

# A Comparative Studies on Historical Analysis of Protests in Gashua and Kano Cities in Northern Nigeria: An Economic Distraction from 1993-2024

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Article History	Abstract
Original Research Article	<i>Gashua and Kano are renowned commercial cities in Northern Nigeria, serving as centres of intra- and interstate relations. The cities witnessed numerous protests triggered by diverse reasons. The protests led to the disruption of economies and yielded unreasonable and unfavourable results. These protests have been largely neglected. However, the result composed a comprehensive history of protests in these two cities consisting of Gashua and Kano, respectively. The study employed primary and secondary sources for data collection. The secondary data were theoretically analysed, while the primary data were analysed using structural equation modelling. In most cases, protests are caused by government actions and inactions. Therefore, government policies and programs should always be handled with extra care, wisdom and rationality. There is also a need for additional research, enlightenment and awareness creation on the positive impacts of peaceful protests as well as the adverse outcomes of violent demonstrations.</i>
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## Introduction

Literally, Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, "Protests is to say or do something to show that you disagree with or disapprove of something especially publicly" (Sunama, 2010). Protest is a means of expressing acceptance or rejection of government policies and programs. Organised labour unions, trade guilds, student associations (Ekeke, 2023). The protests can be used to show their support or opposition to concerned authorities (Oyebode, 2022). Protest is a significant tool for fighting freedom and social justice. It is a global practice in many countries and region around globe. Over the decades, Nigeria has experienced numerous protests, these protests are driven by a range of factors, including religious, political, economic, and social considerations (Ekeke, 2023). Some of the protests lead to the loss of lives and property, as well as the review or revocation of policies and programs. Media and youth often occupy pivotal roles in promoting and conducting protests. Protests often escalate to other cities (Sunama, 2010).

Gashua and Kano cities are essential trade and administrative hubs in northern Nigeria. They comprise a diverse group of people from various ethnic backgrounds

and locations within and outside Nigeria (Adamu, 1999). The Kano and Gashua towns have international markets that facilitate trade and social relations. These cities also experienced several protests, which led to disruptions in social endeavours and economic setbacks (Momah, 2013). Despite efforts by the government and other concerned authorities, violent protests have not been permanently eradicated (Mohammed, 2023).

Over the decades, protests have been erupting in many Nigerian societies, especially in commercial and administrative cities like Gashua and Kano. Many divergent reasons have produced various positive and negative consequences. A number of efforts were made by government and the stakeholders to prevent and curtail these protests. However, the protests continue to surface at an interval periods (Momah, 2013). Hence, it is pertinent to critically examine the different past protests in order to document their causes and consequences. The study aimed to trace the historical origin of protests, causes, and consequences, to address and manage violent protests in Gashua and Kano respectively.

## Literature Review

Nigeria has a history of protests, which have been driven by various factors such as economic hardship, political marginalization, and religious conflicts. The Northern region, where Gashua and Kano are located, has been particularly prone to protests due to its complex socio-political dynamics. Gashua is a town in Yobe State, known for its agricultural and pastoral activities, while Kano is a city in Kano State, which is a major commercial hub (Wakili, 1997).

Previous studies on protests in Nigeria have focused on specific regions or cities. For example, Oyebode (2022) studied causes, dynamics and solutions of violent protests in Nigeria, while Ekeke (2023) examined the rights to peaceful protests in Nigeria with special reference to EndSARS protest in Lagos. In the context of Northern Nigeria, Olugbemi (2019) analyzed protests in Kaduna State, while Akinola (2020) studied protests in Kano State. However, there is limited research on comparative studies on protests in Gashua and Kano cities.

Sunama (2010) wrote on the historical origin and development of the Bade Emirate (Gashua) and narrated that the development of Bade passed through stages over time. Beginning with Bade's migration from the Middle East to their permanent settlement in Gashua, the Bade exhibited skillful and noticeable endeavors (Khalid, 2014). The Bade movement from Gogaram to Gashua was a turning point. It paved the way for the development, expansion, and transformation of Gashua. These happenings are vital in assessing the nature and effects of protests in Gashua (Mukhtar, 2013).

Moreover, Adamu (1999) traced the genesis of Kano City's development and expressed that Kano evolved from a small unit of settlements and gradually transformed into a big city due to the exploits of its leaders like Bagauda and Muhammadu Rumfa, the advent of Islam and scholars like Sheikh Al-Magili, local and long-distance trade, the coming of colonialists, and Nigerian Independence. These are relevant in examining the manifestations of protests in Kano city.

Abbas (2024) studied the coming and development of Islam in Hadejia. Islam maintained that Islam aided in reforming Hadejia society and the populace. It substituted pagan practices and vices. It enlightened and broadened the horizons of Hadejian intelligentsia and instituted a well organized system of livelihood, leadership, and economy. These achievements showed the relevance of Islamic teachings in the lives of citizens and states (Sunama, 2010).

Similarly, Khalil et al. (2024) explored Islamic ethics' application in solving dwindling business. They opined that Islamic guidelines are vital in smoothing business and its prosperity, and disregarding them poses a great risk for possible dwindling business. Hence, this is another indication that Islamic teachings can be adopted to tackle social and economic problems like violent and protests.

## Methodology

The study employed a qualitative and quantitative approach, combining archival research and field observations to gather data. Archival research involved reviewing existing literature on protests in Gashua and Kano cities, including newspaper articles, academic journals, and government reports. Field observations involved conducting interviews with key stakeholders, including protesters, community leaders, and government officials. A questionnaire will also be used to assess people's perceptions of protests. This study focuses on Gashua and Kano cities. Gashua is considered administrative center of Bade Emirate and Gashua Local Government. It is an important commercial center with markets and traders that deal in various commodities. It has a significant population and plays a vital role in the politics and economy of Yobe State and Nigeria.

Equally, Kano city had been a vital trade hub in Nigeria and the West African sub-region. It accommodates a high populace and serves as the administrative center/capital of Kano State. Both cities are situated in the northern Nigeria. They have many economic potentialities, including, among others, arable/fertile land, local and international markets, industries, and government establishments. The Gashua and Kano international markets are import and export hubs.

The study employed mixed approach based on primary and secondary sources of data were adopted for better result outcome. The sources were used with professionalism, skepticism, and collaboration. The expertise of other professionals like linguists and religious authorities was also used for handling, interpreting, and analyzing information to produce objective, accurate, and reliable literature.

## Historical Development of Protests in Kano and Gashua and Their Courses

Over centuries and decades, protest has been used by many people in different parts of the world to express their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with policies, programs among others. This protest came with different styles and patterns. Some were peaceful while others were violent and

caused many bottlenecks. For instance, in the early 1500s Europe witnessed Protestantism which emerged from Reformation movement. It was organized against Roman Catholic Church and it caused the separation of many Western Christians from Catholic Church. In Africa, the European incursions caused many uprisings, revolts and protests (Kano, 2003). For example, in the Nigerian the then Sultan of Sokoto Caliphate Attahiru resisted against European conquest. As a result, he was killed in the Battle of Burmi. Kano was conquered by British forces in February 1903. The Kanawa resisted fiercely, but they were overpowered and defeated by British Forces. The then Kano Emir Alu was deposed and sent to exile. Africans continued protesting and resisting European policies in different forms. A typical example was the Aba Women Riot in 1929 against taxation. Another significant example was the protest in the southern Nigeria especially by Herbert Macaulay and Nnamdi Azikiwe, which arbitrarily caused the split of Nigeria into three regions (North, East and West) (Kano, 2003).

It is pertinent to note that Kano recorded a number of conflicts, protests and revolts. The first remarkable conflict in Kano was the Yusufawa Revolt (1893-1895). It started as resistance by Yusuf against the appointment of Muhammad Tukur as the Emir of Kano. It gradually degenerated into a full-scale civil war. Many lives and properties were lost. It ushered in the beginning of protest and resistance against appointment of Emirs in Kano (Gwadabe, 2019). The colonial exploitation policies caused the emergence of anti-colonial movements and campaigns. Northern Askianist Movement alias United Nationalist Movement was founded in March 1951 in Kano. It was founded by Mudi Spikin and Mustafa Danbatta with the blessings of Mallam Aminu Kano (Wakili, 1997). The activity of the movement was confined to Kano. The aims and objectives of the movement includes among others: to try and free every Black Man wherever he may be in the world, whether in America or South Africa from the mouth of the English hyenas and the rest of oppressors, even if blood will be shed; to try and draw the attention of every Black Man to his rights to live in the world, so that extortionists may not harm him; to try and stop the Colonial office from sending unsuitable Europeans, who spoil the country, to Africa. This movement impacted in creating awareness and motivating Africans for attaining self-government. It organized campaigns and spread information via different media especially 'Aminiyya Newspaper'.

Besides, the new, exorbitant, numerous and more severe taxes introduced and imposed by the British in Northern Nigeria prompted resistance. For example, the people in one village in Bichi resisted against payment of

taxation. They stoned the Ward Head and sent him away. The Ward Head reported the matter to District Head, who sent the delegates to investigate the matter, but the delegates were thrown away. It was the then Madaki Mahmud that resolved the matter amicably. In 1946, the colonial government provided opportunity to Nigerians for political participation. This development triggered the founding of political parties. Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) was founded in Kano on the 8<sup>th</sup> August 1950 (Babangida, 2025). According to Gwadabe, "the manifesto of NEPU stressed that the deplorable state of the common people in the Northern region had a direct bearing to the activities of the British imperialist and its local agents represented by the aristocracy controlling the Native Administration." The party was joined by Malam Aminu Kano and other activists through which they wedged their struggle. NEPU engaged in fierce and aggressive opposition with Northern People Congress (NPC). Provocative and abusive speeches were exchanged between these two parties. This caused violence in city. For instance, in 1953 "Jam'iyyar Mahaukata" (Lunatics Party) was formed in the city. It was founded against NEPU. The reason behind the formation of party was that on Saturday 24<sup>th</sup> September, 1953, one Isa, popularly called Arne, a member of NEPU from Kofar Wambai Quarters was cycling passing through Marmara Quarters during a wedding ceremony suddenly he ran into a woman called Adama who was carrying an earthen ware. Instantly, it broke into pieces. As a result, Adama held him vowing that he should pay her the money of the crushed container, which cost 2/6d. Isa refused to pay. He said he would not pay even if it belonged to the Emir's household. He remained there pouring all sorts of abuses to the constituted authorities, particularly the Emir himself. This angered inhabitants of the area. They protested against the behavior of Isa. They gathered massively carrying local weapons vowing to kill Isa. Isa was saved by the police in a very tactful manner. From that day, the inhabitants of Marmara, Mandawari and Daneji secretly met and formed Lunatics Party. Afterwards, they started going round hunting NEPU supporters (Mu'azzam, 2024). This menace was solved by the Committee appointed by the constituted authority. When the bitter and abusive politics continued, Anti-Abuse campaign was launched by the Resident in 1958. The situation was carefully studied and remedies were enumerated to eradicate the problem. The remedies include among others: a frank talk to the leaders of the political parties by the Emir, explaining the general problem and informing them that in future the law on abuse, both in public and in private, will be rigidly enforced and warning them that drastic action will be taken against anyone of whatever party who ignores the law; the increase of educational facilities in the city. An increased number of



Primary Schools will educate the youths and lessen the effect of the bitter political feelings which are now being instilled into them by some parents and political agitators (Khalid, 2012).

However, in 1966 Kano witnessed other protests which transformed into riots. The protests were organized by Students' Union, Abdullahi Bayero College, Ahmad Bello University, Kano under Dandatti Abdulkadir and Kano Citizens. The protests were peaceful demonstrations against Unification Decree of 1966. The protesters went and presents their protests letters at Emirs palace. After the peaceful demonstration ended, violence erupted. Some participants decided that Igbos in Sabon Gari must be taught some lessons. This led to loss of lives and properties as well as large-scale exodus of Igbos from Northern Region. Afterwards, series of religious, political and ethnic protests were carried out in Kano. These includes the July 1981 Rampage caused by the query issued to Alhaji Ado Bayero by the State Government, the October 1991 riot caused by the planned Christian activity among others. Most of these protests transformed into violence. They caused loss of live and properties (Habib, 2012).

In May 1992, Nigeria witnessed a wave of protests known as "SAP Riots". These protests were organized nationwide against SAP. SAP means Structural Adjustment Program. It is a set of economic reformd that a country must adhere to in order to secure a loan from the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank. It was implemented in Nigeria during the Military regime of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida. Under this program, cost of government was reduced. Imports like wheat, vegetable oil, textiles and other items with available local substitutes were banned among other. This program brought inconveniences such as general inflation. As a result of this, campaign against SAP, the IMF and World Bank emerged. Students on campuses participated in disruptive demonstrations against SAP. This caused huge disruptions on university campuses and some urban centers. Also, the protests claimed lives in Lagos and some parts of the country. This problem coupled with Zango Kataf crisis of 1992 and other political crisis added fuel to the flame that hindered the successful transition to civil rule in 1993 (Mudashir et. al. 2014).

Another noticeable protests occurred in Kano and Gashua was the 1993 protest against annulment of June 12, 1993 election. It was a nationwide protest and one of the most significant protests in Nigeria's history. It followed the annulment of the presidential election widely regarded as the freest and fairest in Nigeria. The election was held on June 12 1993 and won by Moshood Abiola. The military regime of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida annulled

the results, sparking nationwide protests and civil unrest, which continued until 1999, when Nigeria transitioned to civilian rule. It is important to note that the then Military Government was determined to hand over power to civilian. But anti-democratic antics, intra-party conflicts and the activities of Association for Better Election affected the smooth conduct of elections and transitioned to civilian rule. The protests that followed the annulment of the election were engineered by different sectors of society, which comprises the Campaign for Democracy (CD), different Human Rights Organizations, other special interest groups such as the Nigerian Bar Association (NBA), the Nigerian Medical Association (NMA), Women in Nigeria (WIN) and the Association of Nigerian Authors (ANA). The Campaign for Democracy organized sit-at-home campaign which led to the shut-down of shops and marketplaces and completely paralyzed Lagos and other parts of southwest. The Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) was joined by the National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS) in the protests. Most of the events of these protests occurred in Lagos and other parts of southwest. In the early days of Nigeria's Fourth Republic, a number of strikes and protests were organized by Nigerian Labour Congress, civil societies and other unions (Jega, 2022).

In the year 1999, a notorious protest occurred in Gashua. This was the first big protest witnessed in Gashua. This protest was caused by series of armed robbery. Marketers were attacked and robbed severally during the period. Some people of Gashua blamed security personnel for the menace. As a result, a protest erupted. Security agents were attacked by the people of Gashua. This led to destruction of security vehicle and the killing of one security agent. Gashua market was shut down and movement was restricted for some hours in the city. This abnormality was resolved by the elders and the constituted authority. Other important nationwide protests that happened and felt all over Nigeria was the January 2012 protests. These protests followed the partial removal of fuel subsidy by the Federal Government of Nigeria under President Good luck Ebele Jonathan. Fuel subsidy was introduced in 1970s by the Federal Government of Nigeria to improve the living standards of the citizenry. This subsidy helps in easing lives and its removal adds burden on the lives of Nigerians especially the low-income earners. On this Nigeria's first Minister of Petroleum Resources Alhaji Shettima Ali Monguno said: "When I was minister of petroleum, the government then introduced fuel subsidy to make life easier and simpler for the common man even though the income of the government was merely just a fraction of what the present administration is earning now. And all of a sudden, our present government came up and

withdrew the petroleum subsidy at a time when the gap between the rich and the poor is getting wider and wider”.

The above quotation is a clear indication that fuel subsidy helps Nigerians especially low-income earners, and its removal adds burden and hardship on the populace. Before the government announce the removal of subsidy the prices of liter of fuel is ₦65. The removal of subsidy increased the price to ₦120. Therefore, Nigerian Labour Congress and other civil organizations organized series of protests nationwide against subsidy removal. Many people were killed and properties were vandalized. For example, in Kano the protest turned violent near government house on Monday January 9, 2012. The fence of the government house was brought down, some part of the cabinet office was burnt down and 22 cars were set ablaze. The police opened fire on the violent protesters and three (3) people were shot dead. There was no violent protest in Gashua during this time. After about three days of nationwide protests, the Federal government responded and negotiated with Nigerian Labour Congress. Some part of the subsidy was restored. This made the price of 1 liter of fuel ₦86.

In 2014, the appointment of Malam Sanusi Lamido Sanusi as the Emir of Kano sparked protest. After the announcement of Sanusi as the 14<sup>th</sup> Emir of Kano, those aggrieved with the decision took to the streets, setting bonfires and barricading the main road leading to Emirs Palace. They chanted: ‘Ba muso! Meaning ‘we don’t want!’ to signify their opposition to decision. They attempted to force themselves to the Government House, but they were pushed back by security agents. The protesters grounded activities in some parts of the city for short while.

Furthermore, a number of protests were organized by different civil societies, labour unions and religious groups. These protests were organized at different times between 2015 and 2023. These protests were mostly organized to protect interests of the organizations members or achieve some demands. For example, Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) in collaboration with other university based unions and other trade unions organized nationwide protest in 2022. This was organized after a prolong strike and failure of the government to meet the demands of Nigerian universities staff. The protest held successfully and peacefully in Kano. The protesters were well received at the government house roundabout by the state Governor. They presented their protest letter and the Governor promised to forward it to the federal government.

Gashua city recorded another protest in 2021. This protest was organized by Gashua youth. The reason behind this protest was the shooting of Gashua young man by military in a filling station at Garin Alkali, Bursari Local Government Area of Yobe State. The shooting took place

in the evening. The next day in the morning, Gashua youth took to streets and protested. They chanted: “Zaluncin soja, ba maso! Meaning military wickedness, we don’t want.” The protest grounded activities in Gashua for some hours. The newly constructed ultra-modern market was attacked. Some glasses and plants were broken in the market. The state government intervened and resolved the matter. In the same vein, Nigeria recorded another nationwide violent protest in 2024. This protest was caused by socio-economic frustration and hardships that followed the total removal of fuel subsidy by the federal government in 2023. On his assuming to the office as the President, Bola Ahmad Tinubu announced total fuel subsidy removal in his inaugural speech. He said: “We commend the decision of the outgoing administration in phasing out the petrol subsidy regime which has increasingly favored the rich more than the poor. Subsidy can no longer justify its ever-increasing costs in the wave of drying resources. We shall instead re-channel the funds into better investment in public infrastructure, education, health care and jobs that will materially improve the lives of million”.

This decision had far reaching effects on Nigerians. It cuts government spending and led to increment of allocation to the three different tiers of government. It caused high inflation and created more suffering on Nigerians especially the low-income earners. As a result, the protest emerged nationwide on August 1, 2024. It lasted for some days. During the course of the protest public and private properties were vandalized. Lives were lost. Some miscreants were arrested and prosecuted. This protest was mobilized via social media. It occurred in both Kano and Gashua cities as well as other Nigerian cities.

### **An Analysis on the Causes of the Protests**

Socio-economic reason is the major cause of most protests in Nigeria. Mostly, protests sprang against economic policies or decisions like fuel or electricity price hike that affect Nigerians welfare. Nigeria is the largest economy in Africa. It has many natural resources. But there is wide gap between the rich and poor in the country. The poverty level is high and there is lack of enough opportunities for the citizens. World Bank report showed that the poverty rate in Nigeria is estimated to have reached 38.9% in 2023, with an estimated 87 million Nigerians living below the poverty line – the world’s second-largest poor population after India. There is also inflation. National Bureau of Statistics revealed that in June 2024, the headline inflation rate increased to 34.19% relative to the May 2024 headline inflation rate which was 33.95%. This inflation increased at intervals. It affects prices of various commodities. It makes life tough. There are also unemployment and illiteracy.

These challenges affect poor population much. Therefore, this category of people is frustrated. Some of the affected people used to join protest and turn it into violence. They seize the opportunity to vandalize and loot public and private properties. Some government economic policies inflict hardship on the masses. A typical example is the subsidy removal of 2023, which put Nigerians in a difficult situation. The condition was stated by ASUU as follows: Our dear compatriots, it is now a familiar story that Nigeria is enmeshed in multidimensional and multi-layered crises owing to the thoughtless embrace of neo-liberal policies of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) by our ruling class. The now infamous “subsidy-is-gone” pronouncement of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu at his inauguration and the floating of the US Dollar’s exchange rate with Nigeria’s Naira are two planks of neo-liberal policies which were undergirded by the roll-back-the state mantra of the international capitalist networks and their comprador foot soldiers. The twin policies have imposed a never-experienced-before hyper-inflation on the citizens, while the political class continues to swim in bizarre affluence at the expense of the ordinary Nigerians.

Insecurity also contributes to the emergence of protest. The series of Boko Haram attacks, banditry, kidnapping, farmers-herdsmen conflicts affected many people and villages. It dislocated many families. It caused rural-urban migration. Many people moved for villages to cities. This caused decline in food production and congested cities. Lives and jobs were lost. These added to the socio-economic challenges of Nigerians and add fuel to flame that provoke violent protest. Some of the depressed and traumatized people find themselves in cities with no jobs and hence join violent protest to vandalize and loot. Politics is also among the causes of protests. Some politicians used protests for campaigning or opposing government policies and programs. They openly or secretly supported protest for their interest. For example, some politicians and elites supported SAP protest. During some protests, attempts were made to attack or damage Kano State Government House by some people suspected to be sponsored by politicians.

Ethnic issues also aid protest. Nigeria like other most modern ‘nation-state is ethnically heterogeneous. This heterogeneity gives rise to complex social and political relations, which if mismanaged could degenerate into conflicts and violence. A number of ethnic conflicts happened in Nigeria. These leads to protests, and sometimes they are sparked or engineered during protests. Sometimes, religious misunderstanding, intolerance and misconception lead to protest. Nigeria is a multi-religious country. The people observe and support their various religions and stand against anything that harms their religions. Therefore, deliberate attack on religion is always bound to attract protests from adherent of their religion. Disobedience to the teaching and advice of scholars leads to violent protests. For example, Islamic scholars warned a lot, urged the people to shun protests as well as asked the government to do the needful to prevent the outbreak of the 2024 protest, but the people refused. External factor also causes protest. In some cases, Nigerians protest to show their support of opposition to the happenings in the foreign countries. The Arab uprisings of 2010s had an influence in changing the pattern and style of protest in Kano city. The Egyptian long stay at Tahrir Square in Cairo was initiated by Kano people. The Kanawa stayed long at Silver Jubilee Roundabout during the 2012 protest. This showed Silver Jubilee Roundabout was used like Tahrir Square.

### Consequences of the Protests

Protest helps in influencing government policies and programs. The 2012 protests helped in forcing government to reverse its decision in removing fuel subsidy. Some percentage of the subsidy was returned following the protests that engulfed the country. Vividly, the 2024 protests expressed Nigerians anger and massive sufferings. To this end, government made some decision to reduce the effects of subsidy removal. The protests took place from August 1<sup>st</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup>, 2024. On the August 14<sup>th</sup>, 2024 Nigeria Customs Service issued a press release on guidelines for implementation of zero duty rate on some basic food items. This boosted food supply, availability and affordability. The table below contains information on the policy.

**Table 1 – Implementation of Zero Duty Rate**

S/No.	Item Description	ECOWAS CET H.S Code	Previous Duty Rate+Levy	New Duty Rate
1.	Husked Brown Rice	1006.20.00.00	30%	0%
2.	Grain Sorghum-other	1007.90.00.00	5%	0%
3.	Millet-other	1008.29.00.00	5%	0%
4.	Maize-other	1005.90.00.00	5%	0%
5.	Wheat-other	1001.19.00.00	20%	0%
6.	Beans	0713.31.90.00	20%	0%

Source: NCS/PR/SP/S.582/25/Vol II

Another consequence of protest is imposition of curfew. This affects the smooth running of economic activities. Markets, schools and other public places are close. People are forced to stay at home. This hinders income generation especially by the daily wage income earners. It causes losses for perishable items traders. Besides, protest leads to loss of lives and properties. It causes destruction, vandalism, and theft. The miscreants used to hide behind the protesters and perpetrated bad activities. Public and private establishments are attacked and sometimes their items are vandalized and looted. The security agents intervene to control the situation. This leads to shootings and arresting of the miscreants. Below are examples of arrests and cases caused by the 2024 protest in Kano.

Sequel to the nationwide protest across the country from the 1<sup>st</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> August, 2024 at about 1100hrs, Abba Isiyaku Musa "M" of Goron Dutse aged 32 years reported that his shop located at Goron Dutse was vandalized and all the goods worth 2,393,000 were looted. His statement was recorded where he stated that on the 1<sup>st</sup> day of August 2024 at 1300 he was called on phone and was informed that his Provision Store located at No. 11 & 12 located at Goron Dutse was broken down and looted by some hoodlums. When he reached the shop, he discovered that one boy was arrested with the stolen goods. He further stated that one of the suspected looters by name Huzaifa Ismail was arrested. He also stated other three individuals were arrested and an eye witness saw them committing the offence.

The above quotation is an indication that many shops and properties were attacked and vandalized. The hoodlums used the scenario and perpetrated a lot of illegal activities. Streets lights were destroyed and looted on some Kano city roads. Some vital public places were also attacked. For example, a digital centre designed to provide million of Information Technology jobs was destroyed. To this end, the President Tinubu in his broadcast stated that: Additionally, we have secured \$620 million under the Digital and Creative Enterprises (IDiCE) – a program to empower our young people, creating millions of IT and technical jobs that will make them globally competitive. These programs include the 3Million Technical Talents scheme. Unfortunately, one of the digital centers was vandalized during the protests in Kano. What a shame!

Protest creates chaos, confusion, abuse of human rights and anarchy. This generates intervention of traditional rulers, religious leaders, activists and civil organizations, who normally appeal for calm and dialogue to resolve the lingering issues. For example, following the outbreak of

2024 protest and the reaction of the government, Nigerian Labour Congress organized Executive Council (NEC) meeting condemned the violations of human right and urged government to dialogue with the protesters. In the same vein, His Eminence the Sultan of Sokoto through Jama'atu Nasril Islam during the 2024 protest examined the situation and made appeal. He said:

With the ongoing protests in Nigeria and the information reaching His Eminence, Alhaji Muhammad Sa'ad Abubakar, CFR, Mni, the Sultan of Sokoto and President-General, JNLC, he once again appeals to the protest conveners, their covert and overt benefactors, as well as other critical stakeholders to sheath their swords and urgently come to the table for dialogue.

### **Similarities Differences of Protests in Gashua and Kano Cities**

Kano and Gashua cities like other Nigerian cities used to participate in nationwide protests. Their protests escalate mostly and sometimes turn to violence. This causes loss of lives and properties. But protests escalate much in Kano than Gashua due to higher number of population in Kano city. The protests in both cities are mostly caused by socio-economic conditions. Besides, politics play a vital role in engineering protests in Kano city. This is the reason government house is attacked during protest, but politics does not play a role in the course of Gashua protests. The security agents' approach and manner in dealing with the community also caused some protests in Gashua city like in 1999 and 2021, but this was not among the causes of protests witnessed in Kano city. Also, protests in Kano city are more reported than in Gashua city due to availability of many media organizations in the city.

While, the quantitative analysis which was conducted through survey was also analysed under structural equation modeling to justify the causes of protest within the society and to test relationship between variables. The analyses started with internal consistency and reliability of the data collected for reliability.



**Table 2. Internal consistency and reliability**

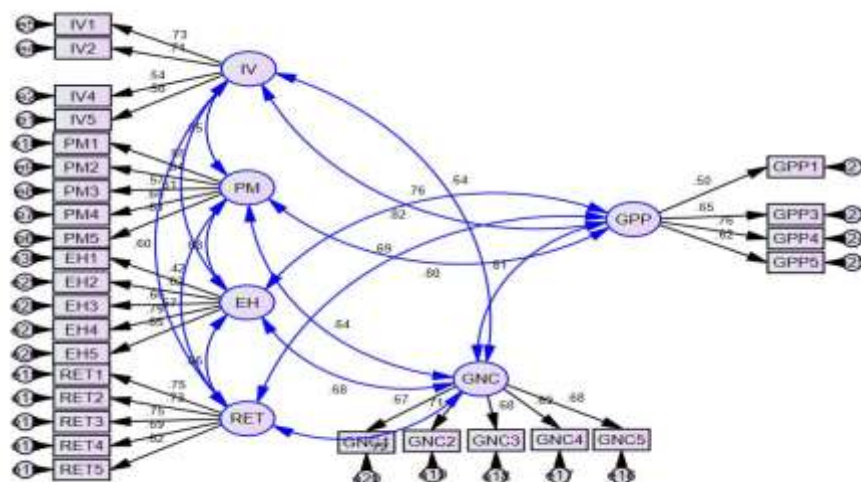
Variables	Composite reliability	AVE	Cronbach alpha
Insecurity and Violence (IV)	0.709	0.670	0.732
Political Marginalisation (PM)	0.726	0.711	0.738
Economic Hardship (EH)	0.713	0.643	0.798
Religious and Ethnic Tension (RET)	0.825	0.918	0.829
Government Neglect and Corruption (GNC)	0.702	0.682	0.817
General Perception of Protests (GPP)	0.710	0.706	0.700

Table 4 indicates that the composite reliability (CR) values exceeded the minimum 0.7 of the model's threshold (Hair *et al.*, 2017). Similarly, the Cronbach's alpha value exceeded the recommended value of >0.70, the same as Cronbach's alpha with a value above 0.7. Further, Average variance Extraction has also met the minimum threshold of 0.5 above.

**Table 3. Discriminant validity**

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Insecurity and Violence (IV)	<b>0.448</b>						
Political Marginalisation (PM)	0.383	<b>0.505</b>					
Economic Hardship (EH)	0.487	0.830	<b>0.413</b>				
Religious and Ethnic Tension (RET)	0.511	0.695	0.791	<b>0.842</b>			
Government Neglect and Corruption (GNC)	0.189	0.288	0.317	0.243	<b>0.465</b>		
General Perception of Protests (GPP)	0.478	0.787	0.724	0.283	0.426	<b>0.498</b>	

Table 5 describes discriminant validity results for the latent structural variables and their correlation. It is defined based on the square root of AVE to indicate the distinctness between the variables. The results indicate that all items show good load in different configurations.



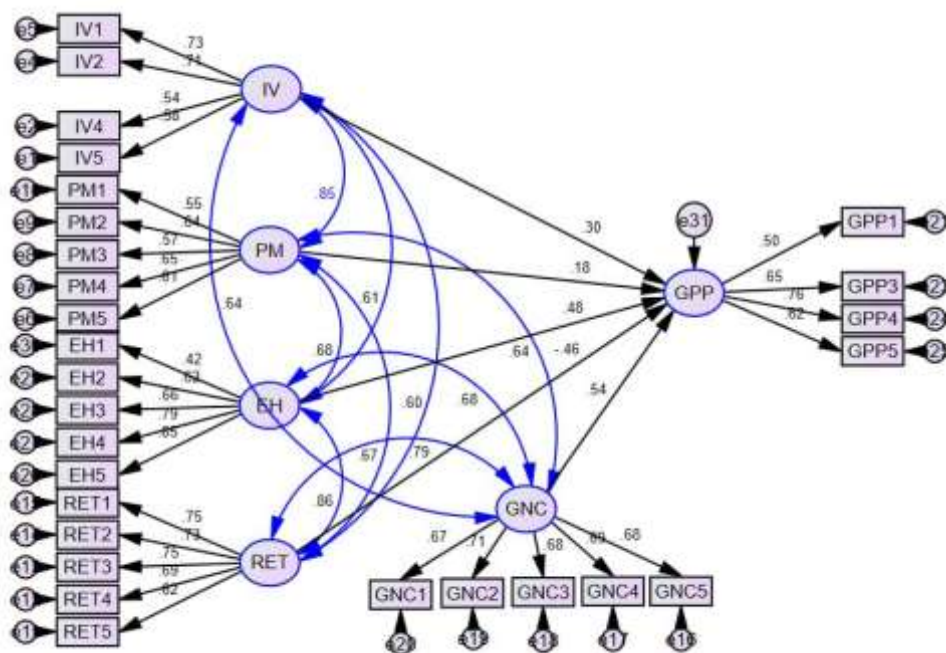


**Figure 1: Measurement model**

**Table 4: Model of fit-based theories**

Model Fit	Results	Theories
CMIN/DF	2.926	(Hair <i>et al.</i> , 2017)
GFI	0.950	(Byrne, 2013)
AGFI	0.912	(Hair, <i>et al.</i> , 2017).
IFI	0.951	(Hair <i>et al.</i> , 2017)
CFI	0.948	(Hair <i>et al.</i> , 2017)
TLI	0.916	(Byrne, 2013)
RMSEA	0.075	(Hair, <i>et al.</i> , 2017).

Table 6 describes the model's measurement and model fit as indicated above. The CMIN/DF indicates 1.924, as Hair *et al.* (2017) recommended. The GFI, AGFI, IFI, CFI, and TLI were all recommended to be above 0.9 and have met the required threshold, while RMSEA is recommended below 0.08, which is 0.046 below 0.08 as suggested by Hair *et al.* (2017). Therefore, the model indicates the level of acceptance.



**Figure 2: Covariance relationship****Table 5. Hypotheses testing**

Path	Unstandardized Estimate	S.E.	Critical Ratio	P- value	Hypotheses	
IV-> GPP	.244	.027	3.502	.004	Supported	(H1)
PM-> GPP	.180	.047	5.002	.000	Supported	(H2)
EH-> GPP	.274	.083	3.307	.000	Supported	(H3)
RET-> GPP	-.348	.100	-2.560	.013	Supported	(H4)
GNC-> GPP	.421	.099	4.252	.000	Supported	(H5)

Table 7 testing hypotheses indicates the significant relationship between dependent and independent variables; the Insecurity and violence variable positively correlates with General Perception Protest. The probability of vital critical ratio as large as 3.502, with a p-value of 0.004. Therefore, the direct relationship link between insecurity and violence and General Perception Protest indicates a positive relationship and supports (H1). The scenario is the same: the direct link between Political Marginalisation and General Perception Protest (GPP) and also positively accepts H2, H3, H4, and H5. The above results and analyses indicate a direct link between the independent variables and **GPP**, as a direct link with positive effects, as indicated in Table 5 and as also predict in the Figure 1 and 2 indicated. The tested variable used indicates the validity and reliability measured for the variable justification, where the constructs used to form a variable were all met the requirements above threshold 0.7 for compositivity reliability and Cronbach's alpha, while Average Variance Extraction > 0.5 and assessment considered with the range  $\pm 2$  and  $\pm 7$  (Byrne, 2013).

The discriminant validity in Table 5 shows the square root assessment of AVE as the distinct relationship between the variables, which relates to the variables between the columns and rows. The requirement needed should be below 0.85 as indicated by (Hair *et al.*, 2014); any value exceeding the above threshold stipulated is considered less expected and cannot be considered under discriminant validity. Therefore, the measurement test under discriminants has met the threshold and is considered valuable. Table 4 measures the model fit of the study, which is considered critical, starting from GFI, AGFI, CFI, TLI, and IFI, which have met the requirement above >0.9, and RMSEA has also met the threshold requirement of 0.064 below the maximum threshold of 0.08.

Moreover, Tables 5 indicate the results' direct effect status. The hypotheses on the direct effect between dependent and independent variables were accepted. The study confirmed the relationship between the insecurity and violence, political marginalization, economic hardship, religious neglect and corruption towards general perception protest in enhancing the socioeconomic development and sustainable peace within society. All scenarios showed a positive relationship between the variables and the direct effect and influence on general perception protest. Such innovative ideas lead to the selection and peaceful dialog for resolving dispute rather than protest within communities. Socioeconomic factors can be positively enhance if there is coexistence amongst the society in Nigeria. The study stresses the significant role of applying socioeconomic and factors in influencing the general perception protest system in northern Nigeria.

## Conclusion

Socioeconomic reasons are the major cause of most protests in Nigeria. Mostly, protests sprang up against economic policies or decisions, such as fuel or electricity price hikes, that affect Nigerians' welfare. Nigeria is the largest economy in Africa. It has many natural resources. However, there is a significant disparity between the rich and the poor in the country. The poverty level is high, and there is a lack of enough opportunities for the citizens.

Insecurity also contributes to the emergence of protests. The series of Boko Haram attacks, banditry, kidnapping, and farmers-herdsmen conflicts affected many people and villages. It dislocated many families. It caused rural-urban migration. Many people moved from villages to cities. This led to a decline in food production and congestion in cities. Lives and jobs were lost. These added

to the socio-economic challenges faced by Nigerians and fueled the flames that provoked violent protests.

Ethnic issues also aid protests. Nigeria, like other most modern 'nation-states, is ethnically heterogeneous. This heterogeneity gives rise to complex social and political relations, which, if mismanaged, could degenerate into conflicts and violence. Several ethnic conflicts happened in Nigeria. These lead to protests, and sometimes they are sparked or engineered during such demonstrations. Sometimes, religious misunderstandings, intolerance, and misconceptions lead to protests. Nigeria is a multi-religious country. The people observe and support their various religions, and they stand against anything that harms them or their faith. Moreover, a deliberate attack on a religion is always bound to attract protests from its adherents. Disobedience to the teaching and advice of scholars leads to violent protests. In addition, the variables investigated were considered the most challenging factor contributing to the protest, as justified in both quantitative and qualitative testing. Therefore, policymakers should investigate the causes and develop comprehensive programs to address the root causes of social issues and poverty, promoting sustainable peace and coexistence within society.

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