

**EFFICACY OF CONFLICT RESOLVING MECHANISM AMONG THE ZURU PEOPLE OF KEBBI STATE: A TRADITIONAL STYLE 1830 - 2010**

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**Abstract**

*The study examines the potency of conflict resolving architecture, employed by the Zurus of Kebbi State; a typical traditional African society. Worthy of note is the fact that, their dispute settlement machinery is imbedded in the Lelna traditional structures. The paper situates efficacy of the settlement style as revolving around the M'gilo sacred institution. Using mainly oral interviews and archival sources, the study dwells more, on conflicts arising from allegations of witchcraft, rape, poisoning, land disputes and murder cases. The paper posits that although British colonialists eventually succeeded in imposing Islamic judicial system, which was not as effective as that of the Zuru land, the traditional machinery could not be abolished since it has proved to be the last resort in quelling crises in the emirate. The paper submits that, the rich cultural heritage of the Zuru people is a veritable tool for nation building and as such, should not be allowed to go extinct.*

**Keywords:** Conflict Resolution, Zuru, Kebbi State, Traditional

**Introduction**

Experience has shown that in every known human society, misunderstanding and disputes generally ensue in the course of their day to day interactions. In an attempt to grapple with this and other challenges of harmonious coexistence, people carefully fashion out ways of resolving differences, so as not to degenerate into full blown war. Over time, it becomes a tradition that is handed down to generations. The Zuru tribe, whose language is C'lela, otherwise known as Lelna of South Kebbi State, is not an exception. Though the population census

of 2006 is still being disputed, the Lelna people are running into millions with twenty-nine (29) dialects as well as three hundred and nineteen (319) clans.<sup>1</sup>

Zuru has various kinds of traditional festivals and cherished customs which are celebrated throughout the year. However, the evolving cutting age technology and modern civilization have somehow taken most people, especially the young away from their history and heritage. Some schools of thought believe that, some African languages and cultural heritage may become dead and extinct, if steps are not taken to document or transmit them to the younger ones.<sup>2</sup> This is more worrisome given that, history as a subject has been removed from Nigerian school curriculum and is no longer taught as a subject. The intention of this work is to attempt an investigation in to the potency of the customs and traditions of the Zuru people (Lelna) in Kebbi state of Nigeria, particularly as it relates to conflict resolution segment.

### **Conceptual Clarifications**

**Zuru:** In the context of this work, the name Zuru will mean all the other towns within the Zuru Emirate that speaks and practice the traditions and customs of the Lelna people.

**Lelna:** This is the proper name of the Zuru natives in plural form. Klela stands for the singular form and is same for Masculine and Feminine. In this context therefore, Zuru and Lelna will be used interchangeably.

**Customs:** This is a traditional way of behaving or doing something that is specific to a particular society.

**Culture:** Is the characteristic and knowledge of a particular group of people, encompassing language, religion, cuisine, social habits, music and arts.

**Tradition:** A tradition is a belief or behavior passed down within a group or society with symbolic meaning or special significance with origins in the past.

### **Conflict Resolution among the Zuru people**

The use of M'gilo institution in resolving conflict among Zuru people has proved to be a very potent system of resolving conflict because of the manner in which Zuru people revere the institution. It is very difficult to tell exactly what M'gilo is because of its metaphysics which is highly secretive and never talked about even among the initiated male folks.

Male parents must never discuss M'gilo with their children; initiated members must only hierarchically advance to discover for themselves the aura of M'gilo. It is a great taboo to mention M'gilo among women. This makes Idris Umar to conclude that, is men's secret cult among the people of Zuru.<sup>3</sup> They are partially right to the extent that only males can get initiated into M'gilo.<sup>4</sup> Some scholars have reduced M'gilo to the religion of the Lelna people of Zuru Emirate.<sup>5</sup>

Although it is difficult to isolate religion from the culture of most African society, some cultural practices cannot be reduced to mere religious phenomena. For example there is no religion that isolates women completely; rather they may be restricted. In Judaism, (religion of the Jews), for example, women are highly restricted from participating in religious activities. This was what influenced Apostle Paul in the early Christendom to insist that woman must not preach in the public.<sup>6</sup> Up to the present, Islam is very fundamental on this.<sup>7</sup>

The institution of M'gilo as one meant to subjugate and perpetually make women submissive to their husbands or men in general.<sup>8</sup> This assertion derives from the fact that when a woman offends her husband, he could report her to M'gilo cult, which would send invincible men in the dark to frighten her by thrusting spears and lances from the top of the woman's thatched hut and making all kinds of coarse and frightening noises. M'gilo will not depart until the woman promises obedience and submissiveness to her husband. Sometimes the young initiated boys are asked to way-lay the women coming from the markets in the dark and frighten them by blowing m'gilo flutes and calling on the names of the nagging women and warning them to desist from their unaccepted behavior. The women generally believe they are confronted by witches and wizards or by spirits of the deceased ancestors (eeknu). They usually will have to seek the intervention of an initiated elder who would then plead on their behalf and dismiss the masquerades.

M'gilo is believed to be an almighty spirit representing God among men. He is also believed to be an intermediary between God and Men. Women and the uninitiated men have the belief that the almighty spirit is only visible to the initiated men.<sup>9</sup> For both the initiated and the uninitiated, no one can dare M'gilo. He is not to be talked about; he is not to be mentioned. He could only be addressed in his normal attributes- Baba (Father) or Kan'ile, that is the owner of

the town. The relationship between the Zuru people and M'gilo calls to mind the relationship between Yahweh and the Jewish people in early Judaism. M'gilo makes his presence felt in four occasions; on the celebration of the annual wine festival (M'kya), on the day an initiated male adult dies, on the death anniversary of such deceased (Wo) commonly referred to as second burial and on the sabbatical celebration of the feast of the almighty wine (Kyam Sodke). It is only during these occasions that the spirit of M'gilo is invoked and his presence felt in the community. Although M'gilo is the custodian of the whole society, the day-to-day running of the society is the responsibility of the elders of M'gilo referred to as Ani'le.<sup>10</sup>

Analyzing the M,gilo institution suggests some great similarities of the great pristine cultures commonly found in the Middle East, especially the Jews. For example, if we take into account the scriptural events in the books of Exodus and Deuteronomy, the whole idea about Yahweh manifesting himself in thunderous storms and lightening to the Jews and the dreaded circumstances by which is portrayed in the relationship between the people of Zuru and the M'gilo institution. This will enable us to fathom the sacredness with which the people revere M'gilo; so much that once a directive is said to have emanated from M'gilo, it commands an instantaneous obedience.

### **Practical Methods of Resolving Conflicts Using M'gilo Institution**

In Zuru land, conflicts are resolved depending on its nature. However every conflict is resolved through the intermediary of the elders of M'gilo (Ani'le), which is to say that people could not approach M'gilo directly whenever there is the need to resolve one form of conflict or the other.

#### **Witchcraft cases (Imole)**

If families or a person frequently loses his or her children or relations, the person seeks the intervention of a sorcerer. If the cause of deaths is attributed to witchcraft, the sorcerer does not usually disclose the identity of the witch or wizard, but describes the identity of the witch or wizard in such a way that the complainant is not left in doubt, who that person is. If the complainant wants mediation through M'gilo, the case is then reported to the court (Bad Ani'le). Both the accused and the accuser are summoned to the court, comprising the chief of the town (Gomo), the four clan chiefs (Gom-gom no), the two high priests (Magazi ni) and the four chief priests (Gom-gom na C'keebee).<sup>11</sup>

The persons come to the court usually in the company of their older relations. The case is then presented before the council and the accused is asked to respond to the charges. If the accused does not admit to accusation, the accuser is asked to substantiate how he came with the allegation with facts. The accuser then comes with facts as told by the sorcerer. Since witchcraft is not a scientific case, the Gomo then throws the case to the open court seeking for suggestions on how to deal with the situation. If logical approaches fail to certify the case, the Gomo will then order the chief priest of M'gilo to brew the M'gilo concoction known as igeedu. Before brewing the concoction, the chief priest invokes the spirit of M'gilo to expose the sincerity of the case by revealing the truth. The concoction is administered to the accused person to drink. In most cases, if the accused is guilty, he or she is struck dead by M'gilo. The M'gilo can also decide to cause some delay until the accused confesses all his atrocities but must die within seven days. The victim of such cannot be buried in the ancestral home (Ile).<sup>12</sup>

### **Cases of Rape (C'Uvlu)**

Among Lelna, rape is considered a very grievous offence. This is because it is a taboo for a young girl to go to her husband's house defiled by someone other than her husband. It is even more sacrilegious if the victim is a married woman. Once the crime is reported to the Ani'le, the victim and the criminal are both summoned to the court. In the pre-colonial society, the culprit faced execution or ransomed by his family by giving out a boy and a girl in reparation for the crime. In this modern era however, Ani'le plays the meditative role of handing over the culprit to the police. However some ethnic groups in Zuru land still retain the traditional judicial practice.

### **Resolving Cases of Poisoning**

The case of death resulting from poisoning is a technical one. In most cases, the culprit is not apprehended or caught red handed. It is difficult to determine who the offender is. If the case reaches the M'gilo court, everybody within the neighborhood becomes a suspect. Family members are asked what they know about the case. If no one admits the crime, the chief priest of M'gilo is asked to administer an oath to every person present. If someone refuses to take the oath, the person becomes the prime suspect or rather as it is in law, silence connotes tacit submission. Before the advent of colonialism, crime of poisoning attracted such punishment as execution, slavery or outright banishment, depending on the degree of culpability or otherwise. For example, if a man poisoned another man

because he suspected the latter dating his wife, and if the purpose was ascertained as true, the prisoner was fined rather than executed. If someone poisoned a person because the victim was a witch or wizard, the offender did not face execution instead he is left alone if ascertained to be true. On the other hand, if someone poisoned another out of sheer envy or malice, or covetousness, his punishment was outright execution. The Igeedu approach could also be adopted, where the suspect would be asked to drink the concoction.<sup>13</sup>

### **Resolving Land and Inheritance Conflict**

It is interesting to note that conflicts resulting from land and inheritance are very uncommon among the Lelna of Zuruland. Land could be owned either in common or individually. In the case of land, for instance, if a man has, say, five sons (women are generally excluded from inheritance), all of them work in the same farmland. But as soon as the first son gets married, the father takes him out to the field in the company of the other sons and shows him a portion of the farm land that he would inherit. The boy moves out from his father's compound and builds himself a house on his inherited farmland. The same applies to the rest of the sons. However, the last boy of the house remains in the father's house until the father dies. When the father eventually dies, the last boy automatically inherits both the father's compound and the last piece of land.

One thing interesting to note is that, if the father had whatever number of wives, they all stay with the last boy in the father's house and work together on the farm with him. They could, on the death of their husbands, decide to either stay with their respective sons or even choose with which son they would like to live with. If the man is also wealthy, (usually not monetary but the number of herds) he gives each son his portion alongside his land inheritance. If on the other hand the man dies before each son gets his inheritance, the sons share both the land and the wealth equally, yet leaving the father's house to the last boy. This system has helped to avert family conflicts regarding land and inheritance.

Most land related conflicts have to do with land leasing. If a family has a large expanse of land, it can decide to lease the land to another but with the instructions that the fruit bearing trees in the land remain untouched except by members of the family that is leasing the land out. Usually, before a family leases the land, witnesses from the neighborhood are invited to partake of the terms of contract. It is expected that each family, including the witnesses pass the terms of contract to their respective succeeding generations. If for a long time the land is

not reclaimed, the children or grandchildren of the loaning family may want to claim inheritance. This can result into conflict. Elders of *M'gilo* resolve this form of conflict by making reference to chronology. They invite very old people leaving in the neighborhood of the land in question, put them under oath and inquire from them who it was that first inhabited the land. Once it is confirmed that the owners are the leasing family members, the loaning family is asked to vacate the land immediately.

Recently, there was an intra-family land case between a middle aged woman, Emame and her sons on the one hand and Kiyaya Heendu on the other. Emame's late husband was a cousin to Kiyaya. He died in the early 1970s leaving behind four children, three boys and one girl. Kiyaya's father decided to keep Emame and her children with him. But as there was the need to build an Army barracks in Zuru in the 1970s and their farmlands were bought over by the Federal Government for that purpose. Kiyaya's father had to migrate to another family land, which was quite a forest distance from Zuru town. He did not take Emame and the children with him but instructed his grandson, Ganga to clear a virgin land for Emame and her children opposite the sold location. He left Emame in the custody of Baba Dangwaya, a chief priest who also has a farmland close to the land cleared for Emame and the children.

In 1979, Emame got married to a Hausa man. Na' Allah, and they begot other children, a boy and a girl. The older children got married and migrated to different locations leaving Emame with the latter children. Recently, Emame sold part of the farm land claiming the need to buy some foodstuff. She again sold another portion and bought a motor bike for Dan-Asibi. The son she had for the Hausa man. This did not go down well with Kiyaya and some of his cousins, especially with the fact that a nephew of Kiyaya. Huche, wanted a piece of land from that farmland to build a house and was denied by Emame who claimed her children wanted to do the same. Kiyaya and his cousins instructed Emame not to further sell any portion of the land. But Emame decided to take the case to the District Head of Umanga. The case could not be substantiated until Baba Dangwaya. The chief priest, who was a principal witness to the case, was summoned. Baba Dangwaya confirmed that the land belonged to Heendu, Kiyaya's father, and that it was Heendu who placed Emame and the older children in his custody. The resolution of the *Ani le* was that Emame should vacate the land immediately.<sup>14</sup>

### Resolving Minor Conflicts

Such conflicts involving husbands and wives, parents and children, family members and neighbours are settled at the base level. Such conflicts are encouraged to be settled using family and clan elders. But in the event that they are not settled at this level, they are referred to the clan chiefs. And if at this level they are not still settled, the clan chief refers the case to the chief of the entire town (*Gomo V'nile*) who himself is a clan chief. If the overall chief is unable to broker peace or settle the dispute, he summons the elders of *M'gilo* who are the administrative and judicial council members (*Ani'le*). The verdict of *Ani'le* remains final and binding. In most cases only very grave cases get to the court of *Ani'le*. Verdicts are most often very punitive not in the sense of punishing the culprit, but deterring others from offending the entire community. Punishments range from fining of goats, dogs, and chicken, to execution, depending on the gravity of the crime committed.

The council of *Ani'le* comprises people of proven integrity who are not influenced by position or material wealth in the dispensation of justice. Such a thing as buying over the council members through bribery does not even arise for the reason that, because *Ani'le* see themselves as representing *M'gilo*, they have a supreme price to pay if they act contrary to the dictates of *M'gilo* or contrary to the truth. In any case, members of the council take an oath to always stand by the truth in the process of arbitration and adjudication.<sup>15</sup>

### Resolution of Undetermined Cases

There are cases, which by their very nature are undetermined and difficult to solve by the judicial council. Such cases as lacking witnesses and those that involve high level of deceit fall under this category. Such complex cases are simply resolved by either oath taking or the administration of *igeedu*. If the case involves men, they are made to swear by *M'gilo*. The oath takes the form of *Gil'in hwame*, that is. May *M'gilo* strike me dead: or *Gil'in ya me*, that is. May *M'gilo* drown me. Because of the reverence attached to the name *M'gilo*. The noun is substituted with *Baba* which means 'Father'. In this case the oath is pronounced thus: *Baba so bib'in ri*, that is; may *Baba* drain my blood. After oath taking, *M'gilo* is expected to strike justly and timely. Women are generally forbidden to swear by the name *M'gilo* but can use the substitute *Kani'le*, that is "the owner of the land" *Baba*.

The other form of conflict resolution involves the conflicting parties drinking a brewed concoction known as *igeedu*. In this sense, the conflicting parties present themselves to the judicial council and after taking an oath with the words *geedu i hwa me*; that is, 'may I die of this concoction', the chief priest of *M'gilo* brews the *igeedu* and the persons involved are made to drink of it; which after being taken, exposes the culprit sometimes to instant death or through a gradual but severe, sickness still resulting into death eventually. The process of exposure takes between one and seven days. In 1920, J.C.O. Clarke who was the colonial political officer among the Dukkawa reported how this traditional mechanism was very effective in resolving conflicts.<sup>16</sup> Among the Dukkawa, *M'gilo* is known as *Bakin Dodo* translated to mean "the mouth of the monster".

### Major Conflicts

Under this category are such cases as intra-clannish conflict, inter-communal clashes, and intra-ethnic conflicts.

### Resolving Intra-Clannish Conflicts

Among the *Zuru* ethnic groups, societies are organized into clans. Each clan has a feeling of separate identity because each clan believes that it descended from a common ancestor, which also depicts a common period of migration and settlement pattern. There is a strong bond of brotherliness and sisterliness by members of the same clan. The most common intra-clannish clashes result from, say, *D'himee*, which literarily translate as 'sin' of sexual romance committed against betrothal, and during intra-clannish hunting expedition.

Intra-clannish fracas usually occur during celebrations as *Uhola*, *D'bin* and *Swee*. Young teenage boys and girls usually sing and dance together. During this process, it is normal for young boys to make advances to young betrothed girls. This process is known as *C'tono*. If a girl succumbs to such advances, she is wooed by the boy to spend the night with him, during which she would provide romance but not sex. However, unknown to the girl, people are usually planted to spy on her. The spies trail both the boy and the girl to the house and particular hut they enter to make romance. The spies lay siege to the house while an emissary is sent to fetch either the girl's betrothed or any member of his *Golmo* team. In some cases, the girl would be forced under duress, declare her *Keetnpa* (boyfriend) either by arm-twisting or by inflicting some form of pain on her not by the husband to be but by any member of his *Golmo* team. Whoever she

mentions becomes a wanted personality. What the girl says is taken to be evidence enough for this course. However, private declaration is not accepted as enough evidence, the girl has to publicly voice out her seducer publicly. This is to make sure that even if the matter gets to the elders of *M'gilo* there are enough witnesses to the case.

Upon getting this information, the *Golmo* and members of the betrothed surround the compound while others enter to force the duo out of the hut. The boy is beaten sometimes to unconsciousness while his loin skin is taken off his waist in evidence. This is known as *D 'bimee*. It is during this time that the boy's clan members rise in his defense to prevent his loin skin from being taken as evidence. Once the loin skin is taken, the boy is forbidden to move about freely until a fine is paid to redeem the skin. The loin skin is presented as evidence to the elders of *M'gilo* by the prefect of *Golmo* of the betrothed's clan team. The fine is usually harsh. Sometimes the boy is asked to pay between 20 to 40 cocks or a good number of puppies. Until the loin skin is redeemed, the boy cannot move about freely. If he does, he risks being beaten by members of the offended clan. But even if the skin is not redeemed the boy has the support of his clan members who would usually fight to protect the boy from molestation. The fights are often very bloody. Such a conflict is resolved only when the fine is paid and the loin skin redeemed.<sup>17</sup>

The second type of intra-clannish conflict results from hunting expedition known as *Beergu* or *Hobo*. Conflict usually arises when, say, a dog catches a game and other dogs converge. Even when it is clear which dog owns the game, it becomes a bone of contention who would take the game. Again, a situation where a hunter shoots at a wild, either with his gun or with his poisonous arrow and the game is picked by someone else who refuses to submit the animal to the real owner invites bloody clashes between separate clan members.

Such conflicts are resolved through the mediation of the chief of the forest who asks the conflicting parties to either swear by the forest *Kad d'vame*, that is, "may the forest devour me", or by a poisonous arrow. In either case, it is believed that the liar would die miserably, and when he dies he is not accorded a befitting burial. In fact, such persons are buried in the forest and their graves are declared evil.

### **Resolving Inter-Ethnic Conflicts**

Among *Lelna*, inter-ethnic conflict occurs mostly during wrestling seasons. Wrestling competition occurs interchangeably during the celebration of *D 'biti* festival. Every ethnic group has a wrestling square or ring where the invited neighbouring groups converge. Able-bodied young men who are between the ages of 18 and 25 years engage themselves in wrestling competition (*C'ineech*). Although the rules of the game are clear enough for a clean competition.<sup>18</sup> The competition is not devoid of conflict. This is because the losing side is teased with all kinds of derogatory songs that are provocative and this often leads to serious fights of bloodletting. This kind of conflict is often expected and tolerated because individuals use such occasions to test the strength of their charms and juju. Moreover, injured individuals take pride in nursing their wounds. However, if the conflicting situation turns into an escalation of uncontrollable violence, it would warrant the intervention of *M'gilo* elders to quell the crisis. If however the crisis becomes uncontrollable, the *M 'gilo* drum is sounded and the town crier announces thus: *Kcmi 'le zeka kowe sak k 'lev' ugye*, that is. "the ultimate has ordered that everyone must depart the wrestling scene". In fact, the people disappear from the scene once the drum is sounded even before the crier makes the announcement, so as to avoid confronting the presence of *M 'gilo* and thereby inviting his wrath.<sup>19</sup>

Other forms of inter-ethnic violence among *Lelna* are settled by a joint session of the judicial councils of the groups involved: and the joint session holds at the judicial square of the senior group chaired by the chief of that group. For example, if there is a fight between *Umanga* ethnic group and *Senche* ethnic group, the joint judicial council whose membership comprises *ipso facto*, the elders of *M'gilo* of each group, holds in *Umanga*. This is because *Umanga* is Superior to *Senche* hierarchically. If the conflict is resolved and punitive measures are meted, the offending group is asked to compensate or pay a fine to the offended group. If however the joint judicial council could not resolve the conflict, the case is then referred to the highest council, in this case at *Udabi* where the final verdict is decided. The offended group is asked to charge some form of compensation and with a compromise, the offending group is obliged to redeem.

The most common inter-ethnic conflict is that between *Lelna* in general and the Fulani. All *Lelna* are farmers while the Fulani are herdsmen. Some Fulani shepherds are very careless about allowing their flock to encroach into the farms of *Lelna*. Other Fulani shepherds deliberately push their flock into farms to 'feed well'. In either case, the matter is reported to the local chief who then summons the Fulani chief within the territory. The case is adjudicated in his presence and the Fulani shepherd is asked to pay a fine commensurate to the damage done. Sometimes, the animals are held hostage until the fine is redeemed. When, however, the Fulani becomes smart schemers by treacherously pushing their flocks into the farms by night time and it becomes difficult to know which shepherd was responsible, some *Lelna* resort to poisoning the crops leading to the death of animals while others take a hard line by resorting to mass action against any available Fulani shepherd in the neighborhood. In fact, what now obtains is that as soon as the wet season approaches, the *Sarkin Fulanis* are summoned and asked to go and give a stern warning to their shepherds against encroaching into farmlands or else they would be held accountable for any shepherd's misdeed. This has paid off.

### ***M'gilo* and the Containment of Violence**

Two cases have occurred in the history of Zuru land to illustrate the effectiveness of the *M'gilo* institution in the containment of conflict. The first incident was reported by the colonial anthropologist, A. B. Matthews in the year 1926. Matthews recalled a situation where there were serious crises in parts of Zuru land between the people and colonial tax agents. The crises could not be controlled by the colonial administration despite punitive measures. To bring the crises under control, colonial administration had to implore the mediation of the elders of *M'gilo*. As soon as the elders issued a pronouncement that *M'gilo* had directed that further crisis be halted, colonialists were amazed at how instantly the rule was obeyed.<sup>20</sup>

Another instance recently occurred in the year 2002. There was the bloating of internecine crisis, more or less like genocide between the Fulani and *Penni* ethnic group. The Zuru town market day is celebrated every Saturday. It is only on this particular day that people from the farm and village settlement cease the opportunity to go to the town for weekly, sometimes, monthly shopping. They bring along their produce to sell so as to raise some money for their purchases.

On this fateful Saturday in the month of September 2002, two women of the *Penni* ethnic group were coming from the market and were waylaid by some Fulani youths. One of the women escaped while the other fell a victim and was eventually murdered. The one who escaped drew the attention of some *Penni* men who besieged the scene. They combed round and eventually found the corpse of the victim. News pervaded and *Penni* men and youths ganged up and started attacking and burning down even Fulani hamlets in the neighborhood. Many Fulani people were killed in the attacks that went on for more than a week. Unfortunately, the geography of the place did not help matters. *Penni* village is about 20 kilometres to the southwest of Zuru and 40 kilometres to the northwest. Mountains and valleys surround the whole place, which makes it inaccessible to vehicles. The police in Zuru town could not effectively contain the crisis owing to these natural factors. When the killings were getting out of hand, the Emir, Gen. Sam Sami, had to appeal to the elders of *M'gilo* of *Penni* to help bring the situation under control. This was what eventually brought the crisis under control and relative peace was restored. What the elders of *M'gilo* of *Penni* simply did was to make a public announcement saying that *Kani 'le* forbade further hostilities.

## **Conclusion**

Though without success, colonialism tried vociferously to not only impose its judicial system but sought to abolish the traditional judicial system. First and foremost what colonialism did was to introduce the indirect rule system by imposing the emirate type of judicial apparatuses, the native alkali courts and the native police (*yan dogari*). The alkali courts were purely hinged on the Islamic customary laws. When the people of Zuru revolted and resisted the emirate form of administration for about a decade (1903-1913), Colonialism abolished the emirate system. And as a result of continued uprising against colonial

administration, colonialism established other colonial to post colonial times, the efficacy of the traditional style of conflict resolution among the Zurus is unequalled. Apparently, the rich Lelna cultural heritage is indeed an asset to Africa that translates to nation building and should be guarded jealously.

### **Endnotes**

- <sup>1</sup> Gwimi Sebastine Peter, Aged 55, Civil Servant, Abuja, 22<sup>nd</sup> June, 2019
- <sup>2</sup> Ogali Ogaba, Aged 74, Farmer, Zuru, 13<sup>th</sup> march, 2019
- <sup>3</sup> Idris Umar, Aged 64, Farmer, Kaduna, 16<sup>th</sup> April, 2019
- <sup>4</sup> Augi, A.R & Lawal S.U. eds. *Studies in the History of Zuru Emirate*, Enugu, Nigeria: Fourth Dimension, 1990
- <sup>5</sup> Eriba Christopher, Aged 53, Civil Servant, Phone, 20<sup>th</sup> April, 2019
- <sup>6</sup> Suzana Peter, Aged 34, Farmer, Kaduna, 5<sup>th</sup> March, 2019
- <sup>7</sup> Joseph Gosa, Aged 44, Civil Servant, Kebbi, 4<sup>th</sup> March, 2019
- <sup>8</sup> Augustine Bagna, Aged 76, Retired, Kebbi, 15<sup>th</sup> September, 2019
- <sup>9</sup> Anlaini Daniel Chonoko, Aged 33, Civil Servant, Dabai, 5<sup>th</sup> September, 2019
- <sup>10</sup> Marry Sule Penni, Civil Servant, Kaduna, 7<sup>th</sup> April, 2019
- <sup>11</sup> James Sakaba, Aged 51, Civil Servant, Zuru, 14<sup>th</sup> April, 2019
- <sup>12</sup> Ibrahim Kachi Penny, Aged 40, Civil Servant, Dabai, 23<sup>rd</sup> May, 2019
- <sup>13</sup> Gauza Chonoko, Aged 80, Retired, Kebbi, 8<sup>th</sup> March, 2019
- <sup>14</sup> Ladi Malaki Dikki, Aged 55, Civil Servant, Zuru, 14<sup>th</sup> April, 2019
- <sup>15</sup> Alh. Dantani Ribah, Aged 56, Civil Servant, Phone, 23<sup>rd</sup> May, 2019
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- <sup>18</sup> "Zuru-fakai Divisional Boundary; Agatu-Hare West" NAK/MAK/PROF/416c/33. 4<sup>th</sup> September, 1948
- <sup>19</sup> "Dabai -Zuru" from the Divisional Officer i/c Zuru Division; to the District Officer i/c Dabai Gboko. NAK/MAK/PROF/17/1926/81. 7<sup>th</sup> October, 1936

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