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**THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MINNA TOWN IN
NIGERIA, 1976 TO 2015**



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Abstrak

Bandar Minna bermula sebagai penempatan Gwari yang tidak penting di bukit Paida tetapi berubah menjadi pusat ekonomi, politik dan pusat pentadbiran mengikuti aktiviti kolonial British serta dasar negara kolonial. Tujuan kajian ini ialah untuk memahami perkembangan sejarah bandar Minna sehingga akhir zaman penjajahan dan mengetahui transformasi pasca penjajahan yang memberikan dampak pada perkembangannya. Pelbagai kajian mengenai pembangunan bersejarah bandar Minna sebagai satu pusat bandar telah dijalankan. Walau bagaimanapun, proses dan perubahannya yang dinamik serta transformasinya telah dilupakan. Sehingga kini tiada kajian mengenai pembandarannya secara umum dan aspek sejarah Minna secara khususnya mengenai pembangunan sejarah bandar antara tahun 1976-2015 yang merupakan titik perubahan dalam sejarah. Penyelidikan ini menggunakan kaedah kualitatif, dengan memanfaatkan pendekatan temu bual separa berstruktur dengan tiga puluh orang dari seluruh pelusuk untuk memperoleh maklumat sejarah mengenai pembangunan Bandar Minna. Maklumat ini disokong dengan bahan sumber arkib lain untuk menganalisis dan mentafsir kajian. Minna sebagai pusat ekonomi, politik dan pusat pentadbiran yang penting merupakan salah satu dari beberapa kota yang kemunculannya didasarkan pada sejarah kolonial di Nigeria. Oleh itu, penyelidikan ini penting kerana bertujuan untuk menerangkan pembangunan sesebuah bandar melalui pelbagai dasar. Kajian ini akan membantu pemahaman mengenai kerumitan sosial, ekonomi dan politik sebuah pusat bandar yang transformasinya berakarkan sejarah penjajahan. Hal ini akan membantu pembuat dasar dan kerajaan dalam menangani isu-isu yang berkaitan dengan pertumbuhan bandar serta perubahan dalam pemodenan, urbanisasi serta perubahan persekitaran sosio-ekonomi dan politik.

Kata kunci: Transformasi, Nigeria, Bandar Minna, Gwari, Peraturan Kolonial British

Abstract

Minna Town started as an insignificant Gwari settlement on the Paida hill but transformed into an important economic, political and administrative centre following the British colonial activities and post-colonial state policies. The major aim of the study is to understand the historical development of Minna town up to the end of colonial period and to know post-colonial transformations that impacted on its development. It has however been observed that literature on the historical development of Minna Town as an urban centre, the processes and dynamics of its changes and transformation have been fallow. This study in particular considers specifically the historical development of the Minna town between 1976 to 2015 which is a watershed in its history. Using qualitative method the research employed the utilization of semi structured interview approach with thirty people across board to obtain historical information on the development of Minna Town. The information was corroborated with archival source materials to analyze and interpret the study. Minna as an important economic, political and administrative centre is one of the very few urban settlements which its emergence is rooted in the colonial history of Nigeria. The research finds out that various administrations played significant role in its development. The research therefore is significant as it sought to explain development of towns through various State policies. The study will assist in our understanding of social, economic and political complexities of urban centres whose transformation is rooted in colonial history. It will assist government and policy makers in addressing issues associated with urban growth and transformation in the light of modernization, urbanization and changing socio-economic and political environment.

Keywords: Transformation, Nigeria, Minna Town, Gwari, British Colonial Rule

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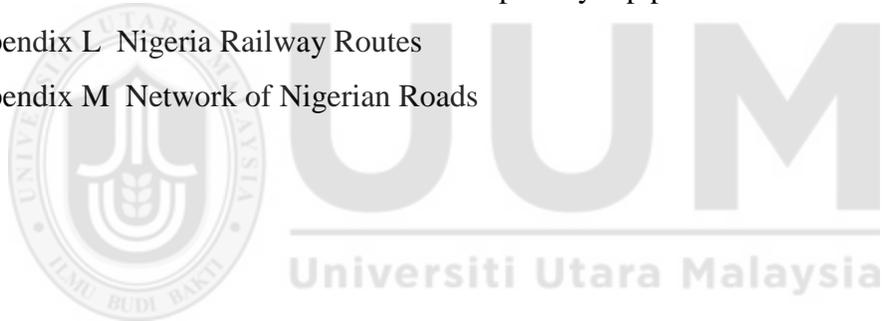


Glossary of Terms

Birni	City
Dan Sanda	Police
Gari	Town
Gida	House
Gidan Sarkin Hausawa	House of the king of Hausa People
Hausanization	Universalization of Hausa Language and culture
Hisba	Enforcement agents of Sharia law
Iskoki	Spirits
Kpayi nanko	A Specie of West African cow usually short and fatthat produces plenty milk
Mai anguwa	Word head
MYI	Distribute
MYINNA	Distributors of fire
NNA	Fire
Otsu	King
Otsu Bobba	King Bobba
Paidahill	The hill at Paida where modern Minna started
Qualitative	Measurement based on non-numeric source
Sarki	King
Sayyako	An earlier place that railway camp started in Minna
Sharia	Islamic law and jurisprudence
Three tiers	Levels of government; federal, state and local government

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List of Abbreviations

\$	American Dollar
A.M	Amplitude Modulation Radio
D.O	District Officer
D.O	Divisional Officer
F.H.A	Federal Housing Authority
F.M	Frequency Modulation
F.S.C.A	Federal Sharia Court of Appeal
F.U.T	Federal University of Technology
FCTA	Federal Capital Territory Area
G.R.A	Government Researve Area
I.B.B	Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida
I.B.B.U	Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida University
K/M	Kilometre
L.G.A	Local Government Authority
M.D.A	Ministry, Department and Agency
MBA	Muazu Babangida Aliyu
N	Naira
N.A	Native Authority
N.E.C.O.N	National Examination Council of Nigeria
N.P.C	Northern Peoples Congress
N.P.E.C	National Primary Education Commission
N.P.N	National Party of Nigeria
N.T.A	Nigeria Television Authority
NAK	National Archives Kaduna
NEPU	Northern Elements Peoples Union
NGSAM	Niger State Archives Minna
NGSG	Niger State Government
NSTA	Niger State Transport Authority
NYSC	National Youth Service Corp

P.D.P	Peoples Democratic Party
PPPI	Public Private Partnership Initiative
RM	Malaysian Ringit
R-U-M	Rural Urban Migration
TBS	Terminal Bersepadu Selatan
TRADOC	Training and Doctrine Command
UN	United Nations
UNO	United Nations Orgnization
WHO	World Health Orgnization



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The word Minna derives from Gbagyi language which connotes different meanings according to the traditions of origin of the town. One of such is that, given the location of the settlement on the hill top from where invaders (slave raiders) can easily be seen the people usually roll heavy rocks on the coming attackers in addition to poisonous arrows (Galadima, 2010). Thus it was very difficult to invade the hilly settlement hence the name Minna meaning “they can’t conquer” as invaders usually retreat (Galadima, 2010).

A second version of the tradition has it that, in the formative years of the settlement people of Minna and their cousins in neighboring settlements have the traditions of marking a new year by quenching all fire in every house hold. The king makers will then bring fire from the village of Bwogi (from where the people are said to have dispersed) to other principalities. Prayers and celebration for good harvest year and a prospective new year are usually undertaken during the event. To that effect Minna got its name which comes from Gbagyi words; MYI meaning distribute or spread and NNA implies fire. Thus put together we have MYINNA meaning the distributors of fire or spreading of fire (Shedanyi, 2005).

Another oral tradition regarding the name Minna is that which connects the settlement to a spirit serpent that was said to have lived in a cave on the ancient hilltop settlement. The serpent was called Mi-na coined from mi-ona, literally meaning the serpent that swallows goat (Bahago, 1963). This tradition is not accepted by most indigenes of the area although it is generally believed that such a serpent lived in the caves of the hills.

The indigenous dwellers of the hilltop settlement called Minna are the Gbagyi but corruptly pronounced as Gbari by their neighbours the Nupe and Gwari by the Hausa. The Gbagyi as they preferred to be called like most African tribes believed they migrated to their present home from some place in the north. One tradition has it that they came from Borno in the North-east of present-day Nigeria while another holds that they migrated from Zaria to Abuja from where they dispersed (Mohammed, 1988; Muazu, 2016). These are hermitic hypothesis as studies have shown that languages such as Gbagyi, Kadara, and Koro are indigenous to their present areas of abode (Obayemi, 1977). However, the inhabitants of old Minna (hilltop) claim they came from Borno area in the mid-18th century first they settled at Bwogi, near Lafiyagi from where they moved to the hilltop later called Minna for the purpose of defense which was a common characteristic of most of the stateless societies in that region (Galadima, 2010).

The Minna Gwari has before the advent of colonial rule in the area evolved kingship known as *Otsu* (Bawa, 2010). He was appointed by a council of elders who are the king makers that were seven in number as follows: Madaki Yinkagbin, Galadiman Paida, Galadiman Taayi, Galadiman Pmassi (Shakwata) Shaaba Dogon Birgi Wambai Dayin and Damidami Fadayin (Shedanyi, 2005). *The Otsu* was surrounded by men that today

form the various District head(s) of: Yinkangbin, Shango, Taayi, Shakwatu (Pmassi), Birgi, Danyin and Fadayin.(Galadima, 2010) Although the king did not have established Paraphernalia of kingship such as royal bodyguard and standing army, but trumpets were said to be used for him (Bawa, 2010). The first in the list of kings crowned on the hilltop was Otsu Sagbakun c-1750 followed by Otsu Dubadna, Shegbe, Yakwonko, Tuku, Baba, Diko 1, Shango, Diko11, Bwaba, Shegbe 11, Musa Kwatu Bwaba and Gwadeze (Shedanyi, 2005).

The people were predominantly farmers, who farmed crops such as yam, sorghum, maize and millet. They also practiced animal husbandry, raising animals like goat, sheep, and cattle. A particular breed of cow common among the people is the *Kpayi nanko* (a species of West African Dwarf) usually short, fat and produces a lot of milk (Adamu, 1987).

Minna is located within the geo-political area of Sokoto Caliphate¹ which came to form part of what later became Northern Nigeria. In the 19th century, the Fulani who through the Jihad seized political power in the region established government on hitherto non Fulani entities that was in existence known as the Sokoto Caliphate (Crowder, 1980; Akinjogbin & Osoba, 1980; Ogunrenmi & Faluyi, 1996). Societies outside the Caliphate

¹ Sokoto Caliphate came to existence following the Jihad organized and led by Usman Dan Fodio a Taron kowa Fulani in 1804. It was against the pre-existing socio-economic life of the rulers and entire population of what later became Northern Nigeria. The movement sacked the Hausa rulers of the area and installed itself thus brought the Fulani into the political dominance of the region. See Ikime. O, *The Groundwork of Nigerian History*. Ibadan, Heineman Educational Books, 1980, pp. 303-326.

especially those that have not evolved centralized authority became easy prey for slave raids, which constituted an integral part of the caliphate's economy.

Europeans entered the region since early 19th century and claimed to have signed bounds of relationship in the areas of trade and protection with the peoples. British agents and companies in particular were in the lead. On 1st January 1900 Frederick Lugard hosted British flag and proclaimed British suzerainty over the area. By 1903 the entire caliphate was brought under the imperial forces starting with Bida and Kontagora (Ikemi, 1977; Crowder, 1980).

Following the conquest of Kontagora, colonial administration began to embark on reorganization of political entities which in 1905; Bosso Minna, Pytha, Shatta, Maikunkele, Gurusu and Paiko were merged together by the British under Minna Division. This incidentally coincided with the construction of Minna to Kano and Baro lines (NAK, Min Prof 51/1912). Subsequently; Minna later gained the status of district headquarter, provincial headquarter and territorial headquarter of the railway cooperation which played a vital role in elevating the status of the town. The development of the town was therefore greatly enhanced as larger population was attracted to it, for various socio – economic and political reasons.

British colonial rule aided the emergence or as in some cases decline, while in others expansion of some existing settlements in Nigeria and colonized societies in general (Falola & Salm, 2004). The coming of colonial rule in early 20th century was the major event responsible for the movement of the Gwari to the present area of Minna. This was

because colonial rule liberated the Gwari from persistent Fulani and Nupe raids that had forced the people to remain on the hill top.

Colonial rule brought significant developments in such areas as urbanization, economic and social developments; which invariably led to the emergence of some settlements because of the policies, institutions and infrastructures that were established. These include; the railway, mining, police and administrative structures.

The study of the development of Minna town is important if one consider the fact that the middle belt zone, where Minna is geographically located in Nigeria is the least urbanized region in Nigeria. The creation of metropolis and periphery zones in the world system could be part of the reasons for this which clearly indicates the importance of the role of the State in the transformation of Minna as an urban centre.

Minna indeed is one of such towns whose development is attributed to its being a Colonial Provincial headquarters, Native Authority headquarters and at the same time Territorial office of the railway cooperation (Liman, 2011; Francis, 1993). Before the end of the first decade of the 20th century, Minna already housed people from various parts of West Africa in general and Nigeria in particular (Mohammed, 2016). Most of these people were attracted by the political and economic potentialities of the area. It is evidently clear that the town has long been a place (make shift trade center) where people come to buy food items from different parts of the country (Liman, 2011).

Essentially the railway factor is significant in the development of Minna town. Transportation system of this kind is harbinger of increase population and economic expansion (Akinjogbin & Osoba, 1978:146). This is because it provides a meeting point where people from different walks of life meet for various motives most of which are of economic importance. The railway which came to Minna in 1905 attracted workers, traders and adventurers most of who settled in the town (NGSAM, Min Prof ACC No.11, 1947-51).

An important element that is of tremendous economic significance is the discovery of gold in Minna. As early as 1908 gold mines had began to attract people to Minna from different parts of the country (NGSAM, Min Prof. M.187 Vol. 4). This highly valued metal brought in gold diggers, usurps, buyers and these consequently enhanced the expansion of the town as these various people settled down.

Colonial economic policies on especially cash crop production and other related commodities also played significant role in attracting people to Minna. Being the District and Provincial headquarters, it remained the centre where these products are collected or received by the middlemen and their European partners for easy transportation by railway to the sea. Some of the popular items collected included groundnuts, cotton, Shea-nut and hides. There was also the Minna pig farm which was one large industry that produced huge quantity of poke meat for Lagos market. The industry employed labour and also generated economic activities thus; it attracted population into the town.

The presence of these various economic facilities and opportunities enhanced the growth of the town. Similarly, the provision of administrative machineries such as police, prison services, courts and infrastructures like; healthcare centers, schools, portable water and electricity further accelerated its development. At the attainment of independence in 1960, the town remained headquarter of Niger Province and Gwari native authority. It was until the 1976 State creation and local government reform which changed its status to headquarter of the new Chanchaga Local Government area and the Capital of the new Niger State (Zoaka & Dauda, 1998) that the expansion of the town assumed monumental dimension.

Between 1976 and the year 2015, Minna town witnessed different regimes of both military and civil nature. The 1976 State creation and Local government reform in Nigeria undertaken by the military regime of Murtala/Obasanjo, a development which made Minna a State capital and at the same time Local government headquarter provided it the opportunity to benefit from the policies of the *Three Tiers* of government in Nigeria namely: Federal, State and Local Government Authority. Each tier of government marshaled the town with developmental projects, infrastructures and policies that transformed the town from its hitherto colonial setting to a modern urban settlement. These developments were aided by the fact that Minna is the only town in Nigeria that has produced two heads of state namely General Ibrahim Babangida and General Abdulsalami Abubakar. Their regimes immensely contributed in the transformation of the town as will be shown in later part of this work.

From 1999 when Nigeria returned to civil rule² to the year 2015 when the immediate past administration of Dr. Muazu Babangida Aliyu came to an end after serving as a civilian governor of Niger State for the period of eight years, Minna during the period witnessed high increase in population and consequently in its urban expansion and transformation as a result of many factors.³ Consequently that led to over stretch of little available infrastructures like; portable water, health facility, education, housing, roads and even security. The increase in population was necessitated by some factors namely; the relocation of the Federal Capital from Lagos to Abuja which is about One hundred and fifty (150 k/m) away from Minna, the increased migration of people from trouble prone areas in the far north and north eastern parts of the country particularly Kano, Kaduna, Bauchi, Nassarawa, Borno, Adamawa and Jos.⁴ Coupled with all these is the factor of rural-urban migration which though not new but became more aggressive since the entrenchment of democratic rule in 1999.⁵

As pointed out earlier, there are towns that expanded and some that contrasted following colonial activities, equally, post-colonial era also have its own share of towns that contrasted in terms of growth, expansion or development. Interestingly Minna has a consistent historical development which is transformational in nature. Since its inception

² Nigeria have experienced different regimes since independence in 1960 starting with a Parliamentary System 1960-66, Military 1966-1979, Presidential 1979-83, Military 1983-1999 then, another democratic dispensation since 1999.

³ Dr. Muazu Babangida Aliyu was the fourth civilian governor of Niger State and first indigene of Minna to rule the State.

⁴ Nigeria has witnessed several upheavals in recent times especially ethno-religious crisis but in particular the terrorist Boko Haram sect has been most worrisome.

⁵ Democracy is a system that brings many people into the affairs of governance and somehow increases political participation and thus it encourages and provides more job opportunities in especially the urban centers.

in 1910 as a settlement of less than two thousand population it continued to transform from a small and simple railway construction camp to a second class town and now a State capital city of about a million populations (Shadenyi, 2005). The transformed nature of the town is visible in the nature of its urban spatial agglomeration and economic advancement. The development have created many problems such as increase in the urban squalor or slums, crime, ethnic differences and other forms of socio-economic and political vices.

The lacuna for this research is that the middle belt of Nigeria where Minna is located is one with few number of urban settlements and there exist but very scanty serious work that explain the development of towns/cities in the area, literature on the history of Minna town is equally scanty hence to contribute to the existing literature that will fill the missing gap in the area. Principally it is to find out the forces behind the astronomical expansion in the urbanity of Minna town. Equally it is to explain the historical development of Minna town with particular reference to the period of our study. In addition it is to explore the contribution of other agencies of the economy that have played part in the transformation of Minna town into its present size and complexity. This will provide information on the various policies that aided the transformation of Minna to a large urban centre in particular and similar town/cities in general.

1.2 Problem Statement

Minna town which started on a hill as a small Gwari settlement transformed into an important economic, political and administrative centre. This has been largely attributed

to British Colonial policies, Post-colonial State policies and its strategic location (Bawa, 2003). While this could be so; there have not been much serious studies or research that examined the historical development of the Minna town as urban centre and its importance in the economic, social and political fabric of Nigeria. A pool of researches and studies on urbanization in general and aspects of the history of Minna in particular exist yet none have considered specifically the historical development of the town 1976 to 2015 (Mohammed, 1988).

The major problem for this research therefore is that there is a need for the proper documentation of the historical development of Minna (1976 to 2015) a period that marked greater changes in its history. As Minna develops into a larger urban centre there is the need for the State and other concerned agencies to take more proactive measures towards the increasing problems of urban/environmental sanitation, development of slums, and squalors and more importantly the issue of inadequate social amenities such as; good township roads, portable and adequate water supply, enhanced security system and regular electricity supply.

There is the growing rate of slums all over the town which is a potential vehicle for spread of diseases; portable water supply for many parts of the ever expanding town is in recent years a serious challenge while electricity supply has come to near total collapse making life and economic activities miserable. The old township roads are dilapidated but, most importantly the new extensions of the town are faced with the serious and desperate need for access road network that will boost economic activities in the areas.

This is important as the development and transformation of any settlement can majorly be measured based on the adequate utilization of the instrument of governance such as; the law, the maintenance of security of life and property and availability of efficient social amenities. It is therefore our concern that should the State provide these facilities, the policies and dynamics that have shaped and transformed Minna into an important political, administrative and economic centre between 1976 and 2015 will be better explained hence it is the period in which the town witnessed monumental changes in its urban outlook and composition.

1.3 Research Questions

The fundamental questions this research intends to provide answers to are the following;

- 1 What are the major trends in the historical development of Minna up to the end of colonial rule?
- 2 What were the post-colonial transformations in Minna that impacted on its development?
- 3 What are the major pooling factors that contributed to the development of Minna town?
- 4 What are the major challenges in the historical development of Minna town?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The general aim of the study is to examine the historical development of Minna town in the face of modernization, urbanization and changing socio-economic and political environment. But, specifically the study aims at:

1. To understand the historical development of Minna town up the end of colonial rule.
2. To know the post-colonial transformations of Minna town that impacted on its development.
3. To explore the major pooling factors that contributed to the development of Minna town.
4. To articulate and analyze the challenges to the development of Minna town.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Minna as an important economic, political and administrative centre is one of the very few urban centers which its emergence is rooted in the colonial history of Nigeria. At the inception of colonial rule in Nigeria, towns and cities emerged while some transformed either positively or negatively. Some settlements that existed on especially transportation route/point like Minna enjoyed such advantage and continued to expand hence the railway transportation system was a major catalyst in the transformation of the town. This was enhanced by the administrative and economic position of the town which increased the influx of people and the consequent unprecedented expansion of the town.

Thus colonial state policy on select transport system like the railway and seaport offers reasons for urban growth and transformation. The expansion of Minna not only brought different people into the town but, also relegated the native Gwari population to the background hence by 1910 when the town numbered 2000 people the Gwari was just 5%. The development of Minna has enhanced a great deal of socio-cultural and economic changes in the town, it has brought in modernization in terms of physical built

structures, infrastructures and social class relations. Equally significant are the attendant problems that usually bedevil urban centers such as crime, increased poverty, inadequate and inefficient infrastructures and most importantly unserious attitude of government towards enforcing existing rules on urban development which have given room to problems of sanitation, increased number of squalors and unplanned settlements as the town grows.

This research therefore is significant as it sought to explain development of Minna town. The state is the major regulator of the economic and social development in the society hence this work is significant as it shows how State policies has influenced developments that have resulted in the transformation of Minna by initiating such policies that provide for the wellbeing of the people.

Minna appears to be a model urban centre in Nigeria, with diverse ethnic, cultural and religious population and low crime rate compared to other urban centres, and has good state attention in terms of political, economic and infrastructural provisions. It is therefore, also useful in its explanation of not only factors for the expansion and transformation of towns but to illuminate on the problems associated with such development. There has not been any serious research to answer these questions so as to unravel the contemporary history of towns and cities like Minna. This research will make attempt to answer these questions and also to unravel the contemporary history of Minna. This will assist in our understanding of social, economic and political complexities of urban centers whose transformation are rooted in colonial history. It will also assist government and policy makers in addressing problems associated with urban

growth and transformation in the light of increase population in relation to infrastructural deficit.

1.6 Scope of the study

This study is on the historical development of Minna town thus, it covers what has been known as Minna town and the new emergent settlements that urban expansion have incorporated into its fold. Such places include: *Bosso, Maikunkele, Maitumbi, Tudun Fulani, Barikin Sale, Yinkagbin, Kutiriko, Shango, Tunga-Danboyi, Tunga-Goro, Chanchaga, Birgi, Gidan kwanu M.I. Wushishi estate and Dutsen Kuran Gwari*. The choice of area of study is based on the fact that Minna is among the towns in Nigeria that were either founded or transformed by direct actions of colonial rule. The study covers the history of Minna town from 1976 when it became a State capital to 2015, when the immediate past administration in the State came to an end. This period is important as it is when the town witnessed dramatic changes in its urbanity. The period of study is broken into decades (1976 to 1986, 1986 to 1996, 1996 to 2006 and finally 2006 to 2015) to allow for convenience of the research. Each decade was taken as a unit of study even though there are overlaps of regimes in between periods.

1.7 Operational Definition of Concepts

In the approach of this research work some key words that are of importance are used hence they form operational concepts and need to be defined for the purpose of clarification. These are: Transformation, Nigeria, Minna Town, Gwari, British colonial rule.

Transformation: Transformation means a marked change in appearance or character usually for the better.

Nigeria: The most popular and populous black African country in the world. It has three major tribes has Islam and Christianity as the main faith. It got independence in 1960 from Britain, rich in agriculture but depends largely on petroleum for her earning.

Minna Town: Though differently conceived, a town is a human settlement larger than a village and smaller than a city. Minna town is the Capital of Niger State in Nigeria.

Gwari: A groups whose source are linked to the Niger-Congo family or referred to as “Kwa” group of languages. They are indigenous to their locality and occupy presently Niger, Kaduna, Nassarawa and Kogi States and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. They are the native tribe of Minna.

British Colonial Rule: The forceful establishment of British rule on its conquered territories.

1.8 Methodology

This section of the work deals with the methodology adopted in conducting the research. It encompass the research design, sources and methods of collection of data, population and sample size of the study, sampling techniques and data analysis. Methodology in this context implies essential aspects of any discipline; in this case how historians probe and scrutinize their object of study is one means that history distinguishes itself from

other fields that also have interest in the study of the past example English language and archaeology Gunn & Faire, 2012).

1.8.1 Research Design

There are two major approaches of conducting a scientific research namely; quantitative and qualitative (Mujis, 2010).⁶ This research employed and uses the qualitative approach. The qualitative approach is an empirical research approach whereby the data are not in the form of numbers (Punch, 1998).⁷ Qualitative research is thus a multi method, which involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the subject matter. By implication the qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people have for them. In qualitative approach the researcher uses a variety of empirical tools such as; case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts that describe the subject of the study.

Accordingly, qualitative researchers employ a wide range of interconnected methods so as to understand and analyze the object of the study (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). In qualitative research there are different types of research approaches. These include; action research, case study, grounded theory, historical and ethnographical methods

⁶ D. Mujis, *Doing quantitative Research in Education with SPSS*. (2nd edition), London. SAGE Publications, 2010.

⁷ Punch, K. *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. London, Sage, 1998. P. 4.

(David & Sutton, 2004). This research prefer to employ the historical interpretive method due to the fact that information obtained is not only from different sources but it has a veritable means of corroboration of data for better analysis.

1.8.2 Sources and Methods of Data Collection

Data collection is the process of acquiring information empirically which could be either based on quantitative or qualitative method. Czarniawska (2004) identifies three ways to acquire data for stories: recording of storytelling, deriving stories by means of interviews and finding stories in such mediums as the internet.

The historian obtain information from what actors and their observers have said on an event, what is remembered of the past, the societal laws guiding human activities and how and why they are observed. Equally also the use of information from other disciplines (inter-disciplinary approach), such as; Geography, Economics, Sociology, Botany, Linguistics, Political Science, Statistics, Lexicon-statistics is very important (Sunama, 1994). Thus to arrive at an objective result, this study will depend on the usage of two main historical sources:

- (1) Primary sources comprising of; Oral interview, Official government and personal records and Archival materials.
- (2) Secondary sources which include published, unpublished works and the internet.

1.8.2.1 Primary Sources

Primary sources are information that the sources cannot be cross checked because they are either direct participants in the event being studied or an observer. Thus, this

research utilized official government records and undertake oral interview. The researcher used the oral interview to gain information from people who live in Minna over a long time particularly actors in the administration of the State and Minna town as suggested by: Clandinin and Connolly (2000); Pinnegar and Daynees (2013). Oral interview is important to this research work as it provides first hand information concerning our area of study. The source is equally important as it supplement the existing resources from both the archives and secondary sources.⁸ Although it provides information where written source are not available but cannot be taken at its face value hence its subjection to cross examination through the use of other sources namely archival and written records.

Archive is a source of records that provides information on people and their history; it is rich on the origin, politics, economic and socio-cultural life of the society. It is also a rich source of colonial and to some extent post-colonial (administration and activities) history. They are in form of reports, memoirs and documents of colonial officers. Some of the documents are gazetteers and published books kept in the archives and libraries. The Archive is home of document as Simon & Lucy (2010) submitted that there is no way one cannot find something in it rather the difficult task is answering questions that follows the proper use of materials found. Two archives are of direct importance to this research, namely; the Niger State Archives, Minna and the National Archives, Kaduna.

⁸ Thomson, Alistair. "Fifty Years On: An International Perspective on Oral History." *The Journal of American History* 85, no. 2 (1998): 581-95. doi:10.2307/2567753. McAdoo, Harriette. "Oral History as a Primary Resource in Educational Research," *The Journal of Negro Education* 49, no. 4 (1980): 414-22. doi:10.2307/2294917.

The Archives in Minna is very free for public use but most of the documents have been stolen. The National Archives, Kaduna is a highly organized agency of the federal government of Nigeria. The usage of the facility is paid for per day. Record on colonial administration and policies such as: *Tribes residing in Minna, 1936; Minna Town History; The re-organization of Minna Town, 1950-57; Annual reports and Gazetteers* are to be found in Niger State Archives, Minna; while the National Archives, Kaduna provide documents on colonial policies, ethnographic reports and provincial administration. Some of these are: Lord Lugard; *The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa, 1922; Sarkin Minna Appointment; Annual Reports and memos.*

1.8.2.2 Secondary Sources

The secondary sources comprise of published and unpublished works which already exist as documents stored in libraries, archives and files. The instrument of secondary data to be used include: information on various regime performance in respect to policies and activities of the three tiers of government on the urban transformation of Minna town from 1976 to 2015. To this effect: the annual year book published by Niger State Printer, Minna; the publications of the Niger State Statistical year book (1976 to 2015); records of various development projects covering the period of our study for Local, State and Federal government are utilized. Other sources of information for this research work are: the United Nation Development Programme office (UNDP) Minna; Periodicals, Newspapers, Magazines, scholarly works, textbooks, published and unpublished research materials, the internet and other related sources.

1.8.2.3 Research Population and Sampling

The focal centre of this research is Minna town hence the population taken for the interview is within the town of Minna. The sampling technique to be adopted is the 'non-probability sampling'. This is because the few out of the huge population of Minna will be representative of the whole (Kothari, 2007).

Minna have an estimated population of 264,169 in 2014 (Niger State Bureau of Statistics Minna, 2014). Interview was conducted across social political economic groups to avail the researcher a wider view of the society. A total of thirty (30) interviews were conducted based on open questions regarding the development of Minna town. Of this number effort was made to interview (2) former governors of the state, three (3) former chairmen of Chanchaga local government, Minna; three (3) former secretaries of the L.G.A; one Director each from the federal, State and Local Government service; five ward heads; two migrants to the town; two (2) youths; also five women; and five academics. It can therefore be said that the number chosen (30) for the interview was to have a manageable size that covers every aspect of the historical development of Minna town and narration of live experiences by different age and socio-economic and political groups that made up the population of the town. The number chosen is also in line with Franklin that consideration for time and cost was taken (Franklin, 2013).

Oral interview which 30 respondents were reported had 4 people of over eighty years, 8 persons of over 70 years old, 6 above 60 years, 10 between 50 and 60 years while 2 respondents were between 30 to 40 years. All the respondents are people that based on

their age have practically witnessed or were even direct participants in the historical processes of the development of Minna town.

Table 1.1
Respondents and Method of Data Collection

Respondents	Sample	Method of Data collection
Ex Governors	2	Interview
Ex Local Government Chairmen	3	Interview
Directors (Federal, State & Local)	6	Interview
Ward heads	5	Interview
Migrants	2	Interview
Youths	2	Interview
Women	5	Interview
Academics	5	Interview
Total	30	

Source: Compiled by the researcher (2016)

The essence of this selection is that the groups reflect the diverse socio-economic and political setting of Minna Town as their views will reflect a general opinion of the populace. Each person was chosen because he/she has either directly participated in the event being reported or very close to the original source of information and are accessible and willing to provide the required information (Creswell, 2007). This is in line with Plummer, 1983, Marshall and Rossman cited in Creswell; advocates of

maximum variation sampling which provides four aspects of sampling namely: events, setting, actors, and artifacts. They note possible changes in the sampling during conduct of the research and advocate need for flexibility and planning ahead (Creswell, 2013).

1.8.3 Data Collection Procedure

The research is largely based on primary sources made up of oral interview, official and private documents and diaries then books and unpublished thesis, dissertations, as well as works of secondary interpretation and tertiary summation. One of such is the collection of oral source materials through face to face interview with some people that have witnessed some of the events being studies. Although, most of the people are relatively aged, they still provided useful information for the reconstruction of the history of Minna. Several write-ups exist on the steps to be employed in conducting qualitative interview; Kvale and Brinkmaan (2009),⁹ also Rubin and Rubin (2012)¹⁰ are noted for their suggestions. The steps according to kvale and Brinkmaan will involve: thematizing the inquiry, interviewing, data analysis, validity verification, reliability, interpretation, generalization of finding and reporting the study. This research is in agreement with these submissions and will employ it in the conduct of the investigation.

Besides oral information, Archival materials are indeed of great importance to this work as they provide useful information, especially on the colonial and even post-colonial

⁹ S. Kvale, and S. Brinkmaan, *InterViews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing* (2nd ed.), California, Thousand Oaks, Sage, 2009.

¹⁰ Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. S. (2011). *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*. Sage.

history of the town. Raymond Lee (2000) offers us how textual data like the archival materials can provide insight into social life. Scott on his part made a system of classification based on authorship and accessibility (Scott, 1990). Both the oral source and archival materials are important means to be employed to check each other as well as the secondary sources.

1.8.4 Technique of Data Analysis

Information collected from the oral interviews is scrutinized and synthesized by checking on the reliability of the sources and their consistency. The results were corroborated with other sources for authenticity and validity before interpretation. Based on the strength of the sources the most reliable were utilized for the research. Validity is a very crucial aspect of research hence it provides the criterion and degree to which the instrument employed measured correctly what it is supposed to measure (Kothari, 2004). We use content validity as a means of measurement, because its determinations are primarily judgmental and intuitive. It is based on the adequate use of these sources that my analysis has been made easier.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

Scholars have concocted various theoretical grounds for explaining the historical development of human settlements. Similarly explanations have been offered for the various forces that aid the transformation of such places from rural to urban centers of great magnitude and diversity some of such earliest theories are; Khaldun (1958), Alagoa (1970), Smith (1977), Obayomi (1977), Usman (1978). They all agreed that for a

place to emerge as a settlement it must possess some advantages such as availability of water supply, fertile land for agriculture and security.

A popular theoretical perspective in this regard is the political economy line of thinking which considers the material production of the society as the basis for its advancement. The theory draws its inspirations from the works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, particularly in the *German Ideology*. It emphasized on production and production relations between man and man, man and society (town/city) and town and city as well as between nations. Thus the theory has it that if a place is resourceful then it will attract population and even attain the commercial and administrative position. For example, Lagos, Kano, Port Harcourt, and Minna are clear instances, in this case Bawa (2014). These settlements became large beginning as trading or commercial centers and later attained administrative importance as national and state headquarters.

Colonial administration seized the opportunity of the economic resources of such places by establishing administrative posts in such settlement to enhance the exploitation of its resources as well as those of its peripheries.¹¹ Thus, Lagos that was a slave depot until 1861 when the anti-slave trade squad bombarded and made it a crown colony became the point for the export of both agricultural and mineral resources to the western world. Port Harcourt was a small riverine settlement on the creeks of the Nembe River but the

¹¹ Colonial rule exploited its subject on the basis of the available resources of the colonized see Ake, C. *Political Economy of Africa*. London, Longman Group, 1980; Rodney, W. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Tanzania, Bourgle' Overtute, 1972.

establishment of an oil refinery there in the 1950s changed the dimension of its history as its expansion became very rapid.¹²

Reactions to this theory have support from scholars like Cohen (2004), Montgomery et al (2003) and Chen et al (1998). To this group, the major factor for explaining the growth of towns is migration especially rural-urban. Literature review below discusses most of the claims with respect to this point.

This study however, acknowledges the significance of transportation theory and Municipal theory as underpinning theories for the proper explanation of the emergence and expansion of towns and cities particularly having much of their history tied to colonialism. The transportation theorists maintain that such facilities as railway, roads, air and water transport system play a tremendous role in the development of any settlement (Hopkins, 1973). Several studies have paid credence to this theory as it posits that transportation system of any kind where they functionally exist, boost economic and social activities of the area Cooley (1894), Haing (1926), Edward, (1941), Falola and Salm (2004), Akpen (2006), Vuchie (2010). This theory is significant to our study of the historical development settlements as it explains that such place has the high potentiality to attract population hence its ability to provide the corridor of movements and agglomeration.

¹²Many settlement in the colonized worlds gained prominence because of the economic opportunities and potentialities. Ogunremi, G.O. & Faluyi, F.K. Economic History of West Africa, Ibadan, Rex Charles Publication, 1996, even at post-colonial level places that have such advantages like the site of industries and educational institutions tend to expand faster see Falola & Salm, Nigerian Cities, Eriteria, Africa World Press, Inc, 2003, pp. 2-7.

On the other hand, municipal theory or simply put constitutional home rule gives more legislative powers to the municipal authority for self-rule on issues that are strictly local in character, Blume (1960). Accordingly; municipalities shall have authority to exercise all powers of local self-government and embrace and enforce within their limits such as local police, Sanitary and other similar regulations as are not in conflict with the general law. Municipal theory encourages the establishment of a local federalism which would place city-state relationship on a foundation similar to that prevailing between the state and nation, Jefferson and Joe (1948), Blume (1960), Montalvo, (2010). This is in line with the practice of three tiers of government practiced in Nigeria namely; federal, state and local government. Minna Municipal is under the entire tiers as the 1999 constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria provided. Thus this theory becomes relevant to our study as it underscores the need for empowerment of Municipal authority to maintain legislative powers on some key aspects of societal life.

Even though there has not been much on the theory of municipal management and organization (Ansoff & Hayes, 1976; Fottler, 1981; Levine, 1978; Lyles & Mitroff, 1980; Murray & Jick, 1981; Stanley, 1981; Steiner & Miner, 1977; Ungson, Braunstein, & Hall, 1981). There are several opposing related issues, such as the acceptability of a general theory of municipal administration or management strategy, but the objectives of this empirical study are to examine certain dimensions of decision-making strategies in local government and provide a basis for further conceptual and empirical development. There is a need for Municipal theory to address, systematically, vital aspects of municipal managerial strategies in cases in which the potential impact of these strategies has significant human and long-term economic implications. Ungson et al. (1981)

indicated that models of society design are not explicit about how decision making occurs in ill-structured situations with multiple problems. Lyles and Mitroff (1980) equally established that strategic resolutions in organizations are little understood and require empirical examination to ascertain relevant factors. Ansoff and Hayes (1976) and Steiner and Miner (1977) focused on the theory associated with organizational strategy and tactical management, but they also emphasized the need for redirection and comprehensive approaches to system strategies in situations in which the considered organisation problem is one of the "most startling challenges" for profit and non-profit administrations. Also, Steiner and Miner (1977) accepted that "government is the most overriding institution in society" for which the tactical processes may literally mean "the variance between life and death to all of our societies and to each of us individually". Murray and Jick (1981) conceptualized approach has one fathomable oversight that there has been no empirical test of their model or for that matter any others. They argue correctly that: Until a stronger understanding is obtained of the variables and procedures shaping premeditated decision responses to falloffs no significant progress can be made toward the next step of developing prescriptive advice on how vulnerable governments ought to have fared in the coming years of "hard times," It is in the light of these observations that one considers the factor of trust in our political life as explanatory variable in understanding municipal theory.

Proposals made by social scientists showed at least three models to understand political trust in democratic institutions (Newton and Norris 2000). First, the *socio-psychological* theory suggests that the inner quality of trust between individuals, by itself or together with life satisfaction, is associated with institutional trust. This type of trust is created in

the first stages of human psychological development as a result of the mother-child feeding experience (Vetter and Smith 1971, Coser and Rosenberg 1976).

Secondly, the *cultural-environmental* theory suggests that the degree of participation and socialization in communitarian activities affects levels of trust. This second type of trust is activated by social mechanisms of personal interaction (Putnam 1994, Inglehart 1997).

Finally, the *institutional efficacy* theory argues that institutional performance is closely linked to political trust. This third type of trust is based upon the perception that people have of whether or not institutions are producing results consistent with their expectations (Hiskey & Seligson 2003, Hetherington 2005).

To practically relate this model the establishment of the fact that the Municipal authority is not given the required legislative constitutional backing desired to execute its work effectively. The three models mentioned above raise the challenge weather the inhabitants of our towns and cities much as they expect from the government can trust and hope for the desired result from it.

1.10 Literature Review

1.10.1 Conceptual issues

A study in the development of town/city has its own fundamental conceptual and methodological problems. One of such is the availability of multitude sources on towns and cities with varied approaches and perspectives most of which are professionally biased while some are ethnocentric some others are even ideologically enclosed. Any

discussion on this topic is essentially on urban growth and development hence the transformational elements of the phenomena are to be found in the process of its changes.

Towns are places that have substantial group of residents and buildings as well as complex social and economic structures (Scott & Michael, 2013). The earliest towns are known to have emerged in the Middle East sometimes around 7000 BC after the development of agriculture later, towns developed in the regions of Egypt, India, China and Mesoamerica (Scott & Michael, 2013). Throughout human history the emergence, growth and development of towns was a regular aspect of social, economic and political development. It occupies every epoch, mostly as a result of administrative, military, commercial or manufacturing reasons.

A fundamental change in human history is urbanization that is when larger percentage of a nation's population came to live in the town. This shift coincided with the growth of large scale industries, beginning in eighteenth century England (industrial revolution) and spread across Europe and beyond. Many towns grew rapidly as rural migrants arrived in search of work in the factories or other trades stimulated by urban growth and industrial wealth. Outside of Europe, North America experienced the most dramatic nineteenth century urban growth. The twentieth century, especially its second half, saw rapid urbanization in other regions mostly East Asia and Africa (Davis, 1980).

In the poor countries especially in Africa, urban growth has been concentrated in single city, typically the capital, with floods of migrants drawn from rural population, political

turmoil and the collapse of agricultural subsistence economy (Adamu and Liman, 2005). This is fundamentally different from the 19th Europe, it is urbanization without industrialization. The emergence of towns in the Nigeria area antedates colonial rule and industrial revolution. Far back in Nigeria there exist ancient towns and cities dating back to thousands of years, such places like Kano, N' gazargamu, Katsina, Benin, Ile-Ife and many others had been in existence (Ayodeji, 2004).

These early urban centers were points of great politics that impacted on varied degrees of social, political and economic control over connecting areas and beyond. The foundation and early development of these centers may be ascribed to many factors. These include geographic location, transportation, and security, commerce, military and administrative hence the utilization of varied theories to explain the historical development of towns/cities with particular reference to Minna Town in Nigeria.

1.10.2 General Literature on the Development of Towns and Cities

Scholars have over the ages been concerned about the emergence of towns/cities and their development. They try to explain both in theory and concept how and why they emerge and transform. One prominent and earliest writer on urbanization, but who has been less recognized by most urban researchers is Ibn Khaldun, (1958) he notes that, it is only people who are sedentary that build towns or cities. A key factor in their growth and expansion which he notes is security. If the city is located in a region and surrounding that enhances its security, then people flock into it and seek refuge.

Smith (1978) argued in the same line when he explained the emergence and development of Birni Zazzau that its location on the Kufena and Turunku hills served as security from enemies like the Paida Hills of Minna in which the people found safety from slave raiders. Robert and Carol (1981) in their edited work seem to be in agreement with Khaldun who seems quite mindful about the environment in which towns and cities are located. For he says, they should be located near a river or a spring so as to ease the urgent water problem of the inhabitants. The environment in which the city is located should be ecologically suitable so as to provide timber for firewood and roofing; and the city is located close to the sea to facilitate the importation of foreign foods from other countries. He also mentioned royal authorities as another pre-requisite for the emergence and development of towns or cities.

Regardless of some of his very few short comings and considering the time and epoch in which he lived and wrote indeed as a “father of urbanization”, his contribution to urban study remains phenomenal, as can be seen in his appreciation of some of the material process of urbanization. His account is highly relevant to urban studies and seems more worthy for us to use, than some works of urban writers of the 20th century.

Weber (1958) on his part distinguished two main types of cities. These he maintains are the “modern” types or cities such as London, Paris and Berlin which serve as centers of national and international finance and headquarters of cartels or joint stock companies. While the other is the semi-rural city, though centers of urban trade and market have a large number of resident Burghers satisfying a larger part of their food needs through cultivation and producing food for sale. It appears very clear that Weber does not seem

to see town or cities as part of the process within the wider society in which the towns or city is located. From this perception it therefore follows that, to him, the true city is a product of capitalism and not of any other social formation.

Hauser and Schonore (eds) (1965), while contending that the demographic conception of urban transformation is transcended by many other uses of the terms defined urbanization as:

A social process, which has brought about great transformation in man's way of life and that for purpose of convenience especially in statistical studies, urban and urbanization are usually considered merely in a demographic sense, as agglomerations of a given size or as the proportion of total population living in places of given size.

By this conception, it is clear that urbanization is not even slightly perceived as a concrete process. Similarly, Davis (1965) whose work has influenced many scholars such as S.F. Fava also merely considered urbanization as a product of the proportion of the total population concentrated in urban settlements.

Friedman and Wolff (1976) on their part defined it as a complex of spatial processes and their associated patterns. Although the spatial relations of power (decision-making and control) are identified as the critical process to which all others are ultimately related. These definitions of urbanization by Davis, Hauser and Friedman are not only seemingly varied but also elusive. They largely failed to see links between the spatial form and their cultural context of the phenomenon. This is because their perspective of urbanization is mainly concerned with the cultural system characteristic of capitalist

industrial society. It is in this context, that Oyedele (1987) rightly observed that urbanization has come to be understood in terms of its connection with economic development. He further remarked that: urbanization is seen as a good measure of economic development and social transformation, as well as, a means to such a change.

Wirth (1968) an authority on urban studies conceptualizes urbanization as a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals. Wirth with his open definition seems to leave us to guess how large, dense and heterogeneous a settlement becomes, before it qualifies as a town or, city. It seems that his use of the phrase “relative” also does not help matters much. He argues that urbanization process is not merely the process through which persons are attracted to a place called the city, but rather, it refers to “that cumulative accentuation of the characteristics distinctive of the mode of life which is associated with the growth of cities, and finally to the changes in the direction of modes of life recognized as urban” (Wirth, 1968). It is clear to us therefore, that to Wirth, urbanism is nothing other than a way of life and urbanization process is merely the process through which the urban way of life is acquired. We will use the clarity obtained from his studies to advance our studies on urbanization appropriately.

Mumford (1966) made us to understand that no single definition of the city will apply to all its manifestations and no single description will cover all its transformation (Mumford, 1966). To him, the city metamorphosed out of the village, which he sees as a small and simple settlement which has order, stability, intimacy and oneness with the forces of nature and characterized by organized government, morality, law and justice

and with a rudimentary division of labour determined more by age and strength. He explained that when the city emerges, the village becomes its quarter of neighborhood. Therefore, he says, the origin of the city “was the chief fruit of the union between Neolithic and a more archaic Paleolithic culture”. It seems that Mumford’s universal definition as good as it sounds however, does not seem to imply universally in all cases, for evidence abounds about cities founded on village sites whose inhabitants were removed to another location entirely. The author relevantly contributes to our study in throwing some light that the composition of the city, once established, becomes heterogeneous.

Kingsley (1966) examined the extent Rural-Urban-Migration (R-U-M) input in the urbanization process. He pointed out that the advanced countries as having reached the topmost in terms of development have solved RUM problems, whereas the developing countries have not. He presented an ambiguous analysis with ambiguity that seems to degrade his grasp of the phenomenon. He claimed that in the West;

Currently the expanding size of cities makes them more difficult to live in. The population classed as "rural" is accordingly enlarged both from cities and to farms for these reasons the "rural" population in some industrial countries never did fall in absolute size. In all the industrial countries, however, the population depended on agriculture... In the later stage of the cycle, then, urbanization in the advanced countries tends to cease. Hence, the connection between economic development and the growth of cities also ceases. The change is explained by ...first, there is no longer enough farm population to furnish a significant migration to cities (What can 29 million American farmers contribute to the growth of the 100 million people already in urbanized area?). Second, the rural non-farm population, nourished, by refugees from the expanding cities, begins to increase as fast as the city population (Kingsley, 1966).

There appears to be a difficulty in the interpretation of the trend and pace of American urbanization in which the swelling of population in both cities and countryside is relatively at the same pace- i.e. balanced and improved conditions in the countryside. This prevents RUM, while the expanding industries and land alienation push people to the suburb. Instead for him to see it as Urban-Rural-Migration phenomenon (URM), he rather preferred to see it as a state of dominance and completeness. He later contradicted himself by acknowledging that there is “rapid growth of cities in the advanced countries”. Opposed to his earlier theory of static population and URM, he reverted to RUM.

With an even higher population of people already in cities and with the inability of city people to replace themselves by reproduction, the drain eventually became so heavy that in many nations the rural population began to decline in absolute, as well as, relative terms (Sweden 1920, England and-Wales 1861 and Belgium 1910), and kept dropping up to 1960. The historical dropping was more drastic and consistent specifically in the farm population (Kingsley, 1966).

Kingsley’s inability to synthesize the observable reverse in the phenomenon of urbanization made his analysis confusing. This further reveals his bias inconsistency and meddles of analysis, much of which is speculative.

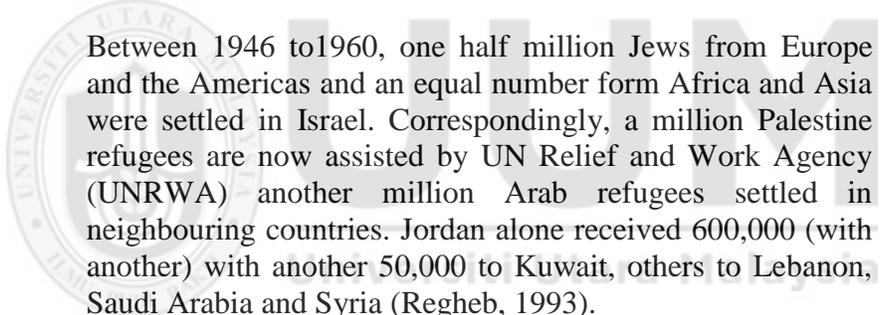
The conclusion to which this is a contrast point is that an anxiety of governments in underdeveloped nation is misplaced. Impressed by the mushrooming in their cities of shantytowns filled with ragged peasants, they attribute the fantastically fast city growth to RUM. Actually this migration now does little or more than make up for the small difference in the birth rate between city and countryside (1966).

Sjoberg (1965) maintained that urban agglomerations are product of feudal or pre-industrial society and industrial- urban society. He defines a city, in contra-distinction to a village, as having a greater size, density and heterogeneity. An indeterminate definition as the one given by Louis Wirth but goes further than Wirth to relevantly identify three crucial factors favoring the emergence of cities as; a favorable ecological base, a relatively advanced technology in both agricultural and non-agricultural spheres and a complex social organization, involving a well-developed power structure.

His contention that all these conditions had to be fulfilled before the city emerges however is an indication of his shortcoming in failing to see the emergence of the city as a process, which goes hand-in-hand with the development of those ingredients that are vital to the burgeoning of the centre. Smith (1987) seems to have realized this as he has brought out this issue clearly in his study of state formation in Kano. A very useful and relevant hint which Sjoberg have raised is that of the existence of a relatively advanced technology that can provide surplus food, it free some proportion of the population from direct production so that they can engage in handicraft, scholarship and governance, hence a prerequisite for the emergence and expansion of towns or cities.

Regheb (1993) typified some important and significant dimensions of urbanization process in his work. This article is particularly relevant to the study of Northern Nigeria and the Minna urban phenomenon because there are trends, problems and implications of urbanization in the Middle East which are of similar features. Equally Northern Nigeria might have a lift from them in promulgating specific plans to address specific urban problems. The strength of this work starts with locating Iraq, Israel, Jordan,

Kuwait, Lebanon, Syria and Turkey in their terra-firma. Only 20% of their land is arable, the rest being desert and arid. Before the discovery of oil in Kuwait, 99% of the rapidly teeming population was depended on agriculture which land was being rapidly encroached by urbanization and land speculators. Those conditions clearly disturb Middle East and the need for exigency planning. Middle East is a danger zone and further compounded by immigration that urban planning is a desideratum. The ability of the Middle East to survive is a panacea formula which African countries should strive to obtain and apply. The causes of urbanization in the Middle east, unlike in Africa, owes very much to dislocation of population. With the dislocation of the Ottoman Empire, the Allied Powers started to relocate people en masse, in Middle East:



Between 1946 to 1960, one half million Jews from Europe and the Americas and an equal number from Africa and Asia were settled in Israel. Correspondingly, a million Palestine refugees are now assisted by UN Relief and Work Agency (UNRWA) another million Arab refugees settled in neighbouring countries. Jordan alone received 600,000 (with another) with another 50,000 to Kuwait, others to Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Syria (Regheb, 1993).

In addition to these imposed migrants, which led to the swelling of towns instantly, there were “push-pull” factors. There was rapid RUM due to many factors. The most important was the discovery and exploitation of oil resources, which brought about employment opportunities. The oil revenue was used to improve the welfare of the population and development of infrastructures that made traveling to the towns very easy, and as well made the towns very attractive. There was the mechanization of agriculture, which alienated many that ran to the cities to seek for livelihood.

A significant characteristic of urbanization in the Middle East was the out-numbering of the females in the cities, may be due to the under-utilization of female labour. Importantly too, the rapid growth of cities engulfed smaller neighbouring towns and as well, annexed farmlands. The urban population of Iran accounts for one-third of its total population. The author paid attention to the major functions of the cities like administration, industries and trading. The author forgot the tourist attraction of the Middle East.

Furthermore, the work itemized the major urban problems in the Middle East. They include traffic, transport, water, waste disposal, housing, shantytowns and land speculation problems. Regheb explained how and what measures are taken to cope with these problems in each city. These measures are solely government initiatives. Government has initiated housing schemes-low and high cost quarters to cater for the various social classes. There are laws against land speculation. In fact the countries in the Middle East have “Close relations between city planning and national planning” (Regheb, 1993). The writer ignored the impact of the age old Arab-Israel conflict, redundancy and consumer-oriented cities. All cities in this part of the world are dumping grounds of European and Japanese manufactures. The implication of the relationship between these cities, as with the rest of developing countries, and the advanced world, is that they remain as markets and not producers, which has a bearing on their backwardness.

Anderson (1975) made some worthy accounts of the origin, characteristics and functions of towns in the developing process. He pointed out that the goods and surplus that the

urbanized land owners derived was based on a combination of free peasants, slave labour, dependent tenants and urban artists. According to him, the territory of Greek city states include an agrarian circumference with wholly rural population settled in it. Anderson appreciates the role appropriated labour plays in sustaining urban centers for he states that in the case of Athens, slave labour was used in mining, agriculture and crafts, which made possible the affluence of Greek urbanity. Other works in which the slaves were employed included road construction, buildings, drains etc. Crucial to Anderson's relevant conception is his recognition of the role that changing social formations play in re-ordering the nature and functions of urban centers.

Castell (1977) like Anderson based his study of urbanization on the Marxian method of historical materialism. His work seems to set forth a very useful working hypothesis for urban studies. Castells clearly states that towns or cities are basically centers of politics, religion and administration. This is so because towns are “spatial expression of a social complexity determined by the process of appropriation and re-investment of the product of labour, they can exist on the basis of the surplus produced by those who work on land (Castell, 1977). He adds that towns or cities in themselves create nothing, but by centralizing creations, it enables them to thrive (Castell, 1977). He identifies various types of cities whose nature, functions and characteristics differ because of the differing social formations under which they flourished.

Castell discuss the issue of urbanization in colonial social formations which is very relevant and useful to a basic part of our study which shall deal with colonial urbanization in Minna town. The key issue to be considered from Castell's relevant

contribution to our study is that urban centers brought into being or nurtured by colonial capitalism have a distinct form of urbanization from the urban centers of the metropolis. While in the latter case, urbanization was accompanied by industrialization, in the former it was not. Its urbanization was therefore, “dependent urbanization.” Although Castell did not indicate the variables of this dependency he further wonderfully elucidates relevantly that a study of urbanization in underdeveloped (formally colonized) regions, must be accompanied by an overall analysis of underdevelopment. What he seems to posit is that “whoever wishes to study a town or city (or series of them) must also study capital, production, distribution, politics and ideology.” We shall utilize this recognition in our study. Both Castell and Anderson seem to have derived their methodological inspiration of urbanization from the ideas of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, whose ideas we now is our focus in order to derive adequate clarity on urbanization process and development of town/cities.

Marx and Engels do not seem to provide us with a comprehensive theory of urbanization studies in the same way in which it can be shown that there exists a Marxian theory of a capitalist society. Their views on urbanization are spread in their numerous works. It is in the German ideology that such view can be found more than in any of their studies. In this work, Marx and Engels see the emergence of towns as a product of division of labour. That division of labour emphasizes the differences between the industrial, commercial and agricultural sectors. There is therefore a marked separation between the town and countryside (Marx & Engels, 1976). Their materialist conception of urbanization comes out more clearly in their explanation of the urbanization process of the European Middle ages. They maintain thus:

The advent of the town implies at the same time the necessity of administration, police, taxes etc, in short of the municipality (dcs Germany dewessens) and thus of politics in general. Here first became manifest the division of the population into two great classes, which is directly based on the division of labour and on the instruments of production. The town is in actual fact the concentration of production of capital, of pleasure, of needs, which the country demonstrate just the opposite fact, isolation and separation (Marx & Engels, 1976).

They explained further that in the European Middle ages, antiquity started out from the town and its territory while the Middle Ages started from the countryside. But when feudalism developed fully, there emerged an antagonism between the towns and the countryside. The town was the place of domicile of the hierarchical structure of land ownership and their armed body of retainers and the countryside, the place of domicile of the serfs (Marx & Engel, 1976; Gu, Li & Han, 2015). The antagonism between these two classes manifested itself, as the antagonism between town and country.

Division and antagonism between town and country they further explained, is a feature which characterizes all societies from antiquity to the period of modern capitalism (Marx & Engels, 1976). As if to demonstrate the nature and the relevance of their explanation to our studies, (Scott & Michael, 2013) illuminate directly when they assert that modern history is the urbanization of the countryside, not as among the ancients, the ruralization of the city". Like Marx and Engels, Oberai (1993) argued clearly that capitalism does not mitigate the antagonism between town and country; that on the contrary, it worsens it. He avails us a relevant clarification that with the development of capitalism, the penetration of capital into rural agrarian relations, the contradiction between labour and

capital extends across the rural-urban boundaries. Indeed, in contrast with Wirth and Mumford, Marx and Engels concretely saw the town and city as product of a specific historical setting and that its nature and character is shaped by a historically determined mode of production as part of the wider societies in which they existed (Marx & Engels, 1976).

We found this historical materialist method of urban studies relevant and useful to our study of the historical development of Minna, but we hope to go beyond this to utilize its condensed Political Economy approach with its more practically flexible and deeply rooted in analytical frame work based on ramifications of socio-economic processes that led to changes and transformation of the town. We hope to apply this methodology in our study of Minna.

1.10.3 Literature on the Development of Towns in Africa

Literature on the development of towns in Africa and West Africa also offers us a lot. Urbanization studies on Africa and West Africa are perceived to have some shortcomings irrespective of few relevant contributions that have been made. Epstein (1967) pointed out that “urbanization in modern Africa has gone hand-in-hand with a number of other processes; industrialization, westernization and the growth of settler communities all of which have to be kept analytically distinct if we are to make valid generalizations. Like most other researchers, Epstein refused to probe into the sources of these analytically distinct processes, which in fact have a single origin-the system of colonial domination. As a result he was unable to go beyond a superficial categorization or urban situations, attempting to classify them on the basis of economic activities

(Administrative centers, market places, sea ports, railway junctions, and centers of production).

Similarly, in the article, Knight (1972) also sets out to outline the specific ways he feels the process of urbanization has affected rural Africa. He identified ten major facets of rural life, which he asserts have become urbanized. They are amongst others: the economic, political, information, transport, migration, education, health, religion and cultural spheres. Like Louis Wirth it appears to Knight that urbanism is nothing other than merely a way of life.

The work of Breese (1969) also fits here in particular case study of Africa and West African urban review. The gamut of his work is a compilation of 36 papers on urbanization by expert researchers and the UN's Committee's reports. The issues of discourse in almost all the papers overlap while each scholar differ in emphasis, approach, theory, conceptualization of the problems and solutions, moreover some are quite opposed to each other. The work is highly invaluable to researchers and policy makers who wish to be exposed to varied arguments and approaches to the problems of urbanization worldwide.

The value of this work lies on the broad and varied topics on urbanization; it is full of comparative statistics, theories, policies, problems, solutions, morphology, trends, scale and pace of urbanization process across the globe since the 19th century up to 1970s. There is clarity in the style of presentation that makes the dynamics of urbanization clearly understood. These dynamics and purposes the cities/towns served seem quite

similar and differing only in few peculiar cases as influenced by the geography, economy and culture. From the editorial to the end, they are unanimous on the fact that although urbanization is a worldwide phenomenon of great antiquity, the watershed in scale in the 'developed' countries started with industrialization. Its process took a spectacular and "convulsive dimension" in the newly independent countries as from 1960 (Breese, 1969).

All the articles in this work are unanimous that the major fact with many facets some of which "components are partly process and partly product" is the increase in population which leads to agglomeration of people into a town/city. The weaknesses of this work are simple to detect. The use of concepts "developed" vis-a-vis "underdeveloped" projects the chauvinistic and Euro-centric preconceived notion, that the developing countries are unfortunately static and encapsulated in doom in contrast to the prosperous and complete Europe. Therefore, their "conceptual framework of universal applicability" of urbanization they "employed as an integral aspect of analysis was modernization" (Breese, 1969). They over-generalized that urbanization in the newly independent countries, including America, is a response to modernization introduced to the countries/colonies by Europeans. They purposely swept aside the brazen imperial exploitation of particularly Africa, which material resources were used to spark off urbanization in Europe, sustained it and dialectically impoverished the colonies until their independence. Since their analysis agreed that the rapid pace of urbanization in the developing countries started only after they achieved independence, it is logical to attribute their backwardness to the dialectical relationship between them and Europe. However the underdevelopment scholars are in disagreement with such claims and

maintained that the developing countries were formerly at par with the Europeans until the beginning of their obnoxious contact in the fifteenth century (Rodney 1973).

This work is one of the publications of Modernization of Traditional Societies Series. They attempted to exonerate imperialism from under developing Asia, Africa and Southern America and the Caribbean, by overemphasizing that colonialism meant modernization and urbanization seem to have a gainful response of the colonies through which they were modernized. The work saw civilization as purely European initiative whose spread was one-directional and Africa been always recipient.

In another of his work, Breese (1969), assumes a rather more irrational exposure towards African urbanism which he tends to even deny its existence in some periods. Thus, basically, the major problem with this work is that the author did not recognize any pre-colonial urban areas in Africa. Hence, he saw a sharp contrast between the lives before colonial rule - rural life - to be diametrically opposed to the new urban life during colonial rule an assumption that may be due to his shallow knowledge of pre-colonial African history. The work glorifies diffusion of European civilization to Africa. It seems to argue that colonial exploitation was a blessing and success to Africans but these only explains the poverty of knowledge in some scholars especially concerning African history which very richly illustrates its great cities since antiquity¹³. He reported

¹³ Some of the ancient African cities that had long been in existence include; Alexandra, Memphis, Gao, Jenne, Walata, Timbuctu, N'gazargamu, Kaneb-Bornu (Kanenbu), Kano, Zaria, Sokot, Benin, Ile-Ife and a host East African trading cities like Pete, Kilwa and Mombasa. For better treatment of African Cities see: Toyin Falola and Steven Salm, *Nigerian Cities*, Eriteria also see Kelvin Shillington, *History*

colonialism to have created the urbanites - university graduates with great knowledge! Who become broken (free) from cultural ties, and with other hundreds of thousands of people similar to that youth; the many who have been in the city longer with varying success, some resigned, some few, flourishing beyond the greatest dreams (Breese, 1969).

The author could not see the dialectical relationship between the urban areas in the developing countries with the metropolis-the “foreigners” that “externally imposed” the characteristics. He did not go further to tell us what attracted the Europeans. According to Walter Rodney, the African population, markets, raw materials and technical knowhow attracted the Europeans (Rodney, 1973). He belittled African urbanization, and treated it as if it was entirely a response to European diffused culture and model, and referred to African urbanization as “subsistence” urbanization without bare necessities of life, or that village life is better than urban life in Africa (Breese, 1969). Despite the warning he made over the inappropriateness of using the Western image of urbanization in studying urbanization in the developing countries, he himself still went ahead to pull the European standards on African situation.

Breese did not know much about the interior of Africa, since he limited urbanization to the coastal areas to further buttress the view that it was the limited contact with the Europeans that also limited the urbanization. An in-depth study of Kaduna urban center,

of Africa, Third Edition, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, 115 and Thomas Hodgkin, *Nigerian Perspectives: An Historical Anthology*, London, Oxford University Press, 1975.

which emerged due to colonial activities, reveal that colonial urbanization was dialectical, serving the interest of the foreign companies, colonial government and their indigenous lackeys just as was the case of indigenous people of Minna were being underdeveloped, and their marginalization seriously guarded by the colonial policies. G. Breese was emphatic on the European influenced urbanization in Africa; with one notable exception (of the Yoruba who has a city before 1956) urbanization in Africa in particular is confined almost entirely to the coastal area.

In spite of the above noted problems of Breese, this work remains highly invaluable. The work reveals how most African urban centers were ignited by capitalist exploitation, which boosted the markets and brought about the construction of leisure centers. The colonized learnt quickly how to accept colonial economy and desired for European way of life-to have luxurious cars, fine buildings, hostels, cinema, etc. It revealed how urban areas in the developing countries were caused by colonization through the policy of creation of administrative centers, market centers, while these areas continually copied European town planning. Breese agreed with the study of David that the impact of urbanization whose phenomenon is worldwide is greater in the ‘underdeveloped’ countries than in the industrial nations, because it is occurring on top of a mass of other problems which North America and Europeans have to some degree already solved: “political stability, decent living standard, and orderly and flexible social structure, a truly new international frontier of great importance” (Breese, 1969).

Thus, the problems of urbanization in the developing countries are clearly brought out. They include lack of sufficient employment, houses, food, infrastructural facilities,

policy implication, cultural stresses and confrontation. In his article “African Urban Centres and Markets” McNulty (1969), identify one of the major factors giving rise to urban centers as that of trade function. Though he very well noted so relevantly that urbanization has always been associated with increased intensity of internal trade in foodstuff, caused by the large presence of migrant group in urban centers and who require stable food crops. What is however, seemingly suspected is the attempt to link economic prosperity (of which is not made clear) not to production, but to the existence of an efficient trade network that will facilitate the collection and distribution of the increasing volume of products required by the growing urban centers (McNulty, 1969). In recent years (around 1960s), urban market places of Ghanaian towns like Kumasi and Accra, have failed to keep pace with the rise in their urban population (McNulty, 1969). His analysis seems to be weak as periodization is conspicuously absent and empirical facts, not marshaled out to support the arguments of his claims.

In a document by United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (1969), a significant contribution to African urbanization is well documented. This particular article is a summary of expert reports of the UN Commission on Economy, Urbanization, Demography and Social Growth of Africa for the period 1920 to 1967. The significance of this report lies on its bold dismissal of the dominant Euro-centric perspectives on Africa.

Another of its relevance is the drawing of our attention to the fact that the knowledge of the size of the urban population in an area and its rate of growth is of great importance in planning for nation building. The available statistics point to the fact that Africa is the

least urbanized continent but now has the more rapid pace of urbanization in the globe (UN-ECA, 1968-07). This will “have immediate economic and social implications, concerning employment, education, health etc.” It is warned that unless positive planning is taken, “this rapid growth of urban population is likely to aggravate the present urban pathology, expand the “*bidovilles*” slums and shantytowns, and lead to considerable discontent and unrest” (UN-ECA, 1968-07).

Attempt was made in this submission to point out the major factors of African urbanization. Some Europeans point at just two main factors in one theory of “push-pull”. They argued that urbanization in Africa is mainly push response as the deteriorating conditions in the rural areas force migrants to seek livelihood in towns. The “pull” in Africa is exerted as the towns attract rural migrants because of the desired and increasing opportunities. But that in America and Europe the earlier urbanization was “mainly activated by pull factor, whereas the current urbanization in the less developed countries is activated by the “push” (UN-ECA, 1968-07). This theory is too simple and does not make any difference from the forces influencing urbanization in the developing countries. They put the movement of people leading to urbanization just one-directional - rural urban. It is least expected of a committee of high esteem like UN’s not to have brought out other factors like Africa response to imperialism and the growth in colonial economy and natural population growth, which were sensitive in the case of Minna’s urbanization.

Although they argued that the factors of urbanization are multi-faceted, and that their interplay are more complex than stated, they emphasized that immigration plays a more

important role in the growth of population in the African towns than the natural increase. They further argued that there is a demographic differential with fertility and mortality lower in urban areas than in rural areas. Very significantly, they warned against viewing urbanization and growth of cities as entirely a negative phenomenon. They highlighted some benefits of urbanization, which include lowering of fertility rates, change of population's occupation, acquisition of skills and consumption patterns.

Their studies reveal that the growth rate of population and urbanization varied from region to region but faster in Western Africa. They further advised that Africa could be more positive and constructive if they stop treating urbanization "as an exogenous factor to be taken into account in their planning but to make it their subject of a deliberate and comprehensive policy in planning and economic development." They stressed the economic and social implications of the rapid urbanization as there could be need for investment in housing, schooling, public health, etc., and "the social stabilization of the urban population, uprooted from normal rural environment," (UN-ECA, 1968-07).

Hosditz (1993), study much on modern urban studies is treated which must however be understood with caution. The thrust at this juncture is to show how cities/towns in the underdeveloped world might serve as the main force and chief locus for the introduction of new ideas and new ways of doing things. This including adaptation to new technology, consumption, production pattern, and achieve new social institutions (Hosditz, 1993). Therefore, he employed the concept of modernization as integral aspect of analysis. But he regretted that Africa is encapsulated in the "sea of traditional folk like way of life" which is affecting their degree of adaptation and change. He

emphasized that there is characteristic high degree of relative prevalence of; “Folk-like society, which is usually opposed to rapid change and unable to adapt itself quickly enough to the pressures exerted by increasing integration of underdeveloped countries into the world economy” (Hosditz, 1993).

He would have changed his assumption had he visited Lagos, Kano or any other coastal city. Instead for him to understand the backwardness of the folk-like people in terms of poverty and massive European exploitation, he rather falsely linked it to culture. The paper failed to cite any example of urbanization in developing countries. All his examples are limited to pre-industrial Europe. It is in these examples that one come across the purpose medieval cities served, like education, administration, religion, etc., than merely population issues. The only important issues raised by Hosditz that are of relevance to new studies are research questions like the need for researchers to consider: Impact or relationship between urbanization and economic growth; Changing social functions of cities/towns; Nature of the growth/urbanization; What impact the city/town has on the migrants, their residence, family life, political affiliation, class status, etc. These important questions have direct bearing on Minna town under our study in this thesis.

Hamdani (1989) raised some important points using modernization perspectives, which however, could be appropriately applied in understanding colonial and post-colonial urbanization. The article is an historical survey of the evolution and significance of African capitals. The strength of this work is the discussion of each town and city in historical perspective with regard to time of evolution, change in role and policy

implication. The author logically presented these cities based on ages of evolution. Hence, he started with the “historical” or “native” capitals, and then colonial and later post-colonial capitals. He considered the implication of the location. Most African capitals are eccentric to the favor of the minority. With the prevailing poor communication systems, the capitals find it difficult to politically and administratively control the distant provinces (Hamdani, 1989). This makes it easy for the regions in which the capitals are situated to dominate the country; it makes the capitals to lose their national character.

The few problems with this work are the forcible separation and tagging of some capitals as “historical” and “native” without any different characteristics. He again unduly emphasized the issue of “nodality” as a factor in the choice of a site while the analysis seem to be merely an issue of colour-bar policy, importance of sitting a capital near available labour, “primate city” or shift of roles. He avoided racism as an issue while, apparently reflecting it. From the title of the paper ‘Capital’, he did not hide this; he reported that African capitals are seen to be:

Pseudomorph that epitomizes the hybrid nature of contemporary Africa... the most evident fingerprint of colonial history... They are "Europeans in Africa"... the umbilical cord which has linked the culturally nascent continent to the mother culture of Europe... a melting pot of culture if not of color: a dominant focus of cultural transmission and dissemination and a hot bed of political fermentation (Hamdani, 1989).

Little (1971), asserts that urbanization in West Africa was accompanied by social change in which rural migration, in his own words were “integrated and adopted”, into the urban scene by creating voluntary associations .He identifies three main types of associations

in West African urban centers as tribal associations and syncretistic cults, mutual and recreation associations and modern associations.

The key terms and categories used by the writer to explain the claimed process of integration and adaptation in the emergent urban centers of West Africa are “tribe”, “civilization”, “tradition” and “modernity” which expose his anthropologically based evolutionary approach. Basically it seems clear that his urban ethnically based association for instance, cannot be understood this way. At least for one important country of West Africa, Nigeria, detailed study by Nnoli (1978) shows that ethnic associations were a product of the colonial contact situation in the urban centers, caused by the scarcity of goods and services, competition for wealth, job, education, loans and social services in general. Moreover, his “class analysis” of West African urban centers is seemingly not based on the position the classes occupy in the production of goods and services, but on monetary incomes, political position and educational and technical qualifications (Bade, 1980).

Guggler and Flanagan (1978), work constitute an appreciable advance because of their adaptation of a multi-disciplinary approach covering the terrains of political science, economics, demography, geography, history and social psychology. Through this approach they clarified that; the definition of the city should flow from what the city does. In other words, the city is what the city does in social organizational and economic terms and the examples of the ancient Sudan and coastal West Africa serve to broaden our experience in the forms such organization may take (Guggler & Flanagan, 1978).

The work focused mainly on the growth, expansion and nature of 20th century colonial urban centers of West Africa. According to them, “the transition from European sovereignty in West Africa and the rest of continent has today been the most important factor in (its) urbanization;” and they seem to rightly acknowledge such urbanization to be a product of a larger political and economic process of colonialism (Guggler & Flanagan, 1978) The authors are fairly right to attribute rural-urban migration in West Africa to economic factors, but this has been reduced to the search for better opportunities for cash employment by the peasants in the urban areas. Therefore, to them, a consideration of rural-urban balance of economic opportunities was the major determinant of migration by rural dwellers to West African urban centers. Thus, migration is not seen as part of colonial economic, social and agricultural policy as does for example (Osoba, 1969). A deep investigation of the causes of rural-urban migration is necessary to show what prompts people to leave their settled rural domains to come and settle in poor urban domains.

The defect of the study comes out more clearly towards the end of the book, in their class analyses of the West African urban centers which they maintain have three social stratifications which include the elite, urban employed and the rural masses (Guggler & Flanagan, 1978).

The elite according to them, comprises the politicians, senior civil servants, the officer corp of the army, the police, businessmen and big land owners. The life style of the elite is characterized by pomp, high income and they live in the GRA's". Their definition of what constitutes a class seemed to have been borrowed from Michael Cohen who states

that “classes are categories of people sharing common political and economic interests arising from their access to public authority and public resources and opportunities, which they control. This is clearly far from Lenin’s definition of classes, which is rather analytically more useful.

1.10.4 Literature on The Development of Towns in Nigeria

In considering development of town/cities in Nigeria, an examination of a selected group of scholars, who have studied town/cities and state formation in Nigeria, seems most appropriate. This is because Minna area is part and parcel of the political community that is today known as Nigeria. It has shared historical experience with many of its constituent peoples and polities. Through this understanding we think a consideration of the urbanization study of other Nigerian communities will add some lights on our study area hence it becomes relevant and justified.

Smith (1987) discussing the formation of Hausa States in a specific reference to Kano points out that the emergence of Kano as a *Birni*, took several centuries. It was not a momentous, cataclysmic event that happened over night, but a protracted process. And the factors that helped it to so emerge were its location in a fertile agricultural environment, the deposit of iron in the hill of Dalla and its centrality of location around important trade axis. The latter allowed the Sarki to control trade and levy tolls. Moreover, the Dala hill, like the other black hills of Hausa land, was believed to be the dwelling place of the great *iskoki* which served as a cultural and spiritual point, attracting migrants into the *Birni*. The basic characteristics of the *Birni*, he points out is that it has a place of refuge for immigrants seeking shelter, a political and military base

for maintaining control over the entire 'kasa', and above all, a secure repository of the Sarki's wealth, as well as, a cosmopolitan population (Smith, 1987). His methodology was materialist framework of analysis.

Obayemi (1977) on his part attempted to use a similar materialist methodology in his study of the Yoruba and Edo speaking Peoples and their neighbours before 1600, to explain development of town and state formation in the area. He points out that the urbanization process in large parts of the western and South Central part of Nigeria, started from the mini state. This type of state is known to have existed in Yoruba land as ebi, idile, Omoba or Agbo, in Igala land as Olopu in Idoma land Ipoomai or Ipopu; in Nupeland 'Kinn (Obayemi, 1977). He explained that in most of the mini states, there seemed to be a well-defined headship which in Yoruba is known as Oba or Oloja, among the Nupe as Etsu, among the Igala as Onu; among the Idoma as Oche, among the Edo of Benin as Ovie and Ogis (Obayemi, 1977). He argued that it was from these socio-political organizations that the Mega states evolved. The Mini states are their building blocks. He characterized in contrast that the Mega States, are larger in scale, have fixed urban capital with a powerful dynastic monarch, a large central market and a well-organized war machine (Obayemi, 1977).

An attempts to give an account of the rise of Benin, but restricted to the dramatic description of the Ogiso period and the coming of Oramniyan was carried out by Eghareoba (1968) Thus, the material process of urbanization and state formation was been neglected in his perspective. But Ade Obayemi has attempted to fill the gap by explaining that Benin itself was one of the Mini States out of a hundred and thirty that

came to be known as the Benin Kingdom. He shows that a number of settlements of the area came to simple co-operation and built huge wall to protect them from external attack. The significance was to be seen (as in Kano) in the 130 kilometer Benin City wall. The city emerged as a cultural metropolis with a prestigious and powerful Oba, who exercised considerable political control on those communities in its immediate neighborhood (Obayemi, 1977).

Na-Dama (1985) clearly emphasize on the prominence of environment (fertile land and economic potentiality of the area), the role of Islam and also especially in the agglomeration of highly Islamized people from different parts of Central Sudan who came as Mallamai or Dalibai in search of knowledge in different branches of Islamic learning, leading to emergence, of city state of Yandeto which had gained a reputation. He anchored vast explanation on the jihad movement in the establishment of the Caliphate administration which aided both the growth of some older centers and the emergence of new urban centers, which acted also as centers of crafts and ribats (frontier forts) in different parts of the Caliphate (Na Dama, 1985). Among the many of the towns that sprang up as a direct result of the Jihad were Kaura-Namoda and Moriki founded by the Alibawa from Zurmi and Gusau town established by the Yandeto Fulani both in north-eastern Zamfara, among others. To a large extent the author showed how the state under the Jihadist aids the growth and transformation of towns in the area.

He clarified that most of the pre-jihad birane (cities) in Hausa land evolved around or near places regarded by the people as abodes of the iskoki (spirits). Such places as Dala Hill in Kano, Dutsin Kufena in Zazzau, Dutsin Kotorkoshi in Katsina Laka (Zamfara)

and Dutsin Wake in Kiawa which might have been centers of cultural attraction. He pointed out that the presence of iskoki sites contributed to evolution and transformation of urban centers in these areas. He emphasize also on the role of the ruling elites as been very crucial to the process of urban transformation (Na Dama, 1985). He furthermore hinted relevantly that in the 20th century, the British occupation brought a new shift in the pattern of urbanization with new commercial economic activities, administration and infrastructure (Na Dama, 1985).

Akin Mabogunje (1968) a well-known Nigerian urban geographer endorses Louis Wirth's definition of an urban center as a "relatively dense, large and permanent settlement of a socially heterogeneous individuals". The process that results in the emergence of urban centers according to Mabogunje is one which seeks to; through maximum specialization increase the output of goods and services in a community. This is a continuing process, which increasingly relate to functional specialization in human society (Mabogunje, 1968).

According to him, the increasing urbanization in Nigeria in the closing decades of the 19th, century and that of the early 20th century was due mainly to the application of advanced technology in soil cultivation to produce bountiful harvests (Mabogunje, 1968). He has however, not indicated his source, neither does the evidence seem to likely exist. Evidence abounds which rather contradict his claim that the British conquest and colonization of Nigeria since the late 19th century, to the early 20th century was accompanied by food shortages and even famine, nor was any form of technology introduced that caused a revolution in food production techniques (Iyella, 1983). It

seems most likely that the author's perspective is not historical and therefore, incapable of perceiving colonialism as a decisive intervention by a capital power to change the social relations of production of the colony along its desired motive and transforming the colonies' economy, into an import/export enclave one, bereft of any form of independent technology that will lead to industrialization and independent development.

The author seems to see nothing but harmony in the relationship between town and countryside. For he says that, "any understanding of urbanization in Nigeria, must regard the towns and cities as forming a spatial system whose individual units interacted amongst themselves and reacted with rural areas to promote the economic development of the country. What period this is been referred to is not specified. But by and large the relevant point of the necessity of town-rural relationship for urbanization is however clearly made. The author's perspective as noted by another scholar seems to remain firmly embedded in the perspective of the modernization school. This is well exemplified in the writer's view that the study of urbanization should attempt to evaluate cultural contact between Nigeria and the rest of the world and the fact that term such as "tradition" and "modernity" are used throughout the work carelessly and monotonously, especially in the section that dealt with the case studies of pre-colonial and colonial urbanization in Lagos and Ibadan. In spite of this the writer has made some useful and very relevant statements, such as his recognition of the fact that by the 19th century, Northern Nigeria had achieved a high degree of urbanization and also his input on the role of the Atlantic slave trade in stimulating urbanization in the Niger Delta areas etc (Mabogunje, 1968).

Dhilwayo (1986) using the materialist conception, discussed the beginning of the British conquest of Zaria in 1900 and the establishment of an administrative structure by 1911 with the resident D.O., the Engineers and Medical Officers, which coincide with the year the railway also reached Zaria. He posit that the railway, colonial administrative machinery and the European trading companies resulted in increased migrants who in order to house them brought about the establishment of Sabon Gari, a product of British colonial design based on separation in space, ethnic, regional, as well as, racial and religious considerations (Dhilwayo, 1986). He maintained that overcrowding in Sabon Gari led to migration to Tudun Wada. While poor health conditions led to outbreak of meningitis leading to some deaths.

He pointed out the condition of the railway workers and maintained that it was poor which he says was reflected in poor pay. In the section dealing with class-formation, he notes that the rise of the petty bourgeoisie which he explains composed the top class of the clerical establishment. They represent Sabon Gari on the advisory board (1930 to 1940) and the Sabo Gari board (1940 to 1950). Then the working class or what he terms the proletariat. They were the employees of the railways, European firms, the B.C.G.A, ginning factories etc. There were unskilled labourers, semi-skilled workers, artisans and the bulk of the non- clerical staff. Finally, there was the lumpen proletariat comprising of prostitutes, the unemployed and the underemployed (Dhilwayo, 1986). He quite rightly notes that the nature of the colonial contact situation led to the rise of ethnicity and ethnic conflict. He discussed on politics and the rise of nationalism 1911 to 1950 in Sabon Gari and maintained that its politics was a reflection of social contradiction.

Useful as his perspective was, the researcher seems to rely overwhelmingly on colonial source materials. Since he agreed that most colonial officials were agents of imperialism and in fact, part and parcel of the means by which imperialist domination was established and consolidated, he should have taken the point of view of the colonized, through an extended field work and interview. Moreover, his separation of the underdevelopment perspective from the materialist conception of urbanization is unnecessary; for they both drew their inspiration from Marxism. Regardless of its shortcoming, the study clearly represents a methodological improvement in Nigerian urban studies at least in the sense that the study goes beyond the epistemological banalities of “tradition” and “modernity”.

In a similar work Oyedele (1987) gives a treatment of colonial urbanization process of Kaduna in general. It provides a theoretical background to the study as he discusses in detail, the evolutionist perspective (which he describes as functionalist/positivist) and the political economy perspective. According to him, the evolutionist perspective has two basic shortcomings; that its analysis is restricted in time and space; and that the analysis is rooted in the assumption that the city together with its hinterland is a relatively self-contained object with independent internal dynamics of growth and organization (Oyedele, 1987). On the other hand, he states the strength of the political economy approach, a school to which he categorized Toyin Falola’s work on the political economy of Ibadan, a work which recognized the dependent nature of urban centers in colonial social formations and the fact of the underdevelopment of the colony by the metropolis and the urban center of the colony serving as the medium of exploitation and underdevelopment. He notes relevantly that urbanization involves a

complex interplay of socio-economic, political, technological, geographical and cultural factors. He enlightens that colonial urbanization has to be examined within the context of the colonial system.

He narrated how Kaduna became a center of British colonialism in Northern Nigeria. According to him after temporarily settling at Lokoja and Zungeru finally they choose Kaduna in 1913 as the military and administrative capital of Northern Nigeria for a number of factors like its centrality of location, excellent water supply, and strategic location in the railway networks, cooler climate, freedom from parasites as corroborated by other scholars on urbanization studies (Guggler & Flanagan, 1981; Kasarda & Parnell, (Eds,) 1993; Falola & Salm, 2004).

He states that no sooner was Kaduna founded that the British adopted a segregated urban policy which saw the establishment of Sabon Gari and the Clerks quarters and European reservation areas with rapid development of infrastructures. He clarified that the Kaduna urban economy was based on commerce and administration with majority of the inhabitants of Kaduna from low income wage earners. He illustrated that by 1929, the 10,000 population of Kaduna had began to acquire a cosmopolitan character. He writes that the Second World War aided in the growth of Kaduna as it was center for troop recruitment. Thus the rapidly growing urban center had to derive its food requirement from surrounding areas. He related that ethnicity was promoted in boards and township council meetings and pointed out that the distribution of social amenities was heavily discriminated between the different quarters (Oyedele, 1987).

He maintained that in the 1950's and 1960s, Kaduna witnessed some diversification in her urban economy with blossoming of buildings, lorry body construction, furniture factories and number of factories e.g. the brewery (Oyedele, 1987). The work points to the fact that at this stage, a major social feature of the Kaduna urban center was the existence of sharp class differences and that it was among the rank of the unskilled working classes that the Northern Element Peoples Union (NEPU) found support base in the era of nationalism and party politics. It seems very clear that the political economy perspective used by Oyedele is very useful and successful in unfolding to us the urban nature of Kaduna. We shall therefore exploit his study in our attempt to understand our urbanization study on Minna.

Falola and Salm (2004), state that capitals cities constitute growth poles attracting greater numbers of people seeking to derive political and economic advantages from the urban environment. As centers of both popular and traditional centers, cities are active for their social and religious expression. Cities have since antiquity attained fame due to their economic, commercial and religious importance, example of which are; Kano, Katsina, Borno, later Sokoto, Oyo, Abeakuta, Lagos, Warri Port Harcourt (Falola and Salm, 2004). They argued that the convergence of railway terminals and port tuned Port Harcourt into one of the country's most influential cities. Beginning from a small village on the Bonny River by 1967 when oil industry developed, its stature was further enhanced as immigration and industrialization becomes rapid thus swelling the population. In the North, the history of Kaduna parallel that of Port Harcourt, Aba and Enugu. A place founded in 1917 by the colonial government as the capital of the Northern protectorate, Kaduna enjoyed the advantage of access to inter-regional trade

population influx. The burgeoning colonial economy brought considerable prosperity to Kaduna and its population expanded.

Ayodeji (2004) started by making some definitions and conceptual classifications of what a city is and posited that a city connotes a substantial urban population that depends upon a contiguous countryside. The writer discussed the factors and nature of Nigerian urban centers up to 1900. He mentioned places like Igbo-ukwu, Nok, Ile-Ife, Benin, Zaria, Daima, Kano and Katsina as some of the cities of antiquity. Olukoju, mentioned geographical and commercial factors as strong players in the location of these cities. As he admits that trade was the lifeblood of indigenous Yoruba cities and towns during the pre-colonial era, he argued further that, the control of trade and trade routes was to be an issue in the Yoruba civil wars of the 19th century. The writer submitted that since the late 19th century the colonial administration had introduced some measures that fostered the process of urbanization (Ayodeji, 2004). The selective development of transport infrastructure resulted in the rise or expansion of towns and cities at seaports, river ports and rail terminal. In 1917 the colonial government enacted the Township Ordinance which classified Nigeria towns into; first, second and third class. Kaduna, Minna, Lokoja, Zaria, Ilorin, Ibadan, Enugu, Port Harcourt, Abeokuta, Onitsha, Sappele, Calabar, Warri, Abia were tagged second class, these are towns located on either coast or railway route.

Oshin (2004) looked at the impact of railway development on the growth of modern urban centers in Nigeria, with particular reference to the emergence of such centers as socio political melting points, drawing peoples from diverse ethnic and cultural

backgrounds in the country against the backdrop of deliberate policy of segregation pursued by the British colonial authorities (Oshin, 2004). The chapter discussed traditional urban centers along trade routes as a prelude to the evolution of a united railway system in Nigeria in which discussion was centered on the development of railway system, colonial urban development and its attendant characteristics were equally highlighted.

Philip (2006) positioned that, there is a clear distinction between inter-group relations and integration. He sees inter-group relation as the point at which differences of the people mingling has by and large disappeared or submerged into a more or less a single identity. An inter-group relation also is a stage in the process that leads to integration. The writer says that railway brought many people from different social-cultural background which created a spirit of togetherness among the indigenous worker on the Nigerian Railway which produced organizations and movements whose identity and aspirations was pan Nigerian and pan African. He mentioned that the coming of railway in Makurdi increased the movement of different groups into the town. Most of these groups migrated and settled in the town, which grew as a result of the railway. The author also asserted that in the pre-colonial era, the peopling of Makurdi proper had already taken place with people such as the Tiv, Hausa, Fulani, Nupe, Kanuri, Agatu, Igbira, Etude, Alago e.t.c already settled. He mentioned the factors of trade and commerce, transportation routes by river, land and the railway and colonialism as responsible bringing people into Makurdi. Philips work is a well-researched piece that will remain very useful to this study.

1.10.5 Literature on The Development of Minna Town

Hogben and Kirk Greene (1978) examined the nature of the society before the coming of colonial conquest. Eye witness report of some of the Europeans that participated directly in the process of conquest is a major feature of the work. The writing tells us about biography of Umaru Nagwamatse, his carrier and adventures and finally how the British defeated Ibrahim his son. The authors discussed the relationship between Etsu Nupe, kontagora and the Gwari and mentioned also how the Gwari were also under Nupe and Nagwamatse's attack, until Minna was able to repulse the forces of Umar Majigi. The document contains the genealogical tree of the emirates in the region. The work even though did not discuss urbanization or economic forces that have become responsible for emergence of settlements, provides useful information regarding the history of the region up to the beginning of colonial rule.

Bawa (2014) centered his discussion based on "*the great man theory*" which postulates that only such personalities are capable of bringing change and development to the society. He argued that Ahmadu Bahago, the first Emir of Minna was largely responsible for the socio-economic and urban growth of Minna town. He also believed that the development of Minna was a product of state administrative policies which consequently brought about its urbanity. Bawa saw the class contradiction in the society as a consequence of the political economy which he viewed created and intensified the class differences. To that effect urban spatial growth was stratified into the dwelling points of have and the have-not (Bawa, 2014).

The researcher though mentioned some of the socio-political developments in Minna within the period of the study which covers the areas of state policies on infrastructures among others. He tried to locate his argument on political economy of the state in the development of Minna by pointing out that it was the capitalist world system order that reduced Minna to a peripheral status which made it a primary product production centre. He concentrated much effort on the justification of the office and role of the Emir of Minna which made the work lack the required objectivity a historian is expected to demonstrate hence his personal relationship with the palace.

The work despite its numerous shortcomings highlighted on the various policies of the state that enhanced the development of Minna from 1960 to 1999. It gives us some insight to the nature of class relation in the society even to the level of spatial agglomeration of spaces in the town. However, the work left vacuum to be filled by further research. Bawa failed to holistically address issues from a proper historical perspective neither did he took into account the fact that society is organic to a large extent and that in its development the state is not the sole agent, other forces are at the interplay. Furthermore the work failed to look into the social and economic problems associated with such emerging urban centres like the increase in the number of slum and squalors, environmental and sanitation issues, urban planning and livability of the town.

Shedanyi (2005) provides the different meaning of the word Minna and tried narrate the history of the Gbagyi in general and Minna in particular. He states that it implies to “*Spread fire*”. The writer presented the historical origin of most Gbagyi communities including Minna. He went further to discuss the administrative development of Minna

during Colonial times. However the work did not only lack theoretical base it equally failed to discuss urban growth of Minna town.

Liman (2011) *The Migrant Factor in the Economic and Political History of Minna since 1908* trusted his effort on explaining that the advent of railway transport system in the area was responsible for fueling migration into Minna. He added that the development brought people of varied background which gave the town its cosmopolitan nature. Liman also emphasized the political and administrative developments as strong factors in the urban growth and development of Minna. The writer also discussed the role played by other economic activities like gold mining which he states equally attracted large population including Europeans to Minna (Liman, 2011).

Oshadume (1993) saw the acceptance of Ahmadu Bahago as Emir of Minna as a major factor in the increase of urban growth of the town. He also believed that the strategic location of Minna as railway junction for Kaduna-Lagos-Baro lines gave it advantage over Bida which has been an older cosmopolity (Oshadume, 1993). The work utilized very useful sources on Minna but lack adequate theoretical base as its arguments are not anchored on any theoretical ground hence making it devoid of proper academic standard.

The general weakness of the literatures reviewed can be found first in the failure to touch on the material development of towns/cities in especially from 1999 to 2015. Existing works failed to explain developments within our period they largely dealt with earlier histories except for M.M. Bawas' *The Role of State in the development of Minna town 1960-1999*. His work terminated in 1999 hence could not discuss the subject when much

of the transformations took place. Also it emphasized on theoretical analysis of development of the town majorly from western philosophical perspective of political economy hence his inability to dig out the material historical development over time. This research goes beyond as it tried to assemble historical developments in the history of Minna town up 2015.

History is the totality of man's activities over time and space desires us to note down the details of what men did that have impacted meaningfully to the development of human society. Available literature could not provide the achievements of the various regimes in the history of Minna town and the contribution to the historical development of the town.

A major pitfall in the literatures examined was that they did not consider challenges to the development of town as explainable factors that must be mentioned and addressed. Thus in view of the reality of the situation on ground this work tried to address such issues as they affect Minna and similar town especially in the developing world. These challenges are in the areas like; provision of safe and portable water supply, good roads, and environmental sanitation and security. While previous works are silent about these, present research holistically attends to them drawing literature and knowledge from related and specialized disciplines.

Interractions with several and varied literature have equipped our judgmental ability hence the knowedge acquired from the review of literature have enhanced my knack.

Thus this work goes beyond the epistemological boundaries of the existing research hence it contextualized findings based on most realities of man and society.

1.11 Conclusion

From the foregoing, “the State being the power that be” is the major stakeholder in the life of any society. This is because it is the major regulator of the economic and socio-political development of the society. The State has the instrument of power to regulate and determine the nature, speed and process of societal transformation, urbanization not exception. Minna town emerged following the British imperialist activities in the Nigeria area and its consequent colonization. The Colonial State activities in terms of political, economic and social life enhanced the growth and development of the town by providing the basic amenities in the area.

From 1976 when Minna became a State capital and local government headquarter, the town assumed the posture of a urban centre as the population immensely increased and spatial agglomeration took transformational outlook. This is so because Minna is majorly an administrative town hence government tries to meet up its responsibility of providing good life for the citizen particularly the civil servants who form substantial proportion of the population. Despite every effort the problems associated with expanding settlements still bedevil Minna town. These include infrastructural decay and deficit, poor government attention on urban planning rules, emergence of environmental problems such as slums and squatters.

General review of literature exposed us to various conceptions of urbanization and its changes in different historical regions of the world. On Africa, Nigeria and Minna we see how different scholars have made effort to highlight on the subject of the study, urbanization and its changes over time. We found out that to pursue the research to a meaningful conclusion the identified problems need be contextualized in a chronological order from the beginning of our period of study, 1976 to 2015. We shall employ the qualitative method of research approach to conduct our investigation; specifically the traditional historical method of findings using primary and secondary source materials will be properly utilized.

It is hoped that in the final analysis results from our investigation will add to the pool of literature on Minna town and urbanization studies in general. That it will also serve as reference material for town/city administrators and policy makers in addition to providing knowledge about post-colonial development of towns in Nigeria

1.12 Structural organization of the study

The research work is structurally divided into eight chapters for better and detailed analysis of investigation.

Chapter One: Opens with a general background of the study, it strive to explain some of the dynamics that historically surround the existence of pre-colonial Minna and which laid the foundation of the town. It articulates the general technical issues of problem statement, research question, objectives, significance, scope, research methodology and literature review.

Chapter Two: This chapter deals with the the name and its meaning, geographical environment of Minna, origin of modern Minna town, British Colonial invasion and the establishment of Colonial Nigerian State and the emergence of modern Minna town 1910 to 1976, the political setting of Minna, the colonial economic environment and development of Minna town

Chapter Three: The chapter is titled the development of Minna 1976 to 1986, it open with an introduction; in this section discussion centered on the dynamics of changing environment of Minna. It discuss the 1976 State and Local Government in Nigeria; it looked into the various policies of the State that led to the development of Minna; the impacts of State and Local Government creation on Minna; the second republic and its impact on the development of Minna Town. This period is very crucial in our study as it was when Minna became the State capital thus our assessment cover the efforts of the three tiers of government in Nigeria in the town and push- pooling factors to the area.

Chapter Four: The development of Minna 1986 to 1996. The general attention of this chapter is on the socio-political and economic developments in Minna. The role played by General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida President Federal Republic of Nigeria in the development of Minna shall be examined. Impact of the relocation of the federal capital city from Lagos to Abuja on Minna is discussed. The economic and social implication of the period on Minna closed the chapter.

Chapter Five: The development of Minna 1996 to 2006. This chapter is an extension of the preceding one. It in addition to the role played by both local government authority

and the State government in the transformation of Minna, x-ray the contribution of General Abdulsalmi Abubakar (Head of State Federal Republic of Nigeria 1998 to 1999) in the historical development of Minna town. The chapter equally looked into the general impact of the 1999 return to civil rule in Nigeria on the socio-economic and political changes in Minna town. It examines the new civilian regime under Abdulkadir Abdullahi Kure 1999 to 2007, his achievements and most importantly his introduction of Shariah law in the state and its impact on the development of Minna town.

Chapter Six: The period 2006 to 2015 occupy a landmark in the historical development of Minna Town as it was when one of its sons became the state governor and there began a paradigm shift in the physical development of the town. The period marked the transformation of Minna from its traditional outlook towards what was referred to as the 'Greater Minna'. The chapter discussed the issues of land tenure, ethnic composition of Minna and its impact on the historical development of Minna Town.

Chapter Seven: General conclusion. The effort here is on drawing a sound summary of the entire research work, presentation of our finding, contribution to knowledge, relating findings to theory and discussion of how we arrive at such conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MINNA TOWN

1910 TO 1976

2.1 Introduction

Minna is the head quarter of Chanchaga local government area and capital city of Niger State in Nigeria. It attained the status following the February 1976 state creation by the Murtala Ramat Muhammad regime which sized the area out of the defunct North Western state. As earlier stated in the previous chapter colonial activities in the area brought the settlement into limelight as it established its authority and policies. Historically settlements emerge following human occupation of a given place usually as a result of some favorable factors. The British colonial policy to have railway transport system which made Minna a junction predisposed it to both governmental attention and influx of people from different walks of life. Thus, the history of Modern Minna is best understood when we first look at the colonial antecedent of the town, its political and economic significance within the region and the subsequent developments after Nigeria attained self-rule in 1960.

2.2 British Colonial Invasion and the Establishment of Colonial Rule in Nigeria

European arrive Northern Nigeria area in 1820s and went into series of plans, treaties and maneuvers through the various trading companies, explorers and missionaries. The most dominant European nation in the region was Britain, which finally conquered and colonized the area (Ikime, 1977). British imperial intervention in the affairs of Nigerian

area dates to 1851 when it bombarded Lagos deposed the Oba and installed their choice and later in 1861 declared the area as Crown Colony (Bade, 1983). Between 1870 and 1890 British colonial apparatus meddled in the politics of the oil rivers by appointing Consuls (popular among them were Beecroft¹ and Philip) which led to the sacking of existing political institutions replacing them with conformists to policies and aspirations of the imperial government. This was glaring in the case of Jaja of Opobo, Nana Olumo of Itsekiri and the destruction of Benin Kingdom in 1897.² Subsequently consuls were appointed to oversee the area and establish institutions of governance such as the police, prisons, treasury and colonial courts were established ((Bade, 1983).

In 1870 the Royal Niger Company (NRC) was formed and it took to maintain monopoly of trade on the Niger and Benue rivers. The granting of charter empowers it to exercise political and administrative control over areas it claimed to have signed treaties with the native rulers.

¹ John Beecroft, born in 1790, near Whitby, Yorkshire, England and died June 10, 1854 at Clarence, West Coast of Africa. He was adventurer, trader, explorer, and British consul (1849–54) for the Bights of Benin and Biafra (the coastal area from present-day Benin to Cameroon), a precursor of British imperial expansion in West Africa, both in his personal interest and in his logical intervention in local African politics. As consul for the Bight of Benin (1849–54), Beecroft was mainly expected to maintain the interests of British merchants. In his time in office he was involved in dealings with several major African societies, including those of Dahomey, Lagos (where the issue of the abolition of the slave trade resulted in a de facto British protectorate), and the Nigerian coastal town of Bonny—a complex situation that resulted in the King’s exile. See: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Beecroft>., K.O. Dike, John Beecroft, 1790-1854: Her Britannic Majesty’s Consul to the Bight of Benin and Biafra 1849-1854, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol.1, No.1 (December 1956), pp. 5-14.

² Consular Philip is remembered for leading an ill-fated expedition on Benin despite warning by the local authority with regard to that period of the year when certain celebrations and ritual were undertaken. In the event Philip and a few others were killed in the conflict that ensued, the British retaliated by bombarding Benin City. For further details see *The Groundwork of Nigerian History*. Ibadan. Heinemann Educational Books, 1980.

The Royal Niger Company (RNC) a product of United African Company (UAC) made desperate moves to secure the northern part of Nigeria which she claimed was based on treaties signed with her agents earlier (Ikime, 1980; Bade, 1983). These developments marked the beginning of the establishment of British authority in the Nigeria area.

On the 1st January 1900, a British imperial officer, Captain Fredrick Lugard³ at Lokoja hosted the Union Jack that marked the beginning of British administration in Northern Nigeria. The new colonial authority immediately wrote to the Caliph of Sokoto that the British government of her majesty has taken charge of his country (Adeleye, 1971). However, the new administration was faced with some problems such as the lack of sufficient personnel. Most of the men in the inherited West African frontier force (WAFF) were engaged in Ashanti operation (Crowder, 1980). Meanwhile, Bida and Kontagora were serious threats to Lugard's ambition and the new administration as such there was the need to deal with them quickly (Crowder, 1980).

In 1901 Lugard launched an offensive on Bida and kontagora both of which were defeated.

³ Frederick Lugard was born on Jan. 22, 1858-1945, of missionary parents in India. He was a British imperialist and colonial administrator in Africa. He was central to the creation of modern Nigeria. He significantly contributed to the theory and practice of the British colonial policy of indirect rule. He attended the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, England. He obtained a commission in 1878 and returned to India, where he participated in the Afghan War of 1879-1880. In 1885 he accompanied the Indian contingent to the Sudan, joining the Suakin campaign to relieve Khartoum; in 1886 he joined military operations in Burma. Lugard also served in Mozambique under the African Lakes Company where he established the suzerainty of the company over present Uganda. He served in Hong Kong after the conquest of Northern Nigeria but returned in 1911 to consolidate the unification of North and Southern Nigeria. For further discussion on Lugard; Margery Perham edited *The Diaries of Lord Lugard* (4 vols. 1959-1963), Encyclopedia of World Biography. The Gale Group, Inc, 2010.

By piecemeal approach he was able to defeat the whole caliphate in 1903 with the fall of Kano and Sokoto (Ikime, 1977). Lugard accused the emirates of slave raiding on smaller ethnic groups especially the non-Muslims such as the Gbagyi.

Thus he stated that:

The history of slavery in all countries shows that the system cannot be maintained without a constant recruitment of slaves acquired under all the horrors of slave raids, such as were annually undertaken in the dry season in the North or by kidnapping and purchase, which caused the free tribes to live in continuous fear and interfered with their agriculture and progress. The number killed or left to starve in these raids, resulted in the large depopulated areas which are still to be seen in the Northern provinces especially in the province of Kontagora and Kabba (Crowder, 1980).

It must be mentioned that Nagwamatse of Kontagora in particular raided most part of Gwari land (Minna inclusive) until the British conquest and subsequent liberation of the people (Hogben and Kirk-Greene, 1978). Hitherto the Gwari of Minna and surrounding localities were under the subjected authorities of the Fulani rulers of Kontagora. The above statements illustrate why Lugard accused rulers of Northern Nigeria especially the Caliph and his Co-Fulani rulers as being corrupt and wicked. He wrote to London on 15th January 1903 in an effort to justify his attack on Kano and Sokoto that:

Those in London who did not support war In Northern Nigeria were ignorant of the true situation. They did not know how corrupt the foreign Fulani rulers were, they bought and sold their own citizens, they took bribes, they oppressed their people, and they mutilated their citizens for minor crimes. In Bida and Kontagora and other places where the British had used their military might to seize power, these evils had already been stopped. Similarly, they would be stopped in Kano and Sokoto once these places were occupied by the British (Bawa, 2003).

The conquest of Sokoto marked the annexation of the whole of the area within its geo-political jurisdiction including the pagan settlements such as those of the Gwari, Kamuku, Kadara, and Koro including the Pangu of Kagara area. Therefore, the conquests of Sokoto caliphate which include the initial defeat of Kontagora have transferred allegiance of authority to the British from all the localities and principalities that were formerly under Kontagora (ASCON, File No. NOT/GOV/63) Thus, it must be realized that the British did not and does not need to fight in Minna rather its overlord, Kontagora whose defeat in 1901 marked the liberation of Minna Gbagyi. This paved way for the establishment of colonial rule in Minna as was done in other places (Dr. Muazu Babangida Aliyu), former Governor of Niger State).

The British imperial government was desperate to colonize the Nigeria area in general and Northern region in particular because it is very resourceful and as such must be brought under effective control. Lugard, the British officer on ground employed every possible means to justify his ambitious action of taking over the area. Wrongful allegations were made against traditional rulers of the area who have ruled their people over several years successfully. Some of such allegations point at corrupt practices and oppressive rule.

All the allegations against the Fulani rulers of Northern Nigeria in particular and the traditional authorities of the Nigerian peoples in general were more manifest in the British colonial rule. For instance, the Fulani rulers were said to have been engaged in slave trade and slave raiding especially on pagan and smaller tribes. True as that might be, British imperial administration later in the region demonstrated more of master

versus slave relation society. In fact, British colonial conquest was not more than mere slave raid on the less privileged and under armed societies of Northern Nigeria. The kind and nature of administration British practiced in Nigeria was simply not more than mere enslavement hence it employed force and cohesion on the people.⁴

Following the conquest of Kontagora the colonial administration began to embark on reorganization of political entities of which in 1906, Bosso Minna, Pytha, Shatta, Maikunkele, Gurusu and Paiko were merged together by the British under Minna Division. This incidentally coincided with the construction of Minna–Kano and Baro lines (NAK, Agency No. 513, Minna Town Re-organization, 1951). Subsequently; Minna later gained the status of provincial headquarter which played a vital role in elevating the status of the town and obviously the Gbagyi people by bringing them together. It has greatly enhanced the transformation and development of Minna town as it attracted larger population to it, for various socio – economic and political reasons.

2.3 The Emergence of Modern Minna, 1910

The establishment of modern Minna resulted from British imperial activities in Nigeria in general and Gbagyi land in particular. Before the coming of the British imperialists, the chiefdom of Minna was an insignificant Gbagyi settlement on Paidia hill, now part of Minna town. The Gbagyi inhabitants of this hilltop settlement moved down to the plain

⁴ The Colonial administration reduced Nigerians to mere slaves by instituting mesearable taxes and harsh economic and social rules including forced and migrant labor. For further discussion see Claude Ake, *Political Economy of Africa*, London, Longman, 1986.

in 1905 (Bahago, 1963; Shedanyi, 2005) following the defeat of *Nagwamatse* of Kontagora by the British in 1902 (Crowder, 1980). The people were led down the hill by their Chief, *Otsu Boba* who then was the 10th and the one the British met in Minna Gwari (Bawa, 2003). The location, according to Mallam Mu'azu Sokoto (a pioneer Hausa settler), was between the Paida hill and the banks of river Gadu (Sokoto, 1921; Baba, 2002). The place was actually a labour camp for the construction of the Kano-Baro railway line. It is popularly known today as *Sayyako* ward in Minna town.

Meanwhile, two important personalities are very significant in the history of Modern Minna and need to be briefly discussed for the purpose of clarity. The first is Mallam Mu'azu Sokoto who was the first Sarkin Hausawa, and the first Alkali of Minna. He also served as the President of the town council. The second person was Mallam Abubakar Zarmai (Lawu) the representative of the Gwari from Bosso to the British authority.

Mallam Mu'azu a Hausa from Sokoto and a Muslim cleric who initially settled at Paiko from where he went to Lokoja. He was invited to Bosso in 1903 by the then Chief of Bosso Gwadenze to establish a market in his domain which he did in front of the chief's palace (Gomna, 2016). It was at Bosso that the British met him and discovered his usefulness because of his literacy in Arabic and Islamic Law (Sharia). Mu'azu became close to the British and was given the post of Alkali; this was certainly because there was no any native to rival him. Mu'azu became very influential in Minna especially

during its formative years.⁵

At the arrival of the British in Minna, they met Ostu Boaba who could speak only his native language (Gbagyi) and as such referred the aliens to Gwadenze Chief of Bosso. Gwadenze offered his son Abubakar Zarmai to the British as representative of the natives because he could speak Hausa and have traveled to places like Bida and Wushishi. Thus, Abubakar Zarmai served as liaison officer between the Gbagyi and the British colonial administration (Gomna, 2016). The two men worked alongside each other under the new colonial administration and handled issues concerning newcomers, natives and the British; they were part of the development of modern Minna from its inception.

As the settlement (*Sayyako*) began to grow in population following an increase in the number of laborers and other people from different parts of the country into Minna, the area soon became insufficient for the teeming population. Important structures such as a healthcare centre, the House of Alkali Mu'azu, market place, abattoir (animal slaughtering place) and a Friday mosque were all built. On seeing that the settlement is growing and the location was not favorable for expansion; the settlement was moved in 1908 to the foot of *Paida* hill (Bahago, 1963; Sokoto, 1923). New public structures such as Market place, Mosque, House of Alkali Mu'azu were built near that of one Mr. Walker. While a prison was built in the House of Alkali Mu'azu, beside it was the House of Abubakar Zarmai. However, this site too soon became uncomfortable for the colonial masters because of the fact that the settlement cannot expand northwards due to the presence of *Paida* hill.

⁵The place (Minna area) was mainly occupied at that period by the native who had very little contact with others hence their inability to speak other languages like Nupe and Hausa, moreover they were not Muslims so Mallam Muazu took the opportunity, see Bahago, 1963.

Thus, a decision was taken by the District Officer in charge of Minna, Captain S. C. Taylor with Mr. Lindsell and Mallam Mu'azu to move the settlement to another more spacious area (NAK, Min Prof: 51/1912; Bahago, 1963).

A survey was carried out into places such as the areas that are now known as Tudun-Wada and Fadupe but, all were seen to be too far as such it was decided that a new settlement be established within the axis of present day Obasanjo complex formerly Kasuwandare and present central mosques also covering all the area occupied by present Gidan Sarkin Hausawa to Area Police Command. The new settlement established in 1910 marked the beginning of modern Minna, hence it was permanent, and this fact is evidenced by the following colonial annual report of 1911/12 thus: -

The new town of Minna was built and occupied on 31st March. It was modeled on His Excellency (Sir Hesketh Bell's) plan. The laying out and supervision was carried out under Captain, S. C. Taylor and Mr. Lindsell. It is under the control of Sarkin Wushishi who made Minna his headquarters in order that he may be in closer touch with the resident of Division, National Archives Kaduna (NAK Min Prof: 51/1912).

Immediately four township roads were carved out which are; Bosso, Paidia road; Abuja road i.e. present Kuta road and Bida (old airport) road. (Sokoto, 1921) Movement to the new location actually led to the building of more houses. Most of the native administrators have their houses relocated. For instance the houses of Sarkin Wushishi, Alkali Mu'azu and host of others where all rebuilt at the new place. The Central mosque was also moved to where it is now alongside the court.

The present Obasanjo complex was the site of the popular Kasuwan Dare which was indeed the first Central market of the town (Gomna, 2016). The Bayt-al-Mal (N.A. Treasury) was built in the house of Mallam Muhammad Mafuteen Alkali. The prison was equally built at the site of the old Minna prison opposite the present township stadium. At this juncture Mallam Mu'azu Sokoto the Alkali, the Sarkin Hausawa (also President of the newly constituted town council), and the Chief Iman of the town, felt that he was too occupied as such sought some relief and therefore relinquished the post of Chief Imam to Mallam Nasiru. By all these it is obvious that a new town has emerged under the strong influence and activities of the colonial power, Britain.

Meanwhile in about 1910 a crisis erupted between the Gwari Chief of Bosso in Minna and the Hausa colonial representatives of the town. The Gwari felt frustrated seeing that their land was being occupied by the Hausa foreigners, thus they resorted to tribal sentiments and religious bigotry as they (Gwari) were still pagans. They complained to the governor at Zungeru (then headquarter of Northern Protectorate) through the District Officer, Minna. After due considerations the colonial authority decided that the Chief of Wushishi be made caretaker of Minna so as to teach the Gwari about administration (Baba, 2014). It should be noted however that Wushishi used to be the overlord of Minna, Bosso, Maikunkele and other surrounding Gwari villages during the Ngwamatse days. It was on this basis that the British based their decision. Sarkin Wushishi accepted and remained in Minna until sometimes in 1920 when there was an allegation of fraud levied against him and his staff. He was asked to pay back some of the defrauded amount (NAK Min. Prof 279/1909). On that basis he was asked to return to Wushishi by

the colonialists. In his place the Dan Galadima was brought in to oversee Minna until some Gwari began to complain against the imposition of Hausa rulers over Minna.

Consequently, Mr. Amberton (D.O. Minna) sought Mallam Mu'azu's advice for a suitable candidate to who will be bestowed the leadership of Minna. Considering their relationship, Mallam Mu'azu nominated Abubakar Zarmai (Lawu) in 1920. Thus, lawu now has a second chance in the running of the administration of Minna (Ilyasu Dhacko, 2016). During this period the town was quite peaceful, the period also witnessed tremendous influx of new comers and visitors. Some of the new comers to the town were traders, miners, railway workers and colonial support staff (Hairo, 2016).

In 1929 Alkali Mu'azu Sokoto died, this gave Abubakar Zarmai more power in Minna. However, it led to leadership tussle between the Gwari who are natives and settlers who indeed are far larger in population. Statistics of Minna residents as at 1936 shows that there were 95% settlers, while the natives were just 5%. With this numerical strength on the part of the settlers, they decided to usurp the leadership of the town from Abubakar Zarmai.

This ultimately created tensions among the ruling tribes of Minna of which on the occasion of one Ed-el Festival disagreement arose on who trumpet should be blown for between Abubakar Zarmai and Sarkin Hausawa Muazu II. In the final analysis, it was blown for both of them. Abubakar Zarmai (Lawu) in further reaction ordered his Gwari kinsmen not to bring their foodstuffs to the market for two days. To this the District Officer responded by sending Zarmai packing from Minna back to Bosso in 1936 as he

was found guilty. This however, led to the establishment of a new town council. Meanwhile, Abubakar Zarmai continued to petition the imposition of Hausa rulers on Minna until he succeeded and returned again to Minna in 1948. By this time Minna has grown big enough and consideration were being made to give the town a Chief of its own. The Resident of Niger province started off the issue of getting a suitable candidate for Minna Town Council when he stated that:

I can see no reason why the familiar system of district administration should not be successful in Minna Town. It has the great advantage over a council that the responsibility is personal. I therefore recommend that the town council be replaced by an administration similar to that in all the others Gwari districts and that approval be sought for the district head of Minna and council to be established (NAK, Min Prof. file No 147, Minna Town).

By implication it is that the Resident hoped that Minna should become a district of its own with its district head and a council. The Resident continued, thus;

It would however be preferable to have a Gwari as a district head, if the man of required standard is available and in this instance, I recommend that considerations be given to Mallam Ahmadu, Chief scribes, central office (son of the president of Gwari federation, the district head of Kuta) who speaks and writes English and has had the advantage of a British Council Course in the United Kingdom (NAK, Min Prof. file No 147, Minna Town).

This was the argument raised by the Resident that led to the appointment of Ahmadu Bahago as the first Chief of Minna in 1950 as approved by the Chief Commissioner of Northern Nigeria. Part of the summary of the approval as written by Mr. P.J.D. Nesbitt Hawes, the district officer of Minna reads: -

- The present organization of a town council will be replaced by a Chief of Minna and council. The council will consist of the ward heads and such others as may later be appointed to sit on honorary terms.
- The district will be divided into eight wards and a ward head will be selected by the people of that ward under the guidance of the chief and appointed, if approved by the Gwari Native Authority. Tribal representation would be entirely replaced by territorial representation.
- The Chief will be selected and appointed by the Gwari Native Authority with the approval of the Chief Commissioner and the Resident. He will be literate in English and capable of keeping records. His salary will be £300 per annum.
- The Chief will have a messenger and a clerk without executive responsibility to assist him with filling court minutes etc, there will be scribes in the wards and ward heads will be sufficiently literate to keep accurate records. Issue receipts etc. under the supervision of the Chief.
- The Chief will encourage wards heads to arbitrate between contending parties and reduce litigation. The Minna mixed court will be superseded by a district court consisting of the ward heads with the Chief as president.
- Ward head will receive a salary of £60 p/a and subject to a certificate by the Chief of satisfactory work, sitting fee £12 p/a and an allowance of clerical work £12 p/a.
- The Chief will be responsible for all departmental activities and for the police and a force will be allocated to Minna under a sergeant who will be directly responsible to the Chief.
- The Chief of Bosso's house will be purchased by the Gwari Native Authority and the site used as district office (Bawa, 2004).

Although, the appointment was in October 1949, the installation came in November 1950. During his installation people residing in Minna belonging to different ethnic background witnessed and rejoiced with the ceremony thus, signifying the acceptance of the candidate by both settlers and Natives (Gommna, 2016). As at the time of the appointment and installation of Ahmadu Bahago, Minna has already taken urban posture with the wards and streets carefully planned. It had an established modern outlook which signifies its difference from traditional settlements of African Societies usually characterized by unplanned layouts.

Six wards were carved out each with its ward head namely Kwangila under Peter Alimasanya a Yoruba man, Sabon Gwari was under Mallam Aliyu Bosso (son of Lawu); Limawa was under Adamu Gajere; while Mr. J.L. Masodomi was in charge of Makera; Usman Shehu took charge of Nassarawa while Keteren Gwari was under Mr. Joseph Shehu. These traditional subordinates of the Chief were given the power to among other things collect taxes and also serve as medium between the colonial authority, the Chief and the masses. It was from the taxes collected that vital infrastructures were financed (Abdulslam, 2016). For instance a new market was constructed in 1953; new classroom for Minna elementary school and a veterinary clinic was also built. Equally a motor park (central garage) came under construction, more township roads such as Lagos Street and hospital roads were opened. Sabon Gari and Keteren Gwari bridges were at the same time build (Bawa, 2003).

By all these it is pertinent to mention that Minna has become fully established not only as a mere settlement or town but also as an emirate recognized by all other emirs and

chiefs particularly in Northern Nigeria and Nigeria at large. It also became a rallying point or leading Gwari settlement which later came to be the headquarters of Niger state. This greatly differed Minna from other colonial established towns like Kaduna, which do not have a Chief or Jos which has one but not instituted into the family of Sokoto caliphate since majority of the natives were not Muslims.

2.4 Colonial Administration of Minna 1910-1960

Minna Gwari was in the late 19th century under the control of Nagwamatse who initially had his seat of power at Wushishi and later moved to Kontagora (Muazu, 2016; Crowder, 1980). However, Kontagora was part of the caliphate and Nagwamatse was a grandson of the Sultan of Sokoto Usman Dan Fodio, thus, Minna was brought under Sokoto caliphate by the forces of the Fulani Jihadists and Slave raiders.

The British conquest of the caliphate in 1903 finally transferred authority from the Fulani to the imperialist. Immediately Lugard who adopted a policy of administration known as the indirect rule system divided the whole of Northern Nigeria into provinces each under a Resident Officer. Each of the provinces was again divided into division and districts under the Divisional and District Officers. The division of the territory into units was for administrative convenience to suit the policy of indirect rule and the native authority system established as a structural design out of British colonial administrative policy. The development brought about introduction of new system of taxation, introduction of western type of education, introduction of modern transportation system and construction of its network, imposition of new types of crops to be produced by farmers and a host of innovations in the society.

At the arrival of the British conquerors in 1900, the area was first given the name Middle Niger Province, with headquarter at Lokoja. In 1901, the administrative seat was moved to Bida and the area renamed Nupe Province. In 1907 another change came up as the head quarter was moved to Choiwa Angulu along Baro-Minna railway route. In 1908 head office moved to Minna under the name Niger Province, but in 1913 it was transferred back to Bida and renamed Nupe Province in 1914 (Mohammed, 2016). Minna regained its status as headquarter of the Province in 1924 and in 1925 the name Niger Province was reverted to and so the territory remained until 1970 when provincial arrangement was dissolved in Nigeria (Mohammed, 2016).

In 1910, following political re-organizations, the headquarters of Gwari native authority at Kuta was moved to Minna but by 1921 it was returned to Kuta. In 1926 the Niger province was constituted by uniting the old Nupe Province with parts of Kontagora Province excluding Yawuri Emirate, and Minna was made the headquarters of the new Province. In the same year (1926) when the population was just 2000, the town lost its status as a 2nd class township and was incorporated into Bosso District, in the belief that the population would diminish after the removal of Railway headquarters to Zaria (Baba, 2004). This expectation was unfulfilled, as the population continued to increase.

In 1934, Gwari and Kamuku formed a federation with the headquarters at Minna. This led to the transfer of some colonial administration apparatus like the prison, native authority office and police headquarter from Kuta to Minna. However, this federation was short lived as just after one year they were separated, with Gwari Native Authority (N.A) in Minna while Kamuku had its' headquarter in Kagara.

Capt. G. M Baker in 1939 reviewed the political setting of the area and recommended that Minna town be divided territorially into twelve wards, each with its salaried overseer responsible to the town council for the collection of tax. The town council itself was to be increased from four to seven members and a special responsibility for some part of its duties allocated to each. It was strongly recommended that an administrative officer be detailed to assist the town council until the new organization was properly established (NGSAM, ACC. 11, 1947).

In establishing a new administrative organization for Minna town the colonial administration adopted certain principles; that the system must be simple, effective and above all realistic. The duties and responsibilities delegated to officials must be clearly defined and not outside their ability to perform. The 'chain of command' must be effectively linked from top to bottom. It was on the basis of these that a President and a Council consisting of four ward heads, were selected as representatives of the four main tribes but each responsible for a geographically defined area of the town. They were to be assisted by twelve men, three from each ward. The town council also had a town clerk who draws a salary commensurate with his qualifications and an assistant town clerk who understudies him in addition to a junior scribe allocated to each ward (Adamu, 1987).

1950 witnessed a general political re-organization in colonial Nigeria Minna inclusive as approved by Chief Commissioner and the Gwari Native Authority. It was the last of colonial re-organization as colonial rule was coming to an end in Nigeria. Under this Re-organization, the Chief of Minna town was selected though a Gwari but, not of Minna

rather an indigene of Kuta.⁶ The appointment of Ahmadu Bahago as the Chief of Minna was part of the British effort to ensure that natives are developed as much as possible within their own capacity. It must also be stated that the creation of chiefdoms in places where such hitherto did not exist and the upgrading of some of the existing ones as well the delimitation of the power of the sultan was part of the continuous process of balkanization of the sultanate. Thus, the sultan was reduced to just a first class Chief on equal footing with such Emirs as those of Kano, Bida, Zaria, among others (Yahaya, 2005).

Appointment of Emirs as done in the years of colonial conquest and also later years as in the case of Minna was by the British not the sultan clearly explain the lost of his power. Thus, the Emirs and Chiefs (Minna inclusive) were basically responsible to the colonial administrator resident in their immediate domain, and to London. Thus, the appointment of an Emir for Minna provides for full and effective N.A rule with legal authority for local government in the emirate under British rule vested in the office of the Emir who was recognized as authority responsible for local government administration (Yahaya, 2005).

⁶ This has been a major source of discontent among the natives as noted in my interview with some leading Gbagyi they include; Isah Waziri a former Second Republic member of Niger State House of Assembly, Alhaji Isah Gomna Mai angwa Barikin Salleh Minna and the former Niger State Governor Muazu Aliyu Babangida who on 25/11/2016 explained further by mentioning that the long marks on the face of some Gbagyi especially of Kuta with particular reference the late Emir of Minna Ahmadu Bahago d-1987.

Scholars are divided on the N.A role in the political transformation of Northern Nigeria and that has produced two academic line of discourse one group led by the proponents of indirect rule with Whitaker being more recent saw N.A as vital participant in the transformation process (Whitaker Jnr, 1970). His study of emirates of Northern Nigeria reveals that the N.A was compatible practically with the significant features of a modern state. He agreed that in the process of modernization societies require symbiosis of traditional and modern elements (Whitaker Jnr, 1970). This view was the popularly accepted opinion of the successive government of the region which have continued to (at least at local level) to be politically involved.

The second viewpoint, maintained by Dudley, believes that the N.A system had aided in the disruption of the political transformation process (Dudley, 1964). The main contention is that the N.A. was so involved in the party politics in support of the ruling oligarchy and at the detriment of the opposition and by virtue of the fact that much power was concentrated on the Emir including appointments and that enables for the repression of opposition.

In view of these two positions on the role of N.A. it is obviously clear that; they are able to participate in the process of change because their nature which is traditional earns them the power to effectively carry out the duties and responsibilities reposed on them. Equally it has been argued that the system have been able to influence on political processes at least the local level because of the highly important social status of the Emir and his appointees. The success of colonial administration lay strongly on the enforcement of Law and order which was highly maintained throughout the colonial

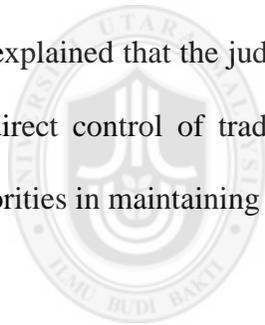
period especially in a place like Minna where most of the inhabitants were brought in by the forces of colonial rule and economic fortunes.

In pre-colonial Nigeria, the exercise of authority by traditional rulers was based on norms and values, power and authority or influence over their subjects. The traditional institutions were virtually the only one (authority) which played such critical roles as custodians of customary law and communal assets, especially land and resources; guardians and symbols of cultural values and religious practices; dispensing justice, enforcing contracts and also resolving conflicts (Olushola and Aisha, 2013). As Aidelokhai submitted; traditional rulers before the advent of colonial rule in Nigeria were the political, cultural, economic and social administrators of their various domains (Aidelokhai, 2013).

The imposition of European supremacy over the existing independent authority and the employment of the system of indirect rule brought changes as the roles and offices of traditional rulers were either usurped by the colonialist or their subjects. The British colonialist constituted the native courts under the native authority system, installed and controlled Chiefs by warrant as they believed that African people had to be governed by chiefs in order to maintain the organic unity of the society (Afigbo, 1972).

Indeed, during the colonial era in Nigeria, the British used this system in governing Nigerian communities. For example, in the northern Nigeria, a political coalition between Native Authorities and the Provincial Administration was created by the British imperialists. The most senior administrator and community leader in an area was the

District head. He was responsible for the maintenance of law and order, and mobilization of taxes and other revenue. District heads were expected to initiate development at local level and to mobilize people to undertake communal works. It was their duty to educate the people concerning government policy. They derive their authority from the council and local government, and are appointed, disciplined and paid by the former. Village heads work under the District heads and are expected to tour frequently and acquaint themselves with the feelings of the people. They must keep their councils and local government informed of local developments, submitting regular reports on a range of matters. District and village heads perform the role of traditional rulers in their respective communities, and command wide respect for that. Furthermore it is explained that the judiciary, the Native Authority police and the prisons were under the direct control of traditional rulers; and they had the full support of the colonial authorities in maintaining law and order (Roger, et'al, 2014).



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Equally in the South-western Nigeria, the local Chiefs such as the Oba(s) and his Chiefs were used as intermediaries during the colonial administration. The Oba and his Chiefs that were mere representative of the British often presided over local courts and settled local matters, applying customary laws with the full support of colonialists (Adeola, 2013). The above description of the role of traditional rulers in Nigeria during the colonial period shows that, change occurred and traditional rulers assumed a new status. However, this newly assumed status that traditional rulers attained during colonial period changed at the collapse of indirect rule. Their status as administrators was replaced with advisers in their different communities.

2.5 Peopling of Modern Minna Town

The history of towns across the world shows that it is not by natural increase of the natives alone that brings about expansion and development but importantly the factor of inter-mingling and migration. America is peopled by different groups which include Europeans, Africans and Asians over centuries (Remini, 2009). Similarly the cities of Malaysia are composed of Indians, Chinese and other nationalities most of whom came as a result of economic intercourse which has been since antiquity however, Zaharudden argued further that it was the British imperialism that attracted foreign labour which brought about large scale Chinese, Indian and Malaysian (non-indigenous Indonesians and Borneans) after 1800 (Zaharuddin, 2011). In Nigeria towns are not monopoly of the natives, the city of Borno since the 10th century housed the Arabs, Hausa, and other peoples of African origin. Kano an age old commercial centre has long been peopled by both Africans and non-Africans alike (Falola and Heaton, 2013; Ikime, 1980).

The origin of Minna Gwari is not different from other Gwari groups whose source are linked to the Niger-Congo family or referred to as “Kwa” group of languages that comprised Nupe, Yoruba, Igbo, Edo, Igala, Idoma and Igbiri that once coexisted without clear cut territorial boundaries on the confluence of the Rivers Niger and Benue. On the basis of both linguistic and archeological evidences, it was contended that the probable period of their dispersion, which was linked to population bang on the confluence would have taken place six thousand years ago.

Thus, the Gwari may have been the earliest group of the Niger-Congo family to have migrated from the Niger-Benue confluence more than six thousand years ago and occupied

territories to the north, in the present day Katsina-laka, Daura and Zaria region, including the areas they now occupy, before they were gradually displaced as a result of north-south movement of the Chadic group (Hausa, Maguzawa, Bade, Ngizim, Bolewa, Gwandara etc). However, legend had it that the Minna Gwari people had settled on the hill top of Minna long before the era of State formation in the region in about 1750 AD (Obayemi, 1977; Smith, 1977; Soper, 1965; Gun & Conant, 1960). In some quarters it is contested that the Gwari must have migrated from Dikwa in Borno area hence the long facial marks on the face of most Gbagyi people the late Emir of Minna being a good example (Muazu, 2016). In Minna, the major inhabitants are the Gwari who are native in the area, Hausa, Fulani, Nupe, Yoruba, Ibo, Igala, Tiv, Idoma, Benin; others are Barebari and nationals of the West African countries such as; Ghana, Niger, Senegal and Sierra Leone later enter the area following colonial incursion.

By 1910 the Gwari population stood at 5%, Nupe 17.7%, Hausa-Fulani 31.1% Yoruba 11.9%, others 24.1%.⁸ With these figures it is indicative that the settlers seem to be more populous in the town with the Hausa being the largest. This is so because, the Gwari who are indigenous in the area to a very large extent prefer to stay in the suburb where land is widely available for engaging in farming activities. Most of the settlers in Minna have been attracted to the town by economic factors like railway work, mining, handicraft, trade and employment in the colonial administrative services. The coming of railway was largely responsible for the movement and settlement of a number of groups in Minna town.

⁸ The people were traditionally known as Gwari but in recent times they preferred being called Gbagyi, see: Bawa. M. "The Role of The State", 2014.

For instance groups like the Hausa are attracted to the area by agricultural products such as yam and grain cultivation. Yoruba and Ibo were attracted by the trade in gold. Similarly, the Ijesha a sub group of the Yoruba are noted for the introduction and sale of clothing materials, mostly on credit basis (Ibrahim, 2016). As Minna becomes cosmopolitan, one common feature of its population is the adaptation of the Hausa language as lingual Franca, despite the fact that it is a Gwari town.

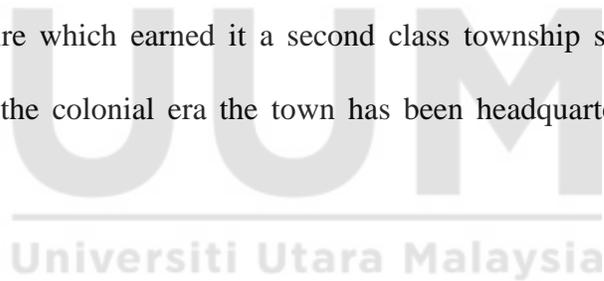
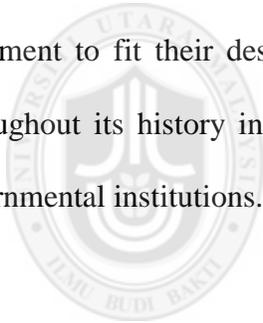
Even the indigenous people (Gwari) prefer to speak Hausa in preference to their own language. Most of the ethnic groups residing in the town occupy specific quarters, for instance, Kwangila and keteren Gwari are largely inhabited by the Nupe and Yoruba, Limawa and Nassarawa by the Hausa, Sabon gari by the Ibo, while Paida housed the Gwari and the Tiv (Oshadume, 1993; Muazu, 2016).

2.6 Conclusion

The chapter shows that Minna town is located in the savannah region in central Nigeria area. Thus the area is very fertile for the cultivation of various agricultural products which made food crops and other economic products available and cheap a major panacea for the development of any settlement. The area is also well watered and possess natural barrier against external enemies in form of Paida hill. The temperature also encouraged the settling down of different ethnic groups and nationalities who over time have dominated the town and the natives reduced to a negligible proportion. It further shows that British imperial activities in the Nigeria area which started in the early 19th century resulted in its colonization and its policies led to the emergence of Modern Minna town. The role played by railway in the making of the town, activities of

men like Mallam Muazu Sokoto and Abubakar Zarumai (Lawu) in the development of the town are clearly emphasized. Equally the role played by the environment in the immigration of people of different ethnic groups is fundamental to the historical development of the town.

Finally the chapter spoke on the colonial administration of Minna town, the balkanization of the Sultanate and the making of Niger Province and the Gwari native authority and the contribution of such development to the historical development of Minna town. The chapter examined the establishment of modern Minna hence its relocation to its present permanent place in 1910. Colonial authorities designed the new settlement to fit their desire which earned it a second class township status in 1917. Throughout its history in the colonial era the town has been headquarter of different governmental institutions.



CHAPTER THREE

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MINNA TOWN

1976 TO 1986

3.1 Introduction

The year 1976 marked a watershed in the history of Minna town as it was when it became the State Capital City and also doubles as Local Government Headquarter. Thus it was a period that marked the beginning of transformation and modernization of the town as the three tiers of governance (Federal, State and Local Government Authorities) were expected to marshal it with developmental activities and celebration of policies and programmes. For these reasons many people became attracted to the town, these include civil servants, private sector employees, traders and various kinds of service providers. Even the number of both military and Para-military men deployed to the town increased to improve on the security and that swelled the population which means expansion in the spatial occupied area.

The period witnessed the military regime of Murtala Rahamat Muhammad and Olusegun Obasanjo (1975 to 1979) which created the Niger State, the Second Republic under President Shehu Aliyu Shagari (1979 to 1983), the military regimes of Muhammadu Buhari (1983 to 1985) and that of Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (1985 to 1992). Under these various regimes in the country, Niger State was governed by many and different governors both military and civilian, similarly Minna town had many administrators who ruled the city alongside the governor and the Emir.

The major thrust of this chapter is to discuss the philosophy behind the creation of states and local governments in Nigeria, the reasons for and its importance to the historical development of peoples and societies. The chapter continued by discussing Minna as Capital City of Niger State, it also looked at the Second Republic politics and developments in Minna town. The making of Minna a State Capital induced some changes in the socio-economic arena this is based on the fact that the new people that came into the town carry along new ideas and technology as well as culture which impacted on the town. Finally conclusions are drawn from the discussion made in the chapter.

3.2 State and Local Government Creation in Nigeria, 1976

The creation of States and Local Governments in Nigeria has been responsible to a very large extent for the development of some towns. Many towns owe their growth, development and transformation to the fact that they have been made local government headquarter, State or federal (Capital) headquarter.¹ In Malaysia cities like; Alor Setar, George Town, Kangar, Malacca City, Kota Bharu, Ipoh, Putrajaya and others have become developed because they are important administrative centers (Hassan, 2005; Zaharuddin, 2011). Similarly in Africa since the ancient time towns and cities owe their eminence to being either political or economic headquarter in its region.

¹ The gigantic cities of United States like; Albany, Annapolis, Boston, Concord, Jefferson city; the very big cities of Britain such as; London, Kent, Essex, Hampshire and Devon; German cities which include; Stuttgart, Munich, Berlin and Potsdam, equally the Southeast Asian capital cities of Bangkok, Dili, Hanoi, Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur and Manila have their fame in being administrative headquarters.

In Nigeria, settlements like; Abuja, Lagos, Ibadan, Enugu, Makurdi, Kaduna, Enugu, Birni-Kebbi, Dutse, and a host of other state and local government headquarters became significant after being made capital city.

Nigeria operates a federal system of government which implies that the national or central authority rest on a federal or central authority while the component parts comprise of the states. At present the country comprise of 36 States, a federal capital authority and 774 local government areas. The creation of these entities had purposes which are both latent and manifest.

The philosophy behind the creation of states in Nigeria stem first from the purpose of unity of the nation when on 27 May, 1967 Nigeria was on the verge of civil war and the General Yakubu Gowon led administration had to employ every available means to keep the country together divided the country into twelve states (Adetoye, 2016). Earlier similar development was the creation of the Mid-west region on the 9 August, 1963 during the first republic government. Reason for that creation was different as it has to do with reducing the power of the chief opposition party the 'Action Group' as such the western region was Balkanized by having another region out of it (Oluwatobi, 2013).

The Military regime of General Yakubu Gawon was toppled by General Murtala R Muhammad; part of the burning issues in the nations' politics was the increased demand for states which the sacked government refused to address despite its promises. Murtala therefore set up a panel head by Justice Ayo Irikefe on August 7, 1975 with the mandate to:

- Advice on the delimitation of such states
- Advice on the economic viability of the proposed states
- Advice on the location of the administrative capitals and
- Receive and examine written documents from individuals, groups or organizations or association who may have views on the desirability or otherwise of creating states in particular areas (Oluwatobi, 2013).

The result of the panel brought about the creation of 19 States on February 3, 1976 with Niger State among others and Minna as its capital city. The same announcement pronounced the creation of Minna as local government headquarter under the name Shiroro but subsequent political delineations with its attendant changes produced the current structure as Chanchaga local government by General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida on August 27, 1991.²

Scholars point at the politics of State creation in Nigeria as dating back to 1914 amalgamation of both Northern and Southern parts of the country. There are those who rather agree it started with the 1946 Richard constitution which provided for the three regional governments of North, South and East. After the attainment of political independence, the Mid-west region was created, consequently the title was later changed from region to state which since the military regime of General Yakubu Gowon have become the nomenclature for addressing such entities. State Creation have been traced to 1946 Richard constitution (Osunde & Alo, 2012). The Nigeria State creation

² General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (IBB) was Chief of General Staff under the Buhari regime. He seized power on 27 August 1985 in a bloodless coup 'de tat. He created States and Local Governments twice while in office to meet the yearnings of the people.

experiences have been quite dramatic, state reorganization in the country have tended to be cyclical or self-perpetuating with each restructuring merely provoking agitation for further reorganization (Omotoso, 2004)

State is an institution that checks human conduct; it deals with those who break the established law (Appadorai, 2004). Ikengbe (1994) posited that State is synonymous with the compulsory organization of the society aimed at the achievement of a monopoly of organized violence for the preservation of peace and order. It provides a framework of the social order which holds the society together. “The history of state is that of classes, a polity of superior and inferior social groups, based on the distinctions of either rank or property (Oppenheimer, 1922). Weber in Appadorai (2004) viewed it from a liberal approach and defines it as a compulsory political organization with a centralized government that maintains a monopoly of the legitimate use of force within a territory. Mahajan, cited in Aondoheba (2012) traced origin of the authority of State to Machiavelli who opined that “it is power which has authority over men” (Appadorai, 2004).

The State categorized here for the purpose of this research as; a nation-state which we have so far defined and the state within the context of this work, as an administrative unit. The modern nation-state for the purpose of administrative convenience is usually broken into smaller units called state but such are under the powers of the central (federal) authority. These states make-up the federating units in a federal system like Nigeria, the United States of America, Malaysia and many other countries of such arrangement across the world.

Different arguments have been presented by scholars on the rationale for the creation of States in Nigeria. Nnoli (1978) agreed with the factor of ethnicity and believes it perverted into political, social, economic and general aspects of life. On the other hand Yakub (1997) view the basis for the creation of States in Nigeria as a reaction to the several discontents, injustice, contradictions and maltreatments suffered by the agitators. He further agreed that States should be created when the economy is healthy and not during doom. He also noted that States should be economically more powerful than the central government; finally that State creation should aim at unity of the country and to not promote selfish interest of the privileged few (Yakub, 1997). Strengthening the argument above, Nwoye is of the opinion that it is not correct to conclude that agitations for State creation emanates out of greed for political power but rather see it as based on the grievance principles. To him other ways can be explored to maintain a true federation where the ordinary man can do better.

The emergence of Nigerian State could be viewed from the perspective of force theory which explains that, State results from the subjugation of the weaker by the stronger. It holds that the origin of the State is a product of the strong establishing its strength over the weak, setting them in a given territory and arrogating to themselves the power to govern.

Proponents of force theory like Jenks cited in Appadorai (2004) argued that “historically there is not the slightest difficulty in proving that all political communities of the modern type owe their existence to successful warfare”. This is when one group leader

either through conquest or persuasion is able to establish his power permanently over the other neighbouring groups until he rules over them as a territory (Appadorai, 2004).

Based on this submission we say Nigeria is a product of British suzerainty, forcefully forged together from different ethnic and sub-ethnic nationalities. It is a state created by forceful domination and imposition rather than a consensus for economic exploitation of her resources by the colonial power. On the other hand the creation of administrative units referred to as state in Nigeria cannot be explained as a product of violent use of force rather a result of material intercourse of man and society as Marx, writes Henry Lefebvre, *maintains that the essence of man is not political but social. Man is not a political animal. The social forces that blindly seek a way out of their conflicts become subject to political power, the State* (Agarwal, 2008). In the Critique of Political Economy Marx made clear his theory of state, he maintained that;

Legal relations as well as form of State are rooted in the material conditions of life. In the social production which men carry on, they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will: these relations of production correspond to a definite state of development of their material power of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society- the real foundation on which rise legal and political super structure and to which correspond definite form of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual process of life (Marx & Engels, 1978).

To Marx, the State emanate out of the processes of social relations which men enter. These include the religion, culture and economic activities and that the intercourse of all such relations brought about class contradiction, hence the State is controlled by dominant economic class which exploits and controls the less privileged. Further

exponents of this theory include; Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao. Engels posited that “The State is a product of society at a certain stage of development (Marx and Engels, 1978). That it is because the society finds itself in contradictions based on classes with conflicting economic interests and to avoid it being consumed in the crisis it becomes necessary to have a moderating body but, which places itself above all. Lenin in his work, *The State and Revolution*: wrote that;

The State is a product and manifestation of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms. The State arises where and when in so far as class antagonisms objectively cannot be reconciled. And, conversely, the existence of State proves that these class antagonisms are irreconcilable (Agarwal, 2008).

It is in view of these that we can locate most of the demands for the creation of States in Nigeria on the basis of many reasons such as; agitation about imbalance in the sharing of office appointments and political portfolio to the issue of who get what in the system and matters concerning national unity. This is true of the fact that most of the demands emanate out of discontent with preexisting arrangements. Niger State came out of the contradictions and antagonism with the defunct North-western State. Niger province as the name of the area previously implies under former arrangement suffered gross neglect in terms of infrastructural development, socio-economic advancement and socio-cultural activities (Ebba Bida, 2017; Yabagi, 2016 and Kudu, 2017). The 1967 State creation by Gowon which includes the North-western with Sokoto as the capital city came at the eve of the Nigeria civil war (1967 to 1970) after which every resources of government was directed towards war reconstruction, rehabilitation and reconciliation. Consequently the meager resources available to the State were devoted to the development of Sokoto the new state capital and its environs to bring it up to its new status (Kudu, 2017).

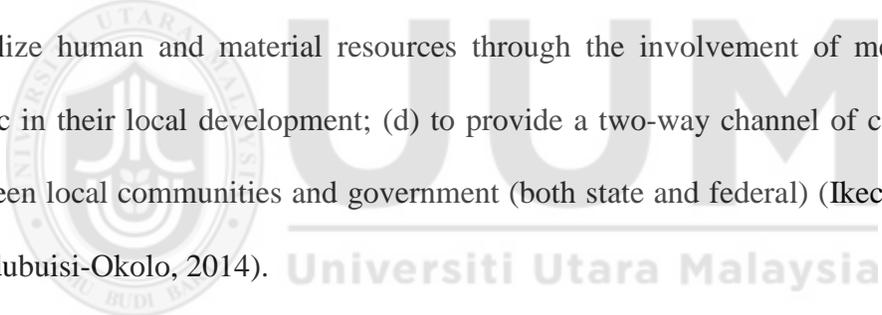
The State civil service was dominated by elites from the Niger province which to a very large extent Sokoto people envied as they found themselves become minority in the power politics of the state due to their backwardness in western education. An additional reason for the antagonism was that the province continued to play the vital role for which it is renowned i.e agricultural production in the nation's economy which gives it more confidence to sustain itself as that being one of the conditions or terms of reference of the committee set up to look into creation of State and Local Governments in the country in 1975 by the Murtala regime.

Serious agitation for the State largely came from not only the elites but also the traditional rulers, politicians and civil servants. They complained of the discriminatory manner at the 1970/74 development plan had been put to work in the North-western State (Bawa, 2014). Of particular concern was the distribution of industries, electrification, water supply and education. It is important to note that all the industries established by the State were located in Sokoto division, for water supply it was the Bosso Dam inherited from colonial administration that served Minna throughout the period (Liman, 2011). In terms of distribution of schools before 1967 both Sokoto and Niger province had six secondary schools each but by 1974, the numbers in Sokoto province rouse to thirty two while the Niger province had twenty four. It was on the basis of these and other fundamental factors that the panel chose Niger Province and made Minna its capital (Mohammed, 2016; Baba, 2014).

The 1976 political balkanization went further into the third tier of government, the local government. The exercise transformed the administrative landscape of the country into

301 local government units and also abolished the native authority system. Chiefly it was to get the people closer to government but importantly to reduce the unnecessary distributive pressure for new states and liquidate the numerous unsuccessful contenders for the statehood (Suberu, 1998; Sunday, Francis & Idu, 2013).

Government stated the primary objectives of the local government in Nigeria as the following: (a) to make appropriate services and development activities responsive to local wishes and initiatives by devolving or delegating them to local representative body. (b) to facilitate the exercise of democratic self-government close to the local government levels of our society, and to encourage initiatives and leadership potential; (c) to mobilize human and material resources through the involvement of members of the public in their local development; (d) to provide a two-way channel of communication between local communities and government (both state and federal) (Ikechukwu, Purity & Ndubuisi-Okolo, 2014).



More importantly is the fact that the 1976 local government reforms and the 1979, 1989, and 1999 Constitutions all sought to make local government the bedrock of national politics as implied in the second objectives above. In a more relevant perspective to the present day local government arrangement, Akpan in Adeyemo (2005) sees it as “the breaking down of a country into smaller units or quarters for the purpose of administration, in which the residents of the different entities or localities concerned play a direct and full part through their elected representatives, who exercises power or undertake functions under the overall authority of the national government. Local governments unlike independent states are not sovereign. They are more or less a

subordinate government, which derives its existence and power from law established by a superior government (Adeyemo, 2005).

In our area of study, the Chanchaga local government came out of the defunct Gwari native authority which consist of Bosso, Paiko, Adunu, Guni, Ishau, Kafin-koro, Kuta, Gini, Fuka and Minna with the headquarter at Minna (Bawa, 2014). By implication these developments in the geo-political status of Minna town meant increased resources in terms of revenue allocation from the Federal government. It also implies massive increase in the population of the town as more people either necessarily or willingly had to move into Minna for the purposes of employment, contracts, services and other engagements including educational.

At the eve of becoming the Capital City of Niger State, Minna was relatively a small town in terms of size and even the population which was reduced considerably by the 1967-1970 civil war hence the mass exodus of the Igbo who constitute significant number in the area of commercial, clerical and other services (NGSAM, ACC No/738). While this was a general phenomenon in the entire Northern Nigeria, there is no doubt that the impact on Minna was monumental as the Igbo have formed a substantial part of the population that was particularly active in its socio-economic and political development (Dudley, 1985).

The Ibo abandoned their houses which were kept under a caretaker committee that collected rent on behave of the landlords and also see to the wellbeing of the houses. In 1969 when an army unit was stationed in Minna, Keteren Gwari was entirely allocated

for their temporary accommodation as they engaged in building the temporary barrack known as the 123 after the brigade. The people living in their houses were forced to go to other areas in the town to take rented accommodation as such many moved to places like; Kwangila, Yoruba, Ibo and Hospital road and some on that basis left the town (Ibrahim, 2017). Their homes and those of the escaped Igbo were occupied forcefully for six years but the federal government paid in cash for the August rent age (NGSAM/ACC/429).

3.3 Minna Town as Niger State Capital

At the creation of the state on February 3rd, 1976, Minna covers a land mass of about 884 hectares an average of 8.4sqkm. The estimated population stood at 135, 951 (NGSG, Statistical Year Book, 1978). Appendix C shows the map of what was Minna as at 1976. However the making of Minna Capital City of the new State was a major landmark in the historical development of the town. A lot of social, economic and political developments of unprecedented nature became the order of the day. As observed by Solomon P. Daniel, that the great cities of Sokoto, Kano, early Borno capitals of Ngazargamo and Kuka, Kastina and Zaria in the northern Nigeria, Benin, Ife, Enugu and Ibadan in south all stood out as major cities because of the administrative position they occupy (Peace, 2005).

The new State government under navy commodore Murtala Nyako could not take effect until April 1st, 1976. Thus the period 1976 to 1986 can be considered as nascent in the historical development of the State and Minna town in particular during which four successive governors ruled the State one of who was a civilian and when most of the

foundation of the modern structure of the town was laid. The main focus of the period was the establishment of effective machinery of government, re-organization of the administrative units for effective administration, provision of housing and office accommodation for the large number of civil servants of the state origin deployed to the state from the defunct North-Western State and joined by others from other parts of the country. Thus major increase in the cosmopolitan population of Minna town placed stress on the existing housing and other infrastructures hence the urgent need for residential and office accommodation, water and electricity supply (Uwaya, 1992).

To meet up with the challenges of the need for both office and residential accommodation, the Niger State Housing cooperation was established. To a very large extent the agency helped in solving the problem by constructing some 260 units of two bedroom houses, 60 units of three bedrooms and 27 units of four bedroom houses in Minna between 1979 and 1983.

The increased tempo of the demand for housing led to emergence of massive housing scheme by both Federal and State governments in Minna. The federal Government built the Bosso low-cost and the new Army barracks in 1977, the State government put up the Type 'A' (Commissioner's quarters) and Type 'B' quarters for Permanent Secretaries both located in the Government Reservation Area (GRA) and Dutsen Kura Hausa respectively (Ebba Bida, 2017; Yabagi, 2016 and Kudu, 2017).

1977 to 1978 saw the construction of Senior and Intermediate accommodations known as the Airport and 123 quarters. The former named after the old Minna airdrome

opposite which the structures was build while the later stood opposite the old 123 mechanized brigade barrack. In 1982 the civilian government of Alhaji Awwal Ibrahim started the Italo low-cost housing estate also for the intermediate cadre officers in Tungan Danboyi it became commissioned by the successive military regime of Lt. Col. David Mark (NGSAM, "Niger State at 10" 1986). Besides government efforts, private individuals also embarked on building personal and commercial houses hence the enlargement of the town and gradual swallow of surrounding settlements like; Tungan-Dan Boyi (Tudun Wada), Bosso, Maitumbi, Dutsen-Kura, Kpakungu, Soje and Barikin-Salle. Office accommodation also had serious attention as the former Provincial office was face- lifted to serve as the new Government house, other offices such as those of the head of service, secretary to the State Government, the State headquarter water board and a few other parastatals where all build adjacent the government house.

State government layout during the second republic includes the F-layout, commissioner quarters, Tunga and Type B quarters. The federal government on its part in pursuing its housing policy had what was called the Shagari housing scheme across the country, in Minna the project was a 500 units located at Maikunkele village to accommodate the intermediate and junior officers of federal ministries, parastatals and agencies posted to the state capital whose number was on the increase although the project was abandoned but after many years it was completed by the State government.

The natives were also allocating land to prospective developers for either residential, commercial or agriculture purposes. However, layouts or areas allocated by the natives have the problem of lacking any planning and design as a result the residents that

emerged on such places became the slums, squalors, and ghettos. They lack proper internal road network characterized by unplanned buildings, no drainage, no neighborhoods recreation centers and portray the general characteristics of slums and squalors. Some of these areas in Minna include Unguwan Kaje, Tudun Natsira, Tudun Fulani, Kpakungu, Soje, and Barikin Sale, parts of Chanchaga, Dutsen Kuran Hausa and Yinkangbin (Musa, 2016). It is gain saying that these slums emerged following the creation of state in 1976. Prior to that development Minna retained the model design it inherited from the colonial authority with well-defined streets and elaborate segregation of dwellings in the town (Baba, 2014).

Equally deserving urgent attention was the provision of effective transportation network and other social facilities and essential services to the large influx of immigrants into the state capital so as to enable the town reflects its state capital status. Between 1967 and 1975, there certainly was a lull in the socio-economic development of Minna; in fact, it was almost a neglected town. Despite being a provincial and Divisional headquarter; the town virtually experienced only but little spatial growth because there was no any serious attention on it from the central government. It was not until the place assumes its new status that government began to give it the much desired attention which brought about transformation in almost every aspect of the town. The only major road that dissects the town was Bosso to Tunga which was immediately dualized and bitomized. Other township roads like the Mobile-Keteren Gwari road, old airport road, Kuta, Sabon gari, Stadium road and Keteren Gwari government house road were all laid and bitomized. It is interesting to know that the construction of these roads was undertaken by reputable companies, some which still exist in Nigeria but no longer in the services of

the state. They include: Tylor Woodrow, Albishir, Dumez, and Dalberto construction companies.

To link Minna town with other parts of the country, the same colonial roads; Minna-Kontagora-Zuru (a distance of 270km) were re-engineered while many other new openings were made namely; Minna-Abuja, Minna-Lapai-Agaie Minna-Kuta, and Minna-Bida. These road networks were to complement the existing railway transportation system which runs Lagos-Minna-Kano and Baro-Minna light gauge (see appendixes L and M). These roads connect Minna to all other parts of the country in the four cardinal directions such as Gusau in the Northwest, Kano in Northcentral Maiduguri in Northeast, Jos, Makurdi, and Port Harcourt, Enugu in the East while Ibadan and Lagos in the west. For its centrality of location, the volume of goods and passengers in and out of Minna became increased especially that these developments were taking place when Nigeria was in the midst of its oil boom and much money was still in circulation to spend. To cater better for the people was a cardinal aim of government thus the health sector was not left out. Although not much was recorded but expansion greeted the only 122 bed general hospital in the town as additional wards were added but further developments in the sector came after the State stabilized under later administrations.

Given the teeming population, water an essential factor of living was planned for. Before the creation of the state, it was only the Bosso Dam that supplies water to Minna, with the making of Minna as state capital the need for better and more supply arise hence the construction of Chanchaga waterworks. The combined product of the two source of

water for Minna stood at 70,000,000 liters per day compared to 106.3 million liters required (Ebba Bida, 2017; Urban Management Programme, 2002). However, due to operational problems including pipe leakages, the actual daily treated water supply amounts to only 35, 000,000 liters. It amounts to 12 liters per capital daily supply which is far from the internationally recommended 40 liters (Ebba Bida, 2017). At the inception, the supply was almost regular and daily but as expansion and other forces came into interplay rationing became the only option paving way for water vendors thus creating one of the major challenges facing the town as most of the new extensions are not reached by the facility (Ebba Bida, 2017).

In both large and small cities within the whole world social and economic factors exhibit an incredible diversity of characteristics within the realm of; economic structures, levels of infrastructure, historic origins, patterns of growth, and degrees of formal planning. Fortunately, many of the problems that they face are strikingly familiar. One sure fact is that, as cities grow, they become increasingly diverse. Every city has its relatively more affluent and relatively poorer neighborhoods. But in developing countries, poorer neighborhoods are more associated with dramatically lower levels of basic services. Consequently, a large proportion of urban dwellers in developing countries suffer to a greater extent from severe environmental health challenges that are closely associated with insufficient access to clean drinking water, inadequate sewerage facilities, and insufficient solid waste disposal mechanism.

A major recent United Nations report on the state of water and sanitation in the world's cities found that water distribution systems in many cities in the developing world are

inadequate, typically serving the city's upper-and middle-class neighborhoods but not rapidly expanding settlements on the urban fringe. In many cities, the shortage of public water supplies forces many less-privileged urban residents to use other water sources such as private water vendors who charge exorbitant prices than the local public rate. Consequently, people in slums often must pay much more for lower quality water than other urban residents (Satterthwaite, 1997).

Estimation in recent times shows that about 1.1 billion people globally lack access to improved water supplies and 2.6 billion people suffer inadequate sanitation related problems (UNICEF & WHO, 2004). The global health burden associated with these conditions is staggering, with an estimated 4000–6000 children dying each day from diseases associated with lack of access to safe drinking water, inadequate sanitation and poor hygiene (Moe and Rheingans, 2006). The UN Millennium Development Goals (MDG) aim: to reduce by half the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation by the year 2015. Although some parts of the world are making encouraging progress in meeting these goals, serious disparities remain.

The problem of access to improved drinking water is still a serious challenge in large parts of Asia where an estimated 675 million people are without safe drinking water sources (UNICEF & WHO, 2004). In Sub-Saharan Africa, over 319 million people lack access to improve and reliable drinking water sources (WHO, Key Facts Forum 2015JMP Report) and only 36% of the population has access to basic sanitation (UNICEF & WHO, 2004).

There is a serious danger in consuming even the so-called pipe-borne water as microbial contamination in parts of the distribution system may lead to risks of endemic illness. Studies by Payment et al found out that the distribution system may have contributed to gastrointestinal illness as observed in a study of households which drank tap water compared to households which drank tap water with additional treatment, or bottled water (Payment, et al, 1997). As shown in a study conducted in Wales and northwest England between 2001 and 2002, it is found that a very strong association ($p, 0.001$) exists between self-reported cases of diarrhea and reported low water pressure at the home tap from survey of 423 subjects (Hunter, Chalmer, Hughes & Syed, 2005).

Although there has been concern about pathogen intrusion in water distribution systems as a possible health risk from pressure loss (LeChevellier, et al, 2003), the study provides solid evidence of that risk. The presence of Biofilms in distribution systems may provide a favorable condition for some bacterial especially opportunistic pathogens which cause disease primarily in people with weak immature immune systems. These pathogens can find their way into the distribution system from fecal contamination and then multiply and even colonize parts of the distribution system. Thus the more reason people found for drinking water from the public tap source is equally prone to regular infestation of typhoid and other water-borne related diseases (Suleiman, 2017).

Historically, pipe borne water to the household has been directly associated with improved hygiene and reduction in diseases. However, for many years water facilities have become aged, thus the mounting acknowledgment that water distribution systems are vulnerable to intrusion and contamination and may contribute to endemic and

epidemic waterborne diseases. Analyses of the data from the waterborne disease outbreak passive surveillance system in the United States indicated that the total number of reported waterborne disease outbreaks has decreased since 1980. This may be due to improved water treatment practices and the Surface Water Treatment Rule which reduced the risk from waterborne protozoa. However, the proportion of waterborne disease outbreaks associated with problems in the distribution systems is increasing.

Causes of water-borne outbreaks from 1971 to 1998 were examined by Craun and Calderon who noted that, in community water supply systems, 30% of 294 outbreaks were associated with distribution system deficiencies, leading to an average of 194 illnesses per outbreak (Graun & Calderon, 2001). It is established that the supply system contamination was one distinct most important cause of disease outbreaks in community water systems throughout that time period ((Graun & Calderon, 2001). Contamination from cross-connections and back siphonage caused 51% of the outbreaks associated with distribution systems. Contamination of water from main and household plumbing problems caused 39% of the outbreaks, and there is contamination from storage facilities which is responsible for the remaining 10% of outbreaks. Between 1999 and 2002, out of the 18 reported outbreaks in community water schemes, 9 (50%) of these were associated to the problems in water distribution network (Lee, et al, 2002; Usman, 2017).

Problems with water quality in the distribution system are especially serious in middle income and developing countries where there are inadequate resources to maintain the distribution system infrastructure and disinfectant residual. Rapid urbanization in

developing countries is often accompanied by overwhelming demands on existing water systems and illegal connections to distribution systems in poor neighborhoods. Many systems have cracks and high leakage. An international survey of water loss in 1991 shows the percentage of water supplied and reported that in industrialized countries 8% to 24% constitute the amount of water lost.

Comparatively, in middle income or newly industrialized countries, the quantity ranged from 15% to 24%, while in developing countries, it was estimated at between 25% and 45% (WHO, Leakages management, and control, 2001). Frequent power outages contribute to low or negative pressure in the pipes which allows contaminated water or wastewater surrounding the pipes to be drawn in through any cracks. Many of the largest documented waterborne outbreaks in the last two decades have been associated with cross-contamination in the distribution system (e.g. typhoid in Dushanbe, Tajikistan, 1997, cholera in Cape Verde, 1994 to 1997, Guinea Bissau, 1996 and Trujillo, Peru, 1990), (Renkevich, et al 1998).

Water is paramount to human life; water is also a basic requirement for the human body. Certain quantity of water is necessary to human health in several ways: water for ingestion, water for hygiene and water for food production. Adequate water for ingestion and food preparation is necessary for human health. Estimates of minimum daily water intake range from 1.8 to 5 liters per, capita per day (Gleick, 1996). However, water consumption increases in warm climates, with physical activity and during pregnancy and lactation. A recent WHO review recommended a minimum of 7.5 liters per capita

per day to meet the requirements of most people under most conditions (Howard & Bertram, 2003).

Various administration of Minna town since 1976 when it became the Capital City of Niger State and equally the beginning of our period of study, following the constant influx of population and its consequent effect, water supply later became a serious challenge to the development of Minna town. As observed in previous chapters, almost every regime in the State made effort to alleviate the problem of perennial water shortage in the town. The problem rather got a to height since 2007 when the main supply dam at Tagwai became almost overtaken by massive sand deposit (silted) thus only little quality of water it could keep and the virtual collapse of the waterworks at Chanchaga (Eba Bida, 2017). Endemic corruption and outright lack of maintenance culture led to the breakdown of the machines and distribution pipes thus, forcing the board to ratio its daily supply to the ever-expanding town. Malaysia

Currently Minna is expected to consume over 20 million liters per day but only 45% of supply is met (NGSG, Water board Minna, 2017). Cases of broken pipes and leakages have constituted a major problem and setback in the provision of pipe borne water to the dwellers of the town hence about 40% of production is lost to leakages from the source of distribution to the end user. The table below illuminates on leakages in the water supply pipes for Minna metropolis:

Table 3.1**Water Leakages in Minna Town 1976 to 2015**

S/NO	Year of pipe leakage	Size	Type of pipe	Total Distance of leakage
1	1976-86	DN 200mm	Asbestos	24,000mt
2	1986-96	DN 450mm DN 600mm DN 500mm	Ductile pipe	27,450mt
3	1996-2006	DN 250mm DN 300mm	UPVC Asbestos	19,320mt
4	2006-2015	DN 100mm DN 75mm	UPVC	12,120mt

Source: Niger State Water Board Minna (2017)

Such massive leakages in the supply pipes have been responsible for endless cases of Typhoid and other gastro-intestinal diseases including malaria among the dwellers of Minna town. It was therefore to that effect that; the State Water, Sanitation and Hygiene Surveillance and Control Committee on 17 to 19 January 2017 investigated private table water producers in Minna town. The study sampled eighty eight (88) table water production firms within Minna town. It was found out that only (35) 40% of the table water producers scaled through the physical, chemical and Bacteriological test analysis carried out. The remaining 53 table water production firms had issues during the test. Some of the samples analysis shows presence of Salmonella, E. coli, Total Coliform Count and faecal Streptococcus (NGSG, Water Quality Surveillance and Control, 2017). These could contribute the spread of water related diseases like: typhoid fever, dysentery, diarrhea, cholera and gastroenteritis in the town (Usman, 2017). Data from general hospital Minna shows the prevalence of Malaria and Typhoid fever for male and female covering 2009-2013 as follows:

Table3.2

Prevalence of Malaria and Typhoid Fever in Minna Town 2009 to 2013

Year	MF	TF
2009	12, 702	2, 162
2010	30, 625	1, 696
2011	25, 760	2, 048
2012	33, 392	2, 075
2013	25, 768	2, 217

Source: General Hospital Minna (2017)

Portable and safe water supply to many parts of Minna still remain a mirage as most of the new extensions and expansions of the town have not been reached by the water board pipes. Such places as: Gusasi, Maikunkele, Air force base, Rafin Yashi, Gidan Mangoro, Gidan Kwano Gongwapi, Sauka ka huta 11, Maitumbi extensions, F.M Station, Gurusu, Fadikpe, Gbegenu, Talba quarters, Tayi and a host of lot more communities that are now part of Minna town.

Thus challenge of water supply affect the development of Minna town as it hinders the health and wellbeing of the people. A healthy society is a productive one, with poor and unsafe water supply, People in Minna suffer from diseases most of which are caused by the water they consume. Poor quality water supply has also led to the prevalence of Cholera and Diarrhoea diseases in Minna which resulted in illnesses and even some deaths. The figures below show trend of the diseases from 2012 to 2016.

Table 3.3**Trend of Cholera and Diarrhoea in Minna Municipality 2012 to 2015**

Year	Disease	Cases	Death
2012	CH	0	0
	DH	23,189	25
2013	CH	18	0
	DH	1,891	0
2014	CH	4	1
	DH	689	1
2015	CH	12	2
	DH	452	9

Source: Niger State Ministry of Health, Minna (2017).

The provision of both qualitative and quantitative water is integral for the wellbeing of the environment, society and the economy (Corrales, Izurieta & Moe, 2003). Access to clean water is indeed a right and that is why the period 2005 to 2015 has been declared as the international decade for Action on “Water for Life” (UN-Water <http://www.un.org/waterforlifedecade/>).

In Minna town perennial water shortage which has been exacerbated by non charlant attitude of the authorities concerned has in no small measure affected the development of the town. Development seem to concentrate in areas where water can be easily reached however at times it becomes a general situation and the water vendors make their day by selling unsafe water at exorbitant prices.

Education, central indices for development and an aspect that was not given much attention when Minna was a province under the North western state had to be given its due place. In 1975 the Advance Teachers College was established in Minna to produce teachers of national certificate caliber, it was the first tertiary institution in Minna. Additional secondary and primary schools were established to accommodate the increase in the enrolment also the old ones were expended. The idea was to meet up with increase influx of people accentuated by state creation which brought about serious economic and commercial activities dominated by petty traders mainly from the southern part of the country (Igbo and Yoruba).

Unfortunately not much to be shown in terms of industrial development of Minna town, it is not surprising since there has not been an indigenous group that is enterprising and willing to commit its capital in the industrial venture or commerce. On the other hand what existed was a group that parade itself as contractors that is wholly dependent on the government for contracts. Members of the group are usually referred to as government contractors (Kudu, 2016). The various developments in the areas of housing, transport, road network, supply of basic amenities namely pipe borne water, electricity, and availability of quality education and medical care above all security in no small measure attracted more people to the town most of who settled down.

Consequently there arose serious socio-political and cultural tension, mutual suspension and mistrust among the various contending groups in the town resulting in political instability and uncertainty. While this process began with the lifting of ban on politics it heightens with the assumption of power by the politicians which ushered in the Second

Republic. These divisive elements became major bane in the body politics of Minna town as groups such as Ndaduma and and Kpankuko emerged.

3.4 The Second Republic Politics (1979 to 1983) and the Historical Development of Minna Town

The Second Republic democratic dispensation kick-started in Nigeria following the public broadcast “Let the game of politics of begin’ by the head of state General Olusegun Obasanjo on 12 September 1978 (Falola, Mahadi, Uhomoibhi, and Anyanwu, 1991). Actually one of the major reasons usually offered for the removal of Gowon from office was his failure to fulfill the promise of returning the country to civil rule in 1974 (Falola, Mahadi, Uhomoibhi, and Anyanwu, 1991). General Murtala Mohammed and Olusegun Obasanjo took over power, Murtala then unequivocally announced that the military would hand over power to an elected government on 1st October 1979 though shortlived his next in command General Obasanjo kept the promise. Alhaji Shehu Shagari of National Party of Nigeria (NPN) won the election and became the first executive President of Nigeria.

In Niger state, the return to civilian rule brought into office Alhaji Awwal Ibrahim of the National Party of Nigeria (N.P.N) as governor. The period (1979-83 when the regime reigned) was characterized by decisions and actions being largely based on political considerations albeit some progress made in the development of Minna town. The number of local government areas increased from the initial nine (9) to 19 with Minna as headquarter of Chanchaga local government authority.

The construction of permanent site of the State College of Education Minna began in 1981 the same year school of Nursing and Midwifery Minna was established along with the school of Health Technology Minna. Post-primary institutions got a boost in the town just as the number of primary schools also increased. The federal government college was established in 1979 and the Federal University of Technology (F.U.T) in 1983 these boosted the enrolment capacity of learners and also brought in more people into the town for employment and other businesses.

The establishment of the University was indeed great a achievement in the historical development of Minna town as literature shows that where such institution is located the chances of development become faster as it brings about agglomeration and spatial occupation of spaces in the area (Batisani and Yarnal, 2015). Bosso a suburb of Minna town where the University is located assumed astronomical growth following the inception of the institution in the area. As simply put by Usman Garba (2016):

The University has brought many different people into our locality, it has opened us to the wider world, it has led to many buildings for both staff and student to rent and it has also brought some social vices into the area.

One major asset Minna possessed was the availability and cheap nature of land. This opportunity enabled newcomers into the town to easily own a land and build their own houses and that complimented efforts of the government. The State government through Ministry of Lands, the local government and the natives allocate land; during the period under examination (1979 to 1983).³

³ A land of 100x100ft cost not more two hundred naira (₦ 200:00) that is less than two Ringgit Malaysian money based on current exchange rate of RM: 1 to 88 naira Nigerian currency.

In addition to the cheap and accessible land was the liberal attitude of the natives to strangers who are easily accepted into their fold with no stress.

Following the lift of ban on political activities in preparation for return to civil rule in October, 1979, the political elites adopted elements that differentiate the various cultures such as religion, ethnicity, in addition to other divisive elements such as majority vs minority and the indigene vs non-indigene in their election campaign strategy and in the allocation and distribution of political offices.

Two contending blocs that had emerged in the area at the eve of the Second Republic, the Pamkuko⁴ and Ndaduma⁵ movements had a serious effect on the Minna, the State and the nation at large during that era as their activities were inimical to peace, tranquility, and development of the society. The Ndaduma was a purely Nupe association formed by its elites and which saw itself as the umbrella for all Nupe people nationwide. Pamkuko, on the other hand, emanates from a tribal association formed in Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. Their first worry was the name Gwari instead of 'Gbagyi'. They asserted that the word Gwari is associated with inferiority and that it was pronounced so wrongly by other Nigerians especially the Hausa, the Nupe and Yoruba who even call them 'Gbari'. With the support of civil servants, politicians and elites on January 1st, 1978, a publication appeared in the New Nigerian Newspaper titled *we are not Gwari but Gbagyi* with that the people seized to be referred to as Gwari but, Gbagyi (Bawa, 2014). Thus in 1979, the Pamkuko was formed and there began the politics of

⁴ Pamkuko was a Gbagyi tribal body that sought to push forward socio-political course of the people.

⁵ Ndaduma was the Nupe tribal socio-political body that stood for the ideals of the people.

ethnicity in Niger State as whole and Minna in particular (Waziri, 2016).

To wrestle power out of the military, the associations gave much weight to the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) ⁶ which observers see as an offshoot of the defunct Northern People's Congress (NPC) and ensured it won the election that brought Alhaji Awwal Ibrahim to office as Governor. The democratic regime carried along members of the association at the beginning of the administration some of whom were Special Advisers, Permanent Secretaries, board members and commissioners.

Two years into the administration the position of the Emir of Minna was elevated from second class to first class thus qualifying the area fully as an Emirate. Problem started when the Emir refused to accept the title of Dada which the (Pamkuko members) elites claimed was more traditional to Gbaya culture than Emir or Sarki (Bawa, 2014). The Emir did not just reject the title but maintained that he had been decorated by the Usmaniyadom medal which as far as the politics of Northern Nigeria was concerned is more relevant as he is also to be recognized as representative of the Sultan in Gbaya land.

However, opinions vary among historians of Minna; some argued that the rift between the Emir and the elites was fanned by the existing contest for his office as some of the leaders belong to the contesting families, for instance, Abubakar Aliyu Bosso of the Bosso ruling family and Bello from that of Paiko (Gommna, 2016).

⁶ Bade. O, *Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria: The Dialectics of Mass Poverty*, Nigeria, Macmillan, 1983, p. 173.

Another reason for the fracas with the Emirate was that it was in support of the ruling party which has lost its popularity among the Gbagyi. The NPN was a conservative party of the northern ruling class domination, election into the second term in office was seen as avenue to change situations hence both the Gbagyi and Nupe elites (under Pamkuko and Ndaduma) joined forces to vote out what they considered as Hausa domination of the State and for the Gbagyi to change the colonially imposed Emir of Minna (Waziri, 2016). Thus most members of these group went on to support the major opposition party in the State; the Great Nigerian Peoples Party (GNPP) under the Governorship candidature of Alhaji Alhassan Ba'adakhosi.

To compound issues in 1982 the Emir of Minna gave and turbaned chieftaincy titles on non Gbagyi settlers in Minna an act that angered the elites the more. The elitist organization went on a rampage of criticism and condemnation of the Emirate decision and went on to maintain that the Emir was only buying cheap popularity by selling the integrity of the Gbagyi to strangers in their own natural land (Bawa, 2014). Matters got worse as the Pamkuko members had drawn a line of confrontation with the Emirate, the result of which was the dismissal from the State civil service of two commissioners who were signatories to the letter addressed to the Emir. These are Alhaji Abubakar Aliyu Bosso and Mr. Samuel Bala Kuta ((Waziri, 2016). Senior civil servants in the state civil service of the Gbagyi tribe to that effect voluntarily resigned their appointments claiming that state affairs were run in a lop-sided manner.

The consequence of all these was a bloody confrontation between the Hausa and the Gbagyi on the April 17th and 18th, 1982. Pamkuko members went village to cottage

informing their Gbagyi kinsman not to bring their farm products to the market, the situation led to a serious hike in prices of foodstuff and above all led to the killing of 13 people and priceless properties destroyed.

The general failure of the Second Republic was due to many reasons among which include; aggravated corruption, insecurity, lawlessness, and general indiscipline which led to the sacking of the government on December 31, 1983. Following that event, a military governor was posted to Niger State (FGN, 1985). On assumption of office, Col. David A.B. Mark took swift measures, actions and policies to inject sanity and discipline not only in the Civil Service but the general public life of the people thereby restoring their confidence in government and that raise morale, and level of awareness of the citizenry in undertaking their civil duties and responsibilities.

Some of these actions include retrenchment of workers and forceful retirement to reduce the Civil service to a manageable proportion in the light of the economic realities of the day; setting-up commission of enquiry to probe political office holders, civil servants and contractors who were found wanting or accused of misdeeds against the government contrary to their oath of office or contractual agreement; and reversion of the L.G.A to its original nine.

War against indiscipline a major policy of the Federal Government was adopted and executed to the latter in Minna. It was in phases and was geared towards injecting civic awareness and responsibility and discipline in the citizenry. These include keeping the environment clean and beautifying it, and other sanitary measures, thus sanitary

inspectors and mobile courts were constituted to prosecute offenders. Queuing where necessary, responsible and responsive behavior at all time, regard for locally made goods and the pursuit of gainful employment was strongly encouraged. In addition was the back to land movement which called on the citizenry to farm whatever their job was to help feed the nation. This policy was pursued in a military fashion and was largely successful at that material time.

A major achievement of the government was in the construction and rehabilitation of roads in all the towns. In addition were roads linking some major economic centres such as the Kwakuti-Kanfin-Koro 43km and Kafinkoro-Gwada 38km, Minna-Kataeregi-Bida 86km, Lapai-Gulu 47km, Gwada-Kuta road to Minna and other parts of the country were equally looked into. The roads constructed or rehabilitated greatly contributed in reactivating the economic and commercial activities of Minna and the state in general as the Capital city was connected to the rural area from where food supplies come to the town (NGSAM, "This is Minna" 1985).

3.5 Socio-Economic Development of Minna 1976 to 1986

The first ten years as State Capital Minna witnessed so many changes not only on physical built area, administrative structures but also seriously in the social and economic life of the people. Urban culture which is usually characterized by western style of food and drinks, individualistic attitude and social class differentiation became some of the features of the town.

The making of Minna a state and local government headquarter brought about changes in the socio-economic setting of the town and the inhabitations. As a new state capital which hitherto has no any industry but emerged as a peasant railway junction town, the major source of income was civil service and those who provide services to both government and private individuals.

The railway system which has been identified as the major factor in the emergence of modern Minna town started the attraction of people as it did to Kaduna, Makurdi, Jos and many others settlements in the country (Akpen, 2006). The early settlers of Minna were to fill the needed gap in the railway services, colonial administration positions, security and other services sector of the economy. Groups such as the butchers, the mesons, painters, black smith, scholars and all kinds of persons entered into the town while some could not stay some permanently settled down. They socially and economically interacted and even went into inter marriages. From the inception most of the settlers intermarried with the natives and even among themselves thus compounding the complexity of the society.

Long before the creation of the state as various peoples entered Minna so, did multinational companies such; as the Peterson and Zacconis (P.Z), G.B. Levant, John Holt, and the few commercial banks namely; Standard Bank, Banklys Bank and Bank of the North. The cement and flour depots most of which were located in the railway station because they are transported to the town by rail served in no small measure in the economic and social life of the town. These bodies in addition to their economic

importance served as rural-urban pulling factors to Minna as people from the surrounding settlements came to enjoy their services.

Minna from its inception was a peaceful and secured town with very low crime rate and violence is almost non-existent when one study the historical development of towns in Nigeria especially the central region where violent crime and ethno-religious crisis have bedeviled the area. As new state capital city job opportunities (then) in both public and private sector was abundant. As such people from different parts of the country find it easy to make Minna their second home some of who came for the compulsory National Youth Service (NYSC) after which they got employed and settled in the town. It becomes easier especially when one also put into consideration the agrarian nature of area, food is available and very cheap (Dije Bala, 2017; Munny, 2016).

As a place that was entering into another level or a higher level of relationship with other parts of the world that is capitalist economy, consumption of goods and services began to change as the people became more exposed to western and industrial taste of life. Consequently super markets and departmental stores such as Onigbinde, Jonapal, Abbas stores and later Bomas all sprang up. Pharmaceutical and patient medicine stores such as Standard Chemist, Hankuri Chemist are among the earliest to emerge. Before the State creation it was only the Challenge bookshop (a Christian agency) that sales books in Minna but with the new development bookstores such as Romans International, Nwana stores, Central bookshop and Kendo all belonging to Ibos surfaced.

Automobile shops where brand new cars and motor cycles are sold also emerged, the most popular ones include; MAIBEZA Motors, Ikon Allah Motors, SCOA Motors and SADDOH Motors all specialists in the sales of Peugeot vehicles. Volkswagen also has a sales and service shop in Minna known as NITECO; a place fitted with all kinds of modern vehicle maintenance facilities but was later abandoned and even vandalized (Munny, 2017). By implication all these in many ways explain the fact that the historical development of the town was not stagnated neither reduced to only the performance of government but that the private sector and individuals had strong influence as they contribute to the economy which enhanced the growth of the city.

Clothing was another popular business during the era. While the Hausa were bringing in textile materials such as 'Shaddah' and 'Uwa-Gambari', the Yoruba were trading 'lace material'; the Igbo were bringing in George and wax materials the most reputable being the Holland George. All these was to wet the appetite of the elites and the emerging political and economic class. The implication is that socio-economic development in the town during the second republic became more intensified thus people became more comfortable to settle down in Minna especially as they could meet the basic necessities of life: food, clothing and shelter with ease.

Since the creation of the state there have been tremendous developments in economic and commercial activities in Minna leading to the integration of the state. Minna traditionally known for food production especially yam and corns still play the role of creating link to other parts of the country through trade in agricultural products. Though the commercial sector has been dominated by traders from the North, East and West,

Nigerlites and Minna people in particular are not left behind and are gradually emerging albeit very slowly (Dhakko, 2017).

It must be mentioned that the increase in the intermingling of people in the town promotes social and cultural activities and that gave rise to the level of awareness of Nigerlites to understand and appreciate the different culture that exist in the federation and at the same time the differences in socio-cultural backgrounds. In addition the agglomeration and increase in the contact of different cultures entails increase in culture borrowing and culture diffusion. While this is a positive development, it has its own side effects as it decline in the traditions of the town and increase in the rate of immorality and social vices.

Industrialization drive of the state was launched and pursued with vigor as it was accompanied by massive publicity and propaganda and call on Nigerlites to establish industries in the state. Industrial layouts were planned and the necessary infrastructures surfaced namely; roads, electricity and pipe-borne water were laid in the area. Thus, for the first time the state was brought to lime light and has since then captured the attention of the press. Some of the industries that were established then include; Mona Juice, Wire and Nails, Chanchaga burnt bricks and a few other agencies under the guise of Niger State Development Company.

As the population increase the need for the provision of social amenities became very necessary thus, effort was geared towards improving health services and education. In this regard State Health Services Management Board was established, while hospitals

and health facilities were either renovated or reactivated with drugs and equipment made available (This is Minna, 1985). Attempt was also made to salvage the education sector and for the first time deliberate effort was initiated to encourage female education through persuasion and edicts. Thus a Women Centre was established in Minna⁷ and subsequently in all the LGAs in the state, most of the Girls Senior Secondary Schools have been made boarding while a number of boy's schools were converted to mixed schools and for the first time a Women Technical Teachers' College was established (Niger State at Ten, 1986).

The concept of self-help and its practicality either individually, group or by community was encouraged. Consequently the citizenry was enlightened not to rely on the government all the time for their needs instead they should look inward and plan and execute what they can do for themselves and not necessarily what the government can do for them. The government made it a policy that any community that want the government to provide it with any social facility must show evidence of effort made first. In fact this was a core policy of the Federal Government which regarded the development of the society to be a joint effort of both the government and the populace. As a result the populace was forced to contribute its quota by payment of fees and levies in the reactivation or development of all sectors of the society.

⁷ The women development centre was aimed at teaching women both domestical and commercial skill to basically empower them. The unit was attached to the Ministry of women affairs of the state. Further details can be found in NGSG, *Niger State at Ten*, Minna, 1986.

Akin to this was the housing policy adopted by the state. In pursuing the policy of owner occupier housing, the state government sold all the houses constructed by the Housing Corporation. It went further to earmark areas for the construction of owner occupier houses in Bosso and Tunga where necessary layout was made and infrastructure laid. Interested citizens were to be provided with plot and building materials for the construction on loan basis.

Despite the remarkable progress and achievements made, the military style in which the objectives of the government were pursued and attempt to regimentalize the Nigerian Society, bitter complains were made against the regime which led to the eventual topple of the Military Government of General Muhammad Buhari and General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida became the new Head of State (President). Colonel David, A.B Mark was left to continue as the Niger State Military Governor until the later part of 1986 when he was redeployed and Lt. Col. Garba Ali Mohammed replaced him.

3.6 Conclusion

We saw the various reasons for the creation of States and the significant role such Capital Cities play in the socio-economic and political development of the nation. The period also witnessed the making of Minna a local government headquarters and later a municipal which in many ways contributed to the historical development of Minna. The making of Minna a State capital city was a major turning point in its history as waves of developmental projects took place. In fact the decade (1976-1986) can simply be described as the golden age in the history of the town hence it was when the foundation of its present outlook was laid. Most of the laws and edicts were initiated or even

established during the period. Great administrators like; Air Commodore Murtala Nyako, Ebitu Ukiwe Muhammadu Awaal Ibrahim and David A.B Mark during the decade ruled and transformed Minna from a rural and semi primitive provincial headquarter to a modern settlement.

Developments during the period attracted more people and that enhanced its socio-economic base as different groups of persons enter the town most of whom were traders, artisans and public servants. Industrialization was pursued with vigor with layouts opened for all kinds of factory however little practically happened in that direction. Socially the new capital city with its booming population found the ‘Kasuwan Dare’ a hot burbling place where people meet at evening hours to exchange social harmony. Hotels and guest houses started to spring up to accommodate strangers but above all adequate security and easy transportation in and out of Minna provided great advantage for the development of the town.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MINNA 1986 TO 1996

4.1 Introduction

The chapter is an extension of the proceeding in terms of the nature of events and developments in Nigeria, Niger state and Minna in particular. The decade witnessed at the national level the successive regimes of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babaginda (IBB), the interim government of Chief Ernest Shonekan and the government of General Sani Abacha. Each of these except the Chief Shonekan led regime were military and left indelible marks on the history of Nigeria as whole and Minna in particular. Equally at the state level while the decade continued with the regime of Colonel David A.B Mark January 1984 to August 1986, it witnessed those of Colonel Garba Ali Muhammed August 1986 to January 1987, Lt. Col. Lawal Gwadabe January 1987 to January 1992 and the civilian regime of Dr. Musa Inuwa January 1992 to November 1993, Colonel Cletus Emein December 1993 to August 1996. Similarly at the local government level various administrators changed baton of leadership. As they are appointed so they are changed. The one institution that remained and must remain untouched because that is its nature was the traditional institution. The Emir remained as the royal father of the (Emirate) city; he has no retirement and goes on no transfer.

It will be expected that with all these chains of administrators in the history of Minna, development will be very high and sharply different compared to other towns similar to it in terms of positive changes. The decade under x-ray witnessed changes but not sharp

and virtually very little in the area of industrial and economic development. Politically, it was a period that saw Minna out of all other states capitals in the country except the federal capital city that was declared as municipal. Socially, religion haven been described as the opium of the masses, Minna began to witness intensification of the proliferation of religious institutions, bodies and organizations. Thus spatial expansion and agglomeration continued to make progress in the life of the town.

4.2 Socio-Economic and Political Development of Minna Town 1986-1996

The era of Colonel Garba Ali Mohammed as governor of Niger State began on August 1st, 1986 with a massive flood following heavy downpour in Minna town that claimed two lives and destroyed properties worth over 100 million naira. Nature took its toll on Minna by unleashing heavy down pour which shows the need for adequate drainage system of the town (Gimba, 2017). But the regime can be described as retrogressive in the development of Minna town as it left not much to be seen of his era neither did either the local government authority nor the emirate council came up with much to show during the period.

The period was identified with Jamaa forum a system whereby the military governor meets the people by locality across the entire state to hear and discuss their problems and discontents. It was a way of ruling the people in a fashion of military democracy hence the governor comes down to the grass root level of the society to collect information and listen to grievances on first hand basis. It is on the basis of such discussions that fund may be released for to address reported problems that were necessary.

The second feature of the administration was that it does pursue financial prudence with very high spirit and zeal. The regime was known for not taking before any assignment (either official or contractual) was given or paid for. To a large extent, that reduced the level of corrupt practices in the state in general and Minna particular. The government took to such position given the fact that the immediate past civilian administration of the country and the state have been accused of economic wastages, it was a regime characterized by economic waste and ostentatious living which was responsible for the nation's economic quagmire. The ousted politicians were corrupt and not God fearing as such the new governor ensured that any person(s) to be entrusted with public fund no matter how small must swear by either the holy Qur'an or Bible (Waziri, 2016).

Thus, this policy of the government made life miserable for some people who formerly depended on corrupt sources of making money in the State. The cream of Association of Government Contractors (as a group was referred to) which paraded State, L.G.A. Ministries and Parastatals for contracts disappeared. Most villagers who have abandoned their farming occupation for fast money in the city especially since the civilian regime began to return to the village as the usual corrupt practices are no longer easy. Somehow urban growth was affected during the short period of Col. Garba Ali Muhammad in Minna. The focus of the administration was to instill discipline and God fearing in the minds of the people who have long been infected by corrupt practices and gross indiscipline (Kudu, 2016).

At the federal level the Babangida led administration created an elaborate system of personal government largely along client list line. In the process he became the first of

the Nigeria military rulers to assume the title of President. In pursuing the nation's economic reforms he went into structural adjustment programme, including a steep devaluation of the national currency that attracted the IMF support and for sometimes it stabilized the worsening debt service problem (Campbell, 2007).

The arrest and trial of politicians, public office holders and contractors, the setup of various military tribunal of inquiry in Niger State under Justice Awoniyi though gave the masses some hopes in the Nigerian state but smelled doom among the ousted politicians and some elites. The municipality of Minna as it was then known was thereby characterized by mixed feelings, while some were happy with the probes, trials arrest and detention of corrupt public office holders, there were those that never saw anything good in the unfolding development. However, immigration of people during the period into Minna was considerably less because the major pulling factor was employment in either formal or informal sector of the economy and that was not forthcoming. In addition government contracts were equally not imminent.

Political, social and economic activities revamped back again in December 1987 when Colonel Lawal Gwadabe arrived Minna as the new Governor of Niger State. In his one year in office address the 'Jamma'a Forum' initiated by his predecessor was abolished and in its place village committee was instituted (NGSAM, INF/a/093, 1989). Under the new arrangement instead of the former system of every one meeting the governor on designated date in the town and village halls and squares, the new policy has it that the villages or wards have a committee through which the worries of its people are channeled to their local government chairman who in turn relates with the governor

(NGSAM INF/a/093, 1989). In Minna it led to the building of town halls and discussion or what they later called viewing centres that might be explained as part of the ‘divide and rule’ policy of the Babangida administration (Campbell, 2007). The Babangida administration was renowned at getting the citizenry engaged in discussing sensitive national issues while the government has its way to carry out its intentions.

The Gwadebe led administration in Minna brought in substantial changes in the provision of social amenities these include: water supply, health care, education and township roads. Within its first year in office Lodigiani Construction Company won a ₦10.3 million contract for the construction of 17 township roads in Minna town some of which are; Chanchaga, Tunga, Bosso, Unguwan Daji and Maitumbi roads (NGSAM, INF/a/093, 1989). All the roads constructed were lined with proper drainage system to combat the perennial erosion and flood in the town. One achievement of monumental importance in the history of Minna and which have been envied by other states in Nigeria was the 10 million naira state of the earth township drainage under taken by Julius Berger Nigeria Plc.¹

¹ The general drainage system of Minna town constructed by Messer Julius Berger Nigeria Plc caused so much controversy and criticism across the country. Many said its type has never been constructed anywhere in Africa, some said IBB took the IMF loan to beautify Minna for himself hence after retirement that’s where he will settle down. But, the State government with the assistance of federal government sought a World Bank facility to address a major ecological problem that is capable devastating the entire city. See NGSA/INF/9/352 *Two Years of Governor Gwadebe*; Minna, Newsline December, 17 1989.

Minna being a well-watered town has both perennial and seasonal water all over that during raining season it face serious problem of flood. Initially because of the small nature of the town the impact was not that a serious threat nor was the consequences seriously taken until on August 1st 1986 when it got loose and almost the whole town was sub merged in the one hour down pour which claimed lives and properties.

The construction of Minna general drainage took place when General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida was the military head of state (President) of Nigeria. Nigerian saw it that the President was selfish over maintaining his own town and that other towns have similar problem. Strong critics of the President most of whom are largely from the Yoruba ethnic group gave instances like the Ogunkpa flood of 1980 that also took lives of 100 people with properties worth millions of naira was destroyed and yet no such drainage work was a done to protect the ancient city of Ibadan.

However the importance of the drainage work across Minna town is that it among others issues reclaimed spaces lost to erosion and floods. Many of such spaces were built up as residential structures. The fear of occasional loss of lives and property has also been drastically reduced as part of the federal government policies that every State capital in the country is under the federal government. The federal government in 1988 awarded the contract for a dual carriage road on the western bypass of Minna. The opening of the 22 kilometre road tremendously contributed to the expansion of the town. Also it enhanced the expansion of settlements along the south-western portion of the town such as: Tagwai bread factory, Fadikpe, Dutsen Kura, Alagbado Soje, Kpakugu, Barkin Salle, and Sauka Kahuta to the state secretariat linking the two city gates. The road provided

the town a huge opportunity for alternative major township route which caused more expansion of the settlement and reduced congestion in the heart of the town.

With the increase in the population, further efforts were made to improve on the water supply to that effect two large surface tank reservoirs were build. They are the 9m liter hill top and the 2.2 million liters Shiroro hotel project both at the cost of 3.1 million naira (NGSAM/INF/9/352, 1989). The provision of water is necessary for the existence of man and the emergence of any human settlement and that is a fact that scholars since the earliest time have acknowledged (Na-Dama, 1985). The improvement in the capacity of water supply to Minna in many ways encouraged people to settle down the more in the areas of the town that receives supplies namely; the old custom barracks, Sauka Kahuta, parts of Tunga low cost housing and Mandella street. The reservoir on the Paidahill top assisted Maitumbi, Paida, Ungwan Kaje and Ungwan Daji areas. Consequently these areas became part of the nucleus centre of Minna town as many people settle therein; new or virgin areas became opened for residential and other purposes.

Development and transformation of Minna since the mid-1980s especially from the period of David Mark's regime involved city gentrification. In more sophisticated or developed societies these may involve the establishment of things like cable trunks for transportation, city centre renovations, amusement parks and neighborhood centres that may be in line with the western system were by government is more involve in the direct planning and political intervention which Egercioglu says differ from that of Turkey were urban transformation results from the interaction between market conditions

operating the spontaneous social solutions which pulls people and the central and local administration (Egercioglu, 2014). To the urban planner, urban transformation in Turkey has been at a much advanced level than the western countries. Leading actors in the urban transformation strategies were market forces and later the private bodies and institutions.

In Minna the first instance of urban beautification and transformation can be said to be the cancellation of the 'Kasur Dare' the night market² and the construction of David Mark square a mere relaxation centre which did not last the taste of time as the location was not fit for such projects. Subsequently, later administrators of both the State and Minna Township embarked on massive programme of beautification by constructing different kinds of roundabout on the township roads. The most popular being the fish roundabout at mobile, the Bahago round about on Bosso road, amusement parks, recreational centres (Murtala Park, and democracy garden), clubs and guest houses for visitors and strangers.³

Public spaces within the city were land scrapped, flowers and trees planted all over. This is confirmed by the speech of the governor in 1988 thus:

² Kasuwani dare' (Night market) was the city centre which was everyone's pride and joy to visit at night. It is a market that operates mainly at night because the town has been a proletarian settlement, the people are only free at night after the day's work so the place is a traditional recreation and other social contact point.

³ Every regime that sat in Minna Since 1976 has one or many things doing with the roundabouts even the current regime of Abubakar Sani Bello (2015). Each destroys whatever was in existence and put in new concept which is not necessarily better than the former example; the Mobile roundabout which had the concept of agriculture comprises of fish hoes and sickle. Since its demolition the city center lost much of its taste.

Fellow Nigerlites you must have noticed certain changes taking place especially in Minna the capital. This is not accidental but by a deliberate policy to give our towns that befitting look of the 20th Century that will distinguish us from the relics of our colonial past, which has been living with us until now (NGSAM, INF/a/093, 1989).

A major development in the history of Minna during our period of study took place in 1988 when a new Emir of Minna was installed following the death of his father Alhaji Ahmadu Bahago in 1987. The appointment and installation of the new Emir Alhaji Umar Faruq Bahago met series of challenges and contests.

The various ruling families of Bosso, Paiko and Minna Shako all strongly contested seeing that it was their chance to take over the leadership of the Emirate based on the existing arrangement for rotation in the appointment of a new Emir of Minna (N.S.L.N. No-1 of 1988, 1988). The struggles did not in any practical terms bring about physical or violent confrontation either in the form of riots or boycott however. It generated serious tension among the ruling houses of Paiko and Bosso who felt more strongly that it was their turn to rule Minna.

The coronation of Umar Faruq Bahago as the second Emir of Modern Minna town and his appointment of various local and palace chiefs, the intensification of feudal tendencies and its benefit for those around the office of the Emir in terms of recognition and acquisition of material benefits improved the importance of the Emir and made Minna more important within the Gwari entire territory and Nigeria at large. Constitutionally the traditional rulers play very significant role in the development of the

country at large and their society in particular. As Abba Mahmood cited in Uche Nworah (2007) posits, traditional rulers used to have a constitutional role. The constitution of 1960 and 1963 provided for the council of chiefs in the regions and some were even regional governors. They had representation in the 1979 constitution in the National council of state. 1999 constitution however did not even mention them.

However, former Niger State governor and also the immediate past Senate President of Nigeria, David A.B. Mark is of the view that “*We will continue to assist our traditional rulers and leaders who are responsible for unity and peace in order to further strengthen their role. Specific roles shall be established for them in the constitution* (Nworah, 2007)”. Thus as Bawa pointed out that appointment of the Emir of Minna served as a source of unity for the Gbagyi people, Bawa (2014). In many ways the Emir ensured the development of his town and the emirate at large by ensuring peace and harmony.

One unique feature of the late 1980s development of Minna town was the construction of high raise buildings in our educational and even health centres. Turnkey Construction Company from Netherlands was contracted and built high raise classes (1988 to 1990) in Government Day Secondary School and Maitumbi Secondary School respectively (NGSA/INF/9/352; Yabagi, 2016). Equally in the State College of Education the Gwadabe administration built the initial high rise structures that house the administrative bloc, the school of vocational education and former school of technical education (Yabagi, 2016). In the same period the children and female surgical wards of the general

hospital Minna a one story structure was built to accommodate the growing number of people in need of the services. By implication expansion in these facilities mean employing more people to work there as; teachers of the expended schools or nurses, doctors, laboratory attendant, technicians, drivers and other service providers in the hospital and schools. Therefore the town developed materially in terms of increase capacity to meet needs of its peoples and dwellers and also expand, physically as more buildings came up. Thus, the complexities of a city continue to intensify as people of different background came into the place with different ideas, technology and knowledge.

In the early 1980s the first civilian administration of Niger state under Alhaji Awwal Ibrahim Commissioned the Shiroro hotel an appendage of Arewa hotels and that was the only major public guest house of international repute in Minna. As the town grows within the same decade, more than a dozen governments owned guest houses were build in different parts of the town. In fact the Gwadabe led administration did not directly built residential accommodation for either workers or the general public like the previous administrations rather it build many guest houses especially around Okada road and the old GRA, (Kudu, 2016). However it must be noted that during the regime the Federal government build Bosso Estate which comprised over five hundred housing units that accommodates many federal and State civil servants.

As the town expanded the need for intra city transportation system become more obvious thus the Niger State transport authority (N.S.T.A) was established in 1987 (NGSA, INF/9/352). It was to provide cheap transportation for people both within and

outside the capital city. In addition the establishment provides employment for a reasonable number of people most of whom have moved and settled down in Minna town which added to the development and expansion of the settlement. There are also those that have employed themselves as service providers within the transportation agency office as travelers congregate there. These ranges from bread sellers to recharge card sellers, food vendors and hawkers and various other items thus that explains the socio-economic importance of the agency.

One major feature of the period under discussion was the war against indiscipline and corruption. The previous government of Nigeria under General Muhammadu Buhari introduced the policy as a major principle of his administration. The Babangida regime which took over continued with same effort even though not as vigorous as the initiator (NGSAM, INF/a/093, 1989). In Niger State and Minna in particular Gwadabe made the monthly sanitation (a major part of the war) twice in the month that is, that of the federal government which was every last Saturday of month and that of the state government which takes place every second Saturday of every month. Multiple sanitation exercise therefore went on in the state in general. In Minna, it is very necessary given the fact that as a result of increased population in town, refuse and garbage spots increased indiscriminately, drainages, toilets and bushes which breed mosquitoes insects and reptiles remains threats to the growing urban population.

A major problem that has constituted serious challenge to the development of towns and urban centres is that of environmental sanitation and emergence of slums in virtually all cities in developing world. Indiscriminate disposal and failure to collect garbage as well

as inadequate waste management and recycling policies mean that cities are engulfed in their own waste. Thus, a serious environmental crisis threat many developing countries as proper sanitation and hygiene is not maintained coupled with unplanned settlements that usually lead to the emergence of slums. In African cities, waste management has been viewed as the hard nut that has defied every effort made by authorities concerned (Satterthwaite, 1997). Sanitation and safe water supply are very paramount in the life of man and society hence a clean environment where; dirt, filth and general uncleanness are properly removed its members will strive in good health (Usman, 2017).

McFarlane, in his work; 'Governing the Contaminated City' observe that cities with poor sanitation were understood through the notion of 'Miasma', a theory of disease spread that was popular in Britain. It referred to the spread of diseases through odor, and its sources range from sewage, animal carcasses, decaying vegetation and poor ventilation (McFarlane, 2008). These, of course, are major characteristics of slums that is, settlements that more often than not emerge on unplanned spaces.

Regular and increased rural-urban migration and urbanization tend to produce large city slums where rural migrants and urban poor access shelter. This phenomenon is ages old in human history. Slums emerged and spread across Victorian London and Paris, Boston, New York and nineteenth-century American and European early centres of industrialization (Wai, 2015). In mid-20th century when most of the developing countries began to industrialize, they too were confronted with what Europe and America had experienced earlier. The reason being that larger number of people moved into the cities where ready and better-paid jobs and opportunities abound.

In Nigeria, colonial authorities tried to make urban settlements clean but encouraged the development of slums due to racial segregation politics (Oyedele, 1987; Akpen, 2006). The authorities had and maintained strong sanitary laws and even ensure strict compliance with town planning and building laws as shown by the urban policies. However, some years after the attainment of independence these laws were no longer enforced in most towns and cities consequently disgusting environmental sight and filthy slums became the order of the day (Falola & Salm, 2004:4).

Environmental sanitation and slum control had some degree of attention in the cities since colonial era but further developments caused by increase agglomeration on particular spaces led the emergence of slums. As in the earlier Nigerian cities like; Lagos, Kano, Kaduna, Enugu and Ibadan, the creation Niger State in 1976 ushered in the beginning of the rapid migration of people to Minna to find their fortune in the ocean of opportunities available in the new State. Thus places like; Kpakungu, Soje, Barikin-Salle, Sauke ka futa, Fadikpe, Sayyiko, Tudun Fulani emerged as slums in Minna (Town planner Habiba, 2016). They are characterized by unplanned layouts and building structures obviously because such lands were acquired from the natives (Town planner Habiba, 2016). Such areas also suffer from lack of access roads, improper (if available) reticulation of pipelines for tap water supply, of course, even the electricity is provided by community effort (Zubairu, 2017).

It was the termination of the Second Republic in 1983 that environmental sanitation became a prominent issue in Nigeria as the new government took it with all seriousness. The General Bukhari/ Idiagbon led regime which seized power from the civilian

government of Shehu Shagari that enacted the War Against Indiscipline of which sanitation was an integral part of. At the State level, countless sanitation edicts were promulgated by the various state governments. Many of these edicts have had some considerable impact on the lives of citizens in the major cities. The Buhari regime chose environmental sanitation as the theme for the fifth phase of the War Against Indiscipline (WAI), which was launched in Kano on 29 July 1985 by the then Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, Major-General Tunde Idiagbon. He announced that a one million naira prize would be awarded for the cleanest capital in the country (Stock, 1988).

At the State level sanitation task forces were organized, in some cases, additional sanitation workers were hired to clear rubbish and garbage, the last Saturday of every month was declared environmental sanitation day hence, government offices and businesses were directed to close and mobile sanitation courts were established to prosecute offenders. By the month of August 1985 when the regime was toppled, many 'permanent' piles of rubbish had been removed and drains which had blocked waterways for years were opened. Most of this work was accomplished by community self-help groups, house owners, and occupants, aided by workers from the offices and factories (Zubairu, 2017).

The pace of WAI was slowed following the style of the new government which did not cancel the War Against Indiscipline, but deemphasized it and counseled against the excesses which had become characteristic of its execution. The one million naira inducement prize for the cleanest state capital was stopped, and the federal

pronouncements on sanitation became less frequent. Thus emphasis at the state level on environmental sanitation also equally reduced, even though various issues linked to sanitation have continued to be raised periodically.

In Minna, the Niger State capital one major step taken was the establishment of an agency to officiate on the challenges of sanitation and slums. On 4th may 2011, the state government enacted a law that established the Niger State Environmental Protection Agency (NSEPA), (Gazette No. 18, vol. 15). Previously the management and enforcement of sanitation in Minna town was under the sanitary inspection unit of ministry of health. The new agency is saddled with the responsibility of ensuring proper sanitation is maintained and thus strongly empowered the officers with the basic legal instruments as contained in the gazette publications (Gazette No. 18, vol. 15 and Gazette No 18 vol. 17 2013). The law did not only stopped at declaring a particular day of every month, it also restricted movement of people and any form of public transaction such as opening of the market and shops between 7:00 am to 10:00 am a tradition Nigeria has imbibed from the military regime of General Muhammadu Buhari (Zubairu, 2017).

Since the return to democratic rule in 1999, it has been accepted that more people moved into the urban areas. In our area of study, the entrenchment of democratic rule in Nigeria has catalyzed rural-urban migration. Equally the increased economic and socio-political opportunities associated with civil administration provided impetus for rapid influx of people most of who first settle in the slums and shanty areas. The rowdy and filthy nature of the environment naturally breeds diseases such as meningitis, Cholera and

malaria. The table below shows the trend of malaria incidences in Minna town between 2012 and 2015. The pictures in appendix F confirms the reality of the sanitary situation

Table 4.1

Minna Malaria Disease Trend 2012 To 2015

Year	Cases	Death
2012	23,189	25
2013	18,761	16
2014	21,222	9
2015	19,762	8

Source: NGS, Ministry of Health, Minna (2017)

Poor sanitation and slums have been responsible for increased reported cases of malaria and other related diseases but worst of it is that due to the carelessness of the inhabitants of such environments even the access road to homes are taken over by sewage water, broken pipe lines, bushy spaces and very filthy surrounding that are nauseating appendixes F and G shows photos of disgusting and filthy environment. Environmental sanitation and development of slums affect the historical development of Minna first in the area of urban development. The slums have constituted places that need serious attention hence they are breeding ground for criminals and diseases and ugly sights and nothing is being done about it (Town Planner Habiba, 2016).

‘Health is wealth’ is a popular saying but it is a fact. The challenge faced is that of massive spread of diseases hence the position of government was not preventive but curative (Zubaru, 2017). Thus more people went to the hospital and much is money

spent on curing illnesses related to sanitation and overcrowding. Government has to assist by being in the forefront in the war against poor sanitary environment and subsequent emergence of slums.

In Minna, the sanitary inspectors armed with mobile court went from house to house to ensure that people kept their environment clean to avoid the explosion of epidemic diseases which are usually associated with environmental sanitation problems. As a study of urban slum across developing world cities, 1990 to 2003 have shown that: In cities such as Ogbomosho, Porto-Novo and D Jaugou among the 188 cities studied indicates high decline in the provision of adequate sanitation whereas Fortaleza, a Brazilian city indicates improvement in sanitation from 9% in 1990 to 43.8% in 2000 (Martinez, et' al, 2008). The work also shows that five diseases; pneumonia, diarrhea, malaria, measles and HIV infections are closely associated with sanitation and environmental issues and accounts for 50% child deaths (Martinez, et' al, 2008). Their report maintained that inadequate shelter and poor environment enhance the prevalence of diseases like diarrhea in developing countries which kills over two million children yearly (UNICEF/WHO, 2003). However in slums and rural areas the percentage is far much higher as data on Ethiopia reveals 23.7%, 24.4% and 6.2% (Martinez, et' al, 2008).

The local government authorities in conjunction with the State Ministry of Health and the Sanitation and Environmental Protection Agency in Minna maintained the regular monitoring of the environment to check possible outbreak of any of the diseases associated with sanitary issues. However, cases of diarrhea, meningitis, typhoid, and

malaria and measles outbreak are not uncommon among people living in third world towns like Minna. From time to time cases are reported a situation that can be associated with the increased number of careless dumping of household refuse in open places and growing sizes of squatters and slums.

Minna town witnessed lull in its history between January 1992 and August 1996 irrespective of some landmark achievements that have contributed to its historical process of change and continuity. The Musa Inuwa led administration engrossed itself in the politics of what was seen as witching political opponents and ethnic rivalry especially between the Hausa and their cohorts from the zone 'C' and the Nupe of the Zone 'A'. The Nupe who are more educated numerically have dominated the state bureaucracy since the days of the North Western state. On assumption of office Inuwa on the excuse of dwindling funds for the state embarked on downsizing the civil service thus, the Nupe who are more in number in the system became the most hit by the policy (Ndatsu, 2017). Consequently many educated and experienced persons left Minna for other places like Abuja the Federal capital city, Kaduna, Lagos, Kano and other parts of the country for survival.

Another major feature in the development of Minna town between 1992 and 1993 was the increase in the population of the town following the advent of the third republic steered by the two party systems; the Social Democratic Party and the National Republican Convention (SDP & NRC) experiment of the Babangida era. Federal government wanted Nigerians especially the youths to participate in the 'new-bred politics' and as such injected into the system much funds which attracted more people

into politics and consequently into urban centres particularly the State Capital cities. Thus in view of the growing size of Minna town and increase complications in its composition, many people started to encroach on public institution lands such those of schools, hospitals and other agencies. This explains the continued indiscipline among the peoples however; on assumption of office Dr. Musa Inuwa retrieved all such affected lands and went on to erect parameter fence on some like; the Old Airport Girls Secondary School Minna, Niger State College of Education Minna, Government Technical School Tungan Goro Minna, General Hospital Minna and many other places within the town.

Governor Inuwa's foresight was to be proved sixteen years (16) later when Muazu Aliyu Babangida became the chief steward of the State and one of the first things he did was to retrieve all such government lands taken over by politicians and some civil servants in Minna. Eight years later again the elected governor of a neighboring Kaduna State, Mallam EL Rufai had to fight similar battle in his State especially its' capital Kaduna. It can therefore be said that as towns expand and develop in Nigeria land hunger increase and people tend to disregard public property for whatever reason and usurp it. In Minna Dr. Inuwa was nicknamed 'governor fence' because not for the very short period of his tenure, he hoped to fence every public structure and land in Minna.

To contain the increase in the population of the town and its consequent expansion government spend N31, 217,507.00 on some selected roads in the capital city and N5, 338,825.80 on the repairs of Minna-Kataregi-Bida road (NGSG, 1993). Tremendous effort was also made to alleviate the suffering of the masses especially the civil servant

in terms of intra-city transportation. The N.S.T.A opened more routes in the town to cater for such areas that have become of wide distance from each other, these include: Dutsen Kura, Tunga lowcost, Bosso low-cost housing estate, Okada road and Maitumbi. Intra-State routes like Minna-Mariga, Minna-Wushishi, Minna-Lemu and Minna-Borgu were introduced. As part of the efforts to make Minna town a befitting State capital, the Inuwa regime took over the two former catering houses, renovated and renamed them as Niger Motels. These outfits were given sound taste to accommodate visitors from anywhere in addition to the over 5million naira gesture extended to Shiroro hotel (the largest and most exotic in Minna) for renovation and debt servicing (NGSG, 1993).

As a complement to the development of the town, the tradition of its beautification continued to receive attention, government spent N132, 000.00 for the purchase of assorted flowers planted within the town. The less than two years in office by the democratically elected government of Dr. Musa Mohammed Inuwa also added value to the development of Minna town as it appreciated the increase in the demand for health services by expanding the General hospital in addition to meeting up with other health needs of the teaming population, for instance between 1992 and 1993 the town made 80% coverage of EPI Immunization (NGSG, 1993).

From the period December 1993 to August 1998 Nigeria returned to the hands of the Military as General Sani Abacha took over as head of State of the country, Colonel C.K. Emein was appointed governor of Niger State. Abacha's coming to power was like turning back the hands of the clock in the democratic development of Nigeria hence the abrogation of the existing civil structures at Federal, State and Local Government levels.

The new administration in Minna met not only an empty treasury but also heavy debts waiting therefore, government had to employ every possible means to improve its financial base so as to enable it carry out its obligations and these include among others general staff audit. However, in the period 1993 to 1996 industrial developments in Minna got some attention, the detergent industry, nails and shoe buckle factory and Tomizayi Nigeria Enterprise received N23 million lifelines each. One million naira was expended on the promotion of small scale enterprises in Minna in 1996 alone (NGSG, 1996).

Industrial development was encouraged by successive regimes since the creation of Niger State and making Minna town its capital city and includes that of Col. Emein by providing high capital allowance and reduced project tax, establishment of an industrial estate as well as allocation of industrial plots within two months of allocation (NGSG, 1996). However, the industrial potentials of Minna town in particular and Niger State in general still remained largely untapped. Despite the incentives and facilities like road network, international airport and hotel accommodation made available by the government. In 1995 the Cletus Emein administration organized a public enlightenment forum tagged “Gold forum” to stimulate interest and investment in the enormous resources Minna is endowed with gold, yet only quasi and illegal mining takes place.

Federal government enacted Decree 96 of 1993 which re-established the National Primary Education Commission (NPEC), on that basis Niger State enacted the edict which re-established the State Primary Education Board inaugurated by Col. C.K. Emein through the board education at primary school level in Minna was facilitated. Repairs

and maintenance of public schools were carried out through the board in conjunction with the local government authority.

1993 to 1996 history of Minna town witnessed some improvement in the post primary school education as renovations took place in the introductory technology workshop at the Government Day Secondary School Maitumbi Minna, construction of a modern science laboratory at the Hill top Model School Minna and the rehabilitation of a burnt down student hostel at the School for the Handicapped, Minna (NGSG, 1993). As the town increases in its complexity and sophistication the need to wipe out illiteracy becomes increasingly paramount thus government effort at achieving such objective was demonstrated in its ability to expend funds (N2.8million) on 'Adult' and 'literacy' programmes in conjunction with donor agencies like the UNDP-assisted programme. The increase in the number of city dwellers in Minna equally placed much demand in the provision of adequate medical care thus in 1994 a new mortuary facility was provided at the General Hospital Minna, the obsolete X-ray machines were also replaced. The IBB Specialized Hospital commenced operation in June 1994 with a takeoff grant of N1.5million and later got another N5million in the first quarter of 1996 to boost its capacity.

The regime of Emein in Minna also witnessed the building of school of midwifery hostel and furniture provision worth N783, 883.00. Government also took over the delinquent and juvenile child centre a project initiated by the association of lady pharmacists Minna, Niger State Chapter. Tax force on environmental sanitation was fully in place, the WAIC was still very active in Minna to ensure neatness of the State Capital and

avoid outbreak of diseases. The Military administration therefore signed into law the State Environmental Protection Agency edict. As part of the effort at the development of any town/city or society is the ability to disseminate information to its inhabitants and even outsiders. To achieve in addition to the existing A.M radio station, the town got an F.M station commissioned by Col. C.K. Emein.

Within the short period of its existence as a State Capital and Local Government headquarter, Minna witnessed different regimes and administrations at both State and Local Government levels. It is also under the influence of a powerful traditional authority, Emir of Minna. Above all the influence of the federal government on States especially the capital cities is tremendous. Federal government to a large extent provides the major funds for the survival of the States in Nigeria as such play significant role in the development of towns and cities in Nigeria.

On August 14, 1996 Police Commissioner Simeo Oduoye was appointed Governor and posted to Minna, Niger State to replace Brigadier C.K. Emein. One of the early developments during his regime was the creation of Bosso Local Government out of Chanchaga L.G.A among those created by the Abacha regime thus leaving Minna only as a municipal. Between 1996 and 1998 the administration had to battle with the issue of increase in the city domestic waste. As put clearly by the governor “*a lot of domestic waste is generated in the cities, but nowhere in the State is so much waste generated as in Minna* (NGSG, 1997)”. It is the constitutional responsibility of the municipal government to ensure appropriate clearance of all refuse in the city but it was unable to do so as the mountain of refuse was increasingly beyond the purse of the local authority.

The State government stepped in and released N197,000 for weeding the over grown parts of the city and another N200,000 to clear the accumulated refuse heaps that have taken over most parts of the capital city (NGSG, 1997).

The most serious challenge was with the main drainage across the city constructed by Julius Berger in 1987 which have been converted to refuse dump sites and public toilet. People freely, carelessly and shamelessly defecate in it at both day and night. The drainage in some areas has become completely blocked that it no longer served its good purposes. Concerted efforts were expended to ensure that the heavy mess was removed. Massive public enlightenment campaign through the state mass media agencies (F.M, A.M and N.T.A. Minna) on the implication of environmental decay were undertaken by NISEPA these in addition to possible legal action to be taken against anybody found contravening the law.

To achieve its aim of providing health care, the government renovated the Amenity Ward at the General Hospital Minna at the cost of N552, 074; N1, 372,180 and N3, 035, 693 were spend on the rehabilitation of access road to the General Hospital and the conversion of the OPD unit to the Eye centre respectively. N18.6m was utilized on equipping the eye centre and over N1.88m expended on the provision of ECG machine. A C. T. Scan centre was also constructed at the IBB Specialized hospital in Minna (NGSG, 1997). As part of health requirements, recreation centres are necessary thus, the Oduoye administration directed that a befitting amusement park be established in Minna, the State capital. In line with that Minna municipal council was directed to hand over the Murtala Park to the State Tourism Corporation so as to facilitate its transformation.

The Oduoye regime added value to the education sector at all levels which involves primary, secondary and tertiary institutions in Minna town. The College of Education got first of its kind a computer laboratory build and equipped. The agency for mass education also strived to remain relevant as its activities in such areas as basic literacy, functional literacy, women education, and continuing education got the boost. The Adult Model Training Centre of the agency gave women functional and vocational education in home economics, pomade making, knitting, sewing, typing, tie and dye, snacks, kuli-kuli making, health education and nutrition (Dije Bala, 2017).

After a period since the initial low cost houses were build by previous Governments, nothing tangible took place within the aspect of housing until Simeo Oduoye came and used twenty million naira (N20m) to construct a 30 number two bed room houses known as the Oduoye quarters in Minna. The project was a great landmark as it came at a time of much need when immense increase in the town's population has exacerbated the demand for housing. Similarly, another 20 two bedroom units under the traditional housing scheme took place at Tunga-low cost also in Minna for the State civil servants in addition to the 18 units three bedroom Dutsen Kura Commercial housing estate (NGSG, A Pledge to Duty, 1998). In the period 1996 to 1998, colossal amount of money was also spent on the street lighting of Minna town, as part of what is referred to as city gentrification the major township roads were provided street light for beauty and security as well.

In the area of transportation the period witnessed the construction of a new NSTA bus terminus at Tunga, it comprised of passengers waiting shed, modern toilet facilities and

corner shops. On 18th December, 1996, the military administrator commissioned the terminus (NGSG, Footprint of a leader, 1997). Thus the socio-economic activities of the area became grossly enhanced as many people earn their living on the terminus as in TBS and Duta motor parks in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

In August 1998 Colonel Habib Shuaibu replaced the Police Commissioner Oduoye as Governor of Niger State. His tenure was so short, a mere ten months but some few imprints were left on the Historical development of Minna town. If nothing at all Col. Shuaibu is remembered for the recreation centre at the Okada road Dutsen Kura, Minna. He came when Nigeria was already on its transition to another democratic rule (the fourth republic) which ensued on May 29, 1999. Shuaibu handed power to Engineer Abdulkadir. A. Kure of the Peoples Democratic Party.

4.3 The Significance of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida in the Historical Development of Minna Town

General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (IBB) was former military President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria between August 1985 and January 1993. He assumed office following a palace coup against his colleague General Muhammadu Buhari. He immediately released many politicians, businessmen and other classes of people put to trial and detention for economic sabotage by the ousted Buhari regime. That action has been interpreted to mean a bid to win popularity among the people as his seizure of power was not very welcomed in many quarters given the fact that he was a very influential member of the regime he sacked.

He was probably the most popular of all the Nigerian leaders as his era was filled with many and different social, political, and economic reforms, experiments and contradictions. The General although not Gbagyi was of a settler family in Minna where he was born but his particular origin have become very difficult for people to explain however we do know that he has strong connection with Zungeru a nearby town and former colonial headquarter of what later became Nigeria and where the amalgamation pact was signed in 1914 by Lord Lugard.⁴

He brought many policies and programmes in his administration which affected the lives of Nigerian in general. He initiated the National Directorate of Employment (NDE), “Better life for rural women” piloted by his wife,⁵ National orientation agency later MAMSER, Directorate of food road and rural infrastructure (DFRRI) and the Peoples Bank were some of the major landmark achievements of his regime in addition to various political and economic experiments.

In Minna town his contributions to its growth and development is in many dimensions covering physical built areas such as office and residential accommodations. He influenced the building of Federal secretariat and the sitting of Federal Ministries, agencies and organizations and also human capacity building which brought increased social impetus for the town. His era witnessed the building of federal secretariat Minna,

⁴ Zungeru, 68 kilometers west of Minna town was capital of Nigeria after the British left Lokoja and Jebba. It is a very important town in the history of Nigeria as it was where the amalgamation pact of 1914 between the Northern and Southern protectorates was signed but, very importantly it is the birth place of many great Nigerians including leaders like; Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe, First President of Nigeria 1960-1966, General Odumegwu Ojukwu: Leader of the disbanded republic of Biafra, Cyprian Ewensi and Chinua Achibe both great authors.

⁵ Hajiya Maryam Babangida, wife to General Ibrahim Babangida and founder family support programme 1985 to 1993

a gigantic structure that houses almost all the federal ministries and MDAs in Minna the Niger State capital. With the completion of the complex more federal ministries and agencies were established in Minna which thereby increased the population of the town.

Many of the workers came with their families and hence settled down in the town and that to a very large extent has significant impact on the historical development of the town. More seriously was the building of the 500 units Bosso estate in 1989/91 under the supervision of the federal housing authority (FHA) (Ibem, 2010). The houses which were in two and three bedroom bungalows were later distributed to workers (Mostly Federal staff) on owner occupier basis. The provision of such facility in Minna has tremendous impact on the development of the town. Coupled with the available and affordable food stuff it became easier for workers transferred to Minna to easily settle down in the town with many not thinking of going back to their places of origin after years of service.

In addition to the Bosso estate was the rehabilitation and construction of houses in the military barrack. Under the Federal housing authority the federal government inaugurated the Implementation Committee on Army Projects (ICAP) across the country. The sole objective was to rehabilitate the dilapidated military barracks across the country and in some cases build more blocks. In Minna additional soldiers' blocks known as the CBQ were build, the old ones were completely overhauled, officers' quarters were face lifted and new buildings for colonels and brigadiers were all build. The training and doctrine command (TRADOC) headquarter building was started (though left abounded and uncompleted).

The significance of this story is that outside the basic fact that the town got some expansion, the projects also brought in much money to Minna. Many classes of workers entered Minna and made money some of whom even settled down finally in the town. As a matter of fact the period saw massive number of people and construction companies entered Minna town, the period coincided with the construction of the main drainage system by a German construction company, Julius Berger and the building of U.K Bello theater complex during when Minna saw large influx of workers which in turn attracted others to provide services to the teeming population.

Babangida administration brought important federal government agencies organizations, ministries, parastatals and even private companies to the town which in many ways aids the historical development of Minna town Some these bodies are The Joint Admission and Matriculation Board area office, West African Examination Council zonal office, Zonal office Central Bank of Nigeria, Niger River Basin Authority and some commercial bank above all the federal secretariate. In the words of one of the popular statesmen in Minna:

Babangida contributed more than anyone else in the history of modern Minna as he played very prominent role in making the town a state capital even though he was then around the rack of a colonel his influence in the corridors of power was immense (Abdulkadir, 2016).

At the time he was in office as the military President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria the various bodies and institutions that he influenced their location in Minna tremendously increased the population of the town. In fact the influx of people during his eight years in office was probably more than it was at the time of state creation. His

era brought to Minna; The zonal office of West African Examination Council (WAEC), the Niger River Basin Authority headquarter which he moved from Ilorin, Kwara State to Minna, the National Silo and grains strategic storage, zonal headquarter of the Central Bank of Nigeria, an Air force base was established in 1988 alongside was also an international airport established as a support to that of the federal capital in Abuja.

Some other agencies that are attributed to the efforts of IBB in the historical development of Minna include; the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) depot at Paggo Minna, the Morris fertilizer company (though formerly co-owned by the state and an Indian private producer) the economic and social significance of the industry cannot be easily quantified as it have served as a very powerful means of bringing to Minna many people for the sake of the much desired fertilizer, the Federal Science Equipment Centre which only two of its kind exist in Nigeria; one in Enugu and the other in Minna. The institute has the mandate to produce among other things scientific educational materials such as biology, chemistry, physics and mathematics teaching aids, it also produces household materials and other mechanical fabrications.

The period 1986 to 1996 witnessed massive influx of commercial banks and financial institutions into Minna these was as a result of increase in the economy of the town hence more people and activities in the capital city Minna. Before the IBB era, in the banking sector what was obtainable is not more than a few first generation banks (UBA, Union bank, Bank of the North, and First Bank). His regime started the general liberalization of the banking sector in the economy of the country in general. The emergence of new generation banks such as; Zeneith, Habib Bank, Intercity bank,

Nigeria Arab bank to mention but few took over the sector in Minna. Many new cream of workers flocked into the town with latest banking strategies and packages which many people utilized and that developed them as well as the economy of the town. The most popular of his projects in that sector was the Peoples' Bank of Nigeria established in 1988 under the leadership of Dr. Tai Sholorin. A grass root bank that made life much easier for the populace and through which the life of an ordinary citizen was improved (Kudu, 2016).

Following the federal government pursue of rural development programmes it set up the Peoples' Bank as relieve for the rural poor to easily access funds based on their own simple contribution. In Minna many people benefited from the programme and products of the bank. Through cooperative agencies which the government encouraged, people went into various agro allied businesses such as poultry keeping, fish farming and other related areas and got the bank's support. These consequently enhanced the financial base of the populace and boosted economic and social activities.

The proliferation of these various agencies and institutions attracted more people to Minna consequently most of them chosed to settle down by building or acquiring their own houses. This was encouraged by the fact that food and land were probably the cheapest essential commodities one can buy in Minna in addition to the peaceful nature of the town. Much of the people that find themselves in Minna came to meet a people that are not hostile to strangers as such assimilation of each other was easy and hence people made Minna a home easily which added to its expansion.

The General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (IBB) regime is also credited for building the present Abdulkadir Lafene state secretariat complex which houses virtually all the state ministries and MDAs. This is important to be mentioned because Niger State was just created in 1976 along six other States, there were states that are older than Niger and had not got a comprehensive secretariat like that in Minna. Federal assistance for such project was great given the fact that Niger State has a very lean purse from its inception. However the construction of the state, and federal as well as local government secretariats in Minna all took place during Babangida era which caused more people to come into town for work and other necessary activities within government cycle for both private, cooperate and public purposes (Waziri, 2016).

The construction and commissioning of IBB specialized hospital in Chanchaga Minna was to provide modern health care delivery to the teeming population in Minna. The hospital augments the age long Minna general hospital. The specialized hospital apart from treatment of different illness at affordable rate, its doctors scientists and technicians were mostly not indigenes of either Minna or any part of the Niger state, they came from other parts of the country and the world (Asian, Europeans and other African states). The facility in many ways is an additional credit for explaining development of the town as health care is a very important facility in any human settlement.

A good number of these employees settle down in Minna most especially after retirement. Some of these people established their own private businesses such as pharmaceutical shops, private clinics and hospitals namely; Royal Hospital, Standard Clinic, Mosol Laboratory, Top Medical and Bay Clinic and many more. The state

indigenes also made efforts in the establishment of such ventures and these include: Zagbayi and Nauzo Pharmacy, Alheri Hospital, Imani Clinic and many others. All these were supported by numerous patent medicine stores (mostly owned by Igbos) all over the town to complement whatever is the government effort. Therefore it is surmise to mention that the history of Minna cannot be complete when the name and role played by General Babangida is not mentioned. In the words of Wasagi (2016), *some of the parts he played were direct while some were indirect. Some are clearly variable while others are not visible but significant.*

Abdulkadir (2016) in a way comment that IBB's contribution to the historical development of Minna was not only about bringing in governmental agencies and extra ministerial bodies but because of his influence on many people's lives across the country some came to settle down in Minna due to their connections to him. The former LGA chairman went further to stress that IBB also provides wise counsel to both the state government, Local Government authority and the Emirate council (Abdulkadir, 2016).

The role played by IBB in the manipulation of the 1974 royal succession edict of Minna is worthy of note. The edict has it that on the death of the Emir, appointment of a new one be made rotational not to remain within the same (Bahago) family. However, on the death of Ahmadu Bahago on October 16th 1987, Colonial Garba Ali Muhammad unwilling to temper with the preexisting arrangement on succession lost his position to Lt. Col. Lawal Gwade who was one of the "IBB boys" in the army. On arrival at the Minna airport Gwadabe immediately prescribed the 1974 edict and enact a new one; as the appointment of a new Emir of Minna consequently Umar Faruq Bahago the son of

the late Emir was installed on March 16th, 1988. It was a clear fact that the removal and replacement of Niger State governor at that material was only possible following the personal interest of the President and Commander in Chief of the armed forces of Nigeria General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida in the traditional authority tussle of Minna Emirate in general and the town in particular.

IBB of all receives more criticism than any Nigerian leader both within and outside Minna town despite his immense contributions to the development of the town and its people. Of course those that directly benefited from him or his positions still praise sing his name, unfortunately the generality of the masses do not really belonged to that group. However, he still remained very influential in the political terrain of Minna, Niger State and Nigeria at large and he is the political god father of most Nigerian elites and politicians.

On a general note based on some of his socio-economic and political policies as President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria he earned himself much enemies. These policies includes: the introduction of the structural adjustment programme an economic policy aimed at balancing the economy but end up laying the foundation for the crumble of the nation's economy and institutionalization of corruption which has brought untold hardship on Nigeria. It was so because the policy and its results were those of the international monetary fund (IMF) (Osoba, 1996). He was accused of unnecessarily meddling in the politics of Minna town to the advantage of himself and his cohorts (Waziri, 2016). More importantly people expect IBB to locate some of his rich investments in Minna so that they can gain employment and other forms of businesses

can thereby emanate but nothing except the El-Amin International School which provides primary and secondary education for the children of the privileged class (Abdulkadir, 2016). Since retirement his influence among the masses have reduced considerably but in any case as Bawa observed; he continued to protect the finances and investment of the bourgeoisies in the military and civilian classes he has built (Bawa, 2014).

The influence of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida on the Minna youths in the civil service, military and Para-military as well as the business sector was immense. Using his position many young people and even the older ones got employed in the federal civil service where they earned great positions from which they acquired enormous wealth (given the corrupt nature of Nigerian state) which they utilized largely on building exotic houses and buying expensive cars in Minna town. Only few did plant any economic investment in the town. The people of Minna and even other Nigerians who could find access to him gained jobs in the customs, immigration, banks in addition to the federal ministries, organizations, agencies and even companies, in fact his era was the epitome of godfatherism in Nigeria (Sule, 2016).

4.4 Impact of Federal Capital Territory (FCTA) Abuja on Minna Town

Abuja the new Federal Capital territory of Nigeria was created on Tuesday 3, 1976 following the nationwide broadcast by the then military head of state General Murtala Rahmat Muhammad (NGSAM, INF/9/631). It was in the same speech that he announced the creation of seven new states Niger State inclusive (INF/9/631). Prior to that development the nation's capital was Lagos in the South Western extreme end of the

country. It was the Federal Capital, a State headquarter and even the nation's economic hub. Like many countries around the world, Nigeria shifted its capital to a new place in the central part of Nigeria north of the confluence point of rivers Niger and Benue between latitude 9.07^{0N} and longitude 7.48^{0E} on 12th December 1991 under the regime of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (Yakub, 1997). The territory covering about 8000 sqkm^3 has Niger, Nassarawa and Kogi States as immediate neighbours with Niger State contributing 79% of its total land mass and 71% of indigenous population (Arghadiuno, 2001).

In the 1980s the average population of the FCT was not more than 30,000 but at the 2006 census count it has swelled to 1,406,239 (Terlumun, 2015). This was due to massive influx of people into the area as result of perceived economic opportunities in the federal capital city. The large scale migration of people into the federal capital territory torched the neighbouring towns and settlements in many ways. Most of the satellite towns were taken over by people that came to earn living in the federal capital city. Consequently the facilities in the federal capital became over stretched and many people sought better options in places like; Keffi, Suleja (a major town in Niger state) and Minna which is just about some 160 kilometers from Abuja (Dije Bala, 2017).

In many positive ways Abuja added value to the historical development of Minna this is true if one consider the fact that in the federal capital Abuja, accommodation was not only scarce but very expensive. The drive from Minna to Abuja is a mere less than two hours journey and accommodation is not only available it is equally very affordable, food items are also cheaper and above all land which is generally expensive in Abuja is

in Minna of course very cheap and easily obtainable. The entire journey can simply be compared to travelling from Sungai Petani to Sintok in Kedah, Malaysia. Thus most people prefer to settle their families in Minna and then go to work in Abuja. Many of the people interviewed in the course of conducting this research simply attest to these facts (Dije Bala, 2017).

Based on the proximity of Abuja to Minna the federal road that connects the two cities was well maintained during the IBB era even though it still remained not dualized but it influenced meaningfully on villages along the road as their economy boosted because they are engaged in selling food stuff. In Minna many business that went into Abuja also saw the state headquarter as a safe haven for establishing branches. In addition to the fact that many businessmen and civil servants found that Minna is very peaceful with affordable cost of living compared to any part of the federal capital territory hence they preferred to live in Minna and go to Abuja to conduct their affairs (Dije Bala, 2017). Thus, these various people build their houses in Minna which thereby expand the town in terms of both physically built area and population. Consequently the socio-economic life also expands as the population needs and also provides services for mans' consumption. It also brought about cultural exchange and diffusion as different people from different socio-cultural background agglomerate in the town for instance Hausa language and custom became lingua franca in the area.

The various ethnic groups in Nigeria which comprise majorly the Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba moved into Minna for the reasons we have highlighted above but, in the current wave of movements of peoples, the Hausa seems to have dominated Minna town than

the other two groups. Thus Hausa language which for now is undergoing serious expansion in at least the northern part of the country has become dominant over the indigenous Gbagyi language of Minna. In fact even the other two major language groups (Igbo and Yoruba) in Minna have been Hausanized to a very large extent as they adopted Hausa language as medium of communication and some of the cultural practices (Madugu, 2016).

The annulment of June 12, 1992 election and the consequent exodus of mostly Yoruba people to their homeland in south-western Nigeria to a large extent depopulated Northern Nigeria and Minna not an exception. During the period socioeconomic activities became paralyzed in Northern cities especially Minna where most of the economic activities were under the control of the Yoruba folks. Consequently the development led to a turning point in the economic history of Minna as the people quickly embraced the learning of different vocations which hitherto were left to the southerners (Musa, 2016).

Due to the fact that people of different backgrounds were either officially or personally moved from different corners of Nigeria to Abuja, they came with their cultural practices and put it to use as it is the way of life. For instance marriages, burial, naming ceremony and other socio-cultural acts are some of the practices which people copied from each other as they found a new base in Minna. To a large extent the freedom to practice one's culture anywhere in Nigeria as enshrined in the constitution gave leverage for people to settle down in any part of the country they so choose. The constitutional provision for such freedom as part of fundamental human rights enabled Nigerians to

settle in places like Minna where they enjoy the practice of their cultural heritage and religious injunctions.

The development of any society to a very large extent depends on the degree of peace and security of life and property enjoyed. In recent times insecurity has bedeviled and even destroyed many years of human civilization and progress in parts of the world. The world is in general faced with such serious security challenges as those of terrorism, armed robbery, burglary of houses, offices and even banks, senseless killing of human life, rape, cultism and all kinds of vices. Cities being what they are as centers where different kinds of people of varied background and intent are found, crimes of all kind take place there. Thus there is a strong feeling of physical insecurity in our cities as they have now so grown large that people hardly know their neighbours talk less of what they do (Yakub, 2001).

The feeling of insecurity ordinarily resulted out of the increase in the population in our cities a rise due to the influx of strangers from different places within and away. In Kano the number of people within the city has ten times increased in the last four and halve decades from a population below 250,000 in 1960 to something over 2.5 million, people never seen before now become the common sight instead of a knit, quarter in which everyone knows each other over generations (Last, 2008). The presence of stranger those days immediately raise suspicion, rumors and fear and anxiety to know who he is and where he comes from, and that is immediately reported to the authority (Muazu, 2016).

During the pre-colonial period, African societies had evolved their own effective security system that made life more peaceful. Community leaders have established security network that observed the activities of every member of the society and the strangers. The traditional rulers provide protection for caravan crossing or visiting their settlement for trade. Armed robbery and banditry was fought against seriously, hence life and property was protected (Rodney, 1973).

It has been argued that the colonial era in Northern Nigeria witnessed high level security consciousness especially under the Native Authority system when the Emirs were all powerful. The Native Authority police (Yandoka) and various palace chiefs and agents provide information on every aspect of the society on a daily basis. Even when thieves have stolen the (Sarkin Barayi) head of thieves knows which of his boys have operated and where, so it was easier to retrieve stolen property then than now.

Last (2008) submitted that some few years after independence the native police was not only abolished but even the watchful eye of the society was no longer on the movement and behaviors of people. That might have been due to increased egalitarianism and democratic culture that speaks much about freedom. Since the return to civil rule in 1999 the rate at which movement of people from rural to urban areas occur has become unprecedented. Coupled with the natural increase in the population of the city itself and the 'mind your business syndrome' that has become the new order of social life in Nigerian society, people now perpetuate crime of all kinds and nobody is talking about it.

In 1980 the gradual and unchallenged migration of foreigners largely from the North-East resulted in what later became the Maitasine sectarian upheaval that almost sacked the great commercial city of Kano (Last, 2008; Walker, 2012). Threat of insecurity over the recent years have affected many cities in both the North–East and the South-Eastern Nigeria as Boko-Haram and the Niger Delta Militia(s) have continued to reign havoc which have led to loss of lives and wanton destruction of properties. Many people have been displaced and so have some settlements been sacked by the terrorist activities.

Similarly, in the central Nigeria area where Minna is located, starting with ethno-religious crisis which almost brought the cities of Kaduna, Kafanchan, Barikin Ladi, Zango Kataf, Jamma and Jos to extinct, then to cattle rustling and Fulani / Farmers crisis which has constituted another serious security challenge to the development of many parts of the country in recent times.

In recent years Minna town is faced with the challenge of security in many dimensions. Since 1999 the rate at which people move into the town has increased in many folds, however it is not the increase in the number of people that is the problem but as Murray Last puts it that “you don’t know who your neighbor is again”. More seriously even the common values and good manner of conduct in a civilized society seem to have been lost because nobody checks the excesses of others.

Minna which used to be a beautiful quiet and peaceful place have now imbibed the characteristics of such Northern cities like Kano, Katsina Kaduna Zaria and Jos where violent crisis has become the order of the day and tradition of the people. It is from those

cities that such attitude as Yandaba was extended to Minna. The Yandaba, Yan Sara and Yan Suka all meaning the knife boys, the cutting and the stabbing boys and are different gangs that have constituted security threat in Minna town as in some of the cities mentioned earlier. They injure and even kill each other and even innocent persons and very little is done about it by the police and the concerned authorities. Some streets in Minna have in recent times gained reputation for notorious behaviours these include; Soje, Kpakungu, Limawa, Anguwan daji, Maitumbi and Tunga which in no small measure affect development of the town hence decent persons do not want to reside in such area that life and property are at risk.

The increase influx of people from Abuja to Minna on the other hand also poses security challenges as it is a fact that were more people agglomerate more varied characters are to be found. The proximity of Abuja to Minna has increased the rate of crime in the state capital. Many criminals that operate in the federal capital use the satellite and neighbouring towns as base hence. The increase in armed robbery on the Minna–Abuja road, sophisticated house robbery cases, car thief and snatches. Different people some of whom have malicious intension came into the town with the hope of going to the federal capital city to cause mayhem one of such example among several others was the Suleja/Madalla bombing in 2011 which marked the formal take off of terrorism in Nigeria as Boko Haram claimed responsibility for the many lives lost (Aghebo, 2015).

In response to increased wave of crime and criminality in the city of Minna, government and the security agencies broadened their scope and ensured life and property in Minna is adequately protected. Police and army check points are mounted on major highways

like Minna–Abuja, Abuja–Kaduna and Abuja to Lokoja. Within the town of Minna, police check points and surveillance are everywhere yet crime was only reduced never completely eradicated. In the words of Munny (2016); *Minna is a well watched town by government that crime in the town is very minimal and that explains its peaceful nature and also reasons for its expansion since its creation.* Unlike other neighbours (state capitals) of Abuja like; Keffi, Lokoja, Jos and Kaduna where violence and violent crime have become regular, in Minna town despite the influence of Abuja it have not led to much manifestations.

One major dimension for examining the influence of Abuja the new federal capital of Nigeria on Minna town the state capital of Niger State is in the increase urbanization of Minna town, proximity of Abuja to Minna did not only expanded the later by number of people and houses, it has equally changed the traditional perception on land ownership and acquisition. Prior to the relocation of the federal seat of power in Nigeria (1991), land in Minna was very cheap but the price gradually started to escalate and by 1999 following the return to civil rule the ordinary price of land in Minna also became very expensive. The explanation here is that more people trooped into Abuja which was already saturated and too expensive while Minna offered a cheaper option. Land speculators and politicians made land in Minna become hot cake as in Abuja because people in Abuja fine land in Minna very cheap as such they pay fantastic sum.

Equally worthy of note is that to some degree the structure of building pattern and concepts have greatly changed in Minna town and this is largely as a result of proximity to Abuja. Modern and expensive structures are being erected in many parts of the town

as the owners would have wished it was in Abuja thus improvement is made on the architectural view of Minna town. The town wears the look of an emerging modern city in especially newly developing layouts.

4.5 Conclusion

The discussion so far has been that the historical development of Minna continued to witness changes which are constant and permanent in historical process and studies. Minna town started the decade with a regime that can be described as reactionary and developmental activities were little so to speak as it occupied itself with ‘Jamaa forum’ and oath taking before funds are released to undertake public projects. The succeeding administration of Col. Gwadebe was another epitome of development as it wasted no time in ensuring Minna becomes a capital city worth its status embarking on different developmental projects.

The presence of a new Federal capital city of Nigeria some 160 km away from Minna and the presence of one of the nation’s great rulers the IBB all matters greatly in discussing the historical development of the town. IBB contributed immensely to the location of important federal projects and organizations in Minna in addition his personal qualities brought fame to the town. Abuja to a large extent has made Minna town one of its satellite urban neighbours as many people who work or conduct their businesses in the federal capital city live in Minna thus the expansion of the town.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MINNA 1996 TO 2006

5.1 Introduction

This chapter continued with the discussion on the process of change and continuity, it saw the era of General Abacha and its high handed policies and difficult international relations which brought some degree of hardship to Nigerians as a whole. The period witnessed the coming to power (National level) of yet another Military junta from Minna in person of General Abdulsalami Abubakar and his contributions to the historical development of Minna town. It saw the end of Military rule in Nigeria as a nation and the coming to power of civilian regime under the fourth Republic.

During the period Minna witnessed unprecedented increase in population as democracy opened the gateway for movement of people especially from the rural to urban centres. With the increase in population comes the expansion in the size and complexity of the town as different ideas and technology become available for usage. Democracy came with its own set of issues such as party politics, religious factors ranging from the activities of some fundamentalists in power to extremism thus bringing about the institutionalization of Sharia system in some States of the federation Niger State inclusive. Generally this period exhibit the characteristics of a society under the dynamics and forces of change and continuity.

Following the increase in population, the natives it will be discovered sold most of their farming lands to prospective developers and migrants thus, Gbagyi number in the city of Minna town remained considerably small. The changed nature of land tenurship and increased population raises the issue of ethnicity, Minna though a Gbagyi settlement became more of Hausa and Nupe dominated. However sentiment is at interplay when it comes to 'who gets what' in the area of political, economic and social gains. The Period showed every indication of stronger urban transformation of Minna Town as more people are attracted by many factors and opportunities.

5.2 The Role of General Abdulsalami Abubakar in the Historical Development of Minna Town

General Abdulsalami Abubakar was born in Minna on June 13, 1942 to a (early migrant) Hausa family. He became the eighth head of state of Nigeria after the death of General Sani Abacha in June 1998 (<http://www.nigeriaworld.com/feature/abubakar.htmlcharrlotteUSA>).¹ General Abubakar like Babangida had his early life and education in Minna before going into the Military. All through his career in the Military not much was heard of him until he became Chief of Defense Staff under late Abacha in November 1993. This could be partly because he rose to the top without holding any political office.

On assumption of the nation's leadership in 1998, Abdulsalami Abubakar like most African Leaders used his office to contribute his own quota to the development of Minna

¹ For detailed information see Josef Magnate., *Abdulsalami Abubakar: A Legacy of Honor*, Washington D.C, American Literary Publishers, 2000.

town. He facilitated the location of some important federal government agencies to the town and that resulted in the increase in population, status and resources of Minna Town as these organizations perform socio-economic and political functions which consequently led to the development of the area chief among these is the National Examination Council of Nigeria (NECO) (Wasagi, 2016). The type 'A' national agency attracts tremendous development to Minna both in terms of human and material capacity. The body employs large number of workers of different cadre most of whom have found Minna a better place and have consequently settled in the town.

The building of the edifice that house youth center named after him; the Abdulsalami Youth Center, Minna was facilitated by the Nigerian head of State. It is a complex that provides conference venue, social gathering and recreation to people at the same time rise revenue for the government of Niger State. The centre was according to Alhaji Isah a onetime Local Government Chairman of Minna was built for the local government but the State Housing cooperation took it over (Abdulkadir, 2016).

The construction of a new public motor park also named after him as Abdulsalami garage has equally been attributed to his effort. The outfit provides a hub for transportation of people and goods to other parts of the country. It provides employment to many people and also generates revenue for the local government authority. More importantly it is a pooling factor as many people in the transportation business and other kinds of businesses found livelihood therein and moved to Minna with their family. The significance of the facility is similar to that of the railway which has been earlier described as harbinger of development.

General Abdulsalami Abubakar facilitated the transformation of the city centre the 'Kasuwan Dare' (which has suffered in the hands of successive military regimes) to an ultra-modern business centre known as the Obasanjo Complex. The two storey building returned the place to its traditional status of being a commercial centre (Night Market) where a lot of revenue is generated but above all thousands of Nigerian earns living from the complex (Kudu, 2016; Madugu, 2016).

During his tenure in office he facilitated the construction of some township roads especially around his traditional birth place Uguwan Daji axis. He also initiated the establishment of the institute of Peace and Conflict studies located within the State owned College of Education, Minna. In addition to these contributions, the General established some personal business outfits that immensely contribute to the development of Minna town in many ways. First the Maizube farm a multi-Million dollar project located some 28 kilometers away from the heart of Minna Town which provides employment to many people both as staff and also as whole sellers of its dairy and other products. It attracted urban expansion of Minna to the farm area because of the availability of constant electric power supply to the area. The farm produces good dairy milk and other services to the town and even neighbouring cities like Abuja, Kaduna and Bida.

There is the Imrat, a plastic making factory industry located along the Tudun Fulani/International airport way. The factory produces plastic rubber items such as household utensils, electrical and water wiring pipes and other plastic fabrications. The factory is a source of employment and also agent of economic and social advancement

for the people. He established the Maizube table water, an outfit also located at the outskirts of Minna along Maikunkele-Beji Zungeru road about 22 kilometers away from the main city center (Abdulkadir, 2016). It provides employment and also serves as a pooling factor for urban expansion because people build up the lands between the factory and the main city.

His location of most of the companies in the outskirts of the town can be said to have swelled its size. This is because factories wherever they are located have the same tendency with educational institutions that of attracting people to settle nearby hence they are also harbingers of development. Some of these settlers are workers who might not be either capable of daily expenses for transportation or the risk of always being on the highway. Thus the movement of the Federal University of Technology, Minna to its permanent site, location of NECO and Maizube farm are major factors for providing explanation to the astronomical expansion of the town.

Thus the presence of the former Heads of State in Minna in many ways have contributed to the peace and security of the town which in no small measure contribute to its historical development. As a former military leader, security and surveillance is put on top gear to protect his live and property. These in addition to Minna being the State Capital city makes it relatively safer for people to live peacefully and enhanced its rapid development.

5.3 The Return to Democratic Rule and the Historical Development of Minna Town Since 1999

Democracy is surely the most popular form of governance and more generally acceptable in most countries all over the universe. It refers to a form of government whereby ultimate power is bestowed in the people administered by voted personalities (Philip, 2015). Democratic rule on its part implies representation of the entire people and concern within the State that is perceived as popular government because it allows for freedom of speech and ideas (Philip, 2015). Generally democratic rule and legitimate system focus around providing welfare and basic necessities that will make life easier and prepares its citizens for withstanding the challenges of nation building hence, the slogan “Dividends of democracy” (Okeshola & Igba, 2015).

It is obvious that capricious experiences and claims of democracies by countries have made it puzzling to arrive at an articulated meaning and conception of the idea. Unfortunately, scholars have majorly pointed out what democracy is not instead of what it is in the real sense and well thought out process. This muddle actually drove Dahl’s opinion that perfect democracy does not exist anywhere; rather what is obtainable he labelled as that of polyarchy, which the feature should be the continuous response of the government to the demands of citizens (Victor, 2009).

Speculative works on the subject of democracy centers on two models, classical and procedural (Tiruneh, 2004). The former assumes that self-rule and political equality are achievable for citizens. Idealistically, the arrangement serves common good and interest. The later, procedural democracy (also called liberal or representative democracy), linked

with modern states, accepts that political and civil liberties are fundamental rights that must be present in contemporary democracies. Procedural democracy emerged from two historical traditions of republicanism and liberalism. On the other hand republicanism stress on the active role of the citizen in governance, a version of the liberal democratic thought focuses on trifling role, such as voting in elections for the citizen (Carter and Stokes, 2002). Both models are deficient and have major setbacks. For instance, suppositions of classical democracy are itself a weakness when examined side by side with empirical literature on democracy.

Procedural democracy, on the other hand does not address the prevalence of power differentials among citizens, where in the real sense, citizens lack equal economic, political and social opportunities with political elites. It seems quite clear that the idea of equality associated with classical democracy is not anywhere close to the reality of modern representative democracies. A body of works continues to see procedural democracy in Africa as a 'second surge of independence' (Korwa, 2000; Southhall, 2003). It implies that democracy in Africa countries has botched to respond adequately to welfare desires of the citizens. The 1990s have however seen a reemergence of democracy with electoral politics as the central theme. Incidentally, it is what has been referred to as the 'another surge of independence', to emphasis a solid association between democracy and development. This normative impression should be clearly distanced from some of the core recognized problems and values of procedural democracy.

Some scholars of Africanist viewpoint nonetheless think that procedural democracy is inclined to manipulation by western countries in their use of democracy to trail economic interests, consequently resulting in botch of African countries few years after independence. By and large, speculative democracy was “not known” to African scholars before the attainment of political liberation, but thereafter, it came as a modernization theory. Therefore, the task facing procedural democracy remains largely how it can transform and provide realistic economic and social security for citizens. It appears that both the values and practice of this brand of democracy could not provide operative channels for citizens to have a say in governance (Carter & Stokes, 2002). In the context, Tiruneh, in what appears to be a reformulation, proposes an alternative way of defining democracy, described as standard democracy, one that once recognized should continue to evolve in terms of improvement in income or wealth distribution among the middle class. This type of egalitarianism depends on the rise of the middle class in terms of their income and general economic status.

From this view point, democracy can be said to be a amalgam of the classical, procedural and normal elective government, a political system that assimilates political rights, egalitarianism, and mechanisms for citizen involvement in electioneering process and governance, as well as assurance to bridge the gap in wealth distribution among citizens. This conceptualization, at least distinguishes the limitations of both classical and procedural democracy. It equally panegyryzes the connection between democracy and economic advancement of citizens, what to Tiruneh (2004) mean political power.

In any case the problem is locating the middle class in a country like Nigeria, unlike the more advanced countries such as United States and Canada where it is easier. To close that lacuna, response of democracy in Nigeria to citizens' welfare will be measured in terms of citizens' access to education, electricity, portable water, good roads, health care and security. Normal democracy is supported by the developmental democratic theorists whose normative emphasis points to social justice and general welfare for citizens (Carter & Stokes, 2002). They accept basic principles of both classical and procedural democracy but went further to express concern for the common good, where overall condition of society is enhanced. Citizens' extensive participation in politics and governance is promoted to enhance individual progress.

From the foregoing, and irrespective of any common conceptualization of the word democracy, three essentials seem to be central to various definitions given to the subject. They are: competition, participation and the existence of civil and political liberties (Victor, 2009). Answerability and governance are part of the explanation of each other, since 1995, both notions have become part of the debate and research language on egalitarianism. This is perhaps because of the intrinsic value of democracy as a political arrangement and a subject of attraction for scholars for years, and more the reason of explaining the experience and variance among countries so described as democracies today. For instance, Diamond insists that there is a close link between democracy and good governance (Diamond, 2002). In short, he argued that democracy has the proficiency and serve as good governance.

Theoretically, accountability is a product of the egalitarian political philosophy in which the citizen is the utmost power for which all authority must be held to within the context of democracy; it implies the presence of some sort of mechanisms to ensure accountability to taxpayers and assignees of state service. As noted by Davis: Thus the rise of the concept of accountability in Western public life is closely linked to the development of the modern nation state, administration and the amplified role of the state in the provision of public goods.

The theory evokes notions of responsibility for one's action and outcomes, in which both answerability or responsibility and enforcement are latent components. By implication, this seems to have raised some issues for democratic model particularly when it is considered that in most democracies today citizens lack the disposition to exercise their prerogative in order to benefit from accountability. Although Nigeria is seen as democratic from a purely liberal sense, it is apparent that citizens lack power to ensure answerability of public officials, and this may well be a serious factor in the poor provisioning of welfare services to the people.

5.3.1 Democratic Rule

Governance portrays the connection between the civil society and the state over issues or problems of national interest and of common concern (Barten, Montiel, Espinoza and Morale, 2002). Issues of governance have emerged so strongly in recent times with focus on a participatory approach to development by scholars (Barten, Montiel, Espinoza, Morale, 2002). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) says that governance has three core dimensions: economic, participatory and administrative

governance. It makes a lot of sense to think of economic governance in terms of public decision-making processes on the economy and how such processes affects economic activities of citizens and a country's external relations. In essence economic governance to a large extent has implications for welfare of citizens. Political governance means the processes of conceiving public policies, such as whether it is participatory or not. In contrast, administrative governance has to do with the processes or mode of implementing public policies. Good governance therefore means all three dimensions to governance in terms of structure and processes that define the socio-economic and political relationships (Victor, 2009).

UNDP (2003) on its part insist that good governance should be viewed in terms of participation, decency and answerability and emphasize on due process. For Diamond, good governance entails several dimensions, such as for example, the capacity of the state to provide the public good; commitment to the public good; transparency; accountability; rule of law and mechanisms for conflict resolution (Diamond, 2002). To be sure, Habitat has added credence to the argument that principles of good governance include: decentralizing responsibilities and resources to local authorities and encouraging the participation of the civil society (Habitat, 2000).

Following from the above, democracy and good governance facilitate economic development. This assumption is problematic when drawn into the experience of African countries where often scholars decry and explain poor living conditions of citizens with the lack of quality democracy and good governance. Apparently a working democracy where the ruled actually wield the power to control the ruler through voting and other

accountability mechanisms and freedoms inspire a logic of an embedded good governance where participation and consultation with citizens over pertinent issues and policies are the defining characteristics. The ruler will not only be powerless to stop citizens over the exercise of their rights but will respect the outcome of such processes. From the foregoing, it is clear that democracy is said to possess the ability, through good governance, to improve citizens' quality of life.

A growing theoretical literature is replete with optimism on the relationship between democracy and improvement of the quality of life of citizens Gyimah-Boadi, (eds), (2004). Ironically, a corresponding volume of empirical literature is skeptical of the reality of this relationship in most of Africa (Ake, 1996; Sindzingre, 2006). This thinking has been explained in terms of failure of Eurocentric development paradigm to address problems of human advancement within the context of parallel liberal democracy for most of Africa and the third world. As Ake (1996) argued, that politics has within the context of liberal democracy prevented social progress in Nigeria, much as in other countries of Africa. Ideally, the whole concept of addressing the welfare of citizens is directly connected to the overall development of a country in all sectors. In that sense, a rising economic profile of a country ought to, by logical extension translate into improvement in the living conditions of citizens.

Works on democracy in the third world largely yield an identification of vacuum between the ideal and unsatisfactory functioning of democracy, frustrating the appreciation of anticipated economic, social and political benefits. This is accounted for by institutional designs and behavioral elements. Behavioral elements will help to answer questions on

how politicians are constitutive of failed democracies with regards to improvement of the welfare of citizens. Current politicians appear to be predators that have hindered responsibilities of democracies towards citizens (Sindzingre, 2006). These in many ways demonstrated the inability of liberal democracy to improve the living conditions of citizens (Carter & Stokes, 2002). The history of countries with oil deposits reveals that the source of revenue and funding of the state in democracies affect the quality of governance, and consequently the performance of democracy. Where the state depends on the taxpayers' money, accountability is more easily demanded by citizens.

This of course can translate into good governance capable of improving the living conditions of citizens. Rent seeking states that depend for revenue and funding of the state, unearned money, on natural resources such as oil, have more tendencies to be reckless with public funds. Citizens also lack the courage and will to demand accountability from the government in such states (Moore, 2004). From the foregoing two hypotheses that arise are: that, the welfare effects of undemocratic democracies are negative on citizens; second, democracies that depend on rent other than taxes from citizens are more prone to unresponsiveness of the welfare needs of citizens.

5.3.2 Democracy and Welfare of Nigerians

Empirically, there is no water tie relationship between democracy, development and welfare for citizens (Przeworski, Alvarez, Limongi, 2000; Diamond, 2002; Huntington & Nelson, 2003). A body of literature however rejects any relationship between democracy and developments despite some scholars have attempted to demonstrate that such relationship does exist. Roll and Talbott argue based on their research findings that

good governance is associated with democracy and is explained in the variance in per capita income of countries (Roll & Talbott, 2003). This issue has received much attention; Zweifel and Navia (2000) also added credence to the positive relationship between democracy; development and welfare as the buttressed the relationship.

However, the history of democracy, economic development and welfare for citizens in Nigeria has been that of disillusionment (Kalu, 2004). This position is common with most scholars on democracy when it comes to the case of Africa but worse still that it has been more of a critical response to the experience with a democracy based on normative ideals of democracy and western standards. For instance, Kalu has argued that democracy in Africa is unstable and this is mainly because of absence or weakness of institutions rather than the state per se. The logic here is that institutions are meant to provide the basis for collective action while the state's responsibility is that of integrating these actions in ways that will enjoy legitimacy. To a large extent the absence of these institutions is also the very factor that explains the state's unwillingness or inability to do its responsibility of integration.

One of the expectations of many Nigerians when elected political leaders emerged in 1999 in 16 years after military dictatorship was the improvement of their already worsening economic and social conditions. Personal economic circumstances of unemployment, shortage of food, public safety, lack of clean water, inadequate health care, poor income level, and more, were on the sky high, negative on citizens (Lewis, Bratton & Alemika, 2001). Several years today, it seems that many are wondering how the governments have addressed basic national and personal economic problems in the

country with poverty still very much prevalent. Incidentally, the performance of politicians within the period is being questioned over their role in improving the welfare of citizens and a consequent low rating of performance of democracy.

One major problem to be addressed in this work is to connect democracy and welfarism in Nigeria. For one, the Nigerian case does not quite fall into any discourse on the linkages, especially as a political concept associated with how liberal democracy and economics are articulated to bring about social progress. As a form of governance, welfarism, existing or desired, is about democracy that is sensitive to the human condition, economically valuable, environmentally friendly, historically and culturally relevant, by which social equality is also elevated (Lumumba-Kasango, 2005).

Secondly, how relevant is the concept of welfarism to the Nigerian case as an explanatory variable? The concept is characteristic of the democracies of North American states of the United States and Canada; Western Europe and the Nordic European countries. In those countries, the welfare state is lucid with democracy, although outcomes are distinctive in some ways for each of them in terms of the type of societies, democratic processes, citizens' behavior, expectations, the political behavior of elites and political participation (Lumumba-Kasango, 2005). We are also worried about using the concept of welfarism to articulate democracy as a mechanism for social progress in the case of Nigeria, for a further reason of the lack of empirical basis for the establishment of this linkage. Apparently, any debate or discourse on these linkages within the context of Nigeria, especially among politicians amount to rhetoric.

The objective here is to be able to theoretically and empirically justify the argument that democracy in Nigeria neglect welfare of citizens. The welfare state, as practiced in the 20th century Western Europe and North America, emphasized the collective good. Labour activism, socialism, and leftist parties were all contributive to defining the welfare state (Lumumba-Kasango, 2005). In short, welfarism meant the strong intervention of the state in defining social security and protection of citizens from the excesses of the market. Incidentally, notions of the strong intervention of the state, today suffer retreat. Rising arguments of a minimal role for the state, manifested in the various privatization and structural adjustment policies of countries, as in the case of Nigeria now appears to have become the dominant practice.

Meanwhile, the rationalities of the forces of demand and supply appear to be questionable given existing outcomes of state policies meant to directly impact welfare of citizens; the people of Minna have suffered enough in the guise of democracy. The apparent lack of sufficient or even complete absence of portable water supply in many parts of the city is a clear manifestation of such neglect. In many aspects of life one can easily point out many loop-holes in our practice of democracy and its failure to maintain the welfare of the citizens.

History of democratic rule in Nigeria goes back to the first republic (1960 to 1966) when the British colonial masters granted her independence, then the second republic 1979 to 1983 and now 1999 to date. Many Nigerians believe that it is only through democracy that the country can attain meaningful development. Nigeria also witnessed military regimes (1966 to 1979 and 1983 to 1999); the question asked is which of these impacted

more development on the society. Based on the study carried out by Chete Robert it shows that happening in the Asian Tiger countries: Taiwan, Korea, China and Singapore gave consent to the claim by Horowitz that:

The military may be the only group capable of preparing the ground for further economic breakthrough and civilian sector appears even less able than the military to spur the process of development (Horowitz, 1966).

Odetola confirmed the position when he asserted that:

I have found strong support for Horowitz's position with respect to Nigeria. Between 1964 and 1966 civilian rule, the GNP level was 4.2 in 1969-71 under military, it jumped to 9.1 in 1972 to 12.1 (Otedola, 1982).

However, Obasanjo, a two time head of State of Nigeria is of contrary opinion, he posited that; *Restraint and repression associated with authoritarian regime breeds resentment and resentment breed violence. Democracy releases the total of all citizens for development* (Obasanjo, 1989). By implication it shows that the military performed incredibly as maintained by Onwioduokit: *In all nine indicators frequently used. The result showed that the civilian regimes performed better generally than the military regime* (Onwioduokakit, 1999).

As a summary of all other studies Ndiomu opined that:

We have seen clearly in the Nigerian case that after about 29 years of military rule, the military has not distinguished itself as either a visionary or an efficient manager of resources or an effective mobilizer of the populace towards achieving the goals and aspirations of national economic development (Ndiomu, 2000).

It is in view of the return to democratic rule and the attendant expectations that the euphoria was always high among the people each time the votes are cast. Democratic

rule releases the people from many bondages not only that of slavery or colonialism but expectedly even social and economic. In Minna, the entrenchment of democracy like in the entire country brought about development to some sectors of the society in the sense that the economy of the people improved albeit corrupt practices, unrealistic and extravagant wastages of public fund resulting into the enrichment of few at the expense of many. The rate of the physical, economic and social development of the town during the current dispensation has no equal in the history of the Minna. This might be because democracy opens many doors of income and opportunities than the previous military regimes.

Democratic rule has to a high degree released more opportunities into the society, more people are engaged in productive ventures which bring about development. Freedom of movement, association, speech, and worship has enhanced the development of the society. More people entered the town as a result of rural-urban migration to pick up newfound position (elective) as either local government councilors, State Assembly members, or to occupy their political appointments as commissioners, Director Generals, and advisers. Democratic rule also liberalized trade and commerce which is enhanced by freedom accentuated by the system. More people travel to places for trading and other economic reasons during the democratic rule era as practical observation of Nigerian town and cities have shown. As people are free to move they try to explore other parts of the country through several corridors; the political rallies and campaigns, the religious movements and evangelism. Thus since the advent of democratic rule in 1999, many people have entered Minna town and most of them even settled down based on the reasons given above hence expansion of the town. Some of these people came in

following political rallies or campaign and on the discovery of its potentialities in terms of commerce and trade, security and affordable cost of living felt it better to remain.

Similarly, many people rode on the back of religion to the town. During the military era public preaching and undue religious gatherings had a serious limitation, to embark on preaching or any religious gathering if necessary permission must be sought and granted first. The coming of democratic dispensation seems to have liberalized the situation and here and there various religious groups and sects gather in the town thus some of the visitors easily establish themselves in the town first by selling piety wares (Kudu, 2016). The most prolific areas of development are those that advance the standard of living in the town these are based on such indices as education, health care, water supply, transportation, security, food supply, and electricity. An examination of the last two regimes (civilian) will provide better illumination into how Minna town developed during the period 1999 to 2015.

5.3.3 Infrastructural Decay and the Historical Development of Minna Town

One of the significant developments in human settlements over the last four decades has been the growth of cities. Cities are urban settlements with very large population some in millions. In 2012, the United Nations reported that there were 10 times more people living in such large cities in 2011 than in 1970 and projected that the population of people living in such kinds of cities will astronomically increase in 2025 to as high as 630 million from the current number of 359.4 million that is almost double within a 14 year period (Cohen, 2010). Historically, the existence and growth of cities is not a recent

phenomenon but, what is worrisome about the situation is the fact that many of these cities are located in developing countries most of which do not have adequate infrastructure and resources to cope with such growth (Pacione, 2011). For example, in 1950, Tokyo, Japan and New York, USA were the two largest cities on earth that were in existence then. Twenty years later, in 1970, the number had increased to 10 cities and 5 out of these were located in developing countries.

The United Nations have also projected that by the year 2015 there will be 37 mega cities, 30 of which will be in developing countries (Samson, 2013). It is therefore clear that cities in developing countries tend to rapidly become larger urban agglomeration than those in developed countries. This is in spite of the poverty of infrastructural development of these countries to shoulder the burden of growing urban population. Knox and McCarthy (2011) noted that 90% of the 2.2 billion increases in world urban population since past forty years took place in the developing countries.

Nevertheless, as cities grow, managing them becomes increasingly complex. The speed and sheer scale of the urban transformation of the developing world presents formidable challenges. Of actual worry are the risks to the immediate and contiguous location, to natural assets, to wellbeing conditions, to social cohesion, and to distinct rights. For many observers, however, the greatest concern is surely the massive increase in the numbers of the urban poor. Evidence suggests that in a large number of the world's poorest countries, the proportion of urban poor is increasing faster than the overall rate of urban population growth (UN-HABITAT/Earthscan, 2004).

An estimated 72 percent of the urban population of Africa now lives in slums (UN-HABITAT/Earthscan, 2003). The proportion is 43 percent for Asia and the Pacific, 32 percent for Latin America, and 30 percent for the Middle East and Northern Africa (UN-HABITAT/Earthscan, 2003). Swift urban evolution throughout the emergent world has seriously outshined the capacity of most cities to offer adequate basic services for their citizens. Yet day by day cities attract new migrants who, together with the increasing native population, expand the number of squatter settlements and shanty towns, exacerbating the problems of urban congestion and sprawl and hampering local authorities' attempts to improve basic infrastructure and deliver essential services.

Infrastructure is a wide concept that involves public investment in physical assets and social services. Infrastructure is an umbrella term for many activities usually referred to as “social overhead capital” by development economists. In a simple term, it refers to a mesh of transport, communication and public (social) services all functioning as a system or as a set of interrelated and mutually beneficial services provided for the improvement of the general betterment of the population (Olaseni & Alade, 2012).

African cities are developing often irrespective of pitiable macroeconomic performance and without significant direct foreign investment, making it next to impossible for urban authorities to provide satisfactory basic infrastructure or essential services. Nevertheless, as the population of Africa continues to grow over the years, by 2015 it had incredibly led to the emergence of more cities with at least a million people in Africa than in either Europe or North America. The assertion is true as it can be clearly seen that all the

federal capital cities of African countries and the economic and commercial cities carry population of above a million people and their sizes and number is on the increase.

The speed and scale of increase in the world's largest cities and metropolitan areas can create enormous stresses on the immediate and surrounding environment and pose major challenges for any sustainable development. A long-standing urban prejudice in social infrastructure hoards has added to the widely held belief in the development writings that living conditions must be far superior in large cities than in smaller cities or towns. But with the position of global poverty moving to cities, the long-presumed benefits enjoyed by the populace of large cities have been called into the query (Brockerhoff & Brennan, 1998). Greater rates of general population growth, together with substantial rural–urban migration, have contributed to the fast and unintended expansion of low-income settlements on the outskirts of many large cities, which has ensued without an associated expansion of public services and facilities. In addition, the international debt crisis has hit many African and Latin American countries hard, and the implementation of structural adjustment programs and economic recession in many African countries led to a retrenchment of government subsidies and social expenditures that has affected urban residents disproportionately (National Research Council, 2003).

Study conducted recently compared levels of well-being by city size in various developing regions and found that in Latin America and the Caribbean, there is a considerable decline in the big-city residents since the 1970s and was no longer apparent by the early 1990s, while in sub-Saharan Africa, residents of 'mega-villages' of several hundred thousand people were faced with the poverty of access to schooling, proper

medical care, and related services (Brockhoff & Brennan, 1998). These findings, if replicable, suggest that large cities are really faced with the serious problem of congestion and that constitute an impediment to the development of towns and cities as well being of the people are in some ways affected.

A Recent study of urban infrastructure reveals that residents of small cities in developing countries (Minna is one of such) are extensively underserved with respect to basic services. The US National Academy of Sciences based on an analysis of data from more than 90 countries, revealed that, across all chief geographic regions studied, residents of small cities undergo a marked disadvantage in the delivery of piped water, waste disposal, electricity, and schools than inhabitants of medium or large cities. Additionally, there is some indication to propose that rates of insufficiency are higher in smaller municipalities and in many countries levels of infant and child mortality are undesirably comparative to city size (Cohen, 2010).

Presently, many trifling cities lack the required established capability to be able to manage their rapidly mounting populations. As municipalities develop and change, the task of administering them becomes ever more complex. In addition, the nature and tasks of urban management and governance are also undergoing fundamental change. The policy and program on the environment have been altered in many countries as national governments have decentralized service delivery and revenue-raising to lower tiers of government. In the areas of health, education, and poverty alleviation, many national governments have begun to allow hitherto untested local governments to operate the levers of policy and programs. Currently, few small municipalities local

governments are armed with the technical and managerial proficiency they need to take on these responsibilities.

Nigeria is Africa's most populous country; its estimated population in 2005 was approximately 132 million and has become an increasingly urbanized society. With the transformation from an agrarian to a petroleum-based economy in the 1970s, the increased gravitation of people to towns and cities has been witnessed and the speed of urban population growth has surpassed overall population growth in Nigeria (DFID, 2004). Given the migration trend, development agencies have advocated increased urban infrastructure as a poverty reduction strategy. This policy measure differs substantially from conventional agricultural and rural development policies aimed at attenuating poverty in the rural areas. Infrastructure is a broad concept that embraces public investment in physical assets and social services. The urge to increase public investments in urban areas stems from the view that they are key determinants of long-term sustainable growth and the capacity of the poor to benefit from the growth process.

Theoretically, three schools of thought emerged on the importance of investment in infrastructure as a poverty alleviation strategy. The first school contends that speculation in public infrastructure, which embraces investment in education and health, is more relevant to the goal of poverty alleviation than physical infrastructure (Jahan & McCleery, 2005; Jerome & Ariyo, 2004). The second school agreed that investments in both physical and social infrastructure discrete poverty. The last school holds that investment in infrastructure in general has no effect on poverty reduction. The main protagonists of the third view base their theoretical position on three grounds. Firstly,

there is the thinking that though investment in infrastructure is vital for economic growth, its relevance to poverty reduction has no much to show. Second, it has been argued that actual benefits from infrastructure have been significantly lower than anticipated. Third, there is a view that in developing countries characterized by weak governance and institutions, the tendency for government officials to be corrupt is very high, and in such scenario decisions to invest in infrastructure may be distorted, thereby lowering the contribution of infrastructure to growth and diverting benefits intended for the poor (Ali & Pernia, 2003). However, in spite of the above views, there is now broader recognition that if governance and institutional frameworks are supported, the connection between improved infrastructure and poverty alleviation can also become robust. However several studies have scrutinized the impact of infrastructural development on growth and poverty alleviation, little is known diagnostically about their linkage in Nigeria. Unless proper care is taken, urbanization has the potential to lead to high levels of poverty and inequality, which could subsequently engender insecurity and conflict in society (Ogun, 2010).

Given a population that exceeds that of any other country in Africa, urbanization is a common phenomenon in Nigeria. The main areas of attraction for migrants are the state capitals and major towns which are important administrative, commercial, educational and industrial centers. Rural migrants also shift towards the provincial administrative headquarters which serve as educational and commercial centres for the intermediate rural districts. The dramatic shift in population from rural to urban areas can be attributed mainly to the increased emphasis placed on crude oil production in the country and the search for white-collar jobs in the cities. Prior to 1970, when agriculture was the

mainstay of the economy, the rate of rural-urban drift was very low. Estimates of numbers of urban dwellers reveal that in 1952, 11 per cent of the total population was classified as urban; however by 1985 and 2002 the percentages of the population living in urban areas rose to 31 percent and 46 percent respectively. Apart from the rapid urbanization, a spectacular geographical spread in urban population has also been witnessed in recent times in Nigeria. In 2002 it was estimated that some 18 cities had a population of more than 500,000. Moreover, the 1991 population census indicated that about 359 settlements had at least 20,000 people. These data suggest that unlike most African countries, where one or two cities dominate the urban network, almost all corners of the Nigerian territory have large centres of human agglomeration (DFID, 2004b).

Nigeria as a country operates a federal system of government consisting of three tiers (federal, State and Local Authorities); each having constitutional responsibilities for infrastructural provision. Unfortunately, constitutional provisions did not make the 36 federating states in the country truly independent while the local governments exist at the mercy of the state governments. Presently; there is no policy document or instrument anywhere that bound Local councils to specific annual investment in infrastructure and while there had been an improvement in budgetary allocations to Infrastructure in the last couple of years, implementation has been very poor (Olaseni & Alade, 2012).

In Nigeria, infrastructural provision for towns and cities form a major function of government. Both federal and State and even the Local government authorities are responsible for the provision of such basic amenities such as; good inter and intra city

roads, good and adequate water supply, sound environmental sanitation, constant electricity supply and above all adequate provision of security. The provision of these facilities in no small measure contribute to the development of settlements in the country hence during the bumper harvest of oil wealth in the 1970s both the old and new State capitals witnessed the establishment of large number of infrastructural projects. Such States like Sokoto from where (Niger State) Minna used to belong under the North Western State administration and Kaduna the headquarter of the defunct Northern Region got the much desired attention hence the provision of basic infrastructures like good township roads, telecommunication, regular electricity supply and a considerable degree of sanitation (Mamman, 2006).

In Minna, the population figures has increased from 120, 000 in 1976 to over 500,000 in 2015 (NGSG Office of Statistician General, 2017). This improvement has elicited in a host of snags including poor living condition, austere traffic congestion, crippling mobility, ghoulish sanitary conditions and rapid expansion of slums (Pacione, 2001; Mabogunje, 2008 and Cohen, 2010). These problems have naturally hindered the development of Minna town because people must find conducive environment for living. This extremely broad evocative nature of urban trends and prognostications naturally covers considerable provincial multiplicity. Considerable differences exist in the pattern of urbanization between regions and even a greater dichotomy in the level and speed at which individual countries or obviously individual cities within regions grow. Latin America, for example, is far more urbanized than Africa or Asia. The level of urbanization in Latin America is about 76 percent that of North America as well as many European nations. Consequently, it is still put that the rate of urbanization in Latin

America is quite slow despite Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Chile, all well over 80 percent urban.

5.4 Abdulkadir Abdullahi Kure regime 1999 To 2007

May 29, 1999 marked the return to democratic rule in Nigeria, Retired General Olushegun Obasanjo became the elected President of the Republic of Nigeria, Engineer Abdulkadir Abdullahi Kure was elected the Governor of Niger State and Chanchaga local government was won by Datijo Aliyu all of Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). The return to democratic rule was after many years of military rule which the entire country received with high euphoria and the hope that it will bring rapid economic, social and political development.

In Minna town the first four years of democratic government was characterized by various developmental activities which enhanced people's life. With the advent of democracy Minna town entered another period of massive influx of people.

More people moved into it from both urban and rural areas of the State because they are either elected or appointed to positions in the city. Similarly many people entered and settled in Minna from other towns and cities around the country and even outside Nigeria. Democratic rule unleashed mass exodus of people to Minna because the system was liberal in addition to its drive towards making life better for people. Since 1999, as people assumed various elected and political appointments they moved into the capital city with their families and wards thus swelling the population (Muazu, 2016; Sule, 2017; Dije, 2017).

One major step taken by the government was the lifting of ban on employment and the initiation of the automatic employment for graduates of science and technical disciplines (Musa, 2004). The policy tremendously did not only boost the study of science and technology in the area, it increased the population of Minna town as many graduates were given jobs in schools and colleges as well as other agencies. Consequently, that in every direction helped in the development of Minna Town as the increase in population contributed to the meaningful growth of the town.

Employment is one of the major challenges of most societies in recent times. To address the problem, democratic government of Niger State established in Minna the Youth Empowerment Scheme (Project YES) housed in the Abdulsalami Abubakar youth center. It trained (3,261) youths (Nigerlites) in various vocational schemes such as sewing, catering, knitting, dry cleaning, barbing, soap making, computer appreciation, fashion design, vulcanizing, shoe making so that they can become self-employed. The table below shows the distribution of trainees and vacations.

Table 5.1**Distribution of Youths According to Vocation and Batches**

Vocation	1 st set Feb. 2001	2 nd set April 2001	3 rd set Nov. 2001	4 th set May 2002	5 th set Dec. 2002	Total
Agriculture	-	-	66		-	66
Aluminum pot	-	14		7	-	21
Barbing	16		111		-	127
Blacksmithing	-	-	-	2	-	2
Bricklaying	-			17	-	17
Carpentry & Furniture	-	-	-	-	-	134
Catering	12		116	39	85	252
Ceramic Pottery	-	2	-	1	-	3
Computer	160	-	133	22	28	343
Dry Cleaning	-	-		1	24	25
Electrical	-	-	31		108	139
Fashion Design	-	4	-	26	-	30
Fine Arts	4	-	-	4	-	8
Hair Dressing	-	3	-	77	-	80
Knitting	13	-	135	28	58	234
Mechanical	-		9		65	74
Photography	-	10	-	77	39	126
Plumbing	-	-	-	30	-	30
Poultry	-	-	18		-	18
Printing	-	-	-		8	8
Shoe Making	-	11	-	25	-	36
Soap Making	14		147	21	-	182
Tailoring	-	267	-	875	98	1240
Tie &Dye	14	-	-	15	-	29
Typing	-	-	-		-	2
Video coverage	-	-	-	2	-	2
Vulcanizing	-	-	1	2	-	3
Welding	-	-		30	-	30
Total	233	311	767	1301	649	3261

Source: Adopted from Abdullahi Ismaila YES A Framework Synthesis

Large number of youths were trained and given both material and financial support for take-off thus many of them returned to the larger society and became agents of

economic growth and social change. Thus large population of unemployed youths was removed from the streets of Minna and even other communities in the State into gainful ventures through the activities of the scheme. The advent of democratic rule which caused the influx of people especially youths into Minna further compounded the existing problem of housing in the town. The Government at the State level under Engineer A.A. Kure inherited the age long public housing units most of which were built since the creation of the state in 1976. They lacked proper maintenance and were already in serious stages of depreciation (NGSG, Our words...Our bounds, 2001). The administration wisely decided to sale all the low cost houses on owner occupier basis. To a very large extent it was an achievement that touched and enhanced the lives of many people in Minna especially the civil servants who constitute the majority (Ladan Uregi, 2016), the government however could not build new ones.

Increase in the urban population of Minna necessitated the need for improved and effective road network within the town. The period 1999 to 2003 witnessed the construction and rehabilitation of some township roads and these include: Tunga NSTA way, Okada road, and part of Maitumbi, Mypa road and some routes in Chanchaga area. These roads facilitated the movement of people, goods and services which enhanced the development of the town. To support such development the state owned transport outfit NSTA got some boost of 25 number18 seater and 10 MB1415 Mercedes buses at the cost of ₦160m (NGSG, Our words...Our bounds, 2001).

Intercity road network also got attention hence the Minna-Bida, Minna-Zungeru-Tegina, Minna-Suleja and Minna-Paiko-Lapai road, meaning all routes in and out of the town

was put to shape thus that enhanced the free movement of people and consequently increase in the socio- economic development of the town. Of major significance was that these roads linked the urban Minna to its peripheral localities from where food and other agricultural and village products enter the town. Like the previous military administrations; education, water supply, security and health services were given the required attention to meet up with the challenges of the capital city. However most of the activities undertaken were temporal and politically motivated that they never lasted the taste of time.

5.4.1 Introduction of Sharia Law System

The most significant development that had so much impact on the historical development of Minna in recent times was the introduction of sharia law which encompasses the establishment of its agencies namely; the Zakat board, Sharia commission and the liquor board in 2001 (NSLN Gazette, No. 4, 2000). The proclamation and implementation of sharia law generally in some Northern states of Nigeria led to serious and intensive as well as extensive debates and even violence. The arguments have it that on the basis of the global record of democratic diffusion, scholars have dialectically maintained that the Muslim world stands out as a democratic “underperformer,” characterized by persistent authoritarianism and a lack of democratic values (Kendhammer, 2013). Equally, others point to the success of democracy in poor, Muslim-majority countries like Senegal and Indonesia that democratic aspirations and institutions takes place side by side popular movements that pursue the implementation of sharia (Islamic law) and other Islamic legal reforms which strengthen the role of religion in public and political life.

A 2007 poll by the Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) found that a majority of Muslims in four large Muslim-majority states favor both democratic rule (67 percent) and the “strict” application of sharia (71 percent) (Kendhammer, 2013). In 2010 it was found out that majority of Muslims in all types of states express a strong preference for democracy while also endorsing corporal and even capital punishments as established by Islamic legal traditions (Pew Global Attitude Project, 2010). As theoretical demands for fairness in the Muslim world meet with egalitarian openings, elected governments face mounting pressure to expand or preserve Islamic law.

Until the mid 1990s, Islamic law, and legal provisions were most often introduced by authoritarian states as efforts at social transformation or as bargains with Islamist movements. Authoritarian regimes in Pakistan and Sudan experimented with Sharia codes in the 1980s and early 1990s, while Egypt’s constitutional reforms in 1971 and 1980 mandated that sharia serves as the primary source of legislation. But beginning with the creation of competitive multiparty systems in Nigeria and Indonesia in the late 1990s, sharia-inspired reforms have been most likely to be adopted by governments facing competitive elections.

Religious identity, personal piety, and concern for the involvement of religious leaders in politics are all weak, inconsistent position of support for democracy among Muslims and are similarly irregular methods of support for state-sponsored sharia. Findings by Fair, Maholtra, and Shapiro (2010) reveals that in Pakistan supporters of democracy and core democratic rights were about as likely as anti-democrats to support state-sponsored sharia and the militants who demand it. They agreed that support for sharia was based on

demands for good governance, security, and justice, but not in the rejection of democratic tenets (Fair, Maholtra & Shapiro, 2010).

Saiful and William (2004) found out that while most Indonesian Muslims support state backing or acknowledgment of sharia, bulk of the citizens vote consistently for parties that approve secularist podiums that reject recognizing sharia in Indonesia's constitution. Despite widespread support for sharia in principle, most Indonesian sharia supporters explicitly reject in egalitarian or rights-violating policies derived from sharia traditions (such as limits on women standing for office, corporal punishments like amputation, or even government enforcement of veiling or fasting during Ramadan). As clear as it is that Muslim citizens in many democracies support sharia, it is uncertain exactly what particular policies and reforms they hope will emerge from its implementation.

Nigeria's sharia controversy provides a crucial occasion for understanding the politics of sharia in new democracies. In a four-year period following Nigeria's 1999 transition, the democratically elected governments of twelve Muslim-majority states in northern Nigeria incorporated sharia into State criminal law and launched extensive Islamic social and economic reforms.² Given Nigeria's religious divisions (its population of about 170 million is divided in roughly equal proportions between Muslims and Christians, with a

² These States include: Zamfara, Niger, Kano, and Sokoto. For further details see: Babarinde Abdul-Rashid Atilade, Application of Shariah in a Pluraristic Society: The Nigerian Experience, in *The Gurara Journal of Humanity Studies*, Vol.8, No1, ISSN 1596-048X, SOASS, C.O.E, Minna, August, 2013, P. 62-67.

reaction of political conflict that witnessed several failed federal efforts to prevent sharia implementation and a sustained period of sectarian violence at the worst level since Nigeria's civil war (Suberu, 2009).

5.4.2 Sharia Implementation and the Historical Development of Minna Town

Crusades to magnify Islamic law in new democracies fascinate widespread support by mounting problems common to the nation's (corruption, inequality, poor governance) ethical concern best spoken by the state's enforcement of virtuous conduct. Thus, by integrating sharia policy proposals into popular discourse about the economic and social "dividends of democracy" the material benefits Nigerian citizens anticipated would emerge from democratization. Sharia proponents pursue its implementation as a means of ensuring that the benefits of democracy would trickle down to ordinary citizens. Those who campaign for sharia in northern Nigeria offered the citizens good account of why previous governments, both military and democratic, failed to create a good government, social justice, and development.

In many Muslim-majority societies (especially those with more open political systems), there is a strong tie between individual support for state-sponsored shariah and demand for "economic communitarian" policies, such as efforts to equalize income or to establish economic and social safety nets (Davis & Robinson, 2006). Movements for the implementation of sharia accumulate support, especially from lower and middle-class Muslims. Their interest is not to promote the establishment of an Islamic state that governs solely from the sharia but concerned emphatically about the redistributive economic reforms and political accountability. Sharia activism by elected officials offers

an “informational base” through which Muslim citizens, construe a commitment to sharia-inspired policies as a obligation to support social, economic, and political reforms meant to deliver economic and physical security and answerability (Pepinsky, Liddle & Mujani, 2012).

As the upright governance promised by sharia advocates has proven obscure, discontent among lower and middle class Muslims continues to be articulated in religious terms. Bulk of Nigerian Muslims endure to support democracy while approving sharia as basically some of many sources of State law, but the seeming botch of elite sharia advocates to live up to their promises has created opportunity for a violent Islamic radical group—Boko Haram,³ a Salafi-inspired terrorist sect that proffers religious authoritarianism as an alternative to democracy.

The crusade for sharia in the fourth Republic Nigeria started on September 19, 1999, when Ahmed Sani Yerima, the governor of Zamfara State, proclaimed he would justify a campaign promise to implement sharia through the state’s legislative process. Sharia movement in northern Nigeria did not begin with mass demands from below, but with the initially disorganized efforts of Muslim governors and legislators drawn from a northern based opposition party, the All People’s Party (APP).

³ The most dreadful of its time in the history of Nigeria in general but in particular Northern Nigeria is the Jama’atu Ahlissunna liddaawati wal-jihad (aka Boko Haram). It is a jihadist terrorist organization based in the North – East of Nigeria. An Islamic Movement which claims to strongly oppose man made laws was founded by Mohammed Yusuf in 2002, see; Iyekekp. W, Political Elites and the Rise of Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria in Political Violence, January, 2018. Doi 10.100/09546553.2017.1400431.

These politicians found themselves (in many cases, for the first time in their careers), outside the federal patronage network, controlled by President Olusegun Obasanjo (an evangelical Christian from southwestern Nigeria) and his party, the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP). Yerima, an APP governor with a limited history of religious activity, seems to have initially constructed his sharia proposal as a way to provide religious legitimacy to his political candidacy, and as a means of distinguishing his electoral platform from the PDP's.

Members of prominent Islamic groups like the 'Izaala'⁴ subsequently participated in crafting sharia policies and conducting "enlightenment" campaigns to drum up support for sharia (Musa, 2016). Most successful sharia advocates were members of national political parties with formally secular orientations but strong local support among northern Muslims. The sharia programs adopted by northern states extended the jurisdiction of Islamic civil law courts into criminal matters, created Islamic criminal codes, and implemented a wide ranging set of "Islamic" social policies intended to govern the social and economic lives of Muslims. Following the widespread attention drawn by Yerima's "sharia launch," Muslim communities in the north responded enthusiastically. Crowds appeared at rallies across the north to pressure state governors allied with the PDP to adopt Yerima's course, or to welcome new states into the sharia fold.

⁴ Izaala an Islamic sect popularly known as Jama'at \Izalat al-Bid'a-Wa-Iqamat Al-Sunna was established in Jos, 1978 by Shaikh Ismaila Idris b. Zakariyya, for further details see; Amara,R.B. Shaykh Ismaila Idris (1937-2000) the founder of the Izala in Nigeria. Annual Review of Islam in Africa, Issue No.11, 2012.

Following Yerima's announcement, bus and taxi drivers reduced fares into Zamfara in a show of solidarity (Last, 2008). Survey research conducted in 2000 revealed high support for sharia in those early months across northern Nigeria (73 to 97 percent) (Cleveland, 2002). The responses from southern Nigeria (where Christians are in the majority) and from the "Middle Belt," an ethnically and religiously heterogeneous region with a long history of communal violence, were extremely negative. Christian politicians argued that sharia was unconstitutional and in effect, it implies the establishment of a State religion.

Non-Muslims in sharia states feared that they would be forced into sharia courts and harassed by sharia police (Hisbah), or that social regulations mandating new school uniforms, mandatory prayer time for State employees, bans on alcohol sales and consumption, and restrictions on women's access to public transportation would impact them (John, 2016). There was reason for concern as reports indicate that it was difficult for Christian organizations to receive land allocations for church building, or to place their advertisements on state-owned television and radio stations, immediately began trickling out of sharia states. Greater still was the fear that general insecurity, often punctuated by run-ins with hisbah groups, negative market interactions, or even simple misunderstandings, could turn into targeted violence against Christian communities.

Conflict over sharia takes place within a longstanding debate over how the Nigerian state might balance the recognition of the country's ethnic and religious pluralism with the desire to dampen sectarian conflict. Since its first post-civil war constitution (the 1979 constitution), Nigeria's constitutional doctrine prohibits ethnic and religious

political parties, while distributing state resources along ethnic and religious lines via a set of formal and informal policies collectively called the “federal character” principle. Ethnic and religious communities claim distributional rights to political and economic resources, and to state support for ethnically and religiously targeted laws, policies, and projects.

Nigeria’s 1999 constitution prohibits the adoption of a “State religion” at the federal and state level, but guarantees the rights of Nigerian religious groups to “propagate” their faiths, without formal limits on employing state resources for religious purposes. Nearly all of Nigeria’s religious communities advocate for a more religious Nigerian public sphere by evoking the federal character logic and a language of “religious rights” to state support for the pursuit of religious fulfillment. This language was patented in contests to the inclusion of a Federal Sharia Court of Appeal (FSCA) for personal law cases in the 1976 draft constitution. During the 1977 constitutional convention, Muslim politicians defended the proposed FSCA by adopting a language of freedom of religion, religious rights, and fairness, arguing that protecting freedom of religion for Muslims required protecting sharia institutions and that the nation’s Islamic heritage deserved equal legal representation (Latin, 1982). While southern representatives succeeded in eliminating the FSCA, the language of constitutional religious rights remained an important part of popular discourse on state-religion relations.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the popular success of Christian and Muslim revival movements, and of advocacy organizations within communities advancing demands based on religious rights as well as the federal character principle, contributed to

increased religious violence. Ibrahim (1989) maintained that in divided communities, communal riots were often sparked by religious organizations claiming ownership of public spaces (university campuses, markets, or entire communities). Religious violence in northern Nigeria around the sharia issue has exhibited a similar pattern of grievances. Rallies for and against sharia in disjointed communities precipitated communal riots particularly in religiously split Kaduna and plateau States in the early and mid 2000s. Other episodes of mass violence, like the notorious “Miss World” incident in 2002, began as protests against perceived religious affronts, but quickly turned into riots directed at Christian communities (Tersakian, 2003).

The aggressive Islamization or its extremism can also be explained as response to the moral decadency in the society which religion stands to correct and most significantly expansion and continuous evangelization of Northern Nigeria by the Christian religious groups. Military rule by its nature had some degree of restriction to what and how people do things including the practice of religion. On the other hand the clamor for the return to civil or democratic rule was for among other reasons the exercise of the fundamental right of man in its fullest capacity. Thus, the return to democratic rule provided the freedom which unleashed the unprecedented establishment of churches, prayer kingdoms and all sought of Christian religion activities including public preaching and activities that brought about serious noise pollution to the public all in the name of worship. The situation led to mounted tension and animosity which later resulted into serious violence with colossal cost of lives and property as its result (Babarinde, 2013).

From the midyear A.D 2000 when the government of engineer Abdulkadir .A. Kure began to show its romance with religion more Islamic groups found base in Minna town. Sects like the 'Izala' and 'Tariqa'⁵ became popular and very stronger in both political and social formation of the town. The increase in the Islamic religious activities especially with the proclamation of sharia law in the state in 2001 brought in so many Islamic scholars and their disciples many of whom settled down in Minna and that did On the basis of religious preaching the 'Waazin kasa',⁶ many come to Minna town and display their wares for sale and following better market the traders remain. This is usual when we cast our minds back into the past then we find justification for the assertion that 'Islam came to Nigeria on the back of the camel (Ifeka & Strides, 1981). Early Arab traders who introduced Islam to West Africa in general and Nigeria in particular came on their camels principally to trade; it was in that process that they practiced their religion and even do some evangelism.

The early Sudanese states of Mali, Songhai and Kanem–Borno and even some of the Hausa states had early Arab and North African settlers due to these processes of commerce and trade via which Islamization of the region took place. In the case of Minna during the period of our study Islam had already been long established in the area, however the period marked an era of sectarian evangelism and expansion in not only Nigeria but West African sub region in general. Therefore the coming to power of some personalities in some states of the northern Nigeria further provides the

⁵ Tariqa is a school or order of Sufism that concern itself with the concept of mystical teaching and spiritual practices with the sole aim of seeking the ultimate truth.

⁶ Wazin kasa implies national preaching by religious bodies such as the Izala and Tariqa.

opportunity much desired by these various Islamic groups some of which later metamorphosed into Boko-Haram.

The return to democratic regime brought yet another achievement in the historical development of Minna town. Up to 2003 Minna under the brand name Chanchaga Local Government was one entity that stretched from Bosso water works to Shango a distance of about eleven kilometers. As Alhaji Isah Abdulkadir revealed that since the time General Abdulsalami was head of state there existed a group called Minna Community Development Association which aimed at promoting political, economic and social development of the town. The group spoke to Abdulsalami and it resulted in his enabling the use of federal government fund for the construction of the Obasanjo complex, the youth center and many other projects with the aim of improving the revenue base of the LGA and also to enhance life in the town.

Based on popular demand and the willingness of the government of Abdulkadir Kure to create additional LGAs in the state, Minna Municipal was divided into two as Minna East and Minna West that arrangement lasted to 2007 when the regime came to end. The implication was that it led to some developments in the affected areas (Chanchaga served as the headquarters of Minna West L.G.A) while Minna Town remained the capital of the Eastern part (Abdulkadir, 2016).

During the period in its bid to provide good living condition for its people the LGA embarked on some developmental projects such as the building of some shops. It used ₦1.5m to construct 18 look-up shops at Chanchaga before the bridge opposite the water

works, built two blocks of classroom at Kwasau Primary School Dutsen Kuran Gwari, constructed Primary health care centre at Barkin Salle, 20 shops at the Kpakungu motor park including the acquisition of the land area which had serious initial problems regarding ownership that it was actually not owned by the L.G.A instead by late Alhaji Sule (A.P filling station) (Abdulkadir, 2016). All these reflect some of the major developments that have transformed Minna but the explosive transformation took place later from 2007 when Dr. Muazu Babangida Aliyu Talban Minna came to power.

Developments in the education sector within the period 1999 to 2003 which marked the first term in office for democratically elected government in both the state and city saw development in the area of education generally, the tertiary in particular. This follows the establishment of Justice Fati Lami College of legal studies (JAFLAG) Minna and Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida University Lapai.

The establishment of these higher institutions of learning tremendously contributed to the historical development of Minna town. The higher institutions created job opportunities for many Nigerians as staff and many more were consequently engaged in other services to the institutions which translate to the development of the town economically and socially. The advent of these institutions increased the demand for housing students, workers and business men hence the escalation in the prices of rented houses in the areas around the location of the institutions. At the end of Abdulkadir Kures' regime Minna had well expanded in terms of both population and size beyond what it used to be before the entrenchment of democratic rule in Nigeria. Appendix D

shows the expansion and consequent differences from the immediate years of State creation.

5.5 Conclusion

Settlements grow not just by the natural increase in population but as more people agglomerate therein. Minna during the period witnessed increase in population following the activities of General Abdulsalami Abubakar, Nigeria's former head of State. He also brought much federal presence into the city and personally established a farm and factories that provides employment. He was also responsible for many laudable projects in the city that have in many ways contributed to its greatness.

The introduction of Sharia law in Minna created some tension as it did brought serious crisis in many parts of Nigeria. Many civilian governors of the fourth republic in the Northern part of Nigeria found introduction of Sharia law a way to sanitize the society or fill some campaign promises but in Minna even though it came unexpected the city was cleaned of such social vices as alcoholism. Most importantly it brought to bear the factor of religious sectarianism.

CHAPTER SIX

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MINNA TOWN 2006 TO 2015

6.1 Introduction

The fourth republic came to an end after eight years of democratic rule, a period mostly referred to as transitional in the political history of Nigeria. Developments in the history of Minna between 2006 and 2015 were very dramatic and monumental. The reason could probably be that the succeeding governor of the State is a native (Hausa) of Minna or because of his qualities and complexity, a man of imposing personality. The Muazu Babangida Aliyu (MBA) popularly called Talban Minna brought changes and practically laid the foundation for the transformation of the town into a modern city. The era also saw the explosive expansion of the town albeit crisis in other parts of the country thus leading to the concept of Greater Minna.

In this chapter land tenure system, its nature and problems as it affects the historical development of Minna town is discussed. It will be realized that land speculators and tile rights of ownership has tremendously affected the development especially in the third world countries like Nigeria as it has always led crisis sometimes legal and and at other times violent. The chapter also dealt with the issue of ethnic factor in the development of the town. During colonial era residential quarters are patterned based mostly on tribal or ethnic groups but, since attainment of independence coexistence became free and easier hence people of different cultural and ethnic and religious background now live together

in same quarters. Finally, it concludes by making outline of major developments during the decade (2006 to 2015) under study.

6.2 Dr. Muazu Babangida Aliyu and the Historical Development of Minna Town 2007-2015

The history of Minna had a major turning point when one of its sons became the State executive governor after winning April 2007 election and was sworn into office on May 29, 2007.¹ In his inaugural speech elected Governor Dr. Muazu Babangida Aliyu, Talban Minna unveiled some of his feelings and plans for his native town, Minna. His speech can be summarized as follows:

- To say the state is faced with developmental challenges is an understatement as basic facilities such as portable water and electricity are still serious issues.
- Poverty is still very endemic among the people.
- Our social infrastructure like schools and hospital remained dilapidated and are collapsing. These need to be rehabilitated, modernized and upgraded.
- Our State Capital and other urban centres remain congested and in a state of filth.
- Basic sanitation standard must be maintained, deliberate rural migration policy need to be put in place to save our city from decay. Urban renewal programme has become necessary. Minna as state capital needs a separate urban development authority to be in charge of 'greater Minna' (Ibrahim, 2009:57-58).

The above statement by the governor clearly indicates that wind of change, transformation and development was going to blow across Minna probably in ways it might have not been witnessed before. The new administration therefore set out to

¹ Dr. Muazu Babangida Aliyu was born in Minna in 1948 to the family of Sarkin Hausawan Minna a grandson to Mallam Muazu Sokoto the first President of Minna council.

address such teething issues that have become endemic in the historical development of Minna town.

Successive governments and administrations of Minna town especially the immediate past administration under A.A. Kure did within its capacity to continue the usual efforts of making the State Capital city befitting and livable despite the fact that it did not record State or local government efforts at building houses for either civil servants as preceding regimes have done or initiate any public housing scheme. The challenge for housing has continued to increase especially since the return to democratic rule hence both federal, State and Local Government authorities across the country are not only disturbed but find ways of solving the problem.

Housing problem seems to be a universal issue especially in the twenty first century but more critical in less developed countries including Nigeria and more acute in urban areas where there is population explosion (Olotuah & Babadoye, 2009). Nigeria is one of the countries with the highest rate of population growth in the world thus the proportion of the Nigerian population living in urban centres has increased phenomenally overtime. In the 1930s only 7% lived in urban centres, in 1950s it was 10%, by 1970, 1980 and 1990 it was 20%, 27% and 35% respectively (Okukpe, 2002). The concentration of larger percentage of population in the urban centers has made the demand for housing in such places a challenge to both the government and the people.

Public housing in Nigeria Started since the colonial era with the construction of official residences for expatriates and senior indigenous staff in Government Reserved Areas

(GRAs) through the Public Works Department (PWD) (Ibem, 2010). Developments such as the outbreak of diseases like the bubonic plague which hit Lagos in the 1920s led to the first attempt at slum clearance and settlement upgrading programme by the then Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB) (Agbola & Jinadu, 1997). Although the aim of slum clearance was to upgrade such areas in the cities however it is contended that the strategy failed to provide decent and affordable housing to Nigerians (Agbola and Jinadu, 1997; Umeh, 2004). This might have been due to many reasons such as; the non-availability of land in locations that were acceptable to displaced persons as well as the lack of adequate funds to resettle them (UN-Habitat, 2006).

In 1958 two years before independence, the defunct regional governments, namely, Western, Eastern, Northern and Mid-Western Regions, established Housing Corporations to construct and manage housing estates as well as grant soft loans to individuals wishing to build their own houses. Regrettably, these agencies were unable to extend their services to the low-income group due to the lack of commitment to low-cost housing (FGN, National Housing Policy, 1991). By establishing the Federal Housing Authority (FHA), Federal Ministry of Environment Housing and Urban Development (FMEHUD), Ministry of Works and Housing, State Housing Corporations and Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria (FMGN) in the 1970s, Nigeria was set to witness massive government involvement in housing construction.

The first government-assisted self-help housing programme took off in the then newly created states of Bauchi, Benue, Gongola, Imo, Niger, Ogun and Ondo as well as in Lagos in the mid-1970s. With the support of the World Bank, the scheme thrived in

providing serviced plots, lax loans of unspecified amount and technical assistance for few low income earners toward owning houses in the eight state capitals, but it could not be extended to other states for logistic and funding limitations on the part of the government (UN-Habitat, 3006a & b).

Under the supervision of the Ministry of Works and Housing, Federal Housing Authority (FHA) and other related agencies, federal government built houses in many states of the federation of which (Niger State) Minna town benefitted. However, between 1986 and 1991 about 85 million Naira (US\$21.25 million was spent in providing 20,000 serviced plots in 20 states of the federation. The majority of beneficiaries were the middle and high-income earners who could afford the high cost and who met the requirements for allocation of the serviced plots. Government involvement in public housing provisions was to ensure equity and affordability as is true for many developing countries (Olotuah, 2000; Erguden, 2001).

However, in the last few decades, the Nigerian government agencies have provided an insufficient number of low-quality but expensive housing units for few middle-and high-income earners and, thus, did not benefit a good proportion of the low income people in the country (Kabir, 2004). It was not until during the era of MBA that housing got another meaningful and practical attention in Minna Town. The desire to uplift the standard of life of the citizenry and commitment to keep to electioneering campaign promises made possible the construction of 500 housing units known as M.I.Wushishi housing estate in Minna which was launched on 20 July 2007 at the Eastern bypass as

part of the 10,000 units intended for Minna in the next four years using Public Private Partnership initiative (PPPI) (Ibrahim, 2009).

The idea was to construct some 3,000 housing units in Minna to be located in the Eastern Bypass (M.I. Wushishi), 500 units along Minna-Bida road, Gaduje; 500 along Maikunkele road; 500 along Tagwai Dam road, 500 along Minna-Paiko road and 500 along FM Radio Station, Minna (Muazu, 2016). At least practically the M.I Wushishi and the Talba Estate at Ganduje have been completed and occupied. The socio-economic implication of these housing estates by a civilian administration in recent time that corruption and heartless non-charlant attitude to the plight and welfare of the people is that, although the houses are yet to be sufficient for either the civil servants or the general public however it has tremendously brought smile on the faces of workers who have been concerned about their future after retirement. Many workers lose their lives shortly at retirement after 35 years of public service because they could not afford a house of their own and the gratuity is not forth coming hence hopelessness and frustration sets in. In the words of MBA: *“In the history of the State since its inception I have built more houses than there was”* (Muazu, 2016).

The administration constructed an ultra-modern building material and automobile market some distance of few kilometers from the city center. The project like the housing units were so located to enhance development and expansion. Traditionally in Nigeria such projects are located at a distance from developed areas so that the gap can easily be filled by subsequent developments. Thus, the establishment of the building material market and the attempted relocation of the government house from the GRA to

what is referred to as 'Three-Armed Zone' off the Eastern Bypass Minna in addition to the scattered existing private and public structures brought forth the expanded nature of the town. Minna is no longer a rural State capital left widely behind by its peers in the country but has now assumed a full fledged urban center in both size and composition.

The year 2007 have it on record the relocation of the Minna Central market to a new and more spacious better modernized site located on the Western bypass. The new Central Market, a project which started with the previous regime of Kure at the State level and Isah Abdulkadir as the LGA Chairman, was a PPP initiative that was not completed until when MBA came to office (Muazu, 2016). The provision of market place was among other facilities that belong to the statutory functions of the LGA to provide and with the aid of the State government despite the serious resistance by the market people (traders) the MBA administration moved the facility to a new site (Muazu, 2016).

The relocation of the facility has greatly enhanced the socio-economic life of the immediate environment and also the city in general as more shops and spaces are available for people to conduct their legitimate business. The phase 1 of the market contains 6000 shops that have already been occupied and work still is ongoing on the remaining phases of the modern market. The opening of the new ultra-modern market popularly called 'Kure Market' transformed the bypass and the surrounding settlements as most of the traders and businessmen would at least for the purpose proximity prefer to have their homes nearby. Thus, land value around the new market became astronomical as lots of businesses begin to concentrate therein.

It was as a result of the relocation of the market that government decided to make the old market site a city centre. The planned Minna City center project consist of sophisticated ultra-modern commercial complexes that when completed would take Minna to respectable status in terms of physical development and aesthetic beauty. The project was configured as a package that would draw business interest from across the country and even beyond (Amokpa, 2012; Madugu, 2016). Confidently it was believed that the City Center when completed will improve on the existing physical structure across the bordering areas which include; Keteren Gwari, Kwangila, Sabon Gari, Limawa, Unguwar Sarki and P.Z. The center when it becomes operational and commercial activities begin development will naturally cascade which will lead to further transformation of the area (Town Planner Habiba, 2016).

6.3 The Concept of Greater Minna

One major landmark in the historical development of Minna during the period of Muazu Babangida Aliyu (2007 to 2015) was the concept and drive towards the idea of ‘Greater Minna’. The idea was to correct the unfortunate mistakes in some of the spatial occupied spaces which a typical misnomer that has depicted abuse of planning. In the words of Madugu, (2016):

If one looks at what happened in Kpakungu, Barikin-Saleh, Sauka-Kahuta, Soje, and Shango, it is a typical example of development mess. God forbid if there occurs something like serious fire outbreak in such areas rescue will be very difficult to undertake. You can see the areas lack proper access roads talk less of drainages system and buildings are scattered and carelessly spread all over.

Therefore the concept of Greater Minna sees the town not from its traditional boundary at Kpakungu or Maitumbi in the east and west respectively and from Chanchaga Bridge to Maikunkele, but extend beyond to places like; Mutundaya in the east, Paiko on Suleja road, Kodo along Zungeru road and Daggan in the west along Bida road (Muazu, 2016). (See map on appendix F). The government seems to have renewed its interest with the newest campaign for a sanitized, organized and possibly brand new Minna. What the administration did was to show the way to a happy future marked by orderly logical location and erection of private and personal property. To that effect, traditional leaders in the Minna Emirate Council have been involved in the drive towards avoiding the unscrupulous way physical structures were erected in the past. This was one of the ways it is thought Minna can be re-fixed. It was on the basis of achieving the concept of Greater Minna that the MBA regime in its second tenure employed every means ranging from dialogue to use of force to ensure that artisans and building material sellers moved to their new location. MBA himself said that “we have encouraged people to take up their shops and set premises by providing such facilities as good road network with streetlights and water supply” (Muazu, 2016).

A major transformation took place in the health sector which can be regarded as one dividend of democracy that all and sundry enjoys. ‘Health it is said is wealth. Before the advent of the MBA administration, Minna had only one General Hospital and a few Primary health centers in some parts of the town. It is necessary to take action to improve on health care services following the increase in population and expansion of the town but more seriously because such will indicate that the society has moved in a direction of meeting human needs (Marmot, 2005). By the implication of what the

concept of development implies in this work that is, the increased capacity for people to be able to address their problems with ease. The provision of health care centres in almost all the wards in Minna by the Local Government authority in collaboration with the State government has made life much better for the dwellers of Minna town.

Health centers were established in Kpakungu (Minna West), Chanchaga Central at 123 quarters and Dutsen Kuran Hausa and Tayi village while, those of the old airport road and Makara were renovated (Sule, 2016). Of considerable significance in the development of the health sector in Minna was the construction of a new Maternity and gynecology unit outside the overcrowded general hospital but just at the opposite on the site of erstwhile railway quarters named after the wife of MBA Jumai Muazu Babangida Aliyu. The 184 bed capacity facility has brought a great deal of succor to the people of Minna as its functionality has exposed the crowded nature of the former arrangement and relieved it of that horror. The provision of the facility has taken care of a greater portion of those who visit the hospital the most (the women) to a new location thus that has seriously decongested general hospital. Consequently by comparison, we may be far from the developed world like Europe that has standard facilities and available personnel yet the expansion is a herald of development to the people.

Dreams are wishes of fools; the MBA administration had eloquent dreams on every aspect of Minna, however, eight years in office was not enough to achieve all. The drive of the government at both local and state levels was to address the issue of health tourism which is inimical to the economy of the State, but because we don't have the required facilities people have to go (Muazu, 2016).

One major problem that bedeviled the city and its environs were that of basic amenities such as roads which do not only affect the development of investment and the town, in general, it was very worrisome to MBA as he laments thus:

It cannot be expected that people should come and invest their money where the level of infrastructural facility is poor and as such I was concerned about the infrastructural decay in Minna. The township roads need to be fixed also from every cardinal direction roads in and out of Minna are in serious stages of disrepair (Muazu, 2016).

Apart from the age-long Bosso-Chanchaga road that was built as a double carriage in 1978, then the Eastern and Western bypasses no any township road was dualized in Minna town. The regime of MBA broke that long tradition by embarking on the dualization of many township roads such as Keteren Gwari-Mobil roundabout road, Paida-Bahago roundabout road, Yakubu lame road, 123 quarters-Government House road, Dutsen Kura (Police Headquarter) road and government house-Zarumai road, and also Kuta road were all dualized (Amokpa, 2012:215). Equally a handful of township roads that are in terrible shape were rehabilitated with asphalt coated surface. These are the Bay Clinic road in Tunga Minna, the Peter Sarki way, the Niteco road, Brighter School road, Jonathan road and Sabon Gari road.

Physical infrastructure such as roads plays a very significant role in the growth performance of countries in recent times. The development of such economic infrastructure if well-articulated brings about growth and development as for examples in Korea and Japan. Where the growth of infrastructures has not been properly made available such a rational growth and development becomes stunted this is very common in most African countries and other LDCs.

Vuchic (2010) found road infrastructure to be a significant factor of economic growth and development. In a 1992 World Bank study, they employed an empirical approach to investigate the relationship between road infrastructure and economic development. The study shows that there is a consistent and significant relationship between economic development, in terms of per capita gross national product (GNP) and road infrastructure in terms of per capita length of the paved road network. The study also showed that road condition seems to be associated with economic development. Indeed, good infrastructure raises productivity and lowers production costs. Thus, it is clear that infrastructural development is a function of economic development.

A major challenge that affects the development of Minna town in particular and most Nigerian urban centers, in general, is that of roads both inter and intra city. It is quite unfortunate that most cities in Nigeria are faced with the serious poverty of good roads and somehow it is frustrating to drive in and out of some towns (John, 2016). People use land without following regulations and government on its part seems to have abdicated from its primary responsibility of ensuring strict compliance to the existing laws (Gimba, 2017). Thus we are confronted with among other problems that of abuse of the master plan hence some people erect structures on lands meant for construction of roads thereby distorting the layouts. The existing township roads suffer serious neglect where they exist; most of the roads are filled with pot-holes expired and pilled tarmac and also lack proper drainage system (Town Planner Habiba, 2016).

Minna is reputed (for now) as one State Capital City in Nigeria that has extremely very bad 'in and out' road network. The provision of such facility as good township roads did

not commensurate with the spatial growth of the town. Inter-city road network from every direction of the town are in shambles; Minna-Suleja-Abuja, Minna-Bida, Minna-Kontagora and Minna-Sarkin Pawa-Kaduna. Thus, the desolate condition of the roads in and around Minna affects the economic and social wellbeing of the people. In many ways people are denied easy access to their homes, workplace and other necessary needs within the speed of time because the roads are either not there or simply put 'horrible'. The situation was not so in the colonial and immediate post-colonial era though the town was smaller, however, the government was still proactive and land use law was abided.

The Colonial administration supported the development of transportation system in general to meet part of its mission of Extrapolating raw materials to Britain and other parts of Europe and America. It started with the Niger-Benue waterways on which the European merchants traded their goods, (Yakubu, Jumare & Saeed, 2005). At the peak of the activities on the waterways, 75% of the traffic was the downstream export of industrial raw materials like; groundnuts, cotton, and cocoa and palm products (Shenton & Freud, 1973). The waterways as means of transportation had its pitfalls such as being limited to its natural locations thus the railway was embarked upon starting from 1898 in Lagos and reached Minna in 1910 (Akpen 2006).

Between 1910 and 1927 the railway had taken its present posture but as clearly stated by Rodney; the rail lines characteristically ran from the North to the South of the country meaning from the interior to the seaports, no vertical lines (Rodney, 1973). However, the construction of railway led to the emergence of some new settlements and the rejuvenation of existing ones along the track. So, Kaduna, Makurdi, Kafanchan, Jos, and

Minna emerged as a result of the coming of the railway, while places like; Jebba, Ilorin, Mokwa, Zaria and Kano remained relevant.

To complement the shortfall of the railway transport system, colonial government embarked on the building of motor roads. The development of roads was to complement the railway through the linking up of the major railway stations with the commercial interior from where export products are produced (Shenton & Freud, 1973). It was also aimed at the reduction of stress on the provision of porter by the inland provinces. At the eve of independence, colonial government had constructed 17% federal and 20% regional roads (Yakubu, Jumare & Saeed, 2005). The most significant impact of the development of roads in the country is that it connected the towns and other settlements that were bypassed by the railway. Places like; Sokoto, Katsina, Daura, Yelwa, Bida, Kontagora, Lokoja, Jalingo, and Gombe became linked to other parts of the country and consequently the capitalist economy.

Intracity roads equally had reasonable attention during colonial rule in Nigeria. Most of the towns and cities were administrative centers where European personnel reside. Consequently, the development of physical structures like roads was carried out to the level that they (Europeans) can feel at home. In 1917 colonial administration enacted the Township ordinance which classified towns in the country according to their status in the colonial administrative ladder into First, Second and Third class. Minna happened to fall among the Second class towns along with others like; Kano, Kaduna, Zaria, Lokoja, and Ilorin in Northern part of the country, while Ibadan, Enugu, Ngwo, Port Harcourt, Abeokuta, Onitsha, Opobo, Aba, and Forcados are in the South. The implication was

that towns got infrastructural facility based on the density of European presence. The fact that towns in the first and second classes were administrative centers obviously means the presence of more Europeans therein. Thus, the development of township roads was to enhance the life of the colonial officers and representatives.

To further illustrate the difference (racial and otherwise) colonialists created urban segregation with the white occupying what was known as European Reserved Area later Government Reserved Area (GRA) and indigenous strangers mostly workers artisans and traders occupy the Tudun Wada and Sabon Gari while the natives remained in their homesteads. The GRA(S) got tarred roads; the Tudun Wada and Sabon Gari got paved but hardly tarred while the native homesteads remained inaccessible.

Between 1960 the year Nigeria got its independence to 1976 when Minna became a State capital city there was only one major township road which runs from Bosso to Chanchaga others were mere secondary roads. Because the colonial administrative position of Minna made it a Second class town, it had a GRA with tarred internal road network (Eba Bida, 2017). The remaining parts of the town being an entire colonial setting had roads paved out even though not tarred. Thus movement within the town was not a problem hence adequate maintenance of the available roads was regularly undertaken.

At the creation of Niger State in 1976 and Minna became the State capital, various military and civilian regimes up to early 1990s embarked on the construction of township and even the inter-city roads. The Babangida administration (1985 to 1992)

reconstructed the Minna-Suleja-Abuja road in 1990/1991 the contract which was a single-lane road was awarded to Messer Strabag Nigeria Limited. Although it was nice doing the road but, it is necessary to understand it was a major link for the North Western States of Kebbi, Sokoto, Zamfara, Niger and Kwara to Abuja and other parts of the country. Thus the economic importance of that road was not properly considered when the project was awarded. The project also took place when the economy was still better and the local currency though weak already but better than it has become in recent times. The dualization of the road being undertaken albeit in a very slow manner in very recent years should have been long done and forgotten especially that Minna had two of its sons as head of State.

Lack of records which is a common phenomenon in Nigeria made it impossible to give an accurate figure of lives lost and many that were injured. On the average at least five road accidents occur on the routes in and out of Minna every week. To a very large extent that has remained a major challenge to the socio-economic development of Minna hence it is difficult to travel. Similar situation greets the Minna–Zungeru-Kontagora and Minna-Bida roads all of which are by any modern standard, not motorable (Kudu, 2016; Madugu, 2016; Dije Bala, 2017).

The intracity roads or simply put as township roads in Minna have in the recent years been in very bad shape even though between 1999 and 2015 successive regimes have tried to reconstruct, rehabilitate and construct roads within Minna township which only translates to about 15% of the existing road network in the town. Massive corruption and selfishness have to a very extent affected the provision of good township road as can be

found in other State capital cities some of which are even younger than Minna, example; Katsina, Gombe, Kebbi Osun, Ondo and Akwa Ibom.

It must be understood that roads are vain through with people move to places for purposes they consider important as such it must be in good and safe condition. In many parts of Minna, especially the emerging settlements and ghettos² emergency situation like the need for ambulance or fire service will be impossible because there are no access roads in and out of such areas. The picture on appendix J show roads to the houses of top civil servants in Minna town and that is only a fair situation, yet the government is less bothered about the problem.

As a compliment to the township transportation system, the State government introduced the metro buses to aid the movement of people to their various destinations in the fast expanding town. Talba buses as they are called are actually not the first in the history of Minna. In 1981 the ‘Shiroro Line was introduced by the then civilian administration for the same purpose and after it collapsed the Niger State Transport Authority came up in the 1990s. The metro buses came to complement the existing fleet of vehicles running the town service unit of the NSTA. In any case, it assists the masses who cannot afford private transport. It also aids the movement of goods especially food items and household products to marketplace at a cheaper rate.

² Such areas were sold by the natives without proper layout and planning, they have no exact roads, pipe borne water and electricity nor do they have even recreation centres or space for other public utilities like; health centre, schools and police station.

To a considerable degree, the era brought the town of Minna to some level of advancement hence the provision of some good road network in the town which reduced traffic problems and made delivery of services much faster. It has also considerably enhanced the beauty of the town which used to wear filthy look. To a large extent the provision of good intracity road network encouraged more people to settle down in the town. However, when compared to a country like Malaysia where every corner of the towns and villages have very good roads, Nigeria in general and Minna town in particular still have very long way to go.

In any case, the intercity road network still remained a problem, from any direction traveling out or into Minna town during the reign of MBA is a horror in its own way. Generally, most Nigerian roads are bad a situation caused by endemic corruption but in the case of our area of study, it is even worst since 2007. More painful is that the town though highly blessed by both human and material resources yet even the short but very important Minna-Abuja road which is a very significant link to the South Western Nigerian cannot be maintained nor build to an international standard not even national. Thus the road like others into Minna (Bida, Zungeru, Kontagora, and Shiroro) has continued to remain as death traps for commuters. To a reasonable extent that has affected the development of Minna especially on the part of foreign investors who would not like to risk their lives on such horrible roads.

The historical development of Minna town which assumed an astronomical dimension was in many ways due to the various policies of the State government. The MBA administration in two policy statements disposed Minna to all and sundry. First that:

“Minna was a place that everyone came only that we came earlier than each other, some in the morning and others in later part of the day” (Muazu, 2016). The implication was that the town has no actual indigenes; it went in conjunction with the policy position of Colonel David Mark a former governor of the State who declared Minna as a Municipal and that any person who has lived in it for ten years and above is automatically an indigene.

Consequently, many people who have settled in Minna began to see themselves as indigenes especially that the town was peaceful and it was also very easy to acquire land and build a house. Thus that position of the government attracted people from different parts of the country to the town which greatly aid its development. When MBA assumed office and claimed similar position it grossly removed some of the fear being entertained by the non-indigenes particularly the non-Muslims who have been hypnotized by the Sharia law under the former regime of Abdulkadir Kure and the preexisting ethnic/regional politics that have bedeviled Nigeria. Consequently, the various people of different occupational background who have chosen Minna as their homes became more confident and embarked on building their houses in the town. Previously most people especially southerners in particular the public servants hardly wish to settle down in the town because of the fear of Indigeneity, oppression, and marginalization.

The second policy position that has also greatly influenced the historical development of Minna town is the policy of free education for all across the State. Minna being the Capital City of the State was more hit by the policy (Sule, 2016). Most of the Southerners (Igbo and Yoruba) and even those from some Northern States brought their

wards to the town for the purpose of enjoying free education which increased the population of the town and consequently stretched on the existing meager facilities (Yabagi, 2016).

A major aspect that characterized all the tiers of government in Minna was the Security. Since antiquity security has been noted as a major determinant factor in the location and emergence of settlements. Early scholars and researchers have emphasized its importance (Ibn Khaldun, 1958; Janet, 1991). Ibn Khaldun in the fourteen century mentioned Security, availability of wood for cooking, and water supply as some of the basic ingredients that must be available in the establishment of human settlement. Earlier writers on Minna did not explain much on the role of Security in the historical development of the town it was rather given passive comments only. Bawa, 2014 emphasized on the political economy as the major engine that turned round the growth of Minna town. Oshodame 1993 believed it was the forces of inter-group relations which produced such a homogenous society.

Since the colonial time when modern Minna came to being, Security has been a watchword in the administration of the settlement knowing that it is a place that attracts different kinds of people for varied purposes. The government was very conscious of Security of lives and property in the area especially the European who flocked to the town for things like gold adventurism. The structural organization of the town was such that consist of the traditional ruling class, the local government, and the State. Since the colonial era monthly briefing on the state of the Security of the town was established through which all the Security outfits brief the government on the latest Security

situation report in the town (Dije Bala, 2016; Yakubu, 2016). The implication is that government is always informed about the latest security situation of the town and as such on alert at all time.

In the immediate post-colonial era there was the practice of mock battles between wards in Minna town among young people usually during the month of 'Muharram'. As the exercise begins to assume dangerous dimension, the local Police intervenes. The exercise was also a kind of informal training ground for the Security agents especially the local police then known as Native Authority police and the Thursday police (Dan Sandan Alhamis). As the Mock battle goes on the Policemen interfere and arrest anyone cut just to show that government was very conscious of anything that could lead to break down of law and order. That tradition continued into the el Ed celebrations when everyone is in the festive mood the securities are busy watching so that anything funny will be immediately taken care of (Munny, 2016). The same tradition successive administration have maintained up to the end of the period of our study but unfortunately many things are let loose and for sometimes even the Police are no longer serious with their job.

Before the creation of Niger State in 1976 only one Police Station existed in Minna town and that was the present Area Command Office just beside the City Central Mosque. Since the place became State Capital it now housed the National Zonal office Zone F, the State headquarters, various station units and outposts spread across the City. Every ward in Minna town now has either a division or an outpost. The implication is that to a large degree criminals reduced to minimal level as criminals are been watched.

Minna is a place where violent crime is relatively uncommon and whenever it happened the people are very concerned. The first record of murder case in Minna was in the mid-1980s, that of one Nna woji of Sam Nda Isaiah family and it was so strange that people asked how such could happen in our town (Munny, 2016). In the 1990s there was the murder of Abdullahi Wachico³ and later that of Alhaji Ibrahim Mechanic⁴ all in their houses and the Police took immediate action. Normal piety crimes such as house burgle, car theft and armed robbery happens here and there especially with increased urbanization of the settlement. In view of the increase number of people in the town the administration of MBA never joked with the issue of Security and that was why the town was not lost to the band of hooligans and marauders from the violent States like: Kano, Kaduna Jos and Maiduguri took (Munny, 2016).

To arrest youth restiveness and its concomitant results that is violence, the LGA secretary Sule Ndako informed the researcher that between 2007 to 2015 almost one thousand youths were appointed as advisers to the council on a monthly salary that range from N10,000 to N50,000 (140 to 600 Ringgits). Youth restiveness was a major Security challenge at the inception of the MBA /Sallawu administrations in Minna. Youths from Limawa and Unguwan Daji where engaged in violent games that usually leads to death. Sallawu positioned that initially it was thought to be due to lack of money and employment but despite every effort it became clear that the issue was far from the thinking of the LGA administration, it was a game and habits that results out of

³ Abdullahi Wachico was a successful businessman and politician. His killers were found and prosecuted at the law court.

⁴ Alhaji Ibrahim Mechnic was a motor vehicle mechanic and became renowned politician. Assassins killed him in his house with reasons also connected to politics.

Hooliganism thus to curb the incessant violent behavior that has bedeviled the town Ulamas were engaged to counsel the earring youths. Another step taken by the LGA was to organize a skill acquisition workshop which Sallawu said started with seventy (70) youths and at the expiration of the administration's tenure not less than three hundred (300) were trained in different vocational skills. The trained youths were given both cash and equipment for their various acquired skills and that have made them useful members of the society (Yakubu, 2016).

Similarly at the State level every concerted effort was put by the government to ensure that peace and tranquility reign in the city of Minna. As precisely put by MBA *what in particular has helped to us in the development of Minna was the perception or feeling of Security* (Muazu, 2016). Therefore the peaceful nature of Minna town was not just there but what was always sought to be as every effort was made to ensure the city remains peaceful and livable.

6.4 Land Tenure System and the Historical Development of Minna Town

Land is a very important factor of production and significant to the development of any society and its economy. Land is of fundamental importance in traditional Nigerian society and is communally owned, although family or corporate ownership existed side by side with communal ownership (Bolaji, 2014). A wide range of formal and customary tenure systems have been identified by the pioneering United Nations study of urban land policy and land use control. Although this did not include any significant discourse of informal or unauthorized tenure sub-markets however, it maintained that many tenure systems exist and that they are based on a wide range of cultural and historical background.

In order to assess different land tenure systems, it is therefore, necessary to formulate a working definition of the term. For this purpose, land tenure can be defined as the mode by which land is held or owned, or the set of relationships among people concerning land or its products (Peters, 2013).

Land tenure as recognized by the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) is a system that regulates relationships among people, as individuals or groups with respect to land. Land tenure refers to a set of rules that define how access is granted to rights to use, control, and transfer land as well as associated responsibilities and restraints. In any case, land tenure system involves people (individuals or groups). It is a generally accepted set of formally or customarily defined rules which explain the relationship to land also known as land rights; and the whole structure that modulates and administers land rights and responsibilities (Christine, Simbizi, Bennett & Zevenbergen, 2014). It is argued that such systems bring into play social, technical, economic, institutional, legal and political aspects (Christine, Simbizi, Bennett & Zevenbergen, 2014).

A major complication is that there are often different systems of legislation relating to land, and different forms of tenure, co-existing in the same country and, sometimes, even within the same city, or between an urban area and its rural areas. Each form of tenure has its advantages and limitations depending upon its context. Among the most common types in developing countries are the following: Customary, Religious, Public, Private and non-formal (Payne, 2015).

Fundamentally, colonial rule restructured social relations around land, ideals of property relationship between land and authority and between place and identity, with effects that continue to reverberate today. Martin Chanock (1991) asserted that ‘the models of customary law of land tenure were, to a reasonable degree, instruments of colonial land policies produced during the period of initial dispossession and colonization that served both the colonial governments as a justification for their actions, and African communities as an apparent defense against further land loss’. The British administrators saw rights to land (and other benefits) for Africans as deriving from political authority rather than inhering in persons of various sorts. They reduced chiefs to “trustees for the community”, along with limited rights of administration and allocation.

At first, colonial administrators and evangelists, promising a widespread ‘natural evolution’ from ‘communal’ properties ‘leading up to individual ownership traced in every civilization’, considered the African landholding systems backward and in need of change (Chanock, 1991). But soon, the imperative of law and order in the form of indirect rule through chiefs entailed pulling back from privatization. Already in the early 1920s, legal judgments by the British Privy Council ruled that ‘individual ownership of land is quite foreign to native ideas. Land belongs to the community, the village and the family, never to the individual’ (Chanock, 1991).

The tension between the conviction that modern progress demanded full property rights for producers and the need to maintain political control, albeit ‘on a shoestring’ as Sara Berry nicely puts it, continued throughout the colonial period (Berry, 1993). A property regime that allowed individuals to separate themselves from the ‘tribe’ was seen as a

threat to the authority of chiefs: individualism was contradictory to social relations' (Lund, 2008; Meek, 1968). The British indirect rule made it a major duty to ensure control of alienation of land by an individual. For instance in the mid 1940s, when some agricultural officers trying to accelerate economic development sought to introduce some form of title to 'progressive' farmers, the anthropologist and district officer Charles Meek, pointed out that, 'the grant therefore, to individuals of absolute rights to ownership would tend to disrupt the native polity, and so too would the indiscriminate sale of private lands by chiefs. The control of alienation of land has therefore been in consequence one of the main planks of the British system of "Indirect Rule" (Peters, 2013).

The imposition of customary tenure which denies full ownership rights to land holders leaves many key effects. It was to stop the development of a land market by denying any evidence of past transfers, and by establishing that land was inalienable 'according to tradition'. Furthermore, it ensured the placing of land management under the institution of chieftaincy (though ultimately under the colonial state), and that intensified competition among the various incumbents of traditional leadership roles whose position rest on feudal authority hence it is centered on land competition.

The establishment of customary law moved authority over land upwards, from family heads, lineage elders, and town chiefs to 'paramount' or 'territorial' chiefs. The hierarchy was either created or reinforced, exacerbating competition among various types of leaders or chiefs. Territorial fixing of political and land-based authority also emphasized the link between rights in land and group membership, with groups or

'communities' cast as 'tribal' and ethnic by colonial and succeeding governments. Some colonial officials foresaw some of the outcomes of setting up chiefs as land trustees. Christian Lund figures an Assistant Commissioner of Lands in Ghana who, in the mid-1950s, feared that the colonial method of vesting authority over land in the chieftaincy would foster "tribalism", a prophecy borne that has resulted (albeit in combination with other processes) in many conflicts today (Lund, 2008).

After political independence, customary forms of land-holding continued in most countries. 'The usefulness of the customary law of land tenure [in preventing full ownership rights over land] was not lost on the rulers of the postcolonial states. State control of land was considered to be fundamental to the needs of development' (Chinock, 1992)

But during the 1960s and 1970s, a number of the newly independent African countries encouraged to modernize agriculture by the World Bank and other international aid agencies, introduced new land policies. In Nigeria, the land act of 1978 has been the major guide in terms of land use and its related matters. The document states that:

Subject to the provisions of this Act, all land comprised in the territory of each State in the Federation are hereby vested in the Governor of that State and such land shall be held in trust and administered for use and common benefit of all Nigerians in accordance with the provision of this Act (Olanmi, 2014)

It went further to emphasize that:

- (a) all land in urban areas shall be under the control and management of the Governor of each State;
- (b) all other land shall, subject to this Act, be under the control and management of the Local Government within the area of jurisdiction of which the land is situated, (Olanmi, 2014).

Prior to the introduction of uniform rights of occupancy system, Nigeria operated a plural system of land tenure. There were basically four systems: tenure under the received English law, tenure under the State Land Laws, tenure under the Land Tenure Law, and the indigenous tenure under customary law. Two of these operated nationwide while the others followed the usual north-south dichotomy characterization in Nigeria. Generally, land tenure in Nigeria as regulated by customary law had its roots in the traditional conception of land. Generally in traditional Africa, but Nigeria, in particular maintained a broad-based policy of allocation of land resources. Land was usually allocated to families and individuals, but the community or clan maintained absolute ownership. The community head of the lineage or clan was the overseer of the land. His position was that of a trustee, holding the land for the clan or the whole community. These custodians were invested with the power to manage and administer the communal property but in the interests of members of the community. Strangers and people with problems were easily absorbed and settled without discrimination and with land to use at their discretion. These traditions were based on the cultural beliefs and attitudes towards life and hospitality (Gommna, 2016).

Traditionally, land had economic, social, political, and religious significance. It was conceived of as a sacred institution given by God for the sustenance of all members of the community, and as such, it belonged to the dead, the living, and the unborn. Since the view was that the living merely held land as a kind of "ancestral trust" for the benefit of themselves and generations yet unborn, it was inconceivable for any individual to claim ownership of the land or part thereof or to sell it (Gommna, 2016).

The customary tenure in northern Nigeria suffered early disruptions by the Fulani jihadists, who introduced a kind of feudal tenure under which they claimed over-lordship of the land after the conquest. The advent of British colonial administration, the colonial officials under the leadership of Lord Lugard, to whom land rights were ceded in 1903 on behalf of the British, introduced statutory regulation of land rights under the Lands and Native Rights Ordinances of 1910, as amended in 1916. The 1916 Ordinance was also amended and substantially reenacted in the Land Tenure Law of 1962 (Francis 1984). The law declared some lands in northern Nigeria as "native lands" and the management and control of such lands were under the Minister (or commissioner) for Lands and Survey so that such lands can be for the use and common benefit of the natives. Section 6 of the 1962 law empowered the minister to grant rights of occupancy to natives. The consent and approval of the minister was also required for the occupation and enjoyment of land rights by non-natives.

In Minna land tenure up to the beginning of our period of study was no different from what generally was obtainable in other parts of Northern Nigeria in particular and Nigeria in general. Land was attached to the tradition of the people. The creation of States in 1976 and the consequent making of Minna a Capital City revolutionized the entire environment as land became a commodity of high value and demand. It was reported by the Mai Angwan Sabon Gari and confirmed by Mai Angwan Keteren Gwari that before the creation of the State, the natives who hold customary tenure ship over lands in Minna do not attach much monetary value to it as such it was given almost freely (Ibrahim, 2016). Things changed as more strangers entered the town and the demand continued to increase but more serious changes in the conception of land tenure

in Minna began to manifest when non-natives who amassed massive land became rich property owners in the town. That pricked the jealous of the natives as they watch such lands (amassed) being sold at exorbitant prices. Thus with advancement in Western education and increased civilization, the legal practitioners among the natives as well as those in the public service championed the course for incessant litigations against the State on land matters.

On several occasions, government has had issues with the natives over the acquisition of land. Many times government plans to open layouts but the natives always stand against such by claiming the proposed land area belongs to them based on the customary land tenure law as it operates in the area (Gimba, 2016). To a very large extent such attitude of the natives affects the development of Minna in the sense that, the city was denied good planning which results in the emergence of ghettos slums, squatters and shanties as can be found at Barikin Salle, Sauke ka huta, Kpakungu, Sayyako and parts of Maitumbi. Barikin Salle and Kpakungu would have had the best and largest layouts in Minna but the natives came out with bows and arrows and other weapons to challenge government functionaries and that is why all these areas mentioned have no good access road or tangible drainage system, in fact, they form some of the worst settlements in Minna Town to date (Gimba, 2016).

A central issue regarding land tenure and development of Minna is that of payment of compensation by the government. On many instances compensations are not paid to the natives but even when they are paid either the children or grandchildren (educated) stand against the government that they are not paid or what was paid to their parents did not

commensurate with the worth of the property as such they ensure both legally and violently that they take control of the land (Gimba, 2016). An example of such attitude was the case of the land covering from the former dairy farm to permanent site army barracks, an expanse of about five kilometers wide. The land was paid for by the then northern Nigeria government as grazing land for cattle and that was why the dairy farm was established on it is known as *gidan madara* but some privileged natives claimed it was not paid for and went to court got legal backing and took over the land which they sold out according to their wish (Gimba, 2016).

Another example was the case of Hilltop School, a land that was acquired and planned including road network by the former governor of the State, Colonel David A.B Mark, after many years of the existence of the institution only for one native to attempt at laying claim on the property. The implication of these attitudes of the natives to development is that protected litigation delay developmental projects. Native management of land affects the development in more serious way as they (natives) do not use the standard layout planned by the appropriate authority (Lands and Surveyor) as such most settlements in Minna it can be observed lack proper planning and allocation of facilities such as neighborhood centres, playground, community market and recreation centres. Where such facilities are designed the land is not used for the purpose rather out of greed and ignorance it is sold for residential.

Thus in the words of Gimba Isah Doko, every land in Minna is converted to residential be it; industrial, commercial, recreational, educational, public welfare even roads have been sold to people building residential places (Gimba, 2016). Consequently, the town

continued to grow as more people come in and acquire land more easily from the natives irrespective of its consequences.

The government layouts are not easily accessible but usually characterized by defined road network, drainage facility, and public welfare services such as Recreational centres, police outpost, clinic, good water, and electricity wiring network. Relatively the fear of such hazards as flood or fire disaster is to some extent lesser when compared to the native allocated settlement most of which exhibit absence to planning hence congested houses without even clearly defined boundaries. The situation being reported here is that of a society that demonstrates the weakness of State government in the hands of traditional authorities.

The colonial authority left a well-planned Minna town, the GRA has an excellent design, and the old layout of the township has the ‘Greek Iron Pattern design’ with roads crossing each other (Gimba, 2016). The same design is to found in most colonial settlements in northern Nigeria, after becoming the State capital the Gbagyi natives of Minna choose to usurp land in their own favor and to a very large extent it affected planning and development of the town.

Consequently, the nature of land tenure system that is the mode and nature of land ownership in Minna is very significant to the development of the city. Land ownership claim by the natives and some early settlers have led to serious court cases mostly against the government and that has impeded on the meaningful development of the town. Thus our analysis of the historical development of Minna town necessarily had to

discuss how land is owned and by whom in Minna since any development takes place on the land. Most of the settlements that the lands were allocated by natives suffer series of disadvantages and distortions hence the rough and dirty outlook of the environment.

6.5 Ethnic Relations and the Historical Development of Minna town

Ethnicity implies identities that are based on widely held notions of shared origin and shared culture and must be recognized as such by outsiders as well as by the proclaimed members of the ethnic group or category, (Eriksen, 2012). It is the feeling of oneness based on a shared sense of same origin and tribe. Ethnicity is a narrower way of belonging as it is not based on religion or nationality but specific to the ethnic group in an area. Members of given ethnic group tend to develop resentment against others who might have settled among them especially as the strangers progress the more economically and even politically.

Ethnic groups in this study refer to units of people that possess identifiable distinct languages and culture, like Hausa, Gbagyi, Nupe, Yoruba, and Igbo among others. Therefore, an ethnic relation is the socio-economic and political interactions among the various groups in metropolitan Minna. The end result of this interaction is adaptation and integration, which refers to the process of adaptation of ethnic groups to each other in the process of adaptation of ethnic group to each other in the context of the use of scarce resources including the use of power.

One of the most popular views on inter-ethnic-group relations came from Thomas Hobbes who sees conflict as an aspect of chaos and malignity arising from the

aggressive hostility and anarchy between groups (Okpeh, 2006). To him conflict is an inevitable aspect of human relations (Hobbes, 1985). The mutual aid theory, on the other hand, sees consensus and cooperation as the dominant feature of human society (Omu 1992). It is important to note that, both conflict and consensus are two sides of the same coin in explaining relations amongst ethnic groups. Marxists view on ethnicity and its related problems are of the opinion that income or wealth inequality is a major cause of conflict and fertile excuse for ethnic sentiments in human society (Wucherpfennig, Metternich, Cederman & Gleditsch, 2012).

Empirical studies on ethnicity emphasized personal distribution of income or of wealth among individuals such as land ownership as a basis for measuring affluence in the society (Esteban, Mayoral & Ray, 2010). Emphasis on class differences as a driver of conflict in a multi-ethnic society is natural in the sense that the poor might be reasonably expected to harbor strong antagonisms against the rich. The prevalence of sustained conflict requires those antagonisms to be channeled into organized action, often a tall order when economic strengths are so disparate. The clear economic divide across classes is, therefore, a two-edged sword: while it breeds resentment, the very poverty of the have-nots militates against a successful insurrection, and even then the different skill and occupational niches occupied by capitalist and workers make effective redistribution across classes a more indirect and difficult prospect (Wucherpfennig, 2011).

Politics of ethnic identity is an underlying factor in the emergence and proliferation of ethnic militias in Nigeria. In spite of the official adoption of federalism since 1954, an enduring sense of national identity and unity is still lacking among Nigerians. Most

citizens feel disappointed and betrayed by corrupt Local, State and Federal government officials. Poor governance at all levels has produced a situation that promotes ethnic identity politics. The age-old tripartite struggle for power among the Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo majority ethnic groups in Nigeria has entrenched recurrent protestations against marginalization and exclusion such that the Hausa have become stereotyped as the ones with the monopoly of political power while the Yoruba and Igbo are the beneficiaries of western education and the economic power respectively. The numbers of minority ethnic groups, who are largely on the receiving end of this contest, remain hurt and bitter over status as second-class citizens. Worst still, the political elites have vested interest in promoting the politics of ethnic identity because it re-direct focus from fundamental challenges of statehood and inadequacies of an individual to a blame gone that stereotypes the various ethnic groups (Adeyeri, 2011).

In our area of study, ethnic integration occurs through the constant process of integration and adaptation to changing realities, shifting interest as well as new challenges. No doubt that made Minna one of the most peaceful urban centers in Nigeria since colonial times. Most colonial and post-colonial settlement of similar history like Kafanchan, Jos, Kaduna, Gombe, and Yola are short of such characteristics because the indigenes resisted all forms of integration either in normative or environmental terms. Normative integration refers to a situation in which the norms, role, and perception of the settlers and indigenes are in a state of reciprocal adjustment. There is a certain degree of compatibility between the various parts sufficient to ensure the normal function of the society (Rufai, 2012). Environmental integration on the other refers to a situation in

which the action and interest of the various individuals in a particular society correspond sufficiently to the production and expectation of all.

The advent of colonial economy triggered labor migration and forceful cohabitation of many ethnic groups in urban areas for colonial and industrial jobs. In an attempt to achieve its overall objectives of economic exploitation, the colonial administration created new towns either as commercial or administrative centers. Ethnic or cultural diversities were not considered rather the economic gains (Akpen, 2009).

The construction of the railway was the first major activity that attracted peoples of different ethnic background to Minna followed by its being made headquarters of the Niger province and Gwari native authority respectively. Thus since its earliest time, Minna consist of such ethnic groups as the Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo, Tiv, Idoma, Nupe, Igala among several other Nigerian ethnic groups who came for various interests (Owen, 2006). The town had a population of 13,706 at the peak of railway construction in 1910 comprising of a large number of the early migrants as railway workers, miners, traders and even some Islamic scholars (Mohammed, 1988).

The laborers were arranged in camps based on ethnic and tribal affiliations, by the railway officials for easy identification. However it did not affect inter and intra camp relations. After long working hours, labourers converge at places like Kasuwan Dare and the recreation centre like the Chrisbo Hotel, I see you hotel, Madam Laitan, Madam Ife, and Premier hotel. The kasuwan dare became the most popular centre of inter-ethnic relationship in the Niger Province due to the concentration of different ethnic groups as

a result of railway construction and other aspects of colonial socioeconomic and political life.

6.5.1 Ethnic Composition of Minna Town

One of the major legacies of colonial rule in our country is the establishment of some towns; it put life into some old ones while others lost their glory and yet some went into oblivion. This was largely the effect of transportation route and colonial policies such as; sitting of either or both administrative and industrial centres. Modern Minna was not only among the created towns but, had its demographic and spatial nature grossly altered by colonialism. Consequently population explosion and ethnic complexity transformed it from a small homogenous setting into a large heterogeneous urban center. The table below shows the population and complex nature of Minna between 1939 and 1949.

Table 6.1

Ethnic Group in Minna Town 1939 to 1949

Ethnic Group	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949
Hausa	1433	2219	2594	2570	2984	3087	2880	2988	3527	3593	4045
Nupe	1142	1000	1183	1001	1185	1094	1254	1330	1464	1363	1609
Yoruba	937	1195	1116	1180	1310	1262	1554	1587	1695	1894	2084
Ibo	802	825	817	860	925	1142	1322	1324	1504	2119	2620
Berberi	45	55	52	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gbagyi	40	60	33	6	62	78	168	177	313	335	286
Benin	-	-	-	193	202	321	288	301	344	212	278
Sierra leone	-	-	-	84	49	73	79	62	80	109	119
Ghanaian	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	18	77	105
Igala	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	48	85	105
Urhoro	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	70	163	189	315
Kukuruku	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	74	139	215
Total	5,436	5,354	5,795	5,919	6,717	7,057	7,545	7,936	9,227	10,115	11,778

Source: NGSa; ASCOM Acc/111 Minna Town Ethnic Composition

The convergence of different ethnic groups in Minna meant cross-fertilization of ideas and the emergence of a mixed urban culture. Social tie and inter-group relations became enhanced through marriages and formation of ethnic unions. The unions formed were not only meant to foster peace and understanding among members of the same ethnic groups but they also foster intra-ethnic relations. Indeed, due to high levels of inter-ethnic contact, most of the migrant groups have lost their original ethnic and tribal identities. The migrants have now become assimilated and both the native Gbagyi and the settlers can hardly be distinguished from each other with the Hausa language and culture being prevalent.

Any attempt to explain the nature of the ethnic relation of Minna will necessarily need to understand the nature of colonial residential policy in the town. The British colonial authorities in Northern Nigeria through various legislations ensured that settlement pattern was segregated among the natives and non-natives, as the case of Sabon Gari in Kano and several other parts of northern Nigeria (Bako, 2005). The residential segregation was concomitant to colonial political control and it was meant to reduce the rate of integration among the various ethnic groups. The colonial residential policy had eventually affected intergroup relations and integration in northern Nigeria. The situation in Minna was not quite different from other colonial urban centers as Minna town was laid on a segregation foundation (Bako, 2005).

Since the making of Minna, a Provincial Capital wave of colonial officials entered Minna and the hilltop beside Sayyako became their first choice of settlement where they could view the Town easily. The natives occupied the Paida hill foot while the various

ethnic groups that initially severed as laborers were encouraged by the colonial officials to stay in the main town of Minna; they were settled in separate residential areas based on ethnic lines (Yakubu & Ashafa, 2005).

Colonial administration saw the separate residential area for each tribe or ethnic group as the most appropriate strategy for human progress (Lugard, 1911). There is no doubt that colonial separation of residential policy militated against effective integration of various communities. Intergroup relations were also affected because ethnic groups were meant to only mingle with their fellow people in the workplace. The migrants were treated differently from the native Gbagyi. Their education was left in the hands of the missionaries than the government (NAK/SNP/17/126/, 1934). The segregated residential system remained so to a very large extent until the reorganization of the town into four territories based on location not ethnic affiliation because the wards contained mixed population (NAK/SNP/17/126/, 1934).

The establishment of a town council in 1934 and its composition goes a long way to explain the ethnic relations as a factor in the historical development of Minna town. The formation of the council which as undoubtedly a major land-mark as the new administrative mechanism was all encompassing as it incorporated major ethnic groups in the decision-making process. Members of the council include; Mallam Abubakar, head of Hausa community as chairman of the council, Mallam. Abdullahi the Nupe representative, Mr. Thomas Yoruba, Chief Dolo an Igbo, the council among other things was saddled with the responsibility of conflict resolution, sanitation and tax collation (ASCOM, File NOT/GOV/63/1940/History of Minna Township; Bawa, (2014).

The town council created a peaceful atmosphere and encouraged the concentration of several ethnic groups in Minna town. There were peaceful co-existence and social interrelations among the people who hailed from different religious and cultural backgrounds. Christianity also played a very significant role in the ethnic relation and consequent urban development of Minna town. Colonial Minna saw the proliferation of different Christian denominations partly due to the administrative position of the town and railway that encouraged the continuous concentration of divergent ethnic groups in the area.

As early as 1910 Minna already had Christian missionaries and by 1911 the most influential Christian associations; the Society of African Mission (SAM) and the Catholic were established while the Evangelical Church of West Africa (ECWA) and the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) were established in 1912 (Ballard, 1972; Rufa'i 2012). By 1929 there were 100 baptized Catholics in Minna but by 1934 the number rose to 478 and so did other denominations increased too. Minna somehow became the headquarters of all the denominations in Niger province throughout the colonial period (Rufa'i, 2012). On that basis, the town attracted a considerable number of Christians from both the Niger province and outside it. Such ethnic groups like Koro, Kadara, Nupe, Gbagyi, Kamuku, and Pangu were among converts to Christianity (Ballard, 1972). This was possible because Minna has a lot of economic potentialities that attracted many people.

Followers of these denominations regard the churches as centres of both ethnic and cultural interactions. Besides the socializing mission of the churches, the compulsory weekly financial contributions (tithes) was also used to assist members in financial

difficulty when the need arise (John, 2016). This was a very important tool for enhancing ethnic cordial relation among the Christian faithful in the town. This policy promoted and is still promotes peaceful coexistence, unity, and tolerance among the Christians in Minna Town.

The SIM under the leadership of its pioneer in Minna reverend James F. Cotton was said to have established marriage ties among different ethnic groups in Minna during the colonial era and that has largely fostered integration among the people irrespective of tribal differences (Rufa'i, 2012). The weekly church services have always provided an avenue for contact among the different ethnic groups in the town and that also foster unity. Most schools in Minna during the colonial period were owned by the Christian missionaries. Apart from the Native Education Authority which was government source of providing western education in the town during the colonial and immediate post-colonial era all other schools in the town were mission owned until 1977 when the national policy changed the situation.

Ethnic relations in Minna suffered some setback during the civil war era as the episode brought about massive exodus of Igbo people back to their homeland in the south-eastern part of Nigeria. However, on the basis of the pre-existed cordial relationship a committee was set up by the government to look into and took-up the abandoned Igbo houses into custody. As brother's keepers of each other, the committee gave those houses to the soldiers when they were posted to Minna in 1969 as rent (Oshadume, 1993:72). Furthermore after the war some of the Igbo returned to Minna and they were

not only given the rent money for their houses occupied by the soldiers, they were also given back their (houses) lawful properties (Bawa, 2014).

6.5.2 Ethnic Relations in the Historical Development of Minna Since 1976

The creation of Niger State and the making of Minna its capital city dramatically changed the ethnic landscape of the town. Before the civil war (1967 to 1970) the population of Igbo people in Minna was at a time almost the largest maybe after the Hausa and Nupe. The Yoruba also commanded enormous number while the native Gbagyi population was considerably low yet the people lived happily together and shared in common religious and socio-cultural celebrations (Bawa, 2014). For instance, during the Muslim ed-el fitr and ed-el Kabir celebrations, the non-Muslims also join in the merrymaking, equally the Christian celebration of Christmas was also enjoyed by the Muslims as food and other gift items are shared among each other. Unlike the far northern communities and interior Eastern societies where the disparity of ethnicity and religion are clearly pronounced, modern Minna started as a heterogeneous society and maintained such even after the civil war.

Many factors that have led to changes in the inter-ethnic relations in Nigeria after the civil war did not reflect the situation in Minna. For instance, the assassination of General Murtala R. Mohammed on February 13, 1976, which created tension in some sections of the North as it was perceived as ethnoreligious hence the major actors were Christians from (Plateau) the North (Hamman, 2005). Other factors that also accounted for the drastic change in the inter-ethnic relations are the politicization of ethnicity and religion. The phenomenon becomes manifest with the use of ethnic factor as a tool to explain,

justify, promote any political, economic, social and cultural issue under consideration. In the light of such situation, ethnic groups are instigated by appealing to their sense of ethnic nationalism to fight for causes that the justification can only be seen from an ethnic angle. In the history of Minna these kind of tool was employed when Ahmadu Bahago died and his son Umar Faruq was to succeed him, the contenders from Paiko used the fact that even though they were all Gbagyi but of different dialect which made a great deal of sense as the Gbagyi of Minna and Kuta areas saw the challenge by Paiko as ethnic inclined.

The proliferation of Hausa people into the city of Minna in recent time calls for serious concern as they are not only to be found everywhere in the town but have dominated almost all the ancillary businesses. They have used religion, language and inter-marriage ties to gain political, economic and social domination of the town. By peaceful coexistence non-indigenous ethnic groups in Minna have tailored harmonious living together over a very long history of the town.

The simple theoretical explanation for the development is to view it from the political economy perspective. The indigenous people were not too interested in the white cola jobs rather farming of food crops. They are not so concern about trade and commerce as the Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo who came into the town to partake in either railway work, colonial administrative job, gold mining or the buying or selling of agricultural products. These products were normally shipped to the European countries where industries exist for processing. Even in recent times after colonial rule Africa as a whole and Nigeria in particular still maintain its role as primary product producer as such more people flock

to Minna to buy both foodstuffs like: Yam, Maize, Guinea corn, Beans and Melon to such countries like Mali, Chad, Niger, Benin, Lybia and the Republic of Sudan and South Sudan. Many other products are also sold outside the shores of Africa to places like; Malaysia (melon, shea butter and ginger), China, Korea, Japan, United States of America and Europe.

The economic fortunes of the town coupled with the increase in the number of federal institutions have greatly attracted population and consequent expansion that has enhanced the economic viability of the city. Thus, since the return to a civilian regime in 1999, there has been a tremendous increase in the peopling of Minna and that has considerably offered a wide explanation for the recent unprecedented expansion and development of the town.

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen that the historical development of Minna reached a higher height under the administration of Muazu Babangida Aliyu (Talba Minna) who incidentally happens to be a ‘son of the soil’. As the governor he conceived the concept of ‘Greater Minna’ and tried his best to ensure that the town is transformed to a more modern outlook. The period witnessed the dualization of some old major township roads, immense increase in the number of health care facilities, introduction of intra city metro buses but most importantly the era will be remembered for its housing policy and programme in the development of Minna town. Of considerable importance in the historical development of Minna are; the establishment and relocation of building material sellers to a new and single spot (market), the mechanic village and the

relocation of the Central market to a new ultra-modern market. The period witnessed massive influx of people into Minna most of whom settled down as they were attracted by first the peaceful nature of the town then its socio-economic potentialities.

Land tenure and disputes remained a major challenge; the natives have disturbed proper planning of most parts of the town on the claim that customary tenure ship gave them right to ownership over the state interest. The problem has led to litigations and emergence of squalors and slums as a result of not planning. Since the years of the construction of railway, Minna has continued to receive people of different ethnic background who easily integrate with the natives and settle down some of who inter marry each other and even the natives. During the period more people entered Minna than any other era certainly because of the government policies such as free education and the declaration of Indiginity for all settlers. Thus the development of the town became better enhanced as the society assumed a more heterogeneous nature. Therefore, it can be said that the historical development of modern Minna, a settlement that started following the transportation policy of the colonial administration with a handful of labourers and a few imperial officers within a century has transformed into a large urban centre.

CHAPTER SEVEN

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This entire work is on the historical development of town/cities, precisely Minna town in a developing country, Nigeria. The work opened with the historical origin of Minna town, how it got its name and from where the people came. We found that the people (Gbagyi) despite several hermitic claims to their places of origin must have been indigenous to the locality. This submission is in line with earlier researches by such scholars as Ade Obayemi who asserted that the Gbagyi, Koro, Kadara, Nupe Yoruba, Igala were formerly one large group that must have distinguished some centuries ago. The people were said to have moved to Paida hilltop from Bwagyi where annually they took fire to light the entire Minna settlement as a mark of New Year.

The hilltop settlement became a safe abode for the people who were raided by Bida and later Ngwamatse of Kontagora. It was observed that almost all the Gbagyi settlements in the area were located on the hilltop. These include; Minna, Bosso, Maikunkele, Paiko and Kuta to mention these few. The advent of European imperialism in the area brought slavery which was the major threat to the people to an end and that led to the movement of the Gbagyi to plain land. The European imperialists established its power over the people after it forcefully sacked the existing Fulani Empire in 1903 and went on to consolidate its authority by creating political, economic and social structures. Thus, what came to be known as Northern Protectorate was divided into Provinces, Districts and Divisions under the administrative policy known as the indirect rule system. It was

under the arrangement that Minna happens to become both Provincial and divisional headquarter respectively.

The establishment of colonial rule brought about the provision of infrastructures such as modern transportation system like the railway and motor vehicle. The railway in particular has been described as omen of development. In the case of Minna it has been responsible for its transformation or rather 'rebirth' from a negligible cottage settlement on the hilltop to a large urban setting within a short history of existence. Railway played similar role in makurdi and Ogbomosho. Other important economic elements in the area are the availability of gold and the fertile nature of the soil which supported the production of both food and cash crops needed by the growing population and the European market. To a large extent these enhanced the development of Minna as more people became attracted to it.

In 1910 what is known today as Minna town was established by British imperial activities in the Nigeria area. At arrival the British met a politically organized society on the hilltop under the Chief called Otsu Buoba. The Paidia hill foot seems inconvenient for urban expansion hence new location was on the 31st March, 1910 as a model town. Thus the role played by these two Nigerian personalities at the formative period of modern Minna town gave their kinsmen the leverage for each lay claims to the ownership of the town, hence both Hausa who are settlers and the Gbagyi the aborigines are involve in cold struggles for the town. In 1917 Minna became officially recognized as a second class township but lost the status few years later with the relocation of the railway territorial headquarter to Zaria in anticipation she may loss population. However

Minna town regained the status in 1922 as it continued to grow in population and size especially as the railway continued to enhance socio economic activities.

Increased agglomeration of people in the area occasioned by both administrative and economic activities policy made necessary the need for a more structured traditional setting. At inception in 1910, British placed Minna first under Bosso and later Wushishi but following allegations of corrupt practices and incessant agitation by the Gbagyi especially of Bosso who have maternal authority over Minna. The colonial authority therefore felt it necessary to give the town a Chief of its own, thus in 1950 Minna got one. The appointment of a Chief for Minna in person of Ahmadu Bahago made it easy for the running of the Native Authority system in the area but it again signifies the continuous balkanization of the Caliphate and its authority under which Minna fell before colonial invasion.

Minna remained a Provincial headquarter until 1967 when Nigeria had secessionist threat and was divided into twelve states. The area was a native authority and Provincial headquarters first under Kaduna the regional capital and later Sokoto when the Northwestern state was created in 1967. The brief history of that marriage did not favor the material development of Minna town as much of the resources were channeled towards the development of Sokoto the capital city, moreover there were other divisions and districts that were also being catered for as well as the prosecution of the civil war hence less resources got to Minna for its development.

The year 1976 was a watershed in the historical development of Minna as it was when the town became a state capital and at the same time a local government headquarters. The spatial agglomeration of the town assumed a new dimension which was astronomical as more people of varied background and mission moved into the place. Previously people were attracted principally by the factor of railway transport system and its positions as Provincial and District headquarter but with state creation, its position became better enhanced which caused more agglomeration. However, what is new in this case is that Minna is now a State capital city which implies more access to developmental projects and resources. More infrastructures are to be provided in the state headquarters which will bring about the speedy development of the town. Therefore, these twin factors contribute immensely to the historical development of towns and cities hence they stood for both administrative and economic factors for such developments. The creation of states in Nigeria started way back to 1946 when Richard constitution provided for three regions, it continued under the subsequent military administrations. Today the country is divided in to thirty six states and seven hundred and seventy four local government areas.

The philosophy behind the creation of states it has been argued steamed partly from the agitations of the people while others see it as the need to get government closer to the people as the major reason. The creation of Niger State in no small measures facilitated the development of Minna town as the three tiers of government execute different projects which all aim at its advancement as a state capital city. Since Minna became a state capital more houses, and basic amenities where provided and general enabling atmosphere was enhanced. Thus the location of some federal and state agencies in

Minna brought about increase population and consequent intensification of economic activities in the town which thereby contribute to the development of the town. Deliberate efforts were also employed by the state to industrialize the town as such industries such as Mona Juice, Chanchaga Clay Products, Morris fertilizer, Dana pharmaceutical, Maizube farms, Imrat and wire and nails were established.

The decade 1986 to 1996 was largely characterized by military regimes in the history of Nigeria thus the states were governed by the military appointed governors but the local government was administered by appointed civilians. The decade witnessed proliferation of developmental projects which caused massive influx of people. Virtually every aspect of the town's life was touched as all tiers of government were busy executing various developmental projects. Thus financial institutions such as banks and other corporate bodies found base in Minna which brought about the increase in population and consequent expansion of the town.

The provision of social amenities and security in the state capital city did not only bring about people from distant places, it encouraged rural-urban migration as the city provides opportunities for employment. More people converge in place where they can find convenience and feel secure. Security is a very important aspect of human need as such a major factor in the existence of settlement hence in places that security is in deficit, life is endangered as such people will not converge on such place.

The decade also (1986 to 1996) witnessed a major development in the history of the town, death of the first Emir of Minna in 1987 and the succession into that office by his

son Umar Faruq Bahago. It was a period characterized by intrigues and intricate from various contenders for the office and was brought to submission by the role played by IBB then Military President of Nigeria who ensured Umar Faruq son of the late Emir was appointed to the position. To a reasonable extent it has immense significance on the historical development of Minna town and the entire emirate hence it averted the troubles that would have followed the struggle for the succession bid by the rest contenders to the position. However one problem waits the future of Minna emirate in general and Minna town in particular when the current Emir have to be succeeded at his death or otherwise, Paiko and Bosso chiefdoms among others will flex muscles for the throne which they have long have eyes on but, the succession rules have been distorted hence currently no such document or guideline exist with respect to Minna Emirate.

The third republic which can be described as a political experimental era in the history of Nigeria ushered in the regime of Dr. Musa Muhammad Inuwa as Niger State governor. During the very short period of the government it left some indelible legacies on the history of Niger state in general and Minna in particular. The regime is reputed for its down-size of workers who mostly were from a particular section of the State the Nupe but, findings reveals that the governor was only reacting to the reality of looming poor finances of the state. However Inuwa is remembered for his ability to retrieve all public lands in Minna many of which were usurped by top civil servants, so called Gbagyi landlords and other privileged members of the society. He built parameter fence round most of such facilities for instance; the state college of education, state secretariat, the general hospital, State house of assembly and a host of other places.

The democratic dispensation also encouraged massive population movement from rural areas to the urban centers. The two party system experimented by the IBB regime (SDP and NRC) had wide structures and followers especially at the state and local government levels where democratic government has been formed thus more people moved into the cities to take up their political appointments or meet-up with some other businesses. It was in the light of the expansion in the urban population that Inuwa spend over thirty one million naira on some selected township roads in Minna and over five million for the repair of Minna-kateregi-Bida road. Township commuting was expanded by the state transport authority and the state guest house, the Niger motel was overhauled to accommodate guest visiting the town.

In 1993 Nigeria went back into the hands of yet another military junta, General Sani Abacha who immediately replaced the elected civilian governors with military administrators. Niger State got Colonel C.K. Emein. On assumption of office the concern of the administrator was the empty nature of the state treasury hence he embarked on a general staff audit of the civil service which is necessary as the state largely depend on federal allocation. As the regime settles down it made concerted effort at the industrial development of Minna by providing support to manufacturing and other economic activities. The implication was to keep the economy of the state alive, however despite the various measures and incentives put in place to attract investors' industrial development in Minna remained a dream. While the education sector witnessed renovation and rehabilitation of facilities than built new ones, the administration in terms of dissemination of information established a F.M. radio station in Minna town which provides information and news on government activities.

One administrator that has also tremendously contributed to the development of Minna town during the decade was Police Commissioner Simeon Oduoye. He used the very meager resources obtained from federal allocation to build houses that are in gross scarcity in the town for civil servants. In fact his effort was timely as the town was in dear need of housing to meet up with the challenge of increase population. Oduoye's regime was quiet active as it added value to many part of the city's life thus contributing in no small measure to the historical development of Minna town.

General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, a powerful former military President of Nigeria hails from Minna town. His eight years in office were quiet monumental in the historical development of Minna. Using his office and influence many federal agencies and parastatals are located in the town thus an easy corollary for rapid influx of people into the town. The General also ensured that many Nigerlites but in particular those from Minna were employed in various positions in the federal civil service hence many got enriched and developed Minna town by building magnificent houses. His role as a mentor for many Nigerians cannot be over emphasized however, he failed to establish either personal or public industry in Minna town that would have served as alternative source of income and employment and that is the more reason why his respect in Minna is only within the few that directly benefited from him.

A major development in the history of Nigeria which has direct bearing on the historical development of Minna town was the movement of the nation's federal seat of power from Lagos to Abuja by the IBB regime on the 12th December 1991. Abuja the new federal capital territory is bordered at the western flank by Niger state which also

contributes over 70% of the territory's land. Since the movement to Abuja the dimension of development of Minna town changed because of its proximity to the federal capital city which is just some 160km on a good day about an hour thirty minutes' drive. Most workers and businessmen found Minna a more peaceful abode as such they live in the town while they attend to their work or businesses in Abuja. The proximity of the federal capital thus attracted many people to Minna and that enhanced the population growth as well as the spatial occupied area. The closeness to Abuja has also changed the quest for land in Minna; previously it was cheap and abundant but the new development has led to scarcity of land and consequent escalation of prices hence it has become commoditized. The closeness of federal capital city has equally led to increase in crime in Minna town as most of the criminals prefer to stay in unsuspected area from where they go out to operate in other places.

In 1998 General Sani Abacha's death provided opportunity for another son of Minna to serve as head of state of the federal republic of Nigeria, General Abubakar Abdulsalami a Hausa man born and bred in Minna town. His brief stay as head of state provided him the opportunity to contribute to the development of Minna town and its people as he influenced the location of some vital federal institutions in the town and also cited some of his own investments within Minna town. Consequently more development was attracted to the place and more people did not only come to Minna but most even settled down thus increasing the urban outlook of the town. The General handed over power to the democratically elected government of Chief Olushegun Obasanjo under the banner of the Peoples Democratic Party in 1999. Engineer A.A. Kure who became the state

governor ruled for two terms of four years each during which monumental developments took place that aid the historical development of Minna town.

The A.A. Kure led administration like its predecessors did everything within its capacity to ensure Minna town remained a livable city by providing the enabling condition for such. The return to democracy has been responsible for a more egalitarian society and the system is universally viewed as one which focuses on providing welfare and basic necessities that makes life easier. A major development during the reign of Kure was the introduction of sharia law in Niger state alongside some twelve other Northern Nigerian States. The development impacted greatly on the historical development of Minna town as it in the first place changed the social life of the town where previously alcohol was sold and consumed publicly; the liquor control board was established to check such habits in Minna town. To a large extent most of the people involved in the sale of such items had to change trade while some even left the town but the greatest impact was in the controversy it generated nationwide between the Christians and Muslim supporters of sharia law which in some states in the country led to riots and public unrest.

Muazu Aliyu Babangida became governor from 2007 to 2015, being the first indigene of the town to assume such position in the state, much was expected of him as far as the development of Minna was concerned. He actually took Minna town to another level by starting the dualization of the township roads which previously was only the Bosso-Chanchaga road and the two bypasses. His ability to build two housing estates in Minna town helped in no small measures in the alleviation of the plight of many people especially civil servants. Unfortunately many poor civil servants for whom the houses

were built still remain struggling to get but non-civil servants and other highly privileged persons are in possession of more than one at the sametime and place.

The state administration and that of the local government authority did much in the development of both health and educational sector of the town. Many primary health care centres were built while existing ones are renovaded. Equally public schools in Minna town got reasonable degree of attention as they were renovaded and in most cases expanded to meet the needs of the ever expanding population in the town. The MBA policy of free education at all levels in the state and the declaration of Minna as a metropole and “no man’s land” by the governor disposed the town to every Nigerian thus people from the North, East and Western parts of the country in large number rushed into Minna town during MBA’s regime.

The period witnessed the movement of the central market to a new ultra-modern one thus defusing the regular hold-up and congestion at the (mobile roundabout) former place which is the city centre. Importantly it provided more shops to people and caused the rapid development of the area it is now located as economic activities in the area became intensified. Similarly, the establishment of building material market and the consequent relocation of its trader also led to unprecedented development of the area. As part of deliberate effort to expand the town MBA started the construction of a new government house and commissioner’s quarters known as the ‘Three Arm Zone’ on the eastern bypass of Minna town. MBA conceived the idea of greater Minna that is moving the town out of the traditional outlook it used to be by expanding its boundary beyond the traditional fringes in view of the rapid expansion of the town.

One aspect that all the administrators of Minna town deserve commendation is that of security which since colonial times has been adequately maintained. The various military administrators' ensured peace reigned in the town and that to a very large extent aids its development and served as a strong pooling factor. The civilian regimes of A.A. Kure and MBA also equally invested much resource on the security situation of the town. As part of addressing security challenges in the town, the Chanchaga local government authorities appointed about one thousand youth as advisers and were paid allowances to keep the restive youths calm but that policy was a waste of resources hence the beneficiaries offered no material nor economic service to the local government. It was one means employed to syphon public fund by the politicians. However, many of the youths later went through the vocational training initiated by the L.G.A and it did help made them become more useful members of the society as they acquired skills.

In recent years land has become a major issue as government, individuals and the native Gbagyi have continuously been in the courts to answer litigations. The natives hold on to the lands demanding higher compensation while government is not responding appropriately and that affect the development of the town hence court injections have kept development of such lands on the hold. Furthermore the natives engage in multiple sale of a land to more than one person and that to a very large extent affect development as time and resources are expended in resolving such issues. This problem is occasioned by the land tenure system whereby the native title right is very significant despite government ownership of all lands except the economic trees.

A major development in human history in recent years is the attendant increase in the size of cities many of which now exist with heavy population running in millions most of which are in developing countries where resources to provide and maintain the basic infrastructure is scarce. Some of the challenges that face these cities range from environmental to health, social cohesion and above all the increasing wave of urban poor. It has been observed that a substantial proportion of Africa's urban population now live in slums, yet the cities attract new migrants in addition to the ever increasing native population thus over stretching available infrastructure. A recent study of urban infrastructure reveals that smaller cities in developing countries such as Minna receive lesser attention in terms of basic amenities. As they suffer from disadvantaged provision of pipe borne water, waste disposal, poor electricity, bad roads and poor educational facilities than residents of medium or large cities.

On theoretical grounds three schools of thought exist on the relationship between infrastructural development and poverty alleviation. The first saw investment on such social infrastructure as education and health as relevant to poverty reduction, the second maintain that investment on both physical and social infrastructure reduces poverty. The third agreed that investment on infrastructure in general has no effect on poverty reduction. However, there is now a consensus that if governance and institutional frameworks are strengthened, the harmony between improved infrastructure and poverty reduction can be become stronger.

In Nigeria, the dramatic shift of population from rural to urban centers has been attributed to the petro-dollar economy which avails more opportunities in the urban area.

Between 1952 when petroleum was discovered in Nigeria and 2002 the percentage of people in the urban centres rose from 11% to 31% which implies that more people moved to the cities. In Minna town the population rose from 120,000 in 1976 to over 500,000 in 2015 hence the question of meeting the challenges of infrastructural deficit has become a hard nut for authorities to crack because the rate of expansion in both urban growth and population far out-with the investment on infrastructure. Thus the menace of poor and inadequate water supply, bad inter and intra city roads, poor environmental sanitation, emergence of slums and general weakness in the security system have remained major challenges in the historical development of Minna town.

Earlier research works on similar study have contributed their quarter in terms of methodology. Some of these works employed the use of published primary source materials while some rely on both primary and secondary works. Most research works employ the use of direct document analysis and try to avoid the pains and rigors of face-to-face interview. This work tried to reach out to most of the active participants in the events reported thus making room for proper reliance of the research on primary sources. The adequate and proper use of primary source materials in historical writing justifies the validity and reliability of information most especially when direct actors are reached this is because such sources cannot be cross-examined. Thus to narrate in proper terms the historical development of Minna towns it is imperative to closely related with some of the real participants in the events been reported as they are in the right position to illuminate on the various administrative policies, economic and socio-cultural activities that have led to its development.

Another contribution to knowledge made by this research work is in its use of interdisciplinary approach. Existing literature has shown that previous works have not adequately utilized the use of interdisciplinary approach in the study of historical development of Minna town which implies the use of other disciplines such as Geography, Political Science, Sociology, Public health, Town planning and Cartography. This work has employed the use of these various fields of knowledge to accumulate information and ideas for the explanation of the dynamics in the historical development of towns and cities. This study has enjoyed the knowledge of political science to understand and explain the role of state in urban development and its transformation. It provides us the knowledge of politics and political power used by political authorities in the control of resources and utilization for optimal development of towns in the area of infrastructure and other needs. Public health provided knowledge of diseases and relationship between environment, sanitation human health and development. Similarly town planning and cartography are found to be useful in understanding the physical boundaries as well the economic and social distribution of land in the town.

Practically this research has contributed to knowledge by its use of cartographic maps based on cadastral and street guide. Previously historians most often than not use simple drawing to illustrate and explain issues which do not give accurate description of places being discussed. Present study utilized sophisticated maps that provide accurate and detailed description of the area being studied. The importance of maps to historical studies cannot be over emphasized hence they explain information covering very large area at a glance.

The cadastral and street guide maps are digital not hand free drawing as such more reliable and precise. Three of such maps are used in this work each describing Minna at different period of its history. The maps no doubt provide reference for any further research on the area. They will also aid government and policy makers as well as land hustlers to identify occupied and unoccupied spaces left in Minna town and its environs.

Further practical contribution of this study lay in its exposition of the complications that surround land tenure ship in Minna a situation that is similar in most West African countries. It shows that urban development in most of the towns and cities is affected by the land tenure system especially where there is dual authority in the management and control of land. The ability of the natives in Minna to control and even in some cases usurp land practically has major implication. It hastened the development of the town as such lands sold by natives are more quickly developed than those allocated by the government. This is because the native land can be resold to another prospective developer and that has led to much litigations and as such consequently compelled people who buy such property to hasten development of the land. It is also a response to the slow and bureaucratic attitude of the government agencies responsible for the allocation of land which is usually delayed.

Practically the view here is that for development of the towns to be faster, land among other commodities must be free for individuals to access easily. It has been explained that government layouts are better designed with considerable plans that accommodates basic facilities which allocation by the natives do not have hence the emergence of

slums thus the need for government to be more forthcoming in the distribution of land so as to enhance a better planned and livable city.

The research has also provided a compendium of developmental activities and dynamics by era and regimes in the historical development of Minna town throughout our period of study. It has assembled the developments that have together made Minna a city among its ranks in the country and West African sub-region. The researcher in the course of conduct of his investigations found out that even though there was ancient Minna on the hilltop with a well-established political, economic and social setting, the advent of colonial rule changed the entire scenario by establishing a new town still called Minna in 1910.

The position here is that the new location was devoid of the authority of the precolonial native rulers of the area rather built on European model and even the Africans brought closer in the administration were to aid ameliorate between themselves the labourers. Therefore this work maintain that the British only retained the name Minna but established a new town entirely and gradually within the colonial era ensured that the native Minna (Gwari) Gbagyi were systematically phased out of scheme of affairs hence throughout colonial period there was no mention of any Gbagyi of Minna town that had opportunity to rule or occupied any recognized position in the town instead impositions from Bosso, Wushishi and Kuta were brought in to rule and that has formed the basis of contention and controversy in the politics of the town till date.

It is also noted that political and economic policies of the colonial regime in no small measures were responsible for the emergence, growth and development of Minna town. Since the establishment of colonial administration in the area, Minna has been one administrative headquarter or the other thus predisposed to regular influx of people and hence government commitment to provide the basic necessities for the increasing population. Unlike other towns within the area such as Bida, Kontagora, Wushishi, Kagara, Lapai and Agaie that have Chiefs and Emirs, Minna like Kaduna are purely colonial towns that are direct products of British policies (economic and political) in the area which serve as some of the pooling factors.

The immediate post-colonial development and transformation of Minna was first characterized by neglect as the newly independent Nigerian State concentrated much of its resources in the development of regional headquarters thus exacerbating the population influx and consequently the industrial development of such places like: Kaduna, Ibadan and Enugu. However, Kano, Onisha and Lagos are traditionally commercial and industrial hub since the precolonial era which gave them added advantage for development. The first wave of state creation in Nigeria (1967) provided opportunity for more towns to develop as eight out of the twelve states created were new and has become also directly answerable only to the federal government like the former regional capital cities. Thus development became not only regular but also the major concern of these new state capital cities.

The 1976 creation of states was the second in the History of Nigeria and since military rule began in 1966; Minna was among the seven states created which made nineteen

states. The creation of Niger State with Minna town as its capital city also disposed it to development; it culminated the British efforts of transforming the place from mere railway settlement through provincial headquarter to a state capital. The making of Minna a state capital was thus not accidental but a process in the series of the development of towns in the history of urbanization in Nigeria. It is found that all the provincial headquarters became state capital but, most important is the pace and nature of development and transformation that these towns have undergone within a short period of being state capital cities.

Minna town from 1976 began to witness tremendous increase in the influx of people and consequent expansion in the spatial agglomeration. Strikingly most literature maintained that towns grow and develop based on the availability of manufacturing industries, in the case of Minna the reverse was the case hence except for the railway route that passes and the colonial pig farm there is no any industry in the town throughout the colonial period. The post-colonial era has not been different except for the few quasi factories and companies all which are now shutdown yet the town continued to expand.

The submission therefore is the existence of other factors such as security, road network, available and affordable food, arable and residential lands. The liberal nature of the people and its closeness to Abuja play significant role in the development of Minna town. The role played by the Emir and the two former heads of state cannot also be overlooked as their contribution gave strong helping hands in the transformation of the town through the use of office power. It was based on these developments that more people

were attracted to Minna thus the creation of Niger State is the first pooling factor in explaining the historical development of Minna town from 1976.

Research into the history of development of towns and cities is very important as they are usually the point of population convergence and centers of civilization. In the case of Minna town due largely to political and economic motives enormous numbers of people have found it as base which consequently enhanced its development however, it is confronted with serious challenges which need urgent and very serious attention before it becomes entirely unmanageable.

In conducting the research limitations came up some of which were surmounted while a few defied solutions. In the first place writing on the History of a town like Minna especially in the post-colonial era, one will assume the existence of volumes of written sources possibly in the archives or document office at either local government or the state. Unfortunately Minna town in particular and Niger State at large do not have the culture of keeping historical records. It was this research exercise that revealed the weakness of both the state, the local government and even the Emirate council in the area of record keeping. The State archives in Minna, the State library, the National library Minna branch, the local government and the Emirate council library are all but mere physical structures without any tangible material to rely on for reconstruction of the history of Minna town circa 1976.

The second limitation is the fast extinct of most of the principal actors in the historical process of the development of Minna town. At present most of those that came from

Sokoto when the North Western State was splited and Niger State came to being had died. Thus reconstructing the history of such place like Minna will need to rely to a large extent on second hand information and other secondary source materials. For instance one of the important personalities to be interviewed, former governor A.A.Kure died just a few days to our scheduled appointment, similarly the second republic governor of the state Alhaji Awwal Ibrahim could grant me interview because of old age and serious ill health. At the Emirs' palace, the persons responsible for keeping records only concern themselves with traditions of origin and some colonial activities most of which have also been distorted. Thus to write the historical development of Minna Town between 1976 and 2015 mean to circumnavigate several different sources and the utilization of varied disciplines to make a meaningful piece of the work.

Finally further research need to be conducted on such areas as the “the economic history of post-independence Minna town”, ”the history of migrant factor in Minna town” and “Hausa factor in the socio-economic and political history of Minna area circa 1910”. These researches if well undertaken will throw more light on the historical development of Minna town in particular and Emirate in general.

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Oral Interview

Ibrahim Usman, Alhaji Mai Angwan Keteren Gwari, Minna aged 85years, interviewed on 2/15/2017 at his house s.w 436 KeterenGwari Minna.

(Ibrahim Usman is the community head of Keteren Gwari ward in Minna in addition to the fact that he was born in Minna Town and as such witnessed most of the events being reported.)

Garba Hairo a Hausa settler aged 85 interviewed on December 6 2016 at his house in Limawa ward, Minna.

(He was witness to events in the early history of Minna town especially in the colonial and immediate post-colonial era.)

Isah Waziri An elder Gbagyi Statesman and former member Niger State House of Assembly (Second Republic),aged 83 years old, interviewed at his residence in Chanchaga on 2016/12/03.

(He was useful at providing information on the second republic politics in the area, ethnic politics in the town and royal struggles among the the people.)

Isa Gomna, Alhaji Mai Angwa Barinkin Salleh (Ward head) aged 82, interviewed on 26/11/2016 at his house in Barikin Salle, Minna.

(He is the community head of Barikin Salle ward in Minna Town in addition to the fact that he is Gbagyi and was born in Minna Town and as such witnessed most of the events being reported. He provided useful information on the origin and socio-cultural and political history of the town.)

Alhassan Abdulsalam Alhaji Former Council Secretary and Administrator Minna 1982/83 aged 78, interviewed 27/11/2016 at his residence S.W 321, Kwangila, Minna. (He was selected for the interview because of his experience and wide knowledge in administration of local government. He is a seasoned administrator and consultant to the State government on local government affairs.)

Alhassan Wasagi, Alhaji aged 76 former Council Chairman Minna, interviewed on 11-28-2016 at his house No. 16 Bosso Low-Cost, Minna.

(A seasoned administrator and veteran journalist, he served as administrator in many local government areas of the State thus a source of first-hand information on the history of Minna Town.)

Mahmudu Ndatsu Alhaji one time executive secretary Peugeot automobiles Nigeria limited (PAN) aged 75, interviewed at his house beside former pigry, Minna on 2017, 01:19; 6:33 pm.

(He shed light on especially on the Dr. Musa Inuwa administration which much written records are not available.)

Mr. John 72 years old Igbo man, building materials dealer and resident of Minna since 1976 having moved in from Sokoto where he stayed since 1972, aged Interviewed 12/20/2016 at his residence in Morris, Minna.

(Mr. John enriched the researcher with information concerning migrants, Christianity and ethnicity in the town.)

Adama Usman 72 year trader has lived all her life in Minna Town and served as woman leader in her ward interviewed on 22/20/2016 at her shop in the central market Minna. (She provided a lot of information especially on the market and economic activities of the Town.)

Dr. Muazu Babangida Aliyu, OON (Talban Minna), Former Governor Niger State 2007-2015, aged 71.

(A Hausa man indigene of Minna interviewed on; 25/11/2016 at his house in Aso drive, Abuja. He provided useful information on his regime, the one preceding his and the historical origin of Minna town. As a graduate of history and political economy his submissions are very educative.)

Dije Bala, Hajjiya aged 70, a season educator, administrator and former commissioner of finance to C.P. Oduoye, interviewed at her house on Dutsen Kuran Hausa on 2-3- 2017. (She enriched this research with information concerning Oduoy's regime.)

Engineer Ibrahim Ebba Bida aged 68 former General Manager Niger State Water Board, Minna, interviewed at his house in Chanchaga, Minna on 2017: 01: 01.

(He was picked for the interview to illuminate on the challenges of water supply in Minna Town.)

Mallam Madugu 65 year old retired permanent secretary and indigene of Minna interviewed at his house on Okada road, Minna on 2016/12/15.

(He is currently the Ndaiji Minna meaning the Custodian of the town a palace chief tile. Being part of the traditional authority and in the state cabinet he provided wonderful official information.)

Baba Sani 65 years interviewed on 2017/0102 at his residence in Tundun Wada, Minna.

A migrant unskilled worker who has spent 40years of his settled life in Minna.

(As a labourer he participated in the construction of most physical structures in the town since it became the State Capital.)

Ilyasu Dakko Ajiyan Minna aged 63 a member of the King makers and custodian of the statue of office of the Emir of Minna, interviewed 2016 12 20; 16:04 pm at his house in Limawa, Minna.

(He provided information concerning the royal house and its activities.)

Bala Munny aged 63, a retired permanent secretary in the state civil service. A Fulani indigene of Minna interviewed at his farm home, off F.M station 12-7-2016.

(A historian by training, he provided general information and professional outlook on the historical development of Minna.)

Abdullahi Suleiman aged 62, Director Water Resources Ministry of Water Resources Niger State Minna. He was interviewed on 02/05/2017 at his office, Ministry of Water Resources, Minna, Niger State.

(He provided very rich information especially on current situation of water supply in Minna Town.)

Kudu Isah Dokko, 59 years old, Director Tertiary Education, Niger State Ministry of Education, interviewed at his residence in Fadikpe on 2016: 12: 10.

(A historian he provided useful insight into the study and confirmed some of the claims in the literature.)

Sule Ndako aged 58, Secretary Chanchaga Local Government Authority, Minna 2007-2015, interviewed at his office at the LGA headquarter on 26-11-2016.

(He informed me on the activities and achievements of the administration.)

Yabagi Alfa 58 years, Registrar College of Education, Minna, interviewed at his office on 2016: 12: 09.

(He illuminated particularly on the implementation of Sharia in Minna town.)

Isah Zakka 57 year old Interviewed at his office Ministry of Information and Culture State Secretariate Minna on 03-02-2017. He is the Director of Information, Ministry of Information and Culture Niger State, Minna.

(Vital documents and government publications were accessed through him.)

Isah Abdulkadir Alhaji aged 56 former council Chairman, Minna West 2003-2007, interviewed at his home in Dutsen Kura, Minna on 11-29-2016.

(He was born in Minna and became the local government administrator, information he provided illuminate strongly on the recent developments in Minna.)

Gimba Isah Doko aged 55years, Director Town Planning Niger State Ministry of Lands.

(He was interviewed at his office in Town Planning Department, Minna on 2/21/2017.

He provided information land use, policies and crisis in Minna town.)

Town Planner Habiba Ahmed 55 years old Director General Urban Development Minna, interviewed in her office at Urban Development Board, Old Secretariate Minna on 12-01-2016.

(She provided information on the issue of slums, squatters and ghettos in Minna and challenges faced.)

Dr. Musa Mohammad Bawa aged 54, a lecturer in Department of History College of Education, Minna.

(He was interviewed at his Office School of Preliminary Studies, College of Education Minna on 2016: 12: 04. As scholar in the history of Minna, he provided Philosophical background to the study of the history of Minna emirate.)

Isah Ladan Uregi, Secretary Niger State Housing Corporation, Minna, Aged 53, interviewed 12/14/2016 at his office in NSHC.

(As the secretary of NSHC, he is privileged to information concerning its activities both past and present which benefited the research finding immensely.)

Mallam Zubairu Abubakar Loguma, Deputy General Manager NISEP, Aged 53years, Interviewed at a tea shop in Tunga, Minna on 4/18/2017.

(From him the research work got information concerning the challenges of environmental sanitation and health.)

Yakubu Sallawu aged 52, immediate past Local government chairman, Chanchaga Local Government Authority Minna.

(Interviewed in his house at Limawa Minna town on 12-9-2016, his submissions provide great ideas that educate the researcher on the working of the government with respect to the general development of Minna town during his eight years administration.)

Usman Garba a youth of Minna town aged 38years interviewed on 20/12/2016 at his family compound in Kpakungu, Minna.

(He furnished the researcher with information regarding youth issue and general development of the town.)

Doctor Usman Ibrahim General Hospital Wushishi aged 37years interviewed on 2/3/2017 at his residence in Soje, Minna.

(He enriched the research with medical knowledge especially the areas of public health and sanitation.)



Appendix A

Interview protocol

Section A

INTRODUCTION

Interview initiated at: _____

Interview completed at: _____

Sir/ Madam

Squeal to my letter of intent to have oral interview with you I am here to share and benefit from your knowledge and experience. The purpose of this study is to examine/explore “The Historical Development of Minna Town 1976-2015 in Nigeria”. The study is to be conducted by Salihu Ibrahim from the School of Languages, Philosophy and Civilization, Universiti Utara Malaysia. Mr. Salihu is conducting this study for the award of PhD in History. The study will help in providing relevant/concrete information on the subject matter. Please treat all the questions objectively and to the best of your knowledge. Please be rest assured of the confidentiality of our discussions and that the interview is basically for the purpose of academics ‘no more no less’.

Sir/Madam please before we start the discussion kindly introduce yourself:

Full name

Age

Occupation/ Profession

Status/ Position

Place of Origin

Before we begin do you have any questions?

Appendix B

Interview Questions

Questions for Governor Awwal Ibrahim 1979-83

Sir

- what were the factors that made Minna town become the Niger State Capital and also Chanchaga LGA Head quarter?
- You became governor of Niger State when Minna was a small town, what policies did your regime pursue that led to the development of the town?
- What socio-political factors aid the development of Minna town up the period you ruled?
- How did the provision of infrastructures to the towns aid its urban expansion?
- What deliberate policies aid the development of Minna town 1979-83
- To what extent did the creation of the Minna as state capital and LGA headquarter aid its historical transformation?
- How did the 2nd republic ethnic politics affect the historical development of Minna town?

Questions Governor Kure 1999-2007

- How did the democratization activities of 1999-2007 aid the development of Minna town?

- What policies and programmes did your regime established that aid development of Minna town during your regime?
- To what way did the introduction sharia law impact on the development of Minna town?
- How did the massive influx of people to Minna town impact on its development?
- In view of the emergence of shanties and squalors across the town, what steps did your government took to enhance the development of Minna town?
- Land ownership has always led to litigations mostly between the natives Gwari and the state government, how did that impact on your effort at the development of the Minna town?

Questions for Governor Muazu Aliyu (Talba) 2007-2015

- What in your view is the origin of Minna town?
- What were the policies and programmes of your regime that aid the expansion of Minna town?
- Despite the lack of industries in Minna, why is it that the town in recent year still attracts immigrants and settlers.
- Why Minna town did witness such an astronomical growth during your tenure?
- To what extent did your security measures in the state enhanced the peopling of Minna town?
- In what ways did your administration support inter-ethnic peaceful co-existence in Minna town?

- Ethnicity and social class seems to be illustrative in the history of Minna town, how did it affect/impact on its historical development.
- Of what significance is Abuja to the development of Minna town?
- As the first governor of Niger state from Minna town and under whose regime Minna celebrated its centenary what are the major challenges impeding on the development of Minna town?

Local Government Chairman, Secretary and Directors

- In what ways was the Local Government Authority responsible for development of Minna town?
- Did the LGA have policies and program for the development of Minna town?
- How successful the policies and programme in the development of Minna town?
- What can account for the infrastructural decay in Minna town and its impact on its development?
- In view of the history of Minna town, how was ethnicity contained in Minna town?
- Religion and cultural diversities are major features of Nigeria society and sources of discontent, what can explain the peaceful coexistence in Minna town?
- Minna has produced two heads of state: General IBB, and A. Abdulsalami what is their role in the historical development of Minna?
- How has crisis from neighboring states affected the development of Minna town?
- In comparison between Minna and other towns that emerged at about same time, could it be said that Minna town has developed better?

Questions for Academics, Elders, Youths, Settlers and Women

- In what ways has the making of Minna the State capital aid its urban transformation?
- What socio-economic and political advantages aid the development of Minna town?
- What are the pooling factors that aid the historical development of Minna town?
- To what extent has the State favored the development of Minna Town?
- How have the provision of adequate security enhanced the development of the town?
- Does the socio-political atmosphere of Minna encouraged its expansion?
- To what extent has the location of the federal capital authority in Abuja influenced the urban development of Minna?
- How did ethnicity affect the development of Minna town?
- Sanitation is integral, how has the increase in slums, refuse dumps and general sanitary problems impacted on the historical development of Minna town?
- Do the freedom and liberal nature of Minna encourage women in Minna to aspire for better life in any legal form?
- What were the major challenges to the historical development of Minna 1976-2015?

Appendix C

Interview Transcription

Sule Ndako Secretary Chanchaga Local Government Area Minna

Interviewed on 26 11 2016

Question

What are the major achievements of your administration?

The LGA is responsible for making road, schools health care units. When we came to office in 2007 we agreed to construct road and also uplift the education. Thus we renovated most of the 33 primary schools in the LGA.

Another sector was the health sector we built primary health care in Minna south and central, also at Tayi, those of Makera and old airport were expanded

Yet another was the issue of water supply. It should be noted that the major source of water in Minna is the Chanchaga water works supplied by Tagwai dam which is assisted by Bosso dam yet Minna is faced with the serious problem of water shortage. Thus we embarked on drilling of boreholes across the town. Unfortunately the survey taken shows that some terrain categorised as red zone will produce no good result and that is why most of the borehole could not last.

To handle youth restiveness the council employed over 700 youths as S. A they were paid between 10,000 -50,000. This seriously helps in curbing security challenges. In fact the council created the vigilante

Question

Did LGA have policies and program for the dev of Minna Town?

Yes, this cos of the position of Minna as seat of power, however the state performs some functions while the LGA dose its own

We receive a lot of support from the State government the 2.5 and .5% IGR generated by the state and all these form the basis of our funds for the various projects.

Question

In view of all these projects you mentioned we still face infrastructural decay in Minna, why?

If one compares the population of the town as at 1976 when the state was created and now one will discover that there is population explosion which brings about over stretch on the available facilities. Thus there are more people than the facilities needed. When boko haram started people rushed to Minna to get safety for instance see how fast place like Kpakungu, Darusalam Unguwan kuka, Shanu, unguwan kanpani etc.

Question

Have there been any ethnic crises in Minna?

When I assumed of in 2007 the policy of government says every resident of Minna was an indigene, thus creating problems for us. Thus what we did was to have two letters one for the indigene and the other was for residents. This has of course caused tension among the dwellers of the town.



Town planner Habiba Ahmed

General Manager Niger State Urban Development Board, Minna

Interviewed 01-12-2016

Question

Why the astronomic spatial growth of the town

The belief that all good things are in the cities, they have nothing to encourage life in the villages in short the issue of rural urban migration. The location of the FUT and other tertiary institutions and parastatals attract people.

The immediate past government has tried to change the nature of urban settlement of Minna by creating expansions and outlets which attracts people to settle. Development is now all over. In addition the movement of the federal capital of Nigeria from Lagos to Abuja that is very close to Minna is also important.

Insurgency has a place by attracting people to Minna. Another factor is the availability of food at affordable rates coupled with the issue of access roads in and out of the town.

The immediate past administration of MBA has a foresight by opening up new access points such as the new Maitumbi-Maikunkele route, the Talba farm road, Bida road are all attracting so much development in that area consequently debunking the traditional lineal structure of the town.

Availability of food, security, and access roads are important factors.

What is the size of Minna?

We are working on delineation of our urban areas

Minna to cover Beji, Paiko, Kateregi and Mutuntaya the MBA administration has pegged 50 km radius.

How do the slums affect the development of Minna Town?

They breed diseases

They are Criminal's hide-out

No roads, drainage in short they are places where people live below minimum standard for meaningful living.

Unfortunately not much is been done to change the situation.

We can solve this problems by ourselves i.e by self-help this has been done in places like Kenya. One way out is to discuss with the people and collaborate with donor agencies.

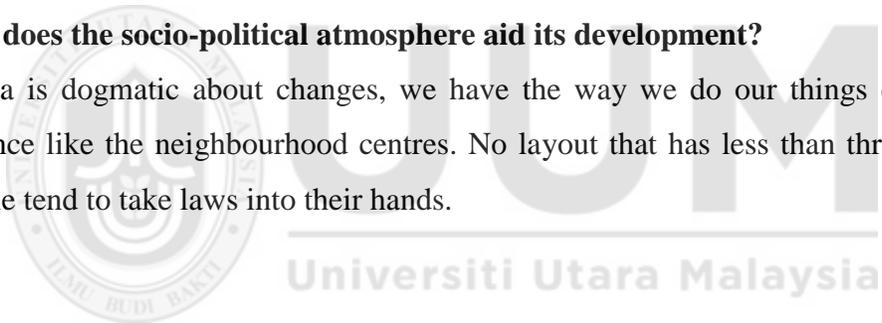
To what extent has the state favoured the development of Minna town?

First the state acquire land and compensate natives, prepares the master plan which the guide for the utilization of spaces

Individuals are now dividing their land according plots in form of layouts to encompass basic facilities such as water supply, schools, roads, electricity, dispensary and even mini markets.

How does the socio-political atmosphere aid its development?

Minna is dogmatic about changes, we have the way we do our things differently for instance like the neighbourhood centres. No layout that has less than three such plans, people tend to take laws into their hands.



BALA MUNNY ABDUL

A Retired Permanent Secretary Niger State Government

Biography

I attended the native education authority Minna, Bida teachers college and college of education Minna then advanced teachers college, I proceeded to Usman Dan Fordio university where I studied history.

How has the Making of Minna headquarters of Niger state in 1976 contributed to its historical development?

We are all witnesses to the nature of Minna since the colonial times and also seen how people for various obvious reasons come to the town from other local government areas. I remember in 1976 if one is to go to Maitumbi or Dutsen Kura you will have to cross wide expanse of no man's land encountering different kinds of wild animals and roads where untarred and some unpaved. Material benefits can be seen all over since it became state capital.

Socially Minna has become a cosmopolitan settlement as a railway town the expansion increased with the citing of state capital in Minna. Thus people of different background came to the town.

Minna as headquarter of different arrangement, how does that affect its historical development?

Taken from the colonial era around 1910 during the era of colonial officer in Minna Capt. Tylor when gold was discovered in Minna many people began to rush into the town just like the case of Zimbabwe that Europeans in their number besieged the area. Hausa who offer cheap labour, the Nupe as experts in blacksmith and other nationals brought different people most of whom settled down.

The colonial authorities made Minna provincial headquarter thus the various division in the province must come for different reasons.

What socio-economic and political advantages aid the historical development of Minna town?

That the place is made headquarter is a major factor. The people at the centre usurp power and other resources

Economically the place is endowed with both cash and food crops which is traded by many people across the country.

What polling factors aid the development of Minna?

Food, Peace and security, water supply, sanitation, gold mines, seasonal migration (especially dry seasons)

To what extent has the State favoured the development of Minna?

By the location of various federal and state government agencies, the presence of local and native authorities and posting of personnel who settled down in the town.

How has provision of security aid the development of Minna town?

Normally during the month of mutharam there used to be mock battles among youths and the security operative were always kept on alert.

Minna had only one police outfit before state creation that is the one now called area command. The first case of manslaughter in Minna was that of Nna wodu of Sam Ndaisaia. In fact the last administration in fairness was very serious about security and that is why it is not lost to hoodlums from troubled states in Nigeria. Thus Minna is regarded as the most secured city in Nigeria.

How has the FCT affected development of Minna?

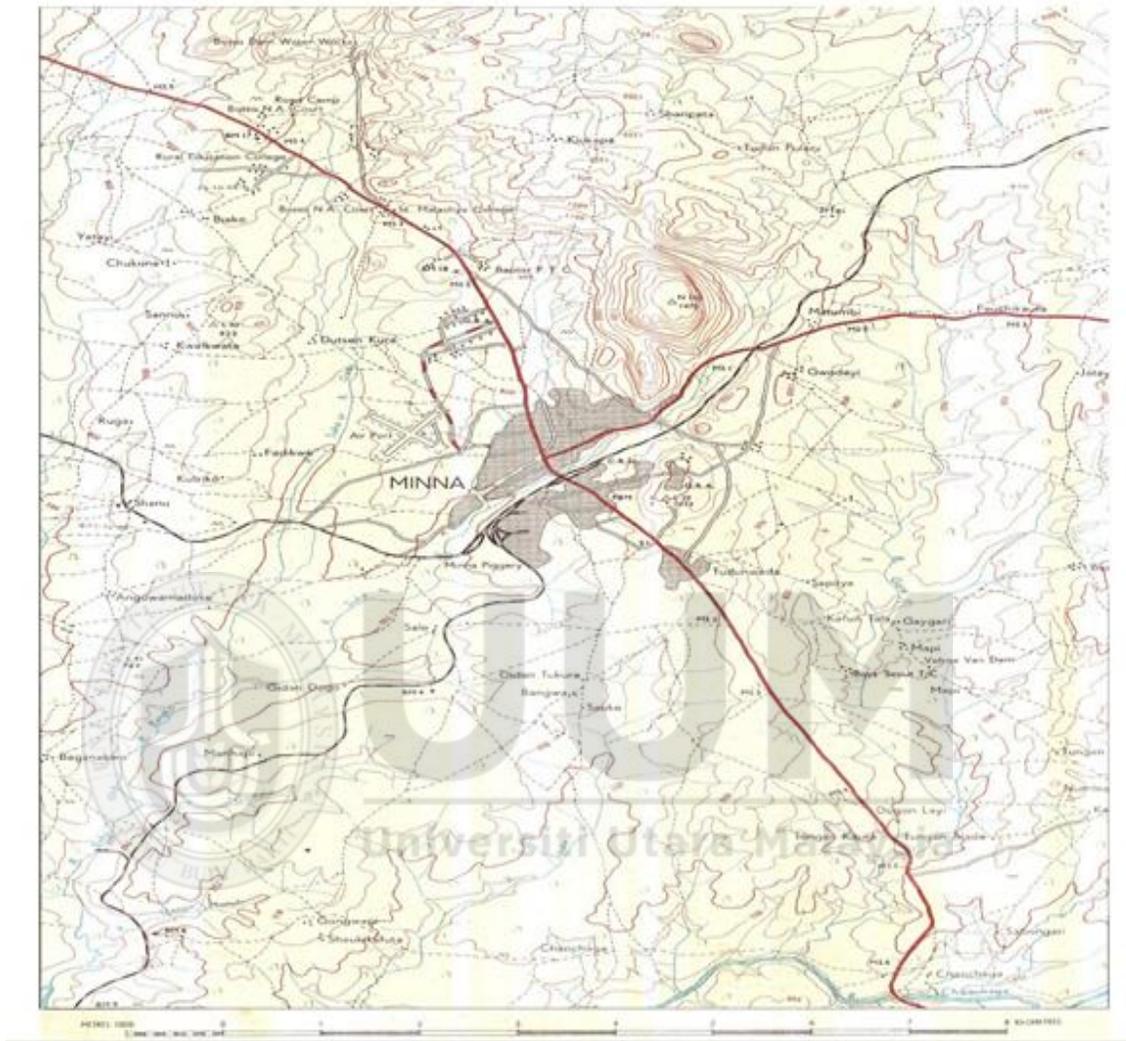
In the colonial days Abuja was one of the divisions under Minna

The relocation of the federal capital to Abuja brought much impact on Minna, some sleep in Minna and work in Minna even the building pattern have changed.

How did ethnic politics affect the historical development of Minna Town?

The Second republic in 1979 was characterized by ethnic lines the NPN was basically a northern party. The NPP/NPN dichotomy took the centre stage. In fact the Gwari/NPP alliance began to mark houses in view of the fact that should they win those houses are to be taken over.

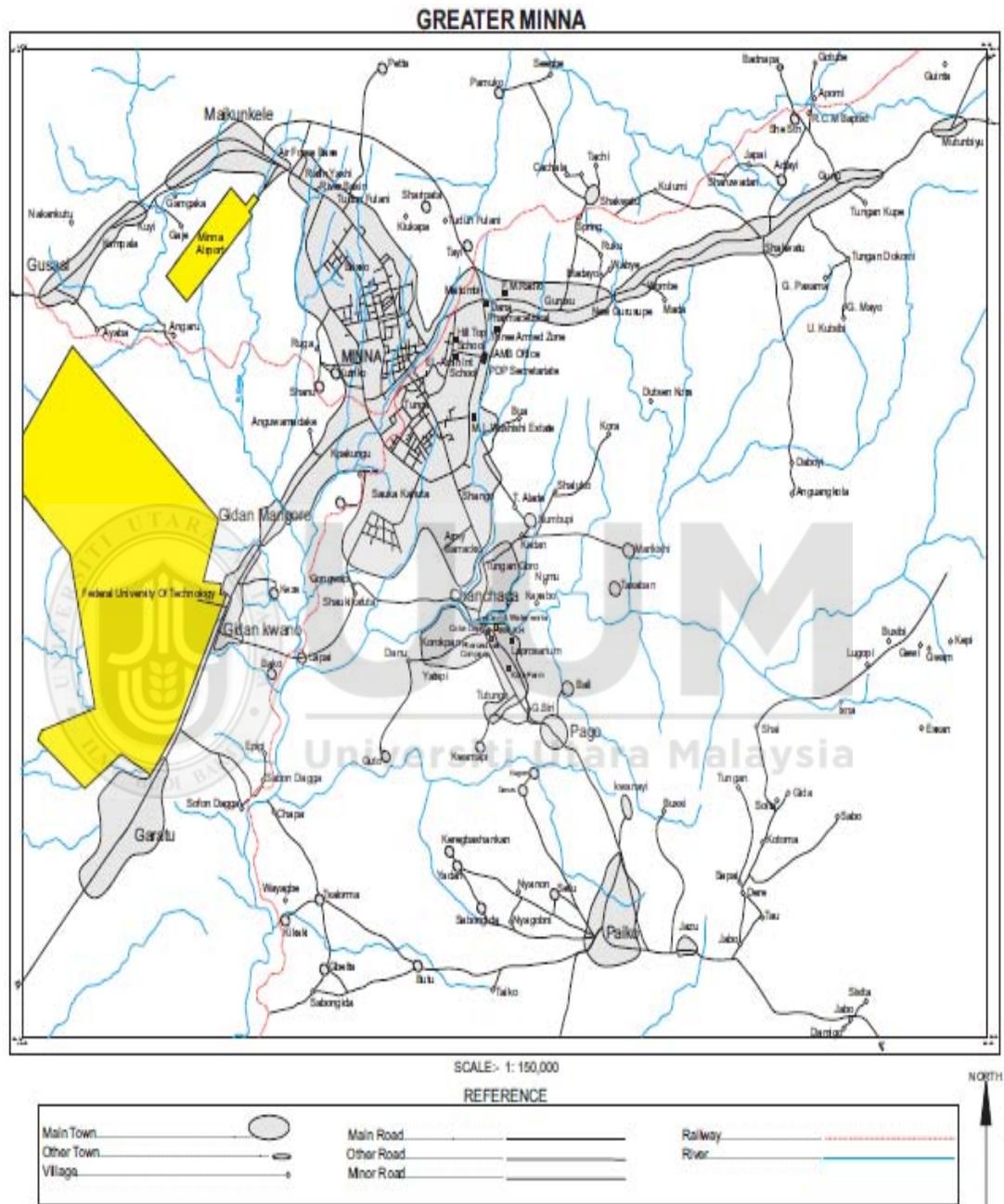
Appendix D
Minna Town as at 1976



Source: Ministry of Land and Survey, Minna 2017

Appendix F

Greater Minna Since 2015



Source: Ministry of Lands and Survey, Minna, Niger State, 2017

Appendix G
Berger Main Drainage System



Source: Researchers' Collection, April 2017



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Appendix H
Food Vendor (Masa joint)



Source: Researchers' Collection, April 2017

Appendix I
Refuse Dump in Heart of The Town



Source: Researchers' Collection, April 2017

Appendix J
A Township Road



Source: Researchers' Collection, February 2017

Appendix K

A Street in Minna Town Occupied by Top Public Officers



Source: Researchers' Collection, February 2017

Appendix L
Nigeria Railway Routes



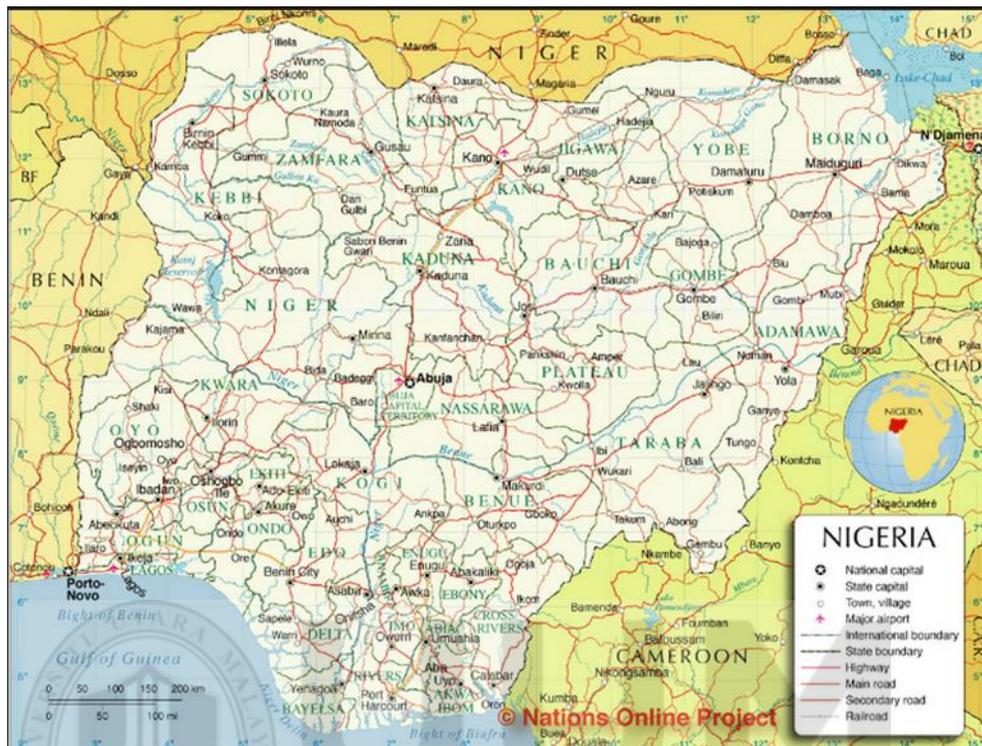
Source: <https://www.google.com/url?sa =1521338576976578> African Railway

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Appendix M

Network of Nigerian Roads



Source: Source: <https://www.google.com/url> Nigerian Roads, 2017

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