



Military Government and Development in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of Katsina City, 1969–1999

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Abstract. The Nigerian military, whose central role was to defend the country against external aggression, and national security issues was found in the national politics, governance, and shadow of development from 1966 to 1999. The paper argued that though military government and its rules had been criticized by civilian administration across the globe, in Katsina city the case was different owing to designed programs that earned them the support of the people to the extent that the city experienced tremendous development and transformation beyond what was obtainable in the colonial era and even during the civilian administration of Nigeria's First and Second Republic. Furthermore, the emergence of the military government on July 29, 1966, led to the transformation of Katsina City from an administrative division to an area council in 1969, then to a Local Government Area (LGA) in 1976, and then to a Katsina State Capital City following 1987 state creation. Thus, all these phases of transformation led to a series of developments ranging from civil servant deployment and recruitment opportunities to the provision of healthcare facilities, electricity, and water; educational advancement; security of the city; construction of roads and markets, which attract lots of fortune seekers; and migration of Nigerian communities, which boosted the cosmopolitan nature of the city. To this end, through quantitative and historical research methodologies, coupled with functionalism theory and the aid of primary and secondary data, this paper examines the role of military government in the political and socio-economic development and transformation of Katsina City from 1969 to 1999.

Keywords: Military Government, Development, Katsina City, Political, Socio-economic.

1. Introduction

The military in Nigeria, whose central role is supposed to be defending the nations against external enemies' attacks on the sovereignty of the nation as well as providing internal security against all forms of threat when the need arises, was found in the Nigerian political landscape intervening in the political affairs of the nation. Nigeria, like other African countries, has experienced a larger part of its governance under the military regimes shortly after becoming independent in 1960. This was despite the intercession of military personnel in politics, which has been conventionally chastised as an aberration and absolute crippling down of political systems all over the world—Nigeria, France, Ghana, Uganda, Sudan, Somalia, Tanzania, Thailand, Iraq, Libya, Algeria, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, China, Azerbaijan, Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Ojo and Faghobohun, 2014:17-35), and even the recent military coups that had taken place in the Sahel region of Africa in countries like Mali, Chad, Guinea, Burkina Faso, Niger Republic, and now Gabon. However, whenever the military engages in the skyjacking of political power, they tend to justify their actions in the name of fighting corruption, enhancing socio-economic development, and putting an end to all sorts of indiscipline and insecurity deepened by political upheaval, ethnic and religious crises, terrorism, banditry, and kidnapping, followed by implementing programs that would lead to all-round development of their nations in areas of discipline,

healthcare service, electricity and water supply, employment opportunities, agriculture, commerce, and industries, as well as nation-building to secure a better future for their countries.

Moreover, under democratic governance, Nigerians expect certain minimum dividends from the government, which include steady electricity supply; good health-care services; employment for its teeming youths; reduction in mass poverty; access to qualitative education; improved infrastructure; security of lives and property; and general well-being of citizens, among others. However, the nearly two decades and half of un-interrupted democracy (the Fourth Republic) in the country has been one of mixed results: untold hardship, pain, increased poverty and squalor amidst pockets of wealth, unprecedented insecurity, preventable and rampant killings of innocent people, and corruption. To some Nigerians today, military dictatorship is far better than the so-called democratic rule. In fact, according to the *Desert Herald Special Report* (2014), under the military government, citizens were virtually free to live and earn a living in any part of the country without fear of harassment and killings such as that of the dreaded Boko Haram that has defied military solution despite the enormous resources that are being wasted through security agencies.

Nonetheless, Katsina city which had been centre of administration as well as commerce and trade in the precolonial era (Shehu, 2012:1-2), and then the administrative capital of colonial Katsina Province (Wycliff, 2021:55-71), yet for several decades of the nation's history, the city has not received much scholarly attention on the everlasting legacy of the military government roles in the transformation and development of the city from 1969 when it emerged as Administrative Area (Area Council) under the Federal Military Government Administrative Reforms of General Yakubu Gowon (July 29, 1966– July 29, 1975), and then to May 29, 1999 which marked the end of the military government under the administration of General Abubakar Abdulsalam (June 9, 1998–May 29, 1999) and which ushered the Fourth Republic democratic government in the history of Nigerian civilian administration. Though scholars have written extensively on Katsina city, such as Saulawa (1977), Bakinkasuwa (2011), Lugga (2004), Shehu (2012), Sani (2012), Wycliff (2016), and Wycliff (2021:312-328), they were limited by periodization while others failed to isolate the impact of the military factor in the development of Katsina city as a case study. This was despite the fact that Katsina city has been home to powerful Nigerian military and political elites such as late General Hassan Usman Katsina (March 13, 1933–

July 24, 1995) who was the first Military Governor, Northern Region (January 17, 1966–January 1967) and Chief of Staff to General Gowon during the Nigeria Civil War (July 6, 1967–January 12, 1970) (Falola and Genova, 2009:172-173, 193), and the first Hausa person to become an Army General in 1973, and member of National Party of Nigeria (NPN) upon his retirement from Nigerian Army in 1975 (Lugga, 2004:136-146); late Major-General Shehu Musa Yar'adua (March 5, 1943–December 8, 1997) who served as Chief of Staff under the military leadership of General Muritala Mohammed (July 29, 1975–February 13, 1976), and de facto Vice President of Nigeria as Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters under the military government of General Olusegun Obasanjo (1976 – 1979), a prominent national politician who founded the People's Front of Nigeria in 1979, but aligned himself with the Social Democratic Party (SDP) for the election of June 12, 1993. He was also known for declaring, "I know neither North nor South, East nor West. What I know is Nigeria" (Falola and Genova, 2009:185, 289, 371-372); and the late Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'adua (August 16, 1951–May 5, 2010), who was former Executive Governor of Katsina State, May 29, 1999–May 29, 2007, and President, Federal Republic of Nigeria, May 29 2007–May 5, 2010, (Wycliff, 2022: 137-156). As such, this present time demands a more critical re-assessment of the military roles in the political and socio-economic development of the city from 1969 to 1999. In this regard, therefore, this paper is solely built on both primary and secondary data. The paper also deployed the use of quantitative and historical research methodologies in the analysis of the data obtained as well as insightful empirical observation of military trends in Nigeria from 1999 to 1999. The data collected was also correlated, corroborated, selected, and interpreted. This process gave a room for juxtaposing the different information collected in the course of the research. Hence, this study of military history in Katsina City will help African scholars, policymakers, and analysts to appreciate why military rule and military officers continue to wield significant influence and remain points of reference in the political and socio-economic development of Nigeria across the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), the 36 States, and the 774 Local Government Areas (LGAs), which were all created to accommodate the nation's multiethnic diversity.

Therefore, in attempting a historical analysis of military government roles in the transformation and development of Katsina city from 1969 to 1999, the paper is structured into sections. The first section is the introduction, followed by the second section, which provides clarifications of the key concepts used in the

paper. The third section analyses the political and socio-economic roles of the military government in the transformation and development of Katsina City, which left an everlasting legacy in the history of the area and its environs. The fourth section analyses the challenges that posed a series of threats to the growth of Katsina City under the military leadership, while the fifth section is the conclusion.

2. Conceptual Clarification

To ensure a meaningful understanding of the subject matter, it is necessary to clarify several key concepts that are relevant to the phenomenon under study.

2.1 Military Government

The military is conceived as the “totality of the armed forces found in the world over, which include the Army, Navy, Air Force, and to some extent the Police” (Oyediran, 1996:1-2). Military government, administration, and/or regime, on the other hand, refers to government led by and dominated by military leaders, which is generally regarded as an aberration of governance and a negation of political development (Eshikena, 2012:15-20). This is to say that the military is a politicized institution, indulging more in governance than their conventional role in Nigeria (Eminue, 2006.22-23). This could possibly explain why the country experienced different military coups: those of January 15, 1966; July 29, 1966; July 29, 1975; December 31, 1983; and August 27, 1985. There was also an unsuccessful coup in which the Head of State, General Murtala Ramat Muhammad (November 8, 1938–February 13, 1976), was killed in February 1976, and another was nipped in the bud in December 1985 (Adu, 2023:549-557). An attempt to overthrow General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida was made in April 1990. It is interesting to note that of those coups, only those of January 1966 and December 1983 were against civilian governments: the government of Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (1960–1966) and President Shehu Shagari (1979–1983). Furthermore, in the history of the Nigerian transition from military to civilian rule, only two military governments out of six had succeeded in transferring power to democratically elected governments. These were the transfers of power by the Obasanjo military regime to Shagari in 1979 and that of General Abdulsalam Abubakar to the civilian government of Obasanjo in 1999.

It is interesting to note that in the history of Nigeria, the military government usually comes out with designed programs and policies that would earn them the support of the citizens. Thus, enabling them to

consolidate themselves in power with minimal pressure from global communities or opposition from political elites of the country. This shows that the military is a politicized institution, indulging more in governance than their conventional role in the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

2.2 Political Development

Political development is basically a process that is concerned with the improvement of institutions, attitudes, and values that form the political system of a society or nation. In conceptualizing political development, Hans Park defines it in terms of “the capacity of the political system to satisfy the changing needs of the members of the society” (Park, 58). In other words, the process is concerned with the improvement of the institutions, attitudes, and values that form the political system of a society. Its primary objective is to attain the well-being of citizens through proper utilization of human and natural resources and/or advancement of economic, social, political, and cultural institutions of a nation. It is, therefore, characterized by its special concern with equality of political institutions, the capacity of the political system in place, and the differentiation or specialization of governmental organizations.

The spirit or attitude towards equality as a distinguishing feature of political development includes, according to Pye, the level of participation, universalistic nature, and standards of achievement of political institutions or organizations. The capacity of a political system depends on the level of a nation’s economy, the performance of its government—judged by its effectiveness and efficiency or rationality in administration, and the secularization of public policies; while differentiation has to do with the increase of structures, institutions, division of labor, and specialization followed by an ultimate sense of integration (Pye, 1965:13, 33-35).

Explaining further, Huntington sees political development as a synonym or some kind of political modernization. He identifies four major criteria by which this process can be determined. The first, according to him, is rationalization, which involves the movement from particularism to universalism or from a given political standpoint to a focus on functional differentiation and achievement. The second is nationalism and national integration, which emphasize nation-states and nation-building as the key aspects of political development. The third is a focus on democratization, which, in essence, is a focus on competition and equalization of power. The fourth is mobilization, which is a focus on political

participation (Huntington, 386). Thus, greater political development consists in greater modernization of a state, greater mobilization, and greater political participation. In short, from Huntington's explanation, political development is ultimately an increase in national political unity and an increase in political participation.

Worthy of note, since her independence on October 1, 1960, Nigeria has, no doubt, been making some frantic efforts to foster the economic, social, and political well-being of her citizens. Many administrations are reported to have, in the past, thought of and actually presented plans that were geared towards achieving sustainable political development in the country. Such plans encapsulated programs that were to improve the status of socio-economic and political structures, thereby enhancing the general welfare of the citizens and the nation as a whole. In fact, development and growth have always been the government's top priorities since the attainment of independence. This has been the case because development planning, as experts believe, is the only avenue where the allocation and utilization of resources can be adequately handled (Ibietan and Ekhosuehi, 2023:297). Thus, the military governments in Nigeria were characterized with so many efforts towards the political development of the nation; one of such fundamentals was the creation of 36 states and 774 local government areas in order to promote political and socio-economic development across the three tiers of government (federal, state, and local).

2.3 Socio-economic Development

Socio-economic development, according to Ekele (2011:15-16), is an interface of social and economic development of people, with emphasis on human capital development, poverty alleviation, employment generation, and general economic development. On the other hand, Wise Geek (2008) conceptualizes socio-economic development as a process that seeks to highlight the social and economic needs of the people in more practical and utilitarian terms, as well as on a long run. Geek argues further that the general idea of socio-economic development is an improved standard of living and a healthy economy capable of sustaining the population. Considering all these facts, the military government, knowing fully that it was not generally acceptable by citizens of Nigeria, and also considering the need to promote good governance, engaged in political and socio-economic development of the country in order to make a difference from the civilian government, which they accused of bribery and corruption, poor infrastructural and social amenities development, indiscipline and insecurity deepened by

political upheaval, terrorism, banditry, kidnapping, ethnic and religious crises.

To buttress this fact, Eminue (2006) and Ekele (2006) observe that the socio-economic improvement of nations is often used as the yardstick for measuring the performance of any government. Hence, when individuals aspire to or assume power, they typically outline their policies and programs aimed at transforming the socio-economic prospects of their countries. The same applies to military governments in Nigeria and the various military administrators or governors in Katsina State, whose capital city is Katsina. In fact, successive military regimes have frequently cited the state of the nation's political and socio-economic development as one of their justifications for intervening in politics. As expected, these governments often pledge to enhance the socio-economic development of the country. However, it should be noted that the strategies employed to achieve such objectives vary from one military government to another. Consequently, the key roles and/or contributions of the various military governments under the military governors in Katsina City—the state capital of Katsina State—include, among other areas, civil service reform, employment opportunities, healthcare services, education, security, infrastructure, migration, and intergroup relations. These topics will be discussed in subsequent papers.

3. Theoretical Framework

The use of theory as an analytical tool is important in this research work. For proper conceptualization of the military and its role in the political and socio-economic development of Katsina city from 1969 to 1999, taking a critical analysis, the researcher employs the use of the structural functionalism theory. This is because structural functionalism, or simply functionalism, sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability (Gerber, 2010:14). In fact, functionalism addresses society as a whole in terms of the function of its constituent elements, namely norms, customs, traditions, and institutions. Thus, a common analogy, popularized by Spencer, presents these parts of society as 'organs' that work toward the proper functioning of the 'body' as a whole (Urry, 2000:23). In the most basic terms, it simply emphasizes the effort to impute, as rigorously as possible, to each feature, custom, or practice its effect on the functioning of a supposedly stable, cohesive system (Parsons, 1975).

The choice of this theory goes with the argument of Durkheim (Fish, 2005), which was concerned with the question of how certain societies maintain internal

stability and survive over time. He proposes that such societies tend to be segmented, with equivalent parts held together by shared values, common symbols, or, as his nephew, Marcel Mauss, held systems of exchanges. Durkheim used the term 'mechanical solidarity' to refer to these types of 'social bonds,' based on common sentiments and shared moral values, which are strong among members of pre-industrial societies.

To this end, the theory of structural functionalism is important to this study because it describes the bonds that bring people together in a society. In order for groups to be cohesive in a social context, positive membership attitudes and behaviors have to be produced and maintained. Social cohesion can be looked at on both an individual and group level. Individual-levels include an individual's desire or intention to remain a part of a group, her attitudes and beliefs about the group, the individual's intention to sever, weaken, maintain, or strengthen her membership or participation in a group, and her susceptibility to group influence. Social cohesion at a group level is directly affected by the individual members.

4. Military Government and Development of Katsina City

The military is a nation's instrument used to enforce peace, guarantee safety of lives and properties, and ensure the stability of its citizens. According to the definition above, the military's response to threats to national security encompasses both internal and external dimensions. Beyond this primary duty, however, the military in Nigeria assumed a role in national leadership, establishing military rule, regimes, or governments since January 15, 1966. During this period, numerous policies were implemented, leading to significant political transformations as well as socio-economic developments in Nigerian communities, including Katsina City, which was not an exception.

4.1 Political Development

One of the historical moments in the military efforts and legacy in the political development of Katsina city was its creation as an Administrative Area (Area Council or Local Authority Council) in 1969 and placed under the North-Central State (created out of the former Northern Region, which comprises of Zaria and Katsina Provinces) for great efficiency as well as to check abuse of power by the traditional institutions and also to develop a local system with a view of making it more people-oriented and equally to

promote more development in the area (Yahaya, 1980:195). Furthermore, the Area Council was empowered to, by concept and practice, make budgets, generate revenue through market dues and other local means, and also secure grants from the Local Authority Council for the development of the area (Usman, 2011:105). The genesis of that could be traced to the collapse of the democratic government of the First Republic on January 15, 1966, following the emergence of military government. This marked a turning point in the evolution of representatives of local government councils in Nigeria (Waziri, 2009:3-5). Thus, the consequence of that was the creation of Katsina City as an Area Council in 1969, a development that happened following the creation of the 12-states by the military government of General Yakubu Gowon on May 17, 1967.

Of equal importance to note is that under this military political development, Katsina city, which was under the status of an Area Council, had the following districts under its jurisdiction: Magajin Gari, Mallawa, Kaita, Kaura, Manai, Mashi, Durbi, Dan Yusifa, Ruma, Tsagero, and Jibia (Shehu, 2012:109). Moreso, under this new political setup, the late Alhaji Musa Yar'adua, who was father to the late General Shehu Musa Yar'adua and the late President Umaru Musa Yar'adua and who was also the former Minister of Lagos Affairs (1960–1966), was appointed in 1969 as the first Administrator of Katsina Area Council (Wycliff, 2021:20).

It is worthy to state that following the shortcomings of the 1969 reforms when Area Councils were created and coupled with continued agitation for further reforms that will make the local administration more functional, especially through the involvement of more citizens in the development of their local areas, as well as the need for autonomy to the Area Councils as the third tier of the government (Yahaya, 1980:204-205), Katsina Area Council, which had an area of 3,370 sq. km, was transformed to a Local Government Area in 1976 under the military government of General Murtala Ramat Muhammad, a development that coincided with the oil boom era in the country (Shehu, 2012:118-119). This development gave Katsina city the opportunity to provide necessary infrastructure, such as health facilities, feeder roads, and primary schools, which at the end improved the living standard and the well-being of the people. This also enables the community at the grassroots to identify their problems and aspirations since they are familiar and also have local details and intimate knowledge of their environment (Hashim, 1980:1). The development also led to the appointment of Alhaji Isa Kaita as the first Executive Secretary of the Katsina

Local Government Area and Alhaji Yusuf Riyoji as the Caretaker Chairman (Yahaya, 1980:204-205), with the Rimi, Kaita, Jibia, Tsagero, and Katsina Districts under the area. This development enabled Katsina City to witness massive infrastructural and physical development (Max Lock Survey Groups, 1978:8). The military government also gave special attention to accommodation and the secretariat. In fact, the creation of Katsina Local Government in 1976 led to the building of the Local Government Secretariat at Kayalwa and the Social Welfare Office along Nagogo Road in 1977 (KT-MPR, 2007:11-12).

Following this political development, which became a major landmark in the history of the city under the military government, was the creation of Katsina State from defunct Kaduna State on September 23, 1985, under the military government of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (Wycliff, 2021:312-328). This further led to the transformation of Katsina city from a local government area to the capital city of the state (state capital). This made the city to have triple functions and honors: first as the administrative headquarters of the Katsina Emirate Council, second as triple functions and honors: first as the administrative headquarters of the Katsina Emirate

Council, second as a local government area, and third as the state capital city of the 34 local government areas of the state and the seat of power owing to the location of the federal and state secretariates, the state government house, as well as the state headquarters offices of the Nigerian Army, the Nigeria Police Force, the Nigerian Correction Service, the Nigeria Customs Service, the Nigeria Immigration Service, the Department of State Security, and the National Drugs Law Enforcement Agency, amongst others. This development attracts lots of migrant communities across the 36 states of Nigeria and 774 local government areas as a result of either deployment under the civil service or as a result of employment opportunities in the state capital or private business sectors (Wycliff, 2016:84-92). In addition to that, the creation of Katsina State required the deployment/posting of so many military governors as administrators of the state who equally reside in the state capital. See Table 1 below for a list of all the Military Governors of Katsina State from 1987 to date. As such, considering their seat of power is in Katsina City, the city experiences tremendous infrastructural and human resource development projects beyond what was obtainable in the colonial Katsina Province and First Republic democratic government of Nigeria.

Table 1: List of Katsina State Military and Civilian Governors, 1987–Date

S/N.	Name	No. of Executive Council	Tenure	Remark
1	Colonel Abdullahi Sarki Mukhtar	15	September, 1987–July, 1988	He was the first Military Governor of Katsina State and from the Hausa ethnic group of Katsina State.
2	Colonel Lawrence Anebi Onoja	18	July, 1988–December, 1989	He was Idoma by ethnic identity and from Idekpa Okpiko, Ohimini local government in Benue State.
3	Colonel John Yahaya Madaki	27	December, 1989–January, 1992	He was from the Nupe ethnic group of Gurara Local Government Area of Niger State. He handed over to the elected and first civilian Governor of Katsina State, Alhaji Saidu Barda, in January 1992 at the start of the Nigerian Third Republic under General IBB, who served as Military President.
4	Alhaji Saidu Barda	16	January, 1992–November, 1993	A was a Hausa man and an indigene of Katsina city.
5	Navy Captain Emmanuel A. Acholonu	19	December 1993–August 1996	He was the longest-serving governor of Katsina State posted by the military regime of General Sani Abacha. He is from the Igbo ethnicity of Imo State.
6	Colonel Samuel Bature Chamah	15	August, 1996–August, 1998	He was from the Kilba ethnic group of the Hong Local Government Area of Adamawa State. Posted to Katsina by General Sani Abacha.
7	Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Iorshagher Akaagerger	17	August, 1998 – May, 1999	He was from the Tiv ethnic group of Konshisha Local Government Area of Benue State. He was the last military governor of Katsina State to oversee the transition to civil rule that marked the Fourth Republic. This led to the emergence of the late Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar’adua as the third civilian governor of Katsina State.
8	Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar’adua	25	May, 1999–May, 2007	He was an indigene of Katsina City and the democratically elected governor that marked the Fourth Republic of Nigerian democracy. He later became

				President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, May 2007–May 2010.
9	Barrister Ibrahim Shehu Shema		May, 2007–May, 2015	He was from the Fulani ethnic group of the Dustin-Ma Local Government Area of Katsina State.
10	Honorable Aminu Bello Masari		May, 2015–May, 2023	He was from the Hausa ethnic group of Kafur Local Government Area of Katsina State. He was also the former Speaker, House of Representatives, 2003–2007.
11	Dr. Dikko Umaru Radda		May, 2023–date	He was from the Fulani ethnic group of the Dustin-Ma Local Government Area of Katsina State. He is also former Director General/Chief Executive, Small and Medium Enterprises Development Agency of Nigeria (SMEDAN), 2016–2022.

Source: (Military Wiki, 2024; Wycliff, 2021:312-328; Shehu, 2012:)

It is worthy of note that the creation of Katsina State, under the first Military Governor and an indigene of the area, Colonel Abdullahi Sarki Mukhtar (September 1987–July 1988), had led to tremendous development of the Katsina State Civil Service, whose headquarters is located in Katsina city. In the first place, his appointment had led to the establishment of the main organ of the Civil Service, such as the Governor's Office, the Office of the Secretary to the Military Government, popularly known as the Office of the Secretary to the State Government (SSG), amongst other key offices on September 26, 1987 (Katsina, 2021:60-61). In fact, under the military government, Wycliff and Katsina (2023:67-78) noted that Katsina city witnessed the deployment of 17,538 staff to the Katsina State Civil Service Commission out of 25,873 staff from 43 ministries, parastatals, and agencies of the defunct Kaduna State. Hence, this led to the relocation of civil servants and their families out of Kaduna city to Katsina city (Bununu, Ludin, and Hosni, 2015:53-65). This led to an increase in the city population and infrastructural development through the building of government secretariats, ministries, parastatals, and agencies (Report of Staff Development, 1988:1–5; KTSCSC Report, 2015:13). More so, in the whole of the deployment process, there was special gender consideration, i.e., married men and women were deployed based on married ties, meaning both husband and wife were deployed together, whether indigene or non-indigene, contract and/or noncontract civil servants (Wycliff and Katsina, 2023:67-78). This promotes harmony as well as prevents families from being far from each other.

The deployment of the civil service also resulted to the placement and recruitment of more human resources in Katsina city. For example, the Ministry of Education received 8,000 staff. This was followed by employment of teaching and supporting staff in the years 1991, 1992, and 1993 (Wycliff and Katsina, 2023:73). In a similar development, the former Military Governor, Colonel Lawrence Anebi Onoja Samuel (July, 1988–January, 1990), upon assuming office, promoted about 1000 teachers in the month of

September/October 1988 with effect from 1987. This is apart from the series of civil service reforms that were carried out in 1988 and then 1995 under the chairmanship of Allision Ayida. All these improved the performance and efficiency of civil servants within and outside Katsina City, as well as the development of the Katsina State Civil Service.

4.2 Socio-economic Development

In the areas of socio-economic development, the military government had played a crucial in the transformation of Katsina city. For example, the educational sector witnessed a series of advancements and developments, especially the tertiary institutions such as Katsina College of Arts, Science, and Technology (KCAST), established in 1973 along Dutsin-Ma Road of Katsina city by the then military government of the North-Central State. In fact, when Katsina city became a local government area in 1976, coinciding with the nation's oil boom era, the federal military government saw the need to improve the tertiary education to boost the human resources development of the city coupled with the oil boom era of the nation, the federal military government saw the need to improve the tertiary education in order to boost the human resources development of the city and the whole of the north; Consequently, in 1976, the Federal College of Education (FCE) was established along Dutsin-Ma in 1976 with the aim to produce well-qualified professional teachers of the Nigerian Certificate of Education (NCE), especially in the fields of humanities, science, technical, and vocational (Shehu, 2012:110; Omolewa, 1995:293). Similarly, in the year 1983, in the opposite direction of the FCE, the military government also established Katsina Polytechnic (later renamed as Hassan Usman Katsina Polytechnic in 1995) as part of its efforts to promote innovative science and technology, as well as to enhance comprehensive research institutions (Lugga, 2004:185).

In the area of secondary education, the military government had also made a crucial effort. For example, in its bid to expand secondary education, the

Military Government under Kaduna State established a first generation of day secondary schools in Katsina city—Government Day Secondary School Kofar Yan'daka along Batsari Road in the year 1977 (Wycliff, 2012:60), and then Government Day Secondary School Kofar Sauri along Kaita Road in the year 1980, as well as Government Day Secondary School Natsinta along Jibia Road in the year 1984 (Shehu, 2012:110, 124; Inko, 1992:1-4). Further to this, in 1988, the military government constructed a workshop at Government Day Secondary School Katsina and two classrooms at Women Teachers College (WTC), Katsina (KTS-MOE, 2011:1-4). In fact, between 1989 and 1990, two blocks of classrooms, two blocks of toilets, and a one-storey building were constructed at Government College Katsina (GCK). Additionally, in 1991, rehabilitation work was carried out in Hotels A, B, C, and D at Katsina College (KC), among other projects. Similarly, in 1992, 1 block classroom was constructed at Government Day Secondary School Kofar Sauri in addition to the construction of Model Qur'anic Primary School at Ambuttai (KTS-MOE, 2011:1-4). There was also rehabilitation of hostels at Arabic Teachers College (ATC) that included Bawo, Sarkin Yaki, Coomassie, Umaru Dallage, Nagogo, and Sambo Houses, as well as the school Assembly Hall. The military government also renovated the principal and vice principal staff houses in both ATC and WTC (Shehu, 2012:196). Thus, between 1995 and 1996, similar rehabilitation projects were undertaken, including the expansion of the mosque at the Ministry of Education headquarters, the renovation of the vice principal's quarters at Government College Katsina, the construction of a single block of student hostels at the Government School for the Blind in Katsina, and the comprehensive rehabilitation of Katsina College. In 1998, laboratories and classrooms were also constructed at Government Day Secondary School Kofar Yan'daka, as well as the rehabilitation of its administrative block and staff quarters to enable staff to have conducive offices and residences (KTS Nigeria Gazette, 2000: A62).

The military government also established a significant number of educational institutions and agencies in Katsina city to reduce illiteracy, promote standard Islamic education and moral values in society, and enhance science and technological education in Katsina state. This led to the establishment of the Agency for Mass Education in 1988 and the Katsina State Science and Technical Education Board in the year 1996 (Shehu, 2012:196-197). The implications of all of this development are that they led the recruitment of more Nigerians in the educational sector, thereby reducing the rate of unemployment and improving the

educational standard of Katsina City and the entire state.

In the area of primary education, Katsina city also experienced the establishment and expansion of numerous primary schools, which significantly increased pupil enrollment of so many pupils. For example, from 8 primary schools in 1960 to 15 in 1970 and expanded to 28 by 1987 (KTLEA Office, 2011). More so, the introduction of the Universal Primary Education (UPE) Scheme in 1976, which provided books, midday meals, and other expenses, as well as organizing training, workshops for massive school teachers, rehabilitation of instructional materials, and also improving the adult education program, played a pivotal role in the city's educational advancement. For instance, a total of 51 teachers ended courses at the Arabic Teachers College Katsina in 1976 (New Nigeria, 1976:18). Furthermore, under the military government, Katsina City experienced high enrolment of primary school pupils and recruitment of teachers. For example, in 1974, there were 8210 pupils, 183 teachers, but that rose to 9220 pupils, 221 teachers, in the year 1976. Then rose to 10989 pupils, 280 teachers in 1979, and 12283 pupils, 283 teachers in 1980 (DRPS-KTLEA, 2012:1-3).

In the case of private investors in the educational sector, the military government encouraged private investment in the educational sector by granting opportunities to religious bodies, individuals, and groups to establish private nursery, primary, and secondary schools in Katsina city. The first such schools established by an individual was Auntie Ramatu College Katsina in 1980. To buttress this fact, Wycliff (2012:100) noted that between 1980 and 1999 there were 24 of such schools, each covering nursery, primary, and secondary education. Wycliff (2020:267-278) further argued that the existence of these schools in the city had complemented government efforts in the provision of standard education and a reduction in the rate of unemployment and underemployment through recruitment of academic and non-academic staff such as school principal, teachers, security personnel, bus drivers, and health workers. Besides, the existence of these schools had contributed to the internally generated revenue of the city, especially through registration of the schools, payment of annual dues, and PAYE taxes of the staff (Wycliff, 2021:401-420; Wycliff, 2019: 69-85). It has also led to the development of private schools as a business enterprise, generating significant wealth for proprietors and/or proprietresses (Wycliff and Afordia, 2021:96-115; Wycliff, 2017:2058-2067).

Health, which occupies an important position in the socio-economic development of any society, was

another key area in which the military government has played a vital role since the creation of the Katsina Area Council in 1969. In fact, the North-Central State expanded the Katsina General Hospital, while the Katsina Nurses Training School was considerably improved (Shehu, 2012:111-112) in order to produce enough medical personnel for the healthcare services within and outside Katsina city. More so, to tackle the overstretching of the existing healthcare facilities medically affected by the growing population of the city, 4 maternity and health child clinics were built along the 4 gates of Katsina city in 1988 at the cost of ₦530,900. 20 each. This was followed by the establishment of a diagnostic center in 1988 at the Katsina General Hospital, as well as spending about 100 million naira on the construction of the Katsina State Specialist Hospital in 1992 (Wycliff, 2021:32-34). It is interesting to note that each of these developments is also associated with the recruitment of more medical personnel, such as doctors, nurses, midwives, laboratory scientists, and environmental/sanitation officers.

Furthermore, opportunities were equally given to the private sector to establish private healthcare centers in Katsina city. This led to a significant proliferation of private clinics to the extent that between 1980 and 1999 there were 9 of such clinics. Notable examples include Samari Clinic established in 1980, Okmos Clinic in 1985, Amfani Clinic in 1988, Alheri Clinic and Maternity Home in 1991, and Sauki Clinic and Maternity in 1998 (Wycliff, 2016:161-163). Thus, the existence of these clinics in the city has provided comprehensive healthcare services to people, created employment opportunities for medical personnel from different parts of Nigeria, and contributed to government revenue through property taxes. Additionally, the financial success of these clinics has enabled them to acquire more land and expand their facilities, as seen in the cases of Alheri Clinic and Maternity Home and Sauki Clinic and Maternity.

Water and electricity supply were among the major development the city experienced under the military government. To alleviate the water shortage affecting the city's growing population of the of the city and its environs, the military government constructed Ajiwa Dam in 1977, which supplied approximately 1.5 million gallons of water daily to the city (Katsina Master Plan Review, 2007). In fact, between 1977 and 1999, the dam provided up to 25 million liters of water per day (KTS-WB Report, 2011). This development had aided the provision of portable drinking water as well as the ones for domestic and industrial purposes. In the area of electricity, before the creation of Katsina State in 1987, new electricity substations were

established at key locations, including Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida Way, Kofar Guga, Ajiwa Water Works, the State Secretariat, and Hassan Usman Polytechnique to meet the increasing demand in Katsina City, which served as an undertaking unit (Shehu, 2012:11). In fact, as a result of the increased number of electricity consumers in Katsina City, 9 out of the 34 local government areas were carved out to form the Funtua Business Unit in 2002 (NPHC, 2012). Hence the provision of the electricity in Katsina city had attracted people to utilize the opportunity to establish small-scale and medium enterprises. This boosted so many trades, commerce, and industries in the area and its environs.

To facilitate urban transportation—intracity and intercity transport systems, the military government in 1987 established the Katsina State Transport Authority (KTSTA) initially equipped with about 15 vehicles, the KTSTA was located in Katsina City along Batsari Road (Shehu, 2012:202). Between 1995 and 1996, the KTSTA's operations were significantly strengthened when it benefited loans of 10 buses (MBO 1414) and 10 buses (MB 608 D) from the Federal Urban Mass Transport Agency (FUMTA) and the Urban Development Bank of Nigeria (KTSTA Office, 2011). Thus, the ability of the KTSTA to provide an effective and efficient transport system had enhanced the movement of passengers and their goods and services within and outside Katsina city. This development also led to the establishment of so many motor parks in the capital city in the year 1991, especially in places like Kofar Marusa, Kofar Durbi, Kofar Yan'daka, and Kofar Suari, while that of Kofar Guga was in the year 1994 (Works Department, 2011). In a similar development, the military government, in consideration for easy mobility of people and their commodities, undertook the construction of Katsina city township roads and the dualization of bypass and gateway roads with a central verge, side drain concrete with pedestrian pavement, and also with streetlights in the 1990s. furthermore, in 1992, there was rehabilitation and construction of major roads linking Katsina city with neighboring areas. For example, Katsina–Dutsinma–Kankara Road, Katsina–Jibia–Gurbin Baure Road, Katsina–Daura–Zango Road, Katsina–Tsagero–Mani Roads, and Katsina–Kaita–Dankama Road (Shehu, 2012:203; KTS-MOWHT, 2011). Hence, the construction of the new roads as well as the rehabilitation of the old ones had enhanced the living conditions of the people as it provided easy mobility for businessmen and women and employment opportunities to road construction companies, as well as the large number of skilled and unskilled laborers who secured employment with the companies and the emergence of motorcycle transport services (Wycliff and Sararinkuka, 2021:37-50). It also reduced traffic

congestion and unwarranted accidents in Katsina city, giving the city a modern urban outlook comparable to other state capitals such as Kaduna, Kano, and Lagos.

The military government also played a crucial role in the development of commerce and industries in Katsina city. For instance, during the tenure of Military Governor Colonel Samuel Bature Chama (1996–1998), there was the establishment and commissioning of a well-designed modern central market in 1997 along Tafawa Balewa Way (Shehu, 2012:211-212). The market featured 2,754 stores equipped with essential facilities such as fire service and security lights, overhead tanks, and toilets. It accommodated traders specializing in a wide range of goods and services, including household items, consumable items, textile materials, cosmetics, electrical and electronic, bookshops and stationaries, saloons, etc. There was also a police station and commercial bank in the market, ensuring the security of lives and property while facilitating smooth financial transactions between customers and wholesalers or retailers (Wycliff, 2021:312-328). The central market also became a source of internal generated revenue (IGR) for the government through store/shop rent, market dues, fines, and other taxes. Furthermore, the location of the market had led to the development of unplanned settlements like Sabuwar Unguwa and Rahamawa, which were farmland but converted to residential areas in 1997 (Shehu, 2012:211-212). This encouraged private land developers to create layouts. In fact, the sales of plots of land at a cheaper rate in the area had attracted lots of people to settle there. More so, the establishment of the market had also eased the problems and burden experienced in the old Katsina central market located around Katsina Central Police Station, which was characterized with a lack of lavatory facilities and an organized waste disposal system; congestion and blockages of market rows, which affected the proper conduct of transactions between customers and traders; and blocking of the main road, causing accidents almost on a daily basis due to the absence of packing space, which made customers pack their vehicles indiscriminately (KUPDA, 2011).

Considering unemployment as a threat to the sustenance of peace, stability, and security of the nation, the military government established the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) in 1987. Under the NDE vocational skills development programs, about 358 individuals secured employment in 1997, 663 in 1998, 548 in 1999, and 822 in 2000 in Katsina city (Shehu, 2012:292, 295). This development, to a large extent, reduced the

unemployment rate among able-bodied men and women, thereby making them self-employed.

In tackling environmental challenges confronting Katsina city, especially desertification, unplanned settlements, and agriculture population pressure, the military government established the Katsina State Afforestation Unit (KTAPU), Katsina State Agricultural Development Authority (KTARDA), EEG/FGN, and later the International Food and Agricultural Development (IFAD), as well as the State Environmental Protection Agency (SEPA) in 1994 (Al'adunmi, 1997:11; KTAPU, 2011; KTARDA, 2011). All these agencies had played vital roles in terms of intensive reforestation programs, ranging from planting woodlots, windbreaks, and natural regeneration of trees. They also introduced wood- and mud-burning stoves to reduce reliance on fuelwood and curb illegal tree cutting for firewood. The military government also embarked on environmental sanitation, where it procured tippers for evacuation of garbage and also introduced weekly sanitation exercise through employing casual laborers to clean the major streets of the major streets of the capital city (Baba-Yakubu, 2010:14–15; Shehu, 2012:290). This tradition was maintained throughout the military government era and even introduced by the democratic government, but on a monthly basis.

Under the military government, Katsina city had witnessed the development of centers of worship of the Christian community who were migrant communities such as civil/public servants like civilians, police, customs, and immigration officers deployed between 1976 and 1987 across the 36 states, 774 local government areas, and the Federal Capital Territory of the nation to work as public/civil servants, Corp members of the National Youth Service Scheme (NYSC), or as employees of the private sector such as construction companies, financial institutions, private schools, and hospitality industries (Wycliff, 2022:1-18). Between 1936 and 1968, there were only 7 churches in the city, but that rose to 11 between 1976 and 1984 and then to more than 29 between 1987 and 1999 (Wycliff, 2019:231-247). Notable examples include the Evangelical Church of Christ in Nigeria (ECCN), established in 1976 along Nagogo Road, the Seventh Day Adventist Church in 1987, and the Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries (MFM) in 1999 along Gawo Road near Kofar Kaura (Rabe and Wycliff, 2018:481-496). The construction of the beautiful churches with modern architectural designs as centers of worship played an important role in the physical development of the city, employment of clergymen, physical and spiritual growth of the Christian community, spread of Christian missionary

primary and secondary schools, and peacebuilding avenues between Christian and Muslim communities in the city (Wycliff, 2019:231-247).

In addressing the environmental challenges confronting Katsina city, particularly desertification, unplanned settlements, and agricultural population pressure, the military government established the Katsina State Afforestation Unit (KTAPU), Katsina State Agricultural Development Authority (KTARDA), and EEG/FGN. This was followed by International Food and Agricultural Development (IFAD), as well as the State Environmental Protection Agency (SEPA) in 1994 (Al'adunmi, 1997:11; KTAPU, 2011; KTARDA, 2011). All these agencies had played vital roles in terms of intensive reforestation programs, ranging from planting woodlots, windbreaks, and natural regeneration of trees. This was followed by the introduction of wood and mud-burning stoves to reduce the use of fuel and the illegal cutting of trees for firewood. The military government also embarked on environmental sanitation, where it procured tippers for evacuation of garbage and also introduced weekly sanitation exercise through employing casual labourers to clean the major streets of the capital city (Baba-Yakubu, 2010:14–15; Shehu, 2012:290). This tradition was maintained throughout the military government era and even introduced by the democratic government, but on a monthly basis.

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of clergymen, physical and spiritual growth of the Christian community, spread of Christian missionary primary and secondary schools, and peacebuilding avenues between Christian and Muslim communities in the city (Wycliff, 2019:231-247).

5. Conclusion

From the foregoing, it is clear that the development of Katsina city in the post-colonial era, especially in the period under review, was largely influenced by military factors, ranging from the transformation of the area council to its status as the administrative headquarters of Katsina State. In fact, each phase of the city's transformation was associated with one development project after another, either in the aspect of education, healthcare facilities, or road construction. The population increased due to new business opportunities in commerce and industries, as well as employment opportunities in the civil service. To this end, this paper has demonstrated that, although the military government's role in the political and socio-economic development of Nigeria ended on May 29, 1999, the history of nation-building and the development of Nigerian societies will never be completed without special reference to its contribution. Besides, the failure of the democratic government since the Fourth Republic had made lots of Nigerians call for military rule in the government of the nation. This explains why even in the contemporary Nigerian government, the highly trained armed forces are used for non-military purposes within the country.

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