

**USMANU DANFODIYO UNIVERSITY, SOKOTO
(POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL)**

**A HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROAD TRANSPORTATION
IN SOKOTO METROPOLIS, 1809 – 2008**

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Submitted to the
Postgraduate School
USMANU DANFODIYO UNIVERSITY, SOKOTO, NIGERIA
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (HISTORY)**

BY

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Dedication

To my parents:

Hajiya Fatima Hassan and late Alhaji Abubakar Shehu *Marqan* Kwanni:
(He was the Village Head of Kwanni Community in Sokoto State, Nigeria)

Certification

This Thesis by Murtala Marafa has met the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (History) of the Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto and is approved for its contribution to knowledge.

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List of Abbreviations

ACOMORAN	-	Amalgamated Commercial Motorcycle Riders Association of Nigeria
ANACOWA	-	Motorcycle Riders and Owners Association
AGO	-	Automotive Gas Oil/Diesel
AHAK	-	Arewa House Archives, Kaduna
ADO	-	Assistant District Officer
BCGA	-	British Cotton Growers Association
Cwt	-	A Hundredweight
DO	-	Divisional Officer
FRSCN	-	Federal Road Safety Commission of Nigeria
GIS	-	Geographic Information System
i/c	-	In-charge
JHSN	-	Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria
SUDA	-	Sokoto Urban Development Authority
MTD	-	Motor Traffic Division
MDAs	-	Ministries Departments Agencies
NAMW	-	Native Authority Mechanical Workshop
MLA	-	Motor Licensing Authority
NAARTA	-	National Association of Automobile Repairs, and Technicians Association
NAK	-	National Archives Kaduna
NA	-	Native Authority
NITT	-	Nigerian Institute of Transport Technology
NRG	-	Northern Regional Government
NPC	-	Northern People Congress
NEPU	-	Northern Element Progressive Union
NNPC	-	Northern Nigeria Publishing Company
NURTW	-	National Union of Road Transport Workers
NARTO	-	National Association of Road Transport Owners
NA	-	Nigerian Airways
NLC	-	National Labour Congress
OSGOF	-	Office of the Surveyor General of the Federation

PMS	-	Premium Motor Spirit
PWD	-	Public Works Department
RMS	-	Regular Motor Spirit
RTEAN	-	Road Transport Employers Association of Nigeria
RTD	-	Road Traffic Department
RAF	-	Royal Airforce
RHIS	-	Road Accident Health Insurance Scheme
SNP	-	Secretary Northern Provinces
SAP	-	Structural Adjustment Program
SSU	-	Sokoto State University, Sokoto
TORAN	-	Tricycle Owners and Riders Association
UAC	-	United Africa Company
VIO	-	Vehicle Inspection Officer
WAAC	-	West African Airways Corporation
WJHCB	-	Waziri Junaidu History and Culture Bureau Sokoto

Abstract

Transportation is an indispensable engine of social, political and economic growth of any human society. It facilitated the emergence, growth and expansion of Sokoto metropolis across different historical epochs. The leaders of Sokoto Jihad movements designed policies that facilitated transportation system in the metropolis and beyond. At the initial stage, the most widespread traditional form of transport in the metropolis had been human portage and beast of burden such as donkeys, camels and horses. After the fall of Sokoto Caliphate to the British in March 1903, local transportation facilities were enhanced, side by side with the newly introduced wheel system meant to serve the colonial exigencies. This came with a corresponding demand for roads construction and expansion that influenced urban growth during the colonial times. It is argued in the thesis that since 1960 Sokoto metropolis has witnessed rapid transformations in the area of traditional and modern transportation systems. This research documents the different forms of transportation at different phases in the history of Sokoto metropolis from 1809 to 2008 when tricycle became one of the means of transportation. The expansion of the metropolis to engulf its suburbs further increased the demand for modern transportation facilities, thereby creating new opportunities for both inter and intra-city transportation services. It is argued that life in the city could have been unbearable and different without the imperative role of both the traditional and modern transportation services that with time paved a smoothing way for gradual transformation. The study adopts qualitative and quantitative research methods to collect and analyze data as it immerses subject of study into an in-depth account of the actual events of the study. This method is also associated with paramount observations and oral interviews. The primary and secondary sources used include Archival materials that contain files such as memoranda, reports, regulations, diaries and letters on different transactions on road transportation generally. Primary data was collected through oral interviews with wide range of persons who have direct knowledge on road transportation system in Sokoto metropolis. The sources used in the study include published and unpublished materials.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Transportation is an essential part of human activity, and in several ways form the basis of social and economic development of societies. Indeed, no two locations would interact effectively without a viable means of movement/communication. Thus, a good transport service is essential to support economic growth and development. The city of Sokoto was established in the early 19th century, following the success of *Sheikh* Usmanu Danfodiyo Jihad movement. Sokoto served as the headquarters/capital city of the new Caliphate. Since 1809,¹ following its establishment by Sultan Muhammadu Bello Sokoto had remained a capital city at various times.² However, much as Sokoto metropolis has been a capital city since 19th century, the absence of railway networks necessitated the development of road transportation for the movement of goods and services.³

During both pre-colonial and colonial periods and particularly in post-colonial era there developed in the city different forms of road transport services which facilitated movement of goods and services within the metropolis.⁴ Thus, the pre-colonial period, provided the traditional means of transportation especially the use of human portage and

¹. A.B. Mamman, "The Evolution and Growth of Sokoto city", In *Journal of Social Sciences and Administration*, Vol.I No.2 Dec 1999, Funsho Printing works Kaduna, p.45. For detailed discussion on gradual evolution of Sokoto city, see...Sale Abubakar, "Birnin Shehu, the City of Sokoto: A Social and Economic History, C. 1809-1903", PhD History, ABU, Zaria, 1982. See also...P.K. Tibenderana, "The Administration of Sokoto, Gwandu and Argungu Emirates, 1900-1946", PhD History, Ibadan, 1980. See also...Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, Longmans London, 1967. See also...Hugh Clapperton, in Bovill, E.W., *Missions to the Niger*, Vol. IV, Cambridge University Press, 1966, p. 701. Clapperton was in Sokoto in 1824 and later in 1826/7 when he died there. And in his *Journal of a Second Expedition*, London, John Murray, 1829, p. 207.

². H.A.C. Main, "Sokoto: Urban Morphology and Function", M.A. Dissertation, 1974, University of Aberdeen, Scotland, p.20. For detailed discussion on Sokoto Urban Morphology see...Herry Barth, *Travels and Discoveries*, Vol. III, London, 1966, p. 556. See also...Hugh Clapperton, in Bovill, E.W., *Missions to the Niger*, Vol. IV, Cambridge University Press., 1966, p. 701.

³. There was the subsequent creation of North-Western State in 1967 and thereafter Sokoto state in 1987, and the city still retains its position as a state capital. The position of the city as a state capital shaped its development both spatially and demographically to the extent that it became a growing metropolis by the mid. 20th century.

⁴. U.I. Ibrahim, *Metropolitan Sokoto: Issues in History and Urban Development Since 1960*, Gaskiya Corporation Ltd., Zaria, 2013, p.126.

beast of burden as the most common means of road haulage. However, during the 20th century, there was the development of modern means of transportation which started with the introduction of wheel vehicles by the colonial administration and subsequently with the efforts of some indigenous⁵ entrepreneurs such as Alhaji Abdun-Zagi who happened to be the first indigenous trader to embark on a commercial road transport business in the city.⁶ Other indigenous traders who established commercial road transportation business in Sokoto city included Alhaji Adili Gobirawa, Alhaji Amadu Kiriyo, Alhaji Altine Longman, Alhaji Garba Dikkon Gande, Alhaji Mamman Namata, Sarkin Larabawa Sidi Maigari and Alhaji Shehu Ani Kamba, etc.⁷

Commercial road transportation in Sokoto metropolis witnessed further development and changes in post-colonial era when private individuals established motorcycles and thereafter tricycles transportation businesses with the intent of satisfying the expanding demand of commuters.⁸ It is worth noting that hand in hand with development of the various modes of commercial road transportation businesses, auto-mechanical repairing villages and workshops emerged within Sokoto metropolis and its environs. The auto-mechanic villages and workshops provide important support services to commercial road transportation business.⁹ Auto-mechanic works department was established by the Native Authority (N.A.) in the City located at the current *Kofar Taramniya*, and some private individuals ventured into it and engaged the services of such

⁵. Ibid, p. 128. See also...S.G. Mande, "The Merchant Class in the Socio-Economic Development of Gusau Town, 1929-1969", B.A. History, UDU, Sokoto, 1990. See...A.U. Dan Asabe, "Comparative Biographies of selected Leaders of Kano Commercial Establishment", M.A. Dissertation, BUK, 1987.

⁶ As an agent of UAC Abdu-zagi advertised the products of UAC including motor vehicles.

⁷. Muhammad Jelani, "A Biography of Business Merchant AbdunZagi", B.A. History, UDU, Sokoto, 1999. See also...L.N. Bako, "Indigenous traders and private business in Sokoto city during the colonial period, 1903-1960", M.A. Dissertation, UDU Sokoto, 2015. P.54

⁸. Ibid. p. 56. See...M.A. Kware, "A Study of Motorcycles (Kabu-Kabu) As Means of Transportation in Sokoto Metropolis", PGD Dissertation, NITT, Zaria, 2012, p.23. See...K. Adeniji, "Transport Challenges in Nigeria in the next two Decades", a key note address delivered at the 5th *National Council on Transportation*, organized by the Federal Ministry of Transport, at the ECOWAS Secretariat, Abuja, Nigeria, 29-31 August, 2000.

⁹. U. I. Ibrahim, *Metropolitan Sokoto: Issues in History and Urban Development Since 1960*, p.126.

professionals for modest returns of business investment. The first of such individual was Alhaji Muhammadu Lula in the early 1960s who happened to be the first mechanic in the City who was believed to have been encouraged by the late Premier of the Northern Region, Sir Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto. By the early 1970s, apart from Lula Mechanic Village, Sokoto metropolis had five Mechanic Villages in the outskirts and which included that of Tashar Illella Garage, More, Buzaye, Sahara area, Kwannawa, Kantin Daji and Zangazanga that emerged in the 1980s as credible repair centres. Operating side by side with these established centres are a number of individual mechanic workshops located in almost every part of the metropolis. Interestingly, these workshops and mechanic centres or enclaves have employed as many youths as possible both indigenes and non-indigenes who hitherto constituted a large percentage of the unemployed youth in the metropolis. According to Alhaji Abu Nata, Chairman Nigeria Automobile Technicians Association (NATA), Sokoto chapter, as at 1988 these centres and workshops were believed to have employed over 5,000 people in Sokoto metropolis alone.¹⁰

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Notwithstanding the fact that a lot of researches have been conducted on the history of Sokoto City since the 1960s when Murray Last published his monumental work on the Institution of the *Wazirate*, those researches concentrated on political and administrative matters. Very little was written on the social and economic history of the Sokoto City. The role and significance of transportation has not been given much concern which explains why our knowledge of the dynamic role different modes of transportation played in the development of Sokoto metropolis is too sketchy and inadequate. Exhaustive as it appears

¹⁰. Alhaji Abu Nata, Chairman Nigeria Automobile Technicians Association (NATA). see also...Maryam Shafi'i, "Origin and Development of Mechanic Villages in Sokoto Metropolis: A Case Study of Buzaye Mechanic Village", B.A. Project, UDU, Sokoto, 2007, p.17, see...U.I. Ibrahim, *Metropolitan Sokoto: Issues in History and Urban Development Since 1960*, Gaskiya Corporation Ltd., Zaria, 2013, p.126

in metropolitan socio-economic history of Sokoto metropolis, Saleh Abubakar's thesis made little or no attempt to examine the existing system of transportation and its contributions to the cosmopolitan economy of Sokoto metropolis.¹¹ Interestingly, also, even the later studies in the history of Sokoto metropolis particularly in the 20th century, have not done enough justice in exploring the continuity and change in the system of transportation *vis-à-vis* its contributions to socio-economic development of the metropolis. Thus, it is relevant to argue that the history of road transportation system in Sokoto metropolis is a dream yet to be researched on. Of all the modes of transportation not only in Sokoto metropolis, but also throughout Nigeria, the road mode is the most popular, the greatest used, the readily accessible. The dominant influence of road transportation is owed to its flexibility and concomitant advantage of providing door-to-door services. Apart from the earlier mentioned of factors like accessibility, affordability, flexibility that had enhanced the ubiquitousness of the road transportation, other attributes have contributed to its being the *primus inter pares* in the transportation system in the metropolis. These potentialities and benefits peculiar to the road transport, especially within the context of public transportation, are common worldwide and therefore apply without exception to Sokoto metropolis's situation. It is in the light of inadequate historical investigation on the significance of road transportation in the development of Sokoto metropolis that this study attempts to bring into light the changing nature of transportation service from 1809 to 2008.¹²

¹¹. Sale Abubakar, "Birni Shehu, the City of Sokoto: A Social and Economic History", Ph.D Thesis, ABU Zaria, 1982, P.22

¹². It has been shown in the study that during the 19th century, Sokoto metropolis depended on donkeys, horses, camels and human portage as major means of moving goods and services. From the early 20th century however, the pattern of transportation system changed due to the introduction by the colonial state and some indigenous entrepreneurs' commercial road transportation business. Transportation also increased the volume of trade making it possible for increase and concentration of population in the city. Thus, the role of road transportation in the development of Sokoto metropolis cannot be over emphasized.

1.3 Research Questions

- (i) What is the origin of the development of road transportation system in Sokoto metropolis?
- (ii) What were the uses of traditional means of transportation before, during and after the Sokoto Jihad movement?
- (iii) What were the various changes in road transportation system in Sokoto metropolis during the colonial period?
- (iv) How did the introduction of modern road transportation services in Sokoto metropolis lead to the emergence of auto-mechanic repairing centres and workshops in post-colonial Sokoto?
- (v) What major challenges did road transportation system face as a result of the changes in demography and other environmental factors in Sokoto metropolis?

1.4 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The general aim of the research is to document the history of the development of road transportation in Sokoto metropolis from 1809 to 2008. But, the specific objectives are to investigate and explain how the various modes of road transportation system impacted on the economy and society of Sokoto metropolis during the period of study. Specifically, the objectives include:

- (i) To identify sources of information and necessary data on the evolution of road transportation service in Sokoto metropolis.
- (ii) To examine the role of traditional means of transportation system before, during and after the Sokoto Jihad movement.
- (iii) To explain the various changes in the development of road transportation system in Sokoto metropolis during colonial period.

- (iv) To discuss how the development of road transportation service in Sokoto metropolis in post-colonial era led to the emergence of auto-mechanic repairing centres and workshops in Sokoto Metropolis.
- (v) To assess the challenges facing the enterprise owing to emerging demographic and other environmental factors.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The study addresses the history of one of the vital issues in Sokoto metropolis that has been understudied in spite of its centrality in societal development. It has been shown in the study that much as road transportation has a long history in Sokoto metropolis, the period from the early 20th century was important as it marked the time when modern road transportation evolved owing to the introduction of motor vehicles in the Sokoto metropolis. Side by side with this was the development from the mid-20th Century, of commercial road transporters whose emergence became necessary owing to the increased in population and physical expansion of the city.

1.6 Scope of the Study

In terms of scope, this research is a study of the development of road transportation in Sokoto metropolis that currently consists of four (4) Local Government Councils of Sokoto South, Sokoto North, part of Dange Shuni and some parts of Wamakko especially Sama Road, Arkilla and Dundaye areas. The study covers the period from 1809 when the City was established as the capital of the Caliphate. The terminal date for the study is 2008. The choice of 2008 is because the area under study during the period had witnessed in large number the introduction of tricycles as means of commuting populace. The introduction provided relative ease and comfort especially to women and elderly people in

the society. Therefore, such development affected the smooth operation of commercial road transportation in the city.

1.7 Methodology of the study

In order to be able to get information from original sources, the study implores qualitative approach of data collection and analysis. The method enables the researcher to immerse himself with the subject of study with a view to generating a round and indepth account of the subject. It also allows for the collection, processing and analysis of the data collected to foster production of the entire research. This method is often associated with paramount observation, unstructured and indepth interviews. However, it allows the handling of both primary and secondary data for information gathering on the development of road transportation in Sokoto metropolis during the period under review.

The primary sources used include Archival materials collected from the National Archives Kaduna, Waziri Junaidu History and Culture Bureau Sokoto, Arewa House Kaduna and Nigeria Institute of Transport Technology, Zaria. The Archival materials contain information concerning commercial road transportation in the study area. The files consulted included memoranda, reports, regulations, diaries and letters of business transactions on road transportation in general. Also primary data was collected through oral interviews with wide range of persons who have direct knowledge on road transportation system in Sokoto metropolis. Interviews have also been conducted with serving and retired officials of ministry of roads and transport Sokoto state as well as officials of Sokoto State Mass Transit and Sokoto local government Mass Transit.

The Secondary sources consulted included textbooks, articles in Journals, chapters in books, seminar papers, PhD theses, M.A. dissertations, and other postgraduate projects that have some bearings with the subject matter of the research.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The use or application of theories in order to acquire, understand, analyze or modify scientific or humanistic knowledge is important. There are a number of theories that deal with issue of transportation. However, the central argument of the study is based on W. W. Rostow's theory on *Stages of Economic Growth*. The theory identified five steps through which all societies must pass to become developed: traditional society, pre-conditions to take-off, take-off, drive to maturity and age of mass consumption. According to the theory, in the development process of any society, transportation played a vital. In the opinion of Rostow at each stage of the development of societies, the critical role of infrastructure, especially that of road transport cannot be overemphasized. Transportation is critical in each of the stages to support as to ensure transition from one stage to another. Thus, a subsistence economy cannot change to a trading economy without improvements in its transport facilities, just as transition to industrial stage requires adequate and effective means of transportation. Transport infrastructure according to Rostow facilitates the provision of other forms of infrastructure on which development rests; and that the trade could only be developed with improvements in its transport facilities which in turn facilitates transition of an economy from one particular stage to another just as from agrarian society to an industrial society.¹³

It is on the basis of Rostow's theory of Stages of Economic Growth that this present study titled "A History of the Development of Road Transportation in Sokoto Metropolis, 1809 – 2008" rests its case. Transportation had been a factor in the development and transformation of the city since 1809 when it became the capital of the

¹³. W.W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth*. Cambridge University Press, USA, 1960 p.7. See also...C.I. Savage, *An Economic History of Transport*. Hucthinson, London, 1959. P. 66. See also...J. C. Stabler, *Export and Evolution. The Process of Regional Change*, in Land Economics. Vol. 44, 1968 PP.11-23.

Caliphate.¹⁴ The assumptions in this theory provides the basis for some of the explanations advanced in this study, especially the discussion that transport proved to be the major factor in the development and transformation of the metropolis from 1809 to 2008, as well as the integration it attained.

1.9 Literature Review

For a better understanding of this research, a number of literatures, both directly and indirectly relevant to this study have been reviewed. The reviews enable the study to determine the aspects of the history of Sokoto metropolis yet to be satisfactorily covered in existing literature. The reviews also help in the articulation of the aim and objectives of the study, the justification of the study and of course its scope and limitation.

(a) Published Sources

Usman Y. B., in his *Transport and Communication* examines the major reasons behind the establishment of modern transport and communication systems by the British colonialists. He shows that the colonial transport and communication systems in Nigeria were built and maintained primarily to facilitate the export of cash crops and other raw materials from Nigeria to London and importing manufactured goods from London to Nigeria. Transportation as further shown by Usman was used to ensure effective deployment of the police and military forces of the British government, in order to ensure effective control of the population, resources and territory of the country.¹⁵

Usman also discusses the role played by the colonial firms in achieving the aforementioned objectives especially by raising tax and other forms of revenue which were used for building transport and communication infrastructure that enable the trading companies to buy and sell, import and export, and make profits for British firms. Usman

¹⁴. W.W. Rostow, *The Stages...* pp. 7 – 8

¹⁵. Y.B. Usman, *Transport and Communications*, in Kayode, M.O. and Usman, Y.B. (ed), *Nigeria Since Independence, the first 25 years* Vol.II: The Economy, Ibadan, Heinemann Books, 1989, p.136. pp 132-136.

also addressed the factors responsible for the decline of the Nigerian railway. According to him the railway system collapsed because the interest of both colonial and post-colonial governments in Nigeria was more on road transport. The road transport sub-sector as he argues expanded rapidly than any other transport system.¹⁶ According to Usman, the problem of corruption was the single most important factor which led to the decline in the performance and significance of the railways.¹⁷

Lastly, Usman discusses the expansion of the road transport system and how it became dominant during the Nigerian civil war. He pointed out that after the civil war which ended in 1970, road transport came to be the most dominant and decisive sub-sector of transportation in Nigeria. There was since 1970 massive public sector investment into road construction which was accompanied by the rapid expansion of the importation of vehicles and vehicle spare parts.¹⁸ There was also the establishment of vehicles assembly plants by Peugeot of France in Kaduna; Volkswagen of West Germany in Lagos, Leyland of Britain in Ibadan and Daimler Benz of West Germany in Enugu. With the establishment of these assembly plants, road transport became an important segment in the manufacturing sector.¹⁹

Ekundare R. O., *An Economic History of Nigeria 1860-1960* examines the various modes of transport system that existed in Nigeria, ranging from water, road, rail and air transport. In his submission, before 1914, Northern Nigeria was linked with the south only by water ways, mainly by way of River Niger and before the advent of the railway,

¹⁶. Ibid, pp 136-140. See...*Management Intervention for Sokoto State Transport Corporation (SOSTC)*, Eluma-Igwegbe & Co investment Management services in collaboration with: mercantile trust corporation, USA January, 1994, p.3

¹⁷. Ibid, pp 140-144. See... Kole, A.S., "Working Class and the Crisis in Nigeria Railway Corporation", M.Sc. Political Science Dissertation, ABU Zaria, 1987.
An Economic History of Nigeria 1860-19670, Methuen Press, London, 1973, pp 127-135.

¹⁸. Y.B. Usman, *Transport and Communications* Op.cit. pp 145-148

¹⁹. Ibid, pp 148-150.

the River Niger and Benue provided the channels by which goods and passengers could be transported to and from North.²⁰

Ekundare also believes that economic exploitation of the resources of the interior by the British government was the major factor for the construction of these transport systems in the country. It was with this aim that Lugard affirmed his commitment to see to the extension of railway to northern Nigeria. He therefore, stressed its economic and military importance to the British Empire in view of the French policy in her territories.²¹ The feeder roads in Nigeria according to Ekundare were constructed to provide enough passengers for the new railways. Ekundare's work on transport has provided an important insight into the history of road transportation and Auto-mechanic industry.²²

Ali A.D., in his study on *Trade and transport in the lower Niger 1830-2011* examines how the introduction of motor engine boat on the lower Niger River in the 1870 facilitated the movement of goods and passengers as well as boost trade in the lower Niger-River. Ali also argues that when the rails and roads were constructed, transportation on the lower Niger River declined. Therefore, many people who were involved in the colonial export trade on the lower Niger River diverted their capital to other businesses.²³ Ali further stated that, even in the post-colonial period the federal government has failed to provide the necessary support by way of finance and infrastructure. The major emphasis on the development of transportation in Nigeria has been on roads. The major argument in Ali's work on transport is how water transport aided the development of trade in the lower Niger during the early years of colonial domination of the area.²⁴

²⁰. R.O. Ekundare, *An Economic History of Nigeria 1860-19670*, Methuen Press, London, 1973, pp 127-135.

²¹. Ibid, pp 136-141. See...G.O. Ogunremi, *Counting the Camels: Economics of Transportation in Pre-Industrial Nigeria*, New York publishers International, USA, 1982, p.155.

²². Ibid, pp 142-147

²³. A.D. Ali, *Trade and Transport in the Lower Niger 1830-2011*, Adegun Concept Publishers, Lagos, 2012, p.119.

²⁴. Ibid, p.120

Gilbert Walker's *Traffic and transport in Nigeria: the example of an underdeveloped tropical territory* examines the historical development of various modes of transportation system introduced by the British in their Nigerian colony. Among the many modes of transport introduced then include the railways, roads, and ferry services. The British also developed and expanded the use of existing pre-colonial indigenous transport system such as pack animals especially in the north.²⁵ According to Walker in places like Kano, Zaria, Katsina, Sokoto and other northern cities, the most widely used mode of transport system up to 1930s were pack animals. The donkey, horse, camel and pack oxen played important role in providing the transportation needs of the colonialists. These include the evacuation of agricultural produce and other raw materials intended for export to the railway collection centres as well as distribution of imported European products.²⁶

Cart routes were developed along the line of the old path and improvement was undertaken by unskilled village laborers working with local materials under the directives of an administrative officer and African headman. Walker further argued that, in the south lorry services were employed by the railway department to serve as a feeder transport means. This work is also another important work to this study for its insight into the Cart transportation system.²⁷

Ogunremi G.O., *Counting the camels: Economies of Transportation in pre-industrial Nigeria* examines the activities and nature of transportation in pre-colonial northern Nigeria. He also analyzed the various modes of transport facilities in relation to

²⁵. Gilbert Walker, "Traffic and Transport in Nigeria: The Example of An Undeveloped Tropical Territory" (Colonial Research Studies, no. 27) in Her Majesty's stationary office London, 1959, p.7.

²⁶. Ibid, p.8. See...O.A. Adeyemi, "Government Policies and Mass Transit in Nigeria", in T. Bolade & E. D. Adeyemi (eds.) *Enhancing the Efficiency of Mass Transit Operations in Nigeria*, Rexchales publishers, Ibadan, 1996, pp. 3-6.

²⁷. Ibid.

pre-industrial economy of the country.²⁸ According to him, these traditional modes of transportation are still relevant to the modern economy. The emphasis of Ogunremi in the work was on the pre-colonial means of transportation, which is quite relevant to the present study.²⁹

Adeyemo O.A.'s *Government policies and mass transit in Nigeria* examines how the urban transportation problem arose principally because of high concentration of population, increase in economic activities, expansion of educational and social facilities in relatively small areas with poor land use planning. These activities generated the demand for transport services. He also, pointed out that urban transportation in Nigeria before 1988 was 95% by road and 5% by rail and ferry services. In terms of road transport according to him, 95% was by Para-transit, mini-buses, *Danfoss* and *Molues* in Lagos and taxis in virtually every city in Nigeria.³⁰

Adeyemo, also believes that the aim and objectives for the establishment of the Federal Urban Mass Transit Programme (FUMTP) in 1998 was to alleviate the problem of poor transport activities at the federal capital territory level. He further explains the achievements of the programme as well as its problems and challenges. The work has direct bearing to this study because of the relationship in terms of the programme of Sokoto State Mass Transit Scheme which also experienced similar problems.³¹

Farris M.T. and Harding F.E.'s *Passenger transportation* attempt to examine the role of transportation in the transformation of Jos and how transportation generally contributed to the development of infrastructure in the area. The authors also discussed how transportation system assisted significantly towards the movement of people from the

²⁸. G.O. Ogunremi, *Counting the Camels: Economics of Transportation in Pre-Industrial Nigeria*, New York publishers International, USA, 1982, Op.cit p.155.

²⁹. Ibid, p.156.

³⁰. O. A. Adeyemi, "Government Policies and Mass Transit in Nigeria", in T. Bolade & E. D. Adeyemi (eds.) *Enhancing the Efficiency of Mass Transit Operations in Nigeria*, Rexchales publishers, Ibadan, 1996. Op.cit p. 5

³¹. Ibid, p.7

rural area to the city as well as their settlement and integration with other people.³² According to them, the importance of transportation to the humanity cannot be overemphasized. Moreso, the work also explained the role of transportation in spreading civilization to the society. This is done through exchange of ideas, cultures, knowledge, customs and traditions.³³

Allen McPhee's *Economic Revolution in British West Africa* discusses the historical development of modern forms of transportation system introduced by the British government in their West African colonies. He believed that colonialism brought revolution in the transport sector of the economy of the colonized territories.³⁴ The introduction of the railway as McPhee further argued had marked a paradigm shift in the existing social, economic and political set up of the people in the area. He further argued that, with the introduction of railway, the wasteful method of head portage ended and slave carriage died a natural death and thus, the carriers added to the labour supply. This assertion cannot be true with reference to northern Nigeria, where, throughout the period of colonial rule and even after head portage continued to feature prominently as an important means of transportation.³⁵ Apart from the head portage, pack animals also played significant role during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. Pack animals such as camels, horses, donkeys and cattles, etc. became an important aspect of the road transportation and contributed significantly to the development of economy and society in Northern Nigeria and Nigeria in general.³⁶

Madugu Y.U.'s *Commercial Buses and Economic Growth in Kano Metropolis, 1967-2000* is another relevant work to this study. Madugu examines the relationship

³². M.T. Farris & F.E. Harding, *Passenger Transportation*, New Jersey Princeton Hall, Inc., 1976, pp 1-10.

³³. Ibid, pp 149-165.

³⁴. Allen McPhee., (1971), *Economic Revolution in British West Africa*, Francass and Co. Ltd, London, p.99.

³⁵. Ibid, p.100. See...A.J. Njoh, *Implications of Africa's Transportation System for Development in the Era of Globalization*. Florida University press, 2012 p.89

³⁶. Ibid.

between the growth of the economy of Kano metropolis and the activities of the commercial buses. He outlines areas of major economic impact of the commercial bus services and concluded that commercial bus ventures provided employment to the teeming youths in Kano in addition to generating revenue to the state government.³⁷

In another study by Madugu entitled, *A Historical Overview on the Changing Nature of Transport and Trade in Kano C.1900-2016*, he examines the issues of continuity and change in transport and trade in Kano, with particular emphasis on the metropolitan Kano from 1900-1960. He also established a linkage between trade and transportation industry and their economic contribution to the revenue of Kano state.³⁸

In another study Madugu's examines the *Biographies of Selected Transport Entrepreneurs in Kano* with particular reference to their socio-economic contribution to the development of Kano's road transport industry. Madugu opined that, the development of modern road transport industry facilitated and sustained the ensuing growth in trade and commerce in Kano and Nigeria at large. According to him, road transport system is one of the most contributing factors that made Kano a regional powerhouse in trade, commerce, agriculture and industry. The indigenous entrepreneurs that established transport services as he further argues provided employment opportunities by training young apprentices who later became successful transporters in their own right. Some of these entrepreneurs included: Alhaji Muhammad Nagoda, Malam Uwaisu Ahmad (Babba Dan'Agundi) and Alhaji Ibrahim Madugu (Na Bakon Wayya), etc.³⁹

³⁷. Y.U. Madugu, "Commercial Buses and Economic Growth in Kano Metropolis, 1967-2000"; in Sa'ad B.A. and Ibrahim K.A. (ed) *Resurgent Nigeria: Issues in Intellectual History. A Festschrift in Honour of Dahiru Yahaya*, University Press, Ibadan, 2011,

³⁸. Y.U. Madugu, "A Historical Overview on the Changing Nature of Transport and Trade in Kano C.1900-2016" in T.U. Muhammad, and A.R. Murtala, (eds.) *Social and Economic History of Northern Nigeria Since 1500 AD*, Aboki Publishers, 2015,

³⁹. Y.U. Madugu, "Biographies of Selected Transport Entrepreneurs in Kano", in *ASUU Journal of Humanities: A Journal of Research and Development*, Vol. 4, No. 1 & 2, December, 2017. PP. 156-177.

Madugu Y.U.'s PhD work on *Transportation and Economy of Kano Metropolis C.1967-2014* examine transportation industry in Kano metropolitan areas and its socio-economic contribution to the economy of Kano. He also discusses various means of transportation in Kano metropolis, such as the commercial buses, tricycle (*adaidaita sahu*), motorcycle (*yan achaba*), etc.⁴⁰ Madugu also examines traditional transportation systems not only in Kano but also in other places in northern Nigeria and how these various modes of transportation facilitated economic development as well as the movement of goods and services.⁴¹

Njoh A.J.'s *Implications of Africa's Transportation Systems for Development, in the Era of Globalization* examines the various African transportation systems, their nature, strengths and weaknesses as well as implications to the general importance of the African societies. Njoh, an environmental Scientist and transportation expert from the University of Florida, carried out work on the development of Africa's transportation network as it relates to the nature and conditions of the African environmental and ecological situation.⁴²

Mamman A.B. in his *The Evolution and Growth of Sokoto City* examined the evolution, growth and development of Sokoto city from pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. He outlined stages of the evolution and development of the city. He traced the development of the wards in the city from their inception as well as the

⁴⁰. Y.U. Madugu, "Transportation and Economy of Kano Metropolis C.1967-2014" Unpublished PhD Thesis, BUK, 2015,

⁴¹. Ibid.

⁴². A.J. Njoh, *Implications of Africa's Transportation System for Development in the Era of Globalization*. Florida University press, 2012 p.89. see also, J.C. Rothenberg, and I.G. Hegie, *Transport policy*, McMillan Publishers, London, 1974; P.R. White, *Planning for Public Transportation*, Y. Hutchinson & Co. Publishers, London, 1976 and Talley, *Introduction to Transportation and Business Administration*, Virginia University Press, USA, 1967.

expansion and structures of the city during the colonial and post-colonial periods and how state creation that started in 1967 affected the physical structure of the city.⁴³

Ibrahim I.U.'s *Metropolitan Sokoto: Issues in history and urban development since 1960* is an examination of metropolitan areas of Sokoto with particular reference to the year 1960. He examines some of the major activities concerning development of Sokoto metropolis, vis-a-vis socio-economic activities. He identified and discusses among others, commercial transportation and auto-mechanical repairing services as some of the major economic activities in the metropolis since 1960. He went further to examine their economic contributions to the development of the metropolis as well as their roles in eradication of poverty and youth unemployment among others. Although Ibrahim's work briefly discussed the activities of commercial road transport in Sokoto metropolis, he has not been able in his discussion to examine what shall be done to strengthen the business in line with global best practices.⁴⁴

Abdussalam I.K.'s PhD work on *Transportation and Transformation in Jos C. 1900-1966* examines how Transportation industry significantly contributed to the development of Jos city. He also examines the various roles transportation industry had played in the transformation of Jos and how it brought about infrastructural development as well as migration and settlement in the city.⁴⁵ The work also examines the relationship between transportation industry and the consolidation of British colonial administration. Abdulsalam also provides an alternative explanation to the development of Jos city as

⁴³. A.B. Mamman, in *Journal of Social Sciences and Administration*, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 2001. According to him, firstly, 12 States were created by General Yakubu Gowon's administration on 27th May, 1967, secondly, 7 States were also created by Gen. Murtala Ramat Muhammad's administration on 3rd February, 1976, thirdly, 2 States were further created by Gen. Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida's administration on 23rd September, 1987;; fourthly, 9 States were also created by the Gen. Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida's administration on 27th August, 1991 and fifthly, 6 States were created by Gen. Sani Abacha's Administration on 1st October, 1996 respectively

⁴⁴. U. I. Ibrahim *Metropolitan Sokoto...*, p.126

⁴⁵. I.K. Abdussalam, "Transportation and Transformation in Jos C. 1900-1966" Unpublished PhD thesis, BUK, 2010.

against the earlier works which concentrated more on the activities of tin mine as the only economic activity that contributed to the development of Jos city.⁴⁶

Ali A.D., in his PhD work *Nature and impact of trade and inland water transport in lower Niger region 1879-1907* examines some of the major aspects of trade and trading activities on the inland water transport with particular emphasis on the lower Niger region. He centered his study on the significance of the lower Niger to the economic development of the area, vis-a-vis the water transportation industry in the Niger Region.⁴⁷

Sama'ila Abubakar, in his PhD work *Cross-border trade in fairly used auto-mobile (tokumbo): A study of Nigeria's north-west international border C.1973-2013* examines the general activities of fairly used auto-mobile (*tokumbo*) through international borders of Nigeria, Benin, Togo and Niger Republic, respectively.⁴⁸ He identified some of the major economic contribution of cross-border trade in fairly used automobile vehicles popularly called *Tokumbo*. According to him the economic contributions cut across both Nigeria's north-west geopolitical zone and Benin Republic. He also identified the major dealers in the business and explained how they became so successful in such a way that they established their various automobile business centres in north-western geo-political zone.⁴⁹

Sifawa A.A.'s Ph.D work on *British Administration of Sokoto Province, 1930-1960: Continuity and Change* examines the activities of the British colonial government in Sokoto province with particular reference to its continuity and change in terms of its political, economic and social relations with the people of Sokoto province.⁵⁰ One of the areas of emphasis by Sifawa is his discussion on the extension of Gusau-Kaura Namoda

⁴⁶. Ibid.

⁴⁷. A.D. Ali, "Nature and Impact of Trade and Inland Water Transport in Lower Niger Region 1879-1907" Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Lagos, 2010

⁴⁸. Sama'ila Abubakar, "Cross-Border Trade in Fairly Used Auto-Mobile (Tokumbo): A Study of Nigeria's North-West International Border C.1973-2013", Unpublished PhD thesis, UDU, Sokoto, 2015, p.120.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 121

⁵⁰. A.A. Sifawa, "British Colonial Administration of Sokoto Province, 1930-1960: Continuity and Change", PhD Thesis, UDU, Sokoto 2016, p.95.

Railway line which according to him played a significant role in the development of road transportation in the area. He further argues that it aided the introduction and development of auto-mechanical repairing services in the area because it paved ways for the massive introduction of auto-mobile into the area which also served as feeders to these railway lines.⁵¹

In another study by Sifawa entitled *Colonial infrastructure and social services in Sokoto metropolis, 1903 - 1960*,⁵² he identifies quite a number of infrastructures constructed in Sokoto metropolis by the then colonial administration. He believes that such infrastructures included roads which later became a source of development in the area of transportation industry as well as the development of auto-mechanical repairing services. The introduction of automobile by the colonial administration to the metropolis also attracted many indigenous people into transportation and auto-mechanical repairing services that later became transformed into mechanic villages such as *Kanikawar Lula, Tashar Illela, Buzaye, Kantin Daji, Sahara area, Zangazanga and Kwannawa* respectively.⁵³

Sifawa again, in another study on colonial urbanization in Sokoto metropolis, examines some of the major activities of the colonial officials that provided certain social amenities such as water, electricity, hospitals, telecommunication, postal service, education and roads as well as means of transportation, but unfortunately failed to provide economic benefits from the area as much as possible.⁵⁴

Bako N.L., in her M.A Dissertation *Indigenous Traders and Private Businesses in Sokoto City during the Colonial Period, 1903-1960* examines the activities of the

⁵¹. Ibid, p.96

⁵². A.A., Sifawa, "Colonial Infrastructure and Social Services in Sokoto Metropolis, 1903-1960" M.A. Dissertation, UDU, Sokoto, 2011, p.50.

⁵³. Ibid, p.51

⁵⁴. A.A. Sifawa, *Colonial State and Urbanization in Sokoto metropolis, Northern Nigeria*, Mauntius, LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing, 2019. Pp.17-20

indigenous traders in Sokoto with particular reference to the colonial period up to 1960 when Nigeria gained her independence from Britain.⁵⁵ She identified these indigenous traders, their various business activities and their economic contributions to the development of Sokoto city to the year 1960. However, among the most important businesses of these people is the business in transportation. Some of the early businessmen she identified in the transportation business among others were Alhaji Abdun Zagi, Alhaji Garba Dikkon Gande, and Alhaji Shehu Ane Kamba, Alhaji Mamman Namata and Alhaji Sidi Mamman Asarakawa as well as Alhaji Altine Longman. All these early transporters became successful in transport business. They sold cars of different brands and also ventured into transportation business in both Sokoto and outside Sokoto City and as far as Gusau and Kaduna Cities.⁵⁶

Yusuf S.T., in his M.A. work on *The Impact of the Railway on Madobi and Kwankwaso towns in Kano C.1903-1970* examines the activities and the socio-economic impact of railway on Madobi and Kwankwaso towns in the present Kano State”. In the work, Yusuf identified the major pattern and stages of migration as well as settlement in the towns that came about because of the presence of the railway station in the area. He argued that the construction of the railway station in the area by the British Colonial government significantly assisted the transportation of goods and services from the interior to the coastal areas for onward transportation to Europe.⁵⁷ Yusuf also believed that the success of the groundnut trade was found to be dependent on a number of factors such as the middlemen, touting decortications, accommodation but most especially transportation. The groundnut trade brought material benefits in these rural towns and their environs.⁵⁸

⁵⁵. N.L. Bako, *Indigenous Traders and Private Business...*, p 22

⁵⁶. Ibid. P 23

⁵⁷. S.T. Yusuf, “The Impact of the Railway on Madobi and Kwankwaso Towns in Kano C.1903-1970” Unpublished M.A. Dissertation, BUK 2007, p.98.

⁵⁸. Ibid, p.99

The work of Muhammad M.Y. on *The History of Modern Road Transportation in Igalaland, 1913-1993* examines the importance of transportation infrastructure in the colonial and post-colonial periods in Igalaland. According to him, much as the roads and that were constructed in Igalaland during the colonial period aided economic exploitation of the area, the roads played very little role to the economic development of Igalaland.⁵⁹ The only area of benefits to the people is in intergroup relations among different Nigerian people who might have been migrated as a result of such roads development. However, he states that road transportation in particular increased the level of interactions and the volume of goods exchanged in intra-Igala trade as well as trade between Igalaland and other parts of Nigeria.⁶⁰ Most significantly, road transportation resulted in an unprecedented level of urbanization in the area, particularly in Ankpa where Igbo from the east trooped in search of trade and land. Also, Hausa merchants who came with domestic animals contributed to the development of transport by constantly patronizing it.⁶¹

Muhammad Yusufu's work on *River Transportation in the Niger-Benue Confluence Area: Lokoja and its Environs C.1990-1991* examined extensively aspects of transport with particular emphasis on the water transport. He examined the importance of water transport in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Nigeria as well as the contribution of water transportation to the growth and development of trade in the Niger-Benue confluence area. This work provided additional information to the present study because of its relationship with the transportation industry.⁶²

Bamidele Badejo's *Nigeria and Sustainable Transportation: Issues and Agenda for Development*, was an edited book that contains 39 scholarly chapters, relevant to this

⁵⁹. M.Y. Muhammad, "A History of Modern Road Transportation in Igalaland, 1913-1993" M.A. Dissertation, BUK, 1995, p.88

⁶⁰. Ibid, p.89

⁶¹. Ibid, p.90.

⁶². M. Yusufu, "River Transportation in the Niger-Benue Confluence Area: Lokoja and its Environs C.1990-1991" Unpublished M.A. Dissertation, BUK, 2004, p.66.

study. The book critically examines a variety of issues relating to transport and urban challenges. It also examines transport infrastructure, logistics, planning, development, conceptual and contextual issues with particular reference to road transport policy, safety and administration in Nigeria. Although the book was on Geography and virtually all the authors were from Geography Departments of various Institutions of learning, but its contribution to transportation development cannot be overemphasized. This is because; it has gone along way to touch virtually all aspect of transportation system. Chapters in the book could make an invaluable literary contribution to transport policy makers, planners and academicians.⁶³

In another book by Bamidele Badejo titled *Transportation: Removing the Clogs to Nigeria's Development*, he examines in critical terms, the role transportation could play in our quest for national development. Badejo gave a particular emphasis in his book on how efficient transportation through road could become a cornerstone on which the social, political and economic development of Nigeria should be anchored. The book is apt and according to him; efficient transportation system would remove many of the clogs that have stood in the way of our national development.⁶⁴

1.10 Conclusion

Base on the available literatures that have been reviewed in this study, it is observed that there has not been any detailed study on the history of the development of road transportation in Sokoto metropolis from 1809 to 2008. Such a study is however necessary considering the fact that different mode of road transportation such as human carriers, pack animals, cart and wheeled have been very central to the spatial and

⁶³. Bamidele Badejo, *Nigeria and Sustainable Transportation: Issues and Challenges for Development* (Eds.), Gratia Associates International, Mobogunje, Bonojo, Ijebu-Ode, Ogun State, Nigeria, 2017.

⁶⁴. Bamidele Badejo, *Transportation: Removing the Clogs to Nigeria's Development*, Anchorage Press & Publishers, Lagos, Nigeria, 2011

demographic growth of Sokoto metropolis. Notwithstanding some of the deficiencies in the reviewed literatures the information gained from them cannot be overemphasized.

CHAPTER TWO

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SOKOTO METROPOLIS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examined some of the factors which facilitated the emergence and development of Sokoto metropolis since 1809 when it became (city) the capital of the Caliphate.¹ It has been shown that it was owing to its location and provision of natural endowment that Muhammadu Bello selected the site as the Caliphate headquarters.² Before the end of the 19th century the city had attracted immigrants that helped in developing traditional industries and crafts in textiles, dyeing, leatherwork, pottery and smithing among others.³ Indeed, such a situation of varying economic activities and demographic changes was to explain the reason for the development of numerous modes of transportation in the area to facilitate the movements of goods and services as well as to cater for the growing communities in the area.

2.2 Location of Sokoto Metropolis

Sokoto metropolis in its present form came into being in October 1996 after the creation of Zamfara State (Map 2.1 depicts all the areas that comprise the metropolis)

¹. Saleh Abubakar, "Aspects of an Urban Phenomenon: Sokoto and its Hinterland to C.1850s", in Y.B. Usman (ed.), *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate: The Sokoto Seminar Paper*, ABU, 1979, p.127. See... Muhammadu Kwaire, "A Historical Study of Cloth and Leather Dyeing in Sakkwato: 1960 – 1990", M.A. History Dissertation, Department of History, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1992, p.36.

². A.B. Mamman, The Evolution and Growth of Sokoto City, In *Journal of Social Sciences and Administration*, Vol.I No.2 Dec 1999, p.46 see...U.I. Ibrahim, *Metropolitan Sokoto: Issues in History and Urban Development Since 1960*, Gaskiya Corporation Ltd., Zaria, 2013, p.126

³. Hugh. Clapperton, Dr, Qudney, *Narrative Travels and Discovery in Northern Nigeria and Central Africa in the Year 1822-26*, London, Frank Cass, 1826 p.330. See also...A. A. Sifawa, *Colonial State and Urbanization in Sokoto metropolis, Northern Nigeria*, Mauritius, LAP Lambert Academic publishing, 2019, p.16.

The map displays the geographical layout of Sokoto State, Nigeria, with a focus on its road network and settlements. The main map is bounded by coordinates 5°12'0"E to 5°17'0"E and 13°0'0"N to 13°5'0"N. It shows a dense network of roads, including dual roads (thick brown lines) and minor roads (thin brown lines). Major roads are highlighted in orange. Rivers are shown in blue, and flood plains are indicated by green hatched areas. Numerous settlements are marked with dots, and airports are marked with diamonds. Two inset maps provide context: the top right shows Sokoto State's location within Nigeria, and the bottom right shows the Sokoto Metropolitan Area within Sokoto State. A scale bar at the bottom indicates distances up to 3 kilometers.

The area has a land area of 28,232.37 square kilometres and it is located between longitude 11'30" to 13'50" East and latitude 4'to 6'0" North. It borders Kwasai area in the South; Kofar Kware in the North; Arkilla in the West and Mana in the East. By 1963 the population of the metropolis stands at 32,433 persons.⁴ While the 1991 population count stood at 130,000.00, that of 2006 518,370.00 persons, the projected figure of 2016 somehow estimated 580,000.00 persons.⁵ This relatively high population density was important to the socio-economic and political developments of the metropolis. Three

⁵. National Population Commission of Nigeria, through the National Bureau of Statistics, Abuja, *State by State Populations and Projections*, 2019.

critical factors are important in understanding population distribution in the area. These are historical development since the pre-Caliphate years, availability of water and fertile land for agricultural purposes, as well as State and Local Government creation since the mid-1960s. At the beginning settlement distribution during the jihad period favoured the defence factor in location. Some towns like Sokoto, Wurno and Dange provide good examples. The rich land area in close proximity to the rivers also favoured the development of settlement and growth of population. This has jolted the number of settlements and a corresponding high population growth in local government headquarters since 1976.⁶

Main H.A.C. equally acknowledges that the metropolis is surrounded by the Rima Rivers and their tributaries most of which rise from the southeast. They all flow westwards to join the Rima and later River Niger to the west. These rivers and their tributaries form one of the most extensive *fadama* areas, in Nigeria with great potentials for farming and animal rearing.⁷

Sokoto city is populated mainly by Hausa and Fulani people with Igbo and Yoruba communities topping the list of different resident communities in the metropolis. This further encouraged the metropolis to become a heterogeneous centre with many ethnic groups from different parts of Hausaland and beyond such as Kanuri,⁸ Idoma, Tiv, Igala, Ebira and Nupe.⁹ There are also Tuaregs¹⁰ and Zabarma¹¹ in various parts of the

⁶. A.B. Mamman, The Evolution and Growth of Sokoto city, *In Journal of Social Sciences and Administration*, Vol.I No.2 Dec 1999. Funsho Printing works Kaduna, p.46, see...U.I. Ibrahim, *Metropolitan Sokoto: Issues in History and Urban Development Since 1960*, Gaskiya Corporation Ltd., Zaria, 2013, p.126

⁷. H.A.C. Main, *Sokoto Urban Morphology and Function*, M.Sc. Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1974, pp. 4-6. See also... National Population Commission. (2013). *Nigeria demographic and health survey: key findings*. Federal Republic of Nigeria.

⁸. Murtala Marafa, "Historical Studies of Kanuri Migrant Community in Sokoto Metropolis, 1903-2000", M.A., History, UDU, Sokoto, 2012, p. 46.

⁹. A.F. Usman, "Inter-Group Relations in Gusau: A Case Study of Yoruba-Hausa Relations in Gusau, C.1920-1996", PhD History, UDU, Sokoto, 2003. See also...Sale Abubakar, "Aspects of an Urban Phenomenon: Sokoto and its Hinterland to C.1850s" in Y.B. Usman (eds), *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate: The Sokoto Seminar papers*, Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1979.

metropolis who conduct their social and economic activities peacefully. Indeed, all the various migrant groups were attracted to the city due to its peaceful nature and economic opportunities. Ahmed Bako acknowledges that the multi-cultural situation is evident in the large number of registered cultural associations and the ethnic groups during weekend meetings in various locations of the city.¹²

2.3 Physical Environment

By its location in the savannah zone, the city is tsetse fly free grassland suitable for the cultivation of grains and animal husbandry. This is further facilitated by the availability of water along riverside. Thus, making the Sokoto metropolis important centre for different types of animal to be bred and used for transportation of goods and services from other neighbouring towns, villages and from Niger Republic. Industries such as leather also developed because of the availability of hides and skin resulting from intensive livestock rearing in the area.¹³ Rainfall sometimes starts from June and ends in early October with main annual fall ranging between 500mm and 1,300mm. There are two major seasons in the area, namely wet and dry seasons. The dry season starts from October, and lasts up to April in some parts and may extend to May or June in other parts of the state. The wet season on the other hand begins in most parts of the city in June and lasts up to October. The Harmattan, a dry cold and dusty wind is experienced between

¹⁰. Muhammadu Kwaire, "A History of Tuaregs Migration from Niger Republic", PhD Thesis, UDUS, 2002.

¹¹. A.U. Alkamawa, "Socio-Economic History of Zaberemawa community in Sokoto metropolis 1930-2000", M.A. Dissertation, UDUS, 2010. P.33. See also...N.C., Ijanya, "A Socio-Economic History of the Idoma Migrant Community in Sokoto Metropoli, 1967-2000", M.A. History, UDUS, 2010.

¹². Ahmed Bako, "Igbo Entrepreneurship in Sokoto City, 1937-2000", in *Ilorin Journal of Business and Social Sciences*, Vol. 9., No. 1 & 2, 2004. See also...A.F. Usman, "Inter-Group Relations in Gusau: A Case Study of Yoruba-Hausa Relations in Gusau, C.1920-1996", PhD History, UDU, Sokoto, 2003. See also...Sale Abubakar, "Aspects of an Urban Phenomenon: Sokoto and its Hinterland to C.1850s" in Y.B. Usman (eds.), *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate: The Sokoto Seminar papers*, Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1979. See...A.U. Alkamawa, "Socio-Economic History of Zaberemawa community in Sokoto metropolis 1930-2000", M.A. Dissertation, UDUS, 2010. P.33. See also... N.C., Ijanya, "A Socio-economic history of the Idoma migrant community in Sokoto metropolis 1967-2000", M.A. History, UDUS, 2010.

¹³. Muhammadu Kwaire, "A Historical Study of Cloth and Leather Dyeing in Sakkwato..."

November and February. Heat is more severe in March and April. But the weather is always cold in the morning and hot in the afternoons except in the peak of Harmattan period.¹⁴

2.4 Historical Background

Cities are neither post-independent nor colonial phenomena in Nigeria. There were several pre-colonial cities which emerged because of a combination of social, economic, political and administrative factors. The expansion and decline of these pre-colonial cities were affected largely by economic and political changes. In the north for instance, the growth of the trans-saharan trade and trade contacts with other parts of West Africa partly sustained the grassland cities of Katsina, Yerwa (Maiduguri), Zaria and Kano. Another major factor was the 19th century Jihad movement which was responsible for the decline of few towns while favouring the expansion of others like Sokoto.¹⁵

According to Sale Abubakar, wards or quarters that made up the present Sokoto metropolis emerged during the period between 1809 and 1817 from the original hamlet or camp used by Muhammadu Bello and numerous people of Sokoto. Those wards numbering about twenty 20 grew into sizeable settlements within the city. These wards included Gidadawa, Alkanci, Alkammawa, Binanci, Galadanci, Zoromawa and Takalmawa.¹⁶ A common feature of these wards was that they all developed as a result of the settlement of people in association with and around the residences of leading military and political figures working with Muhammadu Bello at the time. These included his Vizier-Waziri Gidado-Gidadawa, Galadima Doshiro-Galadanci, Alkali-Alkanci,

¹⁴. H.A.C. Main, "Sokoto Urban Morphology and Function", M.Sc. Dissertation, University of Aberdeen, 1974. pp. 4-6.

¹⁵. Toyin Falola, "The Cities" in Y.B. Usman (ed.), *Nigeria Since Independence: The First 25 Years, Vol. I, The Society*, Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria) Ltd, Ibadan Nigeria, 1989, p213.

¹⁶. Murtala Marafa & Nura Bello, Settlement and Integration Pattern of Immigrant Communities in Nigeria: A Remarks on Sokoto City in the 20th Century, In Ashafa, A.M., Usman, M.T. & Abubakar Sama'ila, (eds.) *Rereading in Post-Colonial Borders and Economy in West Africa*, Pyla-mak Services Ltd. Kaduna, Nigeria,

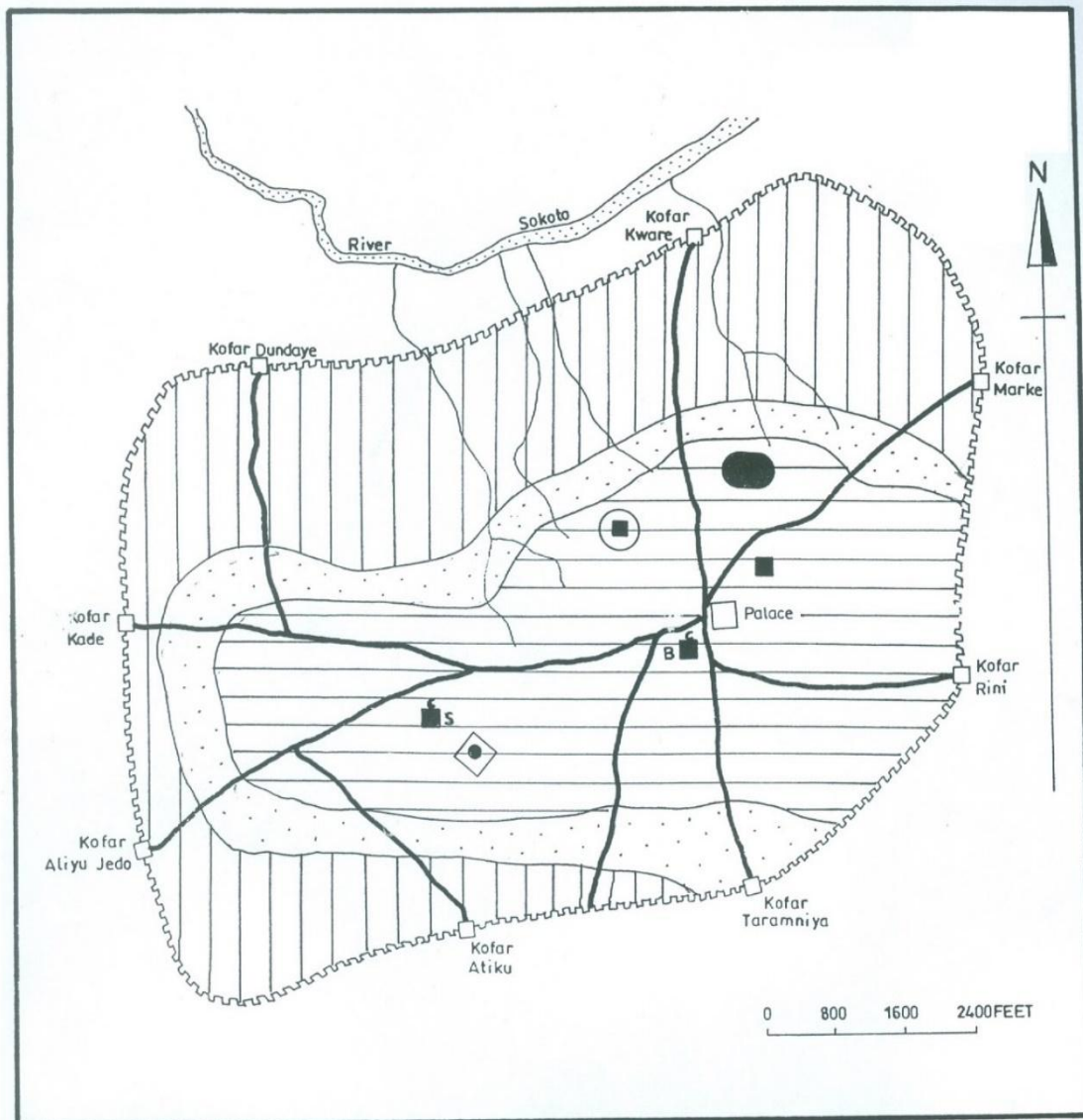
Magajingari-Binanci, Ubandoma Muhammadu-Ubandoma and Umarumu Alkammu-Alkammawa, etc. The Zoromawa community, which claims a special relationship with the Torobbe had a leader in one Muhammad Shibiunda whose son Yero, became popular among the faction of the Zoromawa under the leadership of Muhammad Sambo who was with the Shehu at Sifawa and later moved with him to Sokoto and founded the present Zoromawar Sabon Birni ward.¹⁷

Other important wards developed as a result of the resettlement of refugees from Alkalawa which was conquered in 1808. These wards included Mazuga, Faru, Dogarawa and Kwaandawa whose founders formed part of those accommodated by Muhammadu Bello. Infact, the settlers of Mazuga became caliph's seal makers and silver smiths who made musical instruments such as *fare*, *kakaki* and *algaita*.¹⁸

¹⁷. Sale Abubakar, *BirninShehu: The City of Sokoto*, Op.cit. For the Zoromawa, see Barth, *Travels...*, vol. IV, pp.146-7, 175, 190; Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, pp. lxxiii, n.18.

¹⁸. Ibid.

Figure 2.2: A Map of Sokoto Metropolis as at 1900



Source :—— Mamman 1989

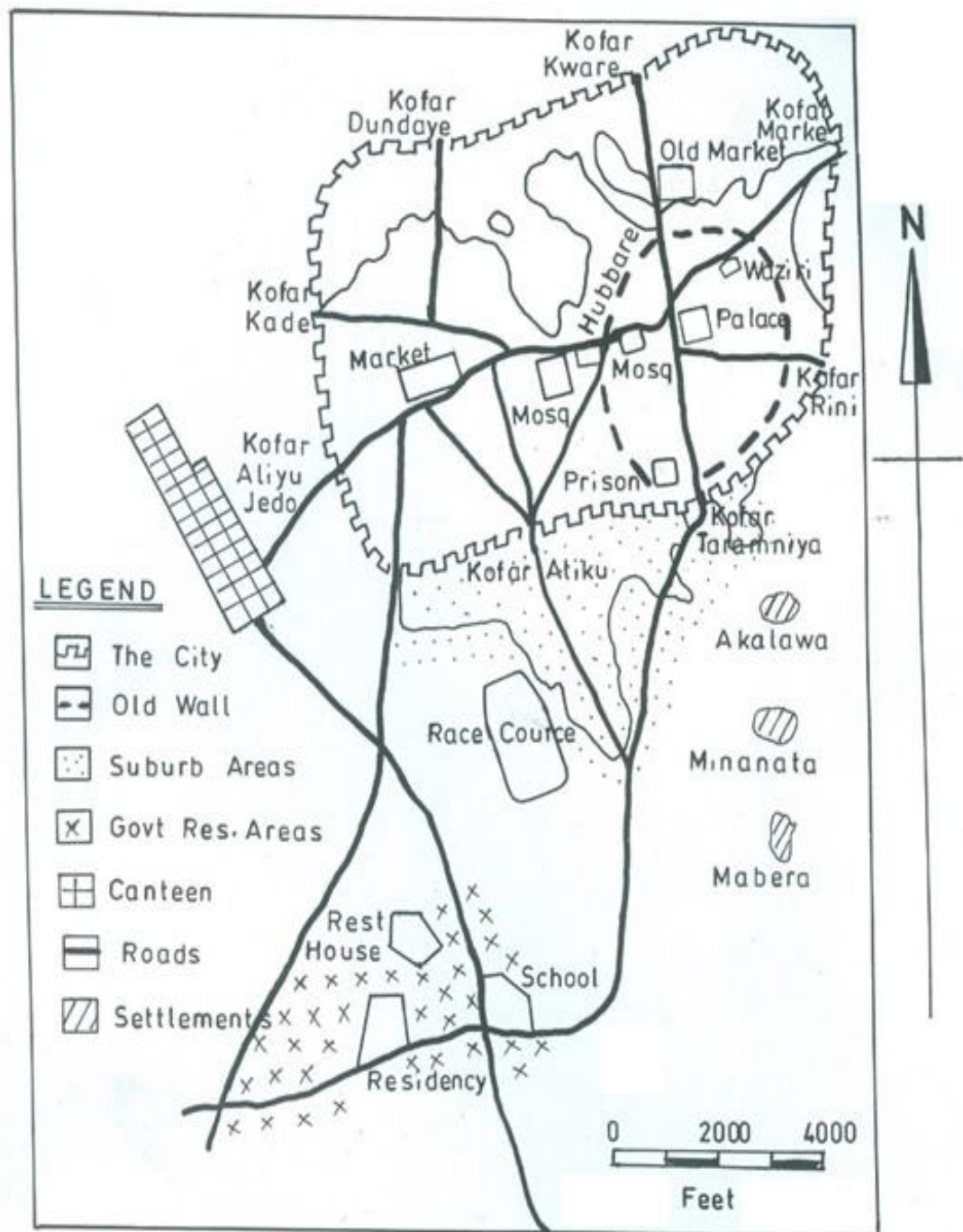
Re drawn by Abubakar Salah Geo.Dept.UDUS 2009

LEGEND

Townwall (Old City boundary)	
Main road	
City gates	
Shehu Usmanu Danfodio Compound	
Residences of Aristocrat (Masu Sarauta)	
Residences of Scholars and Teachers	
Residences of Peasants and Pastoralists	
Shehu Mosque	Bello Mosque
Execution ground	Market
	Waziri Compound

Sokoto City as at 1900

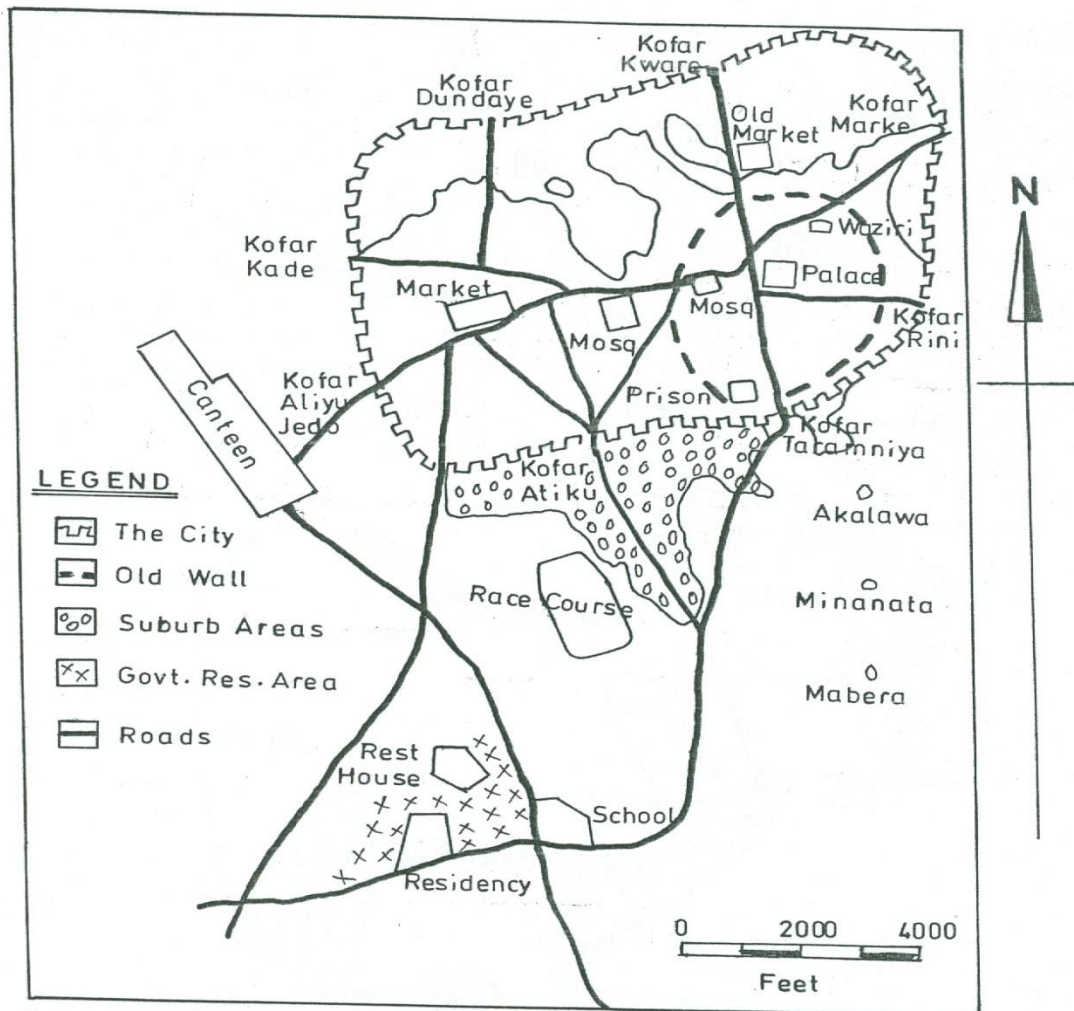
Figure 2.3: A Morphological Map of Sokoto Metropolis in 1918



Source Urquhart A Planned Urban Landscape and Main Time Space Study

A Map of Sokoto Metropolis showing its growth and Morphological element at 1918.

Figure 2.4: A Map Sokoto Metropolis in 1819 showing morphological Zones, Roads and Infrastructures



Source Urquhart A Planned Urban Landscape and NAK, Sokprof. 617 Vol IV, Wells Sokoto-NA

A Map of Sokoto Metropolis Showing Morphological Zones, Roads and Some Infrastructures Provided From 1903-1918.

2.5 People and Culture

The metropolis is made up of two major ethnic groups namely, Hausa and Fulani. There are also the Zabarmawa and Tuareg minorities who reside within and in some border Local Government Areas and all commonly speak Hausa. Though Fulfulde is their mother tongue, the Fulani too appreciate the use of Hausa language. While the Hausa speaking groups comprised the Gobirawa, Zamfarawa, Kabawa and Arawa, the Fulani

remained as the town settlers and the nomads only. The settlers include the Torankawa, who constitute the clan of Shehu Usman Danfodiyo who are also the aristocratic class since 1804. The culture of the people in the metropolis is deeply rooted in Islamic tradition which made homogenous co-existence possible.¹⁹ Two major religious festivals *Eid-el-Kabir* and *Eid-el-Fitr* featured every year, with the former marking the end of Ramadan fasting, while the latter accompanied with slaughtering of lawfully recommended animals such as rams, goats, cows and camels in commemoration of Prophet Ibrahim (AS).²⁰ Traditional wrestling *Kokawa* and Boxing *Dambe* are the two sports mainly engaged by the Hausa people while the Fulani together with Sullubawa entertain themselves with *Sharo* and *Doro* respectively. A grand or mini-durbar, events involving the parade of heavily decorated horses and camels mounted by men in full traditional regalia is performed to welcome important visitors to the metropolis. It is also staged during the *Eid-el-Kabir* and *Eid-el-Fitr* celebrations annually.²¹

2.6 Socio-Economic Activities

Although the bulk of the population of Sokoto metropolis engaged in farming, but there are other people whose economic activities were in industries. Apart from farming and industry, a good number of people carried on hunting and fishing. Continuous Population growth and Political transformation created and nurtured development that

¹⁹. Murtala Marafa, "Historical Studies of Kanuri Migrant Community in Sokoto Metropolis, 1903-2000", M.A., History, UDU, Sokoto, 2012, p. 46. See...Muhammadu Kwaire, "A History of Tuaregs Migration from Niger Republic", PhD Thesis, UDUS, 2002. See...A.U. Alkamawa, Socio-Economic History of Zaberma community in Sokoto metropolis 1930-2000, M.A. Dissertation, UDUS, 2010. P.33. See also...N.C., Ijanya, "A Socio-economic history of the Idoma migrant community in Sokoto metropolis 1967-2000", M.A. History, UDUS, 2010. See...A.F. Usman, "Inter-Group Relations in Gusau: A Case Study of Yoruba-Hausa Relations in Gusau", C.1920-1996, PhD History, UDU, Sokoto, 2003. See also...Sale Abubakar, "Aspects of an Urban Phenomenon: Sokoto and its Hinterland to C.1850s" in Y.B. Usman (eds), *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate: The Sokoto Seminar papers*, Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1979.

²⁰. *Eid-el-Kabir* and *Eid-el-Fitr* are Arabic names for annual religious activities among the Muslim communities all over the World. While the former marks the end of Ramadan fast, the latter comes on the 10th day of the 12th Islamic month of *Zulkydah* and is celebrated with slaughtering of rams and other lawful animals in commemoration of the act which was started by the Prophet Ibrahim (Abraham) (AS) may peace be upon him.

²¹. Ibid.

enabled the city to enjoy a strong economy in the 19th century. The basis of the economic prosperity was the large scale internal production of millet, sorghum, groundnuts, beans and cotton. Farmers in the city also cultivated Maize, sweet potatoes, Cassava, and two varieties of the Coco-yam, *Gwaza* and *Mankani*.²²

In the valleys and in areas that got flooded during the Rainy Season, rice; Wheat, Sugarcane and Vegetables such as Onions, Tomatoes, and green peppers are cultivated. These vegetables are increasingly being grown by local irrigation during dry season. which was geared not only to meet home consumption but also to generate enough surpluses for export to neighbouring states, borders and countries.²³ Notwithstanding the fact that throughout the 19th century the city was mainly an administrative centre, it had witnessed different forms of economic activities such as blacksmithing, leatherwork, dying, pottery, and woodcarving as well as weaving among others that gradually developed as a response to social, political and economic forces operating within and outside the Caliphate. The economy of the city as examined in this section was predominantly based on agriculture, industry/crafts and commerce.²⁴

2.6.1 Agriculture

Agriculture and animal husbandry formed the basic components of the economy of the entire Hausaland. This activity involves crop cultivation and livestock rearing that became the predominant occupation. Farming activities which are engaged upon by individual families are confined to peripheral outskirts of the metropolis such as More,

²². Ibid

²³. Sale Abubakar, "Bimin Shehu the city of Sokoto: A social and economic History, C. 1809-1903" PhD Thesis, A.B.u. Zaria, 1982, P.25. See also...Ahmed Bako, *Sabon Gari Kano: A History of Immigrants and Inter-group relations in the 20th century*, (Sokoto, Usmanu Danfodiyo University Press, 2006) See also... A. F. Usman "Intergroup Relations in Gusau: A Case Study of Yoruba and Hausa 1920-1996" Ph.D. Thesis, UDUS, 2003. See also...Ahmed Bako, "Igbo Entrepreneurship in Sokoto city, 1937-2000", In *Ilorin Journal of Business and Social sciences*, vol.9 No.1 and 2, 200. See also... A.F. Usman, and Ahmed Bako, Yoruba-Hausa Relations in Gusau During the 20th Century, in Olayemi A., Okpeh O.O. Jr. and Gwamna D. (eds.) p.671.

²⁴. Ibid. See also...Abdullahi Smith, "The Early States of the Central Sudan", in J.F.A. Ajayi and M. Crowder (eds), *History of West Africa*, Vol. II (2nd ed.), London, Longman, 1976., p.70.

Gagi, Dambuwa, Mabera, Kwalkwalawa, Salame, Arkilla and Guiwa among others in 1826.²⁵ Among all the leaders of the caliphate Sultan Muhammadu Bello in particular promoted agriculture within the metropolis. Apart from the large expanse of land which was included within the city walls of Sokoto, both for small scale cultivation and pilot testing of some crops, Sultan maintained an experimented farm at Sagin Lemu located near Kofar Kade in the present Sokoto North Local Government. This was in addition to extensive farming activities going on in the suburb areas earlier mentioned.²⁶

Animal husbandry has always existed side-by-side with food cropping and cash cropping. Indeed, animal husbandry especially rearing of cattle is still a visible economic activity in Sokoto metropolis. One of the measures initiated by Muhammadu Bello was that the entire walled city of Sokoto was surrounded by *Hurumi* (a large grassy area) which served as the grazing reserve for livestock owned by people in the metropolis, thus, making the movement of animals in and around the metropolis a coordinated one.²⁷ The cattle, it should be noted, are owned by individual families within the metropolis and are entrusted to professional cattle breeders who go about from one house to another in order to fetch the animals for onward movement to the outskirts of the city where grazing grass is available. They also used to follow demarcated cattle tracks *Burtalai* in the course of their movement in order to avoid plantations, orchards and farmlands that have not been harvested. But, in recent time, the situation or system of grazing has changed, basically because of the encroachment into the reserved grazing sites by people in the metropolis due to political affiliations.²⁸

²⁵. Alhaji Abubakar Noma, Interviewed at his Residence in Nakasarin Babebari on 03/03/2017.

²⁶. S.U. Lawal, "The Economics of Slaves used in Runijin Sambo Slave plantation of Sokoto", in Jumare and Yandaki (eds) *Shehu Usmanu Lawal: An Icon of Scholarship and Public Service*, Department of History, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 2007, pp. 76 – 79.

²⁷. Sale Abubakar, "Birnin Shehu the City of Sokoto: A Social and Economic History", PhD History Thesis, ABU Zaria, 1982 p.71.

²⁸. Ibid.

Similarly, pastoralism, like agriculture, is sensitive to the variability of rainfall. Indeed, its survival like any other living creature depends upon availability. In the metropolitan districts, some pastoral groups including *Tuaregs*, employed nomadism and a variety of movements as their mode of land and water resource utilization. This movement generally involved a variety of migrations of cattle and their rearers either on a long-term or short-term basis.²⁹ However, the availability of water, particularly the presence of the two rivers: Rima and River Sokoto, side by side with the vast expanse of marshland around the confluence, running towards Wamakko, in addition to the *Hurumi* reserve which made livestock breeding an established occupation within the metropolis.³⁰

2.6.2 Leatherworks

The level of sophistication which the leatherworks attained in Sokoto metropolis since 19th century captured the attention and compliment of the people, including the early European travellers, who visited the city in the nineteenth century. There were large numbers of local tanneries, where a specialized kind of leatherworks known as *korino* developed and was extensively produced.³¹

A.N. Shehu's study on Leather Industry in Sokoto in the 20th century explained the development and economic contributions of leatherworks to the people of Sokoto State especially within the metropolis. The rearing of cattle, sheep and goats gave boost to leatherworks in the metropolis. A by-product of cattle/livestock rearing was the hides and skin which had separate markets of their own.³² Shehu further explained that even before

²⁹. K. S. Chafe, *State and Economy in the Sokoto Caliphate*, ABU Press Zaria, 1999, p.37.

³⁰. Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, London, Longman, 1967. See also...M.S. Zaharaddeen, "The Acquisition Of Land And Its Administration In The Sokoto Caliphate As Provided In Abdullahi Danfodiyo's Ta'alim Al-Radi, Khani and Gandi (eds), *State and Society in the Sokoto Caliphate*, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, Sokoto, 1990, pp.204 – 205; and S.U. Lawal, "The Economics of Slave Use in Runjin" pp.76 – 80.

³¹. Sale Abubakar, "Birnin Shehu the City of Sokoto: A Social and Economic History", PhD Thesis, ABU Zaria, 1982 p.71.

³². A. N. Shehu, "The Development of leather Industry in Sokoto in the 20th Century", B.A. History Project, UDU, Sokoto 1985, p.13.

now, specially treated hides and skin in Sokoto metropolis were dispatched by camel caravans and sold to Europeans and Arab traders in Morocco which became known as Moroccan leather.³³ The areas famously known for leatherworks in Sokoto metropolis are Madunka, located at Kofar Taramniya area and Majemar Karaye located at Karaye area, Sokoto. In these areas, each tanning compound usually consists of a principal tanner with about two or more other tanners, plus one or more apprentices. They usually bought their goods from butchers and sometimes from the markets and tanned it to the desired level. After tanning they sold the product to the middlemen who engaged in leatherworks business.³⁴

Economically, the tanners sold animal skin in two ways: to the leather workers in the markets, and to the middlemen, who in turn sold to both leather workers and exporters. However, only a small percentage of leather went into the export sector, as most of it was consumed locally. There were both foreign and local demands for Sokoto made leather goods. Foreign demands were largely for tourist goods such as handbags, briefcases, cushions, wallets and fans. Local demands included scab bonds, donkey and horse panniers, bags, charm encased, etc.³⁵

Leatherworks made in the metropolis competed favourably in quality with similar products by proficient workers in other areas of the caliphate. Accordingly, the metropolis exported substantial leatherworks to other famous leather producing emirates of the caliphate, notably Kano, Katsina and Zazzau. Outside the central Sudan region, the famous Sokoto 'red skin' was valued as far as North Africa. This explains why Lebanese

³³. *Ibid.*

³⁴. Anagbogu, Ifeoma, "The History of Indigenous Leather Industry in Sokoto and Kano, Northern Nigeria C.1903-1960", PhD History Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1986. Sale Abubakar, "Bimin Shehu the city of Sokoto: A Social And economic History, C. 1809-1903" PhD Thesis, A.B.u. Zaria, 1982, P.25. See Saleh Abubakar, 'Aspects of an Urban Phenomenon: Sokoto and its Hinterland to C.1850s' in Y.B. Usman (eds), *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate: The Sokoto Seminar papers*, Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1979.

³⁵. Bako Hafsat. "Pottery in Sokoto City", M.A. History Dissertation, UDU, Sokoto, 2006. P.22. See...Sale Abubakar, "Birnin Shehu, the City of Sokoto: A Social and Economic History of Sokoto", Ph.D Thesis, ABU Zaria, 1982, P. 71

in particular from Kano came to Sokoto for red goat skin, and sometimes advanced money to people in order to get them the skin from the local butchers particularly during the celebration of *Eid al fitr*.³⁶

2.6.3 Blacksmithing

Saleh Abubakar's doctoral work on Sokoto city is a remarkable study on the activities of blacksmith in Sokoto city. The work identified three significant specializations in smithing works. According to him there are *Kiran Baki* (blacksmithing), *Kiran Fari* (silver smithing), and *Kiran Kayan Dawaki* (smithing for horses). Abubakar also discussed the variety of tools manufactured by blacksmiths in Sokoto which include: hoes, arrow heads, axes, chains, shackles, sickles and spears. He identified *Kiran Baki* as much more widespread among the people within the Sokoto metropolis; they also employed more specialists than the other *makira*. Abubakar's work played a significant role in educating many people concerning the works of blacksmiths in Sokoto city.³⁷

According to Hussaini Malami, blacksmiths in Sokoto city are found mostly in Helele, Zoramawa, Sabon Birni, Dutsin Asada and Anguwan Nupawa area. There are three broad categories of smithing, namely blacksmithing, goldsmithing and silver smithing in the city. The blacksmiths who are headed by *Sarkin Makera* are responsible for making farm implements such as, hoes, cutlasses for the caliphate's farming population. As early as the nineteenth century, the smithing works felt the impact of the Sokoto jihad movement due to the increasing demand for weaponry.³⁸

³⁶. Ibid. See...A. N. Shehu, "The Development of Leather Industry in Sokoto in the 20th Century". B.A. History Project, UDU, Sokoto 1985, p.13. See...Muhammadu Kwaire, "A Historical Study of Cloth and Leather Dyeing in Sakkwato: 1960 – 1990". Op.cit p.36.

³⁷. T. M. Mukhtar, "A Study of Blacksmithing Industry in Yabo Area up to 1960", M.A. History, UDU, 2009

³⁸. H. U. Malami. "Industrialization in 19th Century Sokoto Caliphate", A Commission Paper Presented at the International Conference on the Contribution of Sokoto Jihad leaders to Science and Technology, September, 2003, p.11.

Perhaps, unlike other traditional works such as textile, leatherworks, pottery and woodcarving which might have experienced some setbacks as a result of the Jihad upheavals, smithing works became fully engaged. However, new political climate augmented its expansion in the metropolitan caliphate. The emergence of Sokoto city as the capital of the caliphate around 1817 had some direct consequences on the extensive use of iron smithing centres in the metropolis, because of the demands by people from all walks of life to acquire Iron weapons and/or implements for daily usage, etc. Thus, the metropolitan Caliphate was an important area of trade in iron ores and implements.³⁹

2.6.4 Pottery and Woodcarving

Pottery and woodcarving works have also occupied a prominent position in Sokoto metropolis since the 19th century. This was because they were very important to the domestic economy and social life of the people within the metropolis, since many utensils and containers such as knives, spoons, cups, pots and fans for domestic as well as industrial use were made of clay and wood.⁴⁰ The expansion of pottery and woodcarving was in response to local demands in the metropolis. The dynamics of the domestic economy, as structured in household social life, facilitated and sustained the expansion of the industry. The goods produced by the potters included, patched *Tuluna* the maker of which were referred to as *Yantulu* pots (*Tukane*), *Kasake* (were bowls and basins), *Mazurari* or *Indararo* Roof drain, safe box (*Asusu*).⁴¹

Pottery flourished particularly in the settlements along River banks and ponds where suitable clay was available. Sokoto, Kware, Wurno, Gwadabawa were famous centres for their variety of pottery. By contrast, woodcarving flourished in rural areas where forest resources in the *Dazuzzuka* enabled woodcarvers to effectively utilize them to

³⁹. T. M. Mukhtar, A Study of Blacksmithing Industry in Yabo Area up to 1960. *Op.cit*

⁴⁰. M.K. Jabo, "Modern Manufacturing Industries in Metropolitan Sokoto 1960-1990", M.A. UDU, 1991, p.30.

⁴¹. Bako Hafsat, "Pottery in Sokoto city". M.A. History Dissertation, UDU, Sokoto, 2006. P.22.

make *Turame*, *Tabare*, *Kujeri Koshiya*, and other related products were used for domestic activities. In his study, Abubakar has shown that some of the products were purchased by Tuareg women who were frequent visitors to the region during its long dry seasons.⁴² Similarly, wood carving was carried out predominantly in Yarsakke Quarters of Sokoto metropolis. This area was coincidentally inhabited by Kanuri and Gobirawa. *Sakke* refers to the leader of the wood carvers and Yarsakke means dwellers of *sakke* area, after which Yar'sakke Quarters was named.⁴³

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter examined major factors that facilitated the emergence and development of Sokoto metropolis by its founder from 1809 to 2008. Specifically, the city was founded as the caliphate headquarters by Sultan Muhammadu Bello in 1809. However, geographical location, numerous economic potentials and activities, such as location of the city along trade route, year-round water supply and fertile agricultural land among other factors were the some of the major reasons that encouraged Sultan Muhammadu Bello to make the city his headquarters at the time he did. Sokoto metropolis serves variety of interests and purposes right from its establishment by Sultan Muhammadu Bello in 1809 to the beginning and the end of the colonial period and part of the post-colonial period. Also, the chapter examines trades in Sokoto metropolis during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods because of the consistent increase and changes from one particular stage of development to another taken into consideration the demands and necessities of such by the people within the metropolis. In fact, the dynamism of the transportation as well as trades particularly the indigenous trades such as Agriculture, Leatherwork, Blacksmithing, Pottery and woodcaving, etc cannot be overemphasized.

⁴². K.S. Chafe Op.cit., P.141

⁴³. M.K. Jabo Industrialization in Sokoto City Op.cit. See also...Murtala Marafa, "Historical Studies of Kanuri Migrant Community in Sokoto Metropolis, 1903-2000", M.A. History, UDU, Sokoto, 2012.

CHAPTER THREE

TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM IN SOKOTO METROPOLIS, 1809 – 1903

3.1 Introduction

Since Saleh Abubakar's seminal works on the area, there has not been any serious attempt to examine or re-examine the socio-economic history of the Sokoto metropolis. His thesis provided us with inspiring account of the foundation and growth of Sokoto city in the 19th century. He examined the ethnic composition of the people of Sokoto, as well the spatial distribution of crafts and industries and the involvement and contributions of every significant ward or part of the metropolis to the socio-economic activities and relations in metropolitan Sokoto.¹ This chapter discusses the pre-colonial transportation system in Sokoto metropolis particularly on how the Caliphate leadership laid the foundation of transport infrastructure in the metropolis. It also focuses on the leadership's relationship with social and economic activities prior to British colonial conquest and administration which ushered in a new period of change in the annal of history of the area.

3.2 The Role of Horses and Camels in Transportation during the Sokoto Jihad Movement

As in many pre-colonial societies, the role of horses, camels and oxen as transportation leadways in the accomplishment of services such as commerce, wars, religions and diplomatic expeditions among others were immeasurable.² The same

¹. Saleh Abubakar, "Birnin Shenu, The City of Sokoto: A Social and Political History, C.1809 – 1903", Ph.D History Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1982, see Saleh Abubakar, "Aspects of Urban Phenomenon: Sokoto and its Hinterland to C. 1850s, in Y.B Usman (eds.), *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate: The Sokoto Seminar Papers*, Zaria, ABU press, 1979. For further details on this aspect, see U.I. Ibrahim, *Metropolitan Sokoto: Issues in History and Urban Development Since 1960*, Gaskiya Corporation Ltd, Zaria, 2013, p.126.

². G.O. Ogunremi, "Transportation in Pre-Colonial Africa", in Atanda, J.A and Agiri B.A (eds.) *An Introduction to the Economic History of Pre-Colonial Africa*, Tarikh vol. 1- 10 Ikeja Longman Nigeria plc, 1992. P.21. See...Abdullahi Mahadi, "Aspects of Economic and Social Development in the Sokoto Caliphate in the 19th Century" in E.D.H Babboyi & A.M Yakubu (eds.) *The Sokoto Caliphate: History & Legacies, 1804-2004* Vol.1 Baraka prints Kaduna, 2006, pp. 83-94. See also...A.A. Sifawa, "Colonial Infrastructure and Social Services in Sokoto Metropolis, 1903 – 1960", M.A. History Dissertation, Department of History, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto 2011.

phenomena could be said to be utilized in the subsequent establishment of large political institutions such as those by the Jihad of 1804 in Hausaland and the Seifawa dynasty of Kanem-Borno in 1085. Although horses and camels constituted symbol of power and authority, they nevertheless continued to provide means of transportation in both active and non-active ways so as to cope with the Caliphate's standing up to the end of 19th century.³ Notwithstanding the modern mode of transportation, camels and horses also continued to be utilized especially in traversing the northern frontiers of Hausaland by itinerant communities of Adar, Gobir, Zamfara, Katsina, Kano, Sokoto and Borno. It was in all respect the combine force of this mode of transportation that culminated in the success of most of the business, political and military campaigns in pre-colonial Hausa society.⁴

In the same vein, cavalry became what could be termed the "elite corps" of armies during the Jihad movement because of its nature and sophistication. In most of the areas in Hausaland where horses were used in wars, the officers of the cavalry seemed to have become quite powerful individuals. The cavalry unit embraced various elements ranging from menial functionaries such as horse attendants and weapon carriers that included spears, axes, shields, stirrups, and chain mail called *sulke* in Hausa language.⁵

The camel was also occasionally employed in wars as was done by the famous king of Borno, Mai Idris Alooma, who reigned during the late sixteenth century. Also, camels were principally used as means of transport especially by traders crossing the great

³. J.P. Smaildone, *Warfare in Sokoto Caliphate*, Cambridge University Press, 1977, p.127. See...D.J.M. Muffet, *Concerning Brave Captains*, London, 1954; H.F. Blackwell, *The Occupation of Husaland*, London, Frank Cass, 1969 see...M. T. Usman, "Intellectual tradition in Sokoto Emirate 1903-1960" PhD History Thesis, UDUS, 1998, pp 112-113 and 78 see...R. A. Adeleye, "The Dilemma of the Waziri: The Place of the *Risalat Ila-Ahl-Al-Ilm Wa'l Tadabbur*" in *The History of the Conquest of the Sokoto caliphate*, J.H.S.N, IV, 2, 1968, pp 88-89.

⁴. D.E. Ferguson, "Nineteenth Century Hausaland being a Description by Imam Imoru of the Land, Economy and Society of his People", PhD History Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1973, p.122

⁵. R.A. Adeleye, "Hausaland and Borno 1600 - 1800 A.D" in J.F.A. Ajayi and Micheal Crowder (eds.) *History of West Africa I*, London, 1971, pp.485 – 530. See A.A. Boahen, "The Caravan Trade in The Nineteenth century", *Journal of African history*, Vol.ii, no.2, 1962.

Sahara Desert.⁶ Common cultural attitude to the significance of horses in the north however led to closer ties among various communities both within the region under Hausaland and Sokoto caliphate. In terms of the sources of these horses the areas included *Bahar-Ghazal* (now in the Sudan Republic) and North Africa that served as the principal channels through which horses were imported into this area. According to Nadama:

Caravans of Azbinawa merchants carrying salt from Azbin⁷ found their ways to the markets of Zamfara and beyond, so much so that the Azbinawa came to be associated with the salt trade. In exchange, the *Sarakunan* Zamfara and beyond purchased well-bred *Dan-azbin* (Azbin horse).⁸

The practice of exchanging commodities with horses between various communities was an important means of acquiring horses and camels by the people in Hausaland and beyond. Thus, Borno, Sokoto and *Kasar* Zamfara served as channels through which these animals were taken to the areas southwards, particularly Nupeland, Jukunland and even Oyo Empire in the 19th century. But besides obtaining horses from outside areas, the various horse-cultures including the practice of *Durbar*⁹ became gradually entrenched in the tradition long before the British imperialists had set foot in this area.¹⁰

Islamization of the communities in the area was an added significance to the utility of horses in the area. The Islamic influence became more pervasively felt in the Sefawa kingdom of Kanem-Borno from the early to the late eleventh century when Mai Hume B. al-Jalil was converted to Islam. In Hausaland, importance of horses seemed to have gained ground with the impetus of the Jihad movement by Shehu Usman Danfodiyo over the *Kasar Hausa*. This and the consequent rise of the Sokoto Caliphate facilitated the match of

⁶. Ibid.

⁷. The Air Mountains or Air Massif (Tamashek: Ayar; Hausa: Eastern Azbin, Western Azbin) is a triangular massif, located in northern Niger Republic, now in Agadez region.

⁸. Na-dama Garba, "The Rise and Collapse of a Hausa State: Political and Social History of Zamfara", Ph.D. Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1977, pp.214 – 215.

⁹. It is a festival of horses celebrated many cities of Nigeria including Kano, Katsina and Zazzau, etc.

¹⁰. Al-Hajj Muhammad, *The Fulani Concept of Jihad: Shehu Usman Dan Fodiyo*, Odu I, 1964, pp.45 – 58.

Islam and the acceptability of its precepts.¹¹ Horses also became important in pre-colonial Hausaland because of the importance attached to ceremonies such as *Durbar*. El-Masri observes that:

On the importance and performance of *Durbar* to the people, discussion should first focus on the Sokoto Caliphate on how it usually happened. During the *Durbar*, services of dancer, musicians, singers and artisans were needed. It became very interesting through the participation of the Emirs and Chiefs, district and village heads, councilors, warriors both mounted and non-mounted horse attendants, *Malams* and numerous representatives of major occupational classes in the community.¹²

Murray Last also observes that a new generation of transporters like the Agades-based Agalawa or the Kambarin-barebari (of Zamfara; possibly linked with *Shaikh* Abdul-Salam) seem to have backed the Jihad leaders, and helped them not just with animals and sale of booty, but also with an information network relaying news of enemy movements. These Agades based Agalawa were also in a position to bring in food during the Jihad, particularly when famine was decimating the Muslim camps.¹³

The most important group with the bond of friendship with Sokoto was the Tuareg of Adar and Southern Ahir. The Sultan of Agades, Muhammad al-Baqiri, also helped *Shaikh* Danfodiyo with the camels from his domain. At the time of the battle of Fafara, he ordered the subordinate emirate of Adar to be transferred from Hamid, the leader of the pro-Gobir faction, and be given to Muhammad B. Al-Mustafa who had already campaigned with the Muslims in Gobir and Adar, and whose sons had been with the *Shaikh*.¹⁴ Despite the antagonists of the Tuareg in Adar, Muhammad al-Baqiri visited Gwandu with camels to pay the *Shaikh* Abdullahi allegiance and to leave his sons there. Sokoto remained a stable and important factor in the diplomacy of alliance between Adar

¹¹. Bello Muhammad, *Infraq al-Maisun*, trans. E.J. Arnett, The Rise of the Sokoto Fulani, Kano, 1992.

¹². El-Masri, Fotto, "The Life of Shehu Usmanu Dan Fodiyo before the Jihad", JHSN II, 4, 1963, pp.435 – 448.

¹³. D.M. Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, Longman Group Ltd, 1977, p.

¹⁴. Ibid.

and Caliphate. Also, the economics of the salt trades prevented the Sultan of Agades from antagonizing Sokoto, as much as the needs for dry-season grazing.¹⁵

However, one of these Tuareg scholars with the *Shaikh* Usmanu Danfodiyo from the beginning of the Jihad was *Malam* Agali who tried to win support for the *Shaikh* from other Tuareg communities and he seemed to have been successful in gaining that support. Malam Agali was among the closest companions of Shehu who had the knowledge of *Fiqih* (*Furu'a*). He was also one of those who assisted the religion of Islam during the Jihad movement in Hausaland. Waziri Gidado Bn. Lema and Waziri Abdulkadir Bn. Gidado both of them mentioned Malam Agali's contributions to the success of the jihad movement in their books such as *Raudal Jalani Basdul Fa Wa'idi wa Takaribil Makasidi*.¹⁶ That was why when Shehu Usman bn. Fodiyo migrated from Dagele to Gudu, after being forced by the leadership in Gobir under Yunfa, it was Malam Agali who took Shehu's books on his camels. Nana Asma'u, the daughter of Shehu mentioned this in her poem, *wakan gewaye* where she emphasized the commitment of Malam Agali to assist Shehu:

¹⁵. Ibid.

¹⁶. M.M. Shehu Maniya Sakkwato, *Tarihin Sahabban Shehu*, Al-Amin printing press, Sokoto, 2004, p.95.

*“Sannan Agali fa ya tafo kuma kun jiya”
“ya dauki kayan shehu littafai nasa”.*¹⁷

Meaning, it was Malam Agali who carried the properties of Shehu including the books.

Malam Agali also garnered support from his people in order to assist Shehu. He assisted Shehu in Gudu particularly during the battle of *Kwato*, where he led a contingent of Muslims from his town in Adar. This assistance impressed the Muslims and even Muhammadu Bello described it as an act of philanthropy. Muhammadu Bello said that:

*A wannan ranar ne, wadansu daga cikin jama'ar Musulmi wadanda ke kasar Adar suka sadu damu tare da Malam Agali, mukayi farin ciki da zuwansu.*¹⁸

Meaning, it was on this day that some Muslims from Adar in Niger Republic joined us together with Malam Agali and we were happy that they came.¹⁹

Indeed, it was Malam Agali who disbanded the army of the unbelievers from the *Tabkin kwato*, and seized from them their horses. Again, when Shehu left Gudu to a secret place for *magabci*, it was *Malam Agali* to whom Shehu entrusted his family to. After some times the Gobirawa army found out that Shehu had left Gudu to somewhere else for *magabci* they immediately invaded the area under *Malam Agali*. But, *Malam Agali* with the support of his Adar people and people of Gudu drove away the Gobirawa army about seven times and they killed many people among the Gobirawa. Malam Agali and his people together with people in Gudu chased the remaining Gobirawa army until they reached their town of Alkalawa.²⁰

Aliyu Muhammad Muri's Ph.D work on the Defence Policy of the Sokoto Caliphate examined the contributions of horses to the success of the Jihad movement. The work brought about records on different methods being employed by the Sokoto jihad leaders through the deployment of horses especially in the battle field. One of the methods

¹⁷. Sarkin Musulmi Muhammadu Bello, *Infakul Maisuri*

¹⁸. Ibid.

¹⁹. Ibid.

²⁰. M. M. Shehu Maniya Sakkwato...

used was the effective utilization of the cavalry warriors who mounted their fight on horseback. The use of the cavalry during the jihad movement played a significant role in the success recorded by the triumvirate.²¹ According to Muri:

The Caliphate's balance of forces gave the cavalry about one-tenth of the total strength, though this did not mean to suggest negligence on the part of the leaders or lack of importance of the cavalry in warfare. Horses' relevance in warfare remained unquestionable, which no doubt dated from the battle of Tsuntsuwa and Alwasa down to the fall of the Caliphate in 1903 to the hands of the colonial masters.²²

It is worth noting that horses used in cavalry were not all home breed, but somewhere imported either from the *Baharal-Gazal* in the Sudan through Borno or from *Azbin* in the north through Sokoto. However, imported horses were generally preferred because of their heights and field's endurance.²³ Most of the caliphate annual expenditure was geared towards meeting the cost of the imported horses from various sources (booties, tributes and purchase) coupled with the procurement of military hardware and software.²⁴ As a result of this, efforts were made by the leaders to centralize the military of the caliphate for effective coordination, but considering the vastness of the caliphate, it would certainly be very difficult to centralize the military formation during the jihad movement. Some of the emirates had a distance to approximately over 1,000 kilometres away from the capital at Sokoto. Apart from the distance, there were other factors responsible for the non-centralization of the military formation during the jihad movement. There were geo-strategic imperatives which in some emirate's infantry were used and, in some others,, cavalry was used.²⁵

²¹ A.M. Muri, "The Defence of Policy of the Sokoto Caliphate, 1804-1903", PhD History Thesis, UDU, Sokoto, 2002, pp. 168-169.

²² Ibid.

²³ H.J. Fisher, "He Swallowed the Ground with Fierceness and Rage: The Horse in the Central Sudan, II: Its Use", *Journal of African History*, XIV, 3, 1973.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

Geographically, both Savannah and forest have its own method of warfare. In the savannah region, the relatively open country made possible swift movements, the deployment of large bodies of men, and use of weapons such as bows, javelins and clubs-long range; above all, this was cavalry country where horsemen could range freely and their mounts were less exposed to the tsetse fly which infested the south. But, in the forest, as the Fulani cavalry were to discover in the 19th century, the movement and visibility were hindered by the dense forest and under growth and became sick under the attacks of the tsetse fly of the area. Therefore, in this situation, weapons had to be used at short range.²⁶

In Hausaland, many kingdoms were eager to go to war in order to get booty from the success of the war. This is because war then, was the major source of exchange between the kingdoms within and outside the area. The acquisition of booty was of considerable importance given the fact that, it was through it, that victorious kingdoms found means of replenishing their daily deflated coffers. Therefore, in the military aspect of this process, exchanges in horses, armours and arms ranked high. And mostly, slaves were used in this commercial exchange with horses and other military hardware, and since those horses could not be sourced locally, therefore, they don't have any choice than to use that which they have in order to get what they want.²⁷ This is why according to Aliyu Muri:

Since most of the military hard and software like horses needed for the cavalry could not come by locally, the need then arose to secure durable supply lines for slaves which served as mode of commercial exchange. He said, this was why both the economy and defence sectors of the caliphate relied heavily on slaves to function effectively.²⁸

²⁶. A.M. Muri, "Defence Policy"...

²⁷. R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804-1906*, London, Mc Millan, 1971, pp. 5-6.

²⁸. A.M. Muri, "Defence Policy in Sokoto Caliphate"..., P. 28.

However, during the time of Sarki Bawari (1741-1770), the Gobirawa carried out an attack against Katsina reaching up to the walls of the Katsina capital. But, (Gobirawa) their mission was not successful because they found the city very difficult to attack and were forced to abort the intended invasion of the town. Also, during the reign of Sarki Bawa, yet another attack against the Katsina was made, and it was the first time the two armies came face to face with one another in the battle field. The war took place at a place called Dan Karshi, and the Gobirawa army was defeated. The successes of the Katsina army in both wars were attributed to the effective use of their cavalry under the command of one commander called Ubandawakin Sarki who demonstrated courage during the wars.²⁹

Indeed, due to geographical exigencies, the cavalry became the most important element in warfare in the savannah land. Hausa armies relied so much on cavalry when it came to offensive. They employed it as a shock-force and means of breaking the enemy line. The strength of the Hausa was tied to the number of horses a king could deploy during a particular battle. This development continued up to the beginning of the 19th century and in the wars waged by the jihad leaders. During the 19th century jihad movement, no single war was won without the deployment of horses under the cavalry unit of the army by the Jihad leadership.³⁰

As observed earlier, cavalry forces were meant for the elites and others who were connected to the palaces. That was why, to serve in a cavalry during the war, one needed to possess a healthy and strong horse as well as other protective out-fit such as mail-coat and helmet, all which were costly and so difficult to possess by the common peasant. The only unit where a peasant can participate was the infantry unit which only required bow

²⁹. Garba Na-Dama, "The Rise and Collapse of a Hausa State, A Social and Political History of Zamfara", PhD History Thesis, ABU Zaria, 1977, pp. 30-32.

³⁰. A.M. Muri, "Defence Policy of the Sokoto Caliphate"... See Robin Law, *The Horse in West African History*, Oxford University Press, London, 1980.

and arrow or a sword. As a result of this requirement in the cavalry unit, anybody who was either a royal or a wealthy or even an *imam* who acquired his horse by way of gift from either the king or a wealthy person within the community could participate.³¹ In the same vein, one would understand that horses and horse trappings were even legacies from the pre-jihad order. Thus, title like *Madawaki* i.e. commander of the cavalry was borrowed from the pre-colonial Hausa kingdoms. Those titles and others were given direct interpretations because of the bravery of the leader of the unit during the military campaigns.³²

Consequently, in order to give much importance and respect to the cavalry unit of the army, the Jihad leaders were explicit about it and emphasized that, in line with Islamic provision, when sharing the booty after winning the war, the triumvirate said that a rider of a horse during the war be given two shares from the booty, while somebody who fought by foot should be given one share. This method was adopted partly as a religious injunction and in order to encourage more wealthy individuals within the community to deploy as much horses as possible and by implication, winning a war was largely dependent upon the deployment of horses by a particular kingdom during the battle.³³ The remuneration of a soldier during the Jihad period was also emphasized by the Jihad leaders. According to Muhammadu Bello, even if the treasury was empty, the leaders must borrow money to pay their soldiers. Payments to the soldiers were always enough to cater for them. And in a situation where a soldier died, his family would be taken care of by the leaders until they become mature enough to take care of themselves including the wife who would be given choice to have a husband.³⁴ Muhammadu Bello mentioned that as a result of inefficiency of their horses during some of the wars with Gobir army they could

³¹. R.S., Smith, *Warfare and Diplomacy in Pre-Colonial West Africa*, Metheun, London, 1976, pp. 98-100.

³². Ibid. See also... Baylis John, *British Defence Policy in a Changing World*, London: Groom Helm, 1977, pp. 162-4

³³. A.M. Muri, "Defence Policy of the Sokoto Caliphate"... , p. 44

³⁴. J.S. Trimingham, *A History of Islam in West Africa*, London: Oxford University Press, 1968, P.119.

not perform well in the battles such as Matankari, Kwanni and Tabki Kwato, etc³⁵ and during those battles Muhammadu Bello was reported to have said:

Our weapons at that time were only bow and arrow. And our horsemen did not exceed twenty.³⁶

However, during the subsequent wars, when the military arsenal increased due to the improvement of economic resources under the control of the jihadists including the horses captured from the enemies, the jihadists made preparation to match and attack the enemies as much as possible. Now that their horsemen were almost two hundred in number, they can face any enemy's forces. The horsemen were usually sent to the right and to the left and at the front as well as at the back. Because, as observed earlier, there was no way they could win a war without adequate number of horsemen at the front line during any particular war. A typical example was the wars mentioned above where the jihadists' army failed as a result of the inadequate horsemen to support the infantry unit.³⁷

Similarly, with the successes recorded by Yakubu in the southern Bauchi, his army turned its attention northward where Misau became the major target; the town was attacked and placed under siege for about a month. The hardship occasioned by the siege forced people to eat horses and donkeys before at last some had managed to escape.³⁸ Also, during the campaigns in Nupeland and western Yorubaland, all the three jihad leaders that is Shehu, Abdullahi and Bello participated in the initial battles for the conquest of Mokwa and Ragada, which was the capital of Nupeland. It was even reported that during the battles, Aliyu Jedo, the commander of army of the jihad came with a contingent from Sokoto to aid the Nupeland armies; the engagements were fought from

³⁵. Ibid.

³⁶. Muhammadu Bello, *Infakul Maisur...*, P.57.

³⁷. A.M. Muri, "Defence Policy of the Sokoto Caliphate"..., P. 105.

³⁸. A.Y. Aliyu, "The Establishment and Development of Emirate Government in Bauchi, 1805-1903", PhD History Thesis, ABU Zaria, 1974, P. 385.

1812-1819. King Majia was defeated, Oyo armies were also defeated around 1819, and Malam Dendo emerged as an undisputed leader of the area.³⁹

3.3 Sultan Muhammad Bello's Foundation of Transportation Infrastructure

The fact that Sokoto Caliphate's authorities were mindful of the movement of goods and persons as well as transportation of animals in the metropolis and beyond, it necessitated the need for elaborate roads and transportation policies. Muhammad Bello created the office of chief superintendent or minister of transportation and placed it under *Sarkin Hurumi* i.e. the officer incharge of reserved land. He (*Sarkin Hurumi*) was in charge of the construction and maintenance of roads within and outside the Sokoto metropolis. Roads were categorized or graded into: simple pedestrian roads; semi and full-pledged High ways. Within the metropolis, minor path-ways/roads needed within wards mostly by pedestrians and pack animals, moving goods and services as well were constructed. *Sarkin Hurumi* always ensures that the minimum breadth of the city street was maintained while constructing a road.⁴⁰ There were also high ways in the city. According to Malami, the measure used for the highways was such which ensure two way traffics, so that goods and persons, including pack animals could pass from either direction without difficulty. This was without prejudice to minor pathways, mostly within wards used by pedestrian households. Similarly, *Sarkin Hurumi* opened up cattle drive which ensured free access to public well for drinking water.⁴¹

From the foregoing discussion, it was evidently clear that transportation had been one of the key priorities of the Caliphate authorities in the Sokoto metropolis and other

³⁹. NAK/SokProf.116, C.K. Meek, Kakanda, Kupa and Eggan, District Assessment Report, April, 1918

⁴⁰. H.U. Malami, "Economic Principles and Practices of the Sokoto Caliphate", Institute of Islamic Science, 1998, PP. 62 – 63. See...Abdullahi Mahadi, "Aspects of Economic and Social Development in the Sokoto Caliphate in the 19th Century" in E.D.H Boboyi & A.M Yakubu (eds.) *The Sokoto Caliphate: History & Legacies, 1804-2004 vol.1* Baraka prints Kaduna, 2006, pp. 83-94 see...U. I. Ibrahim, *Metropolitan Sokoto: Issues in History and Urban Development Since 1960*, Gaskiya Corporation Ltd, Zaria, 2013, p.126

⁴¹. Ibid. see A.M Yakubu (eds.) *The Sokoto Caliphate: History & Legacies, 1804-2004 vol.1* Baraka prints Kaduna, 2006, pp. 83-94

parts of the caliphate. In addition to improving the condition of roads to facilitate easy movement of goods and persons, the authorities paid attention to better the transport facilities, commensurate with the existing level of technological advancement. Conversely, Human carriers, including professional porters and pack animals, became the two major instruments of transportation in pre-colonial Sokoto metropolis.

3.4 Human Carriers

The first transport mode known to man, arising from sheer necessity, was the nomadic movement largely on foot of man himself in search of food. When this kind of transport actually commenced no one definitely knows.⁴² People during that period depended mainly on the traditional means such as head carriers (*yan dako*) pack animals such as camel (*rakumi*) and donkey (*jaki*). These means of transportation were the oldest and they played vital role to the socio-economic development of the metropolis and its spatial growth and accompanying population increase. Clapperton and Richard Lander used such means of commuting when they came to Sokoto city during the reign of Sultan Muhammadu Bello.⁴³

In addition to pack animals, human portage had also become an old activity in the history of trade in pre-colonial Sokoto city. Scholars, like Lovejoy, are of the view that the emergence of organized human portage could be dated back to the beginning of long-distance trade. In his opinion, the labor-intensive nature of the transport system associated with long distance trade stimulated the rise of professional carriers. G.O. Ogunremi is also of the view that porters emerged out of the complex human needs for better means of

⁴². R.J. Eaton, *The Elements of Transport*, London: Sir Isaack Pitmans and Sons Ltd, Second Edition, p.1.

⁴³. Richard and John Lander, *Journal of Expedition to Explore the Course and Termination of the Niger*, London, 1832, Vol. 1, p. 106. See...Heinrich Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa. 1849-1855*, Centenary Edition, London, 1965, Vol. I, p. 484. See...A.T. Muhammad, "A History of Donkey Trade in Sokoto State: 1976 – 2015", M.A. History, UDU, Sokoto, 2018.

transportation.⁴⁴ It is possible to say that human portage is as old as man on earth himself. This is because; movement of goods and services from one place to another is an inevitable phenomenon in human activities. This indicates that, carrying goods on the head, shoulder or the back was very possible. Also, trekking from one place to another within short or long distance was also done. This practice was part and parcel and most necessary among all the family members or community members in traditional societies.⁴⁵

According to Ogunremi:

A man's production has to be carried to the consumers, and at the peak period of harvesting, when immediate removal of crops from the farm to the villages or market-places was a matter of urgency in order to avoid waste, the producer relied on his family and slaves. To the extent the portage was regarded as an essential household obligation it was hardly seen as a social evil, but as an accepted practice.⁴⁶

Whatever is the origin of transportation in human portage, it played an important role in the growth and development of pre-colonial economy of the city as in other parts of West Africa. The practice of human portage is the oldest and the most widespread form of transport system during the pre-colonial period.⁴⁷ It is interesting to note that the use of human carriers to transport goods and services was organized in line with the traditional socio-economic formation of pre-colonial period. Like the labour requirement in the farm, labour was also required to transport goods and services to other places. Thus, communal labour, or members of an extended family or business interest, usually mobilized labour among them, to transport goods and services this according to Ogunremi was the general

⁴⁴. G.O. Ogunremi, "Transportation in Pre-Colonial Africa" in Atanda, J.A and Ajayi, B.A (eds.) *An Introduction to the Economic History of Pre-Colonial Africa, Tarikh vol. 1- 10*Ikeja Longman Nigeria plc,1992. See also...G.O. Ogunremi, *Counting the Camels: Economics of Transportation in Pre-Industrial Nigeria*, New York publishers International, USA, 1982, Op.cit p.155. See also...A. M. Rufa'i, "Grain Porters in the Economy of Western Hausaland, in *Social and Economic history of Northern Nigeria Since 1500 A.D.* M.T. Usman, M.A. Rufa'i, (ed.) Aboki Publishers, 2015, p.251.

⁴⁵. Lars Sundstrom, *The Exchange Economy of Pre-colonial Tropical Africa*, 1974, C. Hurst & Company (Publishers) Ltd., Great Britain, p.178.

⁴⁶. G.O. Ogunremi, *Economic History of West Africa* Op.cit. P.73.

⁴⁷. Ibid. See...Abdullahi Mahadi, "Aspects of Economic and Social Development in the Sokoto Caliphate in the 19th Century" in E.D.H Babbayi & A.M Yakubu (eds.) *The Sokoto Caliphate: History & Legacies, 1804-2004 vol.1* Baraka prints Kaduna, 2006, pp. 83-94

situation in the whole of the Savannah region of West Africa.⁴⁸ Lander reported, in the 1830s of seeing family members, including slaves and children, carrying loads at Eggan, near the Niger River during the 1830s. As a result of elaborate use of human carriers at different level of production and transportation of goods and services, human portrage became a full-pledged and an elaborate and organized means of transportation in Sokoto metropolis and other parts of the sub-region. At the family level, or a modest business enterprise, family members, apprentices and slaves were mostly the ones responsible for transporting goods and services.⁴⁹

Moreover, because of the large-scale use of human carriers, vis-à-vis the growth in agricultural and industrial production on one hand, and short and long distance trade, on the other hand, the services of human carriers became an organized economic venture with its leadership structure. Consequently, there emerged both family and domestic human transporters (human carriers), *Yandako* or head carriers for short distance and long distance travels.⁵⁰ Thus, all these categories of human transporters were found and extensively used in Sokoto metropolis, specifically in transporting grains from one place to another within some few meters on their head, back or shoulder. They also carry heavier loads but within a small space mostly by loading and offloading of grains from one pack animal to another, or uploading. This occupation still operates within Sokoto metropolis particularly in Kara market area of the metropolis.⁵¹

⁴⁸. Richard and John Lander, *Journal of Expedition to Explore the Course and Termination of the Niger*, London, 1832, Vol. 1, p. 106. See...G.O. Ogunremi, Transportation in Pre-Colonial Africa in Atanda, J.A and Ajayi, B.A (eds.) *An Introduction to the Economic History of Pre-Colonial Africa, Tarikh vol. 1- 10*Ikeja Longman Nigeria plc, 1992. P.21. See...G.O. Ogunremi, *Counting the Camels: Economics of Transportation in Pre-Industrial Nigeria*, New York publishers International, USA, 1982, Op.cit p.155

⁴⁹. Heinrich Barth, "Travels and Discoveries" in *North and Central Africa. 1849-1855*, Centenary Edition, London, 1965, Vol. I, p. 484. See...G.O. Ogunremi, *Counting the Camels: Economics of Transportation in Pre-Industrial Nigeria*, New York publishers International, USA, 1982, Op.cit p.155. See...G.O. Ogunremi, "Transportation in Pre-Colonial Africa in Atanda, J.A and Agiri B.A (eds.) *An Introduction to the Economic History of Pre-Colonial Africa, Tarikh vol. 1- 10* Ikeja Longman Nigeria plc, 1992. P.21.

⁵⁰. Heinrich Barth, "Travels and Discoveries" in *North and Central Africa. 1849-1855*, Centenary Edition, London, 1965, Vol. I, p. 484.

⁵¹. M.A. Rufai, "Grains Porters in the Economy of Western Hausaland" ..., p.254.

This commercial head carriage *dako* or *yandako* (noun) had been a common practice in pre-colonial Sokoto metropolis. It was a practice whereby big farmers mostly utilize the services of porters for the transportation of grains and other related farm produce. The operation of porters was more common during dry season, after all agricultural produce were harvested, when trade routes were also free and secured and when porters could freely move with their goods.⁵² Grain porters or *yandako* played an indispensable role in the growth and development of transportation during pre-colonial period. This is because; the traders relied heavily on them for the movement of their goods from one place to another, both for short and long distance.⁵³

In Kano where goods were usually delivered to other places like Zamfara and Gobir Kingdoms, camels and donkeys were mostly used. From there they were also repacked onto human beings for easy passage to difficult places within the Kingdoms. All these were accomplished with the help of human portage. Madugu acknowledges that:

The earliest means of transport is man himself. Man walks on foot, from place to place to distant lands. He used his own hands on arms on his own head, shoulder on back as carriage for his head. Thus, the importance of human portage as a veritable tool for land transport in the pre-colonial economy of Northern Nigeria cannot be overemphasized.⁵⁴

It is not surprising therefore, that the Caliphate authorities recognized the significance of human portage, to the extent of appointing *Sarkin Alaro* (Chief of the porters) in the metropolis.⁵⁵ The same title/position was maintained at the Districts, particularly in the towns of commercial importance. In all, human portage was a very crucial transportation facility used in pre-colonial Sokoto metropolis. It had played a very

⁵². A. M. Rufa'i, "Grain Porters in the Economy of Western Hausaland", in *Social and Economic History of Northern Nigeria Since 1500 A.D.* cited in M.T. Usman, M.A. Rufa'i, (ed.) Aboki Publishers, 2015, p.251.

⁵². Lars Sundstrom, *the Exchange Economy of Pre-colonial Tropical, Great Britain*, 1965, p.178. Op.cit

⁵³. Ibid p.256 See...G.O. Ogunremi, *Counting the Camels: Economics of Transportation in Pre-Industrial Nigeria*, New York publishers International, USA, 1982, Op.cit p.155.

⁵⁴. Y.U. Madugu, "Transportation and Economy of Kano metropolis 1967 – 2014: A Historical Study of intra-City Commercial Transport Services, PhD History, Ahmad Bello University, Zaria. 2015, p.49.

⁵⁵. M.A. Rufai, "Grain Porters in the Economy of Western Hausaland" ..., p.256

significant role towards socio-economic development of the metropolis.⁵⁶ Furthermore, even in a subsistence economy in which a community is self-supporting some sort of transportation is necessary. This has been stressed by a transport economist. Healey, who noted that:

The earliest demand for transportation of things arose from the fact that men wanted a variety of nature's products and that nature did not provide them in one place.⁵⁷

Therefore, human portage, which is being discussed in this study, was one of the forms of transport that served the pre-colonial economy in Sokoto city. In the absence of mechanical transport and where neither canoes nor pack animals can go, human portage served as a major alternative.

3.5 Speed of Human Carriers

Notwithstanding the significance of human carriers to the economy in Sokoto metropolis, the slow speed at which porters moved cannot be doubted. They walked normally at three or three and a half miles per hour which is equivalent to 5 kilometers.⁵⁸ It could be more in the dry season or less in the wet season. The weight of a porter's load could also decide his speed. Apart from delays at toll gates and ferrying points, heavy downpours could cause a porter's speed to be slow. But in the dry seasons, when most of the physical constraints were reduced, his speed could reach about four miles per hour, but rarely more than that because the dry season had its own problems. A carrier for example could quickly become tired on account of the high temperatures. It would be worse for

⁵⁶. Ibid, p.257

⁵⁷. J K. T. Healey, *The Economics of Transportation in America*, New York, 1946, p. 41. See...K. Adeniji, "Transport challenges in Nigeria in the next two decades", a key note address delivered at the 5th national Council on Transportation, organized by the Federal Ministry of Transport, at the ECOWAS Secretariat, Abuja, Nigeria, 29-31 August, 2000. See...Y.B. Usman, "Transport and Communications", in Kayode, M.O. and Usman, Y.B. (ed.), *Nigeria Since Independence, the first 25 years Vol.II: The Economy*, Ibadan, Heinemann Books, 1989, p.136. pp 132-136. See...A.D. Ali, *Trade and Transport in the lower Niger 1830-2011*, Adegun concept publishers, Lagos, 2012, p.119. See...R.O. Ekundare, *An Economic History of Nigeria 1860-19670*, Methuen Press, London, 1973, pp 127-135.

⁵⁸. J. E. Raphael, *Through Unknown Nigeria*, London, C.1914, p. 226

porters who were laboring under heavy loads. Another determinant of a porter's speed was the weight of his load. If a porter's load was heavy, his speed could be very slow. A caravan of women traders who tried to attach themselves to Barth's party on the Katsina-Kano route were often left behind because they could not walk steadily for any length of time with their loads. They stopped every few minutes".⁵⁹ Some nineteenth century travelers did not recognize the effect that weight had on speed. For example, Robinson, who made incessant complaints against his porters, always had his loads in ninety-pound packs.⁶⁰ Consequently, they had to stop and rest more frequently than he could tolerate. On one occasion, one of his porters "put down his load ten times within a hundred yards".⁶¹

Another traveler, who used to make up his loads to a weight of more than seventy pounds, had to reduce each porter's pack to forty or fifty pounds, possibly in response to porters' agitation or possibly because he wanted their speed to be increased.⁶² Perhaps for the same reasons, early twentieth century travelers and officers always limited the weight of their porters' loads to sixty pounds.⁶³ The usual weight of indigenous traders' packs is not known but it can be presumed that the colonial government based its fixed porters' weight of sixty pounds on the experience of indigenous traders. The weight of a porter's load affected not only his own speed but that of his whole party. A porter whose load was too heavy for him needed frequent rests which could interrupt the caravan's movement. In order to rest he might require the assistance of another person on each occasion to set down or lift up his load. This happened in the case of some of Robinson's porters who

⁵⁹. Henry Barth, *Travels and Discovery*, Vol. 1, p. 484. See...G.O. Ogunremi, *Counting the Camels: Economics of Transportation in Pre-Industrial Nigeria*, New York publishers International, USA, 1982, p.155.

⁶⁰. Robinson, p. 45.

⁶¹. Ibid.

⁶². CMS Archive, Journal of Smith, CA2/083, 27th June, 1865.

⁶³. For example, A.E. Richardson, G3, A9/0, January 26,1900, No.7; Falconer, p. 38; *Northern Nigeria Colonial Report*, 1900-1911.

required more frequent rests than the others. Of his fifty-one porters, about eight decided to go at a slower rate of one or two miles per hour. Since they could not be abandoned, their rate of travel dictated the rate at which the whole party had to go.⁶⁴

According to Ogunremi, another problem was that if travelers employed few porters because of the worries that many of them caused, they had to spend more time on a journey. For example, if Robinson had reduced the pack of each of his porters from ninety pounds to sixty pounds, he would have required seventy-six or seventy-seven porters instead of the fifty-one that he employed. Because of the “slowcoaches” who could delay the other porters, then speed per day was probably of the order of fifteen miles per day. Assuming that the rate of travel was proportional to the weight of the load, if each of seventy seven porters had carried a sixty pound pack, this speed might have been increased to twenty two and a half miles per day.⁶⁵ In order to go from Zaria to Kano, a distance of about a hundred miles,⁶⁶ the porters would then require about four and a half days. But if fifty-one porters walked at a slow speed of fifteen miles per day (each carrying a load of ninety pounds), they would have spent about seven days to cover the same distance. If Robinson had employed some twentysix extra porters, he could have saved about two and a half days. Yet he would not have increased the transport cost. In contrast, it would appear that the speed of travelling of many indigenous traders was not all that slow. They were usually conversant with routes, and porters would delay nobody if they

⁶⁴. Robinson, Op.cit. p. 43.

⁶⁵. Carrying a 90 pound pack, a porter covered 15 miles per day; carrying a 60 Pound Pack, he would cover 22½ miles per day. For details on this see...G. O. Ogunremi, “Transportation in Pre-Colonial Africa” in Atanda, J.A and Ajayi B.A. (eds.) *An Introduction to the Economic History of Pre-Colonial Africa, Tarikh vol. 1- 10* Ikeja Longman Nigeria plc, 1992, p.21. See...Abdullahi Mahadi (2006), “Aspects of Economic and Social Development in the Sokoto Caliphate in the 19th Century” in E.D.H Babboyi & A.M Yakubu (eds) *The Sokoto Caliphate: History & Legacies, 1804-2004 vol.1* Baraka prints Kaduna pp. 83-94

⁶⁶. Robinson, op. cit., p. 92.

stayed behind to rest. They also had ready devices by which they minimized delays and increased speed.⁶⁷

3.6 Cost of Human Carriers

It is not possible to examine the transport costs of each trade item in this study owing to lack of statistical data and because human portering is being examined as a service industry. It was used to carry all types of trade goods at all seasons and across different communities. In contrast to the earlier treatment of traditional transport costs whereby writers simply pass the usual verdict of high costs without making distinctions an effort is made here to examine various factors which led to fluctuations in costs. In calculating the costs, many complications are involved. Calculation is made difficult because no particular information is typical of even a small section of a community at a particular time or of a particular trade good. Furthermore, most of the available information was given by the European travelers whose rates of pay were far from being equivalent to traders' remuneration. The main factors to be taken into account are: Seasonal changes; degree of security; length of journeys; gate tolls; need to carry food and currency; and weight/value of goods in relation to distances. First, travelling was slower and costlier in the wet season because of the general characteristics of the routes. There was always the fear of the dangers that might follow a heavy downpour and this could scare away many porters.⁶⁸ In the wet season, snakes, scorpions, and ants were common on the routes, streams had to be forded, flooded sections of the route had to be waded

⁶⁷. Assuming that a total wage of 1/- was paid per porter per day, 51 porters travelling 7 days would earn 357/- 71 porters travelling 44 days would earn 346\$/-. Also, note the load carried; 51 porters each carrying 90 lb. carried 4,590 lbs. 71 porters each carrying 60lb. carried 4,260 lbs. Therefore, with available labour, employing more Porters, each carrying less weight, more loads could be carried in less time and at a lower cost. See...G.O. Ogunremi, *Counting the Camels: Economics of Transportation in Pre-Industrial Nigeria*, New York publishers International, USA, 1982, Op.cit p.155.

⁶⁸. For example, Bowen's carriers deserted him on his way from Ijaiye to Ogbomosho. Bowen Adventures, p. 186.

through, and bridges or ferries had to be used to cross swift and deep rivers. For example, the extent of delay which ordinary black ants could cause to porters cannot be adequately imagined by anyone who has never had the experience of crossing them on footpaths. Such troubles could lead to scarcity of porters. More porters would be available in the dry season when the obstacles were fewer and pay could then be lower.⁶⁹

One hundred sixteen (116) loads weigh of seven porters for thirty days was about eighteen pence per porter per day. A bag of cowries or 20,000 cowries was put at twenty five shillings; and eighteen pence was equivalent to 1,200 cowries.⁷⁰ The average weight of load carried to Rabba by each of the seven porters was 65-701b. The total weight carried was about 4901b at 701b per porter. If the porters carried loads from Rabba to Lagos, they were to receive extra remuneration. That is, nothing was supposed to be carried on the return journey to Lagos. It then meant that £16 was paid to transport 4901b for 600 miles.⁷¹ The difference in cost per ton per mile between long and short distances was noted by Lugard in the early twentieth century. His record shows that the difference was not peculiar to human portage. As the table below indicates, differences also occurred in the cost per mile when pack animals were used for long and short distances.

⁶⁹. G. J. A. Ojo, *Yoruba Culture, A Geographical Analysis*, London: Oxford University Press, 1966, pp. 94-95.

⁷⁰. 7 men earned £16 for 30 days (return Journey) Rate per Porter per day was 18d approximately. If 25/- was equivalent to 20,000 cowries, 18d=1,200 cowries. See G. O. Ogunremi, "Transportation in Pre-Colonial Africa" in Atanda, J.A and Agiri B.A (eds.) *An Introduction to the Economic History of Pre-Colonial Africa, Tarikh vol. 1- 10* Ikeja Longman Nigeria plc, 1992, p.21. See...Abdullahi Mahadi, "Aspects of Economic and Social Development in the Sokoto Caliphate in the 19th Century" in E.D.H Babboyi & A.M Yakubu (eds) *The Sokoto Caliphate: History & Legacies, 1804-2004 vol.1* Baraka prints Kaduna pp. 83-94

⁷¹. Ibid

Table 3.1: Difference in Costs of Transportation between Long and Short Distances, 1825.

Long Distances (Say 320 miles)				Short Distances (Say 40 Difference Transport miles) in %		
Transport type	Cost per mile	Time taken	Remarks	Cost per mile	Time taken	Remarks
Human Carriers	24d	2months	Includes rest	20d	7days	Includes rest
Animal (Pack)	10d	2months	Includes rest	9d	7days	Return
Animal (Draught)	8d	2months	Includes rest	7d	7days	Journey

Source: Derived from “Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria”, C. O. 879/119, edited by Kirk-Greene, 1968 see G. O. Ogunremi, *Transportation in Pre-Colonial Africa in Atanda, J.A and Agiri B.A (eds.) An Introduction to the Economic History of Pre-Colonial Africa, Tarikh vol. 1- 10*Ikeja Longman Nigeria plc, 1992 p.21. See...Abdullahi Mahadi, Aspects of Economic and Social Development in the Sokoto Caliphate in the 19th Century in E.D.H Babboyi & A.M Yakubu (eds) *The Sokoto Caliphate: History & Legacies, 1804-2004 vol.1* Baraka prints Kaduna, 2006, pp. 83-94.

As can be seen in the table, the difference was higher in the case of the human portorage (16 2/3 percent) than in that of the pack animal (10 percent). To the porters’ pay had to be added tolls and this could be a considerable addition. For example, in 1890, a total of 2.4d was charged on a load of maize that cost 2.5d to 5d.⁷² The table below gives an idea of some tolls charged on some products.

⁷². C. O.879/33, 1890. See...W. Allen & T. R. H. Thompson, *A Narrative of the Expedition to the Niger in 1841*, London, 1848, Vol. I. See...M. Johnson, “The Cowrie Currencies of West Africa” JAM Part 1, XI, No.1, 1970, p. 42. Also see M. F. Smith, *Baba of Karo*, London, 1954, p. 80.

Table 3.2: Some Toll Charges in Nigeria in the Nineteenth Century, 1826 - 1866

Places	Year	Article	Tolls
Koolfe (Borgu)	1826	A Porter	20 cowries
Gori Market	1854	Salt per bag	50 cowries
Abeokuta	1866	1 lb of shea butter	40 cowries
Abeokuta	1866	1 gallon of palm oil & nut oil	40 cowries
Abeokuta	1866	1 lb of Ivory	120 cowries

Source: W. Allen & T. R. H. Thompson, *A Narrative of the Expedition to the Niger in 1841*, London, 1848, Vol. I. See...M. Johnson, "The Cowrie Currencies of West Africa" JAM Part 1, XI, No.1, 1970, p. 42. Also see M. F. Smith, *Baba of Karo*, London, 1954, p. 80. See...G.O. Ogunremi, *Transportation in Pre-Colonial Africa in Atanda, J.A and Agiri B.A (eds.) An Introduction to the Economic History of Pre-Colonial Africa, Tarikh vol. 1- 10*Ikeja Longman Nigeria plc, 1992 p.21. See...Abdullahi Mahadi "Aspects of Economic and Social Development" in the *Sokoto Caliphate in the 19th Century* in E.D.H Babboyi & A.M Yakubu (eds) *The Sokoto Caliphate: History & Legacies, 1804-2004 vol.1* Baraka prints Kaduna pp. 83-94.

During the wet season, porters had to be ferried over impassable or unfordable rivers. The total cost of ferrying had to be added also to the payment. Some ferrymen could discriminate in their charges. Even such a well-organized ferry as that at Rabba did not charge according to weight of load but according to the ethnic group of the traders. Thus, according to Crowther, a Yoruba with his load was charged 200 cowries, a Hausa, 120 cowries, and a Nupe, 100 cowries.⁷³ In other words, to know accurately what a trader paid as ferrying cost, one would have to know his ethnic origin. It is essential in estimating the cost of portage to take these tolls into consideration. Another addition that must be made was the cost of carriage of cowries and goods that might be used for payment to the ferrymen, toll collectors, and as a subsistence allowance to porters. Travelers' porters were often paid in cowries, salt, and cloth.⁷⁴ But, apart from officials, travelers did not have to

⁷³. Samuel Crowther and J. C. Taylor, *Journals and Notices of the Native Missionaries Accompanying the Niger Expedition of 1857-1859*, London, 1859, p. 201.

⁷⁴. For example, see Robinson, pp. 66 and 92; Mockler-Ferryman, p. 174.

carry all such goods about. Usually, all that was carried was the amount used in paying porters for their subsistence on the route. It was usual for travelers to pay their porters in cloth, which was a light material, and which they could exchange for cowries, if that was the local currency, and then for food.⁷⁵ It is not known to what extent cowries were carried about in the nineteenth century. It was usual to pay as much as 200⁷⁶ to the ferryman of each river crossed, about 300⁷⁷ to each porter for his daily meal and as much as 500⁷⁸ to toll collectors. Indeed, a serious defect in the use of the cowry as a currency was its purchasing power in relation to its weight. It has been estimated that 20,000 Maidive cowries, which were smaller than the Zanzibar ones, would weigh fifty pounds, a reasonable man's load for long distances".⁷⁹

The purchasing power of cowries varied widely from time to time and place to place, depending on the cost of transporting them. By the late nineteenth century the cost of transporting them had become so high and their value had become so low that it was scarcely worthwhile to transport them on long distances. A traveler estimated the value of about 20,000 cowries to be equivalent to about ten shillings in the northern parts of the country in the 1890s.⁸⁰ This meant that to transport 20,000 cowries or a porter's load of about fifty pounds from Lokoja to Kano, (a distance of about 400 miles,⁸¹ or 20 days' journey at the rate of 20 miles a day) would have cost, at the rate of 9d or 1,500 cowries

⁷⁵. B. Tugwell and C. Robinson Paid Their Porters' Food Allowances In Cloth. CMS Archives, Tugwell Report, G3 A9/0, March 14, 1900; Robinson, *Hausaland*, p. 65.

⁷⁶. James Johnson, CA2/056, 7, June 1877.

⁷⁷. Robinson, p. 65.

⁷⁸. Clapperton, p. 146.

⁷⁹. M. Johnson, "The Cowrie Currencies of West Africa" JAM Part 1, XI, No. 1, 1970, p. 42. Also see M. F. Smith, *Baba of Kano*, London, 1954, p. 80.

⁸⁰. Robinson, p. 66. See...G.O. Ogunremi, *Transportation in Pre-Colonial Africa in Atanda, J.A and Agiri B.A (eds.) An Introduction to the Economic History of Pre-Colonial Africa, Tarikh vol. 1- 10* Ikeja Longman Nigeria plc, 1992, p.21.

⁸¹. Ibid, p. 201.

per porter per day, at least, the enormous total of 30,000 cowries.⁸² The high transportation cost of cowries is clear: their low value, 20,000 to ten shillings, is also apparent. Thirty thousand cowries would have been spent as porters' wage alone in transporting twenty thousand cowries. That is, the porter earned all that he carried and still had to be paid an extra of ten thousand cowries. It actually happened in the nineteenth century that a traveller agreed to pay 20,000 cowries, apart from 300 cowries for food, to each porter if they carried his load from Keffi to Zaria, which he estimated at 180 miles.⁸³

If he had to carry cowries along with him to Zaria and if every porter had carried only a fifty-pound pack, each one should have carried no more than the traveler's load. But he often made each of his porters carry a ninety-pound pack, which would be equivalent to 36,000 cowries. If he was to transport fifty porters' payment of 20,000 each, he would still have required twenty-five porters, each carrying 36,000 cowries of ninety pounds to transport the 1,000,000 cowries that would be paid fifty porters. In other words, he would have had to reduce his load to twenty-five packs, because to employ twenty-five extra porters was to incur further transportation expenses. According to Robinson, our nineteenth-century traveler, his horse became so ill that it could not continue its journey. He would have had it sold, but he could not because "its value in cowries would require fifteen extra porters to carry".⁸⁴ He calculated further that the carriers would have to be paid much more than what they could carry.⁸⁵

The crucial point that is being raised is that it is misleading to generalize about the cost of the portage system without limiting the explanation to a particular period. While

⁸². 10/- or 120d=20,000 cowries. 9d=1,500 cowries a porter's pay per day. For 20 days, 30,000 cowries would be paid. See...See...G.O. Ogunremi, *Counting the Camels: Economics of Transportation in Pre-Industrial Nigeria*, New York publishers International, USA, 1982, Op.cit p.155. See...G.O. Ogunremi, *Transportation in Pre-Colonial Africa in Atanda, J.A and Agiri B.A (eds.) An Introduction to the Economic History of Pre-Colonial Africa, Tarikh vol. 1- 10* Ikeja Longman Nigeria plc, 1992, p.21.

⁸³. Robinson, p. 66.

⁸⁴. Ibid. p. 46.

⁸⁵. Ibid. See...G.O. Ogunremi, "Transportation in Pre-Colonial Africa" in *Atanda, J.A and Agiri B.A (eds.) An Introduction to the Economic History of Pre-Colonial Africa, Tarikh vol. 1- 10* Ikeja, Longman Nigeria plc, 1992, p.21.

the argument of the high cost of portage may have been valid in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was not necessarily so in the earlier period for short distances. In the first place, until the early twentieth century when the iron horse began to penetrate the interior, there was no alternative land transport in the southern parts of the country. Therefore, cost comparisons could only be made in the north where pack animals were employed and by those who were conversant with less costly modes of transport. The nineteenth century travelers discovered that it was women who dominated both the local trade routes and the market places. This was not a mere coincidence; it was mainly because most loads were carried locally, probably within ten miles or a day return journey of about twenty miles from one market place to another or from a village to a town. Although long distance traders who existed in the Hausa and Nupe areas played significant role in the trade, the bulk of the total trade of the country was in the hands of small-scale local traders who head loaded their products to consumers. Again, although slaves carried some loads for long distances, products such as leather, natron, salt, and cotton and palm oil, that entered international markets before the nineteenth century were only partly head loaded. Pack animals also played greater roles in their transportation. From the foregoing, it would appear that, for at least three reasons, human portage suited the economy before the expansion in output of export products in the early twentieth century. First, it performed the basic function of any form of transport the movement of commodities from areas of production to areas of consumption. Certainly, how a form of transport performs this function largely depends on the economy it serves. It is in fact, usual for an economy to grow in advance of the transport. This is exactly what has happened in some parts of the world. For example, the transport that coped with the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century in Britain was based on medieval techniques.⁸⁶

⁸⁶. Samuel Lilly, "Technological Progress and the Industrial Revolution 1700-1914", in Carlo M. Cipolla

In short, it can be concluded that when labour was not scarce, when the purchasing power of a people was low and the internal market was small, when production was seasonal and external markets were small and uncertain, and lastly, when technological and economic developments were embryonic, human portage was economically rational in contradiction with Harrison Church's assertion that "portage was a social evil."⁸⁷ It was not necessarily an evil in itself. It indeed caused little hardship until regularly employed by Arabs or Europeans for commercial purposes.⁸⁸ Neither could it be justifiably regarded as an economic waste⁸⁹ in the era before the end of the nineteenth century. Indeed, it adequately served the economy of its time; and even now, in the rural areas, it is still an economic pillar in the production and internal exchange which, until recently, formed the country's economic backbone.⁹⁰

3.7 Pack Animals

Despite the significant role played by human carriers/portage in the transportation system of pre-colonial Sokoto metropolis, the limitations of human portage in meeting the transportation needs of a populous city like Sokoto in the 19th century facilitated the expansion and development of animal transportation system in the metropolis. It is interesting to note that Sultan Muhammad Bello paid very serious attention to the use of pack animals, as improved means of transportation, in addition to human portage. It is equally important to mention that during the Jihad campaigns, movement of goods and persons as well as the military hardware was among the major

(ed.), *The Fontana Economic History of Europe: The Industrial Revolution*, Collins, 1970, p. 191.

⁸⁷. Harrison-Church, *West Africa*, p. 153. See also...G.O. Ogunremi, *Counting the Camels: Economics of Transportation in Pre-Industrial Nigeria*, New York publishers International, USA, 1982, Op.cit p.155.

⁸⁸. Lord Hailey, p. 1536.

⁸⁹. Harrison-Church, p. 153.

⁹⁰. J. Mortimore, & J. Wilson, *Land and People in the Kano close-settled zone*, Zaria Occasional Paper, No. I, Department of Geography, Ahmadu Bello University, 1969. Human portage is still a common feature even in Lagos, the Federal Capital of Nigeria. Petty traders, especially food sellers, still headload about their products.

challenges that undermined the Jihad campaigns. According to Murray Last, the Jihadists seriously suffered from the shortage of transportation facilities during their early Jihad campaigns.⁹¹

It is not surprising that soon after the establishment of the Sokoto city; Muhammad Bello concerned himself with both the establishment of transport infrastructure like roads and other related policies, as well as ensuring the growth in the number of pack animals to ease transportation in the city and beyond.⁹² Some of the immediate steps he took was encouraging the rearing of camels and horses in the metropolis. He went to the extent of employing his pen to campaign for the promotion of pack animals breeding, particularly camels and horses, which were then not adequate among the people of the metropolis. In fact, Bello made it categorically clear to the people of Sokoto that rearing pack animals, particularly camels and horses, was more important both spiritual and temporal. This he did, by substantiating his position with many traditions of the prophet Muhammad S.A.W. and *fatwa's* of some worthy predecessors among Islamic scholars.⁹³ Another step in the same direction was Bello's efforts at the promotion of sedentarisation of Nomads. He made significant efforts, intellectually, morally and administratively to attract Nomadic to the metropolis as well as other cities in the Caliphate. Thus, the sedentarisation of Nomads as well as the promotion of pack animals breeding both among the town's people and the

⁹¹. Murry Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate...*, See...G.O. Ogunremi, *Counting the Camels: Economics of Transportation in Pre-Industrial Nigeria*, New York publishers International, USA, 1982, p.155.

⁹². Saleh Abubakar, 'Birnin Shenu, the city of Sokoto: A Social and Political History, C.1809 – 1903; Ph.D. Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1982. See also; Saleh Abubakar, "Aspects of Urban phenomenon: Sokoto and its Hinterland to C. 1850s, in Y. B. Usman (eds), *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate: The Sokoto Seminar Papers*, Zaria, ABU press, 1979. Omar Bello, *The political thought of Muhammad Bello (1781 – 1837)* as revealed in his Arabic writings, more especially *Al – Ghayth Al – Wabl Fi Sirat Al – Imam Al – Adl*, PhD Thesis, University of London, 1983.

⁹³. Ibid See...Omar Bello, "The political thought of Muhammad Bello (1781 – 1837) as revealed in his Arabic writings, more especially *Al – Ghayth Al – Wabl Fi Sirat Al – Imam Al – Adl*", PhD Thesis, University of London, 1983.

immigrating Nomadic people, greatly expanded the size of pack animals in Sokoto metropolis.⁹⁴

3.8 Prices of Pack-Animals

As a result of the critical role they played in the transportation system in the metropolis, pack animals constituted very significant items of trade in Sokoto main market known among people then as *Yar'dole*.⁹⁵ An eye witness account in the 19th century explained the volume, prices and importance of Pack animals in the metropolis. According to Henrich Barth when he visited Sokoto in 1824, he saw one of the biggest markets which always operate on Mondays and Fridays every week. The market was so big that many articles and items were brought including animals of different types. People from Agades also brought their goods and at the same time purchased articles from the market. When he entered the market on Monday in order to address some of his immediate needs, Barth found out that 100 cowry shells was needed for daily maintenance of his horse. An Ox for slaughtering in the market costs 7000 cowry shells; Barth bought two milking goats in order to enjoy the luxury of a little milk for my tea for 2,700 cowry shells. The only article which was reported by Barth as cheap was onion.⁹⁶ Barth also stated that he spent 800 cowry shells in order to recruit persons to feed his horses and camels with *harawa* (bean-straw) which furnishes the most nourishing food for the camel in particular in these regions. The price of sheep in the market was between 1,400 and 1,500 cowry shells in

⁹⁴. Ibid See...Murry Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*...

⁹⁵. Hugh. Clapperton, Dr, Qudney: *Narrative Travels and discovery in Northern Nigeria and central Africa in the year 1822-26*, Monray London, 1826 p.330

⁹⁶. Henrich Barth, "Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa". Being a *Journal of an Expedition* under the Auspices of H.B. M's Government, Vol. III., Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1965. Pp. 341-342. See...G.O. Ogunremi, *Transportation in Pre-Colonial Africa in Atanda, J.A and Agiri B.A (eds.) An Introduction to the Economic History of Pre-Colonial Africa, Tarikh vol. 1- 10* Ikeja Longman Nigeria plc, 1992, p.21.

Sokoto market in 1824. Medium size Ox or Bull was between 3,000 and 4,000 cowry shells in the market.⁹⁷

Furthermore, still in 1824 before coming to Sokoto Barth bought his best camel from Katsina, for 60,000 cowry shells. Even fine camels which Khweldi, a Nigerien merchant had sent from Zinder to Sokoto were sold for 60,000 cowry shells this is considered to be the highest price for a he camel. The price for a she-camel was 70,000 cowry shells; a stallion- horse was 250,000 cowry shells; a mare-horse was 70,000 cowry shells. The price of other animals in the same year were that of pack-ox which was 10,000 cowry shells, bullock was 12,000 cowry shells and the price of a weak camel to be slaughtered was 15,000 cowry shells.⁹⁸ Even the transport price of goods from Zamfara to Sokoto in 1824 was mentioned by Clapperton. Clapperton reported that a full load of bullock from Zamfara to Sokoto was 500 cowry shells; for donkey it was 300 cowry shells; for mule it was 500 cowry shells. In the same vein, for human portage, five footmen who took goods to Sokoto from Zamfara were paid 2000 cowry shells. He also stated that a bullock was hired to carry goods from Kano to Sokoto for 500 cowry shells. In terms of exchange and value of the local currency, Clapperton said he was once obliged to exchange his 5 dollars for 11,000 cowry shells in Sokoto in 1824.⁹⁹

Table 3.3: Prices of Pack-Animals in Sokoto, 1824.

S/N.	Year	Type of Animal	Price
1.	1824	Camel	60,000 cowry shells
2.	1824	She-camel	45,000 cowry shells
3.	1824	Horse	250,000 cowry shells

⁹⁷. Hugh. Clapperton, Dr, Qudney: "Narrative Travels and discovery in Northern Nigeria and central Africa in the year 1822-26", Monray London, 1826 pp.330-331, Op.Cit

⁹⁸. Lander, Journal of Richard Lander, "Servant to the late Captain Clapperton", Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1966. Pp306-307

⁹⁹. Hugh Clapperton, Dr, Qudney: "Narrative Travels and discovery in Northern Nigeria and central Africa"...

4.	1824	Mare-horse	70,000 cowry shells
5.	1824	Donkey	40,000 cowry shells
6.	1824	Mule	50,000 cowry shells
7.	1824	Ox	12,000 cowry shells
8.	1824	Bullock	7,000 cowry shells

Source: G.O. Ogunremi, "Transportation in Pre-Colonial Africa" in Atanda, J.A. and Agiri B.A (eds.) *An Introduction to the Economic History of Pre-Colonial Africa, Tarikh vol. 1- 10* Ikeja Longman Nigeria plc, 1992, p.21.

The assertions of Walker; were therefore evidently true in the case of pre-colonial Sokoto metropolis. According to him:

Apart from donkeys, horses, camels and pack oxen, cart routes were also developed along the line of the old path and the improvement was undertaken by unskilled village labour working with the local materials. These developments brought out the development and expansion of the existing pre-colonial indigenous transport system such as Pack animals especially in the North.¹⁰⁰

The major pack Animals used in Sokoto metropolis were: Donkeys; Camels; and Horses.



Figure 3.1: Camels carrying loads as means of transportation, pre-colonial period

¹⁰⁰. Ibid. p.25. See...G.O. Ogunremi, *Counting the Camels: Economics of Transportation in Pre-Industrial Nigeria*, New York publishers International, USA, 1982, Op.cit p.155. See...G.O Ogunremi, "Transportation in Pre-Colonial Africa" in Atanda, J.A and Agiri B.A (eds.) *An Introduction to the Economic History of Pre-Colonial Africa, Tarikh vol. 1- 10* Ikeja Longman Nigeria plc, 1992, p.21.



Figure 3.2: Camels crossing the great Sahara during pre-colonial period.
Sourced from Michael Crowder, *West Africa: An Introduction to its History*, Longman Group Limited London, 1977, p. 27.

3.9 Transportation Using Pack Animals

Donkey was one of the most important means of transport that was used to carry goods and services from one place to another during the pre-colonial period. However, it is still very common to see donkey being used by people for transportation within the metropolis. It is used to carry Sand, Stone and Gravel from the forest to the metropolis. Farmers also found donkey useful as their temperament is non-threatening. Although there are parts of the country, particularly in the south-east, where Donkey is slaughtered for consumption, however, even in view of the various uses of donkey in Sokoto, it was intriguing to discover that Chinese merchants in recent years have a lot of interest in it, which is tied directly to the serious shortage of donkey in Sokoto state. Yet, it is still useful means of transportation, especially in the suburb areas of the metropolis.¹⁰¹ The conclusion of Ogunremi that:

Out of the beasts of burden used by the people in Northern Nigeria, donkey is the most important of all, because of three reasons; firstly easy breeding,

¹⁰¹. A. T. Muhammad, "A History of Donkey Trade in Sokoto State: 1976 – 2015", M.A. Dissertation, UDU, Sokoto 2018. P.55

leading to the great number that was available for use, secondly, cheap maintenance, and thirdly, its handiness.¹⁰²

The easy maintenance and carrying capacity of donkey was a very important factor in making an important means of transportation. Donkey has the carrying capacity of about 51kg of load depending on the size and type. Its ability to travel for about five days without water and to cover about twenty miles a day made it useful and only second to the camel in terms of durability, etc. Donkey could be used to carry almost everything and could also be mounted. They could travel and in effect did travel as far South-west as Gwonja in Ghana, (an important kolanut market of the Ashanti) through the use by the kolanut traders, donkeys were used to cross the Sahara Desert before the introduction of camels to North Africa by the Romans in the third century A.D.¹⁰³ Robinson stated that:

He and his party got mixed up with a Caravan consisting of some hundreds of donkeys in 1895. In 1900 again, when he was on a Christian Missionary tour of Northern Nigeria, he saw a Caravan which consisted of 677 donkeys travelling towards Kano.¹⁰⁴

Apart from these accounts, there were also numerous small groups, numbering 10 – 15 and many farmers using one or two donkeys to carry their produce to market places. This is why even today; donkey plays vital roles in transportation of goods from one place to another within the Sokoto metropolis. According to Fernando and Starkey:

There were an estimated forty million donkeys all over the world, and out of this number, about 96 percent are within the third world countries. Apart from human labour, referred to as human portorage, donkey is the cheapest form of transportation. For thousands of years, human beings have used donkey as

¹⁰². Ibid. See...G.O. Ogunremi, *Counting the Camels: Economics of Transportation in Pre-Industrial Nigeria*, New York publishers International, USA, 1982, Op.cit p.155.

¹⁰³. Y.U. Madugu, "Transportation and Economy of Kano metropolis C.1967-2014" Unpublished PhD thesis, BUK, 2015. See also...Henrich Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North Central Africa 1855 – 1894*, vol.1-3, 1965. Oxford University Press, Lond, p.503. G.O. Ogunremi, p.110. See...A. U. Dan Asabe, "Kano Labour and Kano Poor, 1996", PhD History, Bayero University Kano, P.225, cited in Y.U. Madugu, "A historical overview on the changing Name of Transport and Trade in Kano. C. 1990 – 1960", *Social and Economic History of Northern Nigeria since 1500 A.D.* (ed.) M.T. Usman and M.A. Rufai, 2015, Aboki Publisher, Makurdi.

¹⁰⁴. C.H. Robinson, 1893, p.243, See...G.O. Ogunremi, *Counting the Camels: Economics of Transportation in Pre-Industrial Nigeria*, New York publishers International, USA, 1982, Op.cit p.155.

available means of transportation, but in some Saharan and Sahelian countries, they have also been used in drawing water from the wells and to convey same in leather bags or containers held in traditional panniers referred to as (*Salka*).¹⁰⁵

The owners of donkeys usually use them in order to get means of livelihood through the engagement in various economic activities. Apart from camel, donkey was one of the most popular and engaged pack animals in pre-colonial period. Throughout the western Sudan, it was the cheapest and most important means of transportation.¹⁰⁶ Camel was another very important means of transportation in Sokoto metropolis during pre-colonial period. The introduction of camels to Sokoto metropolis and other parts of central Sudan was a very significant revolution in the field of transportation system. This was because, in addition to its ability to withstand the hazards of the desert, it could carry more loads on long journeys, i.e. 2 to 5 cwt loads. In comparison, it would take five donkeys, each carrying about 12 pounds, to carry a camel's full load of 5 cwt. As a Man's load is handling more than half a donkey's pack, even ten men would be required to carry a camel's load at a time. Some long-distance traders bought the camels that they employed for transportation. It could give as much as thirty years' service to one trader, who would still sell it for about 60,000 to 10,000 cowries at the southern termini of the route.¹⁰⁷ However, apart from transportation, camels have also been used by people during pre-colonial period for riding during special occasions such as *Eid-Al-fitr* and *Eid-Al-Kabir* and have also been used by butchers in the slaughter house for meat purposes, etc.¹⁰⁸ This was in addition to its critical role in warfare, both in transporting military hardware, and in combatant operation as well. In addition to the camels held in the metropolis, the

¹⁰⁵. P. Fernando and P. Starkey, "Donkeys and Development: Socio-Economic Aspects of Donkeys use in Africa", in Denis Fielding and Paul Starkey (eds.), *Donkeys, People and Development, Technical Centre for Agricultural and Rural Cooperation*, 2004, p.11

¹⁰⁶. Ibid., p.12

¹⁰⁷. Ibid., p.239.

¹⁰⁸. Ibid. See...Salah Abubakar, "Aspects of an Urban Phenomenon: Sokoto and its Hinterland to C.1850s", in Y.B. Usman (ed.), *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate: The Sokoto Seminar Paper*, ABU, 1979, p.127.

transportation business/industry attracted considerable number of people, particularly the Tuareg and other professional camel drivers to the metropolis and other parts of the Caliphate.¹⁰⁹

Indeed, the wide spread use of animals as means of transportation in pre-colonial Northern Nigeria, made it an organized profession, attracting large number of people, either as pack animals' owners or as experienced pack animals' drivers. Again, there were many people under the employment of pack animals' drivers who organized themselves in *ayari* Caravans, as a platform in their movement when transportation of goods and services. They moved under the leadership of Caravans' leaders *Madugai* plural, *Madugu*, singular.¹¹⁰ But there were also *yan sifiri da bisashe* who were professional transporters who hired their pack animals, with themselves and drivers.¹¹¹ People from Niger and some parts of North Africa constituted significant percentage of professional camel transporters *yan sifiri da bisashe* in Sokoto metropolis and other parts of the Caliphate. They mostly came during the harvest season, through the remaining part of the dry season. They usually partake in the transportation of farm produce and other goods and services. Toward, or immediately after the commencement of raining season, they returned home with their camels, mostly.¹¹² This however, was without prejudice to some professional transporters attached with successful long-distance traders. Today, some of these Tuareg and North African communities such as Adarawa, Azbinawa and Zabarmawa, constitute

¹⁰⁹. G.O Ogunremi, *Transportation in Pre-Colonial Africa in Atanda, J.A and Agiri B.A (eds.) An Introduction to the Economic History of Pre-Colonial Africa, Tarikh vol. 1-10* Ikeja Longman Nigeria plc, 1992, p.21.

¹¹⁰. Ibid see...G.O. Ogunremi, *Counting the Camels: Economics of Transportation in Pre-Industrial Nigeria*, New York publishers International, USA, 1982, p.155.

¹¹¹Salah Abubakar, "Aspects of an Urban Phenomenon: Sokoto and its Hinterland to C.1850s", in Y.B. Usman (ed.), *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate: The Sokoto Seminar Paper*, ABU, 1979, p.127. See...Muhammadu Kwaire, *A Historical Study of Cloth and Leather Dyeing in Sakkwato: 1960 – 1990*, M.A. Dissertation, Department of History, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1992, p.36.

¹¹². Abdullahi Mahadi (2006), "Aspects of Economic and Social Development in the Sokoto Caliphate in the 19th Century" in E.D.H Babboyi & A.M Yakubu (eds) *The Sokoto Caliphate: History & Legacies, 1804-2004 vol.1* Baraka prints Kaduna pp. 83-94 See...See...Muhammadu Kwaire, "A History of Tuaregs Migration from Niger Republic", PhD Thesis, UDUS, 2002. Muhammadu Kwaire, "A Historical Study of Cloth and Leather Dyeing in Sakkwato: 1960 – 1990", M.A. Dissertation, Department of History, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1992, p.36.

significant percentage of the population of Sokoto metropolis.¹¹³ On the whole, Pack Animals transporters in the pre-colonial Sokoto metropolis, not only contributed towards the socio-economic development of the city and the Caliphate, but left a permanent mark in the history of the metropolis and modern Sokoto State.¹¹⁴



Figure 3.3: Images of Donkeys carrying loads. Sourced from Michael Crowder, *West Africa: An Introduction to its History*, Longman Group Limited London, 1977, p. 28.



Figure 3.4: Types of Donkeys in Sokoto Metropolis

¹¹³. Sale Abubakar, “Aspects of an Urban Phenomenon: Sokoto and its Hinterland to C.1850s” in Y.B. Usman (eds.), *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate: The Sokoto Seminar papers*, Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1979. See...A.U. Alkamawa, “Socio-Economic History of Zabermawa community in Sokoto metropolis 1930-2000”, M.A. Dissertation, UDUS, 2010. P.33.

¹¹⁴Ibid

However, the nineteenth century travelers found a number of slaves being employed on the farm, for example, in 1830, Richard Lander noted that in Yawuri labourers were employed in plantations but he could not identify what type of labourers. It is, however, mentioned elsewhere that the Hausa owned and used plenty of slaves in Yawuri in the nineteenth century. Also in other places such as Adamawa in the north-east of Nigeria and Bida in Nupeland, slaves were immensely used for load carrying.¹¹⁵

3.10 European Explorers' views on Transportation System

Clapperton came to Sokoto in 1824 accompanied by his servant Richard Lander on a mission. He was reported to have held discussions with the Sultan Muhammad Bello, regarding the opening up of trade relations through agents representing both sides to be transacted where there was a place of 'great commerce belonging to him, named Funda.¹¹⁶ There were other features in the discussions which were embodied in a letter from the Sultan to the King of England. Part of the letter reads:

We agreed with him upon this (the prohibition of the exportation of slaves), on account of the good which will result from it, both to you and to us; and that a vessel of yours is to come to the harbour of *Raka*, with two cannons, and the quantities of powder, shot, etc.; which they require, as also a number of muskets: we will send our officer to arrange and settle everything with your consul and fix a certain period for the arrival of your merchant ships; and when they come, they may traffic and deal with our merchants. Then, after their return, the Consul may reside in that harbour (namely, *Raka*) as protector, in company with our agent there, if God be pleased.¹¹⁷

Also, another account had it that:

¹¹⁵. Henry Barth, "Travels and Discoveries in North Central Africa 1855 – 1894", vol.1-3, 1965. Oxford University Press, Lond, p.503. See...Lander, *Journal of Richard Lander, Servant to the late Captain Clapperton*, Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1966. Pp306-307 See...G.O. Ogunremi, *Counting the Camels: Economics of Transportation in Pre-Industrial Nigeria*, New York publishers International, USA, 1982, Op.cit p.155.

¹¹⁶. Hugh Clapperton, *Journal of a Second Expedition*, p. xi.

¹¹⁷. Ibid. p. xiii.

Clapperton in the *Journal of a Second Expedition*, from the Map of his expedition the kingdom of Funda would appear to be part of the Kwararafa kingdom while the town of Funda would appear to be located where Idah is at roughly 8° North Latitude. According to him the City of Raka is still farther in the interior from Funda. It is tempting to speculate that it could have been *Raba* not *Raka* that Sultan Bello referred to in his Article ‘States and Peoples of the Niger-Benue Confluence Area’, as cited in *Groundwork*, p. 160. Ade Obayemi, refers to *Raba*...in Historical Times when the Nupe States extended far across Central Nigeria, the Capital always remained near the River-Gbara, Jima, Mokwa and Raba.¹¹⁸

Clapperton also returned to Sokoto in 1826 to implement the agreement reached between the Sultan and the British government. In the event, the mission failed for a variety of reasons mainly due to the state of war which existed at the time between Sokoto and Borno. The Sultan had evidenced that Clapperton had gifts for his enemy, the ruler of Bomo. Clapperton was not allowed to go to Borno but advised to return home either by the northern or southern routes. Before this could happen, he died of natural causes in April, 1827 and the mission's objectives were postponed as far as Sokoto-British commercial relations were concerned until 1853 when another expedition led by Dr. Barth finally concluded a treaty with Sokoto in terms of which a British merchant was permitted to establish himself at Kano. Dr. Barth's larger plan was to open up the Niger access way to British trade.¹¹⁹ From the European end, the immediate issues of the 1870s onwards in the expansionist programme into the Sokoto Caliphate sphere of authority were two folds viz., the ordering of commercial activities to maximize profit and minimize conflict, and the resolution of the rival interests of Great Britain, France and Germany. In that same year, Joseph Thompson arrived in Sokoto to negotiate the first treaty between the National African Company and the Caliph Umaru. This was followed up nine years later by another

¹¹⁸. Ibid.

¹¹⁹. The British had already appointed a Consul in 1824 at Kukawa on Lake Chad at the southern end of the Tripoli-Fezzan route and friendly relations were established with the Shehu of Borno. A commercial treaty was signed with Born in 1851. E. F. Blackwell, *The Occupation of Hausaland*, (London, 1969), p.1. Incidentally, what the Boussa rapids did to impede navigation on the Niger, the Cabora Bassa rapids did for the Zambezi River which was being navigated at the same time by Dr. David Livingstone. See for example, B. Pachai (ed.) *Livingstone Man of Africa: Memorial Essays, 1873-1973* (London, 1974).

treaty between Sir George Goldie and the Caliph Abdurrahman concerning trade.¹²⁰In essence, there was remarkable evidence of five months and free movement of goods and persons in the entire Sokoto Caliphate's territories. All these were made possible, as a result of relatively peaceful environment that made transportation system all right.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter examines the use of traditional means and methods of transport in Sokoto metropolis during pre-colonial era before the introduction of modern means of transportation by the colonial administration. The traditional means and methods used were the head carriers and the use of beasts of burden or pack animals such as donkeys, camels, horses and oxen that served as transport facilities used for the movement of people, goods and services from one place to another in pre-colonial Hausaland and Borno including Sokoto metropolis. Sokoto metropolis it should be noted was established at the peak of Sokoto Jihad campaigns, when transportation of military personnel and hardware were part of the challenges that confronted the Sokoto Jihad leaders. Thus, soon after the establishment of Sokoto city, Muhammad Bello ensured the setting in motion, the necessary strategy in laying the foundation of transport infrastructure in the metropolis. That he did, first and foremost, by assigning an officer in-charge of road construction and movement of animals, goods and persons, *Sarkin Hurumi*. It was not surprising therefore, that by the end of the century, or to be precise, by 1903 after the British conquest of the metropolis area, Resident Burden reported the existence of good road network in the metropolis. The leadership of the caliphate also promoted the rearing of the major transportation facilities of the period, i.e., camels, horses, donkeys and other related pack animals in order to promote the transportation of goods and services as well as the military hardware and personnel, within and outside the metropolis. Thus, all the European

¹²⁰. H. F. Blackwell, *The Occupation of Hausaland...*, pp.1-2.

Explorers and Traders who visited Sokoto reported the existence of fairly good transportation system, commensurate with the level of technology at their disposal. It was interesting to note that Clapperton, Barth and Landers all reported to have engaged the services of traditional transporters during their visits to Sokoto in the early and mid. 19th century.

CHAPTER FOUR

COLONIALISM AND TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM IN SOKOTO METROPOLIS, 1903-1930

4.1 Introduction

The British conquest of Sokoto city marked the final annexation of Sokoto Caliphate and indeed the entire present day Northern Nigeria. Though pockets of resistance and other forms of reactions have been waged against the British, the conquest indeed heralded the beginning of laying down infrastructural facilities such as roads in the city with a view to facilitating the take-off of modern transportation system and services to enhance resource exploitation.¹ This colonial endeavour which initially was to reel up to 1930 the wheeled motor vehicles and railways that became a novel, was nevertheless, not sufficient enough until when continued with human and animal labours to supplement the transport burden. It was through these leaps and bounds that the modern transportation developed in Sokoto.²

4.2 Perspectives on Colonial Roads Construction Policies in Nigeria

Since early 1900s, the colonial government realizing the obstacles brought about by non-availability of better roads for free flow of commerce and the movement of imperial forces started considering the possibilities of having better roads that would connect the areas of raw materials to the main water ways in order to facilitate export.³ It was in order to achieve this that both the colonial government and the other European companies especially the Royal Niger Company (RNC) made efforts to improve the

¹. Ahmed Bako, "Sokoto Resistance to Colonial Occupation with Special Reference to Giginya and Burmi 1903", being a text of a Paper submitted to the Sokoto State Committee on the Centenary Book Project, 2013. Cited in the Contributions of Sokoto State to the making of modern Nigeria, 2013. For further discussion on the British conquest of Sokoto, see also Obarolimi, *The Fall of Nigeria*, Heineman, London, 1977. P.93.

². R.O. Ekundare, *Economic History of Nigeria 1860 – 1960*, London, Methuen, 1973, p.44. See also... W.N.M. Gear, *Nigeria under British Rule*, London, 1927, p.56.

³. Annual Report of Northern Nigeria, No. 504 (1907 – 1908). P.588. See also... I.K. Abdusalam, "The Role of Rail and Other Transport System in the Consolidation and Exploitation of Colonial Central and Eastern Nigeria 1897 – 1929", *Kaduna Journal of Historical Studies*, p.221

existing routes in the country. There are two divergent views on the rationale of imperial roads and transportation facilities in the colonies. The first school of thought (W.W. Rostow) had argued that road construction was motivated by a desire on the part of the colonial powers to develop African economic resources.⁴ The second school (Dependency) on the other hand, contended that roads construction was motivated by the desire of the colonial powers to exploit the human and material resources of Africa.⁵ Both former and the latter schools made strong arguments to support their views, but the latter school found its expression in Hyla Mynt's conclusion that:

After the establishment of the colonial rule in Nigeria, two major tasks confronted the colonial authorities. The first was the need to establish an administrative control over the newly acquired area and the second was the need to develop basic infrastructure for the exploitation of the material resources of the country. It was partly in the pursuit of the above objectives that the British took steps to develop the transportation system in Nigeria in order to be able to achieve its goals of exploitation.⁶

The British policy which gave birth to the road transport system was geared out of the belief that a colonial territory like Nigeria existed primarily for the benefit of the metropolitan country. The economic relationship between Britain and her colonies were expectedly governed by the principle of "comparative natural advantage", a doctrine construed around the belief that a country should specialize in the production of what she was best suited to produce. Nigeria as a colony was supposed to supply the raw materials which the British industries at home needed and also to provide markets for the British manufactured goods. This according to Lord Lugard:

Is in order to foster the growth of trade of this country (Britain) and to find an outlet for our manufactures and our surplus energy that our farseeing statesmen and our commercial men advocated colonial expansion...? I do not

⁴. Allen McPhee, *The Economic Revolution in British West Africa*, Fran Cass, London, 1971, p.7.

⁵. This view is expressed in Walter Rodney, *"How Europe Underdeveloped Africa"*, Bogle-L'ouvreture, London, 1972.

⁶. Hyla Myint, 'The Classical "Theory" of International Trade and the Underdevelopment of Countries', in *Economic Journal*, 68, 270, June, 1958. P.323.

believe that in these days our national policy is based on motives of philanthropy only...I hold that to be right on necessity...to stimulate trade by finding new markets since we know what misery trade depression brings at home.⁷

4.3 Colonial Roads Transportation in Sokoto Metropolis

The situation of roads as well as road transportation facilities and system in pre-colonial Sokoto metropolis has been dependent on human and animal labour. Therefore, the arrival of the British invading forces in 1903 with some forms of transportation had changed the situation.⁸ On the part of the British, however, transportation was actually one of the major challenges they faced during their conquest of the city as the experience in other parts of Africa. Therefore, to achieve that, the introduction of wheeled transport must be accompanied with improved road network in the city and all other parts of the Protectorate. In view of this development, Road Proclamation Ordinance was enacted in 1903 with the main objective to construct roads for effective movement of goods and services.⁹ The Ordinance provided that native chiefs and their servants should be responsible for the construction of new roads and repair of the existing ones within their territories. In his report for 15th March, 1903, Major Burdon, Resident in charge of Sokoto Province, reported that there was strong resistance to both the conquest itself and the introduction and enactment of the Road Ordinance of 1903. People from all nooks and corners within the Sokoto city resisted the invading British colonial administrators not to

⁷. F.D. Lugard, *The Rise of our East African Empire*. Vol. 1 (William Blackwood, London, 1893), pp.381 – 382.

⁸. Obaro Ikime, *The Fall of Nigeria: The British Conquest*, London, Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1977, pp.202 – 204. See also... H. M. Maishanu and A.A. Sifawa, 'Satiru Factor in the Socio-Political History of Colonial and Post-colonial Sokoto', in *Lafiya Journal of Arts*, Vol. 1, A Publication of the Faculty of Arts, Federal University, Lafiya, 2018. pp.160 – 164.

⁹. A.A. Sifawa, *Colonial State and Urbanization in Sokoto metropolis, Northern Nigeria*, Mauritius, LAP LAMBERT Academic publishing, 2019, pp.26 – 27.

talk of being forced to provide labour for the construction of roads as indicated in the new Road Ordinance.¹⁰

According to Major Burdon, the new Sultan Attahiru II had found it difficult to obtain recognition and obedience from his people, and it was feared that if, the ex-Caliph was allowed to reside in Sokoto many people would continue to recognize him as their true leader, and ignore the latter whom they regarded as a Whiteman's appointee.¹¹ In May, 1903, Sultan Attahiru II himself reported to Burdon that *Sarkin* Yabo was yet to produce the quota of materials and men for the construction of roads.¹² The situation was so bad that Burdon was made to believe that the town harbored elements of rebellion. Consequently, throughout 1903, the British and Sultan Attahiru II failed to get the loyalty of the majority of the people in spite of the death of the Sultan Attahiru I in July, 1903. The opposition was not only against road Ordinance, but also to the long standing detestation of the white infidels (*Turawa*) by the people, an attitude which was much older than the British occupation of Sokoto. Disloyalty and disobedience to Attahiru II and the British was widespread and deep rooted that Burdon was to admit that there was a near state of anarchy, and nobody was ready to contribute his quota to the road construction efforts in the area.¹³

In addition, the Satiru revolt of 1906 further influenced and aggravated the level of resentment against the British policy on road construction in particular, and the administration as a whole. This is because there was the growing sympathy among the people particularly considering the attitude of the British army in annihilating the armless

¹⁰. NAK. Sokprof. 2/1 File No. 7/1903, Burdon to Lugard Report, No. 1 For March, 1903. Also...Oral Interview with Muhammad Sambo Waliyi, aged 85, in his house 18/12/18

¹¹. Ibid. According to Waliyi, Late Sultan Ibrahim Dasuki was deposed and exiled to Yola and Jalingo in 1996 during the military government of Sani Abacha. Similarly, Emir of Gwandu Alhaji Almustapha Haruna Jokolo was also deposed and exiled to Lafiya, in Nasarawa state, etc.

¹². NAK. Sokprof. 2/1 File No. 7/1903, Op.cit.

¹³. P.K. Tibenderana, "The Administration of Sokoto, Gwandu and Argungu Emirates under British Rule 1900 – 1946", Ph.D., Ibadan, 1980. P. 343.

people of Satiru. Therefore, this resentment coupled with the other factors made people in the city not to co-operate with their traditional rulers in carrying out the works of road construction at the initial stage.¹⁴ As a result of this poor support from the people, the colonial administration resorted to using prisoners for all road construction in the metropolis and its outskirts. Still empowered by the Road Proclamation Ordinance of 1903, the native chiefs resorted to using conscription of labour for roads and other works not only in the city, but also in other parts of the Provinces.¹⁵

The situation in Sokoto, from 1903-1918, has been that of fortifying the territory militarily and in clearing and laying the foundation of road networks in order to make them conducive for wheeled transportation system.¹⁶ As a result of the British desire of making sure that expenditure was minimized, no fund was voted for road construction from the revenue generated in Sokoto, at the early years of the administration. Rather, the native chiefs were made responsible for clearing and or constructing the roads passing through their respective areas. Reporting in 1912, on the progress made in clearing and construction of roads in Sokoto Emirate, Acting Resident Malcolm stated that:

A road has been made during the year from our boundary between Chafe (Sokoto) and Faskari (Katsina). A full report of this road with map is being forwarded. The road has been entirely built with local labour and I think Mr. Resident Norton-Traill who has coordinated the construction deserves a credit. The width of the road is about 25 feet and distance 168 miles. Apart from its advantage as a road for motor traffic, I am convinced it will be much used by traders; there has been a good road for some time, but the advantage of a wide road cleared of all stones and stumps is much appreciated by traders as it enables them to travel at night.¹⁷

Although, as reported by Resident Malcolm, that it was the only new road constructed in the Emirate, but as usual, native chiefs were still made to continue to clear

¹⁴. Ibid.

¹⁵. Abdullahi Basharu, "Aspects of Colonial Labour in Sokoto Province, 1903 – 1960". M.A. Dissertation, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1988, p.62.

¹⁶. NAK, SNP7, 2001/1907, Sokoto Province Annual Report, 1906, pg. 95. See also: NAK, SNP7, 384/1908, Annual Report Sokoto Province, 1907, pg.89.

¹⁷. NAK, SNP10, 152^P/1913, Sokoto Province Report (Annual) 1912. Prg.33 by Ag. Resident Malcolm.

all strong places in similar manner in the case of Sokoto – Zaria roads. Continuous need for accessible road network receptive to wheeled transportation mounted especially with the intention of the Governor General to pay a visit to Sokoto using his car which further made the colonial authorities to intensify efforts to provide a motorable road network between the Emirates of Zaria and Sokoto where the visitor was expected to follow.¹⁸

In order to achieve that objective, road construction Engineer, Mr. Norton, was posted to the area in 1912. He was made to intensify the efforts to ensure the construction of the Sokoto-Zaria road to allow for the passage of car during the dry season. Similarly, to actualize the proposition, £1100 (one thousand one hundred pounds) was transferred from Government's account to Native Authority's treasury. In addition to this also, the sum of £5000 was voted in the 1914 budget to further fund the construction work from the Sokoto Emirate revenue.¹⁹ As a result of this development, more funds were later made available from the Sokoto N.A. treasury to build culverts and bridges at some strategic locations within the metropolis.²⁰

Owing to the efforts made by Sokoto N.A. to construct Sokoto-Zaria road, the first wheel arrived the city in 1909 along with Mr. Golding, the Inspector General of Police, who came from Zungeru in a Golden Cart (two wheeler) pulled by one or a pair of draught animal (s). The draught animals often used could be horses, donkeys, mules and oxen. Overtime, the term cart has come to mean any small instrument of conveyance without regard to number of wheels, load carried or means of propulsion.²¹ The cart according to Waliyi has witnessed large number of people who came to have a look at it.²² When the

¹⁸. Ibid. prg.34.

¹⁹. NAK, SNP, 104^p/1914, Sokoto Province Annual Report 1913, Pp. 43 – 45. See also... A. Basharu, *Aspects of Colonial Labour in Sokoto Province, 1903 – 1960*, M. A. Dissertation, University of Sokoto, 1988, P. 62. NAK, SNP, 445/1920, Provincial Annual Report and Returns 1920 – 21, Prg. 124 – 127. See also... W. Wallace, *Colonial Reports*, P. 251

²⁰ Ibid

²¹. M. C. Hillick, *Practical Carriage and Wagon Printing*, Chicago Press, USA, 1898, p.109.

²². Muhammadu Sambo Waliyi, oral interview Op.cit.

news broke out about the arrival of a car, people from all nooks and corners of the city came to the Sultan Palace in order to see the new vehicle. If not because of the presence of the security personnel at the Palace, many people would have rushed to touch the car.²³

The distance from Zungeru to Sokoto is 551 kilometers. Although, the colonial administrators that came to Sokoto city between 1909 and 1914 were not alone as it was reported that they were together with an entourage of security personnel. But, even at that, the risk and hazard they faced during the journeys cannot be overemphasized. This is because during that time, there were no motorable roads. It was estimated according to Waliyi that Mr. Golden spent six days from Zungeru to Sokoto, probably because of his modern cart vehicle and the improved level of tarred roads from Zungeru to Sokoto city by 1914 when southern and northern Protectorates were amalgamated.²⁴

The second wheel to come to Sokoto was that of Governor General, Sir. F. D. Lugard which was brought in 1914 and the one Lugard used were better than that of Mr. Golden in 1909.²⁵ There was the outbreak of jubilation by people when Lugard's car entered the city direct to the Sultan's palace. Those who saw the vehicle talked of the differences in its modernizing aspects compared to the previous one of Mr. Golden. The third vehicle was that of Mr. Hans Vischer, the Director of Education Northern Region who visited Sokoto in 1914.²⁶ Although the visits of Mr. Golden, Lugard and Hans Vischer marked the beginning of vehicle utilization in Sokoto and the Emirate in general, it was not until in 1916 that Resident E. J. Arnett became the first to own a car that was

²³. Ibid.

²⁴. Ibid. Note also... Zungeru is a town in Niger State, and was the capital of the British Protectorate of Northern Nigeria from 1902 until 1916.

²⁵ Malam Sambo Waliyi, Op.cit

²⁶. A.A. Sifawa, *Colonial State and Urbanization in Sokoto metropolis*, Northern Nigeria, Mauritius, LAP LAMBERT Academic publishing, 2019, p.68.

followed by that of Sultan Muhammadu Maiturare and the celebrated businessman Alhaji Abdun Zaggi.²⁷

By being the first indigenous merchant affiliated to United Africa Company (UAC) involved in hides and skins of animals and reptiles, Abdun Zaggi seized the opportunity to also assume the leading trader position amongst all others in the region. This also led him to becoming the sole distributor of variety of imported goods (textiles and others) to Local Buying Agents (LBA) in Sokoto who resold same in all the villages. And to ensure quality and available supply at the time he built stores for upkeep near his house at Kofar Atiku, as well as warehouse in Kanteen Daji. Owing to growing demand, the commerce was enhanced only with the purchase of additional Lorries, Bedford and Austin cars by Abdun Zaggi so as to ease the transportation problems of distribution of goods in both Sokoto and its environs. In fact, his possession of personal car mentioned above was once rumoured to have triggered him to staggering contemptuous rivalry with the Sultan Muhammadu Maiturare as reflected in the following:²⁸

The people in the city asserted that the horn's sound of his car (Alhaji Abdun Zaggi) was translated as follows "*Kudi ne ba ikoba, in karya ne ka je kanti ka iske Bature can zaune, ka bashi anini ya ba ka dari*". This means that "it is the work money and not the authority, if you doubt it visit the Whiteman's shop at canteen area, you give him shillings and he gives you pound". Likewise, the horn's sound of the sultan's car was believed to mean that "*A amshe ma ka kudi a gwada ma ka iko*" This meant that "your money is going to be seized, because this is the work of power and authority and not the money".²⁹

The introduction of vehicles to Sokoto attracted more Europeans, a development that boosted commercial enterprise especially because of the opening up of London and Kano Trading Company (LKTC) Branches in 1913 in the Province. This development

²⁷. Ibid.pp.68 – 69.

²⁸. Oral Interview with Mallam Abdullahi Kofar Atiku, Grandson of Abdun Zagi, 80 years, Kofar Atiku Area, Sokoto, 11/05/18. See...M. Jelani, Biography of a Business Merchant Abdun Zagi 1868 – 1956, B. A. History, Usman Danfodiyo University, December, 1999, p.31.

²⁹. Ibid See also...N.L. Bako, *Indigenous Merchants in Sokoto metropolis*, M.A. History, UDUS, 2016

encouraged Lord Lugard to hastily facilitate the siting of central European trading activities at the Canteen Area (Kantin Daji) in 1918.³⁰ This stimulated interest leading to Messers Ambrosini to also settle after LKTC, leaving other firms to only follow later. Their settlement necessitated the ease of mobility with vehicles which immediately led to construction of three basic roads to connect canteen area with government station/European quarters, main market and the caravan route through the western by-pass. When this was done the other parts of the city also continued to be linked with the intra and inter economic and political networks.³¹ Before the construction and expansion of roads within the metropolis, European traders used to engage the services of the local transportation system such as human porters and pack animals, etc.³²

4.4 Commercial Transportation System in Sokoto Metropolis

The preceding part of the chapter highlights the ways in which British colonial government responded to the needs and challenges of transportation in Sokoto metropolis. In terms of the introduction of motor transportation system in the metropolis, it has been observed that, save the acquisition of cars by some few top colonial officials, there was nothing like modern transportation system in Sokoto metropolis during the early years of the administration. Thus, upon arrival, British colonial officers had relied and employed traditional transportation facilities to meet their transportation needs. The use of human carriers was employed and relied upon by the colonial authorities. Although pack animals were also used, on so many instances, human labour proved not only efficient, given the available road network, but was the cheapest means of transportation in the metropolis and

³⁰. G.O Ogunremi, Transportation in Pre-Colonial Africa, in Atanda, J.A and Agiri B.A (eds.) *An Introduction to the Economic History of Pre-Colonial Africa, Tarikh vol. 1- 10*Ikeja Longman Nigeria plc,1992. P.21

³¹. H.A.C. Main, 'Sokoto City: Historical Development', in K. Swindell (eds), *Sokoto State in Maps: An Atlas of Physical and Human Resources*, Ibadan, Ibadan University Press, 1982, p.24.

³². NAK, SNP – 148P/1917, Sokoto Province Annual Report, No.13, 1916, pg. 61 – 62.

other parts of Sokoto Province. This was more so because, in most instances, people who provided the carrier services were the conscripted servants.³³

Therefore, it was cost free, as far as the white conquerors were concerned. It was interesting to note that human carriers/porters were employed not only in local transportation within the metropolitan Sokoto, but including long regional transportation for both administrative needs and/or for commercial purposes.³⁴ For instance, mail service was conducted by human carriers from Zungeru to Sokoto, through Kontagora, within sixteen to twenty six days, depending on the speed of the individual carrier.³⁵ The human carriers were so much important and indispensable in the transportation business, that the Resident, in 1910, reported that:

The postal service by Sokoto carriers was satisfactory on the whole. The journey from Zungeru (270 miles) is frequently done in eight days which is very good for a continuous journey.³⁶

The situation remained the same throughout the period under review that human transporters were among the key transportation facilities in the metropolis and the entire province as a whole. Among those human carriers, there were professional porters, casual commercial carriers, and the conscripted human carriers among the *Talakawa*. It costs nothing less than three pence 3d to transport full load of goods from the town's market to Canteen area in 1916.³⁷

Although, commercial services existed, particularly for transporting trade goods to different parts of the metropolis, the bulk of human carriers were usually employed to render compulsory service for one reason or the other, to the colonial authorities. On

³³. NAK, SNP 102/1915, Sokoto Province Report Annual 1914, prg.98. See also: NAK, SNP10, 200P/1918, Sokoto province Annual Report, 1917, prg.12 – 15; Abdullahi Basharu, 'Aspects of Colonial Labour in Sokoto Province, 1903 – 1960'. M.A. Dissertation, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1988.

³⁴. NAK, SNP7, 765/1911, Sokoto Province Report Annual 1910, prg.84. See also: NAK, SNP7, 2001/1907, Sokoto province Annual Report, 1906, prg.73.

³⁵. NAK, SNP7, 2001/1907, Sokoto province Annual Report, 1906, prg.73.

³⁶. NAK, SNP7, 765, Sokoto province Annual Report, 1910, prg.84.

³⁷. NAK, SNP, 148^P/1917, Sokoto Province Annual Report, 1916, prg.62

several occasions, human carriers were employed in the transportation of colonial officers from the government station to the ancient city of Sokoto. Similarly, they performed the same thing while transporting British touring officers for assessment tours to different parts of the Emirate. After the commencement of the First World War, the British government needed in addition to funds support of able bodied men, for recruitment as soldiers and as human carriers at the war front. There was also the need for food stuff to feed the large size of human personnel employed during the war. To meet those needs, the British turned to her colonies for the supplies of grains and other necessities.³⁸

Fortunately, Sokoto province was among the major provinces of Northern Nigeria charged with the responsibility of supplying the required quantity of grains to the British colonial administration. Therefore, the hardship of cultivating and supplying the required grains became a major challenge coupled with the issue of transportation of grains from the villages and district headquarters to Sokoto metropolis. Also, transportation from Sokoto metropolis to the rail heads either at Gusau or Zaria was another challenge. Most of the transportation of the thousands of tons of grains and groundnuts mobilized from Sokoto province during the war was through the services of human carriers. Although, pack animals were used, a significant portion of the grains was transported using human carriers.³⁹ This was so because, in most cases human carriers' services were rendered by conscripted masses, while other means like animal transportation had to be paid, thus, making the human carrier services cheaper and more amiable to the colonial authorities.⁴⁰

Pack Animals on the other hand remained the major transportation facilities in the metropolis and other parts of the Emirate. It is surprising to observe that despite the British promise to civilize the conquered territories, it took more than a decade, before a motor car

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ . A. A. Sifawa, "Material Contribution of Peasant Farmers to the British War Efforts: The Case of Sokoto Province, C.1914 – 1945" in M.T. Usman and M.A. Rufa'i (ed), *Social and Economic History of Northern Nigeria since 1500 AD*., Makurdi, Aboki Publishers, 2015, pp.154 – 161.

⁴⁰ . Ibid

made its first appearance in Sokoto metropolis. Even after its introduction in the metropolis, motor car was meant only for Royal and ceremonial transportation facility. It is noted earlier that if not for the necessity of allowing access, to the Governor General's car to reach Sokoto in 1914, no fund allocated for the construction of roads in Sokoto Emirate. It was for that necessity that the colonial authorities started setting aside some funds to execute roads construction project. Even then, roads in Sokoto metropolis were up to 1918, not adequately conducive for wheeled transportation system. This was partly the reason why even the animal driven carts were not popular transportation facilities during the period under review. Since its first appearance in 1909 when Mr. Golden drove his cart to Sokoto, it was not until in 1917 and 1918 that significant effort was made to employ the human and animal driven carts in the transportation services in Sokoto metropolis. Even when some carts were introduced, the condition of roads, particularly in the city and its suburb continued to hamper the smooth operation of animal drawn carts in the metropolis. Consequently, the few carts available were diverted to the transportation of roads and building construction materials and sanitary services at the Government station and by the Native Administration in the ancient city.⁴¹ The Resident, Sokoto province, in 1918 reported the extent to which Carts were employed in the metropolis and commented that:

At Sokoto, some useful road metaling has been done, also the hedging of roads and compounds in the station. A bullock cart did useful work for some time but is now completely worn out.⁴²

As a result of the advantage associated with the cart in terms of ease in transporting large quantity of goods with less labour and time, local efforts were made to construct a wooden cart body in order to increase the number of carts used in the metropolis.⁴³

⁴¹. NAK, SNP10, 200P/1918, Sokoto province Annual Report, 1917, prg.34.

⁴². NAK, SNP10, 100P/1919, Sokoto province Annual Report, 1918, prg.82.

⁴³. Ibid.

Although, the number of carts gradually had risen, neither in the metropolis nor in other parts of the province was animal driven cart used as major means of transportation up to 1918. Although efforts were made at introducing wheeled Transportation in the metropolis, there was no genuine effort at revolutionizing the transportation system in Sokoto metropolis by the British colonial officers up to the end of the First World War. Both local and European traders, in addition to native and colonial authorities relied on pre-colonial means of transportation in Sokoto metropolis. Donkeys and Camels still remained the major means of transportation both within and outside the metropolis.⁴⁴ The Resident, in 1916, made a vivid presentation of the picture of transportation system in Sokoto as he reports that:

The Sokoto-Zaria road was for weeks filled with donkeys, Camels and oxen and men carrying cotton to Zaria. Sellers were pleased with the price realized as being much higher than that formerly received from French buyers.⁴⁵

Therefore, one may conclude that even with the advent and introduction of wheeled vehicles in the metropolis, traditional means of transportion continued playing significant role within the metropolis and even other parts of the Sokoto Province.

4.5 Continuity in the use of Traditional Mode of Transportation during the Colonial Period

Inspite of the introduction of motor vehicles which was so important, the colonial officials and other local workers still continued to use traditional modes of transportation, especially in areas where vehicular system appears impenetrable. It was no wonder then when Sarkin Gobir Adiya and Alhaji Amadu Kiryo in 1948 secured a contract from the administration in Sokoto to level roads with gravel (*tsakuwa*), they employed the use of 100 donkeys duly purchased for the purpose. In a related development, the secretary of the

⁴⁴. NAK, SNP10, 100^P/1919, Sokoto province Annual Report, No.15 for 1918, prg.91 – 92.

⁴⁵. NAK, SNP, 148^P/1917, Sokoto province Annual Report, No. 13, 1916, prg.67.

Northern Provinces in a letter to Resident of Sokoto Province of 13th April, 1949 concerning the hire of horses for tours, had this to say:

I am directed to inform you that General Order 432 is being amended by deletion of the words “on salaries of less than £80 a year” to enable Residents to give approval for the hire of horses for use by members of the African Non-Clerical Staff who accompany officers on tour. The procedure will be for Administrative Officers to draw touring advances under financial instruction 383 where necessary, and out of this to pay for the hire and upkeep of the horse used, under General Order 432, during the tour. This decision to amend General Order 432 will have effect from the 1st of April, 1949, pending publication of the revised General Orders. I am to ask for the names and rank of members of the African Non-Clerical Staff in your province for whom it is considered an officer when on tour should hire a horse to enable formal approval to be conveyed to the Audit and Treasury Departments.⁴⁶

Based on an earlier circular No. 1257/S./18 above, the Resident of Sokoto duly responded on the 21st July, 1949 to the Secretary of Northern Provinces (SNP)’s request by sending the list of all eligible horse hiring officers for the official tour reflected in No.1276/S.2/12 (Circular No.61/1949) of 13/4/49 para 4 as follows:

Table 4.1: List of Eligible Horse Hiring Officers

	Name		Rank	
1.	Maman Gandi	Messenger	K3	(Special Grade)
2.	Maman Bello	“	K3	(Special Grade)
3.	Jibbo Kwanni	“	K3	(Special Grade)
4.	Malam Muhammadu	“	K3	K2
5.	Shehu Gwandu	“	K1	K2
6.	Ladan Alkammu	“	K1	K2
7.	Mijin Bera	“	K1	K2
8.	Garba Gwiwa	“	K1	K2
9.	Garba Dambuwa	“	K1	K2
10.	Mammman Baba	“	K1	K2
11.	Dan Barande	”	K1	K2
12.	Momodu Dosso	“	K1	K2
13.	Umaru Bauchi	“	K1	K2
14.	Garba Bussa	“	K1	K2
15.	Arzika Dogon Dutsi	“	K1	K2
16.	Audu Bukuyum	“	K1	K2
17.	Audu Sokoto	“	K1	K2

⁴⁶. NAK, Sokprof, 1257/S1, Transport-Government and Non-Governmental General Correspondence 1948.

Source: NAK, Sokprof, 1257/S1, Transport-Government and Non-Governmental General Correspondence 1948

In another development, in a Memo No.989/S.1/11 of 15th of August, 1955 by the Assistant District Officer (ADO) i/c, Argungu Division to the Resident of Sokoto Province on Hire of Horse, the officer has report that:

In a conversation with Mr. R.J. Kinsman who was an Assistant District Officer you agreed that he would be eligible to claim horse hire on the days that he used a horse in travelling from house to office and return. The hiring of the horse was necessitated by the breakdown of Mr. Kinsman's car. I should be grateful if you would authorize me to sign a voucher reimbursing Mr. Kinsman for the money he has spent at the rate of 5/- a day.⁴⁸

Similarly, to confirm further the amount charged for hiring a horse in Sokoto during the 1950s, a 3rd Class Clerk by name Malam Hamzat Ahmadu Gwadabawa wrote a letter to the Secretary Northern Provinces (SNP) requesting for the refund of the money expended on horse from his home town Gwadabawa to Sokoto in a letter read:

I have the honour to claim my money from government for the transport from my native town Gwadabawa to Sokoto by horse as follows: Hamza Ahmadu from Gwadabawa to Sokoto = £-.8.0d; Hamza's servant from Gwadabawa to Sokoto = -.4.0d and our loads from Gwadabawa to Sokoto = -.5.0d. Total = £-.17.0d.⁴⁹

4.6 Conclusion

The British conquest and administration of Sokoto, like in any other parts of Nigeria, ought to have brought with it rapid modernization and socio-economic development of the area. This was so, since the imperialists as alleged were on a civilizing mission to the conquered territories. Transportation was among the few sectors that were central for smooth operation of the administration as well as consequent exploitation of the

⁴⁷. Ibid

⁴⁸. Ibid

⁴⁹. Ibid

colonies. Despite its necessity, however, there was no serious effort to expand the motor transport services in Sokoto at least up to 1930. Secondly, the cars owned by the colonial and NA officials had little or no noticeable impact noticeable on the Sokoto tax payers especially when the existence of the huge budgetary surpluses in the NA treasury of about £60,000 (sixty thousand pounds only)⁵⁰ in 1922 was reportedly available, but never was it utilized in infrasturactural road development. Hence, by inference, the exploitation continued to wax strongly in all facets of the economy of Sokoto polity.⁵¹

⁵⁰. A.A. Sifawa, 'Revisiting the Budgetary Deficit Factor in Northern Nigeria in the 1914 Amalgamation: The Example from Sokoto Province, 1903 1931', *Kaduna Journal of Historical Studies*, Vol. 6, 2014, pp.210 – 220.

⁵¹. A.A. Sifawa, 'Notes on Colonial Urban Water Supply Scheme in Sokoto Metropolis 1930 – 1960, *Sokoto Journal of History*, Vol. 2, June 2013, pp.116 – 117.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE TRANSFORMATION OF TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM IN SOKOTO METROPOLIS, 1930 - 1960

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the expansion and development of modern road transportation system in colonial Sokoto metropolis from 1930 to 1960. The period is important because, although wheeled/motor transportation system was introduced in Sokoto Province as far back as 1916 and subsequently in 1919 when N.A. motors transportation service was introduced, no significant efforts were made towards formal commercial motor transportation system in the area. The services were considerably small and mostly restricted to elites from the native and colonial establishments as well as the expatriate firms. But, the expansion of Railway line to Gusau in 1929 and Kaurar Namoda in 1932 gave a significant development to trading activities of the natives as well as expatriate traders in the province.

As from 1930 the N.A. motors services were tasked beyond its operational capacity with emphasis on the need for commercial transportation system. Coincidentally, after the extension of the railway lines to Gusau and Kaurar Namoda, the colonial authority facilitated the introduction of another transportation services, that is, the Railway Motor Services in Sokoto metropolis in the early 1930s. The Railway motors transported goods and persons to and from the railway stations at Gusau and Kaurar Namoda from Sokoto metropolis. The appearance of the Railway motor services in Sokoto metropolis, in addition to the existing N.A motors transportation services significantly contributed to the expansion and development of transportation services in the metropolis and the overall socio-economic development of the province. However, the fixated nature of the operation of the N.A. and Railway Motor services eventually made them less attractive to both European Expatriate Firms and local traders and commuters within and outside Sokoto

metropolis. Consequently, that serious challenge facilitated the emergence of indigenous transporters in Sokoto metropolis. People like Alhaji Abdun Zagi, Alhaji Shibkau Bodinga, Alhaji Garba Dikkon Gande, Alhaji Shehu Kamba, Alhaji Sidi Mamman Asarakawa, and Alhaji Aliyu Nagwadi among many others emerged as important service providers in the commercial motor transportation services. Moreover, from the late 1930s through the remaining part of the colonial period, indigenous transporters effectively competed and made significant contribution in the commercial motor transportation services, not only in the Sokoto metropolis, but the province as a whole. Despite the challenges such as poor construction of roads, lack of competent mechanics, shortage of fuel and automobile spare parts among others which undermined their daily operations, the significant contributions made towards the socio-economic development of the metropolis cannot be overemphasized.¹

5.2 Roads Construction in Sokoto Metropolis

Commercial wheeled/motor transportation services as already discussed in the previous chapter started in the metropolis in the early 1916. It has been highlighted here that challenges such as inadequate number of vehicles, fuel scarcity, cost of repairs, and poor road networks made the smooth operation of the commercial motor transportation service difficult. The N.A. motors service, one of the successful commercial motor transportation services between 1919 and 1930, was used mostly by the European expatriate firms. The general public (tax payers in Sokoto Metropolis) enjoyed little or no direct benefit of the venture. The problem of poor road infrastructure both within and outside the metropolis, made the public transportation system even more difficult to be used by the public.

¹. Sifawa, A.A. *Colonial State and Urbanization in Sokoto Metropolis, Northern Nigeria*, Mauritius, Lap Lambert Academic Publishing, 2019, p.68.

Part of the major steps taken by the colonial government to improve the condition and expand road infrastructure, was the inauguration of “Road Board” in 1932. The Board’s membership consisted of the Resident; Divisional Officer (D.O.); the Native Administration (N.A) Engineer; the *Waziri*; and *Tafarki*. The major task of the Board was in addition to having a definite road policy, to come up with proposals and ensure the execution and supervision of road construction and rehabilitation services in the metropolis and other part of the Sokoto Division.²

The establishment of the Road Board was among the policies necessitated during the period of Great Economic Depression of 1930s. The British colonial government during the depression was determined to cut expenditure in the colonies and maximize expatriation of funds in order to meet its domestic economic challenges. Based on this, the colonial government closed down the Public Works Department under the Resident’s funding and supervision and transferred its responsibilities to the N.A Works Department. The result of these drastic changes and the necessity of improving the condition of roads forced the colonial government to inaugurate the Road Board, and placed it under the supervision of the Resident who was expected to utilize the N.A’s share of revenue in roads construction project. Although the colonial government promised to reimburse the N.A, no evidence existed in all colonial records on such reimbursement.³

One of the immediate steps taken by the Sokoto N.A and the new board inaugurated was to improve the condition of road network in the metropolis. It was also mandated to divert the heavy traffic coming from Gusau and Jega. The Jega⁴ traffic which

². NAK, Sokprof, S.2530, Sokoto Emirate Annual Report 1932, Prg. 235.

³. NAK, Sokprof, S.2530, Sokoto Emirate Annual Report 1932, Prg. 235 - 236.

⁴. Jega is a town in the present Kebbi State, Nigeria.

branches off at Kasarawa, goes direct to the Market,⁵ while that of Gusau⁶ passes by the Governor's rest house, direct to the canteen road,⁷ meeting it close to the Royal West African Frontier Force's Barrack now located at Abdullahi Fodiyo road by SARDA. The work was completed in November 1932.⁸

Although the Board has not been able to sustain road construction in the metropolis, throughout the period of the Great Economic Depression there was sustained efforts to save the existing ones (roads) through annual repairs and metaling services.⁹ However, as a result of damages caused by rain on the roads, and flood and other related challenges caused by streams and water ways, the colonial authorities had to set aside some funds to be used in the completion, maintenance and construction of some bridges, in order to make the movement of people to and from the metropolis easier.¹⁰ For instance, Sokoto Bridge on top of river Sokoto in the metropolis was completed and opened to regular use in 1933. Similarly, Bungudu Bridge¹¹ which had been giving considerable trouble to the government was regularly maintained. However, the inability of the colonial government to ensure once and for all construction of modern Bridges has been responsible for regular collapse and dilapidation of Bridges on virtually all the major roads connecting the metropolis with other parts of the province such as the Sokoto - Jega-

⁵. On the importance of Jega see...Sulaiman Khalid, Jega: "A Social, Economic and Political History", Kraft Books Limited, Ibadan, 2008. See also... Sulaiman Khalid, (ed.) Jega: *A Social, Economic and Political History*, Kraft Books Limited, Ibadan, 2008, pp. 107 – 134

⁶ The town of Gusau in the present Zamfara state is another important town that provides traffic to Sokoto metropolis. As a local government, Gusau was created by the Murtala/Obasanjo regime in 1976..

⁷. For detailed discussion on the importance of Gusau to Sokoto metropolis see...A.F. Usman, *Inter-Group Relations in Gusau: A Case Study of Yoruba-Hausa Relations in Gusau, C.1920-1996*, PhD History, UDU, Sokoto, 2003. See also Garba Na-Dama, *The Rise and Collapse of State: The Social Political History of Zamfara in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, PhD History, ABU Zaria, 1977.

⁸. NAK, Sokprof, Op.cit. Prg. 238.

⁹. NAK, Sokprof, 3554, Annual Report Sokoto Province, 1934. P.63.

¹⁰. Ibid

¹¹. Bungudu is another important town and its road connects people and goods from Zamfara to Sokoto during colonial period. The town as a local government of Zamfara state was created in June, 1989 with the headquarters at Bungudu town. The earliest settlers of the town were found around the vicinity of the low rocky hills of Kotarkoshi town.

Yelwa road (bridge), Bungudu Bridge, Anka-Karanoma, Sokoto-Illela road, among others.¹²

Road situation had not been significantly different during the Second World War, consequently, the war time emergencies such as the need for increased supply of food and other materials needed for successful execution of the war, compelled the British to ensure the diversion of funds meant for road construction and maintenance.¹³ Thus, the N.A Public Works Department was forced to divert its attention from construction and repair of offices and housing infrastructure in favour of roads and bridges.¹⁴ The poor condition of roads, both within and outside the metropolis had been part of the critical infrastructure that has engaged the attention of the colonial authorities after the Second World War.¹⁵ The late 1940s through the early 1950s coincided with the growth of nationalist demagogues in the metropolis and other parts of Northern Nigeria. The Western educated elites, who were hitherto submissive to the powerful local aristocracy and the colonial authorities, started to openly show their dissatisfaction and voiced out their demands. The basic means of communication were basically poor and, in most instances, non-existent in most part of the region.¹⁶

Consequently, both colonial development and welfare funds as well as the N.A considered roads and other communication facilities among the key areas requiring attention during the era of nationalist movement and transition to independence. In

¹². NAK, SNP17, 18921, Sokoto Province Annual Report, 1933. See also; NAK, Sokprof, 3554, Annual Report Sokoto Province, 1934, p.63; NAK, SNP17, 27/766, Sokoto Province Annual Report 1936, Prg. 145 - 146; NAK, SNP17, 29664, Sokoto Province Annual Report Sokoto Province, 1939, Prg. 24.

¹³. Britain had, between 1939 and 1945, in terms of the condition of the World War period; it had redirected all colonial activities towards financing the War efforts and neglecting all developmental activities in the colonies. That is why, Lugard explained the motives responsible for the British colonization of Africa and he said: Europe was in Africa for the mutual benefit of her own industrial classes, and of the native races in their progress to a higher plane; that the benefit could be made reciprocal, and that was the aim and desire of civilized administration to fulfill this dual mandate.

¹⁴. NAK, Sokprof, 6110, Provincial Annual Report 1943 (Includes Annual Notes for Sokoto Division) P.52. See also; NAK, SNP17, 36700, Sokoto Province Annual Report 1943, Prg.53.

¹⁵. Ibid

¹⁶. NAK, Sokprof, 6637, Annual Report Sokoto province 1946, Prg. 16. See also; NAK, Sokprof, 6851, Annual Report Sokoto Province Annual Report 1947, Prg. 36; and NAK, Sokprof, 7225, Sokoto Province Annual Report 1948, Prg. 4 and 39.

addition to initiating town planning, Sokoto metropolis also benefited from the efforts and activities of the Provincial development committee which was charged with the responsibility of planning and expanding colonial development and welfare funds.¹⁷

It is interesting to note that in 1949, tarring of roads commenced in Sokoto with the commencement of the tarring of Sokoto-Gusau road.¹⁸ Despite the commencement of the tarring of roads, the inability of the colonial government to allow the spending of significant portion of the surplus funds at the N.A Treasury to impact road network from relatively traditional to modern tarred all season roads difficult, and unnecessarily too slow. This explained why even the Sokoto-Gusau road, the project was executed in piecemeal. For instance, in 1951, the contract for the tarring of twenty more miles on the Sokoto - Gusau road¹⁹ could not be properly executed by the contracting firm because of either poor equipment from the construction firm or inability of the colonial authority to give the required take off grant. That is why only five and half miles were tarred by the end of the year, 1951.²⁰

Such a situation retarded the timely completion of road construction work both in the province and the metropolis in particular.²¹ It was not surprising to observe that, much of what could be considered as genuinely modern road network, i.e. the tarred all seasoned roads were constructed in the 1950s. For the slow movement of contract for the construction of Sokoto - Gusau road, the contract was revoked and awarded to Highway Construction Limited in 1954. Also, two more miles were tarred within the metropolis the

¹⁷. NAK, Sokprof, 7225, Sokoto Province Annual Report 1948, Prg. 39.

¹⁸. K. Swindell, 'Road 1949 and 1979', in K. Swindell (eds), *Sokoto State in Maps*, Ibadan, Ibadan University Press, 1982, P.56

¹⁹. The significance of Sokoto-Gusau road to the colonial administration cannot be overemphasized.

¹⁸. A.T. Weatherhead, 'Sokoto Province 1951', in Northern Region of Nigeria Provincial Annual Reports 1951, Kaduna, Government Printer, 1953, P. 71, Prg. 57.

²¹. NAK, Sokprof, 8031, Annual Report Sokoto Province 1952.

same year. One interesting issue was that in 1954, Sir Ahmadu Bello Sardauna²² of Sokoto became the Regional Commissioner of Works. His roles²³ in the execution of the hitherto frustrated tarring of Sokoto - Gusau road, and some roads in the metropolis could not be overemphasized partly because of his ability to commence the abandoned road works through reconstructions.²⁴

Indeed, during the same period other key roads such as Gusau-Sokoto were rehabilitated and significant parts of them have been tarred. Despite what could be termed as the sudden interest in the development of roads in the 1950s up to the end of colonial administration, neither the roads in the metropolis nor other critical parts of the Province were constructed to meet modern standard.²⁵ Even the roads in the metropolis were only fairly managed, and most of the major roads such as Gusau and Jega linking it (metropolis) with other part of the Province were not good, particularly those used during the dry season.²⁶ How that and other related challenges affected the success of the automobile transportation system in the metropolis shall be the focus in the remaining sections.

5.3 Native Authority (N.A.) Motors

It is important to note that commercial wheeled/motor transportation services started in Sokoto metropolis in early 1916. However, challenges such as inadequate number of vehicles, fuel scarcity, cost of repairs, and poor road networks made the smooth introduction and take off of the commercial motor transportation service difficult. The

²². Sir Ahmadu Bello (the Sardauna of Sokoto), first Premier of the Northern Region was among the first generation of indigenous political leaders who contributed in laying the foundation of independent Nigeria. The history of the Northern Region is incomplete without mentioning the contributions of Ahmadu Bello..

²³. John N. Paden's biographical work on Sardauna is an outstanding reference material. See also...M.T. Usman and M.A. Rufa'I, Ahmadu Bello: Legacy of Sefless service in Contemporary Northern Nigeria, in A.O. Nwauwa and J.O. Adekunle (eds), "Nigerian Political Leaders: Visions, Actions and Legacies", Goldline and Jacobb Publishing, Glassboro, New Jersey, USA, pp. 31-48..

²⁴. NAK, Sokprof, 8318, Annual Report Sokoto Province 1954. Prg. 17 and 59.

²⁵. Gunn, I.G 'Sokoto Province', *Northern Nigeria Provincial Annual Report*, Government Printer, Kaduna, 1958. P.133, Prg.15.

²⁶. I.G Gunn, 'Sokoto Province', *Northern Nigeria Provincial Annual Report 1959*, Kaduna, P.156, Prg.17.

N.A. motors service, the only successful commercial motor transporters during the period between 1919 and 1930, was ironically turned to government-cum European firm's transportation venture. The general public in the metropolis enjoyed little service of the N.A. motors from 1919 to 1930 because the venture remained mostly for the use/benefit of the VIPs.²⁷ The 1930s (in spite of the economic downturn) was a significant era in the history of British colonial economy in Sokoto Province. This became so because of the extension of railway line to Gusau in 1929 and Kaurar Namoda in 1932. This development opened up the province to other part of the country and consequently, there was an increase in the outlet for produce and other commodities from the Province.²⁸

There was the expansion in the number and activities of expatriate firms operating in the area. Secondly, the Great Economic Depression brought considerable challenges which affected the economy and the overall socio-economic condition in the area.²⁹ As a result of the expansion of commercial activities and the size of students attending the Katsina Teachers' Training College at the time, and people requiring the services of the N.A. motors, the Native Authority started to extend its activities to the people and the expatriate firms. However, the condition of the great economic depression further narrowed the size of the potential users of automobile transportation services. The only people who enjoyed such services in the metropolis were the colonial officials, European expatriate traders and some few indigenous traders.³⁰

The situation of the N.A. motors was not different during the Second World War in terms of its impact to the tax paying masses. However, by 1940s, most of the N.A. motors

²⁷. NAK, SNP 17, 16670 Vol.I, Sokoto Province Annual Report 1931, Prg. 127.

²⁸. Ibid.

²⁹. NAK, SNP17, 21303 Vol.1, Sokoto Provincial Annual Report 1933, Prg.1; NAK, SNP 17, 21303 Vol.1, Sokoto Provincial Annual Report 1933, Prg.34 and 70. Also important...Usman, M.T. (Commerce and Industry in the Former Sokoto Province, C.1903 – 1990, in Usman, M.T, and Rufa'I, M.A (ed.) Social and Economic History of Northern Nigeria Since 1500 A.D, Makurdi, Aboki publishers, 2015, PP.48 -51.

³⁰, A.A., Sifawa, 'Cash Crops Production and Marketing and the Genesis of food Insecurity in Sokoto Province, 1903 -1960".

(lorries) which provided services even outside the metropolis had weakened and many had collapsed. This had significantly made their impact within and outside the metropolis slow and insignificant. This actually made the Native Authority N.A. itself to depend on the services of railway motors (which just started its operation in the metropolis) for its transportation needs outside the metropolis.³¹

It is important to note that despite the coming into force of the railway motors in the 1930s up to the period of the Second World War; its services could not address the transportation needs of the war time period. It is interesting to observe that there was during the war period increased need for groundnut and grains by the British to feed the British military personnel and this according to Sifawa:

Brought about the compulsory grains and groundnut levy from all farmers in the metropolis during the war and thousands of tons were exported annually from the Province to the United Kingdom.³²

What is important in the context of this discussion was how the requisition of grains and groundnuts dramatically increased the transportation needs of the British colonial government. The Native Authority N.A. which was responsible for transporting the entire grains and groundnuts outside had to mobilize personnel and resources from the province by resorting to conscription of the *Talakawa* who were used as carriers of grains and groundnut, not only from the outlying districts to the metropolis, but also from the metropolis to Gusau and Kaura Namoda by head for onward shipment by rail to the coastal areas.³³

However, it is noted that there was serious reversal to the use of animal and human carriers for transportation purposes within and outside the metropolis during the World

³¹. SSHB, NAF / 25, Railway freight Account, Sokoto Native Administration, 1935 – 1972, Pp. 95 – 101. See also: NAK, SNP 17, 34 / 389, Sokoto Province Annual Report 1941; NAK, SNP 17, 36700, Sokoto Province Annual Report 1943; NAK, Sokprof, 6212, Annual Report Sokoto Province, 1944.

³². A. A., Sifawa, *British Administration of Sokoto Province, 1939 – 1960: Continuity and Change*. Ph.D. Thesis, Usmanu Danfodio University, Sokoto, 2016, Pp. 110 - 119.

³³. Ibid

War II. Despite the fact that many of the N.A. lorries had collapsed as at the period under review, there was the desire by the colonial government to meet its war time needs without spending the locally generated revenue or bringing in any helping hand from Britain. The cost of transportation was high as a result of the shortage of petroleum resources coupled with maintenance cost of the motors which most often collapsed as a result of poor road network and other technical challenges.³⁴

Under these circumstances, instead of the colonial authorities to expand the N.A. Motors service to meet its needs, the helpless peasants were made to transport many thousands of tons of grains either from the towns and villages to Sokoto and or from Sokoto metropolis to Gusau and Kaurar Namoda.³⁵ In some instances, human carriers were used to transport grains and groundnut as far as Zaria Province. Although pack animals, particularly donkeys and camels were used in the transportation system, human carriers or human portage were also used.³⁶

Notwithstanding the challenges experienced by the N.A. lorries in rendering transportation services from Sokoto metropolis to other parts of the Province, the personal vehicles such as Bedford, Chevrolet, Kitear, Land Rover and others which were used mostly as official cars and for rendering V.I.P's services within the metropolis were more durable. Similarly, the top N.A. and British officers who owned private vehicles continued to enjoy their services in meeting their transportation needs.³⁷ It is interesting to observe that from the period of the Second World War to independence, except for the services of tractor, tipper and in few cases the ailing lorries restricted most of its services within the

³⁴. NAK, Sokprof. 6014, Provincial Annual Report 1942 (including Annual Notes for Sokoto Division). Prg. 4 – 6

³⁵. A. A., Sifawa, *British Administration of Sokoto Province*, p.77

³⁶. A. A. Sifawa, 'Material Contribution of Peasant Farmers to the British War Efforts: The Case of Sokoto Province, 1914 – 1945', in M.T. Usman and M.A . Rufa'I (ed.), *Social and Economic History of Northern Nigeria Since 1500 A.D*, Makurdi, Aboki Publishers, 2015, Pp. 157 – 165.

³⁷. NAK, Sokprof, S.2530, Sokoto Emirate Annual Report 1932, Prg. 22 – 24. See also: NAK, SNP 17, 27, 766, Sokoto Province Annual Report 1936, Prg. 145 – 146; and NAK, Sokprof, 6212, Annual Report Sokoto Province, 1944. Prg. 7

metropolis. In addition to the operation of personal and official vehicles of senior colonial officers, this continued to increase after the war. The Native Authority N.A. motors also rented their vehicles for special operations. For instance, the Fire Service Department used to hire its services in the metropolis for two or three days or even weekly in the late 1940s. The same had been the case with the Tractors in the use of Ploughs, and other related cases.³⁸ Again, the N.A. motors became a V.I.P motor transportation services during the era of nationalist movement/party politics and transition to independence because of the money available in the hands of politicians.³⁹

The N.A. motors continued to provide their services to the Native and European officers as well as some upper class members of the society. Though, the Native and European officers enjoyed some discounts in the services of the N.A. motors, the charges were relatively higher, a situation that made it unappealing to the lower class members of the society. Both in the transportation of persons within the metropolis or from the metropolis to other parts of the Province or region individual department of the affected personnel shouldered cost implication from its overhead.⁴⁰ Apart from N.A. and European officers under the Sokoto division, the N.A. motors rendered its services to other Native Authorities, within and outside the province as well as the Regional and Federal Government. One good aspect of the motor transportation services in the metropolis was that the rates and charges were promptly paid by the affected department and

³⁸. NAK, Sokprof, 7225, Sokoto Province Annual Report 1948, P. 11. See also: WJHCB, Pol/a, Fire Fighting Service, 1949 – 59. P. 87; and WJHCB, NAF/14, N.A Motor Transport Hire of 1951 – 1964.

³⁹. NAK, Sokprof, 8031, Annual Report Sokoto Province 1952. See also: SSHB, NAF / 14, Native Administration Motor Transport – Hire of, 1951 – 1964. Pp. 1 - 3

⁴⁰. SSHB, NAF / 14, No. 1892 / S. 1/6., N.A Motor Transport Hire of, from Acting Resident to the Civil Secretary, Northern Region, Kaduna. Dated 21 – 06 – 1952. See also: SSHB, NAF / 14, No. 10279 / T.2, N.A motor Transport Hire – of, from Ag. Civil Secretary Northern Region to the Resident Sokoto Province – Payment Voucher Forwarded.

organizations. Moreover, like every other fund generating agency, the N.A motors section of the N.A. Public Works Department ensured proper account of its generated funds.⁴¹

The N.A. transport records indicate that up to the end of colonial administration, there was transparency in handling the funds generated by the N.A. motors. While the users and the affected government Department ensured due diligence in verifying the transport claims from the N.A. motors, the Native Authority took full control of the motor services. Garba Dan Anini, a driver of the N.A. Works Department provided an account on how they recorded the mileages covered in rendering transportation services for onward payment to the finance department of the Native Authority. The charges due for each trip/service rendered by the N.A. motors were well kept. In an interesting correspondence, N.A. motors justified to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Northern Region of Nigeria, the transportation bills of the car which it hired out, i.e. a Saloon car No. S.3333 used by the Federal Minister of Transport and Aviation and His Excellency the Jordanian Ambassador during their visit to Sokoto.⁴²

Not minding the discount enjoyed by the colonial officials while using the services of the N.A. motors, the rates were evidently higher above the means of most tax payers, thus, *ab initio* making the prospects of the impact of the venture to the citizens a glummy one. Garba Dan Anini further explained that:

The transportation of the Federal Minister of Transport and Aviation and the Jordanian Ambassador was 270 miles. The thirteen pounds, ten shillings (£13: d10) which was the actual cost of their 270 miles transportation meant that the

⁴¹. SSHB, NAF / 14, Ref. M.A / C. Vol. 3/374, Outstanding Bills. From M. Balarabe Sokoto, Tafida, N.A Works to Provincial Administration, Sokoto. See also: N.A Works – to Provincial Administration, Sokoto.

⁴². SSHB, NAF / 14, MIA / G/587/804, Hire of N.A Transport. From the Ag. Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Internal Affairs, to the Provincial Secretary, Sokoto Province, dated 10th October, 1962. See also: NAF/14/21, Hire of N.A Transport. From the Provincial Secretary, Sokoto Province, to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Internal Affairs, dated 13th November, 1962.

cost of transportation in the metropolis then was one shilling, six pence (1/- 6d.00) per mile which was also equivalent to one pound per twenty miles.⁴³

In spite of the poor road network, fuel scarcity, maintenance difficulties and other related challenges faced by the N.A. motors during its operation, the successes it also recorded cannot be overemphasized because up to the end of colonial period, the N.A. motors continued to render transportation services in the metropolis.

5.4 The Railway Motors

By 1929, the railway line had already been extended to Gusau and it also reached Kaura Namoda in 1932.⁴⁴ But, despite this development, no attempt was made by the colonial government to extend the line to Sokoto metropolis. Instead, the colonial government decided to introduce motor transportation services that would carry people and goods intended for the railway from Sokoto to the railhead at Gusau, i.e. the Railway Motors. The extension of railway line to Gusau and Kaura Namoda, instead of Sokoto the headquarters of the Province was not unconnected with the absence of large volume of raw materials from the area.⁴⁵ This is because, eighty percent of the people in the area produced crops such as millet, guinea corn, maize, rice, potatoes, cassava, groundnuts and beans for subsistence and produce only wheat, cotton and vegetable for cash in a very little quantity, thus, making it impossible for colonial government to spend money on railway in the area for its non-profitability.⁴⁶

⁴³. SHB, NAF/14, Ref. to GT/12. 17th Sept. to 22nd Sept. 62. From Garba Dan Anini Driver Saloon No. S.3333, to the Resident Engineer, N.A. Works Department, Sokoto, dated 5th November, 62. See also: SSHB, NAF/14/18, N.A. Transport hire from Sokoto Native Authority. From Provincial Secretary, Sokoto Province to the Sokoto Native Authority, U.F.S. District officer, Sokoto. Dated 15th October, 1962.

⁴⁴. A.A., Sifawa 'Cash Crops Production and Marketing and the Genesis of Food insecurity in Sokoto Province, P.8 see...Boyd, J. and Maishanu, H.M. *Sultan Siddiq Abubakar III Sarkin Musulmi*, Ibadan, Spectrum Books Limited, 1991, P. 123. See also:

⁴⁵. A.A., Sifawa, *Colonial State and Urbanization in Sokoto Metropolis Northern Nigeria.*, pp. 70, 74 and 75.

⁴⁶. Ibid

The Railway Motors which were mostly lorry cars meant to carry goods and people intended for railway journey started very well in Sokoto metropolis. They carried mail services between Gusau and Sokoto, in addition to regular transportation of goods and persons in the area.⁴⁷ Indeed the appearance of the railway motors in the 1930s, at the very critical period when the inter-city motor transportation services by the N.A. motors became weak was a significant development. Although it started as a rival competitor to the N.A. motors, the challenges mentioned was to quickly place the railway motors at advantage position, thus gradually reducing the N.A. motors transportation services to a city cab transportation services. Even though, the railway motors started its operation despite the deplorable condition of roads, there were some improvements compared to 1920s, when the N.A. motors were at the peak of their inter-city transport operations. This explained in part, the reasons why the Railway motors gradually took over the task of inter and intra-city transport services in Sokoto metropolis.⁴⁸

The railway motors, according to 1948 Provincial annual report on Nigeria railway motors depot had established their station along the Beach Road (Presently Abdullahi Fodiyo road) near the premises of the present Sultan Abubakar College, Sokoto. They used to transport people from Sokoto to Gusau, where they joined the railway for transportation to other parts of Nigeria, especially to Lagos. The vehicle used by the motors were mostly big lorries used for the transportation of goods and persons from Sokoto to Gusau, where one would have joined train to other parts of the country. The motors as mention earlier gradually became the major means of transportation to and from Sokoto metropolis.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ NAK, Sokprof, S.2530, Sokoto Emirate Annual Report 1932, Prg. 218.

⁴⁸ NAK, Sokprof, S.3554, Annual Report Sokoto Province, 1934. See also: NAK, SNP 17, 27/766, Sokoto Province Annual Report 1936; NAK, Sokprof, 4727, Annual Report Sokoto Division 1937.

⁴⁹ A.A., Sifawa, *Colonial State and Urbanization in Sokoto Metropolis*, Pp. 75 – 76.

By 1946, about 36 tons of guinea fowl eggs, 3000 chicken, 500 Ducks, 1,100 guinea fowl, 600 pigeons, 64 tons of dried fish with an estimated value of 20,000.00 Pound were annually taken to southern part of Nigeria from Sokoto city as a result of the improved condition of motorable roads.⁵⁰ Also, exported to southern Nigeria largely over land, were cattle with an annual gross value export trade estimated at 600, 000.00 Pound in the 1940s.⁵¹ These statistics showed that the volume of Sokoto's exports to southern Nigeria had by 1946 increased significantly because of the improved road networks and the activities of the Sokoto N.A motors and Sokoto railway motors which complimented the rail transportation in Gusau and Kaura Namoda.⁵² As a result of these developments, the people in the city now earned more cash to purchase a number of European manufactured items. These included cotton goods, salt, scent, cigarettes, and hard wares such as cooking pans, plates and most importantly, bicycles.⁵³

Also, the emergence of railway motors as one of the major service providers for transportation was not without serious consequences both to the Native Authority and the generality of the public. By the late 1940s and early 1950s there was an increase in the metropolis of other private transportation activities. In spite of this, they were unable to effectively challenge the dominance of railway motors. Consequently, they continued to exploit the government as well as the citizens of the province in their services through the use of newly introduced credit card. This is in spite of the cost of fuel and maintenance added to the cost of motor transportation. As a result of the high cost of transporting goods and persons by the railway motors, the payment of bills soon started to overburden the

⁵⁰. N.A.K., Sokprof. 6988/1951, Provincial Annual Report, Nigerian Railway Motors' operation on Sokoto-Gusau Road, 1951.

⁵¹. Ibid

⁵². Ibid

⁵³. A.A., Sifawa, *Colonial State and Urbanization in Sokoto Metropolis*, Pp. 75 – 76 Op.cit

Native Authority which hired their services.⁵⁴ Again, in 1949, the Sokoto to Gusau passenger service by the railway motor had been enhanced by the provision of additional four Layland buses. According to the Road Transport Superintendent:

I am pleased to inform you that four single deck buses have arrived here for the above service and will officially be introduced on 1/2/1950. Typewritten copy of the revised timetable had been forwarded.⁵⁵

With this development, the General Manager of the Railway motors sent his compliments and offered the Sultan of Sokoto and other prominent people of Sokoto a free journey prior to the date of the official introduction and commencement of the services of the newly introduced buses. The time table for the operation, according to the general manager has also been reviewed as follows:

Sokoto - Gusau: Monday, Thursday, Saturday 1st and 3rd class; Tuesday, Friday, Sunday 3rd Class only; Saturday (at 22:30) 3rd Class only. Gusau - Sokoto: Sunday, Tuesday, Friday 1st and 3rd Class and Monday, Thursday, Saturday 3rd Class only.⁵⁶

These services continued smoothly for sometimes as reported by the road transport Superintendent. The service of passenger between Sokoto and Gusau was maintained by new Layland buses which were introduced since the 1st day of February, 1950 and without any hitch judging from passenger figures, which are very popular with the public. But the only problem was when warrants for conveyance of prisoners were served from Sokoto to Gusau. In such situation the public were deprived of what surely is the most comfortable, punctual and efficient passenger service. Therefore, based on this, the transport manager suggested that in the interests of the travelling public, alternative means of transportation be provided for prisoners.⁵⁷

⁵⁴. SSHB, NAF/24, Railway Freight – Payment by Native Authority’s instructions, 1947 – 1960. See also: NAF/24, No. 26491/S.1/T7, Settlement of Account by Native Authorities, from the civil Secretary, Northern Region, to the Resident Sokoto Province, dated 30th June, 1952.

⁵⁵. N.A.K., Sokprof. 6988/1951, Provincial Annual Report, Nigerian Railway Motors’ operation on Sokoto-Gusau Road, 1951.

⁵⁶. Ibid.

⁵⁷. Ibid.

Railway motors too later experienced problems such as corruption which also led to its decline in operation. An example of such was the withdrawal of the passenger transport from Sokoto to Gusau in 1956. The withdrawal was not unconnected with the level of loss of the service. It is estimated that approximately €10,000 pound was lost on this line. When the General Manager visited Sokoto in 1956, he mentioned the lost. It was discovered that there was so much corruption by the drivers and conductors. The level of corruption according to him in this terminal station was unprecedented because no proper enquiry by the officials had taken place. According to the secretary to the corporation on the withdrawal of passenger road services between Sokoto and Gusau:

I have to inform you that at a meeting of the Nigerian Railway Corporation held on 12th June, 1956 resolved that the cooperation's passenger road services between Sokoto and Gusau be discontinued after 30th June, 1956. This is because the net loss on the passenger road services for the past financial year was approximately €10,000 and similar substantial annual loss has taken place for some years past. In the circumstances, it was considered that the corporation should no longer continue to run such unprofitable services.⁵⁸

By the above revelation, one understands that corruption existed in Nigeria since the colonial period. One also understands that from this response that the railway motors is concerned only with making profits without performing the necessary supervision to prevent corruption that caused loss of the welfare of the public as well as the development. By the mid-1950s not only was the payment of railway motors bill became difficult for the Native Authority, but the NA faced the problem of indebtedness. By 1955, the Sokoto Native Authority was indebted to the railway motors to the tune of more than twelve thousand pounds (£12,000). The service which was seen as a succor to the people in addressing transport problems when it was introduced was to eventually turn to an exploitative venture, and a source of embarrassment to the Native administration.⁵⁹

⁵⁸. Ibid. See N.A.K. Sokprof. 6822/1948, Provincial Annual Report, Nigerian Railway Motor Dept, Sokoto, 1948.

⁵⁹. SSHB, NAF/24, Railway Freight Payment of by Native Authorities instructions, 1947 – 1960. P.40.

The difficulty associated with the payment of railway bills by the N.As and other users led to the introduction of Credit Account facilities by the railway corporation, thus making it a usurious venture. The Credit Account facility was meant not only to guaranty the payment of the charges of railway motors and other related services, but to make sure that, now the accumulated debt by the NAs and other users of the railway motors' services would no longer wait for the payment by the continuously exploited users, rather, interest would be accruing, thus making it interest generating loans to the victims.⁶⁰

Unfortunately also, the Railway Corporation insisted on imposing the credit facilities to its users by refusing to transport the goods of the already indebted N.As, unless they accepted their usurious terms and conditions.⁶¹ One of the surprising aspects of the relation between the Sokoto N.A and the railway motors was that as a result of the accumulation of the usurious debt of their services at the N.A, goods meant for the metropolis/Emirate like other N.As were on several occasions abandoned, including medical equipment, drugs, dressings and other essential goods due to non-payment, or failure to accept credit loan warrant.⁶²

The venture which started as a supposed blessing to the community had generated mix feelings and subjected the N.A. administration into unnecessary embarrassments and correspondences. By 1959, the usurious loans for the services of the railway motors in Sokoto Province had risen and even became a burden. In fact, the Permanent Secretary conveyed the threat of the Railway Corporation for the non-payment of bills as follows:

The Chief Accountant of the Nigerian Railway Corporation...has informed all those Native Authorities and Local Authorities...that unless the outstanding amounts shown against their names are paid by the 20th August, 1959, he will

⁶⁰. SSHB, NAF/24, No. W/NFA/3B/, Railway Credit Account Facilities, from the Chief Accountant Nigerian Railway Corporation, to Sokoto Local Government council, dated 15th August, 1955.

⁶¹. SSHB, NAF/24, No. 3611/S.1/19, from the Resident Sokoto Province to Sokoto N.A., U.F.S. D.O. Sokoto and others, dated 18th March, 1956.

⁶². SSHB, NAF/24, No.624/Vol III/388, Medical Supplies Native Administrations, from the Permanent Secretary Ministry of Health to the Resident. Dated, 13th December, 1955.

refer the account to the Accountant - General in the enforcement of the Guarantee that the Regional Government has given on their behalf.⁶³

The cases of inefficiencies and challenges associated with the Railways Motors especially in 1940s were also due to old and weak nature of most vehicles. In a memo No.EG/1A/69 dated 5th September, 1945 written by Medical Officer (M.O.) Gusau to the Medical Officer (M.O.) Sokoto concerning transport of sick Europeans, the mobility complained about the inefficiency of the services rendered by the Railway Motors. The memo reads:

A lady Education Officer was recently moved to Kaduna Hospital from Sokoto Hospital. Owing to the fact that she was obliged to travel by Railway Motors, she was delayed one night in Gusau, although it was considered that her case was urgent. The patient was also obliged to walk from the main road to the European reservation as the lorry could not bring her all the way. Furthermore, if the lorry had broken down, there was no lorry following in which she could continue her journey, and she might have had to sleep out in the bush without a mosquito net and camp bed. The patient arrived in Gusau in a distressed condition and the delay of one night appeared to have an adverse effect upon her condition. I therefore recommend that in future patients requiring urgent treatment should not be transported in slow and unreliable lorries and that steps should be taken to provide more suitable transport. I take it upon myself to make this recommendation, because being stationed in Gusau; I have more opportunity of ascertaining how inadequate Railway Motors Transport is at the present time, in spite of the fact that the A.R.T.O. and his staff do their utmost to improve the service.⁶⁴

In a related development, the Assistant District Officer (A.D.O.) on tour's memo No.23/194A dated 5th September, 1945 to the District Officer Sokoto (D.O.) corroborated the MO's position. He said:

Your letter No.6340/ P.11 of September 30th I took Miss Herra straight through to Kaduna Hospital, on Friday 31st August. She had been in pain during the night, and was sick four times during the journey to Kaduna. I would be grateful if you could let me know if you wish to make arrangements

⁶³. SSHB, NAF/24, No.24/1959/No.MLG.1789/381, Unpaid Railway Freight Bills, from the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government to the Resident dated 29th July, 1959.

⁶⁴. WJHCB, TPT/14/II/1959, Motor Transport for Government Officials, Sokoto province, Sokoto General Correspondence 1959 – 1966, pp.121 – 126.

for her to travel by transport other than Railway Motors on her return journey to Sokoto. I returned from casual leave on Monday September 3rd. While in Zaria, I went to the office mentioned by you.⁶⁵

The acting Resident of Sokoto further confirmed the inefficiency of the Railway motors, the situation which made European officers, concerning those on official assignments to be evading the Railway Motors, in preference for public commercial transportation service providers. In his response to civil secretary Northern provinces who queried such anomalies among European officers, he said:

Please refer to your letter No.41843/30 of 21st October, 1952. It has always been the custom in this Province when transferring between Sokoto and Gusau to use hired transport instead of Railway Motors because of the considerable advantage in obtaining prompt delivery of loads. This advantage is not only one of domestic conveniences but also brings direct benefit to government, in that an officer is thereby enabled to get down working with the minimum of delay in his new station. Mr. R.N. Barlow-Poole's journeys to and from Kaduna represented his fifth and sixth moves this Tour and the use of hired transport was, I submit, legitimate not only to lighten the burden of these moves, but also to ensure that a substantial proportion of his Tour was not spent in a state of diminished efficiency awaiting arrival of loads. On the occasion of Mr. Barlow-Poole's transfer from Gusau to Kaduna (the bill for which also awaits payment), the following special factors were also relevant: The order to be in Kaduna on the 16th June reached Mr. Barlow-Poole in bush on the 11th evening, and he could not get back to Gusau before the 13th June. To hand over, pack up and dispatch loads on the train on the 15th June was impossibility; and As no catering rest house accommodation was available in Kaduna, it was desirable that Mr. Barlow-Poole should arrive self-contained and able to move straight into a house. I should be grateful if these two bills could be settled as soon as possible as it is many months since the transport owners rendered the services payment for which is now sought.⁶⁶

Furthermore, railway motors charges revealed by the Provincial Forest Officer's memo No.379/108B dated 16th August, 1952 to the Resident of Sokoto Province whereby the Forest Officer requested that a Bedford truck to transport an officer to the railway

⁶⁵. WJHCB, TPT/14/11/- No. 1, Vol. 2/90, 'Sokoto Emirate Accounts', from Resident, Sokoto Province to Assistant District Officer, dated 16th March, 1956.

⁶⁶. WJHCB, TPT/14/11/1959, 'Motor Transport bill for Mr. R.N. Barlow Poole's loads from Kaduna to Sokoto', from Resident Sokoto province, to the civil secretary, Northern Region, Kaduna, dated 3rd October, 1952.

motors' garage from Junior Service Quarters and whatever transport charges in dimensional weight or kilometers used, should be deducted from the Forestry's sub-head, thus:

I should be grateful if the Bedford Truck would be arranged to transport Mr. M.O. Ebbah's loads from the Junior Service Quarters No.8 to the Railway Motors Garage on Saturday, 30th August, 1952. The truck would be required at 8:00 a.m. and the cost of the transport should be debited from the head 207 (Northern) Forestry, sub-head 2, Local Transport and Travelling.⁶⁷

On the other hand, in his response to the Forestry Office, the Resident of the Sokoto Province's memo No.2.Vol.3/93 dated 19th August 1952 on the transport loads of Mr. Ebbah said that, £7.9 as charged for the use of Bedford was debited from the head 207 (Northern) Forestry, sub-head 2, Local Transport and Travelling as instructed.⁶⁸ In the same vein, what was obtained (charges) during the 1959 Federal Election in Sokoto represented and further confirmed that government used its official vehicles for transportation. In an attempt to find out how it happened, table below shows the type of vehicle, distance and charges used after the Election.

Table 5.1: Transport Charges for Federal Election in Sokoto, 1959

Date	Particulars of Service	Miles Runn
	<u>Landrover No. KB 1207</u>	
16/11/59	Transport of Mr. W. D. Wilson from Sokoto to Kaduna in connection with Federal Election	329
17/11/1959	Mileage ran at Kaduna Township	25
18/11/1959	Kaduna to Sokoto	340
01/12/1959	Collection of Election Boxes	6
11/12/1959	Conveying Clerks from Office to Provincial. Secondary School for Lecturing of counting Votes	3
12/12/1959	Conveying of Clerks to the Provincial Secondary School for counting of Votes	18
13/12/1959	“	33
12/12/1959	“	6

⁶⁷. WJHCB, TPT/4/61-1-6/Motor Transport for Government Official Sokoto Province, 1945-1959, pp.33-38

⁶⁸. Ibid

14/12/1959	“	4
14/12/1959	“	2
		766 Miles 1/-

Lorry No. KB 2527

08/12/1959	Federal Election: Sokoto – Hanma’ali	48
09/12/1959	Sokoto – Dingyadi in connection with Fed.	42
10/12/1959	Running within Sokoto Town in connection with Federal Election	10
11/12/1959	Sokoto - Dingyadi in connection with Federal Election and back	45
12/12/1959	“	19
12/12/1959	“	30
12/12/1959	Running within Sokoto Town in connection with Federal Election	10
		204Miles 2/-1

Chev. Saloon Car K 8395

15/12/1959	Federal Election: Running within Sokoto	8
“	“ Sokoto – Kaura	176
“	“ Duty at Kaura and Kaura to Sokoto	192
		376Miles 1/-

Grand Total 1,346 miles

Source: WJHCB, Sokprof, TPT/14/II/1959, Motor Transport for Government Officials, Sokoto Province, Sokoto General Correspondence 1959 – 1966, pp.121 – 126.

5.5 Regulations on the Use of Government Vehicles

The regulation on the use of government vehicles was addressed in a circular No.FS.451/167 dated 14th December, 1955 from the Financial Secretary of the Northern Region to the Resident of Sokoto Province. In the circular, the Financial Secretary expressed concern that there was still inconsistency between the charges raised by Departments for the use of their government transport. As a result, the following instructions were issued to the MDAs for guidance, and are to be put into immediate effect, thus:

Permanent Secretaries and Heads of Departments are responsible for ensuring that the Government transport under their care is not improperly used, and that the terms of the above circular are as follows: Nothing in this circular confers any right to use official transport if the Head of Department in charge of it considers that it should not be so used; the use of government transport by

officers falls into three broad categories: (a) Use on duty or for official purposes; (b) House to office running; (c) Use on private business.⁶⁹

Specifically, the use of government transport on duty or for official purposes is applicable when an officer who is not drawing the basic monthly allowance requires transport on duty or for official purposes, he may use official transport without personal payment, and in accordance with such instructions as his head of department may issue. Secondly, officers in receipt of the basic monthly allowance are in a different position. This allowance is paid to assist officers to own a vehicle suitable for the performance of their duties, and in return for it government expects the recipient to use their own car, as necessary, on duty. Normally, therefore, officers drawing the basic monthly allowance should not use official government transport, and if they do, they should be charged for it at a rate of 6d a mile for a car or kit car and 1/- a mile for a lorry.⁷⁰

However, the Financial Secretary of the Northern Region said that rare occasions may occur when it would be reasonable to waive this charge and heads of departments are authorized to do so when they think fit. But, the circumstances in which payment should be waived cannot be prescribed in detail, and heads of departments are left to exercise their discretion. And in doing so, they should bear in mind that the basic monthly allowances are paid to enable officers to own cars suitable for the performance of their duties, and that the circumstances in which officers drawing a basic monthly allowance should be permitted to use official transport without payment, must be exceptional.⁷¹

Moreover, the Financial Secretary of the Northern Region pointed out that in particular, payment should not be waived if official transport is used merely because: it is inconvenient for an officer's family for him to use his own car on duty; an officer wishes to save wear and tear on his own vehicle; a charge needs not be raised if an officer uses

⁶⁹. WJHCB, TPT/14/II/, FS.451/167, "Government Vehicles Use and Charges" Motor Transport for Government Officials, Sokoto province, Sokoto General Correspondence 1959 – 1966, pp.121 – 126.

⁷⁰. NAK/Sokprof./1257/S.1:Transport-Government and Non-Governmental General Correspondence, 1948

⁷¹. Ibid

official transport when leaving or returning to his station by air or rail and the cost of his ticket is being met from public funds. Also, officers receiving the basic monthly allowance should possess cars suitable for such travelling on duty as they are required to perform.⁷²

In the case of house to office running, government does not accept liability for transporting officers between their houses and places of work. Where, therefore, it is possible to authorise the use of official transport for house to office running, the officer concerned, whether drawing the basic monthly allowance or not, must be required to pay either at an inclusive monthly rate of £2 per person per month, or at the rate of 2/- per person per trip. Again, no charge should be raised against officers not drawing the basic monthly allowance in connection with transport to or from the office for official purposes outside the normal working hours of their department, etc. The question of payment at a rate of 2/- per trip by officers drawing the basic monthly allowance who use official transport for house to office running outside normal working hours is a matter for their head of department.⁷³

Similarly, using government vehicle for private business, in this case any officer, whether in receipt of the basic monthly allowance or not, permitted to use official transport on private business must pay at the rate of 1/- per mile for a car or kitcar and 2/- per mile for a lorry. Method of raising charges is that, charges of 6d or 1/- per mile and 1/- or 2/- per mile will be raised as follows: A charge will only be raised in respect of the number of miles for which the officer or other user travels in the car; i.e. no charge will be raised in respect of the distance covered by the car to collect him or in returning to garage; a part of a mile will be charged as a full mile; the charges are raised per vehicle-mile and not per officer-mile – i.e. If two or more officers share a car, the total charges to be raised are still the same as if only one officer was traveling in it. The officer requisitioning the

⁷². NAK/Sokprof./5853/1216/39, Motor Transport Requisitioning, 1941

⁷³. Ibid

car will, however be responsible for meeting the full bill and any sharing of the charges must be by private arrangement.⁷⁴

It will be the responsibility of the Department owning the transport to see that the officer pay the charges detailed in the above circular. Bills will be raised against the officers concerned, entered in a register and kept under review until payment is effected, either directly to the Treasury or through any revenue collecting organization the department may have. Details of payment of bills will be entered in the Bills Register, which will be subject to audit. Responsibility for Government Vehicles, each government vehicle should be placed under the direct control of a Senior Officer, who will be responsible for ensuring that a paper log book is maintained, that all official journeys are properly authorized, that bills are raised for all journeys of a private nature, and for supplying to the head of his department with accurate information on which to base the monthly returns of private running.⁷⁵

However, in order to be objective on the above matter, motor vehicle log books were provided and the books recorded all running of government vehicles, including running on private business, and the names of passengers and the purpose of the journey were clearly stated in the remarks column of the books. The speedometer mileage readings were recorded in the Log book at the commencement and completion of each journey; and log books should be entered up at the completion of each journey, the entry being signed personally by the officer who made the journey or, if goods only are carried by the officer who authorized the journey. When payment is required to be made for the journey, the officer should certify "Mileage accepted" and the bill number should be entered in the log book. For journeys where the discretionary powers are used, the relative entries in the log book should be initiated by the authorizing officer or a reference made to his written

⁷⁴. WJHCB/TPT/31, Transport Requisition for Provincial Office Sokoto, 1967-1976

⁷⁵. Ibid

authority. Log books had also recorded all issues of petrol of the vehicle during the month as well as the quantities on hand at the beginning and end of each month. The monthly figure of mileage per gallon of petrol will be entered in the log book, and this entry will be checked and initiated by the senior officer in charge of the vehicle and log books will also record major repairs to the vehicle and replacements of parts. In the case of tyres, the identification numbers will invariably be quoted.⁷⁶

On who drives government vehicles, the regulations did state in a categorical manner that government vehicles must be driven only by official drivers and not by officers travelling in them. The only exceptions to this rule are: first, in an emergency when an official driver is not available. Any officer holding a current Nigerian driving licence of the appropriate Class may drive a government vehicle. In addition, on a long journey, an officer specifically authorized in writing by his head of department to do so (and only an officer so authorized) may act as a relief driver provided he holds a current Nigerian driving licence of the appropriate Class. An officer who drove a vehicle in place of the official driver was held responsible for any loss or damage caused as a result of his carelessness or negligence while he is in control of the vehicle.⁷⁷

In a related development and owing to the prevalence of officers and other management staff using government vehicles for personal and private usages within the Province, an instruction was issued to that effect. According to (Sgd) H.L.S. Hillyare, Resident, Sokoto Province, the following are instructions issued in accordance with Financial Secretary's circular No.FS.451/167 of 14th December, 1956 and will come into effect in Sokoto Province immediately:

In future, when Government vehicles are to be used for any purpose, a requisition must be filled in by the officer requiring the vehicle and D.O.H.Q (on behalf of the Resident will (i) approve or disapprove the use of the vehicle

⁷⁶. WJHCB/TPT/2/T.F., Transport Routine Correspondence, 1975-1976

⁷⁷. Ibid

for the reasons shown, (ii) decide whether the officer should pay for the use of the vehicle or be allowed it free according to the reasons stated on the requisition. Full reasons for wishing to hire the transport must be stated on the requisition at the time.⁷⁸

5.6 The Expatriate Firms and the Development of the Indigenous Transporters

Some of the European Expatriate Firms that started business activities including transportation in Sokoto metropolis were Messiers Ambrosine, London and Kano Trading Company and John Holt Ventures. They started operating in Kantin Daji area in the outskirts of the city around 1913. By 1916 Tangalakakis & Co. and Messer A. Cavaries were engaged in similar trading activities in Sokoto.⁷⁹ The Kantin Daji area initially was named Beach Road, and now Abdullahi Fodiyo Road. The increase in the number of European firms in the city especially after 1913 and 1916 led to the development of road transport.

H.A.C. Main once observed:

European commercial activities increased after 1913 when the overseas trading firm, the London and Kano trading company opened a branch at Sokoto. Several other followed suits, the main attractions were for Hides and skins for which Sokoto had long been known for by traders on both sides of the Sahara Desert. In 1918, Lugard selected a new site outside Kofar Aliyu Jedo for the European traders “Canteens” which represented new direction for the development of urban Sokoto.⁸⁰

The United Africa Company UAC, a subsidiary of Anglo-Dutch Consortium that dominated the Nigerian economy during the colonial period, was another expatriate firm that came to Sokoto after the 1916. The firm began operation in Sokoto Province as a result of the extension of railway line to Gusau in 1929. This followed massive production of cash crops in the region notably cotton, groundnut and Hides and Skin. As a result of the railway and the existence of the railway motors in Sokoto, the company became

⁷⁸. WJHCB/TPT/23, Motor Cars for Chiefs, 1962

⁷⁹. A.T. Adamu, Great Men re-visited: Africa Merchants and Artisans in Colonial Sokoto in Zaruma: A Cultural Magazine of Sokoto State, 1982, pp 9 - 10

⁸⁰. H.A.C. Main, Sokoto City: Historical Development in Sokoto State in Map: An Atlas of Physical and Human Resources, K. Swindell (eds), University Press, Ibadan, 1982, p.24.

involved in the importation and exportation of goods from Nigeria to Europe and from Europe to Nigeria.⁸¹

Furthermore, these expatriate firms usually applied and requested for roofing grass, timber and other materials as well as labour from the Sultan. Therefore, it is right to say that it was not only the British military and administrative personnel that were provided with the cheap labour, but also the expatriate firms. They equally (Expatriate firms) enjoyed a lot of other privileges from the local people and the N.A. administration which provided them with a lot of requirement in terms of their daily needs and responsibilities. Therefore, the arrival and settlement of expatriate firms played a significant role in the development of Sokoto metropolis in general and the development of transportation in particular.⁸²

An example of an expatriate firm that combined supplies of other items with transport business was the John Holt Ventures, a division of John Holt Nigeria Limited, which was a Shipping company that specializes in the distribution and sales of fast-moving consumer goods, building materials and Household electronics, etc. Apart from the supplies of the above mentioned items, the company also engaged in the supplies and assembling of the Yamaha motorcycles in Sokoto metropolis.⁸³

However, these European firms especially the Levanties based in Sokoto soon found themselves in fierce competition with Africans to whom they had given the idea of *Kanti* or shop. By the beginning of the 1960s most of the Levanties were forced out of the Sokoto market scene conceding victory to the indigenous traders. The indigenous traders had been aided to victory over the Levanties by their closer familiarity with the people in

⁸¹. Ibid. See also...J. Pettifer and N. Turner, *Auto mania: Man and the Motor Car*, London, 1984. P.2.

⁸². Ibid.

⁸³. A.T. Adamu, *Great Men re-visited: Africa Merchants and Artisans in Colonial Sokoto*, Op.cit

Sokoto. They were themselves part of the social and cultural setting, a fact that enable them, to master the techniques of salesmanship most appropriate to Sokoto society.⁸⁴

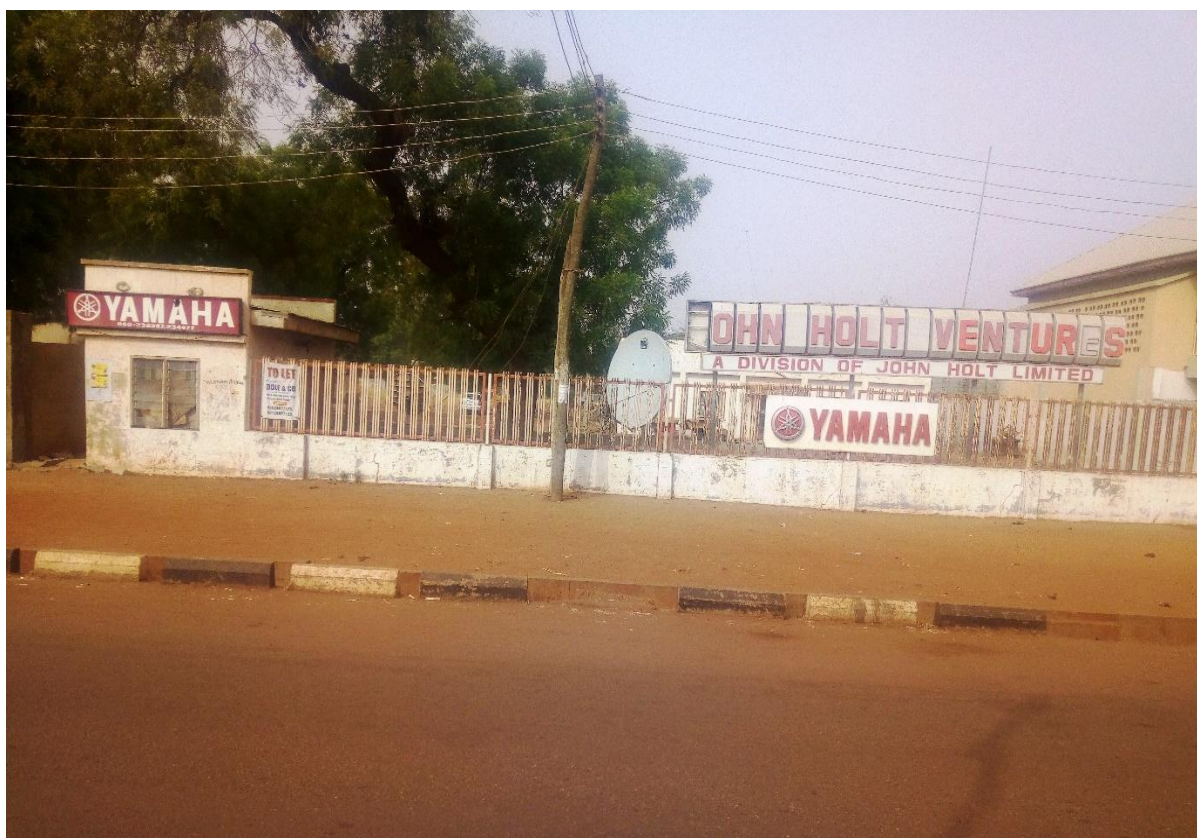


Figure 5.1: Remains of the John Holt Ventures in Sokoto Metropolis.

The colonial government also made efforts to increase the number of vehicles operating in Sokoto. For example, in 1952 the Resident of the Provincial Office in Sokoto sent to the British West Africa Corporation (Engineering) Limited, Kano, requesting the prices of all models of Landrovers for the various uses in Sokoto. The Corporation's Area Service Manager Mr. K.J. Scammell responded as follows: We thank you for your telegram 8500, and we have much pleasure in quoting you for all the models of Landrovers available to us. These are as under:⁸⁵

⁸⁴. Ibid

⁸⁵. WJHCB, KB 1207/Landrover Station Wagon -Sokoto Province, 1956 – 1957, pp.1 – 6. J.B. See also...Geward, *Motor Vehicle and People in Africa: An Introduction*, Jan Bert Gewarld, et al, *The Speed of Change: Motor Vehicle and People in Africa, 1890 – 2009*, Bill, 2009, p.5.

Table 5.2: Prices of Land-Rover Vehicles, 1956 - 1959

S/N.	Year	Model	Price
1.	1956	86 Standard Landrover	£ 845
2.	1956	86 Landrover with Metal Top	£ 910
3.	1956	86 Landrover Station Wagon	£ 975:10
4.	1956	107 Standard Landrover	£ 967:967:10
5.	1956	107 Deluxe Landrover	£ 987:10
6	1956	107 Landrover Station Wagon	£ 1115
7.	1956	Landrover Blockhouse Trailer	£ 150
8.	1957	107 Landrover Station Wagon	£ 1120
9.	1959	107 Landrover Station Wagon	£ 1130

Source: WJHCB, KB 1207/Landrover Station Wagon -Sokoto Province, 1956-1957, pp.1-6

Table above indicates the prices of different Landrovers in Nigeria by the British West Africa Corporation Engineering Limited from 1956 to 1959. It indicates that the prices were not the same as it represents different models of Landrovers available at Kano Office. However, later in January 1957 the prices of Landrovers have increased owing to an increase in freight charges according to the Rover sales manager in Kano to the Acting Resident, Sokoto Provincial Office. For example, the price of 107 Landrover Station Wagon has been increased from £1117 to £1120 respectively. And by 1959, there was an increase in the Landrover Station Wagon of about £15 pounds.⁸⁶

Meanwhile, after the transaction, a driver was sent by the Provincial Office Sokoto to collect the vehicle from BWAC Ltd, Kano. According to the Acting Resident in Sokoto in a letter sent to the Area Service Manager, BWAC Ltd, Kano:

Bearer of this letter is Driver Muntari of the Provincial Office Sokoto, whom I am sending over to collect the Landrover Station Wagon which you have earmarked. I would be grateful if you will give the driver a trial run before, he returns with the car to ensure he is capable of driving this vehicle and impress on him that he is not to touch the four-speed gear box. Will you also forward a list of all spares and the necessary instructions for maintaining and running a

⁸⁶. WJHCB, KB 1207/Landrover Station Wagon -Sokoto Province, 1956 – 1957, pp.1 – 6.

Landrover? Also, the Ranch Manager, Mr. Scammell confirmed in his response letter to the Acting Resident, Sokoto Province that your diver has been shown how to drive the vehicle but at your request, we have not given instruction in the use of the gear-box.⁸⁷

Similarly, in 1959, some colonial trading companies already involved in vehicle trade started the transition to motor assembly operations in Sokoto Province. These include; Volkswagen Mandilas of Nigeria Ltd located at Abdullahi Fodiyo Road; TUC Peugeot Automobile Nigeria Ltd located at Abdullahi Fodiyo Road, Sokoto and Tradev Mercedes located at Abdullahi Fodiyo Road, Sokoto. According to Alhaji Attahiru, while Volkswagen Mandilas' remains are still there and it is taken over by the Sokoto state government under the Ministry for Land and Housing, the TUC Peugeot remains have been taken over by late Alhaji Abu Dankure and it has now been converted to a Petroleum filling station belonging to one of the children of late Abu Dankure (Alhaji Nura Abu Kure), and lastly the TRADEV Mercedes remains was bought by the former governor of Sokoto state Alhaji Aliyu Magatakarda Wamakko, but he later sold it to Alhaji Danbaba Danbuwa.⁸⁸

⁸⁷. Ibid, 1956 – 1957, pp.1 – 6.

⁸⁸. Alhaji Attahiru Dali, the Admin. Officer of the Sokoto State Ministry for Land and Housing, 58 years, interviewed in his office on 19/04/19.



Figure 5.2: Volkswagen Mandilas Assembling Plant in Sokoto Metropolis.

5.7 The Indigenous Transporters

It has been made clear from the above discussion that motor cars made their first appearance in Sokoto in 1914. From the date of its appearance up to 1920s, cars were owned by high profiled people such as the European officers, expatriate firms and Alhaji

Abdun Zagi⁸⁹, a renowned business man in the metropolis. Available records indicated that Alhaji Abdun Zagi was probably the only individual that owned private vehicles, apart from colonial government, expatriate firms and Sultan of Sokoto.⁹⁰ In an application to purchase American Chevrolet Saloon car, while he already had American Humber Saloon, Alhaji Abdun Zagi, Kofar Atiku, Sokoto in 1954 wrote to the Resident of Sokoto Province that:

I have the honour to apply for a permit to purchase an American car. I am a merchandise dealer and have shops in Sokoto city which cover about 9,000 miles per annum for the interest of my business to purchase cotton goods from the following stations in Sokoto, Gwandu and Argungu Emirates. The car will be in use for at least two years without been sold. I shall be much obliged should my application meet your favourable approval.⁹¹

The above letter indicated that, the issue of permit to purchase a car and its maintenance were some of the major factors that slowed down the expansion of vehicle owning individuals in the metropolis. It also helped to ascertain source and capability of the buyer, which meant that only those with genuine source of income could buy a car. As earlier observed, some expatriate firms operating in the area owned private business vehicles.⁹² One of the common features of the early crop of automobile transport facilities in the metropolis was that they were mostly for individual/private uses. The few expatriate firms and wealthy traders who owned cars later were using them to serve their individual needs and business interests. They used the vehicles to transport their individual/business

⁸⁹. Alhaji Abdun Zaggi since 1908 was among the dealers chosen by United Africa Company UAC as agent that supplied over two hundred hides and skins of goats, sheep, and cattle in *Kantin Daji*. These yielded him a high regard and recognition by the Europeans. Thus, he became one of the leading middlemen and traders in the metropolis. He was again the first person appointed as the distributor of manufactured goods the firms were importing to Sokoto.

⁹⁰. A.A., Sifawa, *Colonial State and Urbanization...*, P. 74 See also: SSHB, NAF/14 Native Administration Motor Transport, Hire of, 1951 – 1964.

⁹¹. WJHCB, TRA/9/II, Importation of American Saloons, 1953-1958, pp.18-23

⁹². Malami, A, *Establishment and Development of Industrial firms in Sokoto State: A case Study of Cement Company of Northern Nigerian (C.C.N.N)*, B.A project, Development of History, University of Sokoto, 1988. See also: Musa, A. "The Role of Multi – National Corporations in the Transformation of the Nigerian Economy: A case study of U.A.C in Sokoto ", B.A Project, Department of History, Usman Danfodiyo University, Sokoto.

goods, from one place to another. This was the situation from the late 1920s up to 1930s. Thus, the public commercial transportation business was left in the hands of the N.A. motors which were later joined by the railway motors.⁹³

The 1930s was particularly a significant period in the development of capitalist economy in Sokoto. Despite the economic depression and other challenges of the inter-war period, the number of European firms and their buying agents significantly increased in the metropolis.⁹⁴ Moreover, other autonomous/successful traders, who either traded with the expatriate firms, such as Abdun Zagi, considerably grew in wealth and influence. These developments increased the volume of trade and prosperity among the business class. Eventually, some of these traders and firms gradually started to own private vehicles for the promotion of their business interest.⁹⁵ Although some of those vehicles were for private use, gradually some of the owners, particularly among the business class, started to hire those vehicles, either entirely on their return journey from Kano, Gusau, or other places, after conveying goods, or serving errands. The cost of fuel and maintenance cost, was perhaps some of the stimulating factors in the gradual, somewhat reluctant emergence of commercial motor transporters among private firms and individuals.⁹⁶

Between the late 1930s and early 1940s, the number of private commercial transporters gradually increased, side by side with the appreciation and use of motor transportation service among the citizens, particularly among the business class. Moreover, the N.A. and Railway transportation firms charged relatively higher prices than the emerging private transporters, whose services, however, became relatively elitist. These and other related factors, not only opened up a business gap creating opportunity for the emergence of private commercial transportation business men, but also made it

⁹³. A. A. Sifawa, *Colonial State and Urbanization ...*, P.74

⁹⁴. Malami, A. *Establishment and Development of Industrial firms in Sokoto State...*, Pp.18 – 23.

⁹⁵. Ibid. See also...NAK, Sokprof, S.2530, Sokoto Emirate Annual Report 1932, Prg. 20 – 32.

⁹⁶. Ibid. See also...Mohammad, R. *The rise of Sabon Gari Settlement in Sokoto Town: Its Socio-Economic Impact*”, B.A History Project, Department of History, University of Sokoto, 1986.

possible for them, (though owning smaller capital and facilities), to emerge as powerful competitors in the commercial motor transportation business. Between 1930s and the end of the Second World War, commercial motor transporters emerged as a very critical stimulators of socio-economic development in the metropolis. According to Sifawa and Nabilah, some of the popular business men, who also doubled as transporters included, Alhaji Altine Longman⁹⁷, Sarkin Gobir Adiya⁹⁸, Alhaji Shehu Na-Mata⁹⁹, Alhaji Shehu Ani Kamba¹⁰⁰, Alhaji Garba Dikkon Gande¹⁰¹, Alhaji Adili Gobirawa¹⁰² and Alhaji Sidi Mamman Asarakkawa¹⁰³ among others.¹⁰⁴ These successful business men established private transportation business in Sokoto and beyond, whereby, alleviating the suffering of the city folks.¹⁰⁵

The period after the Second World War was very important in the development of British colonial territories. The period, in response to the rise of nationalist agitations witnessed the establishment of Colonial Development and Welfare Funds which facilitated the development of more durable modern road networks, thus promoting the movement of goods and persons as well as the development of motor transportation system in Sokoto metropolis. In addition, the period witnessed the establishment of Commodity Marketing

⁹⁷. Alhaji Altine Longman was born in Birnin Kebbi and had his early Islamic education there. His real name was Abubakar and his father's name was Abubakar Abarshi and mother's name was A'ishatu (*Inna Chutan*).

⁹⁸. Sarkin Gobir Adiya's real name was Alhaji Muhammad Adiya. The name originated from the name of Sadiya, who took care of him when he was an infant and he could not say her name correctly thus he shortened the name to Adiya.

⁹⁹. Alhaji Mamman Namata was referred to as *Namata* because of his feminine nature given to him by God. He was from Dinbiso area of Wurno Local Government and lived in Jibdawa area of Sokoto Metropolis.

¹⁰⁰. Alhaji Shehu Ani Kamba was born in Sokoto at *Makera dutsen Assada* area in 1905, and was the son of Alhaji Yahaya.

¹⁰¹. Alhaji Garba Dikkon Gande was born in Gande town in 1918 by Alhaji Dikko, a Village head of Gande. When his father died, his mother married another husband Mallam Arzika who served as his foster father and relocated to Sokoto, that was why he was referred to as Alhaji Garba na Mallam Arzika.

¹⁰². Alhaji Adili Gobirawa's real was Abdullahi; he was born in 1906 into the family of Mallam Magaji Alu and Malama Ruke, both from Sabon Birni area in Sokoto metropolis..

¹⁰³. Alhaji Sidi Mamman Asarakkawa was the only surviving child of his parents, that is Alhaji Attahiru Sharihi and Hajiya 'Yar kwatarkwashi in 1922 and was from the *Sharifai* family. He had his Islamic education and was able to memorize the Quran, read and write in *ajami* at a very young age..

¹⁰⁴. A. A., Sifawa, *Colonial State and Urbanization...*, P. 74. N.A.K., Sokprof. 6988/1951, Provincial Annual Report, Nigerian Railway motors operation on Sokoto-Gusau Road, 1951.

¹⁰⁵. Ibid. N.A.K. Sokprof. 6822/1948, Provincial Annual Report, Nigerian Railway Motor Depot, Sokoto, 1948.

Boards. The boards were statutorily in charge of the purchase and sales of Nigerian Agricultural products. One of the important features or direct consequences of the establishment of marketing board was the appointment of License Buying Agents (LBAs), who bought agricultural products at prices dictated by the board on its behalf.¹⁰⁶

The monopoly enjoyed by the Marketing Board placed the LBAs at an advantage position and many of them quickly grew in wealth and influence as well as becoming considerably rich. As a result of the central role of transportation in conveying their commodities from the rural areas and transporting them to the metropolis and the railhead at Gusau or Kaura Namoda, those Agents gradually started to own, or increased the number of their vehicles. Although some of the LBAs purchased their cars initially for private business interest, many of them appreciated the return of the commercial motor transportation business. Gradually, many of them took to the commercial motor transportation business. In fact most of the early successful transporters in Sokoto metropolis and other parts of the province were among the LBAs.¹⁰⁷

5.8 Conclusion

Automobile transportation in Sokoto metropolis from 1930 to 1960 witnessed significant transformations. The period also witnessed the expansion of motor transportation system in the metropolis. Although the Sokoto N.A had the credit of being the first commercial transportation firms in the metropolis, its services were mostly appropriated by the upper class members of the society and the government institutions. However, in terms of intra-city movement, the N.A motors made the most durable impact in the history of modern road transportation during the colonial period.

¹⁰⁶. A.A. Sifawa, *Cash Crops Production and Marketing and the Genesis of Food Insecurity in Sokoto Province, 1903 – 1960’...*, Pp.10 - 11

¹⁰⁷. A. A. Sifawa, *British Administration of Sokoto Province, 1939 – 1960: Continuity and Change*, PhD. Thesis, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 2016, Pp. 145 – 146.

It is also quite clear from the discussion that, the N.A motors and railway motors as well as other private commercial transporters played their major roles in providing motor transportation services. That service connected the metropolis with other parts of the Province, region and the country as a whole. Despite the exploitative nature of the dealings of these transportation services, their role towards the socio-economic and political development of Sokoto Province was quite significant. The private commercial transporters in particular were among the popular business class. Apart from the large scale impact they made on the socio-economic and political development of the metropolis and the emirate as a whole, they were considerably popular among the local people in various communities, thus justifying the impact on the lives of the people and the overall development of the society.

CHAPTER SIX

INTRODUCTION OF BICYCLES AND BICYCLE HIRE BUSINESS IN SOKOTO METROPOLIS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the introduction of bicycles transportation business known among the people of Sokoto metropolis as *hayar Keke*. A bicycle as means of transportation has been introduced to the metropolis by the United Africa Company (UAC) from 1933s. The major factors responsible for the development of bicycles transportation business was the presence of the European trading firms in the metropolis and subsequently the expansion of metropolis as a result of the emergence of some indigenous businessmen like Alhaji Abdun Zaggi and Alhaji Garba Dikkon Gande and Sarkin Gobir Adiya as well as many others. However, this development quickly expanded as several individuals in the metropolis possessed bicycles. This was particularly by employees of colonial firms who own bicycles either through a loan or on direct purchase from the UAC.

6.2 Introduction of Bicycles in the Metropolis

Based on the colonial Annual Report of 1933, Bicycles as one of the means of transportation in Sokoto city was first introduced by the British Colonial Administration in 1933.¹ Initially, the British Colonial Administrative officials used Bicycles for the conduct of their operations within the metropolis. Those given the Bicycles were their messengers, dispensers and some officers of the Native Authority N.A² an example of colonial officials using bicycles was Miss K.A. Dobbs, a mistress in-charge of Girls' School in Sokoto. She later requested for a station-car for local movement to the Resident of Sokoto Province in

¹. NAK/Sokprof.Annual Report/NSP/3/60B/1933/Bicycles-Order-Under the Native Authority Ordinance, 1933.

². Ibid.

1947 because she could no longer use her bicycle because of the bad weather. According to her:

I have the honour to request that you would be kind enough to help me with Station-car to convey me from the Girls' School to my house, (one mile) each mid-day from Mondays to Saturdays during the remaining months of my present tour, (i.e. till early in June with long holiday in April.) On 24th November I sold my car, thinking that I could use a bicycle, but as this was impossible, I have walked to and from School since last November. Now the weather is uncomfortably hot, and walking at mid-day is too exhausting. I asked the Deputy Director of Education, N.P., Kaduna unofficially whether I might have any help by drawing any allowance from Head 13, Subhead 2-Local Transport, but no help was forthcoming, presumably because the journey is from office to house. I reach School at about 7:45 a.m. having had breakfast, so I would be glad to be taken home at about 1:15 p.m. each day.³

Quite a number of indigenous businessmen also purchased Bicycles for personal use in order to ease their movements to the city. However, up to the early 1930s, the number of persons who possessed bicycles was still very small. This is because it was used mostly by the Native Authority officials including Police men *yan doka*. Most people in the City at early stage also considered Bicycles as being an exclusive preserve of the Europeans and their workers including the emerging indigenous business elites who used it to convey their stocks from Canteen or *Kantin Daji* to the main City of Sokoto.⁴ One of the most popular brands of English made Bicycles was the Raleigh Chopper which was brought to the City by the United Africa Company (UAC).⁵

In the year 1933, the Native Authority Ordinance, No.43 was promulgated in order to bring some discipline within the society for effective use of the newly introduced bicycle as a means of transportation in the city. The Ordinance prohibited the use of Bicycles as major means of transportation in the metropolis. The emphasis of this order

³. WJHCB, Sokprof., TPT/4/61-1-6/1947/Motor Transport for Government Officials, Sokoto Province, 1945-1959, pp. 19-28

⁴. Ibid. See also; NAK/Sokprof/Annual Report/SNP 1908/472/1909/Chief Transport Officer, Zungeru. See... H. Dupree, *Urban Transportation*: New York Town, Gower Publishing Company, UK, 1987, pp.181 – 183.

⁵. Oral interview, Alhaji Aliyu Ayaro, a bicycle dealer, interviewed in his bicycles' shop at Abdullahi Fodiyo road on 23/20/2019.

was particularly concerned with the issue of overloading while using bicycles. A correspondence between the district officer of Sokoto division and Assistant Commissioner of Police of the Sokoto division concerning this Native Authority Ordinance ensued:

Perhaps, you will inform the *Sardauna* that the bicycle Order recently made by the Sultan under the Native Authority Ordinance is now being brought into force in Sokoto. The Assistant District Officers at Sokoto has been asked to see that the Order is promulgated and one week's warning given. Legal action will then be taken against any person infringing the Order. The Assistant District Officer will inform the Sultan of the exact date from which the Order becomes effective. So far as the police are concerned, no doubt that the *Sardauna* and *Sarkin Doka* will want to inform the *Magaji* of the above and give him such instruction as the police have received in Sokoto, so that procedure may be followed.⁶

Under this Order, carrying of passengers and heavy loads on bicycles are not allowed. The directives were conveyed by the Secretary of Northern Province to the Resident of Sokoto Province. The order directed that during the chiefs' conference of 1936 the N.A should make it known by verbal or printed notice that in any particular area, such as a large town, any person subject to the Native Authority who rides a bicycle which is overloaded or who carried a passenger is liable to be prosecuted under paragraph 4 of the this Order which appeared as Notice No.1, 295 in the Gazette of the 29th of November, 1934.⁷

In the same vein, the Order did not forbid riding of bicycles which are overloaded or carrying of passengers per say. This conduct is forbidden merely in so far as it is the riding of bicycles in a manner likely to cause accident or injury to any person or animal. For example, suppose a man ride a bicycle with a heavy load in a native town early in the morning hour when there are likely to be few or no people about, such a person would not contravene the Order. But if he did a similar act when business was at its peak in the

⁶. NAK/Sokprof. /Annual Report of Bicycles, *Op.Cit.*

⁷. Ibid.

street, he could be prosecuted for riding a bicycle in a manner likely to cause accident or injury to another person or animal.⁸ However, the notice referred to in paragraph 2 runs as follows:

The public are notified that owing to the congestion of traffic in the city and owing to the narrow streets in the city, it is dangerous to carry passengers or loads on bicycles. Such riding is likely to cause an accident or injury to other persons or animals and may lead to prosecutions for an offence contrary to paragraph 4 of the Order made by the Native Authority of Sokoto which was published in the Gazette as Native No.1, 295 on the 29th day of November, 1934.⁹

Moreover, the Native Authority Ordinance (No. 43 of 1933), which was issued with the approval of the Governor, is to be obeyed by all persons, subject to the jurisdiction of the said Native Authority. The Order reads as follows:

1. Any person riding a bicycle between sunset and sunrise shall carry a light,
2. Any person riding a bicycle shall have a bell or other similar appliance suitable for giving warning of approach,
3. Any person riding a bicycle shall maintain the brake in good working order,
4. Any person riding a bicycle shall do so in a manner not likely to cause accident or injury to any other person or animal,
5. Any person riding a bicycle shall, when meeting traffic, keep to the right or offside of the road,
6. Any person contravening this Order shall be liable to a fine not exceeding 5s or to imprisonment not exceeding seven days for the first offence and to a fine not exceeding 20s or to imprisonment not exceeding fourteen days for each subsequent offence.¹⁰

⁸. Ibid. See also; J. Olodi, *From Truck to Motor Vehicle*.

⁹. Ibid. Transportation in Ikiti of South-western Nigeria before 1960, in *Journal of Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 4, No. 18, pp.146 – 147.

¹⁰. Ibid.

Subsequently, in 1951 the British colonial administration under the Northern Province decided to introduce the licensing of bicycles to the Sokoto Native Authority. According to the secretary of the Northern Province:

I am directed to inform you that the suggestion has been made that Native Authorities should enact Licensing of Bicycles Rules, charging an appropriate fee which might be 5/- per annum or 2/6d for a half-year. The proposal when raised in 1947 was turned down closely as possible to the principle of one tax. It is thought however, since there are other forms of licensing, (e.g., market dues, water rate, dog licenses, etc.) and since the principle of one tax is applicable to general demands for revenue rather than specific ones, that there may be much to be said for imposing a license fee for bicycle particularly at a time when Native Treasuries are urgently in need of all the revenues they can raise. There is also the point that bicycles owners are usually comparatively wealthy people and the fee would in this sense, be an indirect income tax.¹¹

This indicates that colonial administration had introduced the licensing of bicycles in the Province in order to increase tax generation for effective Native administration. However, even though the charges were per annum and half year, but may be difficult to the people. Incidentally, the proposal was turned down when raised because it contradicted the principle of one tax system in the Province considering other taxes already in place such as the market dues, water rate and dog licenses, etc.

It has been noted that colonial administration through N.A. had developed an elaborate Police structure and other related security establishments in order to ensure the full enforcement of the bicycle overloading order and even other issues bothering the smooth operation of the administration in the Province. Accordingly, the *Yan doka* (Native Police) were reorganized to carry out policing activities in the metropolis. Apart from the Constabulary headed by the British Police officers, under the direct command of the Resident; the British Police officers were also deployed in the training of the N.A. Police

¹¹. Ibid. See also; P. Lafferty and D. Jefferis, *Pedal Power: The History of Bicycles*, Franklin Watts Inc, New York, pp.4 – 8, 1990.

(*Yan doka*).¹² Familiar with the terrain and local condition, the *Yan doka* as they were mostly called in Sokoto, were not only deployed to enforce the new order but also in the collection of tax, suppressing criminals, and arresting offenders. In fact, the British officers would have to recognize the indispensable roles of the N.A Police in the Native colonial establishment.¹³ Regular training was given to the N.A Police in the art of detection of offenders within the metropolis and was later provided with transport requirements like the bicycles which they used to move from one place to another.¹⁴ It was not only that particular Bicycle Order which helped them to achieve the enforcement, but also N.A. Police and Sardauna Abubakar had done a great job.¹⁵

6.3 Bicycle Hire Business in the Metropolis

It was after the enactment and promulgation of bicycle Order in 1933 when licensing of bicycles became relaxed that people started affording to buy a bicycle (s), for hiring business. The earliest persons found in this business include: Labaran Danbona and Maidabo Kogo who operated within Sokoto metropolis.¹⁶ Some of the factors responsible for the continued growth of this business were as a result of the non-availability of automobile transport infrastructure in the city. There was also the problem of poor road network. As late as 1960 there was in Sokoto metropolis no intra-city commercial means of transport and as a consequence trekking or use of pack animals remained predominant.

¹² A. A. Sifawa, 'Theory and Practice of the British Anti-Corruption Campaign in Sokoto Province, 1903-1960: A Re-assessment', *Lapai Journal of Humanities*, Vol. 10, No. 2, Journal of the Department of History, Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida University Lapai, Niger State, 2019. pp.79 – 81.

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ NAK, Sokprof, 4079, Annual Report 1935 Sokoto Division. Mr. G.D. Rt Cairn, District Officer.

¹⁵ Kemi Rotimi, 'The N. A. Police and Security in the Northern and Western Regions of Nigeria', in A. U. Adamu (ed.), *Chieftaincy and Security in Nigeria: Past, Present, and the Future: Proceedings of the National Conference on Chieftaincy and Security in Nigeria*, organized by the Kano State Emirate Council to Commemorate the 40th Anniversary of His Royal Highness the Emir of Kano Alhaji Ado Bayero, CFR, LLD as the Emir of Kano (October 1963 – October 2003), pp. 71-79

¹⁶ Labaran Danbona, Oral interview at his residence in Kofar Kade area, Sokoto. Aged 75, on 18/04/2018

There were no taxi cabs, bus, or motorcycle, etc. These challenges necessitated the use of bicycles as means of commercial transport business.¹⁷

Although the business continued up to late 1990s in Sokoto, it later, became less dominant due to the availability of modern means of transportation such as taxi cab, buses and motorcycles. The business of bicycle hire declined drastically especially during the early 1980s. Several individuals in the city also started owning motorcycles especially through gift by politicians particularly during Fourth Republic in 1999. According to Labaran Danbona, although bicycle was introduced in the metropolis since 1930s, transportation in bicycles or *hayar Keke* in Sokoto metropolis started only in 1969 especially when many European companies like John Holt and Yamaha brought in bicycles in commercial quantity and many people particularly the well to do individuals within the society bought for themselves and their children.¹⁸ Labaran Danbona is said to be among the first people who engaged in this commercial enterprise. He started this business in 1969 and he operated up to 1987 in Kofar Kade area of the metropolis. Initially, he started with three bicycles, later the number of his bicycles increased to five and subsequently to fifteen. Apart from commercial transport in bicycles (Labaran Danbona) also engaged in bicycles repairing business that enabled him to earn more money due to patronage from several individuals.¹⁹

Labaran Danbona achieved a lot for himself from bicycle hiring business. It was from his success in the business that he was able to build a house and performed pilgrimage to Mecca. But the business was not without challenges that include unavailability of spare parts, constant break down of bicycles and even bicycle theft.²⁰

¹⁷. Ibid

¹⁸. Ibid

¹⁹. Ibid

²⁰. Ibid.

Another prominent person in bicycle business was Maidabo Kogo who started operating in 1970 and continued up to 1984. As one of the earliest to establish the business in Sokoto metropolis, Kogo got a lot of fortune from it. According to him he started with two bicycles bought for him by his father; and that the number of his bicycles increased to sixteen before he shifted to commercial motorcycles *Kabu-kabu* business. Among his major achievements are building a house of his own, getting married, having a capital that enabled him to shift to motorcycle *Kabu-kabu* business.²¹ Maidabo Kogo equally remembered that when his father bought those bicycles for him none of his mates in the area had a bicycle. Later on in the business, he encountered some problems such as bicycles' constant break down, stealing and non-payment by some persons when they used the bicycles, etc. He did his bicycle transport business in Gangare area of the metropolis.²²

Yusuf Hamadani Sani who hailed and conducted his transport business from Yanshanu area in Sokoto metropolis was another prominent person who established bicycle hiring business. He started the business at his youthful age of fifteen when his father bought a bicycle for him and asked him to look after it. From early to late 1980s Hamadani became an independent person with one bicycle and later two and subsequently with more than ten bicycles belonging to him alone.²³ Part of the achievements he made in this business was that he learnt the art of repairing and selling bicycles. However, through this business he switched to commercial transportation in motorcycle *Kabu-kabu* that enhanced his savings. He later ventured into livestock business. He purchased animals from the local markets in Achida, Gada and Illela transported them and sold to as far as Lagos.²⁴

²¹. Maidabo Kogo, Oral Interview at his residence in Zoramawa Area, Sokoto. Aged 69. On 19 - 04 – 2018.

²². Ibid.

²³. Yusuf Hamadani Sani, Oral interview at his residence in Yanshanu area, Sokoto. On 18/04/2018

²⁴. Ibid.

Another earliest person in bicycle hire business was Aminu Jango who hailed from and carried out his bicycle hire business in Tsamiyar Dila area of Sokoto metropolis. He was very predominant in the business in the late 1980s. According to him he combined commercial transport in bicycle with repairing and this enabled him to generate a lot of fund in spite of the decline of bicycle business.²⁵ According to him part of the achievements he made is that he acquired a house, got married with children.²⁶ However, despite these achievements, sometimes in life he encountered some challenges particularly when somebody hired a bicycle for one hour, but stayed for more than the contracted period. Instead he spent more than two days with bicycle and could not account for the excess hours and moreover he had also spoiled the bicycle and could not repair it. We eventually ended at Kwanni Police Station for settlement. These are some of the problems associated with the commercial transport in bicycle in Sokoto metropolis.²⁷

Bello Bararra is another popular bicycle hirer in the metropolis. Born and brought up in Digar Agyare area, but did his bicycles hire in Sokoto old market (*Tsohuwar Kasuwa*). According to him he spent almost twelve years into this business of bicycles hire from 1994 to 2008. He said that he was doing well in the business because he maintained his family well including his children's education, etc.²⁸ According to him he made many achievements into this business of *hayar Keke* in Sokoto metropolis. Some of these achievements included owning nine bicycles from one which he started with. He also built a house, married his first and second wives as well as buying the motorcycle which he is currently using in commercial transportation.²⁹

²⁵. Aminu Jango, Oral interview at his residence in Digar Agyare area, Sokoto. On 18/04/2018

²⁶. Ibid

²⁷. Ibid.

²⁸. Bello Bararra, Oral Interview at his residence in Digar Agyare area. On 20/04/2018.

²⁹. Alhaji Abu Nata, Chairman, Nigeria Automobile Technicians Association (NATA), Sokoto, aged 55, on 25/04/2018.

6.4 Bicycles Hiring Charges in the Metropolis

In terms of charges, according to Danbona, Kogo, Hamadani, Jango and Bararra, and the charges were based on hourly basis one penny (d1) per hour at the initial stage in 1960, but later three pence (d3) were charged based on hourly basis. In 1973, it was N1.00 per hour, in 1980s it was N5.00 per hour and in 1990s it was N10.00 per hour.³⁰

Table 6.1: Bicycles Hire Charges, 1960 to 1990

S/N.	Year	Type of Bicycle	Fare per hour
1.	1960	Raleigh copper	One penny d1
2	1965	Raleigh copper	Three penny d3
2.	1973	Raleigh copper	₦1.00
3.	1975	Raleigh copper	₦3.00
4.	1980	Raleigh copper	₦5.00
5.	1985	Raleigh copper	₦7.00
7.	1990	Raleigh copper	₦10.00

Source: Field work, 2018.

6.5 Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter is on the development of bicycle as a means of intra-city transportation with particular reference to the hiring business and how it had impacted on the social and economic life of Sokoto metropolis. The contributions of bicycle to the development of metropolis and its people cannot be overemphasized. It has been observed that bicycles as means of transportation has played and is still playing significant role in the life of people particularly the youths. Bicycle transport also provided an alternative means of transportation which actually substituted/complemented the traditional means known in the city during pre-colonial, colonial and colonial periods.

³⁰. Labaran Danbona, Op.cit

CHAPTER SEVEN

EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF MECHANIC VILLAGES IN SOKOTO METROPOLIS, 1960 - 1988.

7.1 Introduction

The introduction of automobile transportation in Sokoto metropolis could not be separated with the emergence and development of automechanic services. Automobile transportation and automechanic services are two sides of the same coin, and one could not do without another. Every engine driven machines require regular servicing and repairs. Part of the challenges which characterized the beginning of motor transportation services was the difficulty in getting trained mechanics in the city that would fix or repair the broked down vehicles. Poor road networks and drivers also contributed to the frequent break down of vehicles especially those used for commercial purposes. These and other related challenges were responsible for the emergence of mechanic villages in the metropolis.¹ This chapter examines the emergence and development of mechanic villages and their impacts on the socio-economic activities in the city.

7.2 The Beginning of Auto-Mechanic Services

It was not long after the introduction of motor vehicles in the metropolis that the need for persons who could render mechanical services became necessary. Thus, the Public Works Department of the Native Authority found it necessary to source and employ the services of the automechanic in order to address the challenges of motor transportation services in the metropolis. Available records containing colonial transport activities indicated that automechanic services started in 1919² with the establishment of Industrial

¹. NAK, Sokprof, 229/1926, Annual Report Sokoto Province 1926, Prg. 47.

². A.A., Sifawa, *Colonial State and Urbanization in Sokoto Metropolis, Northern Nigeria*, Mauritius, LAP, Lambert Academic Publishing, 2019, Pp. 44 – 45.

School, located at the present Kofar Taramniya³ in Sokoto North local government. The School in addition to its role in the construction of human and animal driven carts as explained by A.T. Adamu, also trained large number of children in arts and crafts in the center.⁴ The training compound that came to be known as Gidan Hattara was a self-contained compound comprising an elementary school and a workshop (the workshop still stands directly opposite Sokoto Fire Brigade's premises adjoining the aroundabout at Taramniya Gate).⁵

Gidan Hattara existed for a considerably long time in the colonial period and produced drivers and auto-mobile technicians, etc. The first batch of drivers and mechanics to be taught at Gidan Hattara include the late Haido Baduku of Kanwuri, Muhammadu Mai Shinkafa of Alkammawa, Ibrahim Rugi of Kofar Taramniya, Alhaji Muhammadu Tambuwal of Tambuwal and Madugu of Emir Yahaya, etc. It was Gidan Hattara that even became the foundation of the Sokoto Middle School, providing it with staff especially the drivers and technicians, etc. Some of the first batches of Sokoto Middle School students were products of Gidan Hattara Industrial School.⁶ The acting Senior Resident Vereker reported the progress of the automechanic services and training at the Industrial School in 1923 in the following words:

Five Boys were trained in motor repairing and are now capable of taking down a ford car into its smallest component parts, renewing or repairing the required part, and re-assembling the car without supervision.⁷

Indeed the role of both N.A. mechanical workshop and the Sokoto Industrial School to the development of automobile services in the metropolis had been enormous owing to the fact that N.A. mechanical workshop in particular had rendered technical

³. Kofar Taramniya is one of the eight city gates built during Sultan Muhammadu Bello in Sokoto Caliphate

⁴. A.T. Adamu, Great Men re-visited: Africa Merchants and Artisans in Colonial Sokoto in *Zaruma: A Cultural Magazine of Sokoto State*, 1982, p12

⁵. Ibid

⁶. Ibid

⁷. NAK, Sokprof, 319/1923, Provincial Annual Report and Returns, 1923, by Ag. Senior Resident, S.N.P Vereker – Esq., P.25.

support services to automobile users in the metropolis and the number of persons trained by the Intrustrial Training School.⁸ Commenting on the situation of transportation in the province, with particular emphasis on automobile mechanic at the workshop, the Resident Vereker reported that:

The motor repair shop has been working to full capacity and fleet of Native Administration Cars and Lorries had been kept in a satisfactory state of repair. One hundred and fifty miles of new dry season tracks had been opened and some 10 miles of new all season roads.⁹

The N.A Mechanical Workshop (NAMW) was under the control of Mr. Pilling who was assisted by Mr. Mokler during the 1930s.¹⁰ The NA workshop also provided apprenticeship training to younger mechanics and Students of Industrial Schools.¹¹ From the 1930s up to 1940s, the N.A. Mechanical Workshop was the sole provider of automechanic services to the vehicles in the metropolis. Even when the Railway Motors started in the metropolis it relied on the NA Mechanical Workshop for automechanical repairing services of their vehicles. Subsequently, as a result of the increase in the number of vehicle owning institutions, firms and individuals, the workshop became particularly unable to render the Mechanical Services required in the Metropolis. In order to manage the demand and pressure the workshop devoted Fridays as the day when vehicles of private individuals were attended to, while during the remaining working days, attention was directed to government, and perhaps the Railway motors' vehicles.¹²

The monopoly enjoyed by the N.A. Mechanical Workshop over motor repairing services in the metropolis had significant impact on the workshop, vis-a-vis the people of the metropolis. Whereas it facilitated mastery of the job, thus influencing quality of

⁸. NAK, Sokprof, 219/1923, Provincial Annual Report and Returns, 1923. Prg. 117. See also: NAK, Sokprof, 229/1926, Annual Report Sokoto Province 1926. Prg. 77.

⁹. NAK, SNP17, Vol.1, 16670, Sokoto Province Annual Report 1931. Prg. 186

¹⁰. SSHB, NAF/58 Vol.1, Repairs to Private Cars by N.A Workshop Department, 1950 – 1957. Pp. 1 -3.

¹¹. NAK, Sokprof, S.2530, Sokoto Emirate Annual Report 1932, Prg. 242 – 243.

¹². Op.cit SSHB, NAF/58 Vol.1, Repairs to Private Cars by N.A Workshop Department, 1950 – 1957. Pp. 1 - 3.

service, it equally led to delays in rendering the support services required by automobile users. These and other related challenges were apparently responsible for the emergence of private individuals' automechanic workshops and villages (garages) in Sokoto Metropolis. Available information has not fully revealed the mechanical team of the Railway Motors. But it is apt to suggest that the inability of the N.A mechanical workshop to meet their mechanical needs by the late 1949 must have stimulated the emergence of technical workshop at the Railway Motor Station.¹³ Some of the apprentice of the Auto Mechanic Department of the Industrial School, or out of services drivers and other related individuals formed the core of automechanic support service providers towards the end of the colonial administration.¹⁴

There was also another development of the state mechanical workshop in the metropolis. A typical example was when P. B. Alabaster wrote a memo on behalf of the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Works and Survey on the 13th April, 1970 to the Provincial Engineer, Ministry of Works and Survey, Sokoto concerning the State Mechanical Workshop Sokoto. The memo's No.MEC/050/Vol.1.6 with the title State Mechanical Workshop Sokoto, thus:

As a result of the decision to close the Interim Common Service Agency, the need for a state Mechanical Workshop became more urgent and the following arrangements have been made as an immediate interim measure.¹⁵

To provide a nucleus of such an organization (automechanic) the present provincial workshop in Sokoto will be taken over and commence to be run along provincial lines. State workshop also provided maintenance of the Provincial Engineers' plant and vehicles (Provincial Engineer being left temporarily without mechanical staff). These existing facilities are completely inadequate but negotiations for a subsequent suitable site are now

¹³. Ibrd.

¹⁴. Alhaji Aliyu Nagwadi, 84 years, interviewed at SabonBirni area, Sokoto on 15/06/18

¹⁵. WJHCB, E460/S.1/Vol.1, Mechanical Correspondence, 1967 to 1970

on top gear. Once this is acquired, its development would be started immediately, gradually increasing its potential as a workshop until the stage is reached whereby the provincial workshop will revert to its original administration, functioning once more as a routine maintenance section for the division. The workshop will be run as an independent entity (separated from the provincial organization). The administration and control of workshop would be the responsibility of the Mechanical Engineer in charge and Mr. P. Nosal would directly be responsible to Senior Mechanical Engineer at the headquarters.¹⁶

The memo on the state mechanical workshop also recommended that maintenance routine (not normally carried out by state workshop) of provincial plant would be carried out on a fixed schedule by the workshops. All other work would be done on request through the Provincial Engineer (for provincial plant) to Mechanical Engineer in charge of workshop. In terms of plant and vehicles, most plant and vehicles at present are on Provincial Engineer and a reassessment would be made re-allocating those at present in use by the Provincial Engineer. The balance of plant, much of which is unserviceable would be considered as on workshop charge awaiting repair overhaul or boarding depending on its condition. This plant together with a few items from Interim Common Service Agency (ICSA) workshops would form a pool available to meet demand for short term use as replacement for off the road equipment. Movement of this would be authorized from headquarters. Transport, a pool of haulage vehicles would exist including low loaders, use of this must be authorized by requisition in the normal way quoting cost centre charges summaries of which would be made monthly and sent to headquarters for subsequent action. Requisitions being unnecessary for those vehicles allocated to specific sections however mileage returns must be made together with running cost details.¹⁷

¹⁶. Ibid

¹⁷. Ibid

There is evidence to indicate that some learner mechanics and, or, interested members were attached to individuals and firms requiring automobile support services. Some of those individuals, like Muhammadu Lula, were to later acquire further training in Kaduna and other places, before setting up their private automechanic workshops in the metropolis. Most of those automechanic individuals and workshops that started towards the end of the colonial administration eventually emerged as independent private automechanic workshops, and thus, critical stakeholders in the provision of automobile support services, in the post-colonial Sokoto Metropolis. The evolution and development of mechanic villages in the metropolis, according to oral sources was a gradual process. This is because the concentration of mechanics in large numbers in the metropolis also came about gradually. Automechanics did not at initial stage occupy any strategic location within the metropolis, but they were rather found scattered across every part of the city including residential areas, motor parks and markets sites among others. Mechanics were also of the habit of occupying spaces opposite main roads. Sometimes breakdown vehicles abandoned or left to waste for years which create city congestion.¹⁸

7.3 Indigenous Automechanic Services

One of the major factors that led to the rapid growth and development of automechanic villages in the metropolis was the expansion and restructuring of the city by the Sokoto Urban Development Authority (SUDA).¹⁹ The city's spatial and demographical changes particularly during post-colonial period between 1960 and 1988 were a significant turning point in this direction.²⁰ This development favoured the city as various governments' works and other private individual came to be centered in the metropolis.

¹⁸. Alhaji Alu Kofar Rini, Oral interview at his residence in KofarRini area, Sokoto. Aged 66, on 20/04/2018

¹⁹. Sokoto Master Plan, *Draft Final Report 1988-2003*, Government of Sokoto (SUDA) Architect, Zaria, 2004. Sokoto. See also... Master Plan, 1983-2003, *Government Printers, Sokoto*, 1983

²⁰. A.B. Mamman, "The Evolution and Growth of Sokoto City", In *Journal of Social Sciences and Administration*, Vol.I No.2 Dec 1999. Funsho Printing works Kaduna, p.46 see... U.I. Ibrahim, *Metropolitan Sokoto: Issues in History and Urban Development Since 1960*, Gaskiya Corporation Ltd., Zaria, 2013, p.126

Also during the same period quite a number of people especially the public servants and other employers and employee came to base in the city. As more people came into the city, residential areas kept expanding and more businesses develop including the automechanic repairing services.²¹

This development also accounted for increase in vehicular traffics which characterized the city's socio-economic changes due to population increase. Transport needs in the city increased to facilitate the movement of persons and goods from one part of city to another. *Garejin* Muhammadu Lula was the first indigenous automechanic workshop to be established in the city in the early 1960s. Muhammadu Lula being the first automechanic in the whole of Sokoto was said to be encouraged by the late Premier of the Northern Region, late Sir Ahmadu Sardauna of Sokoto by connecting him with some European mechanic men at Kaduna. Since the establishment of *Garejin* Lula several others were established in different parts of the metropolis and they included that of Tashar Illela Mechanic Village, located at the Sokoto eastern bypass the mechanics at More area was also established because *Garejin* Muhammadu Lulu was located at the Ubandoma road, Sabon Titi area which is in the heart of the metropolis had constituted a great deal of congestion in the area. However, the problem of road blockage by the street mechanics still arose and this time because of the nature of the environment associated with Tashar Illela area that is the hills and valley nature of the area. This problem led to the establishment of Buzaye mechanic village located at Zoo Lane area behind Sokoto new post office in Sokoto metropolis. However, the problem still persisted, but this time it

²¹. Saleh Abubakar, "Aspects of an Urban Phenomenon: Sokoto and its Hinterland to C.1850s", in Y.B. Usman (ed.), Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate: *The Sokoto Seminar Paper*, ABU, 1979, p.127. See...M.K. Jabo, "Modern Manufacturing Industry in Metropolitan Sokoto from 1960-1990". M.A. Dissertation, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1992, p.60. See...Muhammadu Kwaire, "A Historical Study of Cloth and Leather Dyeing in Sakkwato: 1960 – 1990", M.A. Dissertation, Department of History, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1992, p.36. See also...A.B. Mamman, "The Evolution and Growth of Sokoto City", In *Journal of Social Sciences and Administration*, Vol.I No.2 Dec 1999. Funsho Printing works Kaduna, p.46 see...U.I. Ibrahim, *Metropolitan Sokoto: Issues in History and Urban Development Since 1960*, Gaskiya Corporation Ltd., Zaria, 2013, p.126

was the problem associated with mechanics that specialized in heavy duty trucks. Those people found it extremely difficult to operate with ease at Buzaye area, thus, shifted to Sahara area along Ahmadu Bello Way. Subsequently, Kantin Daji or Zangazanga mechanic village and Kwannawa mechanic village were established as a result of the major town planning project carried out by the Sokoto Urban Development Authority (SUDA) in the early 1980s. Along with this mechanic villages, were several small workshops and roadside mechanics that operate on daily basis particularly along the major streets within and outside the city.²²

7.4 Muhammadu Lula Mechanic Village

According to Alhaji Ibrahim Waziri, *Garejin*²³ Muhammadu Lula was said to be among the first automechanic villages in Sokoto metropolis. Muhammadu Lula was also one of the first automechanics in the metropolis to be supported to start the mechanic work by the late Premier of the Northern Region, Sir Ahmadu Bello. At this time there was already in existence the Native Authority (NA) mechanic in Sokoto metropolis located at Kofar Taramniya area of the metropolis for the purpose of servicing the Native Authority (NA) officials and Emirate Council's official vehicles.²⁴ Automechanical repairing services work started by this Muhammadu Lula began in the early 1960s.²⁵

²². Alhaji Alu Kofar Rini, Oral interview at his residence in KofarRini area, Sokoto. Aged 66, on 20/04/2018

²³. A Hausa name for mechanic village

²⁴. A.A. Sifawa, *Colonial State and Urbanization in Sokoto metropolis, Northern Nigeria*, Mauritius, LAP LAMBERT Academic publishing, 2019, pp.26 – 27. See...M.K. Jabo, "Modern Manufacturing Industry in Metropolitan Sokoto from 1960 – 1990". M.A. Dissertation, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1992, p.60. See...H.A.C. Main, "Sokoto Urban Morphology and Function", M.Sc. Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1974. pp. 4-6. See...U.I. Ibrahim, *Metropolitan Sokoto: Issues in History and Urban Development Since 1960*, Gaskiya Corporation Ltd., Zaria, 2013, p.126. See...Last, D.M., *The Sokoto Caliphate*, Longmans, 1967, p.42. See...Murtala Marafa & Nura Bello, "Settlement and Integration Pattern of Immigrant Communities in Nigeria: A Remarks on Sokoto City in the 20th Century", In Ashafa, A.M., Usman, M.T. & Abubakar Sama'ila, (eds.) *Rereading in Post-Colonial Borders and Economy in West Africa*, Pyla-mak Services Ltd. Kaduna, Nigeria,

²⁵. Ibid. See...SUDA: "Profile and Highlights of Activities", A Publication of Sokoto Urban and Regional Authority, 1977. See...Maryam Shafi'I, "Origin and Development of Mechanic Villages in Sokoto Metropolis: The Case of Buzaye"..., PP. 24 – 27. See also...WJHCB/Sokoto District File/E-460/5-1 Vol. I/1969 – 1970/ Mechanical Correspondence.

According to Alu Kofar Rini, Lula learnt his automechanical work from Kaduna under the training of some European automechanics. He later returned to Sokoto and established his workshop along Ahmadu Bello Way (*Tsohuwar Tasha*) opposite Texaco and Mobile filling stations. Muhammadu Lula in later years shifted the workshop to SabonTiti area at Ubandoma road. During that time, it was said that there were few public and official transport vehicles in the metropolis among which included those that belonged to the Sultan, Alhaji Abdun Zagi, Alhaji Mamman Kiryo and Sarkin Gobir Adiya, etc. These vehicles provided their services within the metropolis and some of its environs. Bedford lorries plying the route from Sokoto to Gusau, Kaura-namoda or Kaduna belonging to the Sokoto railway motors were equally visible during the period.²⁶

Muhammadu Lula because of his specialization in both private and commercial vehicles had attracted many individuals to his workshop including government officials who brought government official vehicles. He became established into the business and many people later joined him as apprentice who gradually became independent automechanics. Among his earliest apprentice are Alhaji Umaru Nagwari, Alhaji Abu Gidan Dare and Alhaji Sambo Lula as well as Alhaji Hassan Lula among others.²⁷

7.5 *Tashar Illela Mechanic Village*

The Tashar Illela Garage was said to be the second to be established in the metropolis, even though it is located outside the metropolis. It was said to have been established in 1977. The establishment was the result of the major township re-organization and restructuring by the Sokoto Urban Development Authority (SUDA) in

²⁶. Ibid. See...WJHCB/Sokoto District File/No. DNB/55/93/24/55, *History of Sokoto City*, Sokoto.

²⁷. Ibid. SUDA: *Profile and Highlights of Activities*, A Publication of Sokoto Urban and Regional Authority, 1977. See...H. U. Malami. "Industrialization in 19th century Sokoto Caliphate", A Commission Paper Presented at the International Conference on the Contribution of Sokoto Jihad Leaders to Science and Technology, September, 2003, p.11. See...M.K. Jabo, "Modern Manufacturing Industry in Metropolitan Sokoto from 1960 – 1990". M.A. Dissertation, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1992, p.60.

the early 1977.²⁸ However, before the creation of Tashar Illela Garage mechanic village, mechanics were found scattered all around major roads across the metropolis and sometimes in the outskirts areas. It was in a bid to clear the metropolitan surroundings from unsanitary conditions and unnecessary congestions that led to the eventual establishment and relocation of various mechanics to Tashar Illela mechanic village in the metropolis. The mechanic village was situated at the extreme eastern side of the metropolis near More township area and Ruggar Liman village in the State. However, the site and location has not been convenient to the public due to the nature of the topography. Another agitation for a better site in the metropolis also emerged.²⁹ Consequently, the area was gradually converted into residential area due to population expansion of the metropolis. The presence of the water treatment station and the nature of the area which is traversed by rivers and stream all combined to make its expansion impossible. But the fact still remains that the Hills and Valleys in the site makes it extremely difficult for both the mechanics and their customers to conduct their activities with ease. These problems necessitated the request to the Sokoto Urban Development Authority (SUDA) by the automechanics that remain in the area for another place more convenient for them. After so many pleas and lobbies, government allocated another place for them called the zoo lane area, Sokoto now called Buzaye mechanic village.³⁰

Notwithstanding the topography of the area Illela Garage became known because of its easy access by people coming from Niger Republic, Illela, Gwadabawa, Kware and even from people from Wurno Local Government Area of the state. People from these areas easily get their vehicles repaired and returned back to their various Local governments. Even today that most of the local government areas of the state established

²⁸. SUDA *Profile and Highlights of Activities...*

²⁹. Alhaji Ibrahim Waziri, Oral Interview at his residence in KofarAtiku area, Sokoto. Aged 62. On 21 - 04 – 2018.

³⁰. Ibid. WJHCB/Sokoto District File/No.DNB/55/93/24/55, *History of Sokoto City*, Sokoto.

their mechanic villages, still Tashar Illela Garage's patronage remained intact especially by the drivers of the heavy duty vehicles.³¹

7.6 Buzaye Mechanic Village

Historically, the name Buzaye came about from the initial settlers in the area who were said to be Tuaregs (Buzaye). These Tuaregs or Buzaye were said to have settled in the area for a long time rearing their animals due to the suitable nature of the area as a Fadama land.³² The Buzaye mechanic village has been greatly contributing to the socio-economic development of the metropolis as it accommodates over two thousand persons working in the area including those who sale various forms of spare parts or providing support services.³³

Buzaye mechanic village has been the largest and one of the most patronized mechanic villages in the metropolis since the early 1979. The mechanic village was formally allocated to the mechanics of Tashar Illela Garage who started providing their services in 1979. It was under the leadership of the Governor of Sokoto State late Shehu Kangiwa that the area was carved out due to the efforts of the government to alleviate the suffering of the people in the metropolis who usually had to go to the Tashar Illela mechanic village to repair/service their vehicles.³⁴ There was also the need to sanitize the metropolis against incessant dumped and abandoned vehicles. Another reason was to

³¹. Ibid. See...MaryamShafi'i, "Origin and Development of Mechanic Villages in Sokoto Metropolis: The Case of Buzaye", Op.cit. PP. 24 – 27. See also SUDA. Profile and Highlights of Activities, a Publication of Sokoto Urban Department Authority, 1977, pp. 1-8. See also...WJHCB/Sokoto District File/No. DNB/55/93/24/55, *History of Sokoto City*, Sokoto. See...SUDA: Profile and Highlights of Activities, A Publication of Sokoto Urban and Regional Authority, 1977. See...M.K. Jabo, "Modern Manufacturing Industry in Metropolitan Sokoto from 1960 – 1990". M.A. Dissertation, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1992, p.60

³². Maryam Shafi'i, "Origin and Development of Mechanic Villages in Sokoto Metropolis: The Case of Buzaye", Op.cit. PP. 24 – 27. See...WJHCB/Sokoto District File/E-460/5-1 Vol. I/1969 – 1970/ Mechanical Correspondence

³³. Alhaji Abu Nata, Chairman, Nigeria Automobile Technicians Association (NATA), Sokoto, aged 55, on 25/04/2018. See...SUDA: Profile and Highlights of Activities, A Publication of Sokoto Urban and Regional Authority, 1977. Also...M.K. Jabo, "Modern Manufacturing Industry in Metropolitan Sokoto from 1960 – 1990". M.A. Dissertation, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1992, p.60. See also...Sokoto Historical and Tourism Guide: A Publication of the Sokoto State Ministry of Information, Sokoto, 1983.

³⁴. Malam Mujtaba Kalfu, Oral interview in his residence at Kalfu area, Sokoto, aged 63, On 32/04/2018

decongest the metropolis of auto-repairers who occupy every available space in the metropolis.³⁵

Before the creation of Buzaye mechanic village, the activities of some of these automechanics were carried out mostly at Sabon Titi in Ubandoma road, Kalfu area and many other places by those mechanics that refused to stay at Tashar Illela Mechanic Village due to its associated problems of Hills and Valleys. This situation again caused serious competition for space within residential buildings.³⁶ According to an informant, the first set of automechanics to settle in the area after the allocation of the land included Alhaji Bello Ibrahim who specialized in all kinds Honda and Landrover vehicles, Late Baba Atto who sold second hand spare parts. Others include; Malam Mudashiru also specialized in Volvo and Range Rover brands of vehicles and Late Alhaji Maniru who specialized in Radiator and Gear box repairs. Since its establishment, the Buzaye mechanic village has been accommodating all categories of automechanics including sales of spare parts, technicians, welders, painters, panel beaters, battery and wiring technicians, vulcanizers etc.³⁷

7.7 Sahara Mechanic Village

The Sahara mechanic village came into being as a result of one Umaru Buzu who started his mechanic work at *Tsohuwar Tasha* or what is popularly known as Old Garage at the present defunct Savanah Bank, plc. The mechanic village in the area was established in the 1980s consequent upon the Sokoto township decongestion by the Sokoto Urban

³⁵. Ibid. WJHCB/Sokoto District File/E-460/5-1 Vol. I/1969 – 1970/ Mechanical Correspondence. See...SUDA: Profile and Highlights of Activities, A Publication of Sokoto *Urban and Regional Authority*, 1977.

³⁶. Maryam Shafi'I, *Origin and Development of Mechanic Villages in Sokoto Metropolis: The Case of Buzaye*, Op.cit. PP. 24 – 27. See...M.K. Jabo, "Modern Manufacturing Industry in Metropolitan Sokoto from 1960 – 1990". M.A. Dissertation, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1992, p.60. See...WJHCB/Sokoto District File/No. DNB/55/93/24/55, *History of Sokoto City*, Sokoto...WJHCB/Sokoto District File/E-460/5-1 Vol. I/1969 – 1970/ Mechanical Correspondence.

³⁷. Ibid. WJHCB/Sokoto District File/E-460/5-1 Vol. I/1969 – 1970/ Mechanical Correspondence

Development Authority (SUDA).³⁸ The village is located in Sahara area between Emir Yahaya road and Ahmadu Bello way in the metropolis. Some street/roads which lead to Sahara mechanic village include Waziri Abbas road, Kamba road, Maru road, Bungudu road, Katsina road and Ogbunughaho road, Sokoto. With the development of the area as automechanic village, several mechanics from Buzaye and other mechanic sites shifted to the area for more convenience. The site in Buzaye as in Tashar Illela Garage has not been quite convenient due to the topography of the area. Such a situation encouraged some mechanics to relocate to the Sahara mechanic area. The major feature of the Sahara mechanic village is that, it is dominated by mechanics that specialize in heavy duty vehicles.³⁹

There is also in the area spare part dealers particularly the non-indigene such as Igbo and Yoruba, etc. This is in contrast with the mechanics in Tashar Illela Garage or Buzaye mechanic villages that specializes mainly in small vehicle repairs as well as selling of spare parts of small vehicles.⁴⁰

7.8 Kwannawa Mechanic Village

Kwannawa mechanic village is an extension of mechanic village in Sokoto metropolis that accommodates mechanics who deal with heavy duty trucks and cannot be comfortable within the city center. It was established because of the pressing need to relocate those mechanics repairing heavy duty trucks in the metropolis. This is because;

³⁸. SUDA Profile Op.cit

³⁹. Ibid. WJHCB/Sokoto District File/E-460/5-1 Vol. I/1969 – 1970/ Mechanical Correspondence. See...SUDA: Profile and Highlights of Activities, A Publication of Sokoto *Urban and Regional Authority*, 1977. See...Sokoto Historical and Tourism Guide: A Publication of the Sokoto State Ministry of Information, Sokoto, 1983. See...M.K. Jabo, "Modern Manufacturing Industry in Metropolitan Sokoto from 1960 – 1990". M.A. Dissertation, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1992, p.60

⁴⁰. Ibid. WJHCB/Sokoto District File/No. DNB/55/93/24/55, *History of Sokoto City*, Sokoto

heavy duty trucks were causing serious environmental problems and serious damages to the tarred roads in addition to unsanitary nature of their operations.⁴¹

The Kwannawa mechanic village was according to Chairman Abu NATA occupied by heavy duty vehicles mechanics. Although the area is under Dange Shuni Local Government Area, it is also one of the spacious mechanic villages in the metropolis because of its location in the outskirt of the metropolis. The Land allocated to them is quite sizeable compared to the ones allocated to Tashar Illela Garage and Buzaye mechanic village. However, Kwannawa mechanic village located in the outskirt has been contributing positively to the socio-economic development of the metropolis as well as the spatial expansion and growth of the metropolis. This is because the location of the mechanic village there had coincided with the emergence and development of Kwanawa mini market.⁴²

7.9 *Kantin Daji Mechanic Village*

The Kantin Daji mechanic village otherwise known as Zangazanga was said to have been established in 1980 following major township reorganization by the management of Sokoto Urban Development Authority (SUDA). The village is located along Kantin Daji area or Abdullahi Fodio Road. The area is mostly known for its famous accommodation of warehouses of various European and American multi-national corporations and firms since the early 20th century. Kantin Daji mechanic village has a good number of mechanics or automobile repairers who specialize in motorcycles and tricycles as well as new and second hand vehicle spare parts. In terms of specialization this mechanic village is predominantly occupied by motorcycle/tricycle repairers, battery

⁴¹. Alhaji Abu Nata, State Chairman NATA, Op.cit.

⁴². Ibid. WJHCB/Sokoto District File/No. DNB/55/93/24/55, *History of Sokoto City*, Sokoto. See also...M.K. Jabo, "Modern Manufacturing Industry in Metropolitan Sokoto from 1960 – 1990". M.A. Dissertation, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1992, p.60

chargers, electricity generator sets repairs, and assorted technicians in hundreds.⁴³ The village is among the most important mechanic villages in the metropolis because of its proximity to the mainstream Sokoto city. Although it serves only people who own motorcycles and later tricycles, there are quite numbers of people who engage in many other support services relating to the repairance of these vehicles including repairs of bicycles of different types.⁴⁴

7.10 Impact of Auto-mechanic Villages

Mechanic villages contributed to the socio-economic development of Sokoto metropolis in different ways. These villages affect all aspects of human endeavours such as employment generation, manpower training, urbanization and social mobility, etc.⁴⁵ According to the state chairman of the National Association of Automobile Repairs, and Technicians Association (NAARTA), the combined workforce of all automobile repairers and assorted technicians in the metropolis numbered about thirty thousand persons. The number as he further asserted can even be more if all the apprentices are taken into account.⁴⁶

Indeed, one could say without fear of contradiction that the significance of the mechanic villages to the lives of the people in the metropolis has been enormous. The villages have been a source of income generation to a large number of the persons both

⁴³. Malam Abdullahin Dankudi, Oral interview at the Zangazanga mechanic village Sokoto on 19/04/2018.

⁴⁴. Ibid. See...SUDA: *Profile and Highlights of Activities*, A Publication of Sokoto Urban and Regional Authority, 1977. See...M.K. Jabo, "Modern Manufacturing Industry in Metropolitan Sokoto from 1960 – 1990". M.A. Dissertation, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1992, p.60. See...Sokoto Historical and Tourism Guide: A Publication of the Sokoto State Ministry of Information, Sokoto, 1983.

⁴⁵. Alhaji Abu Nata, Chairman NAARTA Sokoto, Oral Interview in Buzaye mechanic village, Sokoto, 25-04-2018, aged 55 years.

⁴⁶. Ibid. See also...SUDA: *Profile and Highlights of Activities*, A Publication of Sokoto Urban and Regional Authority, 1977. See...Sokoto Historical and Tourism Guide: A Publication of the Sokoto State Ministry of Information, Sokoto, 1983. See...WJHCB/Sokoto District File/No. DNB/55/93/24/55, *History of Sokoto City*, Sokoto. See...M.K. Jabo, "Modern Manufacturing Industry in Metropolitan Sokoto from 1960 – 1990". M.A. Dissertation, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1992, p.60

youth and middle age as well as women folk especially the Yoruba and Igbo women who acted in these villages as food vendors and soft drink sellers.⁴⁷

An important contribution of the mechanic villages that needs to be emphasized from the onset is the fact that the villages are areas of skill acquisition. They impart useful technical and physical skills to youth in the metropolis. Also a good number of trainers usually relocate to other towns such as Illela, Gwadabawa, Kware, Bodinga, Tambuwal, Sabon-Bimi, Goronyo, Wurno, etc, thereby imparting and extending the knowledge to other areas. All the major towns do benefit from the activities of the mechanic villages of the metropolis.⁴⁸

As a result of the existence of these mechanic villages in the metropolis, people from the neighbouring states of Zamfara and Kebbi as well Niger Republic come to the metropolis for the repairs of their various brands of vehicles. However, because of this development coupled with the growing specialization and sophistication of these mechanics in the metropolis, people in Sokoto hardly travel to Kaduna for vehicle repairs including painting and panel beating, etc. According to Abu Nata, there is hardly any type of vehicles' work that one cannot find in the metropolis including selling of spare parts of different brands of vehicles.⁴⁹

In the same way, Buzaye mechanic village has enhanced further growth and development of the metropolis, as traders selling different items established their businesses in the midst of the mechanics. This explains why it is a common phenomenon to see the settlement of many communities in the area especially the Igbo. Zangazanga or

⁴⁷. Ibid. See...SUDA: Profile and Highlights of Activities, A Publication of Sokoto *Urban and Regional Authority*, 1977. See...*Sokoto Historical and Tourism Guide*: A Publication of the Sokoto State Ministry of Information, Sokoto, 1983. See...A.U. Salme, "Origin and Development of Kara Market in Sokoto Metropolis", B.A. Project, UDUS, 2001. See also...WJHCB/Sokoto District File/No. DNB/55/93/24/55, *History of Sokoto City*, Sokoto.

⁴⁸. Maryam Shafi'i "Origin of Mechanic Villages in Sokoto". For more details on the mechanic villages in Sokoto metropolis see M.K. Jabo, "Modern Manufacturing Industry in Metropolitan Sokoto from 1960 – 1990". M.A. Dissertation, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1992, p.60

⁴⁹. Alhaji Abu Nata, Op.cit.

Kantin-Daji mechanic village has also contributed to the growth and development of the metropolis in its own way. With the development of the areas as centers of automechanic repairs, residential areas around the area had to relocate to their areas more suitable for living, thus, enhancing the growth and development of the metropolis. Another important aspect of development associated with the mechanic villages in Sokoto metropolis is the issue of social stability. This is because these mechanic villages even apart from providing services to the society equally help to create social stability. This is because they provide job opportunities to many individuals particularly the youth and unemployed whom might have been doing the contrary. Therefore, several individuals derive their means of livelihood from these automechanic villages either as technicians, traders or other service providers. This alone has helped to reduce the incidence or the cases of redundancies and idleness, “An idle mind is a devil’s workshop”, thus, reducing tension within the society.⁵⁰

Mechanic villages have therefore contributed to the reduction of social vices in the metropolis through the provision of jobs, skills and as trading outlets. Besides, they greatly encourage the growth and smooth operation of road transport businesses which mostly relied on these automobiles such as cars, motorcycles and tricycles for the movement of goods and services, etc.⁵¹

Another important impact of these mechanic villages has been the issue of integration. It has been observed that, within the metropolis hardly one sees a place where integration takes place more than the mechanic villages.⁵² One of the reasons given by Abdullahi is that in every mechanic village one finds a combination of people from

⁵⁰. Malam Abdullahi Dankudi, Op.cit. See...M.K. Jabo, “Modern Manufacturing Industry in Metropolitan Sokoto from 1960 – 1990”. M.A. Dissertation, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1992, p.60. See...A.U. Salame, *Origin and Development of Kara Market in Sokoto Metropolis*, B.A. Project, UDUS, 2001.

⁵¹. Ibid. SUDA: Profile and Highlights of Activities, A Publication of Sokoto *Urban and Regional Authority*, 1977. See...M.K. Jabo, “Modern Manufacturing Industry in Metropolitan Sokoto from 1960 – 1990”. M.A. Dissertation, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1992, p.60

⁵². Abdullahi Bakanike, aged 32 years, car mechanic at Muhammadu Lula mechanic village in Sabon Titi, Ubandoma area, Interviewed on 12/12/2019.

different tribal and ethnic groups working together as members of the same family. Even at Lula mechanic village which belong to a Hausaman, the son of late Muhammadu Lula, Alhaji Hassan Muhammadu Lula, there are several Yoruba youth working under him.⁵³

The same combination of people of different tribes can be seen in all the mechanic villages in the metropolis according Alhaji Abu NATA who emphasized that in Buzaye mechanic village over fifty percent of the mechanics and service providers such as spare part traders and food vendors are of Yoruba, Igbo and the Middle Belt area of Benue and Kogi states by origin.⁵⁴ Alhaji Abu NATA further observes that all these people around, apart from payment of union dues, they don't pay taxes to the state government. This is therefore a potential source of revenue to the state government. If government wishes to come in and inforce payment of taxes by these people, reveue will be generated thereby enhancing the Internally Generated Revenue (IGR) of the state.⁵⁵

The researcher also discusses with some mechanics in some mechanic villages concerning their daily incomes. One of the persons working under a master mechanic at Buzaye mechanic village revealed that he makes between two to three thousand Naira daily depending on the success of the day.⁵⁶ But, Alhaji Ibrahim who is a master mechanic at Buzaye mechanic village Sokoto revealed that he makes between twenty to thirty thousand Naira daily depending on the luck of a particular day.⁵⁷ Ibrahim further said that he had been into car repairing services since 1980s and he had achieved a lot through it. He also said that it is right time now that government intervenes into the area and assist

⁵³. Ibid

⁵⁴ Alhaji Abu NATA...Opcit

⁵⁵. Ibid

⁵⁶. Audun Dankudi, a Car Mechanic At Buzaye Mechanic Village

⁵⁷ Alhaji Ibrahim, a Car Mechanic In Buzaye Mechanic Village, aged fifty years, interviewed in his workshop on 12/12/2019.

automechanics with some capital and provide other necessities needed for the success of the the business.⁵⁸

Based on these revelations concerning their daily income, one can conclude that the first person who makes between two to three thousand Naira daily, approximately makes fifteen thousand Naira per week, totalling sixty thousand Naira per month. So, one wonders who is more financially stable between a mechanic and a grade level eight career civil servant who receives forty thousand Naira per month as his take home pay. Likewise, the second person who makes between twenty to thirty thousand Naira daily approximately makes one hundred thousand Naira only per week totalling four hundred thousand Naira per month. So, one wonders who is financially better between a mechanic with four hundred thousand Naira and a University Professor who receives less than five hundred thousand Naira only per month as his take home pay.

It needs emphasis in the final analysis that because of the rapid expansion of these automechanic villages the Sokoto state government through Sokoto Urban Development Authority (SUDA) has to relocate many of these villages to other places that are more convenient for them thereby enhancing and expanding the metropolitan areas for development both spatially and demographically. For example, Sahara area in the metropolis which has been dominated by non-indigenes particularly the Igbo, owes its growth and development to the Sahara mechanic village's location in the area. The area initially started as a spare parts selling site by Igbo traders and later mechanics of various brands of vehicles settled there for people buying spare parts to have easy access to them. Also, Illela Garage mechanic village along More village in the outskirt of Sokoto metropolis has accelerated the expansion of Sokoto metropolis to More and Ruggar Liman villages. This became so because the Illela garage attracted large number of resident

⁵⁸. Ibid

mechanics to the area and it also led to the establishment of another spare parts market for new and old or second-hand automobile components. It also led to the emergence in the area of a number of food vendors, etc.⁵⁹

7.12 Conclusion

This chapter examines and identified the historical emergence and development of mechanic villages in the metropolis from 1960 to 1988. Specifically, the chapter examines the origin and development of Garejin Muhammadu Lula who was said to be the first indigenous automechanic in the metropolis who was also said to have been encouraged by the late Premier of the Northern Region Sir Ahmadu Bello Sardauna to start the business. The children of Muhammadu Lula continued providing services to the public in the metropolis after his death. Other mechanic workshops established are those in Tashar Illela and Buzaye. The Buzaye mechanic village was created mostly by the mechanics that left the Tashar Illela Garage as a result of congestion and environmental problem of the area. But, even after the movement the problems persisted and some of the mechanics relocated to Sahara area where another new mechanic village was established. However, Kwannawa mechanic village and Kantin Daji/Zangazanga mechanic village were both created as a result of the city's restructuring by the Sokoto Urban Development Authority (SUDA).

Similarly, the significance of this informal sector has been seen in the study particularly as it relates to the socio-economic development as well as growth of the metropolis spatially and demographically. The contribution of these mechanic villages to the development of the metropolis and its people economically and socially has been examined in the chapter. The chapter has also shown that mechanic villages in the

⁵⁹. Ibid. See...A.U. Salame, "Origin and Development of Kara Market in Sokoto Metropolis", B.A. Project, UDUS, 2001. Also...WJHCB/Sokoto District File/No. DNB/55/93/24/55, *History of Sokoto City*, Sokoto

metropolis helped in the provision of jobs and training of technical manpower through apprenticeship system and this has linkages in the growth and development of other support services such as transportation, spare part selling, vulcanizing, panel beating, etc.as well as the smooth operation and movement of goods and services in the metropolis.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE EMERGENCE OF TAXI CABS, MOTORCYCLES, MASS TRANSIT AND TRICYCLES INTRA-CITY TRANSPORTATION SERVICE

8.1 Introduction

Movement to places of work by public servants and to markets for socio-economic activities by business men and women also require such intra-city transportation services. It is against this background that taxi cabs were introduced in the early 1970s and continued to be predominant up to early 1990s when local government mass transit was introduced. Other means of intra-city movement introduced in Sokoto metropolis from the early 1990s include the *Kabu-Kabu* motorcycles and thereafter local government mass transit. And in 2008 tricycles emerged in the city, and since its emergence it has become the major alternative or an addition to the above mentioned means of commuting in the metropolis. *Kabu-kabu* motorcycles in particular became alternative to taxi cabs because the cabs could not offer door to door services to commuters. The chapter in the final analysis argues that the economic contributions of these means of transportation i.e., taxi cabs, mass transit and motorcycles as well as tricycles to the people of Sokoto metropolis was enormous, largely because of the alleviation of youth unemployment.

8.2 Taxi Cabs in Sokoto Metropolis

The earliest operators of taxi cabs in Sokoto metropolis were non-indigenes from especially south-western states of Oyo, Ondo, Ogun, Osun and Lagos as well as Kwara. The reason of their (Yoruba) dominance in the business may not be unconnected the fact that vehicle assembly plants were first established there and most of them came with their vehicles from their areas. This development started with one Ezekiel Adeniran popularly known among residents as (*baba Oyo*) who is believed to be one of the earliest operators of taxi. He started with one cab before acquiring additional two from his savings mostly

through weekly contribution known among Sokoto people as *Adashe*. Other Yoruba settlers later joined the business and consequently in the early 1980s when taxi cabs took over significant percentage of the passenger traffic in the metropolis.¹

Initially, taxi cabs as means of road transport in the metropolis were scarce due to their high cost of purchase as well as petroleum price and maintenance. The number of cabs in the early years appeared not to cope up with the demand owing to multitude of reasons one of which was shortage of the vehicle itself. The number of taxi cabs however, gradually increased with Datsun 120Y as the most popular brand, while the remaining constituted other brands such as Peugeot, Toyota Corolla and Gallant Mitsubishi being systematically purchased.² This shows that in the metropolis taxi had become increasingly important in the movement of goods and services from one place to another. In terms of impact on the socio-economic development, one could see that taxi service provided job opportunities not only to the operators but also to other related support services such as auto-mechanics, vulcanizers and spare-parts sellers, etc. Taxi cabs had indeed contributed immensely not only to the passenger transport alone, but also to the economic growth of the area, as it has been the movement of people in time and space that enhances economic development.³

8.3 Profile of Some Selected Taxi Cab Operators

Mr. Adeniran who was believed to be the first Yoruba person to operate a taxi cab in Sokoto was originally from Ibadan in Oyo state; and he came to Sokoto purposely to engage in taxi cab business. According to him, when he came to Sokoto he started with a

¹. Ezekiel Adeniran (Baba Oyo), 70 years, interviewed at his residence in Ahmadu Bello Way, Sokoto on 25/03/2020 . A.B. Mamman, "The Evolution and Growth of Sokoto city", *In Journal of Social Sciences and Administration*, Vol.I No.2 Dec 1999, Funsho Printing Works Kaduna, p.58.

². Ibid. WJHCB, TPT/45/39, Taxi Cabs, 1974 - 1975

³. Basiru Mohammed (*Raga-raga*), 90 years, interviewed at his residence in Sabon Titi, Kalhu area, Sokoto, 28/03/2020. See also... Garba Balarabe "An Appraisal of Local Government Mass Transit Programme in Nigeria: A Case Study of Sokoto Local Government Council", PGD Dissertation, NITT Zaria, 1996, p.6. See also...R.J. Gabriel, *The Private Provision of Public Services in Developing Countries*, Washington D.C. Press, 1995, p.26.

taxi cab given to him on hire purchase basis at the rate of ₦50 fifty naira per day. The cost per drop then was 5 kobo but could be up to 10 kobo depending on the location of the passenger. According to Mr. Adeniran, he was then making between ₦70 and ₦80 per day. The prices of different brands (Datsun 120Y, Peugeot, Toyota Corolla and Gallant Mitsubishi brands, etc) of taxi cabs then was between ₦4,700, ₦5,000, ₦5,420, ₦6,000 and ₦13,700 respectively.⁴

Mr. Adeniran up to the time of conducting this research is engaged in his taxi cab business in Sokoto metropolis with his personal vehicle which he converted to taxi cab. He renders services mostly to fixed customers on daily basis especially at Sokoto Abattoir and Sokoto Vegetable Market (*Kasuwar Alu*). His passengers even in the early 2020 paid him ₦50 per drop, but sometimes depending on the weight of their loads. He believed that one of the factors responsible for the decline of taxi cab especially in the mid 1980s was the introduction of State Government taxi cabs and passenger buses for commuting within and outside the metropolis at lower prices compared with private taxi. Fuel scarcity in the late 1980s was another factor that adversely affected the smooth operation of taxi cabs. According to him an individual taxi operator during the period could stay for up to two weeks in the queue in order to get fuel for his vehicle. These factors forced many taxi cab operators to abandon the operation and returned home or engaged in another business.⁵ However, according to Mr. Adeniran he had no choice but to continue with the business which he still does. But he achieved a lot from the business and that enabled him to purchase three personal taxi cabs with his savings, got married and sponsored all his children's education up to University level.⁶

⁴. Ezekeil Adeniran Op.cit See also... Garba Balarabe, "An Appraisal of Local Government Mass Transit Programme in Nigeria: A Case Study of Sokoto Local Government Council", PGD Dissertation, NITT Zaria, 1996, P.18-19.

⁵. Ibid. M. L. Gusau, "The Contribution of Taxis and Kabu-kabu (Motorcycles) Toward Efficient Road Passenger Movement in Gusau Town", PGD Dissertation, NITT Zaria, 1996, PP. 1 – 41.

⁶. Ibid. WJHCB, TPT/46/1, Sokoto Local Authority Motor Vehicles, 1976 - 1979

Another earliest taxi cab operator in Sokoto metropolis was Rufa'i Yusuf who also came from Ibadan in Oyo State in order to conduct business. According to his son Musiliu, late Rufa'i Yusuf lived at Ahmadu Bello Way in the metropolis with his family. During the time, because of his popularity among colleagues and other people in the city, they used to call him... "*ko ka sha ruwa akwai azumin ka*"... The literal meaning of which is: "even if you drink water, your fasting remains valid".⁷

Musiliu was born and brought up in Ahmadu Bello way area of Sokoto South Local Government where he inherited the taxi business from his father (late Rufa'i Yusuf). He still could remember with nostalgia how his father used to tell him the way he conducted the taxi business in Sokoto *Birnin Shehu*. A drop per person then was between 5 kobo and 10 kobo; he (the father) remitted ₦50 to the taxi owner on daily basis and made between ₦60 - ₦80 and ₦80 after the daily transaction. Mr. Musiliu recalled how he sometimes asked his father, on when he would purchase his vehicles. But, the usual response was always that, "my child just go and study".⁸ According to him, his father died in 2017, and prior to his demise, he owned four taxi cabs that enabled him to engage the services of other persons to drive his three other vehicles.⁹

Musiliu, based on the information he obtained from his late father and his own experience believes that fuel scarcity and the emergence of motorcycles as major alternative to the motorcar transportation were the two most important factors that affected taxi cabs business. He also believes that automechanics too contributed to the collapse of the business as they constantly exploit the operators. Having a permanent mechanic became a problem because majority of them were not just and sincere. However, another problem came from the Nigeria Police Force especially the motor traffic division who

⁷. Muslimi Rufa'i Yusuf, 38 years, interviewed at his residence in Ahmadu Bello way, Sokoto, 25/03/2020.

⁸. Ibid. See also... D.C.I. Okpala, "Urban Traffic Management in Nigerian Cities: The Necessity for Mass Transit Priorities", in S.O. Okomaiye, *Transportation in Nigeria National Development...*, pp. 12-18. *Proceeding of A Conference on Mass Transit* held at the University of Ibadan, July 4th -9th, 1977.

⁹. Ibid. WJHCB, LAB/16/SKT/57/2A/14, Nigerian Motor Transport Union, 1947 - 1964

always victimize and extort the operators by way of arrest and intimidation. A driver sometimes spent the whole day trying to free his vehicle even after payment.¹⁰

Another prominent taxi cab operator was Tajudeen Oloro who hailed from Isanyi Local Government in Oyo State Nigeria. He came to Sokoto and lived at Shagon Goro area and for over thirty years of residence his major engagement has been in taxi operation up to early 2000. Being a driver of a taxi owned by his master at the cost of ₦50,000, his daily remittance in the 1980s was ₦50 only while the drop per person ranged between 5k and 10k. But as a hard working driver he was making between ₦70 and ₦80 daily. Through his personal savings he purchased his personal motor vehicles in addition to a motorcycles. He later relocated to Lagos and started inter-state transportation business with the bus he purchased.¹¹

One other important Yoruba taxi cab operator in the metropolis is Mr. Habibu Iwo who still lives in Rijiyar Dorawa area of Sokoto. He came from Olofe Town in Osun State and settled in Sokoto some thirty five years ago because his elder brother Mr. Abudu Iwo was already in Sokoto doing local goldsmithing business. The purpose of his coming was to conduct taxi transportation business which enabled him to purchase his personal vehicle from his savings. Mr. Habibu believes that taxi business was relatively affected by the introduction of mass transit bus service programme by the state government; and such a challenge became compounded by *Kabu-kabu* motorcycles business. In the period before such problems however, Habibu was making between ₦90 and ₦100 daily, a factor which led to his purchase of additional car.¹²

¹⁰. Ibid

¹¹. Tajudeen Oloro, 60 years, interviewed at his residence in Shagon Goro area, Sokoto, 26/03/2020.

¹². Habibu Iwo, 65 years, interviewed at his residence in Rijiyar Dorawa area, Sokoto, 26/03/2020. See also... R. Schoofs, "Fleet Policy and Bus Specifications: Satisfying Urban Public Transport Demand". in World Bank Africa Region Washington, D.C, USA, Yaounde, Cameroon, 5-8 March 1991, p.22. See also... Garba Balarabe, "An Appraisal of Local Government Mass Transit Programme in Nigeria...", pp 10-11. See also... A.A. Ogunsanya, "Monitoring And Performance Evaluation Of Mass Transit System In Nigeria" (ed.) T. Bolade in Urban Mass Transit System in Nigeria, University press, Ibadan, 1989, p.62

Another popular man in taxi business in Sokoto metropolis was Basiru Mohammed known as (Raga-raga) from Oluloye in Oyo state Nigeria who came to Sokoto about 60 years ago and has since been living at Sabon-Titi in Kalhu area, Sokoto. It was during the time of Sardauna, the Premier of Northern Nigeria that he started the business. He used the taxi cab he purchased at ₦2,000 only in 1980s. His daily remittance was pegged at ₦1, while payment per drop was between 1k and 2k.¹³

Owing to the youthful exuberance then, Basiru never confined himself to the city areas alone but also hauled passengers to some of the neighbouring Towns/Villages of Achida, Kware, Bodinga and even Illela. These endeavouring long journeys were to later earn him the epithet of *Raga-raga* (workaholic) by his colleagues. The changing atmosphere in the environment later led *Raga-raga* to shift from taxi cab to car rewiring business in 1990. His basic achievements relayed to acquisition of a motorcycle, three taxi cabs, and various electronics. His children became educated up to the University level and now working with State Government Sokoto. The relative decline in taxi cab business as attested by Raga-raga however was never unconnected with what his colleagues advanced earlier.¹⁴

It is however, worth noting at this level that despite the dominance of taxi transport business by the Yoruba resident community, there were some few indigenes who engaged in the business. One of such persons was Faruku Tambari of Kofar Rini Area. He started taxi transportation business in 1991 with a Toyota Corolla car bought at the rate of ₦38,000 through savings with the Inter-state Transport Service for more than 10 years.¹⁵ He enjoyed a good patronage from the public especially for his being one of the few indigenes to engage in such entrepreneurial endeavour. He made a lot of fortune from taxi

¹³. Basiru Muhammed (Raga-raga), 90 years, interview at his residence in Sabon Titi, Kalhu area Sokoto on 28/03/2020.

¹⁴. Ibid. A.I. Danjuma, "Government Intervention in Mass Transit Operation, Problems and Prospects: A Case Study of Kaduna and Kano State Transport Agency", PGD Dissertation, NITT Zaria, 1996, pp 46-47.

¹⁵. Faruku Tambari, 60 years of age, interviewed at his residence in Kofar Rini Area, Sokoto on 08/06/2020

business before the decline of the enterprise in 1992. He just in one year 1991-1992 became an employee of Dandima Mass Transit Service that however, folded up in 1997. On the reason for his success in his taxi business, he said he could recall what his passengers used to tell him that, one of the reasons they enjoyed his taxi was because of the language of communication (Hausa). For them, it was always difficult to communicate with a Yoruba taxi operator who could only speak either in Yoruba or English language.¹⁶

Abdullahi Muhammad 01 was another indigene taxi cab operator who operated in the metropolis in the early 1980s and continued up to 1990s. According to him, the business was successful especially from the initial stage, because taxi cabs accounted for more than 90% of the passenger traffic at the time. However, it was during the 1990s that the business started to decline due to the introduction of another means of passenger commuting system by the Sokoto Local Government Council, that is, Local Government Mass Transit Service. Subsequently, *Kabo-Kabo* which also emerged at about the same time negatively affected taxi cabs operation.¹⁷

Labaran Tu'i was also another indigene taxi cab operator in Sokoto metropolis. His over fifteen years in the business was another success story of an indigene who ventured into taxi business. Before shifting from the cab business to *Kabo-Kabo* where he also spent another five years, Tu'i made a mark in the annals of intra-city transportation business by acquiring two motorcycles. However, Tu'i also shared the same opinion on what made the business to decline. Provision of the Local Government Mass Transit Service and the emergence of *Kabo-Kabo* were two factors that forced most taxi cab operators to abandon the business. Tu'i added that incompetent auto-mechanics and

¹⁶. Ibid

¹⁷. Abdullahi Muhammad 01, 60 years of age, interviewed at Ubandoma Area, Sokoto on 09/02/2021.

scarcity of petroleum products were other factors that contributed to the decline of taxi cab business.¹⁸

Alhaji Malami Fakon Idi who was also as an indigene taxi cab operator believed that Local Government Mass Transit Service and *Kabo-Kabo* are the two major contributing factors responsible for the decline of taxi cabs in Sokoto metropolis. But, equally attributed the early success story of taxi cabs business to the fact that it was the only means of intra-city transportation during the period. One could not be surprised to find out that, immediately after the emergence of local government and *kabu-kabu* means of transportation, people shifted their attention to them most probably for their affordable fare charges coupled with their penetration to every nook and cranny of the metropolis especially by *kabo-kabo* operators whose penetration know no bounds.¹⁹

Abu Kofar Rini was also another indigene taxi cab operator in the metropolis who equally spent 35 years in service before finally retiring in the year 2000. According to him, he started the business as *Dan Tasi* or a taxi cab operator, during the period of 1980s to 1990s as a transporter; he participated in intra-city transport service with taxi cab and motorcycle and later on changed to inter-state service. In the inter-state operation, he travelled to Kano, Kaduna, Jos, Ibadan and Lagos including Abuja, etc. Like his colleagues, Abu also believed that Local Government Mass Transit Service and *Kabu-Kabu* together with scarcity of petroleum products and problem associated with mechanics to be major contributing factors responsible for the decline of taxi cabs operation in Sokoto metropolis.²⁰

¹⁸. Labaran Tu'i, 62 years of age, interviewed at Kofar Rini Area, Sokoto on 09/02/2021

¹⁹. Alhaji Malami, 64 years of age, interviewed at Fakon Idi Area, Sokoto on 09/02/2021

²⁰. Abu Kofar Rini, 60 years of age, interviewed at Kofar Rini Area, Sokoto on 09/02/2021

Table: 8.1 List of Some Selected Taxi Cab Operators in Sokoto Metropolis with their State of Origin and Number of Years in Sokoto

S/N.	Name	State	Home Town	Place of Residence	Number of Taxi Cabs used	Number of years in Sokoto
1	Oloronike Abdulsalam	Oyo	Ibadan	Hajiya Halima Estate	5	36 years
2	Abdullateef Sikiru	Oyo	Ibadan	Kalfu Area	4	30 years
3	Alhaji Lamidi	Ogun	Abeokuta	Tsohuwar Tashar Gusau	5	33 year
4	Akeen Sule	Ondo	Akure	Shagon Goro Area	7	32 years
5	Salawudeen Adeniyi	Kwara	Ilorin	Aliyu Jedo Area	4	29 years
6	Oye Obisola	Ondo	Ilaje	Aliyu Jedo Area	6	33 years
7	Dayo Adebola	Ondo	Okitipopa	Sokoto Cinema	6	31 years
8	Adewunmi Saka	Osun	Oshogbo	Tudun Wada	5	28 years
9	Akanni Toye	Ondo	Odigbo	Kalhu Area	4	30 years
10	Ayomide Adeshina	Osun	Olorunda	Kalhu Area	4	29 years
11	Adeleke Mope	Ogun	Ijebu	Tashar Gusau	6	35 years
12	Ayoola Tola	Ogun	Ifo	Hajiya Halima Estate	6	32 years
13	Musbahu Sadiq	Lagos	Epe	Uguwar Rogo Area	7	35 years
14	Mufu Taye	Ogun	Shagamu	Shagon Goro Area	6	30 years
15	Bolaji Mofe	Lagos	Agege	Ahmadu Bello Way	6	29 years
16	Wasi'u Hafeez	Osun	Modakeke	Ahmadu Bello Way	5	28 years
17	Tunde Olamide	Osun	Ogbomoso	Shagon Goro Area	4	28 years
18	Ayomide Banji	Oyo	Irepo	Kofar Kware Area	6	31 years
19	Bolaji Akanni	Oyo	Kajola	Aliyu Jedo Area	6	28 years
20	Oladayo Latif	Ogun	Odeda	Rumjin Sambo Area	5	27 years
21	Kamilu Segun	Lagos	Shomolu	Shagon Goro Area	4	28 years
22	Tayo Olusegun	Oyo	Ogbomoso	Rijiyar Dorowa Area	6	30 years
23	Adekulle Yusuf	Ondo	Lanre	Kalhu Area	7	33 years
24	Razak Abdulfatai	Kwara	Oyun	Marina Area	7	35 years
25	Bamidele Oladayin	Osun	Iwo	Ahmadu Bello Way	6	30 years

26	Faruku Tambari	Sokoto	Sokoto North	Kofar Rini Area	3	60 years
27	Abdullahi Muhammad 01	Sokoto	Sokoto South	Ubandoma Area	4	60 years
28	Labaran Tu'i	Sokoto	Sokoto North	Kofar Rini Area	4	62 years
29	Alhaji Malami	Sokoto	Sokoto North	Kofar Rini Area	5	64 years
30	Abu Kofar Rini	Sokoto	Sokoto North	Kofar Rini Area	4	60 years

Source: Field Work, 2019 & 2020.

8.4 Motorcycles (*Kabu-kabu*)

Motorcycles as a mode of public intra-city transport provide ease and comfort to commuting populace as well as incomes to the operators and have alleviated the difficulties being faced by the commuters. Initially, Yamaha, Suzuki, and Honda motorcycles were most widely used in the metropolis, but in later years, Kasea, Delon and Bajaj are widely used. As city's population increased year after year, many owners of the motorcycles introduced and embraced scheme for their vehicles.²¹ Commercial motorcycles (*kabu-kabu*) have become very vital in the city since 1980s and one of its advantages is that it is much cheaper, faster and more capable of penetrating all nook and corner of the metropolis.²²

A history of motorcycle transportation (*kabu-kabu*) as means of intra-city transport system in the metropolis dates back to 1988, when some junior civil servants and later unemployed youths including even certificate holders and drop-outs started using personal motorcycles for commercial purposes.²³ Before the use of motorcycles, taxi cabs were the most predominant means of intra-city movement in Sokoto metropolis. However, from the

²¹. Yusuf Kyautawa, Chairman of The Amalgamated Commercial Tricycle and Motorcycle Repairs and Riders Association of Nigeria (ACOMORAN), Sokoto State Chapter, aged 55 years, interviewed in his office on 19-04-2018. See also... M.A. Kware, *A Study of Motorcycles (Kabu-Kabo) As Means of Transportation in Sokoto Metropolis*, PGD Dissertation, NITT, Zaria, 2012, p.23.

²². Ibid

²³. Bashir Muhammad Bello, 47 years of age, motorcycle Rider, interviewed in Kwanni Area, Sokoto on 20/04/18

late 1980s to early 1990s the number of taxi cabs reduced and became fewer compared to the number of the increasing population in the city. Moreover, the available taxi cabs could not provide commuters with enough and door to door services especially that of the civil servants, students and businessmen/women.²⁴

The role of commercial motorcycle (*kabu-kabu*) in the metropolis was to compliment the services of other means of transport especially of taxi cabs and mass transit buses in moving passengers and goods from one destination to another. *Kabu-kabu* has played this role very well for many years before being over taken by the commercial tricycles. The upsurge in the fleet of commercial motorcycles in the metropolis was a clear testimony of the increasing demands for this mode of public transport.²⁵

Madugu also observed that motorcycles have taken over from the taxis cabs as means of public intra-city transportation in Kano metropolis. He indicated that motorcycles in their hundreds now fly all nooks and corners of Kano city even in places where vehicles could not penetrate.²⁶ He further opined that, the massive participation of people in the motorcycle transportation business in the state may be due to its economic gains and affordable cost of maintenance. The operation of motorcycles brings more jobs not only to the operators, but also to the motorcycles mechanics and vulcanizers and spare-parts sellers.²⁷

8.5 Development of Mass Transit Ventures

It was in 1994 that Sokoto Local Government under the chairmanship of Alhaji Ibrahim Magaji Gusau that introduced the mass transit system in Sokoto metropolis. What brought the need for mass transit system in Sokoto metropolis was rapid increase in

²⁴. Ahmad Shehu, motorcycle Rider, 46 years of age, interviewed in Tudunwada Area, Sokoto on 20/04/18

²⁵. Abubakar Shehu, 40 years of age, motorcycle Rider, interviewed in Sokoto Old Market, on 20/04/18. See

²⁶. Y.U. Madugu, "Commercial Buses and Economic Growth in Kano Metropolis, 1967-2000" in Sa'ad, B.A., and Ibrahim, K.A., *Resurgent Nigeria: Issues in Intellectual History: A Festschrift in Honour of DahiruYahaya*, Ibadan, University Press, 2015. P. 98

²⁷. Ibid

population consequent upon increase in economic activities and educational institutions. Another factor responsible for the increase in population was also due to rapid urban migration. Hence, the emergence of local government mass transit services and mass transit services of private individuals became necessary. Socio-economic activities within the metropolis and increase in educational institutions such as University of Sokoto, College of Education, State College of Arts and Science and School of Nursing and Midwifery as well as School of Health Technology, etc²⁸ contributed to the development of mass transit programme. The need to increase internally generated revenue to the local government was also another factor responsible for the introduction of mass transit services in the metropolis.²⁹

The venture started with five Nissan Urban buses operating within Sokoto metropolis and its environs. The response of the community and the acceptance of the programme were overwhelming and that explained the reason for the success of the venture during its early phase. In 1995 five new Isuzu buses were purchased, bringing the total number of buses to ten. By the end of 1995, the amount generated by the venture enhanced the revenue of the local government council by 20%.³⁰ Sokoto local government council, while establishing its mass transit programme was guided by the objectives of having a total package that would assist the people in the following ways: (a) laying a foundation for an organized mass transit system (b) alleviating the problems of urban

²⁸. A.B., Mamman, "The Evolution and Growth of Sokoto City", in *Journal of Social Sciences and Administration*-A Bi-annual Publication of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Administration, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, Kaduna, Funsho Printing Works, 2001

²⁹. Labaran Abubakar, Manager, Mass Transit, Sokoto South Local Government, 52 years, oral interview at his Office in Sokoto South Local Government area, Sokoto on 07/04/2019.

³⁰. Labaran Abubakar, Manager, Mass Transit, Sokoto South Local Government, 52 years, oral interview at his Office in Sokoto South Local Government area, Sokoto on 07/04/2019.

commuters and the generality of the masses, and thirdly (c) modernizing the urban mass transit system.³¹

From 1995 to 1996 the local government council recorded a rapid increase in the number of vehicles from ten to seventeen fleets operating within the jurisdiction of the local government council.³² Works and Services Department of the local government oversees the technical aspects of the scheme, while the Department of Finance and Supply controls the financial aspects of the scheme vis-a-vis the generated revenue. The Manager supervises the programme through an accountant who takes care of all the financial matters.³³

8.6 Operational Routes

The operational routes of the mass transit service were mostly routes within the local government area and some of the reasons the council considers for maintaining the routes included among others: the economic viability which is the most important factor that influences the decision of the council to establish and maintain any route. The revenue generated in any route must be sufficient to offset its running costs and leave the local government council with a profit margin. For instance, in 1995, from the authority's income expenditure records out of total passenger revenue of ₦35,700.00, intra-city services accounted for ₦24,290.00, i.e. 70% of the local government revenue.³⁴

Another factor responsible for maintaining routes within the local government area was to address the transport needs of people in Sokoto local government. Most of the routes were intended to address the transportation difficulties experienced by the

³¹. Labaran Abubakar, Manager Sokoto South Local Government Mass Transit Op.cit. See also... Garba Balarabe, "An Appraisal of Local Government Mass Transit Programme in Nigeria: A Case Study of Sokoto Local Government Council", PGD Dissertation, NITT Zaria, 1996, p.6. See also... R.J. Gabriel, *The Private Provision of Public Services in Developing Countries*, Washington D.C. Press, 1995, p.26.

³². Ibid.

³³. Ibid.

³⁴. Ibid. See also... WJHCB, Sokprof., TPT/2/Vol.II, Transport Routine Correspondent, 1971 - 1973

community within the metropolis. The intra-city services of the local government covers eleven routes and linked many secondary schools within the township of Sokoto metropolis. Table 8.2 shows the routes and their various services as well as their fares.³⁵

Table 8.2: Departures, Destinations and Transport Fares, 1990.

S/N.	Departures	Destinations	Fares
1.	Shehu Shagari Road	5-star secretariat/Usman Faruk secretariat	₦ 5
2.	Rima Radio	5-star secretariat/Usman Faruk secretariat	₦ 5
3.	Unguar Rogo	5-star secretariat/Usman Faruk secretariat	₦ 5
4.	Rijiyar Dorowa Road	Sokoto Central Market	₦ 5
5.	Rima Radio Road	Sokoto Central Market	₦ 5
6.	Unguan Rogo	Sokoto Central Market	₦ 5
7.	Kofar Marke Road	Sokoto Central Market	₦ 5
8.	Ahmadu Bello Way	Sokoto Central Market	₦ 5
9.	Emir Yahaya Way	Sokoto Central Market	₦ 5
10.	All the above	Various secondary schools	₦ 5
11.	All the above	All government reserved areas	₦ 5

Source: Labaran Abubakar, Manager Mass Transit Sokoto South Local Government, 52 years, oral interview at his Office in Sokoto South Local Government area on 08/04/2019 “ See Garba Balarabe, “An Appraisal of Local Government Mass Transit Programme in Nigeria: A Case Study of Sokoto Local Government Council”, PGD Dissertation, NITT Zaria, 1996.

Above table reveals that the local government mass transit programme catered for commuters and passengers going to office for work including students going to school. Other routes are for business men and women coming from different part of the metropolis to the central market for their business transactions. The routes have their peak hours ranging from 7.00 am to 8.00 pm when most of the passengers are going to work or schools, and between the hours of 3:30 pm to 5:00 pm when the people are returning from their offices to their respective destinations. The evening services normally start at 8.00

³⁵. Ibid.

pm and terminate at 10.00 pm. This special service is mainly patronized by the married women during the wedding ceremonies or other engagements. The night services do not have any designated routes but rather depends on the demand of passengers' traffic in any given day.

According to Labaran Manager, by the time it was introduced in the early 1990s the venture made provision for chartered services in which an individual or organization can make an agreement/arrangement with the authority or a driver upon payment of specific amount in order to use the vehicle for a day or number of days, depending on the demand by the customer. Normally, the authority charges ₦700 per day per vehicle. Individuals or organization that needs the charter services would communicate with the manager either in writing or in person indicating their intention to hire one or more of the council's vehicles. After payment is made, the manager approved the release of the vehicle to the customer and driver will be notified.³⁶

Equally important was the fare system and collection method adopted by the venture. The drivers were mandated to collect the fares through their assistants that are popularly known as conductors. This is a system whereby flat fares are charged for every journey within the metropolis. It is observed that, this type of fare collection favoured the drivers because of the ease of collection and control. It was also revealed that because of the need to boost revenue of the local government and to also ensure regular remittance from the drivers. Those responsible for collection were equally instructed to remit their collection from drivers on daily basis in order to ensure transparency and accountability.³⁷

³⁶. Labaran Abubakar, Manager Mass Transit, Sokoto South Local Government, Op.cit.

³⁷. Ibid.

8.7 Successes and Achievements since Inception of Local Government Mass Transit Service

As a long term objective, Alhaji Ibrahim, the operation manager said that the programme achieved almost 80% success in transporting both goods and passengers from one point to another and in generating revenue. It was discovered that the venture catered for its overhead costs and allowances paid to the board of directors, particularly during the period of its early existence.³⁸ Before it collapsed due to avoidable challenges like corruption, the venture according to Alhaji Ibrahim Muhammad, the operation manager made itself into an organized mass transport system comparable to most state owned mass transit programme. This development played an important role in alleviating the problems of city commuters.

The success story can be explained by looking at certain indicators such as fleet utilization, breakdown in service, accidents rate and operation ratio of buses in service during the peak of its activities. The venture during its lifetime recorded only five accidents that were minor as there was no death of any passenger or the driver. Sokoto mass transit programme operation is reported to be hitch free because the organization adhered strictly to road safety regulations and took prompt disciplinary action against erring drivers, conductors, technicians and office staff.³⁹

8.8 Factors Responsible for the Collapse of Local Government Mass Transit Service

Meanwhile, in spite of the successes recorded by the venture particularly at its initial stage, certain challenges led to its collapse. First and foremost was the issue of inadequate funds which was further aggravated by the poor financial resources of the local government area. The recruitment of unqualified drivers to handle the buses and other

³⁸. Alhaji Ibrahim Muhammad, Operation Manager Op.cit.

³⁹. Ibid.

technical aspects was another factor responsible for the collapse. Such drivers were mostly recruited on the basis of political and other considerations. And, in that case, major and minor repairs needed were contracted out to local mechanics at their workshops as against the usual practice where such mechanical aspects should be treated by the local government's automechanic department. In spite of that, the local mechanics kept spoiling instead of maintaining the vehicle, because they all lack the necessary skills. Breakdown of the vehicles became frequent because of inferior quality or outright lack of spare parts in some of the models of the vehicles. This caused very serious problems to the efficient operation and utilization of mass transit buses. The problem of spare parts was also accompanied with problem of routine maintenance and servicing schedule. Thus, necessary breakdown became so frequent due to limited spare parts in stock and short span of specialized tools and equipment.⁴⁰ Another problem was the corruption in the local government services. This is because, instead of generating revenue for the services of local government, but, financial mismanagement and leakages at unprecedented and alarming rates became major characteristic of the venture. It was said that more than one third of the revenue generated by the programme had been diverted to wrong channel.⁴¹

Another factor responsible for the collapse was the emergence of motorcycles in the metropolis as major alternative to the bus service. This was largely due to its easy access to the commuters, coupled with the fact that it could penetrate all nook and cranny within the metropolis including many narrow routes that cannot be accessed by the bus or taxi. Consequently, the income generated through the mass transit inter-city services declined since the advent of motorcycles in the metropolis. The declining in the number of buses on the street also reached an alarming proportion which was why motorcycles took over the business. However, efforts to encourage the continuous use of buses

⁴⁰. Ibid.

⁴¹. Ibid. A.I. Danjuma, "Government Intervention in Mass Transit Operation, Problems and Prospects: A Case Study of Kaduna and Kano State Transport Agency", PGD Dissertation, NITT Zaria, 1996, pp 46-47.

remained unchanged and the strategy does not seem to solve the problem because of the acceptability of the motorcycles and tricycles by the people especially girls and married women.⁴²

Although motorcycles were introduced in the metropolis since 1980s, it has become an indispensable means of intra-city transportation service by almost all the strata in the society. It plays important role in transportation service, youth employment as well as in revenue generation by government at both the state and local government levels.⁴³ Although motorcycles were not mostly patronised by women and children as their major means of commuting in the metropolis, but it has been patronized by many people. This is because, Sokoto as one of the frontline Muslim states in the country women prefer to use bus instead of motorcycles, but, motorcycle continues to feature prominently in the metropolis.⁴⁴ According to Alhaji Abubakar Lange, in Sokoto metropolis, about 90% of people do not possess private vehicles, thus this necessitated the patronage of commercial transportation system such as motorcycle.

8.9 Private Mass Transit Ventures

It was in the early 1990s that Alhaji Muazu Danjabalu, a prominent entrepreneur in Sokoto metropolis launched his private commercial mass transit service in the metropolis and named it Dandima Mass Transport Service.⁴⁵ The programme started with twelve fleets of buses with eight of the buses dedicated to male and four to female. The buses shuttled within the Sokoto metropolis and its environs for almost four years before the venture eventually collapsed.⁴⁶ Initially, the programme succeeded and generated a lot of funds. After some years, the programme experienced setbacks particularly due to the bad

⁴². Ibid

⁴³ Alhaji Abubakar Lange, Op.cit.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵. Alhaji Amadu Maikanti, 63 years old, an employee of Alhaji Muazu Danjabalu, interviewed in his shop at Sokoto old market area on 12/10/2018

⁴⁶. Ibid

attitudes of drivers who from time to time refused to remit their daily, weekly or monthly returns in addition to poor vehicle maintenance.⁴⁷

Faruku a driver with Sokoto state university said that one of the problems responsible for collapse of Dandima mass transit was the problem of the proprietor Alhaji Mu'azu Danjabalu whose attitude towards the drivers of his buses was not cordial. He could not give enough money for the vehicles' maintenance and changed the drivers of the buses as frequently as possible which was also part of the factors responsible for the declining revenue of the venture and he (Danjabalu) eventually sold all the buses and closed down the venture. He (Danjabalu) cited that the venture was running at loss and he could no longer continue with the unprofitable venture.⁴⁸ Faruku who took charge of all the vehicles belonging to Mua'zu Danjabalu did opine that, Danjabalu did not close down his transport business because of its unprofitability, but because he had other businesses that were more profitable in terms of income generation, etc.⁴⁹

Another individual who established intra-city mass transit was late Alhaji Malami Yar'sakke who named his venture as M.G. Yar'sakke Mass Transit. He started with 8 buses for the intra-city mass transits but did not survive also, because of similar problems that affected local government mass transit and Danjabalu venture. Problems such as poor maintenance by the drivers and the proprietor, irregular remittance of daily, weekly or monthly payments by majority of the drivers, fuel scarcity contributed to the collapse of the Yar'sakke mass transit venture.⁵⁰

⁴⁷. Faruku Tambari, a driver with Sokoto State University, Sokoto. Aged 60 years, interviewed in the University on 15/06/2020.

⁴⁸. Ibid

⁴⁹. It was unfortunate, because the researcher went to interview him (Alhaji Mu'azu Danjabalu) on several occasions in order to hear from him what actual led to his decision to close down the intra-city transport business, but, he declined the interviews.

⁵⁰. Sodangi Digar Agyare, 55 years of age, interviewed in his house at Digar Agyare area, Sokoto on 22/06/2020.

Again, Alhaji Bala Rahusa also established another intra-city mass transit service in the late 1990s and he named it Bala Rahusa Motors. The mass transit started with 10 buses that shuttled all over the metropolitan roads from 1997 up to the early 2000 before the venture suffered the same fate as others before it. According to one of his drivers who worked under the scheme, the main problem encountered by the scheme was poor maintenance of the buses by the management of the venture. There was also the problem of wear and tear of the buses due to old age that gradually made it impossible for the drivers to remit the daily requirement to the proprietor.⁵¹

8.10 Tricycles (*Agwagwa da buje*)

Tricycles or *Agwagea da buje* as means of intra-city commercial road transportation service was first introduced in the metropolis and by extension in the state in the year 2008 during the administration of Alhaji (Dr.) Aliyu Magatakarda Wammakko which commenced from 2007 to 2015.⁵² This development came about when the former executive governor of state donated eight (8) tricycles to the association of motorcycles or *Kabu-kabu* in order to fulfill a campaign promise which he did before the election as a result of their support towards his emergence as Governor of the state in 2007.⁵³ One major factor responsible for the patronage of such means of intra-city commuting system other than motorcycles was the adoption of *Shari'a* legal system in the state by the administration of Alhaji Attahiru Bafarawa in the early 2000s. During the period, patronage of motorcycles as means of commuting service has reduced drastically

⁵¹. Aminu Muhammad, 51 years of age, interviewed at his area in Yar'katanga area, Sokoto on 22/06/2020.

⁵². Oral interview with the Chairman, Sokoto State Tricycles Association, Yusuf M. Shehu, 42 years, on 19/04/2018, at his office in Nagarta College, Sokoto.

⁵³. Shamsudeen Aliyu, Secretary of The Amalgamated Commercial Tricycle and Motorcycle Repairs and Riders Association of Nigeria (ACOMORAN), Sokoto State Chapter, aged 51 years, interviewed in his office on 19-04-2018.

particular among women, girls and house wives including the old age among society, etc.⁵⁴ This is also the reason why Maryam Ilu states in relation to Kano that:

During the first tenure of Malam Ibrahim Shekarau (2003-2007) as the governor of Kano state, he introduced a societal re-orientation programme known as *Adaitaita sahu* in 2003/2004. Under this scheme women were banned from patronizing the services of the commercial motorcycles, a practice that was considered to be contrary to the provision of Islamic law. Consequently, the state government, under the new scheme, bought tricycles that were meant exclusively for women in order to alleviate their suffering. Five hundred units of the yellow coloured tricycles were purchased directly from India. In 2007 again, another 1000 units of *Adaidaita sahu* were purchase from India.⁵⁵

Table 8.3: Tricycle (TVC) Price in Sokoto Metropolis since 2008

Year	Area	Price
2008	Sokoto metropolis	₦ 350,000.00
2009	Sokoto metropolis	₦ 470,000.00
2010	Sokoto metropolis	₦ 485,000.00
2011	Sokoto metropolis	₦ 500,000.00
2012	Sokoto metropolis	₦ 520,000.00
2013	Sokoto metropolis	₦ 535,000.00
2014	Sokoto metropolis	₦ 550,000.00
2015	Sokoto metropolis	₦ 580,000.00
2016	Sokoto metropolis	₦ 590,000.00
2017	Sokoto metropolis	₦ 650,000.00
2018	Sokoto metropolis	₦ 670,000.00
2019	Sokoto metropolis	₦ 680,000.00

Source: Alhaji Malami Wurno, Manager, Almas Resources Nigeria Limited, No. 4, Maiduguri Road Sokoto 50 years old, Oral Interview on 04/04/19.

⁵⁴. Y.M. Shehu, Op.cit.

⁵⁵. M.Y. Ilu, "The Impact of Tricycles on the Socio-Economic Life of Women in Kano Metropolis C.1986-2013", M.A. History, BUK 2015, p.44.

Table above shows prices of tricycles in Sokoto metropolis since 2008. And the year 2008 was specifically chosen because it was the very year in which tricycles started as commercial means of transportation. The table also shows that the prices of tricycle kept changing from the initial three hundred and fifty thousand Naira only to six hundred and eighty thousand Naira only. According to Alhaji Malami Wurno, prices from 2015 to 2019 have been particularly most affected in terms of increase because of the 2015 transition of President Muhammadu Buhari. This is largely due to the agricultural and economic programmes of the Buhari's administration such as Anchor Borrowers, Programme (ABP). It is very common to find one person or another who benefitted in one programme or another such as the CBN's Ancho-Borrowers' Programme, etc purchased tricycles and venture into transportation business coupled with the dewindling value of the Naira every now and then since the beginning of Buhari administration. Because tricycles are now widely used in all parts of the metropolis and beyond, its market (tricycles) has grown of late in Sokoto state with most people seeing it as a stable source of financial income.⁵⁶

8.11 Emergence of Vehicles' Hire Purchase "Local Insurance"

One important development which coincided with the introduction of tricycles in the metropolis in the early 2008 was the commencement of hire purchase or local insurance. The local insurance came to be as an alternative to hitherto daily, weekly or monthly remittances to the owner by the operator until such vehicle became old and vice versa. The problem associated with defaults by the operators became frequent who mostly breached the contractual agreement of payment with the owners of the vehicles. But, since

⁵⁶. Alhaji Malami Wurno, 50 years old, Manager, Almas Resources Nigeria Limited, No. 4, Maiduguri Road Sokoto, Oral Interview on 04/04/19.

its commencement (hire purchase/local insurance), the problem of defaults and negligences became a thing of the past.⁵⁷

As the tricycles' transport business increased year after year, many owners of vehicles have introduced one method or another of collecting money from their operators in order to avoid losses arising from defaults, etc. One method which proves to be the best in terms of payment by the operators was the hire purchase scheme popularly referred to as *inshora* in Hausa language. Under this arrangement (hire purchase scheme), the operator of a particular vehicle will be given a vehicle on a certain fixed amount thereafter the operator becomes the owner of the vehicles after full payment.⁵⁸

The importance of such arrangement to the success of intra-city transport service especially that of tricycles cannot be overemphasized. This is because, it has been arranged in such a way that it will prevent disagreement between the vehicle provider and the operator. Under such arrangement, one hardly finds any problem, because, the operator knows that whatever harm he does to the vehicle it is to his disadvantage, because when he finishes the payment he will own a mismanaged vehicle.⁵⁹ However, before the advent of this local insurance, there were several cases of betrayal especially from the operator who either destroy the vehicle due to lack of maintenance or who hardly settle their daily, weekly or monthly payment.⁶⁰ With the local insurance scheme however, the frequency of conflicts between the provider and operator became drastically reduced.⁶¹

⁵⁷. Shamsudeen Aliyu, Secretary,... Op.cit

⁵⁸. Yusuf Kyautawa, Chairman of The Amalgamated Commercial Tricycle and Motorcycle Repairs and Riders Association of Nigeria (ACOMORAN), Sokoto State Chapter, aged 55 years, interviewed in his office on 19-04-2018

⁵⁹. Ibid. See also... M.A. Kware, *A Study of Motorcycles (Kabu-Kabo) As Means of Transportation in Sokoto Metropolis*, PGD Dissertation, NITT, Zaria, 2012, p.23.

⁶⁰. Shamsudeen Aliyu, Secretary of The Amalgamated Commercial Tricycle and Motorcycle Repairs and Riders Association of Nigeria (ACOMORAN), Sokoto State Chapter, aged 51 years, interviewed in his office on 19-04-2018. See also... M. L. Gusau, "The Contribution of Taxis and Kabo-kabo (Motorcycless) Toward Efficient Road Passenger Movement in Gusau Town", PGD Dissertation, NITT Zaria, 1996, PP. 1 – 41. Also... R.J. Gabriel, *The Private Provision of Public Services in Developing Countries*, Washington D.C. Press, 1995, p.26.

⁶¹. Ibid

One of the persons in the metropolis who gives out vehicles (motorcycles/tricycles) on hire purchase basis is Malam Abubakar Tarbe of Gidan Igwai area. Tarbe was originally from Yabo local government and he still works with the state ministry for Basic and Secondary Education as a Deputy Director. He has been into the motorcycles/tricycles' hire purchase scheme for more than twenty years.⁶² As at the year 2020 he has such arrangement with over 20 operators of either motorcycles or tricycles. According to him prior to the introduction of such scheme many operators who collected his vehicles defaulted in paying their daily or weekly dues or even damaged the vehicle due to negligence. Most operators now take good care of their vehicles to the extent that even some settle their payment before the end of the due period of agreement.⁶³

Abba Abdullahi Maiakwai is another Sokoto businessman engages in hire purchase scheme. He owns more than fifteen motorcycles and tricycles and has been in the scheme for over a decade.⁶⁴ Another operator of vehicles through hire purchase scheme is Malam Umaru Kanwuri who has been into the transportation business for more than twenty two years now and particularly the hire purchase/ local insurance scheme in both motorcycles and tricycles. Kanwuri who lives in Kanwuri area said that he started the business by collecting a motorcycle from somebody on *taba ka lasa*⁶⁵ basis. After saving money through *kabu-kabu* he later ventured into the business and is now doing well in it. He currently has about eleven motorcycles and six tricycles being managed by various individuals within the metropolis.⁶⁶ According to him, since the beginning of this hire purchase scheme *kabu-kabu* now became one of the safest areas to invest your money. Apart from accidents which sometimes occur in one way or another, there has never been

⁶². Malam Abubakar Tarbe, 58 years, interviewed in his house at Gidan Igwai area, 15/07/2019.

⁶³. Ibid. See also... M.Y. Ilu (Mrs), The Impact of Tricycles on the Socio-Economic life of women in Kano metropolis C.1986-2013, M.A. History Dissertation, BUK, 2015, p.4

⁶⁴. Abba Abdullahi Maiakwai, 38 years, interviewed in his house at Gidan Igwai area Sokoto, 15/07/2019

⁶⁵. *Taba ka lasa* means an operator who gave out his vehicle to a redundant operator mostly after he worked for sometime.

⁶⁶. Malam Umbaru Kanwuri, 99 years, interviewed in his house at Kanwuri area Sokoto, 15/07/2019.

any problem experienced by me from any rider. This is largely because, a rider is aware that immediately after he settles the insurer the vehicle becomes his own. Therefore, he has no choice than to take good care of the vehicle as well as trying as much as possible to finish the payment and becomes the owner.⁶⁷

Another person who also ventures into the transportation business from being an ordinary head dresser or *kitso* to becoming a successful motorcycles and tricycles insurer in the metropolis is Amina Bayarba Maikitso. She is an indigene of Kwara state and presently lives in Gidan Igwai, and since then the number of vehicles in fleet keeps rising.⁶⁸ According to her when she first came to Sokoto her business was head weaving *kitso*, a business she has done for more than eight years before venturing into transportation. The saving she made from head weaving gave her the opportunity to buy three motorcycles initially and gave them out to some youths in her area at Gidan Igwai area. With these three motorcycles she was saving money and she bought another one from that saving and later also added another one. The number kept rising from five to seven to ten and later became fleet of tricycles. According to Amina, her success story started when the issue of hire purchase scheme started. This is because since then operators neither defaulted on their payment nor damage the vehicles.⁶⁹

Aminu Gidan Igwai also has been another motorcycles insurance businessman who made a lot of achievement through the business. He lives in Gidan Igwai area, Sokoto and has been doing the business for almost ten years now. One of the early people in the metropolis to start insurance business of motorcycles/tricycles transportation in the metropolis is Aminu Gidan Igwai. Gidan Igwai played an important role in youth's empowerment activities especially in Gidan Igwai area where he lives. According to him,

⁶⁷. Ibid. See also... K. Adeniji, Transport challenges in Nigeria in the Next Two Decades, a key note Address Delivered at the 5th National Council on Transportation, Organized by the Federal Ministry of Transport, at the ECOWAS Secretariat, Abuja, Nigeria, 29-31 August, 2000.

⁶⁸. Amina Bayarba Maikitso, 50 years, interviewed in her shop at Gidan Igwai area, Sokoto, 15/07/2019.

⁶⁹. Ibid

he currently has more than 25 motorcycles and tricycles all belonging to him through which he gives out to youth in the area on insurance basis.⁷⁰

Recalling when he started, Gidan Igwai started with *kabu-kabu* a business which he has been doing for more than eight years. During the period of his *kabu-kabu* business he was able to save something and bought a motorcycle which he used to save more money and acquired another one. From one to two, to three and then he was given them out to others for intra-city transportation. He said that even before the introduction of insurance scheme he never experienced much problem with his clients. But also, when insurance scheme was introduced it became much easier for him to save more money and recorded no single case of default. This is possible because insurance scheme gives opportunity for the insurer and insured to be serious and careful particularly to the insured whose intention was to settle the insurer and own the vehicle permanently.⁷¹

Hajiya Yar'nanu *Mai Abinci* is also another woman who ventured into the motorcycles/tricycles' hire purchase business for almost fifteen years. Her initial business was selling food, (*tuwo-tuwo*), through which she saved and invested in transport business. Hajiya *maituwo* combines motorcycles/tricycles insurance business with her food selling business.⁷² According to her, she currently has thirty five motorcycles and tricycles on the street within the metropolis. Her children serve as managers of the transport business.⁷³

⁷⁰. Aminu Gidan Igwai, 45 years, interviewed in his house at Gidan Igwai area, Sokoto, 18/07/2019.

⁷¹. Ibid, See also... A.J. Njoh, *Implications of Africa's transportation system for development in the era of globalization*. Florida University press, 2012 p.89. See also, J.C. Rothenberg, and I.G. Hegie, *Transport policy*, McMillan Publishers, London, 1974; P.R. White, *Planning for public transportation*, Y. Hutchinson & Co. Publishers, London, 1976 and Talley, introduction to transportation and business administration, Virginia University Press, USA, 1967.

⁷². Hajiya Maiabinci, 55 years, interviewed in her house at Gidandare, area, Sokoto, 18/07/2019.

⁷³. Ibid. See also... A.O. Adeyemo, and M.O. Ajijo, *Investment in the Transportation Sector in Nigeria: A Critical Appraisal*, Conference on National Transport Policy, Kano, November, 1986.

Table 8.4: Hire Purchase Providers

S/N.	Name	Residence	Number of Vehicles (Motorcycles)	Number of Vehicles (Tricycles)	Number of years in the Scheme
1	Umma Bakanike	Gidan Igwai	16	10	9 years
2	Abubakar Mai Kayansanyi	Kanwuri Area	17	13	13 years
3	Malam Ummaru Kwanni	Kwanni Area	21	15	22 years
4	Aminu Yaro	Aduwa, Gidan Igwai Area, Sokoto	19	3	13 years
5	Abu A.A. Garka	Kofar Bai, Kanwuri Area, Sokoto	17	9	11 years
6	Abba Maikwai	Tudun Faila Area, Sokoto	22	5	20 years
7	Abu Accho	Runjin Sambo Area, Sokoto	18	10	15 years
8	Almu Bakanike NTA	NTA, Runjin Sambo Area, Sokoto	18	3	9 years
9	Abdulmiminu Coach	Tudun Faila Area, Sokoto	20	5	16 years
10	Musa Maijuye NTA	NTA, Runjin Sambo Area, Sokoto	21	5	15 years
11	Muhammad Kaura	Tudun Faila Area, Sokoto	19	2	12 years
12	Manu Maifaci	Runjin Sambo Area, Sokoto	15	0	10 years
13	Ibrahim Maikatako	Kanwuri Area, Sokoto	31	11	19 years

Source: Field Work, 2019 & 2020.

8.12 Hire Purchasers/Riders

Shamsu Abdullahi is a 25 year old motorcycle operator who lives in Gidan Igwai area and collects motorcycle on hire purchase basis in the metropolis. According to him he collected over four motorcycles from different persons on hire purchase arrangement and he settled all of them and he owns the motorcycles permanently. The motorcycle he is currently using belongs to him and gives out the remaining ones to his younger brothers to

manage for him.⁷⁴ Shamsu said the advent of hire purchase scheme in transportation was a blessing not only to him but also to many operators. This is because; with this arrangement an operator can become the owner of motorcycles or tricycles.⁷⁵

Ibrahim Musa Kangiwa is also another person operating motorcycle on hire purchase basis. According to him, he collected six different motorcycles from different businessmen and he never had any confrontation or problem with any of them. Kangiwa said that the motorcycle he is now using to conduct the transportation business belongs to him because he has already paid for it.⁷⁶ Kangiwa, lives in Gidan Igwai area with his uncle, but he came to Sokoto from Kangiwa town in Kebbi state Nigeria. He said that the last motorcycle he collected from Malam Umbaru Kanwuri was arranged to be settled within 9 months period and the motorcycle was purchased at the rate of N195,000. The arrangement is that he should be able to pay the sum N270, 000 and own the vehicle permanently. He has already done the payment and the motorcycle now belongs to him. Kangiwa too commended the insurance arrangement because it gives opportunity for the hitherto riders to have their own vehicles. Kangiwa said that, because of the successes he recorded he is now about to get married by saving money to pay the dowry and acquire the bridal clothes *lehe* and other things for the marriage.⁷⁷

Another person who has been into the business in the metropolis is Yahuza Muhammad. He was from Minna in Niger state, but he lives in Gidan Igwai area, Sokoto with his elder brother. He has been doing the motorcycles/tricycles business within the metropolis for more than eight years now and he had so far collected three motorcycles

⁷⁴. Shamsu Abdullahi, 25 years, interviewed in his family house at Gidan Igwai area, Sokoto, 21/07/2019

⁷⁵. Ibid. See also...Nigeria: Transport, Aviation and Tourism Information Handbook and Who is Who, Sahel Publishing and Printing Company, Lagos, Nigeria, 1988, p.20

⁷⁶. Ibrahim Musa Kangiwa, 28 years, interviewed at Gidan Igwai area, Sokoto, 21/07/2019.

⁷⁷. Ibid

from different persons on insurance basis. He settled all of them and now owns the motorcycles.⁷⁸

Yahuza also made a success of the motorcycles' intra-city transportation business. Some of the achievements he recorded were acquiring his three motorcycles through insurance, acquiring a plot of land at home in Minna and getting married, etc. He is now living with his wife at Gidan Igwai area, Sokoto. According to Yahuza, since his arrival to Sokoto he never ever regretted joining the *kabu-kabu* business because it payed him very much. He said that the only problem they are currently facing is from the security agents such as the Road Safety personnel, Police personnel and most particular the Sokoto Marshal personnel, etc.⁷⁹

One popular operator who collected and settled about 15 different motorcycles from different owners on insurance basis within the metropolis is Muhammadu Dauda. Dauda remembered that before the advent of insurance scheme, he never even dreamt of owning a motorcycle, but now he had about fifteen motorcycles being managed by different riders in the metropolis.⁸⁰

Dauda lives in Gidan Igwai area, Sokoto with his family for more than twenty years now. And apart from transportation in motorcycles/tricycles within the metropolis, he has never done any business before. Through it (intra-city) he acquired many things including a house in Gidan Igwai area, fifteen motorcycles/tricycles, marrying his second wife and buying many electronics such as refrigerator, plasma TV, Startime, etc.⁸¹

Musa Muhammad is also another motorcycles/tricycles rider who also venture into insurance scheme in the Sokoto metropolis. From the time he started the venture he collected almost five motorcycles from different owners and he settled them all without

⁷⁸ Yahuza Muhammad, 30 years, interviewed at Gidan Igwai area Sokoto, 21/07/2019.

⁷⁹ Ibid

⁸⁰ Muhammadu Dauda, 53 years, interviewed in his house at Gidan Igwai area Sokoto, 21/07/2019.

⁸¹ Ibid

any rancor or acrimony. Though he sold about four of the vehicles, but the one he is currently using belongs to him.⁸²

Muhammad who lives in Rumjin Sambo area in Sokoto metropolis with his family is currently planning to shift from motorcycle to tricycles. This is because, people now mostly patronised tricycle more than the motorcycle especially women and the elderly people. It has now become a common practice to find a motorcycle rider roaming about on the street without a passenger. If not because of the insurance arrangement, one will find it difficult to get what to settle the owner's daily or weekly payment. Therefore, since the trend has shifted from motorcycle to tricycle one is left with no choice but to also shift to the tricycle in order to be able to cater for one's daily survival. Even in terms of accident, tricycle is safer than the motorcycle. One hardly finds a tricycles' accident on the street, but whenever one sees accident it is mostly a motorcycle that most probably the operators engaged in rough riding coupled with congestion or traffic jam on the road.⁸³

Table 8.5: Hire Purchase Riders

S/N.	Name	Residence	Number of Vehicles used (Motorcycles)	Number of Vehicles used (Tricycles)	Number of years in the Scheme
1	Badamasi Muhammad	Gidan Igwai Area	5	0	5 years
2	Amadu Hamidu	Gidan Igwai Area	4	0	5 years
3	Bashar Tudun Faila	Tudun Faila Area	5	0	6 year
4	Anas Abba	Gidan Igwai Area	7	1	10 years
5	Jamilu Usman	Gidan Igwai Area	7	0	8 years
6	Musa Runji	Girafshi Area, Sokoto	5	0	5 years
7	Abdulrahman Muhammad Sokoto	Gidan Kuka Area, Sokoto	5	1	7 years

⁸². Musa Muhammad, 35 years, interviewed in his house at Rumjin Sambo area, Sokoto, 22/07/2019

⁸³. Ibid

8	Surajo Abubakar	Layin Yansanda, Gidan Igwai Area, Sokoto	6	0	5 years
9	Shamsu Mansur	Tudun Faila Area	3	3	5 years
10	Mansur Samaila	Runjin Sambo Area	5	1	8 years
11	Yahuza Sani	Tudun Faila Area	5	0	5 years
12	Suleiman Zaure	Runjin Sambo Area	5	1	5 years
13	Yahaya Maifaci	Aduwa, Gidan Igwai Area, Sokoto	7	0	9 years
14	Altine Muhammad	Runjin Sambo Area	5	1	5 years

Source: Field Work of the Researcher, 2019 & 2020.

Table 8.6: Sokoto City, Growth of Population (Selected Years)

S/No	Year	Population	Basis of Date
1	1911	17,676	Colonial estimates
2	1921	19,335	Colonial estimates
3	1931	20,084	Census
4	1952	47,643	Census
5	1962	89,817	Census
6	1976	237,000	Consult. Estimates
7	1982	250,000	Consult. Estimates
8	1988	325,496	Consult. estimates
9	1991	370,693	Census

Source: A.B. Mamman, "The Evolution and Growth of Sokoto city", *In Journal of Social Sciences and Administration*, Vol.I No.2 Dec 1999, Funsho Printing Works Kaduna, p.58. See also...National Population Commission, 2010 Population Projection: Sokoto State Statistical Year Book, pp. 21-33.

Table 8.7: Population of Sokoto Metropolis by Ward, 1991

SN	Metropolitan Areas/Localities	Males	Females	Both-Sexes
1	Runjin Sarki & Others	420	395	815
2	Nufawa & Others	258	265	523
3	Gidan Halidu	347	379	726
4	Sokoto 1	142,219	126,999	269,218
5	Sokoto 2	144,184	128,932	273,116
6	Mana Kofai & Others	284	269	553
7	Tamajen Amadu Magaji & Others	331	366	697
8	Mana Babba	358	395	753
9	Gidan Masau & Others	321	328	649
10	Nakasarín Ardo Umar & Others	355	405	760
11	Gidan Dillo & Others	220	214	434
12	Gagi	940	894	1,834
13	Kwannawa & Others	372	363	735
14	Bakin Kusu	312	314	626
15	Girabshi	1,013	1,074	2,087
16	Girabshi & Others	455	438	893
17	Gidan Filani & Others	132	147	279
18	Badon Uku Uku	247	222	469
19	Badon Barade	879	869	1,748
20	Kalanbaina	2,684	2,905	5,589
21	Arkillá Liman	745	762	1,507
22	Arkillá Magaji	1,056	1,078	2,134
23	Arkillá	1,557	1,428	2,985
24	Kasarawa 1	399	363	762
25	Kasarawa 2	1,263	1,246	2,509
26	Badon rafi	871	876	1,747
27	Bado quarters	455	394	849
28	Farfaru	1,882	912	2,794
29	Farfaru GSSS	358	76	434
30	SCAS	154	140	294
31	Gwuiwa Rijiya	2,406	2,388	4,794
32	Low Cost (Gwuiwa) Area	4,277	4,252	8,529
33	Gawon Nama Area	1,587	1,225	2,812
34	University Dundaye	732	348	1,080
35	Dundaye 1	871	883	1,754
36	Dundaye 2	1,603	1,231	2,834
37	Sokoto 3	21,366	19,724	41,090
38	Maure/Gidan Gani	541	512	1,053
39	Ruggar Liman	642	684	1,326
	TOTAL =	194,912	175,781	370,693

Source: National Population Commission: 1991 Population Census. Also, Alhaji Malami Gagi, Director of Administration, 54 years, interviewed in his office at the State National Population Commission, Sokoto, 19/03/2020.

8.13 Conclusion

Taxi cabs, motorcycles *Kabu-kabu* and mass transit service have played and are still playing vital roles in the socio-economic and political development of the metropolis. These means of transportation within the metropolis from the early 1970s up to the early 1990s have contributed to the development of road transportation system. Taxi cabs in particular were the first to feature and had alleviated transport suffering of the teaming commuters in the metropolis. Motorcycles or *Kabu-kabu* later became the most dominant means of commuting system within the metropolis and mass transit service thereafter emerged as an alternative means of intra-city movement before it faced numerous challenges that led to its collapse. On the whole one can say without fear of contradiction that the intra-city transport services created more jobs not only to the operators, but also to the owners, mechanics, spare parts sellers and vulcanizers, etc.

CHAPTER NINE

CHALLENGES AND PROBLEMS THAT AFFECTED INTRA-CITY TRANSPORT SERVICE IN SOKOTO METROPOLIS UP TO 2008

9.1 Introduction

Challenges and problems are inevitable in transportation activities with particular reference to Sokoto metropolis. The chapter examines these challenges and problems as they affected the operation of intra-city transport service up to 2008. Major challenges and problems in the business include road accidents, dilapidated road infrastructures, scarcity of petroleum products and constant increase in fuel pump prices. Other challenges include: hikes in transport fare and emergence of social vices such as drug abuse and vehicle thefts.

9.2 Road Accidents

Road accident has been a major challenge that had affected smooth operation of intra-city transport service in Sokoto metropolis. The trend has been on the increase ever since because of population¹ increase² Factors responsible for road accidents include drug abuse among operators, poor roads maintenance by government, reckless driving, over

¹. Population Census of Nigeria, 1963, Northern Region Vol. II, Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos and Population Census of Nigeria, 2006, Federal Office of Statistics, Abuja.

². A.B. Mamman, "The Evolution and Growth of Sokoto city", In *Journal of Social Sciences and Administration*, Vol.I No.2 Dec 1999, Funsho Printing works Kaduna, p.45. For detailed discussion on the various tribes in Sokoto city, see...Sale Abubakar, "Birnin Shehu, the City of Sokoto: A Social and Economic History, C. 1809-1903", PhD History, ABU, Zaria, 1982; Murtala Marafa, "Historical Studies of Kanuri Migrant Community in Sokoto Metropolis, 1903-2000", M.A., History, UDU, Sokoto, 2012, p. 46; Muhammadu Kwaire, "A History of Tuaregs Migration from Niger Republic", PhD Thesis, UDUS, 2002; A.U. Alkamawa, "Socio-Economic History of Zabermawa community in Sokoto metropolis 1930-2000", M.A. Dissertation, UDUS, 2010. P.33; N.C., Ijanya, "A Socio-Economic History of the Idoma Migrant Community in Sokoto Metropoli, 1967-2000", M.A. History, UDUS, 2010; Ahmed Bako, "Igbo Entrepreneurship in Sokoto City, 1937-2000", in *Ilorin Journal of Business and Social Sciences*, Vol. 9., No. 1 & 2, 2004.

speeding/over loading of passengers and goods, etc.³ Most of the operators of especially motorcycle *Kabu-kabu* and tricycle or *Agwagwa da buje* in the metropolis have rural background. They left their villages and hamlets to the metropolis in order to conduct the business without undergoing any formal training before commencing the operation. It is very common to find an operator who had just started learning a motorcycle or a tricycle but at the same time carrying passengers and consequently such an operator ended up having several accidents in his record. That is why Madugu stated this:

The intra-city transport services were mainly operated by young men who are between 16 and 25 years and most of them had rural backgrounds and have no respect for other roads users and do not obey traffic regulations. They abuse drugs in order to work tirelessly throughout the day. They drive recklessly and exhibit nonchalant attitudes while driving. They can stop at anywhere to pick or drop passengers without using their traffic signs. Their brakes are not functioning properly in most cases. This is why they caused accident on the roads, which leads to severe injury or even death. It has been argued that, the intra-city commercial operators caused about 90 - 95% of road accidents in Kano.⁴

However, tyre burst has also been realized as another cause of road accidents that led to lost of lives and properties. It happens as a result of the practice of using defective tyre at the expense of safety. In an address delivered on the occasion of launching of the third edition of ECOWAS Road Safety Campaign by his Excellency Navy Captain

³. A.I. Yandaki and Sama'ila Abubakar, Vehicles Commuting, Accidents and Victims: A Historical Survey on Sokoto City, 2000 – 2013, *International Journal of Arts and Combined Sciences*, Vol. 3, number 5, July/August, 2014, ISSN: 2315 – 8034, pp.56 – 57. See also... *National Road Traffic Laws and Regulations*, Official Gazette of Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1997, p.8. See also... Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC) Annual Report, Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2002, p. 9. See also... I. Aminu, Guide to Road Safety, Gaskiya Corporation Limited, Zaria, 1999, p.22. & Bamidele Badejo, Transportation: Removing the Clogs to Nigeria's Development, Anchorage Press & Publishers, Lagos, Nigeria, 2011, P. 67.

⁴. Y.U. Madugu, "Transportation and Economy of Kano Metropolis C.1967-2014". Unpublished PhD Thesis, BUK, 2015; Y.U. Madugu, A Historical Overview on the Changing Nature of Transport and Trade in Kano C.1900-2016 in T.U. Muhammad, and A.R. Murtala, (eds.) *Social and Economic History of Northern Nigeria Since 1500 AD*, Aboki Publishers, 2015; Y.U. Madugu, Biographies of Selected Transport Entrepreneurs in Kano, in *ASUU Journal of Humanities: A Journal of Research and Development*, Vol. 4, No. 1 & 2, December, 2017. PP. 156-177; Y.U. Madugu, Commercial Buses and Economic Growth in Kano Metropolis, 1967-2000; in Sa'ad B.A. and Ibrahim K.A. (ed) *Resurgent Nigeria: Issues in Intellectual History*. A Festschrift in Honour of Dahiru Yahaya, University Press, Ibadan, 2011.

Abdulrasheed Adisa Raji, the Military Governor of Sokoto State in the early 1990s, the significance of tyre and safety on Nigerian roads was made.⁵ The governor reiterated that:

Just like human legs, the wheels of a vehicle play vital role in its locomotion. It is therefore crucial that this all-important component of the vehicle must be kept in good condition at all times. Vehicle owner especially commercial vehicle operators owe it a duty not only to themselves but also to their passengers and other road users to ensure that their vehicles are not only well-maintained, but also have good tyres.⁶

Furthermore, the governor called on tyre manufacturers to endeavour to produce quality products and dealers should also refuse to be blinded by economic gains by selling used, fake, rethreaded or expired tyres to the motoring public.

The state government in Sokoto according to the Governor would continue to maintain the existing cordial relationship with the Federal Road Safety Commission in their bid to keep highways safe for motorists. The government shall, within the limits of her resources, support the Federal Road Safety Commission to achieve its aim of reducing preventable accidents in Sokoto State. The people of Sokoto state should also be reminded to use this opportunity to change their vehicle number plates to the new ones being introduced in the country in order to be in tandem with the national vehicle identification scheme.⁷

Motor Traffic Division (MTD) of the Police Headquarters Sokoto recorded a total of 1,289 road accidents in Sokoto State in the year 1977 with 381 deaths and 1,403 injuries.⁸ This increased to 1,821 road accidents with 534 deaths and 1,707 injuries in 1978. However, road accidents in the state between the year 1979, 1980 and 1981 had reduced to 1,458, with 117 deaths and 974 injuries.⁹ The slight decrease in the number of road accidents during these years was due to the reduction in vehicles ownership as a result of economic austerity measures imposed by the Shehu Shagari government in the

⁵. Selected speeches of Navy Captain Abdulrasheed Adisa Raji Fss, Pss, Psc. Military Administrator of Sokoto State. Obtained at the Waziri Junaidu History and Culture Bureau, Sokoto.

⁶. Ibid

⁷. Ibid

⁸. Motor Traffic Division (MTD), Police Headquarters Sokoto, Reported cases of road accidents, 1977.

⁹. Ibid

early 1980s. According to Alhaji Ibrahim Bala many people sold out their vehicles as a result of one problem or another and could not be able to replace it.¹⁰

Table 9.1: Cases of Road Accidents Recorded in Sokoto Metropolis by Motor Traffic Divisions (MTD) and Type of Accident, 1980-1983.

Type of accident	1980		1981		1982		1983	
	No. of accidents	% of total	No. of accidents	% of total	No. of accidents	% of total	No. of accidents	% of total
Fatal	292	26.1	230	23.6	214	24.2	330	27.5
Serious	478	42.8	453	47.5	240	27.2	464	38.7
Minor	347	31.1	291	29.9	429	48.6	405	33.8
Hit and run	347	31.1	291	29.9	429	48.6	405	33.8
Total	1117	100	974	100	883	100	1199	100
No. killed	450		284		284		429	
No. injured	1242		988		716		1440	

Source: Motor Traffic Division (MTD), Police Headquarters, Sokoto.

9.3 Dilapidated Road Infrastructures

Because of the fact that Sokoto metropolis involves large numbers of people living in it, street maintenance and road infrastructures always became problematic with major roads being damaged every now and then. That is why Ibrahim Isa stated that:

Majority of the Sokoto Township roads with the exception of three roads namely Sultan Bello road, Prince Alexander road and Gusau road which were already tarred in the early 1980s were all constructed with laterite soil.¹¹

This (laterite soil) may be the major reason responsible for the frequent damage of the township roads especially during the rainy season when water penetrated the soil almost on daily basis coupled with poor drainage system on township roads and streets. Another reason for the damage of the roads was the continuous usage of these roads by

¹⁰. Alhaji Ibrahim Bala Chairman, a former Local Government Mass Transit Operator, 58 years of age, interviewed at Rijiyar Dorowa area, Sokoto on 10/05/2021.

¹¹. I.U. Isa, Metropolitan Sokoto: Issues in History and Urban Development since 1960, Gaskiya Corporation Limited, General Printers and Publishers, Kaduna, 2013, p 193.

heavy duty vehicles mostly carrying heavy loads form within and without. One may wish to know that, as at 1960 Sokoto had a lorry park in the city where passengers and their goods were loaded and uploaded. Although the location of the lorry park kept changing from one location to another, but those movements were all done within the metropolis specifically around Ahmadu Bello way Sokoto. The initial location was at *Kasuwa Yar'dole* near Kwanni area, the second location was at Jegawa area Kofar Aliyu Jedo while the third location was at *Tsohuwar Tasha* near Canteen area. Therefore, those heavy duty vehicles using the laterite roads caused damage to the metropolitan roads. Again, poor roads maintenance also contributed to the damage of the roads. But, the worst issue in such matter is the fact that whenever a road is damaged, it is never repaired until after it caused serious accidents¹²

As a result of these developments, the efforts made by different administration in the state had been examined in this chapter with a view to analyzing how these roads were fixed or constructed. There were already three tarred roads in Sokoto metropolis as at 1960s. These roads include Sultan Bello Road, Prince Alexander Road (now called Katsina road) and Gusau Road which has been renamed now as Sani Abacha Road. It is interesting to know that tarred roads were constructed by the federal government while feeder roads were constructed by the Native Authority N.A. administration in the state.¹³

The administration of Alhaji Usman Faruku between 1967 and 1975 awarded a contract for the pavements' asphaltting of metropolitan roads. The contract was awarded to Roads Nigeria Construction Company Limited at the cost of ₦15,000,000.00.¹⁴ The contract covered all the major roads that required the pavements in the city in order to provide a smooth surface and to provide easy maintenance with minimal traffic disruption

¹². Ibid

¹³. Northern Nigeria, Statistical Year Book 1966, Ministry of Economic Planning Kaduna, Baraka Press Kaduna, pp. 13 – 26.

¹⁴. North-Western State Development Plan 1970 – 1974, available at Waziri Junaidu History and Culture Bureau, Sokoto.

as well as proving quality ride for vehicles plying these roads and contribute to the longevity to the roads.¹⁵

The administration of Colonel Umaru Alhaji Muhammad from March 1976 to July 1978 did not do well on the construction of city roads, but had carried out renovations to some important roads in the metropolis. For example, his administration repaired the Emir Yahaya, Ahmadu Bello and Canteen roads as well Barth road. The administration also did major urban decongestion and beautification by evacuating the accumulated refuse and relocating the road side mechanics who occupied major places on the street and became major a setback to the development of the metropolis¹⁶

Another military administration which also did not stay long was the administration of Lt. Colonel Gado Nasko. It started from July 1978 to October 1979 when it handed over the administration of the state to the civilian administration of Alhaji Shehu Muhammad Kangiwa. And within the period of 15 months, it made concerted efforts at continuing renovation of the major township roads. It has been argued that the administration did not carry out any road construction in the metropolis because of the business of party politics and organization of the 1979 general election in the state. The administration was credited with the development of the civil service and preparation of election and therefore was not able to achieve tangible development on the construction of roads within or without the state.¹⁷

However, because of the increase in the number of vehicular movement within the metropolis coupled with increased damaged roads because of the continuing use by motorist especially the heavy duty and access to vehicles by citizens within the city

¹⁵. Ibid

¹⁶. Selected Speeches on the Developmental Projects of His Excellency, Colonel Umaru Alhaji Muhammad, Military Governor of Sokoto State, (Information Division, Cabinet Office Sokoto), Ilorin, Kwara State Printing and Publishing Corporation, 1976.

¹⁷. Achievements of Military Administration in Sokoto State, (Ministry of Information, Youths, Sports and Culture Sokoto), Government Printers Sokoto, 1985

because of party politics, Shehu Kangiwa administration which lasted for two years from October 1979 to November 1981 made a significant improvement not only by renovating roads but also dualization. It was his administration that the then Gusau road was dualized because of traffic congestion that constantly caused road accidents.¹⁸ Shehu Kangiwa's administration also dualized Ali Akilu and Lamido Adama roads. In his effort at reducing the rate of road accident, street lights were also provided to the metropolitan roads. Roads such as Birnin Kebbi road or Maiduguri road, Alhassan Avenue, Tafawa Balewa road and Diori Hammani road were provided with street lights in order to improve the township roads with light and to make it beautiful especially in the night.¹⁹ There was also a pedestrian bridge constructed in the Sokoto metropolis in the early 1980s and it was constructed at the Sokoto central market by the Shehu Kangiwa's administration in 1981. It was constructed in order to provide safety to the teeming pedestrians who were crossing the main road to enter central market's main gate, i.e. the Shehu Shagari gate.²⁰

Similarly, the administration of Dr. Garba Na-Dama which started from November 1981 to December 1983 had done much construction of dual carriage roads in the metropolis. The administration also renovated and provided new street lights to many roads such as Ahmadu Bello Way, Emir Yahaya road and Ali Akilu road, etc.²¹ The administration also embarked on expansion of some roads within the main metropolitan areas. For example, Moyijo road was tarred from Kofar Kade area to Gidan Haki area in order to provide access to Hubbaren Shehu Usmanu Danfodiyo and Sultan Palace at Kanwuri area Sokoto and Tsohuwar Kasuwa to Emir Yahaya by Yar'akija was tarred in

¹⁸. Selected Speeches of the Executive Governor of Sokoto State, Alhaji Shehu Muhammad Kangiwa, (Information Division, Cabinet Office Sokoto), Government Printers Sokoto, 1979 – 1980.

¹⁹. Ibid.

²⁰. Ibid

²¹. 1983 Budget Speech Presentation by the Executive Governor of Sokoto State Dr. Garba Na-Dama. The Presentation was done to the House of Assembly on Wednesday 22nd December, 1982, (Ministry of Information and Culture Sokoto).

order to provide access to people going to Emir Yahaya area from Sokoto Old Market area.²²

The administration of Colonel Bashir Salihi Magashi which commenced in the early 1990s, i.e. from August 1990 to January 1992 had also undertaken construction works and dualization of roads in the metropolis. It was his administration that undertook the construction of the Eastern By-Pass road Sokoto which approximately totaled about 9 kilometers. His administration also did the dualization of Airport road which started from Birnin Kebbi Road to Gidan Man Ada roundabout. There was also during the time construction of Kalambaina, Wamakko, Gumbi as well as Arkila roads.²³

The administration of Malam Yahaya Abdulkarim from 1992 - 1993 also did its best in the area of roads construction. The construction of some major roundabouts in the metropolis such as Ahmadu Bello Way and Maiduguri Road roundabout were undertaken during the time. There was also the construction of the Abdullahi Fodiyo road junction and beautification of all metropolitan roundabouts and parks. Malam Yahaya administration also undertook the construction of polo club road, Sokoto. There was also the construction of sewage and drainage system along Abdullahi Fodiyo road and Sultan Abubakar road.²⁴

The administration of military government of Colonel Yakubu Mu'azu early in 1993 equally left a mark in the area of roads construction and dualization in the metropolis. One of the roads he constructed or dualized was the Sultan Bello road, Sokoto. Col. Yakubu Mu'azu's government also provided street lights in the metropolis. It was his

²². Ibid

²³. Achievements of Military Administration in Sokoto State, (Ministry of Information, Youths, Sports and Culture Sokoto), Government Printers Sokoto, 1985

²⁴. Achievements of Civilian Administration in Sokoto State, (Ministry of Information and Culture Sokoto), Government Printers Sokoto, 1979 – 1993.

administration that provided the street light to Maiduguri road after they have broken down.²⁵

The administration of Alhaji Attahiru Dalhatu Bafarawa which started in 1999 also left an indelible mark in the area of provision of road infrastructure in the metropolis. He started by constructing the Sokoto-Gigi, Danbuwa area road in the early 2000s. Other roads constructed by the administration include the Kalambaina-Wamakko road. The importance of Kalambaina and Wamakko roads to the metropolis cannot be overemphasized. This is because the road has been a major link from the Sokoto Cement Company to the industrial zone of the state capital.²⁶ The dualization of Aliyu Jedo, Moyijo road and Madagel road in the metropolis were done by the Bafarawa's administration. These roads dualized were all within the metropolis located at the Abdullahi Fodiyo road, Emir Yahaya road, Modibo Adama road, Munir road, Sultan Abubakar road, Ahmadu Bello Way and Bauchi road all in the Sokoto metropolis between 1999 and 2007.²⁷

There was also the dualization of Sultan Atiku road. It would be true to conclude that, the achievements of the Attahiru Bafarawa administration in the development of metropolitan roads and other infrastructures related to roads and transport was unprecedented and can only be described as revolutionary. This is because when this administration is compared with other administration before, it met a very deplorable state

²⁵. Achievement of Colonel Yakubu Muazu FSS MSS PSC in Sokoto State, July 1995 (Ministry of Information, Youths, Sports and Culture Sokoto), Government Printers Sokoto.

²⁶. A. D. Bafarawa, *Keeping Faith with Sokoto: Land Mark Achievements of the Bafarawa Administration, 1999 – 2007*, printed by Thonimartins, 2008, pp.150 – 152. See also: *Consolidating the Gains of Democracy: A review of the Second Term of Attahiru Dalhatu Bafarawa as the Governor of Sokoto State*, designed and produced by the Ministry of Information, Sokoto State, 2007, p.42. See also: *Great leap Forward: Five years of Bafarawa as the Executive Governor of Sokoto State*, Designed and produced by Ministry of Information, Sokoto State and published by Al-umma Printing Press Ltd, Sokoto, 2004, p.68.

²⁷. *Sokoto State in Perspective: 365 Days of Action*, Alhaji Attahiru Dalhatu Bafarawa, the Governor of Sokoto State, printing by Al-umma Printing Ltd, Sokoto, 2001, p.6. See also: *Bafarawa's 4 years of positive development in Sokoto State, May 29th 1999 – April, 2003*, designed and printed by Garkuwa Media Services, Sokoto, 2004, p.51.

of road infrastructure in the metropolis.²⁸ A pedestrian bridge was constructed by the Bafarawa's administration at the Sokoto old market in 2002. His administration also constructed a flyover in Sokoto metropolis in 2003 and it is called by the people of the metropolis as Bafarawa flyover located at Farfaru area Sokoto.²⁹

Similarly, the administration of Alhaji Aliyu Magatakarda Wamakko did the dualization of roads in the metropolis. Some of the roads dualized by his administration include among others the Sokoto eastern and Sokoto western by-pass roads, Polytechnic-Arkilla roads, reconstruction of Kalambaina and Wamakko roads including the Gidan Man Ada to Madorawa road, etc. Alhaji Aliyu Magatakarda Wamakko also constructed a flyover which is called after his name by the people in the state as Alu flyover located at Abdullahi Fadiyo road leading to Gusau road in 2010. The significance of that flyover to the people and economy as well as road safety to the commuting people in the metropolis cannot be underestimated.³⁰ His administration also undertook the construction of Dange and Shuni roads in Sokoto metropolis which was commissioned by the then President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, His Excellency President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan in the late 2008. He also constructed the Lapai road in the metropolis which was commissioned by the former head of state Gen. Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (IBB). The administration equally constructed the Garba Muhammed road in the metropolis which was commissioned by former Governor of Jigawa state Alhaji Sule Lamido in 2008. Other roads constructed by the administration include Kwannawa-Tuntube-Tsehe road,

²⁸. Ibid.

²⁹. *Sokoto State: Vision, Mission and Achievements of Governor Attahiru Bafarawa's Administration*, May 29th 1999 to May 29th 2002, Al-Umma Printing Press Ltd, Sokoto, 2003, p.37.

³⁰. Office of the Special Adviser Project Compilation and Documentation, Governor's Office, Government House, Sokoto, Wamakko's Trailblazing Transformation on Roads Construction, Designed and Printed in Nigeria by AGES Communications Ltd, 2008, pp. 1-30

Nasarawa-Yar'abba road, access road to Bado Housing Estate and access road to Sokoto state University, Sokoto, etc.³¹

In the same vein, even though a little bit outside the scope of 2008 which the study covers, but it is important to mention infrastructural development in the city under the administration of Rt. Hon. Aminu Waziri Tambuwal in order to be able to have a comparative analysis of projects by different administration in the state for continuity and change. His administration signed the contracts agreement for the execution of over N20 billion projects across the city cutting across flyovers and dualization of roads. The state government made a down payment of over N6.2 billion, being 30% of the total amount to the contractors handling the projects.³² The companies with which the contracts agreement were signed that also received the 30% mobilization are: CCECC, which will construct two flyovers at Runjin Sambo and Rijiyar Dorowa areas; AFDIN, which will handle the dualization of Tashar Illela Road, others include K&E billed to dualize Maituta Road, Solid Stone that will dualize Waziri Abbas Road. In his remarks, the representative of the state Governor, the Attorney General of the state, Barrister Suleman Usman (SAN) said the signing of the agreement signifies the commitment and determination of the present administration to execute various developmental projects in the state. He said the projects when completed would boost the economic development of the state and ease traffic congestion in the state capital.³³

9.4 Scarcity of Petroleum Products

Scarcity of petroleum products and changes in pump price normally affected transport fare. It has been argued that price per drop usually changed in different periods due to changes in pump price. For example, price per drop for taxi cab in the early 1970s

³¹. Ibid

³². Muhammad Bello, 55 years of age, a Special Adviser Media and Publicity to the Sokoto State Governor, 13/07/ 2020.

³³. Ibid

used to be between 5K and 10K for a distance of approximately from central market area to Kanwuri area in the metropolis. But, in the early 1980s it has increased to between ₦1 and ₦2 per drop of the same distance area of central market area to Kanwuri area.³⁴ Indeed, the rising price of petroleum products affected the prices of different brands of vehicle as well as the cost of vehicle maintenance including spare parts.³⁵

One of the major causes of pump price increase during the time has always been the attitude of the independent marketers who prefer to sell their fuel to the ground tanks operators where fuel (premium motor spirit) is sold above the official price. These ground tanks have outnumbered the official fuel stations by far. They are actually illegal but they cater for a demand which could not be covered by the official fuel station particularly during the scarcity period.³⁶ Fuel price which is government-controlled remained unchanged for many years. In October 1978, a major price increase came into effect. These prices are shown in the table 9.2 below.

Table 9.2: Official Fuel Pump Price in Nigeria in Kobo per Liter, before 1978 and after 1978 as it affects the price of various items in Sokoto metropolis.

S/N.	Type of Fuel	Before 1978	Since 1978
1.	5 Star premium motor fuel	13.63	18.30
	P.M.S. (premium motor spirit)	9.50	15.30
	R.M.S. (regular motor spirit)	8.80	11.00
	A.G.O. (automotive gas oil/ diesel)	8.80	11.00

Source: Energy Study Nigeria cited in Techno Economic Survey of 1981

³⁴. Ezekiel Adeniran (Baba Oyo), 70 years, interviewed at his residence in Ahmadu Bello Way, Sokoto on 25/03/2020

³⁵. Alhaji Ibrahim Bala Chairman, Op.cit.

³⁶. Ibid

Table 9.3: Retail Prices of Petroleum Products (in per liter since 1979)

N/S	Date	Price per litre in (Kobo & N)
1.	1979	13.5K
2.	1986	39K
3.	1990	70K
4.	1991	70K
5.	1993	N3.25

Source: International Journal of Energy, Economics, and Policy, Vol.3 No.4, 2013, pp. 459-472.

However, one of the major consequences of scarcity of petroleum product on the socio-economic development of the metropolis was the menace of street fuel sale by youths across the state. This trade mostly flourished whenever there was scarcity of petroleum product at the official fueling stations was experienced. These young boys known as ‘Area Boys’ (*yan daba*) started such business along the Sokoto major streets such as Ahmadu Bello Way, Emir Yahaya road, Sultan Bello road and Gagi or Nakasari area, etc. They defied all attempts by the security forces to stop them from carrying out the business. Sometimes they engaged the security agents including the army in physical confrontations along major roads in the metropolis.³⁷

9.5 Non Remittance of Dues and Poor Handling of Vehicles by Operators

Other challenges being faced by intra-city transport service in Sokoto metropolis include non-remittance of dues and poor handling of vehicles by operators. Proprietors and proprietresses have complained about the phenomenon of nonpayment and constant vehicle neglect by operators. One of the private mass transit ventures was Dandima mass transit which operated in the metropolis in the early 1990s. According to the proprietor, that is Alhaji Muazu Danjabalu, the venture experienced some setbacks that have to do

³⁷. I.U. Isa, Metropolitan Sokoto: Issues in History and Urban Development since 1960,...p. 193.

with bad attitudes of the drivers who usually refused to remit their daily, weekly or monthly return in addition to poor vehicle maintenance.³⁸

Another private proprietor who also expressed the same displeasure about the non-remittance and poor handling of vehicle was Alhaji Malami Yar'sakke whose mass transit venture was known as M.G. Yar'sakke Mass Transit. The venture also did not survive because of similar challenges mentioned by Dandima mass transit venture.³⁹ Bala Rahusa Motors was yet another mass transit venture which carried out its operation in the metropolis in the early 1990s. The venture also suffered the same fate as others before. According to the proprietor, the venture encountered some challenges such as poor maintenance of the buses by the operators and problem of wear and tear of the vehicles due to old age that gradually made it impossible for the drivers to meet their daily remittances to the proprietor which ultimately caused the collapse of the venture.⁴⁰

Even the local government mass transit venture had experienced same challenges and problems which eventually led to its decline and subsequently collapsed. According to Labaran Abubakar (manager), the pioneer manager of the Sokoto local government mass transit service, the recruitment of unqualified drivers to handle the buses was the major factor responsible for the collapse. The use of private auto-mechanics as against the usual practice that any mechanical issues should be treated by the local government's automechanic department was also a challenge. The use of spare parts which were of inferior quality or outright lack of spare parts in some of the models of the assembled vehicles was also another challenge coupled with problem of routine maintenance

³⁸. Alhaji Amadu Maikanti, 63 years old, an employee of Alhaji Muazu Danjabalu, interviewed in his shop at Sokoto old market area on 12/10/2018

³⁹. Sodangi Digar Agyare, 55 years of age, interviewed in his house at Digar Agyare area, Sokoto on 22/06/2020.

⁴⁰. Aminu Muhammad, 51 years of age, interviewed at his area in Yar'katanga area, Sokoto on 22/06/2020.

(lubrication) and servicing of the vehicles.⁴¹ Because of corruption it is said that about one third of the revenue generated by the buses had been diverted to wrong channel and this became was a serious threat to the viability of the venture. Also, sometimes, drivers had their own problems of overloading and over speeding in the dilapidated metropolitan roads which adversely affected the life span of the buses.⁴²

For motorcycles *kabu-kabu* Malam Abubakar Tarbe of Gidan Igwai area who originally came from Yabo local government has been into the motorcycles business as proprietor for more than twenty years.⁴³ At a particular time, he used to have over 20 motorcycles of his own. According to him some of the operators who collected motorcycles defaulted in paying their daily or weekly remittances or even damaged the vehicle due to negligence and poor handling.⁴⁴ Abba Abdullahi Maiakwai is another Sokoto businessman who engaged in motorcycle transport business in the metropolis. He owns more than 15 motorcycles during the early 1990s and has been in the scheme for over 2 decades. However, as he argues he experienced the same challenges of irregular payment and poor maintenance of vehicles by the operators he engaged.⁴⁵ He believes that accidents have been other challenges which most often cause damage to the vehicle as well as the health of an operator. He said that whenever an accident happened, a proprietor pays the price because he must shoulder certain responsibilities not only of the vehicle or the operator involved, but also the responsibility of settling the police and hospital bills, etc.⁴⁶

⁴¹. Labaran Abubakar, Manager Mass Transit, Sokoto South Local Government, 52 years, oral interview at his Office in Sokoto South Local Government area, Sokoto on 07/04/2019.

⁴². Ibid

⁴³. Malam Abubakar Tarbe, 58 years, interviewed in his house at Gidan Igwai area, 15/07/2019.

⁴⁴. Ibid. See also... M.Y. Ilu (Mrs), The Impact of Tricycles on the Socio-Economic life of women in Kano metropolis C.1986-2013, M.A. History Dissertation, BUK, 2015, p.4

⁴⁵. Abba Abdullahi Maiakwai, 38 years, interviewed in his house at Gidan Igwai area Sokoto, 15/07/2019

⁴⁶. Ibid

Aminu Gidan Igwai also has been a motorcycle proprietor who lives in Gidan Igwai area Sokoto and has been in the business for than ten years since from the early 1990s. According to him, he used to have more than 25 motorcycles belonging to him through which he gave out to youths in the area on daily payment basis before the eventual collapse of the venture.⁴⁷ Whenever he was running the business, he was able to save money and acquired all the vehicles he had. But, unfortunately for him, the venture experienced certain challenges and problems particularly which have to do with bad attitude of the operators. Some of the operators were in the habit of not paying their daily dues even when they don't have any problem with their motorcycles coupled with frequent mismanagement of the vehicle through irregular lubrication and servicing as well as reckless driving, etc.⁴⁸

Yusuf Tunau, who was in the business from the late 1980s to the early 1990s as a trustee or coordinator to over 70 motorcycles of Yamaha Super Cub and CDI, Suzuki Ladies 50 & 80 brands belonging to one Alhaji Aminu Arzika Dansuli equally raised such observation.⁴⁹ According to him under normal circumstances a commercial motorcycle which works daily from 6 a.m. to 8 a.m. and sometimes even up to 9 a.m. was supposed to be lubricated every week. But, instead of maintaining that practice many operators spent between 2 - 3 weeks or even a month without lubricating the motorcycle and consequently caused a serious damage to the engine of the vehicle.⁵⁰ Indeed, even when the proprietor decided to be supplying lubricants in order to avoid irregular servicing, as Yusuf Tunau further emphasized, the operators devised other means of irregularities.⁵¹

⁴⁷. Aminu Gidan Igwai, 45 years, interviewed in his house at Gidan Igwai area, Sokoto, 18/07/2019.

⁴⁸. Ibid

⁴⁹. Yusuf Tunau, 51 years of age, interviewed at Yan'Shanu area Sokoto on 11/05/2021.

⁵⁰. Ibid

⁵¹. Ibid

9.6 Transport and Emergence of Social Vices

Bad habit or immoral activities are common among men and youths in the intra-city transport service. Social vices are unhealthy and unethical behaviours which are against the morals code of society and are frowned at. Overviews of activities among intra-city transporters reveal how social vices have become the order of the day among operators with particular reference to taxi cabs, motorcycles and bus service. Very common bad behaviours among the operators include drug abuse and vehicle theft.⁵²

In Sokoto metropolis, drug abuse among *kabu-kabu* operators has become a serious challenge to the general public. It has become a common practice to find a particular road side being converted to an abode known in *kabu-kabu* parlance as ‘Area One’. Such areas are turned into places for buying and selling of illegal drugs. A *Maishayi* of Niger Republic backgrounds usually sold drugs to his prospective operators by way of mixing drugs in their tea. Drugs available for sale at those places, included stimulant Tea drink of different types, Tramol, Tutolin Cough Syrup, Expectorant, Mucolytics and Guaifenesin as well as Diazepam, etc. Other drugs sold include *Madarar Sugudaye*, *Gadagi* and *Wiwi*.⁵³

Abubakar Usman said that any time he is going to work he asked one of the *Maishayi* to mix a half or complete Tramol drugs in his tea. Abubakar believes that Tramol enhances his ability to work hard and make a lot of money during the business. According to him, it boosts his performance and he worked very hard whenever he takes the mixture/concoction. Abubakar also believes that whenever he goes to work without taking the concoction he would not work very hard on that day, which is why he always

⁵². J.O., Abua, *Dangers of Drug Abuse to the Individual and Society*, A.I.A. Press Limited, Gombe. 1st Edition, 2016, p. 43

⁵³. Abubakar Usman, 36 years of age, interviewed at Area One opposite Sokoto Work School on 08/07/2019. See also for detailed discussion on local drugs... A.M. Dukku, *Gadagi Consumption among the Youths in Kano Metropolis*, in *Bayaro Journal of Social and Management Studies* (BAJOSAMS), Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 8-30.

prefers taking it in the morning before starting the work.⁵⁴ But, he emphasized that, he only takes Tramol when he is going for work and nothing more, and that he always stick to one particular drug, i.e. Tramol in order to avoid health challenges.⁵⁵ It is argued that in Sokoto city, consumption of drugs became a passion and has been accepted with increased popularity especially among the motorcycles operators. Abubakar Usman also estimated that more than 80% of the operators that he knew used one type drug or another in order to enhance their working performance especially during the hot season when it was usually difficult to operate under Sokoto extreme weather.⁵⁶

Another major social problem facing the transport sector was vehicle thefts. Archival documents of 1957 shows that similar incidences were experienced and was discovered through a correspondence between the Financial Secretary of the Northern Region and the Resident of Sokoto Province in a circular No.FS.451/T1A 18th March, 1957 as follows:

There has been an increase recently in the number of cases of thefts of vehicles and spare parts from government vehicles. I am therefore to request you to remind drivers that they are responsible for the proper care of their vehicles, and that disciplinary action may be taken against any driver whose vehicle or any part of it is lost or stolen.⁵⁷

The Resident of Sokoto Province acted on the circular and passed it to the District Officers within the Province. And in one of the replies he received from one of the District officers, it was noted that one of the reasons for the rising cases of especially spare parts was what was reported by the two drivers belonging to the District Office Sokoto, that is

⁵⁴. Ibid

⁵⁵. Ibid

⁵⁶. Ibid. See also... Y.U. Madugu, *Transportation and Economy of Kano Metropolis C.1967-2014*,... p. 233 Op.cit.

⁵⁷. WJHCB, Sokprof., /TPT/4/61-1-77/ Motor Transport for Government Official Sokoto Province, 1945-1959, pp. 100-105

Muhutari and Maisango who said that, three out of the four Garages belonging to the District have no doors and all efforts made to repair them remained abortive.⁵⁸

There are many forms of stealing within commercial transport sector. Apart from normal vehicle thefts, there was the cheating of passengers by the bad eggs among the operators. There was also the case of armed robbery which happened to motorcycle operators. It happened by way of threatening an operator to surrender his motorcycle or to lose his life with a particular weapon or through snuffing him with a sleeping powder while stopping to collect his money. There was also a situation whereby an operator would seize customer's property especially women and underage children by way of threat or physical confrontation, etc. The rate of motorcycle cheating, stealing and thefts in the metropolis became very alarming not only to the motorcycle operators but also to the motorcycle owners who most of the times have to bear the consequences.⁵⁹

Some of the operators who were interviewed in the metropolis narrated their ordeal on how their motorcycles have been stolen from them and the inability of the security personnel especially the Police to find out the culprits and punish them in accordance with the extant laws of the land. Jamilu Dauda was a motorcycle operator in Sokoto metropolis whose motorcycle was stolen by a thief in the year 2016.⁶⁰ According to him, it was on 25th of April, 2016 at about 8:25 am that he came out for the usual intra-city transportation business in the metropolis. He followed through layin yan'sanda at Gidan Igwai area, Sokoto and he met one person waiting for motorcycle and he asked him to take him to Rumbukawa area in Sokoto by-pass by Kofar Kware area; and I took him. When we reached Rumbukawa area instead of him to pay me, he asked me to enter a quiet corner which I did. When we entered, we reached a house and he asked me to stop so that he will

⁵⁸. Ibid

⁵⁹. Ibrahim Muhammad Kangiwa, a motorcycle operator, 43 years of age, interviewed at Gidan Igwai area Sokoto on 05/07/2019.

⁶⁰. Jamilu Dauda, 27 years, interviewed at Gidan Igwai area, Sokoto, 05/07/2019

see somebody in the house and collect something. He entered the house and after sometimes he came out and told me he didn't see the person he was looking for. He asked us to move further to another house where he also entered in order to see the purported person. He even said that I should not worry because he was going to give me much money for all the delay he caused. We went there again we did not see the person. He said that we should go home, when we reached there, he entered the house and somebody came out from the house with his big gown and a cap. After sometimes that man came with one heavy Iron, he gave the driver five hundred naira 500 and asked him to give him his motorcycle so that he will go and deliver that Iron somewhere nearby.⁶¹

After Dauda had given out the motorcycle, the person with the big gown who came out also entered the house again. Dauda waited for so long and he entered the house and he discovered that the house has two doors. Neither the former nor the latter could be seen, and nobody was in the house to be asked about them. He kept on waiting to no avail. Dauda went home and told his parents about what happened and they reported the case to the owner of the motorcycle, who insisted that Dauda must pay the motorcycle. The motorcycle was valued at fifty thousand naira 50,000 but asked to pay half of the amount that is twenty-five thousand naira 25,000 and his parents paid the money.⁶²

Amadu Muhammad was another motorcycle operator whose motorcycle was stolen by an unknown person. According to him, one fateful day on Sunday night at about 9:30 p.m. on 20th August, 2017 as he was coming from the Sokoto Diplomat Roundabout, somebody stopped him and asked him to take him to Rijiyar Dorowa area and return him back. When they reached the place, they met one of his friends waiting for him in front of a room; he called a girl and asked her to come out at once because he was with a motorcycle rider. He said that immediately after he came close to me he started shaking a

⁶¹. Ibid.

⁶². Ibid.

bottle of something that he could not recognize the content and after sometimes the whole of his body changed and he became very weak. He asked him to rest a little before they went. From then he never knew what happened until he heard that some people were pouring water on him. He asked them what happened they said they too did not know. They asked him if he could recall the telephone numbers of any of his relatives and he gave them the number. After a while, his people came and they took him home. A complaint was lodged with the police in order to find it, but without success. Thank God because the owner of the motorcycle did not ask me to pay him.⁶³

Another rider whose motorcycle was stolen is Rabi'u Sa'adu Gumburawa. Gumburawa said that one fateful day in the afternoon; he came out for his usual afternoon business.⁶⁴ It was in 2017 that one person saw him and stopped him at Sokoto old market and asked him to take him to Nakasari in Gagi area, Sokoto. On their way, he started conversing with me about current issues in the country. When we were about to reach the place, he said that there was a corner by the right when we reach there, we should enter it. When we reached there, he entered it and he showed a house where he will stop on reaching the house he stopped. He gave me five hundred 500 and asked me to buy him two bags of pure water. When he collected the money, he asked me to give him the motorcycle so that he could go and pick his children from and he gave him the motorcycle. From the time he gave him the motorcycle he did not know what happened to him until he saw himself crying in the front of the house that he showed him, the house which he later discovered was not his own.⁶⁵

⁶³. Amadu Muhammad, 28 years, interviewed while sitting on his motorcycle at Gidan Igwai area, Sokoto, 08/07/2019.

⁶⁴. Rabi'u Sa'adu Gumburawa, 30 years, interviewed at a place they called area 7 along Gidan Dare area, Sokoto, 09/07/2019.

⁶⁵. Ibid.

Muhammadu Dauda was also another operator, whose motorcycle was stolen from him in the metropolis on the 11th of March, 2017.⁶⁶ What happened was that, one fateful night, he came out for the business within the metropolis. He followed Mabera area side around 8:00 pm in the night, one person was standing by the road side and he stopped him and asked him to take him to Mana area. He said that he will carry food there and they shall return back together and go to the Specialist Hospital where he had a patient.⁶⁷ He took him from Mabera to Mana area. When they reached Mana he showed him one sharp corner and he entered. They kept going from one corner to another until they reach a place which was very quiet and the passenger asked him to stop. When they stopped, he brought out a wallet and started delaying to give something. He even asked him to hurry up because they were getting late. Before they finished talking somebody came out from behind and hit him something very heavy. From there he did not know anything until he saw himself on the Hospital bed.⁶⁸

After sometimes, when he was discharged from the Hospital, he heard that someone who stole a motorcycle was arrested. Somebody advised him to go and see whether he was the one who took my motorcycle. He went there and discovered that he was the one who had stolen his motorcycle at Mana area. After the confirmation, the Police sent the case to the court for prosecution and hearing. After the hearing, he pleaded guilty and the motorcycle was valued at the rate fifty thousand naira only 50,000 and paid the money.⁶⁹

Another person whose motorcycle was also stolen within the metropolis was Sanusi Musa of NTA area, who came to Sokoto from Kebbi state in order to motorcycle

⁶⁶. Muhammadu Dauda, 53 years, interviewed at Gidan Igwai area, Sokoto, 07/07/2019.

⁶⁷. Ibid.

⁶⁸. Ibid.

⁶⁹. Ibid.

business.⁷⁰ “What happened was that, it was in 2018, specifically on the 12th of May, 2018 when he came out for his usual business in the metropolis”. But, because he was a student in Shehu Shagari College of Education, Sokoto he used to go there especially in the morning to either attend his lectures or to read.⁷¹ On that very day when his motorcycle was stolen, he and his two friends went to the Rima Hall in the College in order to read a particular course because examinations were approaching. We all parked our motorcycles, locked them and entered the Hall from 10:00 a.m. up to 12:00 p.m. And when we finished, we all came out and discovered that my motorcycle was stolen. He checked for it everywhere in the College premises and he did not see it, and he then reported the case to the Police, but without success.⁷²

In order to address cases of vehicle thefts among members of the union, the association of commercial motorcycles and tricycles introduced a security outfit called *Kabu-kabu* Security (KKS). The purpose of creating this security unit within the union is to detect and report as much as possible any form of security breach among its members so that, the union can act accordingly without taking the case to the police or any other security agencies within the metropolis, unless if the case is too serious and could not be handled by them.⁷³

According to Shamsudeen Aliyu who was the secretary of the motorcycles’ union, in order to address the problem of vehicles thefts, the union introduced uniform jackets to every registered member of the union. They were also given numbers/codes for easy identification. Shamsudeen said one of the major challenges they faced with regard to uniforms and codes is the issue of non-registered members of the union who normally outnumbered the registered ones. And unless if somebody is registered that is when he would

⁷⁰. Sanusi Musa, 29 years, interviewed at NTA area, Sokoto, 05/07/2019.

⁷¹. Ibid

⁷². Ibid.

⁷³. Alhaji Yusuf Kyautawa, Chairman of the Union,...Op.cit

be identified when he commits crimes. Efforts are on top gear through the Nigeria Police Force to ensure that only registered members of the union would be allowed to operate in the metropolis in order to reduce cases of vehicles thefts, etc.⁷⁴ In its efforts to combat crime within the metropolis, the State Police Command made a press release to the public as follows:

Sokoto police command moves to ban movement of commercial motorcycles/tricycles, shuts down tea vendors from 11:00 p.m. - 6:00 a.m.⁷⁵

In sustaining the concerted efforts of the command in combating armed robbery, kidnapping and other criminal activities, the state Police Commissioner, Ibrahim S. Kaoje directs: henceforth, a ban on the movement of commercial motorcycles/tricycles from 11: p.m. to 6am, effective immediately, with the exception of those on essential services; all tea vendors popularly referred to as *mai shayi* are to shut down businesses for the day from 11:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m.; against this backdrop, the Sokoto state police command enjoins the good people of Sokoto to remain steadfast in obedience to law and order, and to exercise maximum restraint towards violation of orders. It is imperative to note that violators will be decisively sanctioned in accordance with the law.⁷⁶

9.7 Conclusion

This chapter is an examination of the major challenges and problems that affected smooth operation of intra-city transportation service in Sokoto metropolis. The chapter also examined some of the major causes of road accidents in the metropolis. It is found in the chapter that attitude such as drug abuse and stealing as well as social vices of some traffic enforcement agents were responsible for most challenges and problems being encountered by intra-city transport services. Scarcity of petroleum products and pump

⁷⁴. Shamsudeen Aliyu, Secretary of the union,...Op.cit

⁷⁵. ASP Muhammad Abubakar Sadiq, PPRO Sokoto State Police Command, 12/03/2020.

⁷⁶. Ibid

price increases, hikes in transport fares and emergence of social vices such as drugs abuse, vehicle thefts. In a nutshell, the chapter discussed challenges and problems associated with dilapidated road infrastructures and construction and renovation of roads by different administrations in the metropolis in order to provide relative safety on the roads to transporters of both commercial and private vehicles.

CHAPTER TEN

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The transport sector cannot be treated in isolation from the general economic development in Sokoto metropolis since the establishment of the city in the early 19th century. This explains why the study examines the history of the development of road transportation in Sokoto metropolis from 1809 to 2008. Firstly, the study examined the traditional mode of transport during pre-colonial period with particular emphasis on human portage and pack-animal such as the camels, donkeys, horses, mules, and bullocks especially during the 19th century following the establishment of Sokoto city by Sultan Muhammadu Bello. During the Jihad period, horses and camels played important role in the success of the movement. And further to that, Muhammadu Bello equally as part of his urbanization policy in Sokoto had encouraged road construction. Indeed, such a policy by Muhammadu Bello enhanced the spatial growth and economic development of the city.

It has been argued in the study that during the colonial era the British made effort to promote transport services to enable the colonial system to succeed. Roads were constructed because without good roads, movement of goods and services would be very difficult and they would eventually affect the major goal of colonialism, i.e. exploitation of resources. The introduction of wheeled transport and the introduction of N.A. and railway motors in the city equally played significant role to the development of the metropolis during colonial period. The initial objective of bringing those infrastructures to the city was for economic reason, but, however they had equally brought in to develop the city economically and socially. Such infrastructures brought changes in the commercial road transport service.

Development of road transport service after independence continued with rapidity especially from 1967 with the state creation. What facilitated the development of road

transportation during the period was the oil boom that provided source of funding to numerous projects in the country. The period between 1972 and 1974 was of particular significance due to the increase in the number of motor vehicles in the city, especially owned by civil servants who earned money from the federal government salary increment and other allowances including arrears, etc.

However, from 1960s up to 2008 there was the development of transport support services in the city which again resulted into the development of business in spare parts selling by mostly the non-indigenes and the emergence and development of mechanic villages within and outskirts of the city. The major auto-mechanic villages that emerged during the 20th century include *Kanikawar* Lula mechanic village located at Sabon Titi area Sokoto, Tashar Illela mechanic village which included the More area located at eastern bypass Sokoto, Buzaye mechanic village located at Zoo line Sokoto, Sahara mechanic village located at Ahmadu Bello way Sokoto and Kantindaji or Zangazanga mechanic village located at Abdullahi Fodiyo road Sokoto.

The role of commercial transport associations such as Nigerian Motor Transport Union (NMTU), National Union of Road Transport Union (NURTW), Amalgamated Commercial Tricycle and Motorcycle Owners, Repairers and Riders Association of Nigeria (ACOMORAN), Sokoto branch, Tricycle Owners Association of Nigeria (TOAN) Sokoto branch and Nigeria Automobile Technicians Association (NATA) in the metropolis cannot be overemphasized because they accommodate a lot of unemployed youths and junior civil servants in the metropolis who may have been suffered as a result idleness (unemployed youth) or as a result of gross inadequate pay for the (civil servants).

In the same vein, another development to that effect, even though it was a recent event which had to do with the Sokoto state government through the Ministry of Land and Housing in year 2019 proposed a permanent site for the relocation of the entire mechanic

villages in the metropolis to be situated at the Sokoto eastern by pass area. This kind of development will certainly bring about development if it eventually materializes, thereby expanding the metropolis further spatially and demographically. It was as a result of these developments that the Sokoto state government under the leadership of Rt. Hon. Aminu Waziri Tambuwal allocated over ten hectares of land to the mechanics operating all over the metropolis to be located in Kwannawa area.¹

A significant development has to do Sokoto new mechanic village project by the administration of Rt. Hon. Aminu Waziri Tambuwal, the executive governor of Sokoto state when he allocated over ten hectares of land that is on the aggregate of one square kilometer to the various automobile mechanic villages congested in different locations within the metropolis. The land allocated will accommodate over 800 mechanics with an average space of 12mx10m and 9mx10m square meters standard respectively.² The new mechanic village is divided according to sections and specializations for easy allocation of labour and skills acquisition. Every type of motor mechanics has a section related to his area of specialization and brands that is Mercedes Benz, Toyota, Honda, Kia and the rest. Similarly, heavy duty trucks too have their separate section in the new village.³

Likewise, there is auxiliary section where various kinds of businesses associated with automobile mechanic such as spare parts sellers, tyre dealers, battery charging, welders and panel beaters all are going to be allocated their own space. In fact, motorbike mechanics and plant generator mechanic are also not left out in the allocation of land in the new mechanic village. The ministry of lands and housing has since commenced the allocation of spaces to the beneficiaries in earnest at the new mechanic village at

¹. Alhaji Abu NATA, Op.cit. See...MaryamShafi'I, *Origin and Development of Mechanic Villages in Sokoto Metropolis: The Case of Buzaye*, Op.cit. PP. 24 – 27. See...WJHCB/Sokoto District File/E-460/5-1 Vol. I/1969 – 1970/ Mechanical Correspondence

². Alhaji Dahiru Yusuf Yabo, Special Adviser to the Governor on Special Projects, aged 58 years, press release on 18-02-2020

³. Ibid

kwannawa area under the supervision of his Excellency Alhaji Manir Mohammed Daniya, the Deputy Governor of Sokoto state who was instructed to provide all the necessary logistics towards speedy completion of the allocation.⁴

The special Adviser to the governor on Special Projects, Alhaji Dahiru Yusuf Yabo was appointed to coordinate all the relevant ministries, departments and agencies by pulling manpower and equipment to actualize the projects as quickly as possible. The governor directed them to ensure adequate provision of all essential services such as roads, water, electricity and security. Therefore, all ministries concerned have already mobilized their resources to the site and mapped out the work plan towards achieving the task assigned to them without delay in line with the directives of the governor. Mechanics not allocated space at new mechanic village were directed to contact ministry of Lands and Housing especially those at the Buzaye mechanic village, Sama road area, and other none suitable locations. This is an opportunity given to the mechanics of various specializations and in compliance with global best practice in all civilized societies.⁵

In the final analysis, the study observed that, there were problems associated with commercial transport activities within the metropolis such as the road traffic violation and accidents, harassment of drivers/operators by security agents problem of overloads by the drivers/riders, motor vehicles theft, poor roads maintenance culture, fuel scarcity and hike in transport fares. But in the overall analysis the study has demonstrated the indispensability of road transportation services such as human carriers and beast of burden, motorcars, motorcycles and tricycles as important elements in the development and/or transformation of the metropolis and its people economically, politically and socially since 1809.

⁴. Ibid

⁵. Ibid

Notwithstanding the challenges, intra-city transport services had played and are still playing significant role to the growth and development of Sokoto metropolis up to the year 2008. The significance of these means of transportation service cut across economic, social and political as well as religious aspects of development. Since the early 1970s when intra-city of taxi cabs started, followed by that of motorcycles in the early 1980s and that of mass transit service which equally started in the early 1990s as well as tricycles in 2008 continued to provide indispensable means of commuting almost all the strata in the society. To this end, their impact was felt on job opportunities to the teaming youths, alleviation of shortage of transportation in the metropolis and revenue generation to government both at the State and Local levels.

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B. List of Informants

S/N	Name	Occupation	Age	Place	Date
1.	Alhaji Malami Nakyashe	Ex N.A. Driver	79 Years	Rinin Tawaye, Sokoto	11/05/18
2.	Alhaji Aliyu Nagwadi	Driver	84 Years	Sabon Gari Area, Sokoto	15/06/18
3.	Muhammadu Sambo Waliyi	Retired Civil Servant	82 Years	Bazza Area, Sokoto	17/06/18
4.	Lawali Shehu	Driver	50 Years	Marina Area, Sokoto	19/04/18
5.	Muhammadu Bello	Driver	65 Years	Kanwuri Area, Sokoto	19/04/18
6.	Dahiru Sani G/Yunfa	Driver	69 Years	Kofar Atiku Area, Sokoto	19/04/18
7	Alhaji Bello Gunigo	Driver	68 Years	Dundaye Village	02/01/19
8	Aliyu Abdullahi	Driver	71 Years	DundayeVillag e	02/01/19
9	Altine Yaro	Driver	60 Years	Runjin Sarki	02/01/19
10	Alhaji Amadu Maikanti	Trader	63 Years	Sokoto Old Market Area	12/10/18
11	Alhaji Malami Wurno	Motorcycles and Tricycles dealer	50 Years	No. 4, Maiduguri	04/04/19

				Road Sokoto	
12	Labaran Abubakar	Manger Mass Transit, Sokoto South Local Government	52 Years	Sokoto South Local Government Secretariat, Sokoto.	08/04/19
13.	Aliyu Umar	Motorcycle Operator	47 Years	Kwanni Area, Sokoto.	20/04/18
14.	Umar Aliyu Gidanhaki	Motorcycle Operator	32 Years	Gidan Haki Area, Sokoto	20/04/18
15	Bashir Muhammad Bello	Motorcycle Operator	27 Years	Kwanni Area, Sokoto	20/04/18
16.	Abubakar Shehu	Motorcycle Operator	30 Years	Mabera Area, Sokoto	20/04/18
17.	Hassan Balarabe	Motorcycle Operator	28 Years	Yanshanu Area, Sokoto	20/04/18
18.	Tukur Sahabi	Motorcycle Operator	34 Years	Sokoto Old Market, Sokoto	20/04/18
19.	Abdullahi Arkilla	Motorcycle Operator	35 Years	Sokoto Old Market, Sokoto	20/04/18
20.	Ahmad Labaran	Motorcycle Operator	46 Years	Tudun Wada Area, Sokoto	20/04/18
21	Ahmad Ibrahim	Motorcycle Operator	45 Years	Hubbare Area, Sokoto	20/04/18
22.	Ibrahim Galadima	Motorcycle Operator	32 Years	Sokoto Central Market, Sokoto	20/04/18
23.	Hussaini Ibrahim	Tricycle Operator	37 Years	Magajin Gari Area, Sokoto	21/04/18
24.	Abubakar Muhammad	Tricycle Operator	30 Years	Kwanni Area, Sokoto	21/04/18
25.	AbdulrahmanShehu	Tricycle Operator	29 Years	Yanshnu Area, Sokoto	21/04/18
26.	Almustapha Sa'adu	Tricycle Operator	31 Years	Yanshanu Area, Sokoto	21/04/18
27.	Abubakar Aminu Bello	Tricycle Operator	30 Years	Nufawa Area, Sokoto	21/04/18
28.	Aminu Shehu	Tricycle Operator	36 Years	Kanwuri Area, Sokoto	21/04/18
29.	Bashiru Tukur	Tricycle Operator	36 Years	Tudun Wada Area, Sokoto	21/04/18
30.	Abdulkadir Muhammadu	Tricycle Operator	28 Years	Gidadawa Area, Sokoto	21/04/18
31.	Abubakar Lange	Tricycle Operator	52 Years	Digar Bakule Area, Sokoto	21/04/18
32.	Gani Hassan	Tricycle Operator	40 Years	Aliyu Jodi Area, Sokoto	21/04/18
33.	Labaran Danbona	Bicycle Hirer	75 Years	Kofar Kade Area, Sokoto	18/04/18
34.	Maidabo Kogo	Bicycle Hirer	68 Years	Kofar Kade	19/04/18

				Area, Sokoto	
35.	Yusuf Hamadani Sani	Bicycle Hirer	48 Years	Yanshanu Area, Sokoto	18/04/18
36.	Aminu Jango	Bicycle Hirer	45 Years	Digar Bakule Area, Sokoto	18/04/18
37.	Bello Bararra	Bicycle Hirer	47 Years	Digar Agyare Area, Sokoto	20/04/18
38.	Alhaji Muazu Gwadaba	Donkey dealer	55 Years	Kara Market, Sokoto	20/04/19
39.	Alhaji Yaro	Donkey dealer	50 Years	Gangare Area, Sokoto	20/04/19
40.	Alhaji Nasiru Marafa	Tokumbo dealer	46 Years	Gamji motors, Abdullahi Fodiyo Road Sokoto	21/04/19
41	Malam Abubakar Turbe	Intra-city Transporter	58 Years	Gidan Igwai Area	15/07/19
42	Abba Abdullahi Mai Akwai	Intra-city Transporter	38 Years	Gidan Igwai Area	15/07/19
43	Malam Umaru Kanwuri	Intra-city Transporter	91 Years	Kanwurin Sarki	15/07/19
44	Amina Bayarba Maikitso	Intra-city Transporter	50 Years	Gidan Igwai Area	15/07/19
45	Aminu Gidan Igwai Area	Intra-city Transporter	45 Years	Gidan Igwai Area	15/07/19
46	Hajiya Mai Abinci	Intra-city Transporter	55 Years	Gidan Igwai Area	15/07/19
47	Umma Bakanike	Intra-city Transporter	55 Years	Gidan Igwai Area	15/07/19
48	Abubakar Mai KayanSanyi	Intra-city Transporter	60 Years	KanwurinSarki	15/07/19
49	Shamsu Abdullahi	Intra-city Transporter	40 Years	Gidan Igwai Area	16/07/19
50	Ibrahim Musa	Intra-city Transporter	48 Years	Gidan Igwai Area	16/07/19
51	Yahuza Muhammad	Intra-city Transporter	64 Years	Gidan Igwai Area	16/07/19
52	Muhammadu Dauda	Intra-city Transporter	66 Years	Gidan Igwai Area	16/07/19
53	Musa Muhammad	Intra-city Transporter	81 Years	Runjin Sambo	16/07/19
54	BadamasiRunji	Intra-city Transporter	60 Years	Runjin Sambo	16/07/19
55	Amadu Hamidu	Intra-city Transporter	58 Years	Runjin Sambo	16/07/19
56	Bashar Tudun Faila	Intra-city Transporter	67 Years	Runjin Sambo	16/07/19
57	Anas Abba	Intra-city Transporter	77 Years	Runjin Sambo	16/07/19

58	Jamilu Usman	Intra-city Transporter	50 Years	Runjin Sambo	16/07/19
59	Ezekiel Adeniran (Baba Oyo).	Taxi Cab Operator	70 years	Ahmadu Bello way area, Sokoto.	25/03/20
60	Musuliu Fufa'I Yusuf	Taxi Cab Operator	38	Ahmadu Bello way area, Sokoto.	25/03/20
61	Bolaji Mofe	Taxi Cab Operator	78	Ahmadu Bello Way area, Sokoto.	25/03/20
62	Bamidele Oladoyin	Taxi Cab Operator	70	Ahmadu Bello Way area, Sokoto.	25/03/20
63	Wasi'u Hafeez	Taxi Cab Operator	82	Ahmadu Bello Way area, Sokoto.	25/03/20
64	Tajudeen Oloro	Taxi Cab Operator	60	Shagon Goro area, Sokoto.	26/03/20
65	Akeen Sule	Taxi Cab Operator	75	Shagon Goro area, Sokoto.	26/03/20
66	Mufu Tayo	Taxi Cab Operator	73	Shagon Goro area, Sokoto.	26/03/20
67	Tunde Olamide	Taxi Cab Operator	60	Shagon Goro area, Sokoto.	26/03/20
68	Habibu Iwo	Taxi Cab Operator	65	Rijiyar Dorowa area, Sokoto.	26/03/20
69	Basharu Muhammed (Raga-Raga)	Taxi Cab Operator	90	Kalhu-Sabon Titi area, Sokoto.	28/03/20
70	Akanni Teye	Taxi Cab Operator	66	Kalhu area, Sokoto.	28/03/20
71	Ayomide Adeshina	Taxi Cab Operator	76	Kalhu area, Sokoto.	28/03/20
72	Abdullateef Sikiru	Taxi Cab Operator	70	Kalhu-Sabon Titi area, Sokoto.	28/03/20
73	Adekunle Yusuf	Taxi Cab Operator	68	Kalhu area, Sokoto.	28/03/20
74	Oloronike Abdulsalam	Taxi Cab Operator	66	Hajiya Halima Estate, Sokoto.	28/03/20
75	Ayoola Tola	Taxi Cab Operator	62	Hajiya Halima Estate, Sokoto.	28/03/20
76	Alhaji Lamidi	Taxi Cab Operator	65	Tashar Gusau area, Sokoto.	28/03/20
77	Salawudeen Adeniyi	Taxi Cab Operator	80	Aliyu Jodi area, Sokoto.	28/03/20

78	Oye Abisola	Taxi Cab Operator	63	Aliyu Jodi area, Sokoto.	28/03/20
79	Dayo Adebola	Taxi Cab Operator	65	Sokoto Cinema area, Sokoto.	30/03/20
80	Adewumi Saka	Taxi Cab Operator	70	Tudun Wada area, Sokoto.	30/03/20
81	Adeleke Mope	Taxi Cab Operator	80	Tashar Gusau area, Sokoto.	30/03/20
82	Mustahu Sadiq	Taxi Cab Operator	58	Anguwar Rogo area, Sokoto.	30/03/20
83	Ayomide Banji	Taxi Cab Operator	65	Kofar Kware area, Sokoto.	30/03/20
84	Bolaji Akanni	Taxi Cab Operator	72	Kofar Kware area, Sokoto.	30/03/20
85	Oladayo Lateef	Taxi Cab Operator	61	Runjin Sambo area, Sokoto.	30/03/20
86	Kamilu Shegun	Taxi Cab Operator	73	Runjin Sambo area, Sokoto.	30/03/20
87	Tayo Olushegun	Taxi Cab Operator	77	Rijiyar Dorowa area, Sokoto.	30/03/20
88	Razak Abdulfatai	Taxi Cab Operator	72	Marina area, Sokoto.	30/03/20
89	Faruku Tambari	Taxi Cab Operator	66	Kofar Rini area, Sokoto.	30/03/20
90	Alhaji Malami Gagi	Director of Admin, State National Population Commission, Sokoto.	54	State National Population Commission, Sokoto.	30/03/20
91	Abdullahi Muhammadu 01	Taxi Cab Operator	60	Ubandoma area, Sokoto.	09/02/21
92	Labaran Tu'i	Taxi Cab Operator	62	Kofar Rini area, Sokoto.	09/02/21
93	Alhaji Malami	Taxi Cab Operator	64	Fakon Idi area, Sokoto.	09/02/21
94	Abu Kofar Rini	Taxi Cab Operator	60	Kofar Rini area, Sokoto.	09/02/21

