading role among the language that inhabits the Wurkun hills.⁴¹

e. The coming of the Christian Missionaries into Wurkunland

Visit of Bishop Samuel Crowther to Muri in 1854 was probably the first Christian ever to set foot in this area. He spoke of his desire to bring the Gospel to the people in the Wurkun hills, but he never had that opportunity. Seventy years later, Rev. C.W Guinter made an exploratory trip through these hills, seeking a place to begin a new mission work. Out of several towns and tribes visited, only Bambur would give him a place. Chief Baka, the Galidima, Ngyai (Sarkin Dodo) and the other elders, welcomed his coming. This was also approved by the Ubandoma, the District Head, at Karim. A lot of ground was selected and applied for, and Mr. Guinter returned the next year to found the mission here on the 20th of December, 1923.⁴²

The first years were occupied with erecting buildings, learning the Kulung language (the Kulung Wurkun extraction are the first group to meet the whitemen) and reducing it to writing, preparing books for school and opening medical work. The first church was built in 1925. A mission station was opened at Kerum also in that year. The first Christians were enrolled in 1926. They were Janga, Kura, Madogo and Njere of Bambur, and Maigandi,

Amadu and Siliya of Kerum. Much time was spent in translation of the scriptures. The first printing in Kuni Kulung was of the Gospel of Luke; followed later by the Acts of the Apostles, the Gospel of John and the Epistle of James. By that time the Hausa language was becoming well known here, and the entire Bible in Hausa made available to us. Its use was also encouraged by the spreading of the mission work into neighbouring tribes and language.⁴³

The opening of the Bible school at Kerum in 1943, later transferred to Banyam, brought Christian families of other tribe's to live with us here. The hospital, opened in 1951, reaches out to touch and help all people of a wide area surrounding us. Kulung young men and women, trained as teachers, are instructing children in other tribes.⁴⁴

Conclusion

Today, the Wurkun ethnic group remains the dominant and influential group upon others in the area covered by the research due to early establishment of major produce market in Kirim, Kakala etc in the late 19th century. These expose them to the outside world encouraging both Hausa traders, Islamic cleric and the Christian missionaries in the area sourcing gains in their respective interest. The gains of this relationship cannot be over emphasizes as part of it forms the basis of Wurkun becoming a reckoning factor in political and economic sphere of Taraba state.

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A SOCIO-ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE JOS PLATEAU MINING CAMPS 1900-1945

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Abstract

The paper discusses the socio economic development in Jos mining towns and intergroup relations. The capitalist take-over of the area and the concomitant mining activities led to the influx of people who came as labourers, traders, religious teachers, colonial government employee and others. During this period the necessities of life made people of different backgrounds to interact with one another. By 1945, there was a considerable and appreciable intergroup mixing. In order to achieve this, the study employed primary and secondary sources which include archival materials, oral interviews field note and others. Also secondary materials like published books, journals, and other relevant materials to carry out the research. The submission of this paper is that the colonial period up to 1945 witnessed an appreciable intergroup integration that put the area during this period on a high way to homogeneous society if not for the interruption and disruption deliberately caused by the mining capitalist and the colonial state.

Introduction

Location of Jos Plateau and its People

Jos area is situated in central belt of Nigeria. Geographically, the Jos Plateau lies between Latitude 9 and 10 norths and Longitude 9 and 10 easts. The

Geographers Buchanan and Pugh (Buchanan and Pugh 1955) were one of the earliest to give it a topographical description as “the Jos Plateau”. Due to its extreme cold condition the people were said to keep themselves warm at night by burning charcoal under their mud beds. The Jos Plateau has different geographical and climatic features, which makes it to have a different outlook from the immediate regions to the East, West, South and North of it. It is a high Plateau bounded on all sides by sharp escarpments, 450 – 600 metres high above the surrounding plains of the Bauchi Plateau and former Gongola. It has an average height of 1,142 metre above sea level with the highest peak of 1,828 metres on the Shere hills. The lowest point varies from 600 – 900 metres above sea level. The topographic features made it difficult to climb the Plateau, except for a few passes via the escarpments to the East, West and North of the area. The geological formation consists basically, of a Cambrian basement complex with granite rocks which have cassiterite minerals one of which is tin. The plains of the Plateau are dotted with laterised basalt flat-topped hills, which add scenic beauty to the Plateau (Morrison H.J 1977) Jos and its environs were important sites for tin mining. Scholars like Mangwat have pointed out the autochthonous nature of the various indigenous communities on the Plateau and gave out four (4) stages of migrations at different periods that led to the peopling of the area. (Mangwat 1984:205-216) The area falls under the influence of the Nok culture. Since antiquity, it has been known for cultural diversity in which anthropologists and historians have identified over sixty (60) ethno-linguistic groups on the Plateau like the Berom, Angas, Anaguta, Afizere, Irigwe, Amo, Jerre, Aten, Ron amongst others (Borok, 2011: 80).

European Discovery of Tin and the Establishment of Mining camps

Before European discovery of tin on the Jos-Plateau, information has it that considerable tin mining took place in the pre-colonial era. It is certain that tin was won in other locations that were in the area of study although the sources here tend to become vague in nature. Perhaps because there have been no systematic archaeological excavations that could tell us more about its history. There is one indication that the tin miners on the Dilimi went

regularly to the high Plateau in search of the metal. An early colonial source refers to pre-colonial mining and smelting at Bisichi, also on the Plateau but with no further details. Another pointed to old workings on the Dilimi and Jarawa rivers, well to the east of Ririwan Dalma. (Freund, 1981:14). At Nok west of Plateau, Fagg noted archival three inch tin beads shaped like cowries. Available sources are largely confined, however, to the Ririwan Kano and Dalma. To ascertain what transpired in our area of study, further archaeological research will have to be conducted.

British viable interest became totally conscious of the presence of Nigerian tin in 1885 when William Wallace was directed by the National African Company (later Royal Niger Company) to start a trading post at Loko on the Benue River. For a number of years, the firm often bought small amounts of tin at Loko without making any severe effort to discover the bases this may have been for the reason that Hausa traders recounted that the people of Bauchi were unfriendly and reluctant to trade. Active British attention in the origin of tin mineral trailed the provisions which commenced at the start of 1900. The British Government took the duty of the running of Northern Nigeria, whereas letting the Niger Company a high portion of the mineral rights in a big area north of the Benue and Niger Rivers. (Freund, 1981:14) At this phase, officers and commercial groups were starting to take awareness in the possible fortune of the tin deposits on the Plateau. Tin was becoming a much wanted product since it was being utilized increasingly in metal alloys and the canning of food. It was likewise extremely vital military goods. Under these conditions, it was not astonishing that the colonial establishments acted cruelly against the indigenous tin industry when they envisaged it as a hindrance on the way of their utilization of Jos Plateau Tin (Nigerian Mining Journal 38.13/7/1912).

In 1902 the Niger Company referred George Nicholas to seek the source of tin thought to be near Badiko in Bauchi Area. He learnt that Batiko was the main market hub for the black tin (cassiterite) and that the trade was controlled by the butchers of that settlement. The buyers carried the ore to be melted in Ririwan Kano by a Fulani family that had practiced the art for ages. Nicholas also revealed that majority of the minerals hail from the banks

of the Dilimi River near Tilde Fulani and made a hasty visit there. He resolved that origin of the ore was in the granite south of the Dilimi River and that the sedimentary gravels were rich enough to validate the expenses of a wide minerals inspection of the area. The cassiterite was simply gotten by washing the tin sands, it was unusually free of impurities and it was value seventy three pounds a ton the sample which Nicolas took for assessment in London showed to be abundant in cassiterite. The Nicolas expenditure further stimulated British concern in the stanniferous parts of Plateau and by the close of 1902, the Niger Company and several other firms had taken out mining authorizations covering various square miles (Isichei, 1980:80).

There after the Niger Company had agreed to direct another voyage to the Jos-Plateau (Isichei, 1980: 81). This was headed by an Australian mining engineer by the name H.W. Laws who reached Bukuru on Christmas Eve of 1903 escorted by a subordinate who was to return to Britain, 250 Yoruba militaries and 600 transporters to convey mining and mining tools, medical and food suppliers for a year. Laws remained in the Jos Plateau for a year and assumed that he had attained a convinced measure of accomplishment. He examined a wide tin bearing space and sensed that by a combination of diplomacy and power he had convinced a number of indigenous people to agree to take his existence in their state. He did not thrive with other groups such as the Rukuba and settled that there was abundant unfriendliness between bordering communities that if he made contacts with one community, he automatically turn out to be the foe of its neighbours (Roberts, 1918:5).

For the next six to eight months, Laws was the only European at Tilde. He was described by one of his contemporaries as “morose” and “retiring” worked quickly and successfully, organizing a labour force whom he paid in cloth with 50 to 100 men working for him, panning the river. Using local brush as fuel he set up an experimental smelter and began to test the commercial prospects of Nigeria tin. When the troop left, Laws armed his own men with machetes and used strong arm methods to enforce his will. Once when he was crossed, he forced an entire convoy of recalcitrant Hausa

porters to match naked while carrying tin. In fact, Laws was even labelled by fellow European as uncrowned king of Naraguta of the Plateau south and suggested creating a new mining complex near the Berom community of Jos (Bauchi Prof/1900-1911, No.55).

When Laws returned from leave in December 1905, he relocated his centre of operations to Jos, where a smelter and saw mill were set up by this time, four European and 200 African labours were working under him with a permanent armed force of ten soldiers. A third site had been designed Rukuba and the Niger Company was winning nearly one ton of black (unsmelted tin) a day (Mcphee, 1970:56).

Before taking leave, Law's investigations had indicated that the tin deposits further south i.e (Bukuru, Barkin Ladi, Bisichi, Ganna Ropp Ex-lands etc) were perhaps richer. In 1905 as the Niger Company put forward application for prospecting license in the Bukuru area, they were informed that much of the land in question had already been licensed by Richard, a man who turned out on further investigation to be none other than William Wallace's brother in-Law from Dundee. At this point the Niger Company was unwilling to make a further deal with Wallace and pushed the onus of scandal on the colonial officer. Wallace was compelled to give in (although he saved his job) and Richard agreed to see his rights in areas to the Niger Company in January 1906. With the collapse of the Richard concession, the Niger Company held some kind of title to the lion share of the future tin mines field of Jos Plateau.

The Niger Company had no intention of abandoning its traditional role or merchant firm in order to become a tin producing company. Lord Scarborough explained his policy in a letter to Laws who advocated moving into tin production directly. The first task, according to Scarborough, was to locate the tin. Then the Niger Company sought to test its quality and quantity, sample a prospective property to see if it seemed profitable. At that stage they aimed to bring in outside enterprise to work the field in a large scale while continuing to locate, prove and secure exclusive prospecting licenses. Subsequently, the idea of selling all bona fide companies was in

Laws interest because of the royalty arrangement with the government. One reason for Scarborough's policy was the lack of mineral expertise in the company, though this could have been acquired.

More crucial was the lack of capital following the revocation of its charter in 1899, the company reduced its capital from £1,100,000 to £319,000. As a result, the proportion of profits to share capital went up smartly. Rather than its capital to attempt something quite novel and uncertain, there were numerous ways for a powerful merchant house to make money out of a new African mines fields a part from the royalty payments. The company preferred to place its retained profits for re-investment in a continental oil manufacture and in the Bank of British West Africa (NAK/SNP/17/5/29195).

Two years after Laws return, the Niger Company began to negotiate with London finance capital for selling it prospecting rights and opening up the mining field to new producers. Thousands of porters had been engaged to bring the ore down to the Benue and by June 1909, some 1200 tons of black tin had been shipped out. At this point the price of tin was recovering from drop in 1907-08 and European city capitalist started to take an active interest in tin mining (NAK/Bauchi Prof/4009/1902).

During this period the world capitalist system had reached what Bukharin described as capitalist outburst a period when capital and finance capital had accumulated capital in Europe and needed to invest elsewhere and imperialism became the only antidote to this economic sickness in Europe, (Bukharin 1919). This development led to colonialization as a result of the economic push factor in Europe. It was during this period that the Jos plateau tin fields fell prey to the European economic needs after declaration of Nigeria as British Protectorate in 1900. To exploit the mineral, mining towns were developed something similar to the dormitories during the early period of British industrialization in England, to house in and accommodate labour for tin exploration and mining in the Jos Plateau tin fields.

(You need to mention in specific terms the factors that led to the formation of those mining camps. After discussing the discovery, what were the economic factors that led to the formation of such camps? You need to tie your argument to the title of your paper which is on Socio-Economic History of the mining camps).

Capitalist Take Over/Mobilisation of Labour in the Area

Shortly after the conquest of the area the development marked the beginning of the capitalist takeover of tin mining from the pre-colonial tin mining. It should be remembered that prior to this development, the colonial state had already laid good economic structure for the take-off of the mining companies and European business. This was because it was upon all these that colonialism itself was established. This is best demonstrated by the terms governing the revocation of the Royal Niger Company Charter and its implication for the tin mining drive to promote and protect British capitalist interests in the protectorate as well as to pursue a positive economic policy by the colonial state was instrumental to the formation and implementation of the economic rules in the area as the Royal Niger Company charter already carried.

The new economic policies included fiscal policy, introduction of forced taxation, forced labour land proclamation, mining laws, the invasion and imposition of colonial authority in the region (Gonyok, 1976).

Mobilization of Labour and the Emergence of capitalist Social Stratification

The mobilization of labour for colonial tin mining in the entire Jos-Plateau could be said to have started with the emergence of Laws in the Jos Plateau tin fields. On his return from leave in December 1905, R.H. Laws relocated his head office to Jos, where sawmill and a smelter were set up. By this point Europeans and 200 African (mostly Yorubas) were working under him with a permanent armed force of ten soldiers. This shows the beginning of labour mobilization in the Jos Plateau tin fields. Laws started using the local people

to man his enterprise. This labour supply increased with the colonial governments' stringent laws on slavery, which now led to the emancipating of so many slaves who took to the tin fields for a new life. (Gonyok, 1976) Having realized the cheapness and importance of indigenous labour as Laws' enterprise demonstrated, the colonial administration started strategizing for a better way of getting this local population to the mining fields. Labour scarcity became a big question as mining tin companies rushed to the Jos Plateau tin fields for mining. With this development the various tin industries were now faced with the problem of competition for labour as the local people saw the new labour as unethical and abhorrent to their normal traditional practices (Gomyok, 1977). This expansion of tin industries took place between 1909 to 1914, this was caused by the increase in demand for tin metal in Europe and rise in the capital investment. By the end of March 1910, more than fifty syndicates and companies had obtained interests in Northern Nigeria. There was a marked increase in the exploitation and production of the ore. The output increased from 326 tons in 1909 to 774 tons in 1910. This marked the beginning of the steady progress in the output of tin up to 1914, and the expansion of the activities of the mines over the geographical area of the minefields. The miners extended their mining operations to the East as far as Federe and began to concentrate their mining operation increasingly to the south, beyond the Ngel-Bukuru mining complex. They extended their activities into Sabon Gidan Kanar, Bisichi, Kuru Jenta, Foron, Barkin Ladi, Sho, Gana Ropp, Dorowa, Tenti, Gindin Akwati, Yelwa, Rim, Wereng, Dogo Nahawa Tim-Tim, Gero, Tenti, Manguna Hausawa, Sabon Gidan Foron, Sho, Kafi Abu, Butura Company, Sabo Barki, Kuba, Maiyanga, Gero, Mai Adiko, Nafan Derije, Gana Ropp, Dorowa, Kasa, Mangu Hausawa, Kantoma, Hular Danko, Boka Bakwai, Manjo hota, Anaguta Maikaho, Makoli Zargom, Dilimi, Daffo, Mistakuku, Wullam Kurra Falls etc. it is interesting to note that these mining camps have since grown into towns or big villages on the Jos Plateau and these towns are what constitute the mining camps (Gonyok, 1976).

With this development, the labour recruitment system employed by Mr. Laws could not stand the test of time. The approximate number of labourers employed in the mining industry for the production and transportation of the ore was not yet brought out. Further research has to be carried out to ascertain the statistics of the people employed.

In the production sector, a reliable number of labourers were employed between 1909 and 1914. The available number so far is that of the year 1912, during which 12,000 labourers were employed in the mines the local output of the tin ore that same year was 2,800 tones. The labourers' wages during the year 1909-1914 range from 5k to 7k per day (approximately). The indigenous skilled labourers direct in the production of the ore, under the supervision of skilled European's mine owners. Next to them were the skilled African labourers or headmen, as they were popularly called, were in charge of the recruitment of the labour. Each headman took charge of the labourers recruited, for the production process, including the catering for their immediate needs, during their period of employment in the mines; this was the beginning of the development of the labour "contractors" in the industry. This was the method of the recruitment of labour for the mines not by the Europeans miners but by the indigenous skilled labourers i.e. "headmen" and "contractors" (Borok, 2011).

In the year 1914, with the completion of the Zaria-Bukuru light Railway, the labour that was employed in the construction work was laid off. The carrier labourers were no longer needed. The completion of the rail line sent off a wave of unemployed labour force into the mines. The situation was akin to historical process of the development of potential industrial reserve army of unemployed labour (NHRS/MicroFilm Box 5. ABU).

With this new capitalist development, the local people saw it as retrogressive to their normal routine in their agricultural practices and were not willing to jeopardize them for the new economic system. With the introduction and enforcement of tax already in place, and the collaboration between the owners of tin business and the colonial government, it became clear that it was only through the new economic system that one could get the new

currency. And one could only get it by serving imperialist capital. Violence and destruction were inflicted on the people who failed to pay tax, the money for which was available only in the mining fields. If one failed to pay it, his goats were detained and he himself was battered by the chief's agents. Worst still some chief took advantage of this and charged higher tax or amount to ensure that their own share was also included in it. People used to dodge homes in tax collection period. The levy was abhorred since it appeared to get no concrete benefits in return it was termed briefly *Kudin Bature*, i.e. white's man money (Gonyok, 1977). To gather the needed money, several worked as casual workers in the tin field, originally at the last and most amateur stage carrying soil in head pans from the mines (Mcphee, 1970:57). By 1912, the number of the tin industries was such that they could not rely on this kind of labour supply. For this reason they took to what R.H Laws started in 1906 i.e. the recruitment of labour from other places apart from the Jos Plateau area. In 1906, in order to expand operation Laws brought up labour from Lokoja –Yorubas, Hausa and Nupes- who were then trained in shovel and pick work.

From this time on, employment began to appear on the Jos Plateau from the dominant Hausa speaking areas of Northern Nigeria such as Bauchi, Kano followed by Kanuri from Bornu. By 1909, the mines were said to have attracted a floating mining population of 1,000. In 1914, a floating mines population was estimated at 9570 together with a Hausa immigrant community of 250. Although this contributed to the flow of people to the area, with the very nature of capitalism, with the "Cin Rani" Practice or not it was all out to source for labour by whatever means in fact the early practices of Laws demonstrated this, Lugard description of railway construction in 1914 is another pointer to this (Freund 1981).

...Force levies of carriers guarded by bayonets Porters expected to bear loads of 60 members 12000 on the Plateau routes of the Niger Company alone in 1911(Bukar,1986). This shows the availability of labour and how force will be used to harness labour in the area. By this time the capitalist did not seek labour only within Nigeria area. In addition to the labour

required for pick and shovel work and haulage, the mines used certain amount of skilled and unskilled labour. Skilled workmen came to the tin field from Southern Nigeria, the Gold Coast Sierra Leone (Racheal, 1914:184-6).

This era also saw the advent of Fulani population in the area. Before the colonial conquest, Fulani pastoralists were moving south to the east and west. There was as well a sequence of nineteenth century Fulani communities neighboring Southerly of these was Butu, near Gindiri. These villages of the Butanko normally spent the rainy (wet) period near Bauchi, the dry season nearby Gindiri and Lere. But the high Plateau people, who held cows raiding as a male occupation the same with war fare and hunting, stopped them from pasturing in their home land (NAK/SNP/Bauchi Prof/198/1918).

Fulani pastoralists accompanied the early British intruders of the region, in 1902. Like pastoralists somewhere else, they felt some tension regarding the farmers who received the cattle droppings but hated the animal's vocational rages among growing crops, or the loss of farmland to make cattle routes. The Fulani population, increased by opening of the second decade of the 20th century, this was because of the relative "security" that accompanied the coming of the British and by this time, the mining companies had taken off fully and had gathered good number of people in the Jos Plateau tin fields. Another factor was the establishing of the Vom Animal Research Institute in 1922 where Vaccines were developed for the treatment of cattle diseases and making cattle husbandry a more profitable venture. By this, a considerable number of Fulani migrants joined the former. It was through these processes that we see the beginning of immigrant population to this area, and it is this population that we are going to asses in relation to the local people in the colonial mining camps. (Borok 2011)

Table 1**Racial distribution of mines, Jos Division, 1930 Based on the 1931 Census Tabulation**

Tribe	Amount	Tribe	Amount
Hausa	6,981	Munshi (Tiv)	153
Berberi	1906	Bolewa	151
Bagirmi	1677	Nupe	151
Fulani	1097	Asaba	66
Tera	649	Berom	55
Kerikerii	590	Other Southern Province	165
Arab (Shuwa)	429	Native foreigners	16
Igbo	249		
Yoruba	225	Total	14,817
Babwe	221		
Zaberma	154		

Source: Bill Freud p. 85

Colonial Business and Labour Condition

With the 1942 draught, the mining companies suffered shortage of power supply. This was because the two power station, Kwall and Kurra falls dams could not reserve much water. To avoid this in the future, the colonial government and the companies opted for the construction of Tenti Dam (to serve as reserve and Tenti is situated at the Southern part of Jos presently located in Barkin Ladi L.G.A.) which will be completed by the end of 1943. The dam construction, led to the conscription of Tiv (Munshi) from Benue. This was the nature and pattern of labour recruitment on the Plateau mines fields during the WWII. This kind of labour search led to deplorable conditions in the tin fields. Both the immigrant and local population were made to go without enough shelter, food and clothing because of the self-centered demands of the colonial government and its business men. Because

of the harshness of the companies on the labourers and the low wage rate, men could not afford to buy enough for a minimal diet and could not pay for fire wood to provide warmth. Katsina conscripts, on the eve of their departure in June, 1942, were wearing rags and told the Jos Districts Officer that they had been obliged to sell their cloth in order to buy food during their ordeal (Freund, 1981).

Food became a scarce commodity in the labour camps. This was not the first time food became a problem in the camps. Since 1920s, the companies have been battling with food problems to see how the labourers would be fed. Many companies and individuals (mostly white) were been contracted to supply yam, corn, millet, meat etc. shortages of food normally occurred due to locust invasion e.g. that of 1930s and low rainfall e.g. that of 1942 and over population stemming from high labour concentration. To tackle this problem government and companies often entered into negotiations with contractors, notable UAC and John Holt, to lie in substantial stores of food so that the mines field would not go hungry. The companies were obliged to store eight months' supply of grain and provide both food and firewood at government "subsidized" prices for workers. All this could not ameliorate the situation and hence the majority of the population had to go hungry (Freund, 1981:148).

Worst still, in addition to this deplorable condition of food supply, the immigrants, unlike the local people, had the cold weather of Jos to face. In 1942 – 43 some 185 men were recorded as meeting their death at Tenti. Most of them were Tiv from Benue Province R.W. Frost, the labour Welfare Officer who took special charge of the Tiv since he understood their language was known as Abada (giver of blankets)(Emberton,1943) to protect them from cold, most especially during harmattan season. Plateau is known for its heavy and prolonged rainfall, most especially in July, August and September. It could rain for a whole day. The labourers were forced to work in the rain. When the situation now became unbearable, the government decided to distribute kabidos (work men's water proof coats) (NAK/KANOPROF/50119/1943).

The poor nutrition, harsh weather and hard labour combined to weaken the immunity of the labourers. This ushered in the outbreak of so many diseases. These diseases spread rapidly with overcrowding as labourers normally gathered themselves in a hut because of cold. As a result of this congestion, however, contagious diseases notably cerebrospinal meningitis and small pox started ravaging the labour camps. Dysentery, pneumonia, jaundice, bronchitis and accidents all joined in to further compound the plights of the workers (Freund, 1981:147). The situation became aggravated in the Tenti Dam Project Site where within a year about 135 Tiv labourers died due to such diseases (Borok, 2011).

In order to hide the bad nutrition and health of the labourers from the government, lip sanitary and health services were rendered. This was politically done to give the impression of concern for the labourers. The fact of the matter however, was that, these labourers were seen as a machine that needed small maintenance.

Table 2

Death rate by Province, October 1942 – December 1943

Bauchi	Benue	Borno	Kano	Katsina	Niger	Plateau	Sokoto	Zaria
59	363	46	34	34	59	0	96	55
4.4	25.6	5.75	1.0	4.0	13.01	0	7.1	3.7
	6.4							

Source: NAK Jos Prof. 1/1, 2018/5.2 *Note: The zero death under Plateau in the table above does not mean that they were not subjected to the same condition with the immigrants. It was perhaps because the local people were already used to the weather and had better resistance capacity compared to the immigrants.*

We should note that all these records of death and diseases could not be really reflecting the real figures. From all indication, the colonial and the

mining companies normally kept some information hidden from the colonial offices in Lagos and London. And some time the colonial office in London kept some information hidden from the parliament. From the feelings of the interviewees, one could see that the death rate was more than what these records carry. Records glaringly showed that government officials and the company owners had a deal to cover actual diseases, sanitary, wage, food and death condition. Lands, Kurra falls, Gana Ropp, Tenti all had clubs (Akamu, R., Manguna 2/3/2014). The emergency of clubs in the mining camps where the expatriate business men and government officials understanding were discussed amidst drinking, eating and merriment, is a pointer to this assertion (Freund: 148). A good example of this was the Plateau club established in 1925. Sabon Gidan Kanar, Gero, Bisichi, Kuru Jentar, Dogo Nahawa, Foron, Barkin Ladi, Sho, Dorowa, Ex-Land.

Labour played a vital part in making people to come together, the mining paddocks gathered all categories of people working together under the sun and in the rain, this was the point where labourers teased one another and cracked all sort of funny jokes (Abawa, M, Moh'd, D., Musa, A., March, 2014). Here, jokingly, individuals or groups were called names to create fun. Perhaps this was to make them forget about the ordeal they were passing through as they worked. In Tenti Dam Project, labourers worked and sang with someone drumming for them. Though one could see it as a capitalist strategy of motivating labourers, never the less; it gave the feeling of the togetherness among the labourers who were given iron tools in a form of a pestle to compress the earth laid across the valley to form water collection (dam) (Abawa, M, Moh'd, D., Musa, A., March, 2014).

An informant of Berom extraction said that it was during such moments he came to have the name Dan Baghirmi, a nick name by which his contemporaries came to know him with (Baba Atila, Makoli, 3/2014).

Magajiya system

With the stability of mining companies by 1914, more prospecting became the order of the day. The discovery of new land areas having tin deposits,

the mining companies started thinking of how they would draw and maintain labour in these areas. The strategy they took was to employ beautiful women, mostly Hausa. These women were known as *magajiya* (singular). They were saddled with the responsibility of gathering young beautiful girls, cooking food, and brewing liquor etc. All these were to attract young able men to the new labour camps. This strategy worked for the mining companies. To enjoy all these “pleasures” the young men must go to the tin fields to work for money. Also, the relationship established with these women would hardly make them run away from the camps.

Wajoko

This development though, seen by some scholars as the encouragement of prostitution. It helped in cementing group relations among the various groups. In this circumstances the tribe, religion etc. of a woman was not his problem neither were they her problem. This kind of development led to so many intergroup marriages mostly in the form of contract marriage, i.e a situation where a woman and a man agreed to stay together without officially or legally joined together. This kind of marriage was popularly known as *Wajoko*, a Yoruba coinage. It came to be called so by all the camp dwellers. *Wajoko* in Yoruba means come and let’s stay. The social consequence of this mutual relationship was that, many children were born out of *wajoko*. These children added to the population of the mining camps and thus led to ethnic integrations (Moh’d, Kurra, Gana Ropp, 12/2013).

A field work in Gana Ropp camps shows how well this *magajiya* strategy was organized. The practice was even extended to Igbo and the Yoruba women. In these camps the following women were listed as *magajiyas*. Ayashe from Bauchi, Amina Jong from Kano, mama Adoke, Igbo, Dogowa from Bauchi, Hawa Burkutu origin unknown. All these women kept prostitutes and brewed bear for labourers under the leadership of Ayashe. Drinking, gambling, dancing was their past time. There were occasional brawls among the people or participants due to intoxication, yet friendship that cut cross groups developed (Moh’d, Kurra, Gana Ropp,12/2013).

The Development of Trade Opportunities in Jos and Environs' Mining Camps

The rate of labour demand and recruitment, from the beginning of the mining enterprise by R H. Laws in 1903, never subsided up to 1945. In addition to this, the role of trade opportunities played a vital role in this development. This was because the growing population needed house hold products, cloths, building materials, and the like. As far back as 1915, Southerners, have started exploiting this trade opportunities. A good case is that of one Erinasho T. A. from Lagos who applied for a trading site to build a shop for his goods to be displayed (NAK/JOSPROF/359/1915).

This development pulled in Southern population and more Hausa group came as traders. These people were later joined by relatives as their trade expanded. The arrival in Jos in 1925 of the eastern rail extension, together with an expanding commercial and administrative function of the town, gave rise to a high concentration of people from the Southern Areas and other West Africa settlements. With the growth of camps outside Jos, some of the fortune seekers moved into the camps around Jos to expand their business (Okon, 1976). The buying and selling of firewood, frying of bean cake (kosai) and corn cake (wenna, kola nut business, butchering, grains business etc came to be Hausa business and thus Hausa traders were drawn to the camps. Tailoring, transport business, iron and plastic house hold utensils became Yoruba business and thus many Yoruba were also drawn to the camps. The Igbos also came to the camps and established palm oil trade, building materials and bicycle parts.

A relative smaller number of alien populations (i.e. Levantine or Kwarrra'a of Asian origin) was found in Jos. Until after 1920s most of the trade was dominated by them, and they were mostly found in Jos. We should also know that by this time, the Fulani population was also a force to reckon with unlike in the 19th century Fulani pastoralist were moving South to the East and West of the Jos Plateau – near Wase in the East and Jemaa and Keffi in the West. There was likewise a sequence of 19th Fulani communities near the Eastern border of the Plateau; the most Southerly of these, Butu, near Gindiri. These villages of the Butanko-en spent the wet season nearby

Bauchi, the dry season close to Gindiri and Lere. But the durable highlanders of the great Plateau, who held cattle raiding as a male job same with hunting and war, barred them from pasturing in their native land. The British intruders of the region were coincided with that of Fulani pastoralist. As the years passed by, the number of pastoralists increased and in 1931 it was assessed that 8,000 cattle-owning Fulani stayed there all over the year. They were taking advantage of the availability of pasture and they knew markets for meat and milk and the mining camps (Isichei, 1980:364).

Among the women folk also the sale of labour became a source of survival. This became severe with the famine of 1930s due to locust invasion as mentioned earlier. To tackle this problem in the mining camps, the firms, in partnership with the colonial administration, had to organize guinea corn supply from lower Plateau, Bauchi and other Provinces that were not affected. In Jos Division, Jos, Bukuru and Barkin Ladi became the collection points. It now appeared that the mining camps became the place one could get guinea corn and other food stuff. During this period the local women who had limited or no acha to feed on usually came to the camps to work for the Hausa in the labour camps in exchange for guinea corn chaff which they used for food (Field Note, Barkin-Ladi, Ex-Land, and March, 2006).

With the emergence of trade opportunities and railway transportation, markets began to grow in camps. This also went along with the population growth of different ethnic groups some of whose staple was not grown in the area e.g. Yam, Cassava, Guinea corn, Kola nuts and the like. Saturday was the market day of these camps. This was because it was company's payment day. The development of these markets opened the supply of commodities like kola nuts, palm oil, guinea cone, beef and dairy products, salts, soup, palm oil and yam supply was dominated by the Igbos in the camps in the case of Ex-land camps, the first man to establish this business was one Ojo, a man said be from Owerri (NAK/JOSPROF/1935).

Transport, tailoring and the sale of plastic house hold utensils became a trade mostly transacted by the Yoruba. The Moslem population in the camps

became customers of the Yoruba tailors during the preparation of Ed El Fitri and Eid El-Kabir. These were period when new cloth or dresses were sown for kids and adults most especially women to wear during the days of celebration. In terms of transport, if you must travel by lorry you must board a Yoruba man's lorry. Information in Ex-lands mining camp shows that the first owner of a lorry was a Yoruba man called Aremu and his younger brother whose name they could not remember was the first to own a lorry in Gana Ropp camp. The other immigrants and the local people had to establish relationship with the Yoruba as they became camps tailors. This became clear with the growth of Christianity which introduced Christmas celebration to the local people (Baba Aliyu 6/2006).

The Hausa and other Moslem population, predominantly the Kanuris and Fulani, in the camps were mostly involved in Kola nut trade, butchering, grains, making of wenna and tuwo restaurants. Kola nut chewing is a common culture among the Nigerian communities, but the local people here seemed to be unfamiliar with it. However, with the coming of the immigrants, they came to adopt it. In Ex-lands camp, Alhaji Garba Mai goro who became one of the main suppliers of this commodity to the mining camps south-western of Jos was known to be a person whose house always attracted many people in the morning before dispersal to mining points. He was also known as a cattle trader who bought cattle and took them to cattle market in Bukuru. His compound was said to be a place where labourers and others up-date their knowledge of what was happening around town as they converged to buy kola nuts (Baba Aliyu 6/2006).

Butchering was dominated by the Hausa people. Butchers had to go to the villages seeking animals from the local people and the Fulani population either settled or on transit to buy cows. This trade was so organized in the camps that a new butcher had to be recognized and approved by the camp health officer. This development led to the emergence of trust (giving of an animal Son credit). Some of the town butchers went into butchering as a trade. Like any other butcher, he will have to take his animal to the chief Mallam of the town to slaughter. The local butchers normally displayed their meat in area dominated by the local population. The meat sold by the new

butchers was cheaper and when this was discovered, all groups now preferred going to the local butchers for meat (Baba Aliyu 6/2006).

Language and Communication

Language is very important in human relations and for human being to communicate, manage and control fellow human being; there must be a medium of communication. The colonial state on coming to the mines, it embarked on a language policy that favoured their own language and coming to the languages of the natives, Hausa was chosen as the second official language in the labour camps. Many factors might have made the colonial government to adopt the Hausa language as a second official language. Firstly, the proximity of Bauchi and other Emirates to the area, secondly, the writings of early news reporters which distinguished the Hausa, as civilization group, thirdly, their population in mining camps superseded all other immigrants population and even the local population. Fourthly, the colonial state wanted to strengthen the Native Authority rule which was administered through the Hausa speaking emirs. By making it an official language, before one could get employed in either public or private organization, one must understand the language. So it became a pre-requisite for all job seekers in the province, both the local and non-Hausa immigrant population. One would have to pass Hausa test before one would be considered for employment. This was indicated in correspondence between colonial officers as follows:

The Assistance Directory of Education, Kaduna

Hausa Colloquial Test 30/11/1933

With reference to your memorandum No. 4021 vol. iv/484 of the 15th September, I found here with, in duplicate, the certificate given by the examiners in respect of Mr. Ifedirah Omeala failed.

Sgd W.P Mathews

For Ag Resident Plateau

No. 331/1928/181

Jos, 30th November, 1933. (NAK/JOSPROF/331/1933)

As the records further show, Ifederah could not be employed because he failed the Hausa test.

Another factor was the European missionary bodies. They adopted Hausa language in their preaching and publications. It was even taught in the mission training centres. As early as late 19th Century, Church Missionary Society (CMS) had already translated the Bible into the Hausa language. (Crampton, 1979) All these culminated in making Hausa the language of commerce, government, religion, in short socialization in mining camps this implied that the Hausa groups stood to be favoured in the camps social strata. As Fanon puts it “*Mastery of language affords remarkable power. A man who has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language*” (Fanon F.1963)

Interaction with a Hausa man was an opportunity to learn this language that help one in fitting into the new society. All the minutes of the Berom Executive Council Meetings of the 1950s were written in the Hausa language. (Field Note Jos Town 9/2013) One important point is the fact that the area occupied by Ron, Berom, Angas, Goemai, Taroh, Mwaghvul, Amo, Afizare, Anaguta etc all came to learn the Hausa language which became a language uniting these various groups in the mining camps then and up to the present.

Religious Festivities

The area was characterized by many festivals. Most prominent were the Christians and Muslim, Christmas and Sallah festivities. During these festivals, everybody participated in one way or the other. During Sallah celebrations, the Muslim group invited their non-Muslim friends who never failed in honouring the invitation. It was vice versa during Christmas

celebration. The Muslim community normally organized dancing ceremonies. Yan Bori dancers came out to entertain people/ the Fulani normally came to the town to perform dances and sharo – a practice where a male flogged his counterpart and the other also did the same. This was done in demonstration of heroism or toughness. In fact, some sources revealed that the Fulani youth normally toured all mining camps doing this for the Sallah celebration which took up to two weeks of festivities. Similar development took place in the Christian community. With the growth of Christian population by the 1930s and 1940s, Christmas came to be celebrated with many colourful events. Dances were organized by churches of different denominations. The Christian Igbo, Yoruba and other Southerners, and the local people all came out to dance to the pleasure of all those who came to watch. This development also could be seen as enhancing relations (Borok, 2011: 107).

Week End Jamboree

Beside this, there was a particular activity which could be described as week-end jamboree. This always took place on Sundays when labourers had all collected their weekly pay. The organizers of this event were labour contractors, contributors and headmen. An informant in Bisichi related that this group of people invited various ethnic groups to their compounds premises to come and dance before them and their business associates who watched the invited entertainers as they performed. Young boys were also called upon to challenge one another to a wrestling contest. Any group or person who emerged as the winner was given a prize in kind or in cash by the organizers of the dancing or wrestling contest. This practice seems to be a strategy by colonial contractors and tributers to command respect among the teaming labourers by making them identify with the ordinary people (Borok, 2011).

The Creation of Clubs

The emergency of clubs in the mining camps where the expatriate business men and government officials understanding were discussed amidst

drinking, eating and merriment, is a pointer to this assertion (Freund: 148). A good example of this was the Plateau club established in 1925. Sabon Gidan Kanar, Gero, Bisichi, Kuru Jentar, Dogo Nahawa, Foron, Barkin Ladi, Sho, Dorowa, Ex-land, Ngyel, Gana Ropp, Kurra Falls, Mai Adiko. The difference here is that the clubs were meeting places of the management, European colonial Administrative officers, contractors and top Africans middlemen. The most important role of these clubs was that they were meeting points where shady businesses deals were made amidst drinking and merriments. People that visit clubs were important personality that belonged to the high level of the social ladder in the mining towns. (Borok 20011)

Gambling and Saturdays' Markets

Gambling was one of the socio economic activities introduced by the colonial state in the mining towns. It is said that it was used to sustain the inflow of labourers in the mining towns. Gambling normally took place on pay day which was on a Saturday. Being a pay day; it was the day all labourers collect their week wages. Since it was pay day, it became the market day and people always gathered to buy their needs as sellers always displayed their goods. In fact, it was also good for butchers as many animals were slaughtered. The market day was not only characterized by buying and selling gambling was also one of the activities that added more life to the markets. Field note account shows how the colonial business men introduced gambling to serve as a strategy for emptying money from labourers by such, they will always return to the mines to sell their labour. The system was tactically designed to deny labourers the chance of saving for the future so that their lives will be dependent on the mines. In the 70s ,80s and 90s research showed how tens and hundreds of old men ended up their lives with nothing to show at their old age. In Fact, some ended up their lives in the mining companies abandoned round huts that were built to house labourers in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s.

In conclusion, the study of the socio-economic history of the Jos Plateau tin mining labour has shown how the capitalist system brought people to labour camps and got them exploited in the interest of money making. That during

this period the colonial enclave led to a great deal of intergroup relations among the various groups that formed the population of the mining camps. That the period 1900 to 1945 was period of integration among the ethnic groups that constituted the population of the mining camps but the period from 1945 to 1960 though not covered in this paper, thwarted this relationship as various leaders of the ethnic groups resorted to ethnicity, regionalism, religious bigotry as they struggled to take over from the colonial administration and business when the air of independence was perceived after the end of the WWII. These divisive strategy employed by the business and economic classes were to serve as the foundation basis of the present day Jos Plateau civil unrest.

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**THE ROLE OF TEACHERS AND SCHOOLS ADMINISTRATORS
IN PROVIDING IMPACTFUL LEADERSHIP IN PRIVATE
BASIC AND UPPER BASIC SCHOOLS IN THE 21ST
CENTURY KATSINA METROPOLIS:
PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS**

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Abstract

Education has been an icon in the transformation of any society in the world as it became the key to civilization. Besides, the impactful leadership which teachers and school administrators provide in the educational sector of Nigeria will further elevate the world to be better than what it used to be. Therefore, this paper through historical methodology, examines the problems and prospects of teachers and school administrators in providing impacted leadership in the 21st Century for the students of Basic and Upper Basic schools in Katsina metropolis. The paper highlights on how the activities of these levels have led to the graduation of people to a high sense of unity and faith, peace and progress, integrity, national consciousness which are tied to the schools' discipline and roles of the teachers and schools proprietors. The paper also explains that, the emergence of these schools have complimented government efforts in the provision of quality education, employment opportunities and infrastructural developments. The paper concludes that, despite these achievements, the schools are associated with challenges of examination malpractices, non-payment of salary and

exploitation of teachers, inappropriate attitude of education inspectors and that of examination bodies which grossly affect the leadership efforts of teachers and school administrators in Basic and Upper Basic schools in Katsina metropolis, Nigeria.

Key Words: *Teachers, School Administrators, Problems and Prospects*

Introduction

Katsina metropolis since the 15th century has been referred to as a centre of commerce and Islamic scholarship which made it a centre of learning for various scholars of different discipline especially in history, Islamic studies and education. This gave birth to an impactful leadership in Islam and Islamic scholarship and the metropolis was blessed with lots of Islamic cleric, politicians as well as commercial and industrialists, artisans and traders. This legacy was sustained even with the advent of British colonialist' or imperialist' activities which established Katsina Training College (KTC) in 1922 which became a breeding ground for many prominent Northern Nigerians who held high positions in the country's political history.¹ The establishment of the school according to Paden, was crucial in proving the growth and transformation of literature, politics, civil service and education class in general. Hence, the presence of this school increased the ethnic composition of the Metropolis as well as the status of the State all of which could be traced to the impactful leadership of teachers and school administrators. This was further enhanced even after the Nigerian independence in 1960 which was due to the various developments Katsina experienced i.e. Katsina metropolis was made an area council in 1963, a

¹ Such as Sir Ahmadu Bello – Premier of Northern Nigeria and Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa –Prime Minister of Nigeria during the Frist Republic (1960–1966) and then General Yakubu Gowon – Military Head of State (1966–1975). See Paden, J. *Ahmadu Bello*. Zaria: Huda Huda, 1991. 85-86; B.F. Usman, “A History of Colonial Education in Katsina.” B.A (History) Project, BUK, Kano-Nigeria, 1985. 83-84 and NAK/KATPROF/2073–Katsina Division Annual Report, 1930. 5-6.

Local Government Council in 1976 and then a State Capital of Katsina State from the defunct Kaduna State of Nigeria on September 23, 1987. Further developments were equally seen as a result of the return to democratic government in 1999 which led to the emergence of Governors like Umaru Musa Yar'adua (1999–2007) and Barr. Ibrahim Shehu Shema (2007–2015). During their tenure as governors, Katsina metropolis and the entire state experience great transformation in the education sector. This was owing to their fashion for educational advancement in the state. These, and many other prominent men and women in the metropolis were products of Basic and Upper Basic schools either owned by the Government (Public schools) or Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) /individuals or group of individuals.

Conceptual Clarification and Theoretical Background

This paper is presented on five major concepts, namely, “Private School,” “School Teacher(s),” and “School Administrator(s).” Their lawful and theoretical conceptualizations are therefore essential for the purpose of simplify.

Private School

Generally, it is a well-known fact that, the ownership of educational institutions in the Federal Republic of Nigeria is between the public (Federal, State and Local Governments) and private sectors which refer to individuals, group of persons, organizations or missionary bodies coming together to establish and run educational institutions at any level of the educational system namely Basic and Upper Basic schools, Universities, Colleges of Education, Health, Administration, and Polytechnics amongst others. This shows that private schools are schools which have the following characteristics: Supported by private organizations or individuals rather than the state. They are independent schools which are supported wholly by the payments of fees. They are not administered by local, state or federal

governments. They also retain the rights to select students etc.² In fact they are categorized according to fee regimes, as *Low Fee Paying (LFP)* and *High Fee Pay (HFP)*. The fee regimes are directly determined by the owner's defined standards and are characteristics and not subject to government regulation. The payment of fees determines access and sometimes quality programmes available in each school.³ In fact for more than six decades now, private schools have been ran as profit oriented enterprises. They are often owned by individuals, cooperating individuals, voluntary agencies or faith based organizations.⁴

School Teacher(s):

On the other hand, a teacher (also called a school teacher or, in some contexts, an educator) is a person who helps students to acquire knowledge, competence or virtue.⁵ In other words, school teachers refer to educationist [*chiefly British*], educator, instructor, pedagogue (also pedagogy), preceptor and or suitors and a person whose responsibilities are but not limited to inculcation of knowledge through the various subjects they taught pupils and students, role models as icons of the society as well as guidance and counselling being second parents who spent more hours with wards in the school environment.

Informally, the role of a teacher may be taken on by anyone (e.g. when showing a colleague how to perform a specific task). In some countries,

² Emunemu, B.O. "Private Sector in Education and Skill Development in Nigeria." *European Journal of Social Science*. Volume 6 Number 4, 2008. 165-170; Omede, J. "Private Participation in Education in Nigeria: Some Issues that Matters!" *Asian Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences (AJHSS)*. Volume 3 Issue -1, February, 2015. 101-102. www.ajhss.org and Zumuk, Y.S. "The Role of Public/Private Partners (MDGS) of the Education Sector." *The Voice of Teachers*. Volume 1 Number 1, 2009. 151-153.

³ Harma. *Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria*. ESSPIN: Study of Private Schools in Lagos. Report Number LG, 303, 2011. <http://www.esspin.org/resources/report>.

⁴ Wycliff, S. "A Study of the Establishment and Growth of Private Schools in Katsina, 1980–2010." B.A (History) Project, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria-Nigeria, 2012. 80-90.

⁵ "Teacher." Wikipedia. Access on January 30, 2020 from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teacher> 1/19.

teaching young people of school age may be carried out in an informal setting, such as within the family (home schooling), rather than in a formal setting such as a school or college. Some other professions may involve a significant amount of teaching (e.g. youth worker, pastor).

In most countries, *formal* teaching of students is usually carried out by paid professional teachers. This article focuses on those who are *employed*, as their main role, to teach others in a *formal* education context, such as at a school or other place of *initial* formal education or training.

In other words, school teachers also help their colleagues plan courses that use new methods, materials, organize extracurricular activities such as sports and social groups. They work as teams that include school administrators, school counsellors, and school psychologists. Their work goes beyond the classroom to include parents, parent groups, community and governmental agencies.⁶

Thus, school teachers help students to acquire knowledge, competence and virtue. Thus the competence required by a teacher is affected by the different ways in which the role is understood around the world. Broadly, there seem to be four models: (1) the teacher as a manager of instruction; (2) the teacher as a caring person; (3) the teacher as an expert learner; and (4) the teacher as a cultural and civic person.

School Administrator(s):

School administrators is the term used to describe leaders in a school or the professionals who, as a whole, carry out those different administrative tasks that keep a school running smoothly, such as a Principal, Vice Principal, Head-Teachers, Assistant Head Teachers, Instructional Supervisors, athletic directors, and other support staff, or other school leaders in an official capacity or any other position the school deems necessary. School

⁶ “Secondary School Teacher Job Description, Career as a Secondary Teacher, Salary, Employment. <https://careers.stateuniversity.com/pages/739/Teacher-Secondary-School.html>.

administrators could also be superintendents, who help oversee multiple schools in the educational sector.⁷ A school administrator can hold a couple of different positions within a school, completes administrative duties, depending on his/her actual title.⁸ A school administrator needs to be a leader, organized, and committed to the job, may be responsible for setting a curriculum, organizing professional development, creating master schedules, observing and mentoring staff, as well as completing office or clerical tasks as needed is a leader, who can delegate as needed, but keeps things organized and calm in the case of emergency and he also needs to be a boss, disciplinarian, organizer, and leader.

In other words, a school administrator refers to person in charge of discipline, overall school order, master schedules, teacher hiring, firing, and evaluation. He is an organizational leader, must be a professional who is expected to attend numerous school events, meetings, and classes. He is also needed to attend personally, professional development and school board level meetings. A school administrator must be organized and well-versed in school matters as well as being understanding, yet diplomatic when dealing with parents, teachers, and students.⁹

Meanwhile, School administration generally involves the management of all school operations, from creating a safe learning environment to managing the school budget. To further define school administration, one needs to consider the different areas of school administration and who performs these school administrative duties.¹⁰

In general, all school administrators work full-time to help provide a safe and high-quality learning environment and educational experience for pupils and students. At the elementary, middle, and high school levels or Basic and Basic Upper levels, this work is demonstrated best by school principals, who

⁷ “What Is School Administration?” https://learn.org/articles/What_is_School_Administration.html

⁸ “How to Become a School Administrator.” <https://www.teacher.org/privacy-policy/>

⁹ How to Become a School Administrator.

¹⁰ What Is School Administration?

may be responsible for duties such as: (1) Overseeing teachers and support staff, (2) Disciplining students, (3) Implementing curriculum standards, (4) Creating class schedules, (5) Setting rules and security procedures, (6) Monitoring student achievement data, and (7) Handling the school budget.¹¹

Historical Background to Private Basic and Upper Basic Schools in Katsina Metropolis

The growing and increased demand for quality education by Nigerian and Nigerian non-citizens call for cooperative involvement of all stakeholders. This demand paved way for the establishment of different private Basic and Upper Basic schools and even higher institutions of learning in different parts of Nigeria. Besides, the inability of the Federal, State and Local Governments of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to meet the yearnings of the pupils and students, increase in the age of school children, inadequate provision of infrastructures in public schools, teachers and school administrators, learning facilities, discipline and adequate service delivery further paved way for the emergence of the private schools entrepreneurs in the establishment of these schools in order to complement government efforts in the provision of quality education and social services on one hand while on the other hand, to make profit at the same time.¹²

Nevertheless, the history of the establishment of these schools in Katsina metropolis could be traced to the activities of the Christian missionaries like Sundan Interior Mission (SIM) (now Evangelical Church Winning All - ECWA) who established Babbar Ruga primary (Basic) School along Batsari Road in 1937 along with Leprosarium and a Church¹³ followed by the

¹¹ What Is School Administration?

¹² Wycliff, S. "Private schools in Katsina metropolis: Profit making or social service (1980–2017)." *International Journal of Development and Sustainability*, Japan. Volume 6 Number 12 (2017):2058-2067. <https://isdsnet.com/ijds-v6n12-12.pdf> and www.isdsnet.com/ijds

¹³ Dahiru, R. "The Impact of Christian Missionary Activities on Katsina Emirate." M.A (History) Dissertation, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria-Nigeria, 2011. 50-100; Dahiru, R. "The Role of SIM Missionary in the British Leprosy Campaigns in Katsina Emirate." Seminar Paper, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria-Nigeria, 2011. 18-

Church Missionary Society – CSM (now Anglican Church) who established St. John’s Primary (Basic) School in GRA (Government Reserve Area) Goruba Road Katsina in 1943. Sarkin Yaki Katsina was quoted during the 1st October, 1960 Independence Day Ceremony Visitation. Saying to the Head-Teacher of St. John’s Primary School Mr. Okolo that “I am proud of your school being the best in town”¹⁴ and in the whole of then Katsina Province. Consequently, these schools that made breakthroughs in the history of education in Katsina were unfortunately taken over by the North Central State Government in 1974 and 1975 respectively. For instance, after the government took over, St. John’s Primary school was renamed Modoji Primary School and is currently called Hassan Model Science Primary School Katsina.¹⁵ This in fact marked the end of the first phase of Private Schools in Katsina Metropolis.

The second phase of Private Schools in Katsina metropolis began in the 1980s following the creation of Katsina State which led to the massive transfer of public and private workers to the state, failure in the Junior Secondary School Certificate Examination (JSCE) and the West African Senior School Certificate (WASSC) Examinations in most public schools, congestion of pupils and students in public schools, and the low standard of education to mention but few. This led to the emergence of the first individualized private school with the name Auntie Ramatu College which

29; Wycliff, “A Study of the Establishment and Growth of Private Schools in Katsina, 1980–2010.” 40-42 and 98-101; Umoh, M.A. “History of Christian Missionaries in Katsina State: Case Study of Babban Ruga.” Research Work at Katsina State History and Culture Bureau (KSHCB), Katsina-Nigeria, 2010. 17-18, Yantumaki, Rev. I. Age 70. Retired Clergyman Evangelical Church Winning All (ECWA) Babbar Ruga. Interviewed at Sabon Garin Alhaji Yahuza on June 17, 2017, Hassan, Mal. M. Age 72. Retired Nurse Babban Ruga Leprosarium. Interviewed at Sabon Garin Alhaji Yahuza on June 17, 2017 and Wycliff, S. “The Historical Origin and Development of Sabon Gari Alhaji Yahuza in Batagarawa Area of Katsina State, 1963–2008.” NCE History Project, Isa Kaita College of Education Dutsinma, Katsina, 2008. 51-54

¹⁴ “History of John’s Church.” *Hope Magazine*, A Publication of the Diocese of Katsina Anglican Communion, October, 2010:19-20.

¹⁵ “History of John’s Church.” 7-17.

started in March 10, 1980 with 17 pupils.¹⁶ This followed by Kiddies International School and ECWA Primary School which all came in a month after State Creation of Katsina in September 23, 1987.¹⁷ Since then, the number of private Basic and Upper schools kept increasing year in-and-year-out. For instance, from 1980 to 2010 combined together (individuals, religious bodies and firms, private schools in Katsina metropolis) there were over 105 Private schools and in the year 2019 it was over 135 comprising both Basic and Upper private (Registered and Non-Registered) schools with each of these schools having an enrolment of not less than 60 to 2,000 for Basic and then 150 to 3,000 for Upper Basic while teachers a minimum of 9 to 15 for Basic against that of public schools which have 30 to 60, while Upper 12 to 20 against 25 to 80 per for public Basic and Upper Basic schools.¹⁸ Hence their proliferation to an extent, was as a result of government acknowledgement of private ownership in education which could help in the attainment of the following goals as argued by Akintayo and Oghenekowho:

1. Qualitative research and development;
2. Access to advanced educational needs for technological development;
3. Efficiency in resource generation through partnership and cooperation;
4. Enhanced capacity-building relevant for the needs of the economies;
5. Moderation of university carrying capacity for observation of qualified and trainable human resources and

¹⁶ “Biography of Auntie Ramatu’s Voice: The Story of A School @21.” *Annual School Magazine*. Volume 1 Number 1, 2005:5-6.

¹⁷ S. Wycliff, “Impact of Private School Administration on Educational Advancement in Katsina State.” *Wukari Journal of Public Sector Management*. Volume 1, Number 1, 2017:75-92.

¹⁸ Wycliff, “A Study of the Establishment and Growth of Private Schools in Katsina, 1980–2010.” 79-100 and “Biography of Auntie Ramatu’s Voice: The Story of A School @21.” 5-6.

6. Combating the threats of the global challenges of illiteracy, poverty, disease, war and insecurity.¹⁹

In a broad sense, government acknowledged private schools considering the fact that, shouldering the responsibilities of education cannot be done by government alone, so, the roles and duties of the private initiatives must therefore be welcomed.

The Roles of Teachers and School Administrators in providing impactful leadership In Katsina Metropolis

It is widely acknowledged that education is an important source of economic and social development in not only Katsina metropolis but Nigeria as whole. However, the role of Teachers and School Administrators in providing impactful leadership In Katsina Metropolis cannot be overemphasized. It should therefore be noted that, no matter how beautiful a private school is, the level of infrastructure provided, standard classes, pupils and students, it will never be complete without teachers and school administrators. It will just be like the sea or ocean with a ship but no water to move it to a destination. The same applies to the simple explanation on the roles of teachers and school administrators in Basic and Upper Basic Private Schools in Katsina metropolis.

In other words, teachers and school administrators assume a wide range of roles to support and student success. Whether these roles are assigned formally or shared informally, they build the entire school's capacity. Moreover, they can lead in a variety of ways, as many teachers serve as leaders among their peers.

¹⁹ Akintayo, M.O. and Oghenekohwo, J.E. "Private initiatives in University Education Investment and the Context of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)." In Boucouvalas, M and Aderinoye, R. (ed), *Education for Millennium Development*. Volume 2, Spectrum Books Limited, Ibadan, 2008:509.

(a) Provision of Standard Education and Quality Assurance

One of the key roles played by teachers and school administrators in the Private sector is in the provision of standard education to pupils and students as compared to what is obtainable in the public Basic and Upper Basic schools. This is because their work (Private teachers and school administrators) in such schools is that of “No Work No Pay.” They work hard in the inculcation of education to their pupils and students in order to sustain quality assurance to which on different occasions has made lots of parents, teachers of public schools, Ministry of Education (MOE) academic and non-academic staff, school inspectors, examination bodies, politicians and top government machineries to enrol their children into such private schools because of the quality assurance they have in the teaching, learning and good administrative structure/set-up through the services or impactful leadership of the teachers and school administrators in such schools. In spite of the fact that some of the class structures in Private Schools are not as standard as compared to those of public schools, they have an advantage over the government schools because they have less pupils and students (25 to 50 per class) in the Private Basic and Upper Schools in the metropolis, while in the public schools the number of pupils and students in a class ranges from 70 – 200 which is too much for a single teacher to handle. In such schools (private), wards are easily monitored, nurtured and better attention given to them because there is no congestion in the classes. Also, the absence of congestion creates an enabling and conducive environment for rescuing pupils and students from failure to read and write which is the most cases emanated from congestion and poor or no attention, monitoring and nurturing by teachers. Thus, over the years, graduates of such schools are appreciated in various Private and Government Universities, Colleges of Education and Polytechnics and lots more.

(b). Inculcation of Moral Attitude and Mentorship

Character formation/inculcation of moral attitude to children and formation of habits of discipline in Private Schools of Katsina metropolis is another key role played by teachers and school administrators which impact

leadership. In these schools bearing in mind their population and enrolment of pupils and students which is less. Inculcation of moral attitudes and discipline by teachers and school administrators has been made at easy. For instance, the children in such private school, are taught how to publicly, speak or how to talk or speak in public, dress well, living a healthy life among other things. These and many other are usually done through various programmes organized by and in preparation for the school Speech and Prize Giving Day, Debate, Quiz, Drama, Health Inspection, as well as societies and clubs such as Drugs and Abuse Club, Road Safety Clubs, Forestry Clubs, and Charity Clubs; where children are taught to love and support orphans, homeless, destitute and sick children, youths and adults as well as promote the peaceful co-existence of people in Katsina and Nigeria their father land.

Apart from that, serving as a mentors to pupils and students by teachers is another role played being by the teachers and school administrators. These people serve as role models; acclimate new pupils, students and teachers to a new school; and advise these new ones about teaching and learning, curriculum, procedure, practice, and politics. Being a mentor, take a great deal of time, expertise and makes a significant contribution to the development of new students and pupils. This role helps in acclimating them to the community of Katsina metropolis and develops them to become accomplished pupils, students and teachers.²⁰

(c). Inter-Group Relations

Inter-group relations is another important role through which teachers and school administrators use in providing impactful leadership in Private Basic and Upper Basic Schools in the 21st Century Katsina Metropolis. This is because these schools employ teachers and equally enrol pupils and students from various languages, ethnic identity and regions of the Federal Republic

²⁰ Harrison, C and Killion, J. "Ten Roles for Teacher Leaders." *Educational Leadership*. Volume 65 Number 1, September, 2007:1-10. www.ascd.org/publications/educational-leadership/sept07/vol65/num01/Ten-Roles-for-Teacher-Leaders.aspx 1/5

of Nigeria. Such schools are therefore a true representation of the Federal Character of Nigeria in spite of the fact that they are not government establishments. The true representation of the Nigerian unity in diversity, which is an avenue for multi-cultural relationships is always found in them. This is a unique feature that is not found in the State public schools which are mostly populated with Hausa and Fulani teachers, pupils and students in Katsina metropolis. Thus, the children in such private schools are taught by their teachers and school administrators to grow with sense of tolerance for one another, irrespective of one's religion, language, culture and identity. Some may even inter-marry being classmates or pupils and students who attended same school. They have all been taught to grow with a broader knowledge of what constitutes Nigeria and diverse ways of interacting with other people from different families, ethnic and religious backgrounds.

(d). Resource Provider and Instructional Specialist

Private school teachers and school administrators who are resource providers and instructional specialists play an important role in the provision of impactful leadership. This is because these category of people in the private school setting, help their colleagues by way of sharing instructional resources. These might include websites, instructional materials, reading, or other resources to use with students and pupils. They also share such professional resources as articles, books, lesson or unit plans and assessment tools to ensure effective teaching and learning process.

In addition, as instructional specialists, they help their colleagues to implement effective strategies. This includes among others, ideas for differentiating instruction or planning lessons in partnership with fellow teachers. Instructional specialists might study research-based classroom strategies; explore which instructional methodologies are appropriate for the

school; and share findings with colleagues which further enhances effective teaching and learning.²¹

(e). Learning Facilitator and Classroom Supporters

Learning facilitators and classroom supporters is another role played by school teachers and administrators in impactful leadership in the area of study. There is the for instance, existence of facilitating professional learning opportunities among staff members in such schools. In fact, when teachers learn with and from one another, they mostly focus on what directly improves learning of pupils and students. Their professional learning becomes more relevant, focused on teachers – classroom work, and aligned to fill gaps in student(s) learning. Such communities of learning break the norms of isolation in such schools. For such identify student needs, teachers' current level of knowledge and skills.²² Furthermore, learning is what schools are all about and the school principal must understand the ways in which teacher learning and growth is connected to student learning and development. Teachers and school administrators of Basic and Upper Basic Schools work together or hand-in-hand to embed life-long learning into the everyday life of students. These teachers also know that, 'it enriches the ambience of the school and makes it into a place of excitement, energy, and direction and excellence.'²³

Coupled with that, teachers and school administrators play the role of classroom supporters when they work inside classrooms to help their fellow teachers to implement new ideas, often by demonstrating a lesson, coaching,

²¹ Marano, R., Pickering, D and Pallock, J. *Classroom instruction that works*. Alexandria, VA: Heinemann, 2001.3-5.

²² Killion, J. *What works in elementary schools: Result-based staff Development*. Oxford, OH: National Staff Development Council, 2001. 23-24.

²³ Golde, A. "School-Based Continuous Professional Development: School Leaders' Responsibilities." A Paper presented at the Leading Education in the 21st Century conference, Riga, Latvia.1998. 2 and Bredeson, P.V. "The school principal's role in teacher professional development." *Journal of In-Service Education*. 26:2, 2006. 385- 401. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1367458000200114>.

or observing and giving feedback. Blasé and Blasé found that consultation with peers “enhanced teachers’ self-efficiency (teachers belief in their own abilities and capacity to successfully solve teaching and learning problems) as they reflected on practice and grew together, and it also encourages a bias for much (improvement through collaboration) on the part of teachers.”²⁴

(f). Catalysts for Change and ensuring Learners learn

Further to these, teachers and school administrators have played the role of being catalysts for change in the area of the study. This is because they are agents of change and visionaries who are “never contented with the status quo but are rather always looking for a better way.”²⁵ Besides, these people feel secured in their own work and have a strong commitment to continual improvement. In fact, they pose questions to generate analysis for student learning. This paved way for impactful leadership and zeal for great changes in knowledge and learning acquisition.

In addition, teachers and school administrators always take the pain of creating avenues for learning because the most important role they play in providing impactful leadership on and for the learner. Being models to learners, always insisting on and ensuring that there is continuity in improvement, demonstrating lifelong learning, and extensively using what they learnt in order to help students to achieve success. In fact, at every staff meeting, emphases are made on effective teaching and learning to enable learners learn as well as appreciate what they learn.

More so, the whole world in the 21st century expect every country, whether developed or developing to experience rapid growth in economic, political and social aspects. Many argue that these changes are somehow closely related to the development of education. According to a famous writer Alvin Toffler, said that “the Illiterates of the 21st century are not those that cannot

²⁴ Blasé, J and Blasé, J. *Teacher bringing out the best in teachers: A guide to peer consultation for administrators and teacher*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press, 2006.

²⁵ Larner, M. *Pathways: Charting a course for professional learning*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2004. 32

read or write, but those that cannot learn, unlearn and relearn. According to him, education in this century is more challenging and must be able to produce students who are creative, innovative and able to solve problems and think critically and efficiently.²⁶ This in fact shows that learning is a critical thing common in Katsina metropolis when we consider the role which teachers and school administrators have played in the private Basic and Upper Basic schools.

Challenges facing Teachers and School Administrators in the provision of impactful leadership

Despite the various roles of Teachers and School Administrators in Providing Impactful Leadership, they still face some challenges which often cripple operations towards the actualization of Impactful Leadership in Private Basic and Upper Basic Schools in the 21st Century Katsina Metropolis.

Examination Malpractices

One of the key challenges militating against impactful leadership is that of examination malpractices. It is unfortunate that quite a number of teachers and school administrators who are supposed to be role models for students and the custodian of people's values and traditions have deviated from their integrity and become useful tools for the propagation of examination malpractices. Discontentment in terms of their salary, coupled with the threats they experience from their proprietors coersing them to be involved in the menace or lose their appointment plus incentives. This have critically hindered their progress in respect to the roles they play in providing impactful leadership in the Private Basic and Upper Basic Schools in the 21st Century Katsina Metropolis.²⁷ Besides, they support acts of impersonation

²⁶ Toffler, A. *Future Shock*. 3rd Printing USA: Rantam House, Inc., 1971. 19-20.

²⁷ Kurfi, R.A. Age 50. Chairman NAPPS Katsina State and National Vice President. Interviewed at Jamu International School Dutsin-Ma Local Government, Katsina State on May 23, 2012 and Raji, T.B. Age 52. NAPPS State Secretary, Chairman of Katsina Local

through the acceptance of contract from parents and guardians to write SSCE examinations for ghost candidates, acceptance of bribery and corruption while serving examination bodies such as Education Resource Centres (ERC) NECO, WAEC and NABTEB in the capacity of Examination Invigilators. They perpetrate irregularities like dictating answers to students in examination halls, booklet swapping, negotiation/bargaining on the amount of money to be paid to Ministry of Education (MOE) inspectors, staff of examination bodies who are posted for examination invigilation in order to allow them give answers to students, write for ghost workers and do as they please without any restriction to examination malpractices.²⁸ All these portray a moral decadence in the teachers and school administrator's impactful leadership.

Coupled with that, examination bodies and MOE inspectors often pressurize proprietors, teachers and school administrators to register candidates for them in the SSCE examination for which they will pay less than what they are expected to pay otherwise, they will threaten to send "uncompromised" supervisors, external examiners and lots more to ensure that schools that failed to compromise are painted black. These and many associated social ills have equally affected impactful leadership of the educationist under review.

Non-Payment of Teachers' Salary and Lack of Manpower

Next to that is the non-payment of teachers' and school administrators' salary as at when due by the school proprietors. Welfare of teachers is not always a top priority of most proprietors or Private Basic and Upper Schools in the Katsina metropolis but rather how to make profit. Some teachers have

Government NAPPS and Proprietor Mariamoh Ajiri Memorial International Schools. Interviewed at his school in Katsina on September 27, 2011.

²⁸ Wycliff, S. "Proceeding of the Academic Conference on 21st Century Challenges and Opportunities: Multidisciplinary Approaches." In *Sub-Sahara African Awakening for 21st Century Challenges and Opportunities: Multidisciplinary Approaches. Conference Proceeding of the Academic Conference on 21st Century Challenges and Opportunities: Multidisciplinary Approaches*. Volume 19 Number 3, December 19–20, 2019. 108-112.

not been paid their salaries for 2 to 6 months. This indeed affects their motivation to work, give their very best in ensuring impactful leadership as icon of the society and role continue being models of pupils and students in Katsina metropolis. Further to this, some of these teachers and school administrators are heavily exploited and overstressed purposely with workload because the proprietors do not want to employ more teachers. In fact these could be the reasons why teachers are made classroom teachers instead of subject teachers. This makes their workload much heavier which hinders teachers and difficult to monitor the pupils' and students' performances adequately. In some cases, proprietors of such schools prefer to make use of Student-Teachers posted from Universities and Colleges of Education on practical teaching and National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) posted to their schools instead of employing a full-time teachers since they only pay allowances instead of full salary to teachers who are employed which could be 3 or 4 times higher than the allowances. Meanwhile, even school administrators who are supposed to focus on teachers, pupils and students evaluation, guidance and counselling do not do anything to ensure effective impactful leadership. This often makes them to transfer to other private schools where their services are of more value or even swift to other employments outside the teaching profession.

Similarly, some of the proprietors hinder teachers and school administrators from furthering their studies or go on in-service programs for the purpose of upgrading their qualifications. Added to this is the poor attitude of proprietors towards in-house seminars and workshops for the teachers and school administrators to enable them meet-up with current or 21st century school challenges and way forward. More to this is the absence of standard libraries that could enable teachers do wide researches in their subjects of specialization, and make standard lesson notes, or give pupils and students assignments with easy access to the library. Instead, the teachers are forced to always improvise where and whenever the proprietors' refusal or fail to supply adequate teaching and learning materials required to make teaching and learning conducive for both the teachers, and school administrators, pupils and students.

Indiscipline and Moral decadence

In spite of the character formation and moral attitude inculcation among pupils and students of Private Basic and Upper Basic, teachers and school administrators face challenges of indiscipline and moral decadence from wards and their parents on one hand, while on the other hand, from proprietors who believe in the market theory which asserts that a customer is always right. This is because most proprietors disallow teachers from disciplining wards who misbehave. In other words, the proprietors regard pupils and students as being more important than the teachers, meaning “no pupils/students no teacher.” In fact, they place pupils/students first before the teacher. They believe that it is better to lose a teacher than to lose a ward/pupil/student. This is followed by the mentality believed by some parents who believe that they are paying school fees as such their children should not be disciplined whenever they misbehave but rather, they should be called and be informed. This encourages many wards in private schools to misbehave beyond reasonable thinking. This is more common with children from parents of high social status such as members of the National Assembly, State House of Assembly, Ministers, Commissioners or wealthy business tycoons etc. Consequently, such negatively affects and frustrates the efforts of teachers and school administrators towards actualization of impactful leadership.

Conclusion and Way Forward

From the above discussion, there is, beyond all reasonable doubt, that the role of teachers and school administrators in providing impactful leadership in Private Basic and Upper Basic Schools in the 21st Century Katsina Metropolis cannot be overemphasized bearing in mind that they are always busy and are often overloaded with workload along with administrative tasks in their daily work, which they exhibit in impactful leadership through multiple, and sometimes overlapping ways. In fact, the roles they play sometimes are formal with designed responsibilities while others are informal. But all of which ensures impactful leadership because they ensure they find ways to lead that fit the talents and interest in learners. Regardless

of what their roles in Katsina metropolis have been, Basic and Upper Basic Schools shape the culture of their schools and its environs, improve students learning, and influences practice among their peers, students and pupils as well as their community. In spite of the challenges teachers and school administrators face from proprietors of such schools, MOE inspectors and staff of examination bodies, examination malpractices and inadequate atmosphere for teaching and learning still pose as serious obstacles to impacting leadership. On these notes, the way forward are hereby highlighted below.

1. Proprietors of the schools should always pay the salaries of teachers and school administrators regularly and as at when due in order to make them put their very best in impactful leadership of the pupils and students.
2. Provision should be made for teachers and school administrators to further their studies. This will enable them refresh their knowledge and come with better ideas in moving the schools to greater heights.
3. Quarterly or biannual workshops, seminars and symposia should be organized by Government, Proprietors of schools and National Association of Proprietors of Private Schools (NAPPS) in order to enhance teaching, and learning and basic skills for teachers and school administrators.

DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS, POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE PROBLEM OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

This paper examines the activities of political parties in Nigeria particularly of the fourth republic, focusing on democracy/elections and political representation in the Nigerian State. The paper suggests that the existence of political parties does not mean political representation in Nigeria. The political party provides the citizens with the platform for electing their representatives in a democratic state in an election. Nigeria started practising representative democracy in 1923 following stiff opposition by Africans to be included in the governance of their respective states with the adoption of the Clifford Constitution of 1922. Though; the representation was disproportionate, only four Nigerians were elected covering only Lagos and Calabar. Subsequent constitutions created more rooms for more participation, with the advent of more political parties, the electorates were at liberty to elect their representatives. The paper also

identifies and discusses some factors that have affected contributed to the effectiveness of representation in Nigeria, this includes; corruption, electoral malpractice, godfatherism. This paper adopts the documentary method in carrying out this research work. It is therefore the submission in this paper that since 1999, party politics has not brought about the required and desired political representation in Nigeria. It also submits that despite a multi-party system, the scope of representation is no better than in the previous republics. This is because the fourth republic political parties lack political ideology though appears to be people-oriented theoretically.

Keywords: Political Party, Party Politics, People, Democracy, Election, Representation.

Introduction

In the world today, the system of government that is most acceptable is democracy. Hence; for anyone to vie for any elective position he/she is expected to belong to a political party. It is no doubt; political parties perform several functions in any political entity.

Despite introducing political representation into Nigeria in 1922 by the Clifford Constitution, this was done in theory but not in practical terms. This also saw to the introduction of party politics and the creation of the first political party by 1923. The Clifford constitution for the first time in theory allowed Nigerians to elect leaders/people that will represent them but with restriction to Lagos and Calabar and a condition that permits only a privileged few to participate in the electioneering process which was frustrated or replaced by appointing representatives for the people whom were not truly the people's choice but imposed on them by the colonial masters. The limitation of the political parties in both number and sphere was not only a problem but denied the people of other region (Nigerians) the right of equal participation in the electoral process to decide their representatives, the activities of these political parties were limited only to

Lagos and Calabar. The first political parties were the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP of 1923) and the Lagos Youth Movement (LYM of 1934) with only four people elected in the election three from Lagos and one from Calabar to represent the people.¹As the journey continues to independence/republic and through the first, second, third and presently the fourth republic, there have been substantial numerically growth and spread of political parties and activities with more coverage of assumed representation. The rise in the number and coverage of political parties becomes an important necessity and requirement for the sustenance and existence of Nigerian democracy. The wider coverage of a political party is to give the people choice and options and also to meet the requirements to be considered for the registration of a political party in the transition to the Nigerian Fourth Republic. As part of the party required to be considered for permanent registration according to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) laws, an aspiring political party needs to be able to get at least ten percent (10%) of votes cast in twenty-four out of the thirty-six states.² The requirement suggests seems that the political party is expected to be show readiness and seriousness in wanting to represent the people and to as well have wider nationalistic coverage and acceptability. Though, towards the fourth republic, so many aspiring political parties were not able to meet the needed requirement for its registration, thus; the requirements were watered down to avoid Nigeria becoming a two-party state just as in the case of the aborted third republic SDP and NRC. This, explains the registration of the Alliance for Democracy as the third political party in 1999 to contest in the general election alongside the PDP & ANPP.³ There has been political growth in Nigeria since Nigerians were ushered into the fourth republic, following the numeric growth of political activities in the country and its wide acceptability and coverage, it will be assumed that the people have had a good share of representation in governance but this hope is eluded. The numeric growth of registered political parties in Nigeria from three in 1999 to ninety-one 2019 general election describes how fast the country's democracy is growing but with ineffective representation and governance.

The crux of any political party function is that of representation. The modern democratic theory allows the electorates to vote for candidates/people who will represent them in the affairs of governance not to suffer mal-nutrition of representation which is the case today.

Conceptual Clarifications

For easy understanding and comprehension, the keywords used in this paper are briefly explained below:

Democracy

Democracy in its simplest definition is defined as the government of the people, for the people and by the people. It is a system of government where the people control the decision making of the state. According to Omotola; democracy is a system of government that ensures that power belongs to the people.⁴ He further argued that democracy is an institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide through a competitive struggle for the people's vote.⁵

To Schumpeter, democracy entails the institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions, which realizes the common good of the people and by making the people decide on issues through the power of the thumb (election of individuals) by way of electing people who will best protect and project their interest governance and government.

Democracy, therefore, viewing from the angle of this paper is viewed as 'power of the people'; this refers to governance which depends on the peoples' will.

Political Parties

According to Chinedu, a political party is a political organization in a given political system whose primary objective is either to capture office in electoral competition with one or more parties or the pursuit and capture of political power and public office by any means possible.⁶ It is also defined

as an organized group seeking to elect governmental officeholders under a given label. To Burk, he defines it as a body of men, united for promotion by their joint endeavours, the national interest upon some particular principle in which they all agreed.

Schumpeter opined that; the first and foremost aim of every political party is to prevail over the others to get into power or to stay in it.⁷

What distinguished a political party from other organization such as civil society, pressure group, etc., is its goal of attaining/or maintaining political power.

Three characteristics have been pointed out by ‘Adigun’; that distinguished political parties from other organized constituted organizations. These include;

- i. It is a label in the minds of its members and the wider public especially the electorate.
- ii. It is an organization that recruits and campaigns for candidates seeking election and selection into public political office.
- iii. It is a set of leaders who try to organize and control the legislative and executive branches of government.⁸

A political party is also defined by Ostheimer as; organizations that employ their machinery for competing within a representative system for the support of voters.⁹

This paper seeks therefore to submit that; the political party is the coming together of different people with the same interest, vision and ideology with a common aim seeking to wrestle political power either by an individual or group of people cooperatively with other political parties. In a nutshell, political parties are the political platform/structures, tool, mechanism and organizations through which people seek political offices, especially in a democratic setting.

Election

An election is a mechanism by which the people elect their representatives in a modern representative democracy. Britannica defines election as the formal process of selecting a person for public office or accepting or rejecting a political proposition by voting. The Collins dictionary defines election as a process in which people vote to choose a person or group of people to hold an official position.¹⁰

Representation

The concept of political representation has multiple and competing dimensions. Though; the common understanding of political representation contains different, and conflicting, conceptions of how political representatives should represent and so holds representatives to naturally incompatible standards. For this paper, ‘Suzanne Dovi’s’ definition is adopted. She defines political representation as to the activity of making citizens’ voices, opinions, and perspective “present” in public policy-making processes. Political representation occurs when political actors speak, advocate, symbolize, and act on the behalf of others in the political arena.¹¹

The Relationship between Democratic Elections, Political Parties and Representation

Election, as discussed and known; is an integral aspect of democracy. Elections, as broadly conceived, are the process of electing/selection of the elites by the majority masses of the population of a state in any given political system. Although political participation among thinkers and scholars ranges about the nature of representation, despite the divergent opinion in the definition of the term, there is a universal point of universal agreement; political representation as a process is intrinsically linked to elections and voting. Political representation is essential in any legitimate/constitutional government and elections are pivotal to determining a truly representative government. The representatives who

are elected by the people act on behalf of the electorate taking/making legislative and executive decisions that voters/electorates or the people, in general, could not possibly make for themselves considering the sheer numbers of people involved.¹² In as much as democracy and its tenets strives in a sovereign state, the place, importance and significance of the political party are in a democratic state cannot be over-emphasised. Without a platform (political party) through which the people will elect/select their leaders directly or indirectly, then whatever the system adopted to rule the majority won't be considered as representation. Political parties are very virile tools in contemporary political societies most especially in societies that embrace and operate a representative or indirect democracy in which people are chosen by the electorates (citizens) to make decisions on their behalf. The link therefore between elections/democracy and political parties as elucidated above should be clear. 'Ojo' argued that;

“For thus far, no superior method has been evolved for selecting the leadership of a democratically ruled society”.¹³

In as much as elections are important in a democracy, it is also important to note that they do not always lead to representation. This is because to an extent there are incidences of fraud that characterize certain elections such that even when the people come out to vote, their votes do not count and most often leads to electorates becoming apathetic. The rigging of an election and other fraudulent electoral practices perpetuated by politicians and the electoral body frustrates the democratic aspirations of the electorates/citizens that have voted or would have voted into office their preferable candidate other than the eventual winner who may manoeuvre his/her way to power.

The concept of democracy is about participation and representation. Participation in the extent to which eligible citizens and members of the society take part or are involved in the electioneering activities of their respective societies. On the other hand, representation refers to the process through which people get elected/selected to act in the interest of the majority in a society or given sectors thereof. In today's modern society

where the dominant form of democracy is representative or indirect democracy, political parties are the principal tools/mechanism for ensuring the participation of citizens/electorates and representation in public policy.¹⁴ and a vehicle through which members of a state or individuals share the democratic values and also gets acquainted/socialize with the political culture of the state. Thus, a political party is an organized group of individuals with a common interest who share similar political beliefs, principles, aspirations, and opinion with the sole aim of capturing political power and exercising it through the formation of the government.

A political party according to Olarinmoye; “a more or less permanent institution with the goal of aggregating interests, presenting candidates for elections to control governments and representing such interests in government. It is thus a major vehicle for enhancing participation in governance”.¹⁵It is therefore the responsibility of political parties to recruits competent persons/individuals for political leadership through the process of periodic elections which is only obtainable in a democratic state.It is also saddled with the duty of educating the electorates through political rallies, manifestos and dissemination of information on government policies as well as serving as a vehicle for the articulation and aggregation of the interests of people. It serves as a vital link between the state and civil societies, between the institutions of government, the groups and the interest that exist within the society. The political party provides room for electoral competition and governance. Hence, the political party serves as the hub upon which the entire political process evolves and revolves.

Going by the aforementioned, there can be no meaningful democracy without a properly functioning party system. It is pertinent therefore to state that; political parties are the most important factor of every democratic state and thus; constitutes the heart of democracy. The role these parties will play will determine the healthiness of the democratic process and its survival. It is therefore suicidal for anyone to imagine any modern state practising democracy without political parties as they are the

connecting links between diverse groups, people/individual(s) and governments.¹⁶

It is, therefore, the submission of this paper that, in as much as a political party is important as to democracy theoretically, the activities of political parties especially in Nigeria is such that the antics of the dominant party (party in power) starting with Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) from 1999 – 2015 and that of the All Progressive Congress (APC) from 2015 – date, has not made for effective political representation in the country but rather, the political representation of the government loyalist and stogies. The actions and inactions of the dominant political parties have/have led to a representation deficit especially in Nigeria from 1999 - date.

Hindrances to Political Representation in Nigeria

The crux of this paper is the problem associated with the representation of the people in modern society. Respective of practising democracy in Nigeria, it cannot be said that the citizens enjoy representation from their supposed representatives. In most cases; in Nigeria, the will of the people do not prevail rather the will of the power that be (power brokers). It is as a result of this, the alleged representatives of the people claim to represent them (citizens) though in theory while in practice they are neglected. Several factors contributed to this political malnutrition which includes; godfatherism, corruption, electoral malpractice/fraud, zoning system, defection/cross-carpeting, lack of judicial autonomy, etc., to mention just but a few.

Godfatherism

The issue related to godfatherism is a phenomenon, it is not only related to Nigeria society but its effect on Nigeria society calls for serious concern. In Nigeria, there exist a very big gap between the poor and the rich, due to this wide difference; there is a space in politics for the rich to manipulate results in their favour. Godfatherism is one of the major factors that had/have hindered political representation in Nigeria. The scope of this

observable fact is quite wide in Nigeria. Godfather politics has manifested itself in various states in Nigeria. Example of such states includes; Kwara, Borno, Oyo, Anambra and the most recent Lagos states. In Edo state, the former governor (Adams Ohiomohle) imposed his godson Godwin Obaseki but at the aspiration of his first tenure (Godwin Obaseki) the duo fell out and the godfather worked against Godwin in favour of a different godson which played well at the primary election. The people on this occasion rose to reject godfatherism and elected Godwin Obaseki of the PDP as against Pst. IzeIyamo the godson of the former governor and erstwhile APC national chairman. In these states, the godfathers have installed their godsons and held the states hostage just like the biblical voice of Jacob and the hands of Esau. The effect of these godfathers installing their godsons is that those the people who want to represent them may not have a chance even in electoral contests this is because few of the grandiosity of these godfathers will bear this position out. A good example is the self-acclaimed godfather of Anambra politics who once posited that:

“I am the greatest godfather in Nigeria because this is the first time an individual single-handedly put in position every politician in the state.¹⁷ And the late strong man of Ibadan politics once gleefully postured; Predominantly, I dominate the political affairs of this state. All the governors that have won never did so without my contribution and influence ... it is a known fact and it has always been so before now that if you pass through me, you would get anything you want in politics. So if I say I dominate politics, I do.¹⁸

In this situation where the supposed godfathers hold sway of the polity, it then becomes difficult for the people to determine those who they want to represent them since the electioneering process is at the whims and caprices of the godfathers since they have (godfathers) have the resources to impose their will on the people. These resources give the godfather the feeling that they are above the law and so he becomes daring and unrestrained.¹⁹ The attitude of godfathers seems to have been encouraged

by the then ruling party of PDP and the APC of the present. This kind of encouraging attitude of both party leaders has made the godfathers very daring and this has led to a major political representation deficit for Nigerians.

Political Corruption

Corruption is itself a many-faceted phenomenon which concept contains too many connotations. Corruption is seen from different angles depending on the actors, profiteers/initiators, the manner it is carried out, to what extent is it perpetuated? etc. The causes and consequences of corruption are diverse and sought individually and in civil cultures.²⁰ For this paper, it will be briefly discussed based on the political system. Corruption can be defined as any behaviour which deviates from the formal duties of a public role because of personal and selfish gains. Corruption is the violation of rules against the exercise of a given state, organization or society. Anderson defines political corruption as any transaction between private and public sector actors through which collective goods are illegitimately converted into private/personal property.²¹ Political corruption have been a reoccurring decimal right from independence to date. From 1999 to date, corruption cases are assumed worse than in the first to the abortive third republic. An example of election cases perpetrated by political office holders include; the then-president failed attempt for a third term, the transcorp shares scandal that violated the code of conduct for public officers and his deputy was not left out in corruption cases. The likes of James Ibori, Peter Odili, Governor Jolly, Babachir Lawal, Lt chief of staff to president Buhari, Aba Kyari, Gov. Ganduje, the Maina saga, the wife to the former president Patience Jonathan, the Malabu oil international scandal, etc.,²² to mention just but a few. The rate and manner at which political office holders have overnight become scavengers are alarming; the purpose of serving/representation is defeated and replaced with thirst and hunger for wealth accumulation (selfish interest). The level of corruption in Nigeria was climaxed by the recent October 2020 “End SARS” protest (revolution) calling for a return to the status quo. It is also on records that agencies (EFCC & ICPC) were established to fight

corruption and bring political/public office holders to book which the agency is doing to an extent. It is also argued that substantive government in power uses these same agencies as watchdogs.

Electoral Fraud/Malpractice

Electoral fraud/malpractice has been a major hindrance to political representation in Nigeria. It is pertinent to note that elections have continually recorded a representation deficit since the return of democracy in the country in 1999. The recorded incidences of electoral fraud have taken a centre stage in the country since 1999 which has/have led to a major legitimacy and constitutional crisis. The frequency of electoral fraud in the Nigerian democratic process is deepened by the lack of ideology of Nigeria fourth Republic and the unwillingness of the political parties to play by the rules of the game.²³ It is worth mentioning that, every substantive government-operated impunity and regard, not the rules. All of these clandestine activities are usually exhibited in alliance with security agencies and the electoral management body.

Electoral fraud seemed to have been legalized in Nigeria, at preparatory period for the 2007 general elections; the former President Olusegun Obasanjo posited that:

“... this election is a do-or-die affair for the PDP. We have a reform program which we have started; we want those who we will hand over to, to continue the reforms”.²⁴

The statement by implication could be interpreted as; the PDP was going to use whatever means whether fair or foul to achieve victory. Even if the election was void of electoral fraud, the statement attributed to the former president will no doubt make the electorates question the outcome of the election. It is also on records the statement accredited to president Buhari quoted as: ‘Kare jini Biri jini’ (interpreted as a do or die affair). The level at which most assumes leaders make unguarded statements live the electorates questioning the place of representation in an assumed

democratic state. It is in light of this, the then president of Nigeria president Goodluck Ebele Jonathan is celebrated today in the world and envisaged as a true leader to have conceded defeat amidst a widespread electoral fraud and a well-orchestrated plan to boot him out of office. He did that for peace as he stated; ‘no blood of a single Nigeria is worth my ambition’.

The electoral fraud perpetrated by both the PDP and the APC as the strongest parties/former and ruling party respectively; the willingness of some political parties and their leaders to partake in the scramble for power and spoils of office meant that what the people wanted via the electoral process did not matter. This has indisputably impacted negatively on the subject of political representation in Nigeria and also hampers the act of representation.

Defections/Cross Carpeting

Defection in Nigeria by politicians is a daily routine; it is a factor that has become a burden to political representation which has been exercised by politicians in the last two decades in Nigerian society. Defection thus; involves the movement of a sitting member of party A to party B with different reasons justifying their defection, actions and inactions. It is eminent to say here that; whatever may be the reasons, the fact remains that defection from one political party to the other is not a political crime. It is also practised in the advanced polities, though; defections are not uncommon as the case in Nigeria.

“Unlike in the United States of America (USA) and Great Britain where it is very difficult for party members to defect, it is the order of the day here (that is, in Nigeria). The lacks of ideological commitment and penchant for opportunism have been a feature common among our politicians”.²⁵

In Africa which Nigeria is not an exception, the state has over time becomes an attractive and juicy place for political and economic

accumulation,²⁶ this informs the ferocity and struggle for the control and exploitation of the offices of the state. In a democratic setting, the struggle for the acquisition of the offices of the state is carried out by political parties featuring their candidates during elections. It is important to add that the political party which wins and controls the offices of the state is in a better position than those losses. That is why Alan Cowell argues that:

“A man who supports the office party will be rewarded with contracts for official projects, enabling him to pass on a large size to those further down the line that looks to him for generosity. The system helps those in power to perpetuate their rule because they are at the fountainhead of wealth.”²⁷

In light of the Nigerians’ baby democracy from the 1999 election to 2019, the citizenry witnessed an epoch of defection/cross carpeting, which translates to breaking ranks with one’s party and joining forces with the People Democratic Party as the then dominant party.²⁸ This, is synonymous with; “if you cannot beat them, you join them mentality” by Nigerian politicians. As the state grows democratically, one expects that the problem of defection is tamed or curbed, but it is interesting to note that this political indiscipline continues unabated. The coming of APC as the ruling party after wrestling power out from the PDP, it is saddened to postulate that defection is a matter of the past, rather; from 2015 to date, Nigerians has/have witnessed series of defections from one party to another (especially to the party at the centre) to secure ones position and relevance in the polity.

It is concerning the above ‘Kawu’ argues that:

“.....in a winner-takes-all setting, Nigeria’s opposition is an island of frustration and anger, and being left out can lead to desperately....”²⁹

Whatever is the reason for elected representatives' defection, it is worthy to mention that their defections usually lead to a lack of political representation in Nigeria and this act usually shortchanged the electorates. When a sitting governor, senator, federal house of representative/state assembly member defects to another party, he/she robs the people who voted him/her to represent them. For example, an APC governor who defects to PDP robs his APC voters of their votes since they lose the platform upon which they voted him and vice-versa.

To checkmate the menace of defections and abuse of power/betrayal of interest and confidence, those who wish to defect to another party from the different platform they were elected to power should resign from their elective positions before doing so. This would go a long way to build the party and give it a strong footing and also check excesses of defectors. The electoral body/reforms process needs to take to cognizance the menace of defectors/defections once and for all otherwise it will continue unabated.

Zoning System

Another factor that has been responsible for the lack of political representation in Nigeria from 1999-date is the zoning system of offices along the lines of the six geo-political zones especially within the three major ethnic groups of the country. In a multi-ethnic state as diverse as Nigeria, zoning may not be a bad idea/practice especially to allay the fears of the minority; it helps to give each zone a sense of belonging in governance. In as much as the geopolitical zones are carried along politically, it gives a sense of nationalism and patriotism. To a large extent, it is argued that adopting zoning based on geopolitical configuration by its organizers discriminates against other eligible candidates from other zones which also robs the people of representation as their preferred candidates will be compelled to bury his/her aspirations to give in for the zoning formula of the party. Both ruling parties (PDP & APC) from 1999-2015 & 2015-date respectively, seem to have agreed and adopted a zoning formula for its major elective and appointive positions.

The politics of zoning especially after the demise of president Yar'adua, political zoning system became so intense that it constitutes a threat to the country's democracy in general and the issue of representation in particular. As it was during the PDP era, it is also at play presently with President Buhari's tenure gradually rounding up with the South/East already tussling for power. The sword-wielding members on both sides of the zoning divide, on the whole, and in all of their interest, the interest of the majority Nigerian was/is never considered and voters relegated to the background. In all of this political brouhaha, to enjoy representation from our representatives will be a mere mirage since the people's based choice candidate may be short-lived based on zoning.³⁰

Lack of judicial autonomy: The long military rule experience has not only to drag the country backwards but also impedes the judicial system of Nigeria. The seizure of power by men in uniform and suspension of the constitution of Nigeria ruling by decree was a major setback to the judiciary. It is out of place to postulate that the constitutional configuration in Nigeria today is a product of militarized state and a true reflection of the major confinement of the politics of the military regime. The sitting governor of Ekiti State Dr Kayode Fayemi attests to the act that the Judiciary needs to be reformed in one of the speeches claiming the thirty-six state governors were in support of the electoral reform.³¹The 1999 Constitution appears to guarantee independence for the judiciary and also display better features than previous constitutions, especially concerning the appointment, and administration, of the affairs of judicial officers following the innovative creation of the National Judicial Council (NJC).³² The NJC is empowered by the constitution to punish erring judicial officers and make a recommendation to the president and state governors for the promotion of a judicial officer and to administer funds from the Consolidated Revenue Fund, including collection and disbursement for the judiciary, and to manage affairs related to the judiciary. Despite the existence of the NJC, the executive and judiciary still exercise a degree of power over the judiciary at the Federal and State government and in most cases appoints and dismiss judicial officers based on primordial sentiments

and personal interest. This is mostly exercised where the executive and legislative are controlled by a dominant party, an example is President Goodluck's decline to reinstate justice Salami and tactically force him to retirement and recent slamming of corruption case to forcefully retire Justice Walter S. N. Onnoghen.

The case whereby the 36 states governors in Nigeria determine the budgets of judicial branches and the disbursement of funds to them accordingly undoubtedly allows the governors to exercise a certain control over the activities of the judiciary. The same is also applicable at the federal level especially with the Minister of Justice as the attorney general of the federation and also a member of both the executive and the judiciary.

It is therefore the submission of this paper that the lack of independence of the judiciary makes it subservient to both the federal and state government, thereby administering justice in their favour frustrating representation.

Conclusion

Political parties in Nigeria over the years and especially since 1999 have failed to perform one of their key functions namely representation. Political parties have flourished since 1999 but this has not been translated to effective representation. Several reasons have been responsible for the increasing number of political parties and the paradoxical lack of representation. Suffice to say as this paper has shown that the key reason for the lack of political representation is electoral fraud. The extent of fraud that has trailed elections in Nigeria since 1999 has led to the crisis of representation. For the existence of political parties to translate to representation, the electoral process as it is at present needs to be overhauled. First, the electoral management body needs to be made independent. Secondly, electoral fraudsters need to be punished through effective institutionalization and implementation of enabling laws. Until these issues are adequately tackled, the quest for political representation will remain a mirage.

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