

# NIGERIAN PEOPLES & CULTURE

- A Reader



*Edited by:*

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*First Published 2015 by:*

**GSS 107: Nigerian Peoples and Culture Unit**  
**Division of General Studies,**  
Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu University,  
Igbariam Campus

In association with,

**Rhyce Kerex Publishers**

# 25, Ogunbiyi Lane, Ogui

Enugu, Nigeria.

Tel. 08033789862, 08055424113

E-mail: rhycekerexpublishers@yahoo.com

© 2015, **GSS 107: Nigerian Peoples and Culture Unit**  
**Division of General Studies,**  
Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu University,  
Igbariam Campus

**ISBN: 978-978-8418-01-6**

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*Printed and bound 2015 in Nigeria by*

Rhyce Kerex Ltd

#25, Ogunbiyi Lane, Ogui

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CHAPTER 9

## **Traditional Institutions and Leadership among the Hausa/Fulani People of Northern Nigeria**



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### **Introduction**

The diverse, highly structured leadership styles that prevailed in the Nigerian pre-colonial era depict the existence of classical, social and political thoughts before the introduction of the European socio-political thought by the missionary educators. There is no gainsaying that the present day Nigerian contemporary institutions and leadership styles as introduced by the British colonialists is new. Traditional institutions and leadership politics had been in existence in Nigeria and by extension Africa before the coming of the Europeans. However, the Eurocentric scholars



*Hadith* and *Sunatic* tradition of Prophet Mohammed. On the other hand, the Western Nigeria has a well structured checks and balances. The *Baals* (heads of communities and towns) are responsible and accountable to the paramount rulers and the powers of the paramount rulers are checked by the Chiefs to avoid tyranny and abuse of power e.g. The *Oyo-mesi* check the excesses of the *Alaafin* of Oyo.

- iv. **Separation of Power:** Power was separated among the kings and chiefs to make governance smooth and effective. For example, in the North, the *Waziri* was the Chief of Staff to the Emir; *Maaji* was the Minister of finance while *Galadima* was the Minister of Capital. In the Oyo Empire, the *Bashorun* was the Prime Minister, *Balogun* was the Chief of Defense Staff, *Oluwo* was the overall spiritual leader, while *Otun* was the King's deputy.
- v. **Inter-kingdoms Relations/International Relations:** Kingdoms do relate among themselves which brought about what seems like international relations. Kingdoms also appointed emissaries who serve as diplomats to represent the kings in other communities.

Not minding the above structured institutions, the British introduced democracy with parliamentary system of government. The new political system only recognized the traditional institutions as mere guardians of culture and tradition without any constitutional role. However, the British in her home country uses constitutional monarchy (a blend of democracy and monarchy). Perhaps, if constitutional monarchy was replicated in Nigeria, it could have worked better. To this end, the introduced modern system of governance failed in Nigeria because of the following reasons:

- i. Nigerians lack the ability to effectively operate the system of government that were entirely alien to them
- ii. Nigerians did not try enough to make a success out of these alien institutions
- iii. Nigerians did not have any emotional, ideological or intellectual attachment to these institutions. They had no real desire to operate them.
- iv. Disruption of political processes (military intervention).

It is against this backdrop that this chapter seeks to explore the traditional institutions and leadership styles of the Northern Nigeria with the intent of recognizing its structural sophistication, relevancy to contemporary governance and enable students to appreciate the traditional heritage and socio-political thoughts of the Northern forefathers. As it is usually the case in historical narrations, our focus will be on Sokoto Caliphate and Kano Emirates as case studies.

### **Brief History of the Hausa/Fulani People**

The history of Hausa/Fulani people is shrouded in controversy as it is the case with most nations (ethnic groups) in Nigeria. All Hausa communities despite their distinct intense local patriotism are united by their ethnic and cultural ancestral traditions. They all claim descent from Bayajidda (Abuyazida) whom was a prince of Baghdad (the capital city of Iraq). It was reported that Bayajida settled in Kanem and married a daughter of the Mai before he fled westwards to escape the treachery of the Mai (Stride and Ifeka, 1982). His wife gave birth to a son after he had abandoned her at Biram-ta-Gabas. Bayajida was reported to have met a skilled blacksmith who forged a special sword for him with which he killed the evil snake that prevented the people of Daura from fetching water except on Fridays. To show appreciation, the Queen of Daura married him thus he became the ruler of Daura. The queen gave birth to seven legitimate sons who later founded the seven Hausa Bakwai (Pure Hausa) states named after them. These were: Biram, Daura, Katsina, Zaria, Kano, Rano and Gobir. While some historians narrated that they were the sons of Bayajida, others said they were grandsons (Stride and Ifeka, 1982). Whichever the case, each son of the family was assigned special portfolio. Gobir was appointed the war-leader as a result of his bravery and mastery of the art of warfare, Daura and Katsina were jointly appointed Chiefs of Trade; Kano and Rano were Chiefs of industry while Zaria was assigned to head slaves' related activities.

On the other hand, history had it that Bayajida also had another seven illegitimate sons by a slave girl named Gwari. These sons were reported to have founded the seven Banza Hausa (Impure Hausa states) also named after them. These are: Zamfara, Kebbi, Gwari, Yauri, Nupe;

Yoruba and Kwararafa. It should be noted that despite the inconsistency in the reported history of the Hausa states, what seems paramount and incontrovertible is the fact that Bayajida who was the ancestral source of the Habe rulers came from the Eastern or North-Eastern part of the world. It can also be deduced that the Hausa land was already populated by a well structured settlements with organized political administration before the Habe rulers took over.

However, history was rewritten when Usman dan Fodio launched Jihad against the Habe rulers in 1804. He dislodged them and founded the Caliphate with two headquarters in Sokoto and Gwandu. The major factor that contributed to the successful subjugation of the Habe rulers and the annexation of their territories was chiefly as a result of lack of unity among all the Hausa states. Each Hausa state wanted to create its empire and they became rivalries as a result of the struggle for economic control of the region. The Jihadist capitalized on the failure of the rulers to form a unified empire and launched assault on them one after the other. They were defeated, captured and replaced with Fulani minority rulers which consequently led to the present day Hausa/Fulani configuration.

### **Political Administrative System of Northern Traditional Institutions**

The similarity of political administrative system in Hausa communities depicts the cultural unity among the Hausa people. Before the advent of Islam by the Malian merchants, the Habe rulers had been both political and religious leaders. They played key roles in local religious ceremonies, and judicial administration was done through district or village heads except on special cases where the *Sarki* himself aided by the Master of the Royal Household administered justice (Stride and Ifeka, 1982). The governments were funded through revenue derived from tithe paid on produce, taxes and spoils of wars. The *Sarki* was the paramount ruler assisted by a number of councilors, district heads, and advisers.

After the conversion to Islam and the introduction of caliphate by the Jihadists, the rulers (now Emirs, Sultan, *Amiru-l-mu'meen*, etc.) adopted some features of Islamic government and still retained the old systems that

were not inimical to the tenets of their new religion. As witnessed in the Pre-Islamic government, in all Hausa societies, the rulers combined both political and religious powers deriving their authority from the Holy Qur'an. The leaders enjoy legitimacy and the people gave undiluted loyalty as enjoined by the provision of the Holy Qur'an Chapter 4, verse 59: "O ye who believe! Obey Allah, and obey the Messenger (Prophet Mohammed) and those charged with authority among you". The political culture was religiously inclined to the extent that it linked allegiance to political leaders to fear of God. In essence, loyalty and obedience to political leaders signifies loyalty and obedience to God and vice versa (Bakare, 2013). After the penetration of Christianity in the North, the system was not threatened as the Holy Bible also enjoined loyalty to the rulers. I Peter, Chapter 2, verse 17 states: "Honour (men) of all sorts, have love for the whole association of brothers, be in fear of God, have honour for the king".

It is on this ground that the Emirs had great influence on the people. The Islamic constitutional theory and practice tended to exalt the authority of the ruler over all lesser authorities (Stride and Ifeka, 1982). This brought about the emergence of a powerful centralized administrative system (Caliphate) with supreme headquarters in Sokoto and Gwandu where the paramount rulers commanded obedience from the people. While Usman dan Fodio was busy expanding the frontier of the caliphate through waging Jihad over non-muslim rulers, the established caliphate was divided into two emirates and each was headed by an Emir. The Emir of Sokoto controlled the western empire and that of Gwandu controlled the eastern empire. The two Emirs in turn owed allegiance to Usman dan Fodio (Alabi, 2013) who was the supreme leader. Each emirate was further divided into districts for administrative convenience. The Emir appointed an official called *Hakimi* to administer each district. Each district was also divided into villages and the *Hakimi* on his part appointed Village Heads who helped in the collection of taxes. This brought about the establishment of local government administration. The local administration was vested in the hands of district and village heads whom were appointed by the Sarki often through the *Hakimi* (whom was the chief of district heads).



The legislative system was hinged on the provisions of Islamic laws as enshrined in the Holy Qur'an, *Hadiths* and Sunatic tradition of the Prophet Mohammed. In cases where there was no law applicable to specific happenings, the Emir performed legislative duties by initiating laws which were also administered by the Alkali judges without prejudice to the provisions of the Shariah laws. The Emir was the Chief Adjudicator but often sought the advice of his Chief Muslim Legal Advisor, the *Qadi* or Chief Alkali. Most of the trials were conducted by Alkali administering Maliki law in the light of local custom. The Chief Alkali had appellate jurisdiction to hear appeal from the Alkali courts. However, the village heads were allowed to decide minor litigations at the village level especially in remote areas. The executive arm of government was also headed by the Emir who ruled with authoritarian and absolute power with a body of advisers. However, the Emir was at liberty to either accept or ignore their advice. The Emir was assisted by a number of ministers with identified portfolios. Prominent among them are:

- i. **The Waziri:** He performed the function of coordinating all officials working in the Emirate. He assigned duties to officials in line with the policy direction of the Emir. He was the Chief of Staff to the Emir and very prominent with a high degree of influence among his peers. He advised the Emir on the appointment of high chiefs and summoning of meetings. He was regarded as the Chief Minister.
- ii. **The Galadima:** He was in charge of the capital. He coordinated all administrative activities in the capital city and acted as the district head under direct supervision of the Emir. He deputized for the Sarki (Emir) during his absence from the capital. The office holder was often appointed from the royal household and was often the heir apparent (Stride and Ifeka, 1982). He served as the link between the people of the capital and the Emir. His portfolio can be likened to the contemporary Minister of the FCT (Federal Capital Territory).



- iii. **The Madawaki (Madaki):** He was the generalissimo (commander-in-chief) of the army. He commanded the traditional military command and assigned military roles to the personnel. He led the military to war and determined the war tactics to be adopted. He took responsibility for success or failure of the military and was directly responsible and accountable to the Emir. He was the most powerful among the chiefs and second in importance to the Sarki. In addition to his military role, he was responsible for important ceremonial duties, advising the Sarki on appointments to high offices and for summoning meetings (Stride and Ifeka, 1982). In contemporary governance, he can be likened to the Chief of Defence Staff.
- iv. **The Sarkin Dogari:** This is the head of the police and royal bodyguards. He coordinated the activities of the traditional police and guards in civil and criminal matters within the territory. He was also responsible directly to the Emir and provided force support to the tax collectors and policy implementers. In some cases, a separate official was appointed as the Chief of Police responsible for bringing wrong-doers to trial and the infliction of corporal punishment. In this situation, such official held the title of Sarkin Yan Doka. He is likened to the contemporary Inspector General of Police.
- v. **Magaji:** He was in charge of the treasury. He received and kept records of all generated revenues of the emirate and disbursed with strict sole directive of the Emir. He was the most sought-after official given the sensitivity of his portfolio. He is likened to the contemporary Minister of Finance.
- vi. **Yari:** He was the chief of prisons. He kept an eye on the prison inmates, ensured their safety, coordinated those inmates to be used for hard labour and maintained reasonable welfare of the inmates without prejudice to the punishment they were billed to serve. He can be likened to the contemporary Controller of Prisons.

- vii. **Sarkin Ruwa:** He was the official in charge of river fishing. He became prominent given the centrality of fishing profession among the people especially those domiciled in the riverine areas. He implemented the Emir's policies on fishing and regulated the activities of the fishermen on behalf of the Emir. He also organized the fishing festivals in societies where such is accustomed. He is likened to the contemporary Minister of Water Resources.
- viii. **Sarkin Fada:** This was the head of palace workers. He was lower in rank to the Waziri. While the Waziri was the head of all officials (Chiefs, Advisers, Emissaries, etc.), the Sarkin Fada was the head of the domestic workers in the palace. He coordinated the activities of the palace workers to ensure convenient living of the Emir and the royal family members. He ensured that the palace visitors were well taken care of and the Chiefs during the performance of their duties/meetings in the palace. He can be likened to the contemporary Personal Assistant on Domestic Affairs.
- ix. **Sarkin Pawa:** Given the endowed livestock resources especially cattle, the Emir deemed it fit to appoint an official to coordinate the activities of butchers who trade in meat for people's consumption.

The fiscal system of the Hausa traditional institution was heavily hinged on taxes. The Pre-Islamic government generated its revenue from *jangali* (tax on live-stock), *khuraj* (land-tax on annual agricultural produce), *jizyah* (tax on slaves and subjects) and other excise taxes on skilled artisans and entertainers among others (Stride and Ifeka, 1982). However, the Islamic Caliphate introduced *Zakat* (a tax on movable property to provide for giving alms to the poor) as approved by the Islamic tenets. *Zakat* was collected and redistributed to the poor while the rulers would earmark some percentage for the provision of infrastructural facilities and running of governance activities. All other taxes were also levied on the people to raise revenue. Such other taxes as tolls for the use of market facilities, traditional present-giving required of all men on visits to their superior and spoils of wars. It should be noted that the emirate rulers do adjust the tax

rates in accordance with economic situation to avoid over-burden of the citizen. Despite this, the people always complain and attempt several actions to evade or attract lower tax charges.

### **Political and Administrative Leadership in Sokoto Caliphate**

The Sokoto caliphate situated in the northern part of Nigeria was the famous and the largest empire in Africa. The empire came on board as a result of Fulani Jihad of 1804. Usman dan Fodio, the founder of the caliphate and the leader of Jihad, established the caliphate during the political upheavals and transformation in many parts of the world. Sokoto caliphate was the center of politics and economics in the region. The caliphate was established with the sole aim of attempting to reform Islam in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, across the continent of Africa and world at large. Usman (n.d.) argues that, Usman dan Fodio, who established Sokoto caliphate, was only one among several others, who sought to reform Islam in the central Sudan in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Usman dan Fodio became the first Sultan of Sokoto and the first Sarki Musulumi. Though he was not interested in the title 'Sarkin Muslimi' but could not help because the title is related to the aim of the jihad. In the course of waging war against non-Muslim Habe rulers, Usman dan Fodio gathered large army of Fulani and Hausa which enabled him extend the jihad to conquer Sokoto, Kano and Zaria etc. By 1875, when his armies ended their conquests, Usman dan Fodio's religious empire had already included most of what are today Northern Nigeria and Cameroun as well as Niger.

Usman dan Fodio's Jihad also influenced the holy wars in nearby regions and resulted in the creation of Islamic States in Senegal, Mali and Chad (Shillington, 2004; Oliver and Crowder, 1981). However, there were reform movements other than that of Usman dan Fodio, which were led by Sheu Abdur-Rahmon Chacha in Nupe kingdom, and by one of Usman dan Fodio's teacher, Shehu Jibril ibn Umar, in Adar. These jihads were neither as prominent nor successful like that of Fodio. The following factors may be identified as being responsible for the success recorded by the Fulani jihad:

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- i. The leaders were committed to justice, ensured by law and by economic, social, educational and cultural development promoted by responsible public institutions.
- ii. Their insistence on universal values and standard of incorporation into the newly established polity as derived from the Qur'an and Sunnah, over and above all tribal and racial differences (Shillington, 2004; Oliver and Crowder, 1981).
- iii. The basis for full citizenship in all the emirates. For one to be regarded as a citizen in any of the Caliphate or emirates, he or she must be a Muslim, without any regard to descent, tribe and race. In fact, Usman dan Fodio laid much emphasis on this, during his life time. He believed in equality of persons and race. He opined that "one of the easiest ways of destroying a kingdom is to favor one group of people than another".

Shehu Usman Dan Fodio died in 1817. However, two of his sons Muhammed Bello, and Abdullahi Fodio, took charge of eastern and western empire respectively. Muhammed Bello was recognized as the second Sultan of Sokoto and Comptroller General of all Caliphates. In 1837, Sokoto Caliphate had grown to be the most populous empire in West Africa. Muhammed Bello and Abdullahi were primarily known for their military skills. They also contributed immensely to scholarship on poetry and religious texts, politics and history. In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, there was internal rivalry among the emirates, which brought about civil war. The civil war paved way for the European armies to encroach the empires. In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, Sokoto caliphate began to disintegrate and in early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the caliphate became the colonies of the British and French.



**Table 9.1: List of Sultans of Sokoto Caliphate**

Sultans of Sokoto (From 1804 after the Jihad)			
S/No	Name	Reign Started	Reign Ended
1	Usman dan Fodio	1804	1815
2	Muhammed Bello	1815	1837
3	Abubakar Atiku	1837	1842
4	Ali Bal'ba bin Bello	1842	1859
5	Ahmad I Atiku	1859	1866
6	Aliu Kurami	1866	1867
7	Ahmadu Rufai	1867	1873
8	Abubakar II Atiku na Raba	1873	1877
9	Mua'zu	1877	1881
10	Umaru bin Ali	1881	1891
11	Abderrahman dan Abi Bakar	1891	1902
12	Muhammadu Attahiru I	1902	1903
13	Muhammadu Attahiru II	1903	1915
14	Muhammadu dan Ahmadu	1915	1924
15	Muhammadu dan Muhammadu	1924	1931
16	Hasan dan Mu'azu Ahmadu	1931	1938
17	Siddiq Abubakar III	1938	1988
18	Ibrahim Dasuki	1988	1996 (deposed by General Sanni Abacha)
19	Muhammadu Maccido	1996	2006
20	Sa'adu Abubakar	2006	Till date

Source: Tabularized by Authors with data from Falola, 2009; Burdon, 1907 and Wikipedia, 2015)

### Political and Administrative Leadership in Kano (from Kingdom to Emirate)

An account of traditional leadership in Kano is traceable to around 999AD when the Abagayawa were conquered by Bagauda -a grandson of Bayajidda (Stride and Ifeka, 1982; Wikipedia, 2015). He became the first ruler of Kano as a Kingdom and established the Habe rule. During his reign, he was able to expand the size and power of a former Kano village to a powerful city. To ensure safety of the city and people from external invaders, Bagauda commenced the building of defensive walls which was finally completed by the fifth Sarki (king), Yusa who ruled from 1136 to 1194.

The contributions of successive kings after Bagauda to the improvement in the art of war made the kingdom of Kano to have the ability to protect people of surrounding towns which made it easy for Sarki Naguji (1194-1247) to impose annual land tax of one-eighth of each man's produce. This enabled the administrative system to become larger and the kingdom expanded greatly.

However, internal problems of the early Habe rulers through their inability to command absolute loyalty of the Abagayawa whom were excluded from the knowledge of local religion signaled the beginning of the end of the great kingdom. The Kingdom metamorphosed through eight eras. First as a kingdom where the rulers bore the title of Sarki which lasted from 999 to 1385. By 1385, Sarki Yaji I transformed the kingdom to a sultanate and the title changed to Sultan. The second era lasted till 1509 when Muhammadu Kisoki changed the Sultanate to an Empire.

In 1648, Sultan Kutumbi reverted back the kingdom to sultanate until 1805 when Usman dan Fodio waged jihad and installed Suleiman as the first Fulani ruler. The fifth era signaled the beginning of a new era and the end of Habe ruler-ship. The advent of the colonial power brought about the emergence of the sixth era. The Kano Emirate was changed to a Province under the Protectorate of the Northern Nigeria in 1903 with Abass as the new Emir. In 1903, there was a minor transformation without a baton change. The British colonialist allowed greater participation of the native in preparation for political independence. Emir Abdullahi Bayero retained power. After independence, the introduction of modern governance (democracy) brought about the eighth era when the emirate became a state of the Federal Republic of Nigeria with a less powerful Emir though, that wields considerable influence on modern rulers and governance mechanisms.

Table 9.2: List of Kings of Kano

1. Kings (Sarkin) of the Kingdom of Kano			
S/No	Name	Reign Started	Reign Ended
1	Bagauda	999	1063
2	Warisi	1063	1095
3	Gijimasu	1095	1134
4	Nawata	1134	1136
5	Yusa	1136	1194
6	Naguji	1194	1247
7	Guguwa	1247	1290
8	Shekarau	1290	1307
9	Tsamiya	1307	1343
10	Usman Zamnagawa	1343	1349
11	Yaji I	1349	1385
2. Sultans of Kano, Kano Sultanate (Rulers when the Kingdom was changed to Sultanate)			
12	Yaji I	1349	1385
13	Bugaya	1385	1390
14	Muhammad Sunusi Rijiyar Zaki	1390	1410
15	Umaru	1410	1421
16	Daud	1421	1438
17	Abdullahi Burja	1438	1452
18	Dakauta	1452	1452 (few months)
19	Atuma	1452	1452 (few months)
20	Yaquled	1452	1463
21	Muhammad Rimfa	1463	1499
22	Abdullah	1499	1509
3. Kano an Empire (Rulers when the Sultanate changed to Empire)			
23	Muhammad Kisoki	1509	1565

24	Yakufu	1565	Few months
25	Muhammad Sunusi Rijiyar Zaki I	1565	Few months
26	Abu-Bakr Kado	1565	1573
27	Muhammad Shashere	1573	1582
28	Muhammad Zaki	1582	1618
29	Muhammad Nazaki	1618	1623
<b>4. Kano Sultanate</b> (When the Empire changed to Sultanate by Kutumbi)			
30	Kutumbi	1623	1648
31	Al-Hajj	1648	1649
32	Shekarau (emir)	1649	1651
33	Muhammad Kukuna	1651	1652
34	Soyaki	1652 (overthrew Kukuna)	Few months
35	Muhammad Kukuna	1652 (restowed)	1660
36	Bawa	1660	1670
37	Dadi	1670	1703
38	Muhammad Shariff	1703	1731
39	Kumbari	1731	1743
40	Al-Hajj Kabe	1743	1753
41	Yaji II	1753	1768
42	Baba Zaki	1768	1776
43	Daud Abasama II	1776	1781
44	Muhammad al-Walid	1781	1805
<b>5. Kano Emirate</b> (When the Sultanate changed to Emirate under Sokoto Caliphate- Fulani Rulers)			
45	Suleiman	1805	1819
46	Ibrahim	1819	1846
47	Usman I	1846	1855
48	Abdullah	1855	1883
49	Mohammad Bello	1883	1893
50	Mohammad Tukur	1893	1894

51	Aliyu Babba	1894	1903
6.	<b>Kano Province- Protectorate of Northern Nigeria (Colonial era-Emirate)</b>		
52	Muhammad Abbass	1903	1919
53	Usman II	1919	1926
54	Abdullahi Bayero	1926	1953
7.	<b>Kano Province- Government of Northern Nigeria (Colonial era prelude to independence-Emirate)</b>		
55	Abdullahi Bayero	1953	1954
56	Muhammadu Sanusi	1954	1963
57	Muhammad Inuwa	1963	Ruled for 3 months
58	Ado Bayero	1963	1967
8.	<b>Kano State, Federal Republic of Nigeria (Emirate)</b>		
59	Ado Bayero	1967	2014
60	Sanusi Lamido Sanusi	Crowned June 8, 2014	Till date

Source: Tabularized by Authors with data from Wikipedia, 2015

## Conclusion

From the foregoing analysis, we can deduce the following: First, that there existed a well structured traditional institution in the Northern Nigeria before the advent of the British colonialist who introduced modern governance and administrative systems. Second, that ancestral father of the Hausa/Fulani people, Bayajida met people living in structured communities with constituted authorities before establishing the Habe ruling dynasties. Third, that the jihad that led to the formation of Sokoto caliphate had both religious and political undertone. Fourth, that perhaps if the British had introduced constitutional monarch at their departure, Nigeria could have been more developed politically, socially and economically than where the country currently lies. Finally, that the traditional institutions in the country still possess the potential to proffer solutions to the leadership and followership problems facing the country if



properly tapped. To this end, it is strongly recommended that the political elites should assign constitutional roles to the traditional institutions especially in the area of conflict management, mitigation and resolution.

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