



LEADERSHIP CRISIS BETWEEN GOVERNOR GANDUJE AND FORMER EMIR OF KANO MUHAMMED SUNUSI LAMIDO II

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Abstract

Power is a key to conflict between groups or individuals many scholars in social science and humanities like Prof. Asobia a renown political scientist from University of Nigeria Nsuka is of the view that power scramble can easily break through societal stability as groups or individual seek who seek for power domination and relevance in the public affairs. The former Emir Muhammadu Sanusi II of Kano has been dethroned by Governor Ganduje, the removal brings to many as a past memory of similar removal of his Grandfather, Alhaji Sir Muhammadu Sanusi I, by the Premier of Northern Region, Sir Ahmadu Bello. History has repeated itself on Monday, March 9, 2020 when Governor Abdullahi Ganduje dethroned the emir of Kano, Muhammadu Sanusi II. Fifty-seven years ago, precisely 1963, the late Grandfather of Emir Sanusi, Alhaji Sir Muhammadu Sanusi, was also dethroned by the Premier of Northern Region and Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello, according to the history, the late Sanusi and the premier were reportedly best of friends before things went bad in their relationship. However, in 1963, the friendship had collapsed as Bello's government probed, dethroned and eventually banished the late Sanusi to Azare in 1963 where he later died. Though unlike his grandfather, Emir Sanusi II might not be Governor Ganduje's close friend, the duo certainly did not start off as enemies. However, the crisis erupted between the two started in 2019 when the emir was accused of working against Ganduje's re-election in 2019. Governor Ganduje after winning the second term developed an action that was interpreted as a calculated move to

undermine the influence of the Kano emir. Apart from creating new emirates, the Kano State Governor also initiated a probe of the Kano Emirate Council under the leadership of Emir Sanusi II after several probes and failed reconciliation attempts, Governor Ganduje announced the removal of Sanusi as the Emir of Kano. Sanusi's dethronement came after the state's council executive meeting presided over by Ganduje. Confirming the development, Alhaji Usman Alhaji, Kano's Secretary to the State Government (SSG) said that the monarch's sack takes effect from Monday, 9th March 2020. Usman said that the emir's action violated the part 3 section A-E of Kano state emirate law, 2019 and that his removal was a decision reached after a lot of consultation with all relevant stakeholders. Calling on Kano people to calm over the development, information on that particular day has confirm that Alhaji Aminu Ado Bayero, former emir of Bichi to be throne as Emir of Kano while Alhaji Nasiru Ado, Wanban Kano District head of Nasarawa was throne as Emir of Bichi. The paper was of the view that to maintain the reputation of Kano State traditional cultural values and heritage there is need for political elected officer to use political power for the purpose of development for the peoples not for attaining political interest and the traditional leaders must not take side on any controversial political issues rather than guiding political elected officer to deliver on their mandate on serving the needs of their peoples.

Keywords: *Kano Emirate, Political Crisis, Traditional Leadership and Political Participations.*

Introduction

The former Emir Sanusi II was selected to succeed his granduncle, Alhaji [Ado Bayero](#), as the [Emir of Kano](#) on 8 June 2014. His appointment was controversial, with some seen like a politically-motivated move to avoid fraud charges from his tenure at the Central Bank Governor. Many peoples are of the believe that Bayero's elders son Chiroma would succeed his father as emir, which led gang groups of many youth protested against Sanusi's appointment (FM News, 2014) The Emir Muhammadu Sanusi II, was crowned on 9 June 2014, as the 14th Emir of Kano and leader of the

[Tijaniyya Sufi](#) order, the second-most-important Muslim position in Nigeria after the [Sultan of Sokoto](#), leader of the larger [Qadiriyya Sufi](#) order. According to comrade Ameh Godwin (2014) has argue that Muhammadu Sanusi II, also known as Sanusi Lamido Sanusi, is one of the most famous hereditary Muslim rulers in the Northern Nigeria during his 5 years leadership as emir of Kano . He is also one of the most embattled. As politicians seek to decimate his authority, his predicament exemplifies broader pressures facing his peers around the world. Expected to simultaneously mediate social change and uphold “tradition,” these hereditary Muslim rulers are supposed to be above the fray of day-to-day politics – but they cannot avoid getting drawn into it. Sunusi has taken the bull at horn since thronging in as emir who has brought many cultural changes in the administration of Kano emirate council which he has encounter resistances from various forces but he become firm and resolute in his vision to introduce cultural change and mobility in Kano cultural structure .

Ameh has argue that “ the nature of pressure face by traditional holders in spite for political office holder to achieve a certain political goals that can led to molestation and abuse of power among traditional institutions holders. Since 2014, Sanusi has been the emir of Kano, the most populous state in northern Nigeria; Kano is a religious hub in the region, just as it was in the pre-colonial period. Within the hierarchy of Northern Nigeria’s hereditary Muslim ruling class, the emir of Kano formally ranks third, after the Sultan of Sokoto and the Shehu of Borno. In terms of political sway and media coverage, however, the emir of Kano is sometimes more visible than those other traditional figures in north – and this has been especially true with the outspoken Sanusi in the role to make comments in the area of economy, governance, Girl Child education , Insecurity and many more other public affairs issues.

Statement of Problem

Sanusi was a controversial public figure long before his arrival as emir; this is what led to his instant suspension as a Central Bank of Nigeria, Governor by the Former President Jonathan administration. Sunusi has character of offering critics on any injustice of leadership since when he was a student

radical at Ahmadu Bello University in the 1970s, with dual training as a banker and an Islamic intellectual; he put himself into the media spotlight more than any other royal scion in Northern Nigeria. Moreover, his religious worldview perception is markedly eclectic in the Nigerian context or indeed any context: in his writings on Islam and politics from the 2000s, one can find him [citing figures](#) ranging from the medieval Maliki jurist Khalil bin Ishaq to the Iranian philosopher-revolutionary ‘Ali Shari’ati. During the phase of intensive “shari’a implementation” in northern Nigeria between 2000 and 2003, Sanusi expressed a progressive vision of Islamic law’s orientation and purposes, a vision that was self-consciously out of step with the much more conservative opinions of many scholars and even many ordinary Muslims.

Sanusi was also controversial in his role as Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) from 2009-2014. Sunusi has got many praises abroad and at home for his post-crash reforms of the banking sector in Nigeria during his tenure s CBN Governor; he also drew criticism from multiple sectors. Nigerian Christian Pastors objected to his decision to advance Islamic banking in Nigeria, by establishing free interest banking. Sunusi has the “Occupy Nigeria” movement deplored his involvement in an abortive effort to remove fuel subsidies in 2012, during the administration of former President Goodluck Jonathan [fired Sanusi](#) in 2014 after the leak of correspondence where Sanusi questioned Jonathan about an alleged \$49 billion missing oil revenues (CBN, 2011)

Emir, Sanusi has continued to attract controversy on some many issues in the public affairs policies by trying to demonstrate his philosophical ego perception for socio-cultural and political changes. At a 2018 conference organized by Institute of Islamic Civilization, Bayero University, Kano, he attended where protocol required Sanusi to represent both himself and the Sultan of Sokoto, Sanusi half-joked said that “anything I said that is not controversial comes from the Sultan, but anything I said that is controversial comes from me.” Departing from most of his peers’ practice of confining their public remarks to platitudes, Sanusi weighs in on sensitive questions of [economic management](#) while also calling for wide-ranging social change on issues such as [girls’ education](#). Emir Sanusi speaks to multiple audiences simultaneously; seemingly well aware that what

offends some of his fellow Nigerians may please others while also continuing to attract Western media attention.

Emir Sanusi II has reinventing the role of emir, and part of that reinvention involves being a relentless political and cultural commentator. Trumpeters in traditional garb still herald his arrival to public events, and attendants still lift their flowing robes to screen him from public view when he sits down and stands up – but when he speaks it is as a blend of development economist, modernist Islamic intellectual and hereditary aristocrat. This combination has won him both friends and enemies among Nigeria's politicians.

Power does not just run in one direction. Former Governor of Kano, late Abubakar Rimi learned this in 1981 when he sought to restrict the power of then-Emir Ado Bayero (1963-2014) by creating new emirates. Rimi's project was greeted with protests, and in 1983, Rimi's successor Sabon Bakin Zowu [reversed the order](#). But often, it is the politicians who have the upper hand over the emirs. This relationship means that succession questions sometimes turn on the politics of the moment. Sanusi reportedly desired the emirate his entire life, in part because his grandfather, Emir Muhammadu Sanusi I, had been deposed by the Northern politician Ahmadu Bello in 1963 in favor of Ado Bayero, the elder Sanusi's younger brother. But it took special circumstances for Sanusi II to succeed his great uncle.

When Ado Bayero died in 2014, Kano's elected governor was (Dr.) Rabiun Musa Kwankwaso, who had recently moved from the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) into the opposition coalition the All Progressives Congress (APC) before he return to his former party of PDP during 2019 elections . Kwankwaso had a long-running conflict with the emir; some of Kwankwaso's supporters [accused Bayero](#) of favoring Kwankwaso's rival Mallam Ibrahim Shekarau. The Kwankwaso-Shekarau rivalry had shaped Kano State politics since Nigeria's return to democracy in 1999; Kwankwaso served one term as governor (1999-2003), only to be defeated by Shekarau (2003-2011) and then mount a comeback to win a second term (2011-2015)

The death of Alh do Bayero's in June 2014, came at a moment almost perfectly suited to Sanusi's advantage, for Governor Kwankwaso, who had

a major say in choosing the next emir, Sanusi offered a tool for sidelining Bayero's elders son direct descendants and gaining long-sought influence over the emirate, as well as a means of undermining then-President Jonathan by elevating one of Jonathan's key adversaries. Within a period of just four months in 2014, Sanusi went from being fired and rebuked by the President over the missing oil revenues controversy to being enthroned as one of the most prominent symbols of Islamic authority in Nigeria. For Kwankwaso and the APC, with a crucial presidential election approaching in February 2015, the succession was a golden opportunity to solidify influence over Kano with more than one million votes the state represented. Bayero's sons and their supporters protested Sanusi's selection, but with Kwankwaso's backing he prevailed and remains as emir of Kano.

The politicization of succession issues has now come back to haunt Sanusi. The 2015 election brought triumph for the APC at the presidential level and in much governorship. At first, the outcome was also a personal triumph for Kwankwaso: term-limited as governor, he won election to the Senate and installed his two term Deputy as a successor, Dr. Abdullahi Umar Ganduje, as the new governor. As with so many such relationships, though, Kwankwaso and Ganduje fell out. This was partly because the pull of Kwankwaso's personal presidential ambitions led him to switch from the APC back to the PDP in the lead-up to the 2019 elections, while Ganduje remained in the APC camp. These political rivalries surrounding the governorship had ramifications for Sanusi, who found himself in conflict with Ganduje (Fick, 2019)

The conflict entered a new stage with the hard-fought 2019 gubernatorial contest in Kano. With Ganduje no longer allied with Kwankwaso, Ganduje's re-election bid faced substantial obstacles including, in the [eyes of Ganduje's camp](#), Sanusi. Ganduje's team came to feel that Sanusi had thrown his full weight behind the Kwankwaso-backed PDP candidate Engineer Abba Kabir Yusuf (who is also Kwankwaso's son-in-law). After the initial vote on March 9, 2019 Yusuf took a slight lead, but Ganduje narrowly won a re-run election held March 23, 2019 which gives a victory to Ganduje as duly elected Governor of Kano State that led Ganduje Camp to revisit of those politicians and elders that are against the Ganduje re-

election bid of 2019 where the former Emir was found sided with PDP candidate Abba Kabir Yusuf. However, three major administrative challenges has emerge between Governor Ganduje and former Emir Sunusi, one issues of creating new emirates of Bichi, Gaya, Karaye and Rano with the same cultural value status as all first class Emirs and make 2019 Kano emirate council bill which cited the chairmanship of the council to be rotated between the five emirs at interval for 2 years, which Ganduje firstly, appointed Former Emir Sunisi to start chairing the Kano State emirate which took some days before Sunusi accept the chairmanship. Secondly, some charges of financial scandal by Kano Emirate June 2014-2019 that blow many public speculations and lastly, some public complain made by some peoples to Kano State Assembly, which led the Assembly to constitute the committee to investigate the issue in one week time.

Research Questions

The paper has the following questions to ask:

- i. What are the administrative relationship between office of the Executive Governor and the Emir of Kano State?
- ii. What are the factors that led to relationship crisis between the office of the Executive Governor and the Emir of Kano State.?
- iii. Is there any ways that could be used to consolidate well working relationship between the office of the Executive Governor and Emir of Kano State?

Research Objectives

The paper has the general objective of investigating the leadership crisis between the Governor Ganduje and former Emir Muhammed Sunusi Lamido II , with the following specific objectives:

- i. To find out the administrative relationship crisis between the office of the Executive Governor and the office of Emir in Kano State.
- ii. To identify the factors that led to sour relationship between office of the Executive Governor and Emir of Kano State.
- iii. To find out ways that could consolidate good working relationship between office of the Executive Governor and Emir of Kano State.

Historical Background

How Sanusi's Grandfather was dethroned by Sardauna in 1963

According to Eric, T (1978) has linked how the Alhaji Isa KAITA (1912-1994) who was the Northern Region Minister for works between 1954-1957 and later Minister of Education between 1957-1966. He later became the Waziri of Katsina. Alhaji Kaita was one of the few closest advisers of the late Northern Region Premier, Sir Ahmadu Bello (1909-1966), the Sardauna of Sokoto. In August 1963, Alhaji Isa Kaita was dispatched to Lagos by his friend, Sir Ahmadu Bello. The mission was to inform the then Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (1912-1966), about the plan of the Premier to depose the then Emir of Kano, Sir Muhammadu Sanusi from the throne. When he got to Lagos, he met the then Prime Minister in company of his five Ministers, Alhaji Muhammadu Ribadu (1910-1965), Alhaji Shehu Shagari (90), Alhaji Zanna Bukar Suloma Dipcharima (1917-1969), Alhaji Maitama Sule (90), and Alhaji Tudun Wada (94). The ministers advised against the premier's decision. Upon delivering the message, the then prime minister told Alhaji Kaita that the Sardauna should not act that way. "Tell the Sardauna that he should not do it, for Kano will be on fire." The emissary told the prime minister and the five ministers present that "I am not here for permission. I am here to inform you that the Sardauna had made up his mind, am afraid no going back". That was how the meeting ended. Selection and deposition of traditional rulers is the sole responsibility of state governments. The son of the Emir, Alhaji Aminu Sanusi, who was serving in the Nigerian Embassy in Cairo, Egypt at that time, intervened on behalf of his father on the question of exile.

The Prime minister discussed with the premier and they all settled for Azare, the headquarters of the Katagum Emirate in Northern Bauchi province. Two days later, the Emir was dethroned and banished to Azare in the present Bauchi state. He later died in 1984. Some of the details of the deposition are contained on pages 603 to 605 of a book written by Trevor Clark titled: "A RIGHT HONOURABLE GENTLEMAN" on the life and times of Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Mr. Clark, a Briton, served as the deputy secretary to the executive council, the governor's office in Kaduna. He was a personal friend of the Prime Minister. Before the deposition, Mr Clark

wrote that” the Kano native finances had largely broken down, and in September 1962 could not meet its monthly staff wage bill nor its other debts. Alhaji Isa Kaita in October 1983 while he was chairman of the Code of Conduct Bureau, he said Sir Ahmadu Bello did not take that decision without consultation. He described the deposition as “A RIGHTEOUS ONE”. When he was asked whether the late premier had any regret deposing Alhaji Muhammed Sanusi as the Emir before he too was murdered by the military on January 15, 1956, his reply was: “Why should the Sardauna regret his actions, Sanusi was not deposed on mere statement, go and find out. Have you read the report of David Muffet?” David Muffet, a Briton was appointed by Sir Ahmadu Bello to probe into Kano Native Financial affairs in 1963. Later Mr. Muffet wrote a book titled: “LET THE TRUTH BE TOLD”. Unfortunately, Alhaji Isa Kaita, a former broadcaster has write his own version of story about the depose of emir Sunisi I but could not write his version of story to shed more light on the deposition of the Emir before he died in his house in Kaduna on November 26, 1994. After the deposition of the Emir, the Turaki of Kano (1927-1939) and district head of Dawakin Kudu, Alhaji Muhammad Inuwa Abbas, born in 1901, became the next Emir after Emir Sunisi I. His reign was less than 12 months before he died. He was succeeded by Alhaji Ado Bayero who died 2014 after reigning for 51 years.

The history of the deposed Emir was in sharp contrast with that of his father Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero who was Emir between 1926 and 1963. Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero was the son of Emir Muhammadu Abbas. He was district head of Bichi before he was appointed the tenth Fulani Emir of Kano in 1926. He was officially installed in February 1927. Under British supervision, he carried out some reforms of the Emirate government. The economic prosperity continued under his reigned despite the slump going on in the post-Second World War years and considerable development was financed from Native Authority funds. By the early 1950s, the Kano NA was spending over £1 million annually for its programmes. Under the Emir, whose good relations with the British were shown by a procession in which he and the governor took part in 1936, Kano became important to the British a civil air route terminal (1936), air base in the Second World War, and a major groundnut centre as it had been since 1912. He encouraged

many factories to be established in Kano. He virtually turned Kano into a major trading centre across the whole of Africa. The Arabs turned Kano to their second home, hence the reason for many mulattoes in Kano today. In 1934 Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero visited Britain and was received by King George V. He went to Mecca twice. The first time, in 1937, he travelled by car and became the first ever Emir of Kano to perform the Hajj. He performed it again in 1951, that time by air, and on his return, opened a new mosque. He followed the Reformed Tijaniyya Moslem sect, and was much influenced by Sheikh Ibrahim Niass of Kaolack (Senegal), who preached it in Kano. This well-remembered Emir died on 25 December 1953. Bayero University was named after him. The son of the now ailing Emir of Azare, who hosted the deposed Emir of Kano for 21 years, Baba Farouk, the Seriki Shirra, is the former Permanent Secretary Federal Ministry of Water Resources. And the grandson of the deposed Emir is today the Emir of Kano, Alhaji Sanusi Lamido Sanusi. He is not the first son or grandson of a deposed traditional ruler to regain the throne of his father or that of his grandfather. The father of the present Alaafin of Oyo, Iku Baba Yeye, Oba Lamidi Layiwola Adeyemi III (76), which is Oba Adeniran Adeyemi II was once deposed in 1954 and he died in exile. His son, the present Alaafin succeeded Oba Gbadegesin Ladigbolu on November 8, 1970. The whole world is now waiting when he will mark 50 years on the throne in 2020. The former Oba of Benin, Oba Uku Akpolokpolo, Omo n'Oba n'Edo, Akenzua II (1899-1978) was another one. His grandfather King Ovonramwen, who died in 1914, was dethroned and deported to Calabar where he died 17 years later. The present Olowo of Owo in Ondo state, Kabiyesi Victor Folagbade Olateru Olagbegi, is another one. His famous father, Sir James Titus Olateru Olagbegi II, was dethroned in February 1968. He fought back and he reclaimed his throne on November 2, 1993. As for the present Emir of Kano, Alhaji Sanusi Lamido Sanusi, he could boast of having a grandfather and a great grandfather as Emirs of Kano. A boast that can't be disputed, he has two choices before him today. Either to follow the footsteps of his great grandfather Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero who transformed Kano or follow the footsteps of his grandfather Alhaji Muhammed Sanusi who was deposed after reigning for 10 years

Who is Sunusi Lamido Sunusi II

Sanusi was born on 31 July 1961 in [Kano](#) to a ruling class [Fulani](#) family of the [Sullubawa](#) clan. His father, Aminu Sanusi, was a career diplomat who served as the Nigerian Ambassador to Belgium, China and Canada, and later served as the permanent secretary of the [Ministry of Foreign Affairs](#). He was also the [Chiroma](#) of [Kano](#). His grandfather, [Muhammadu Sanusi I](#), was the 11th [Emir of Kano](#) from 1953 until 1963, when he was deposed by his cousin Sir [Ahmadu Bello](#). (Kano Emirate, 2020)

Brief Educational Background of Sunusi Lamido Sunusi II

According to Tom, B (2009) has shown that Sanusi was educated at [King's College, Lagos](#), where he graduated in 1977. He then proceeded to [Ahmadu Bello University](#) in [Zaria](#), where he received a [bachelor's degree in economics](#) in 1981. He later received a [master's degree](#) in economics two years later from the university and lectured at the Department of Economics. Much later, the all-round scholar sought further knowledge of Islamic Law at the [International University of Africa](#), Khartoum, Sudan graduating in 1997 with a 1st Class degree in Sharia & Islamic Studies with a strong elective in [Arabic](#)

Banking career

In 1985, Sanusi was hired by Icon Limited (a subsidiary of [Morgan Guaranty Trust](#)) and [Barings Bank](#). In 1997, he joined the [United Bank for Africa](#), working in the [credit](#) and [risk management](#) division. He rose through the ranks to the position of General Manager. After his academic programme in Sudan, he joined the services of the freshly privatized [United Bank for Africa](#) PLC as a Principal Manager (Credit Risk Management) and by March 2005 he became a General Manager, with expertise in Risk Management, a few months later in 2005 Sanusi became a board member and executive director in charge of risk and management control at [First Bank of Nigeria](#). First Bank is Nigeria's oldest bank, and one of [Africa's largest financial institutions](#). In January 2009, he was appointed [CEO](#). Sanusi was the first northern Nigerian to head the bank.

On 1 June 2009, Sanusi was nominated as Governor of the [Central Bank of Nigeria](#) by President [Umaru Musa Yar'Adua](#); his appointment was

confirmed by the [Nigerian Senate](#) on 3 June 2009, during a [global financial crisis](#) (John,2010)

According to Onyinye, N (2010) has highlighted that Sanusi's tenure initiated several extensive [banking reforms](#). The reforms were built around four pillars: enhancing the quality of banks, establishing financial stability, enabling healthy financial sector evolution and ensuring that the financial sector contributes to the real economy. Sanusi said that the crash in the capital market was due to financial illiteracy on the part of Nigerian investors. He led the central bank in rescuing top tier banks with [₦400 billion](#) of public money and dismissed their Chief Executives. He also introduced a consolidation process which reduced the number of Nigerian banks through [merger and acquisitions](#), in a bid to make them stronger and more accountable to depositors. He also advised the government to increase the level of investment in [infrastructure](#).

"His reforms received both criticism and appraisal from the industry. Sanusi has spoken at a number of distinguished international events [The Bankers](#) recognized him as the 2010 Central Bank Governor of the Year, for his reforms and leading an radical anti-corruption campaign in the sector. Sanusi is recognized in the banking industry for his contribution to a risk management culture in Nigerian banking."

In 2014, Sunusi Lamido was suspended from the office of the Governor of CBN after raising the alarm on the [US\\$20 billion NNPC scandal](#), Sanusi was suspended by President [Goodluck Jonathan](#) (Blueprint, 2015)

Raising Public Issues by Sunusi Lamido II

2014 Kano bombing

In November 2014, after Sanusi urged his followers to fight [Boko Haram](#), the [Great Mosque of Kano](#) was [bombed](#), with over 150 casualties. In December 2014, Boko Haram leader [Abubakar Shekau](#) accused Sanusi of deviating from Islam and threatened his life. Sanusi replied that he is "safe with Allah", and likened Shekau's extremist comments (describing Sufis as unbelievers) to those of the heretical Islamic preacher [Maitatsine](#) (Ibrahim,

2014) His statement replied to Boko Haram leaders has demonstrated the hard mine of Sunusi II on many controversial social issues.

Socio-political views

Sanusi has been criticized by [conservatives](#) in [Northern Nigeria](#) for making several comments on socio-political issues impacting the Northern region. According to Mustapha, M (2017) has cited Sunusi has called for an end to child marriage, building more schools instead of mosques, and infrastructural development. Sanusi has called for population planning, and has said that [polygamy](#) is increasing [poverty](#) in the region. Sanusi has also advocated for [eugenics](#) to solve the [almajiri](#) issue.

This statement of Former emir of Sunusi has cried critics by many individuals and groups in the Northern Nigeria and call for Sunisi to stop talking in public because this reduce the values of traditional institutions in Nigeria.

Clash with state government

During his reign, Sanusi spoke out on government policies, breaking with old royal tradition of not spoken on government policies unless to call for peace during ceremonial traditional occasions of Sallah festivals. He criticized the state government of misplaced priorities by wasting a large amount of public funds to a less important sector.

In 2017, the emirate council was under investigation for corruption. Guardian Newspaper (2020) has cited how many saw this as retribution over comments he made. The investigation was later called off by the state legislature following intervention by the ruling class. In 2019, [Governor Abdullahi Umar Ganduje](#) signed into law the creation of four new emirates. This unprecedented move saw Sanusi's traditional domain as emir reduced. According to the law, Sanusi will only preside over 10 [local government areas](#) out of the 44 in the state.

Deposition

On 9 March 2020, Sanusi was deposed and exiled to [Loko](#) and latter to Awe all are villages in [Nasarawa State](#) humbly accepted to be accommodated by the Nasarawa State Government, and for few days he was move and

relocated to Lagos with his family although his legal has claim to take legal action on two basis on the illegal dethronement and the freedom of former emir Sunusi to allowed to live with his family in the place of his choice in Nigeria (BBC, News Hausa Version. 10th March,2020)

Sunusi Thought on Sharia

In 1997, Sanusi received a degree in [Sharia](#) and [Islamic studies](#) from the [International University of Africa](#) in [Khartoum](#). Bukar, M (2020) has cited how Sunusi Lamido II contributed to the debate about [Sharia in Nigeria](#). He explains that "belief in the universal and eternal applicability of the sharia with the need for a wholesale adoption of its historically specific interpretation to meet the requirements of a particular milieu."

He has argued that although the collection of [zakat](#) is a state responsibility, it may be the responsibility of the federal government rather than the emirs of Northern Nigeria. Sanusi has adopted the mainstream position that zakat is an instrument for redistributing income, arguing in favor of giving the role of redistribution to the government.

Sanusi's position has two underlying themes: Islam is concerned with delivering justice and should not be a tool for self-seeking political agendas, and the [Wahhabist](#) rhetoric of fundamentalists counters genuine Muslim interests. He explains that Sharia is not divine but religious, and is neither uniform nor unchanging. His view has been critically response by many scholars who sees Sunisi as controversial on Sharia administration without looking in various other sources.

Corruption

As a former Central Bank Governor, he led a radical anti-corruption campaign, dismissing [Cecilia Ibru](#) and other bank heads who had mismanaged customer deposits, and (in the case of two senior bankers) imprisoned. According to Sanusi, there was no choice but to attack the powerful and interrelated vested interests who were exploiting the financial system. Sanusi has spoken on numerous occasions in favour of removing the fuel subsidy. He cites the high level of corruption engendered by the practice, the inefficiency of subsidizing consumption instead of production (leading to slower economic growth), and the fact that the government borrows money to finance the subsidy—taxing future generations so present Nigerians can consume more fuel.

Sanusi revealed that Nigeria lost a billion of dollars a month to diversion of funds under the Jonathan administration. The [PBS](#) segment quoted

American and British officials that former petroleum Minister [Diezani Alison-Madueke](#) might have organized a diversion of \$6 billion (₦1.2 trillion) from the Nigerian treasury. Alison-Madueke said Sanusi made the allegations due to her refusal to get him appointed as President of the [African Development Bank](#), which Sanusi rejected. In 2015, Alison-Madueke was arrested in London. Sanusi has criticized [Buhari's anti-corruption war](#), arguing that his administration's [foreign exchange](#) policy is creating a [nouveau riche](#) class and promoting the economy (Nicks, 2015)

Titles, styles and honours

Titles and styles

- 31 July 1961 – 8 June 2012 - Sanusi Lamido Sanusi
- 8 June 2012 – 8 June 2014 - Dan Maje of [Kano](#)
- 8 June 2014 – 9 March 2020 - His Royal Highness, Emir Muhammadu Sanusi II
- Since 9 March 2020 - Muhammadu Sanusi II

Source: Premiums time, 2020

Honours

- [Commander of the Order of the Niger](#)
- In 2010, [The Banker](#) recognized him as the 2010 Central Bank Governor of the Year (worldwide) and Central Bank Governor of the Year for Africa.
- In 2011, [Time](#) magazine listed him on the 100 most influential people of 2011.
- In 2013, Sanusi was honoured at the third [Global Islamic Finance Awards](#) (GIFA) in [Dubai](#) for his advocacy in promoting [Islamic banking and finance](#) during his tenure as Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria.
- In 2015, He received the Global Leadership in Islamic Finance Award as the fifth GIFA Laureate, following [Tun Abdullah Badawi](#) (2011), [Sultan Nazrin Shah](#) (2012), [Shaukat Aziz](#) (2013) and [Nursultan Nazarbayev](#) (2014).
- In 2018, He was conferred honorary Doctorate Degree by the Nile University of Nigeria, Abuja.
- The Nnamdi Azikiwe University is set to confer an honorary doctorate degree on former Emir of Kano, Sanusi Lamido Sanusi. (Source: Pulse TV, 10th March, 2020)

Ganduje's efforts to Shrink Sanusi's Power

On May 8, 2019 Ganduje [signed into law](#) a bill creating four new emirates in Kano State. The new law shrinks Sanusi's territory from the entirety of the state – forty-four Local Government Areas (LGAs) – to just ten LGAs. The law places some of the new emirs on essentially the same level of prestige as Sanusi, giving 10 LGAs to Rano Emirate, 9 to Bichi, 8 to Gaya, and 7 to Karaye; all of these emirs, moreover, are designated as “first class,” just like Sanusi.

The new emir of Bichi, Alhaji Aminu Ado Bayero, is a particular rival to Sanusi in that he is one of the sons of Sanusi's predecessor Ado Bayero. It was his older brother, [Sanusi Lamido Ado Bayero](#), who was seen as the foremost alternative to Sanusi amid the succession struggle in 2014 but having any member of the Bayero family take over a major chunk of Kano Emirate is clearly a challenge to Sanusi.

“Sanusi's supporters [responded](#) by taking the governor, along with the Speaker of the Kano State House of Assembly and the Kano State Attorney General, to court in an effort to block the division of Sanusi's territory. “

Sanusi's supporters [responded](#) by taking the governor, along with the Speaker of the Kano State House of Assembly and the Kano State Attorney General, to court in an effort to block the division of Sanusi's territory. In mid-June, 2019 the Kano High Court [dismissed the suit](#), but [another court judgment](#) soon followed, ruling that the new emirs could not be enthroned. Ganduje appointed the new emirs despite the courts judgment. The conflict is less heated now than it was in June, 2019 but the situation remains legally ambiguous. The Durbar, the emir's procession on horseback held to commemorate special events (in this case the Islamic holiday of Eid al-Adha), was an occasion that put each figure's authority to the test: Ganduje ordered Kano's District Heads not to attend Sanusi's Durbar, but several of them very publicly [disobeyed](#).

Meanwhile, in early June, 2019, Ganduje's team mounted another type of assault on Sanusi's power: accusations of corruption. It should be noted in Nigeria as in various other countries, anti-corruption campaigns can be both a response to massive popular demand and a political weapon. That is, many Nigerians view endemic corruption as the political problem of their country, a cancer at the center of Nigerian politics and society. Yet anti-corruption carries a politics of its own, and it can often be difficult to separate out what is genuine from what is tactical when Nigerian politicians mobilize anti-corruption drives. Sanusi's career, again,

symbolizes this tension: when his queries to the Jonathan administration about unaccounted-for oil revenues become public in 2013, some Nigerians hailed him as a truth-teller while others labeled him an ambitious hack.

Now, Sanusi was been the target of a [corruption probe](#) by the Kano State Public Complaints and Anti-corruption Commission allege that under Sanusi, the Kano State Emirate Council misappropriate almost 3.4 billion Naira, including nearly two billion on “seemingly personal expenditures.” The Commission recommended that Sanusi must be suspended as emir. Some dynamics of the investigation have spilled into public view, including [leaked expenditure documents](#) from the Emirate Council.

Sanusi and Ganduje are in a multi-front war that involves state power, media narratives, and the hearts and minds of ordinary subjects. The conflict between Ganduje and Sanusi has repercussions that extend well beyond Kano. The battle has even drawn in President Muhammadu Buhari, who is reportedly [unhappy](#) at the feud. Other influential Northern Governors and businessmen, including Africa’s richest man Aliko Dangote, have sought to make peace between Ganduje and Sanusi; Dangote brokered a [reconciliation of sorts](#) at the end of Ramadan in early June, 2019. But the issues are not so easily resolved: indeed, Ganduje has said that [full reconciliation](#) depends on Sanusi withdrawing his legal suits, accepting the new emirs, and publicly apologizing to the governor and the people of Kano. Implicit in Ganduje’s message to Sanusi is the idea that the corruption charges could be withdrawn if Sanusi acquiesces to the subdivision of his territory.

Ganduje’s actions have already earned him the displeasure by other key Muslim leaders in the state and beyond. In early May, 2019 four prominent Salafi scholars – including Mallam Aminu Daurawa, Commander-General of the Kano State Hisbah Board – [resigned](#) from Ganduje’s government. The scholars did not explicitly state whether they were resigning over the governor’s treatment of Sanusi, but their departures do not seem coincidental. Sanusi is, as mentioned above, an eclectic Islamic thinker who has had his own clashes with the Salafis; at the same time, however, Salafi clerics and others have many reasons to be unenthusiastic about efforts by politicians to break the authority of someone like Sanusi. Ganduje has find himself losing allies in Kano and awakening nervousness among powerful hereditary rulers elsewhere, up to and including the Sultan of Sokoto. So far, the Sultan has not weighed in publicly on the Ganduje-Sanusu conflict, but as one Nigerian intellectual [has argued](#), the Sultan and other major

northern Nigerian emirs must be aware of the implications the Kano situation has for their own authority:

If this could succeed now, tomorrow the Governor of Katsina may wake up and say “I have given Mani an emirate status or Funtua an emirate status”. Or the Governor of Zamfara may wake up and say “I have given Gumi an emirate status, Anka an Emirate status” or the Governor of Sokoto may wake up and say “because I come from Tambuwal, I give Tambuwal an emirate status”. This means everything is bastardized and the moment you abuse the tradition and culture of people, what you are doing is that you are disregarding the integrity of that institution. You are throwing dust into their face.

The question, then, is whether there is enough force of popular sentiment to compel Ganduje, over the long term, to reverse not just the corruption probe but also the breakup of the Kano Emirate. On the one hand, for many people the emirs are precious symbols of “the tradition and culture of people.” On the other hand, recent decades have seen a [marked decline in respect for emirs](#), precisely because some northerners have come to see them as the leashed pets of politicians rather than as the venerable inheritors of pre-colonial Islamic authority.

Many observers perceive the Ganduje-Sanusi conflict a sequel to the above-mentioned conflict between Governor Rimi and Emir Ado Bayero in the 1980s; such observers expect that in the long run, Sanusi will be deposed and that can affect the political future of Ganduje in Kano State.

Conclusion

The challenge to Sanusi’s power raises broader questions about the trajectory of Muslim authority around the world. For many Muslim leaders today as in the past, authority is partly inherited: not just northern Nigerian emirs, but also a broad spectrum of kings and princes, Sufi shaykhs, major imams, and even leading intellectuals descend from families with institutionalized religious charisma. Likewise, for many Muslim leaders today, authority partly rests on systems of symbols: from clothing to the trappings of office to the very identification of the individual with a broader tradition (in this case, the identification of northern Nigeria’s emirs with the region’s Islamic past and present), the symbols represent a source of power but also a source of vulnerability. What happens when politicians assert explicit control over these Muslim leaders? Does it challenge, even cheapen, their authority to a point of no return? And what does it mean when the politicians themselves take on the mantle of Muslim authority? Ganduje, after all, is sometimes referred to by

supporters and in official government statements as “Khadimul Islam” the “servant of Islam.” What happens when politicians assert explicit control over these traditional Muslim leaders? Does it challenge, even cheapen, their authority to a point of no return? And what does it mean when the politicians themselves take on the mantle of Muslim authority?

Sanusi’s multi-faceted dilemma also shows that these conflicts are not as simple as “tradition” versus “modernity.” Sanusi has attempted to reinvent the role of emir from the inside, blending his current office with his prior roles as economic policymaker and modernist Islamic intellectual. In doing so, however, he has undercut some of his own potential bases of support: some Sufis, long a pillar of support for Kano’s emirs and for Nigerian Muslim rulers more broadly, suspect that Sanusi is not at all one of them; some other emirs balk at the way Sanusi refuses to “stay in his lane”; and his regular media appearances and public interventions make it hard for him to claim to be above the fray of partisan politics. Yet his more circumspect and self-consciously traditionalist peers among the emirate class are also frequently faulted for their own aloofness from current events and their seeming lack of ideas about how to address Nigeria’s deep-seated challenges. In a sense, the emirs are damned if they become outspoken political actors and damned if they don’t.

Recommendations

The paper has the following recommendations for the office of the Executive Governor and Emir of Kano State to have a good working relationship through adopting the following means:

- i. State House Assembly should provide a law that would be little bit rigid for the politicians to temper with operation of traditional institutions by making the council of King Makers a superior’s body and an independent for selecting and making discipline for the wrong committed emirate council members.
- ii. Politicians should stop playing politics of personal interest toying with the existence of traditional council by only supporting them in guiding the traditional values and societal development.
- iii. Traditional Institutions in Kano State in particular and Nigeria in general must not take open political side because they are the royal fathers; all politicians are there sons and daughters.
- iv. Traditional Institutions officer holders should be guided on their utterances they are to talks on only policy that can better the lives of their peoples not making comment that could directly

causes political confusion rather guiding government to be more productive.

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