

THE IMPACT OF YANBANGA, YANDABA AND YAN JAGALIYA ON THE POLITICS OF KANO FROM 1999-2023

BY

Lawan Yusuf Fagge, PhD

Department of History & International Relations,
Faculty of Arts
Alvan Ikoku Federal University of Education
Owerri, Imo State.

This was a presentation to draw the attention of students and youth against engaging into electoral violence & other related crimes in the concluded gubernatorial elections in March, 2013

Abstract

The groups of **Y'andaba** [notorious group] are in most cases called 'Yanbanga [political thugs]. However, Yanbanga are political party thugs in the political arena being the terrorist group of youths associated with politicians, whose primary responsibility initially is the protection of their political party and its manifesto, in addition to being used in stuffing of ballot boxes with already casted votes, snatching ballot boxes and causing public unrest during election campaigns and rallies of

their opponents. Y'an Jagaliya on the other hand are the same unemployed Yanbanga group who follow the political office holders and party leaders at homes and offices to benefit from their roles during the electioneering campaigns. All the above three groups had been a public menace in Kano's political dispensations since the return to democracy in Nigeria in 1999.

The youths remained the culprits of this negative development. They resort to Jagaliya and political thuggery to earn a living. This is because they are being manipulated by the political class to achieve their goals. Political thuggery remained a serious threat in Nigerian politics since the First Republic serving as tools by the politicians to victimize and intimidate their opponents. This paper is an attempt to examine and explain the meaning of Jagaliya from various perspectives and its background in the Hausa social, economic and political history. This is necessary in order to ascertain critically the essence and origin of Jagaliya in the political development of Kano.

Introduction

Comaption has been the bane of Nigeria's development since independence and continued to be the stumbling stone hindering development of the country. "This situation made it difficult for the youths to achieve economic development, thus necessitating them to be used by the corrupt politicians to achieve their selfish interest through employing them into political militias.

In Kano state, since the return to democracy in 1999, youths have been participating actively in the political thuggery and other politically related crimes. This was because, politicians, who control the helm of the affairs, recruit these youths and sponsor them to carry out their heinous criminal activities. Apart from political thuggery, there emerged another political group whose CEDDERT Curupin migera. Selected wegs of M., & Publishers, Kaduna, Nigeria P Abubakar A. 2008), Yeh, Political Vadones d the Prospects for Democratic Conn Niger paper present the national Confes un igersin Youth and Naval Cherelispest, MAMAYYA Howe, K. Pp. 1-5 main modus operandi was to praise the politicians and follow them into their offices and homes. in order to collect money and at times other valuables such as motor cycles, cars and even plots of land. This new political loiterers and praise singers are called Yanjagaliya and their method of operation or practice is what is referred to as Jagaliya,

Yanbanga

The term banga is originally, an English word vanguard, which is being used in Hausa, referring to political party vanguards. While the political party stouts Yanbunga (sing. Danbanga) who are professional political party thugs recruited by parties to terrorize their party opponents,

Yandaba

Yandaba (sing. Dandaba) are a group of urban youths' gang groups that are engaged in criminal and other nefarious activities harmful to the society. As a terrorist

group, yandaba terrorize opponents and other people in their communities wheather during party politics or not and continued to exist in their various hideouts at different locations of the town both at the city and the rural areas. They were mostly identified with hemp smoking, drug abuse and use of local weapons such as knives; cutlasses etc. to intimidate people and snatch their properties as means of earning a leaving. They may be illiterate members of the society or at times unemployed school drop outs.

Jagaliya Defined

The term *Jagaliya* is a political coinage in the Hausa, vocabulary and describing the erratic movement and activities of the group. It is just like many other Hausa political coinages such as *handama*, *babbakere* of Sabo Bakin zuwo, *a kasa a tsare*, *a raka a jira*, of Buhari, *goro dan Ujile*, *wuju wuju mahaha*, of Kwankwaso, among other coinages some of which were accepted into the Hausa vocabularies, while some are still being processed before they could appear into the Hausa dictionaries. In essence the word Jagalia was coined from the words *jagwal* which means something full of anomalies or dubious way or crook dealings. It also originates from the ward *Jagwalgwalo* “which means remnant of food eaten by children, unhygienic or garbage.” Yeux Z (2000). The Youth, mic Cris and identity Tranformation The Case of 'yandaba in Kane, in Jega A. (ed) Identity Tandoren and ladentity Politics under Stectural Action in Nigeria, Nordala Africe hotitute, Uppal, Sand The Center for Research and Documintatlan, Kano. T.161 taff A.U. (2001) Urban

Cangstydale and Security in Kan states A Review of Trends and Challenges, Abdallal .A. and Security Nigre Po, reset and F, Res and Documentation Directorate, Kano State Mae Ceuter for die Stadty of Nigri Languages: BUK Deal Hersien heter 20, 2012 Abdallahi Baba Kekovember 2012, KA Kan Bober thra Kokterside November 25 Kikis

Hence the word Jagaliya means dirty, dubious and demoralizing political activities, characterized by begging, roaming about and in most cases extorting money from politicians, for fear of intimidation by the Yanjagaliya group, mostly youths.

Origin and Development of Banga and Daba in Kano

The general opinion on the original meaning of the Hausa word daba connotes a group who may share similar trade, age, profession or personal relationship and who regularly gather in a specific place (mazauna), to do certain things. It now assumed a different meaning apart from the original one mentioned. It is associated with subalterns, urban youths gang groups that are engaged in criminal and other deviant activities harmful to the society. There are various opinions with regard to the origin of yandaba panacea in Kano; it reached its highest level during the Second Republic, though even during the First Republic, there were some traces of daba through the use of unbanga or Political Vanguard

Other explanation of the origin of alaha traces it to the period of Barbushe, the leader of the early settlers and inhabitants of the people around the Dala Hill. "Thus yandaba emanated from the activities of hunters

(yanfarauta) who use dangerous weapons like knives, spears, clubs, axes and other domesticated animals like dogs to hunt for prey. This was later banned by the Colonial Administration under the Northern Nigeria Law No. 18 of 1959

Yandaba are a group of miscreants and subalterns in possession of dangerous weapons terrorize opponents and other people in their communities. They engage in sporadic and at times periodic squabbles. Their activities are facilitated and sustained by the prevailing social, economic and political conditions of the society. They mostly come from poor family backgrounds, where they can hardly afford to further their education beyond Primary, junior Secondary and at times senior Secondary Schools. They are therefore, mostly jobless and frustrated, with a bleak future. Almost all yandaba do take hard drugs and narcotics to get rid of frustrations.

Yanbanga on the other hand, could not be separated from Yandaba, this is because every Danbanga is also a Dandaha. They originated from the political movements before independence. The First Republic political parties notably, the National Congress for Nigeria and Cameroon NCNC, the Action Group AG, the Northern People's Congress NPC, and the Northern Elements Progressive Union NEPU recruited and made use of Yanbanga as their youth's wings

In Kano the early political crises started to degenerate into open hostilities and in most cases violent clashes ensued. This was at the period of intense political rivalry between the NPC and NEPU, because they were the

dominant political parties in northern Nigeria. They engaged into open violence as a result of the activities of the NPC towards opposition, and NEPL having enjoyed the support of the teaming masses, aligned itself with the NCNC.

In reaction to the activities of the NEPU of alignment with a southern Nigerian based political party NCNC and of enlightening the masses, NPC however, organized a strong yunhanga group called Jomar Mahukatu (a party of mad people) which was headed by one Mamman Nagindin Way They carried out their hangar activities in a broad day light without checkmating their activities by the police. They were bold enough to even give advance notice of their assault and attacks on NEPLI members. This was made possible because they were backed by Native Authority N.A. and was supported by the Colonial Administration. This group continued to attack, maim, harass, intimidate and victimize NEPU members and leaders with impunity

To counter attack the Mahaukata hanga thugs, NEPU did not however, just sit to allow the British establishment to attack and humiliate its members, supporters and leaders. A rival militant abanga thug was set up to protect its members and to meet force with force. This militant gang was called the Positive Action Wing (PAW). They rode a car called Gafara Sa, which was procured by one of the party leaders. Alhaji Tanko Yakasai was elected the General Secretary of the banga gang" This development frightened the British who saw the PAW as the Nigerian version of the Kenyan Adan Mas freedom fighters. Thus the establishment of the gang forced the

British to step in and to curtail the activities of the Mahanukara thugs. However this gang had already spread to all parts of the north where NEPU was active and eventually became the youth's wing of the ruling party, NPC.

The 2003 Elections: The Emergence of Jagaliya and the Continuation of BANGA and Daba Activities in Kano)

With the return to democracy in Nigeria in 1999, political thuggery resurfaced. In Kand State during the National Assembly elections, much election violence erupted. At Filin Wali, Indahawa Polling Center, of Kano Municipal LGA, a group of yanbanga attempted to steal the ballot box and on the process stabbed one Isa Babba Danagundi." This also happened in other places like Gwale, Tarauni and Nassarawa LG as these cases and many others that were made 22 during the exercise were referred to the CID Kano for further investigation." Also during the 1998 Local Governments elections on the 8 December, 1998 there were in places like; Tsanyawa Local Government Area, where four All Peoples Party [APPI supporters were killed, and detention of a contestant as a result of disturbances resulted from the perceived change of the election results in favour of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). Other incidences of banga and daba activities were also recorded in the same elections in various places such as: Ajingi, Tarauni, Tudun Wada, Bunkure, Rano, Kibiya, Kiru, and Gaya among others." 23.

During the 2003, elections the emergence of Gen. Muhammadu Buhari as the Presidential candidate of the

All Nigeria Peoples Party made youths and the general public to cast their votes in his favour. This was due to the fact that general masses reposed their trust and confidence in him as the only alternative for better Nigerin. Even the various banga youths campaigned for him. Another factor was the faction within the ruling party PDP between the governor Kwankwaso and the speaker House of Representatives, Alhaji Ghali Umar Na'abba. Thus after the elections, both of them lost their seats as well as the Buhari himself. Mallam Ibrahim. Shekarau emerged as the Governor of the state and Obasanjo reelected the President. Thus the faction of the hitherto PRP resurfaced now in PDP, the Garkana and the Tabo factions.

With his ascendancy, Shekarau tried to settle the teeming youths that supported his candidature and campaign tours. These subalterns then became social problem as they always trooped into Ministries and Local Governments Secretariats demanding for money. Some of them later became *sujein baka*, as they were being financed by the rivals to blackmail opponents on media or to praise their masters. These youths became threat to the politicians as they followed them to their respective residences and offices. They harass, embarrass and threaten politicians and at times inflict injuries. They therefore became *yanyagaliya* and continued their activities

The term *Jagalia* was originally, noticed from the pioneer among the media agents of the hitherto ANPP supporters and National Secretary of The Buhari Organization (TBO), Alhaji Abdulmajid Sani

Alaustaphal Danbilki Kwamanda), in one of the many of his media excerpts on the Freedom Radio and Pyramid Radio political programmes [Kowane Gauta and Star Kano) respectively. These programmes give freedom of speech to politicians from all walks of life, because Freedom radio station is privately owned while Pyramid Radio is Federal Government controlled station. This means that they could not be easily machinated by the State government unlike the Kano State government owned media: Radio Kano AM/FM Stations, where the oppositions were not tolerated. In the series of his media release, Danbilki referred to those unemployed subaltern youths who loiter government agencies and beg for money as "Tanjugaliya" and their practice of laitering as "Jagaliya". But according to him, "I was not the one that invented the name; first heard it from the Special Adviser to the Governor on youths, in person of Alhaji Gumbo Ado". Danbilki continued: "I later reviewed the name from jogaliya to gagarame (struggle for redemption), and from anagallye to yn gwagarmaya (activists)

Government being wary of their activities, started to organize workshops for them at the end of which they were given some money and equipments on the particular skill they acquired. Few of them started their business while most of them sold out the equipments and continued with the Jogole as it was more lucrative.

Abdulmajid Al-Montuzika, (stundiṅa kavammattia, Oral interesen Jamory 19, 2013.

The elections, both of them lost their seats as well as the Buhari himself. Mallam Ibrahim Shekarau emerged as the Governor of the state and Obasanjo reelected the President. Then, the faction of the hitherto PRP resurfaced now in PDP, the Garkind and the Taho factions

These youths continued to carry out their activities throughout the 2003 tenure. They played important roles during the 2007 elections. They were the front runners of their parties in the electioneering campaigns. After the Gubernatorial election in Kano, the result was delayed before announcement. These youths started demonstrations throughout the state, and gathered at the Dalat Gyada, a large open field near the INEC secretariat, ready to take action. The result was later on the third day announced in favour of the incumbent governor, Shekarau. They stormed streets of Kano celebrating the victory, together with the teaming sympathizers:

With these activities of the youths, the governor embarked on several programmes aimed at involving these youths into political vanguard groups and spending money on them lavishly. Thus jagaliya continued to flourish throughout the eight yours tenure of Shekarau as the governor of Kano state.

The 2011 elections were conducted and the former governor Kwankwaso, emerged winner. He was also engaged in the use of the yanbanga in his electioneering campaign tours throughout the forty four Local Government Areas of the state. On his part after the

elections, he ordered that no fagaliya activity would be allowed in the ministries and parastatals as well as local government secretariats. This move was bitterly challenged by such youths but to no avail because they were severely arrested by the law enforcement agencies. Thus jagaliya slowed and they turned out to wait for their masters outside their ministries and at their residences

In summary, anfangallya and yanbanga played important roles in the political activities in Kano State since the return of democracy in 1999, This can be seen in the rate of electoral violence that characterized the state, the influx of the jobless youths into government ministries and parastatals demanding for and extorting money from politicians and even civil servants in the ministries. They also engaged in the act of intimidation and victimization of especially opponents on media and inflicting injuries to other party members and even killing the victims. They equally served as bodyguards to their political godfathers against other groups who could pose threat and cause public panic and unrest.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the work had tried and discussed issues relating to jagallya, which characterized the political activities in Kano State and continued to be a stumbling stone against rapid development. The daba and hanga activities also remain another factor that hinders development of the state. This factor has been causing a lot of unwarranted activities in the state. These are in terms of spate of killings and inflicting injuries as well as

intimidation and victimization of the general public. Thus fagaliya, daba and bunga are the main negative impacts that remain the stumbling stones militating against the social, economic and political development of the state.

Bibliography

- Alba A. (2007), the Northern Elements Progressive Un
 And the Politics of Nationalism in CEDDERT
 (2008). Corruption in Nigeria: Selected Writings
 of Yusufu Biala Usman, M.Ö. Press Publishers,
 Kaduna, Nigeria Kano Nigeria 1918-1960
 Abdullahi Smith Centre for Historical Research,
 Hanwa, Zaria, Nigeria
- Abba A. (2007) Tanko Yakasar's account of Nigerian
 Political History, a Review Article on Tanko
 Yakasai; The Story A humble Life, an
 autobiography, in TN. Sunday (Ed.), LAPAI
 JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES
- Abba Acted (1993; The politics of Mallam Anina Kano:
 Documents from The Independence Struggle
 1950-1966, Vanguard. Kaduna
- Abha A. (Ed) (2000). The Politics of Principled in
 Nigeria the Example of the NEPU, CEDDERT
 Hanwa, Zaria. Nigeria
- Beaji 1. (1983). Nigerian Intra Party Conflicis & Case
 Study of PRP Crisis in Kano, 1980 WE M.sc
 Thesis, Pol. Sc. B.LLK
- Dashazau Lawan (1981), Tarihin Gwagwarmer NEP da
 PRP 1950-1981/Zaria, Guskiya Corporation
- Ejiofor GE (1980): Mallan Amin Kano A Political
 phenomenon Clear Impression Ltd.

- Ladan M.T. & Kiru Al (2005). Election Violence in Nigeria, A.BU Press Ltd. Zaris, Kaduna State.
- Transition Monitoring Group (2003), Do the Voter Count? Final Report of the 2003 General Elections in Nigeria, IDASA-NIGERIALA
- Danasabe (1991). Vandsha the Terrorists of Kane Métropolitan to Koms Studies A Bayero University Journal of Savan and Sudanic Research, Youth and Health in Kano Today Special Iss
- Umar B. A. (2003). "Urban Gangs (Vandabu) and security to Kano State: A Review of Trends and Challenges, in Abdalla Ube Adama, (Ed), Chufiaincy and Security in Nigeria: Past, Prisent and Futury; Research and Documentation Directorate, Kano State.
- Usman Y.B. (1978). 4 Freedom Fighter Annoted Memoirs of Adallamt la Ringin, Sokoto, Sidi Umaru Priming Press
- UN YB (1982). Political Nepression in Nigeria, Zara, Caskiya Corporation
- Wakil H. (1997), the Penon of Revoin and Rises in Kano 1891-1993: An Historical Perspective. PhD), Thesis, BUK