A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF AN URBAN SETTLEMENT: A CASE STUDY OF KAWO. KADUNA 1913 - 1980

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the product of my research and has been written by me. It has not been presented for higher degree in any other university. All quotations have been acknowledged and distinguished by footnotes and quotation marks.

M. B. SALAU

DEDICATION

This thesis is affectionately dedicated
to my Dad, Alhaji A.B. Salau and his wives
Hajia Fatima, Hajia Maimuna and Hajia Belau
for their perpetual care and unwavering support.

CERTIFICATION

This thesis has been read and approved as meeting the requirements of the Post-Graduate School, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.U.	-	Ahmadu Bello University
HRAABU	-	History Research at Ahmadu Bello University.
J.H.S.N.	-	Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria.
KCDB	-	Kaduna Capital Development Board.
KCT	-	Kaduna Capital Territory
N.A.K.	-	National Archives Kaduna
NEPU	-	Northern Elements Progressive Union
NHRS	-	Northern History Research Scheme
O.U.P.	-	Oxford University Press
P.W.D.	-	Public Works Department
S.N.P.	-	Secretariat of the Northern Province
WAFF	-	West African Frontier Force
Zarprof	-	Zaria Province.

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PREFACE

The ultimate concern of this study is to examine the evolution of an urban settlement. Needless to say, an urban settlement may not necessarily be an urban centre since it (urban settlement) may only form part of the whole complex (urban center). Until recently, there has been no specific historical study (or studies) on urban settlements (as distinct from urban centres) in Nigeria. Even so, the recent studies on these settlements (vide bibliography) largely focus on Sabon gari settlements which are "special" colonial creations constituted by heterogenous elements huddled together without any previous tradition of common economic and political life.

In addition to Sabon gari settlements, however, colonially constituted urban centres in Nigeria also consist of other wards whose history even preceeded the colonial era. These latter wards are therefore even older than the urban centres which they eventually became intergrated into. Unfortunately, this writer is not aware of any specific study on how these precolonially formed settlements evolved as parts of colonial urban centres and thereafter. Moreso, those

studies that broadly focus on colonial urban centres generally give older integral units either passing references or none at all. Consequently, this basically creates a yawning gap in urbanisation studies in the country. In summary, therefore, this dissertation is an attempt to fill this gap. We try to do this in five chapters shedding light on how Kawo (a precolonially formed settlement) evolved as part of Kaduna (a capital township constituted during the colonial era).

The first chapter is mainly introductory and among other things, aims at highlighting the geographical features of Kawo. It also aims at explaining the origin and early history of the study area. Chapter two, which focuses on the period 1913 to 1945, deals with the impact of the establishment and growth of Kaduna on Kawo.

In chapter three and four we examine the nature and character of the Kawo society in the period 1945-1960 and 1960-1980 respectively. We end the thesis in chapter five with a general conclusion.

ABSTRACT

This thesis, in an attempt to locate the genesis of the socio-economic crisis that currently besets Kawo; traces and analyses the growth it (Kawo) experienced as an urban settlement under the colonial and early post-colonial envnronment. Although the thesis focuses on the period 1913 to 1980, a background analysis of the origin and the socio-economic set up in Kawo in the pre-1913 era is treated in some detail.

The process involved in the establishment and growth of Kaduna during the period between 1913 and 1945 is examined. In this regard we stressed that the colonialists established Kaduna (obviously) in an area where indigenous settlements were already in existence. And that right from the moment Kaduna was established (in 1913) it started having visible impact on these pre-existing settlements. In particular, we considered how Kawo was encouraged to meet the food needs of the colonial capital from 1913.

But in order to reduce cost (and thus enhance the expropriation of absolute surplus value to the capitalist metropolis) the British kept Kawo (and other satelite settlements) outside

the administrative framework of the Kaduna township from 1913. In fact it was exigencies that subsequently forced them to integrate the satelite settlements (including Kawo) within the Kaduna township political set up. We argue that the manner of administrative intergration of Kawo to Kaduna was disadvantageous to the latter since it significantly contributed to its (Kawo's) neglect in terms of the provision of social amenities etc, right from the onset.

We further demonstrate that even in the face of neglect (that characterised most of the colonial era here) the land of Kawo farmers was been expropriated for projects primarily meant to advance the colonial cause. The method by which these projects (particularly those related to the military) influenced the transformation of Kawo from a homogenous society to a heterogenous society and from an agarian society to a service oriented society, etc, is examined. We also examine the administrative changes associated with these.

Attempts are also made to analyse the factors that made Kawo experience its most rapid growth as an urban settlement within the post colonial era i.e. specifically between 1960-1980. The role of the urban administration and Kawo residents etc, in the poor housing condition, poor sanitation, etc, in the study area, among other issues, are also examined in this study.

GLOSSARY

(a) Gbagyi terms

Afabwa	-	Household farm
Asagba	-	Council of elders
Ayni	-	Universe
Azeh	-	Axe
Gwenyi	-	Cooperative farming
Jebeje	-	hand woven cloth
Kakai	-	Oracle consulted for major issues
Megire	-	Oracle consulted for minor issues
Oshna (pl. Oshana)	-	Intermediary god(s)
Otsu	-	Chief
Ozhi-fa	-	Communal farms
Palai	-	Afzeli Africana
Sagbagyi	-	Title for the King of Gbagyis' in the Kaduna region during the 19thC.
Shenkwo	-	God
Tagnida	-	Affection and/or love
Zukwe	-	Big hoe
Zukwobeyi	-	Small hoe

(b) Hausa terms

Aleiho	-	Spinach
Arne	-	pagan
Aski	-	hair cut
Bayi	-	slaves
Berkono	-	Pepper
Damina	-	Wet season
Dankali	-	Specie of sweet potatoes
Dari	-	Severe cold
Dawa	-	Corn
Dillalai	-	brokers
Dorowa	-	Parki Oliveri
Fadama	-	Lowland soil
Fartanya	-	hoe
Galma	-	large bladed hoe
gandu	-	household farm
gayya	-	cooperative farming
gida	-	household unit
Girbi	-	harvest
Gwaza	-	Specie of sweet potatoes
hakimi	-	District head
Iskoki	-	nature spirits
Jaki	-	donkey
Jarkasa	-	Ferruginous soil

Jekadu	-	Messengers
Kaciya	-	Circumcission
Kafiri	-	unbelievers
Kawe	-	Afzeli Africana
Kubewa	-	Okro
Kudin kasa	-	land tax
Kuka	-	Adansonia digitata
Kura	-	dust
Maigida (pl. Masugidaje)	-	Household head
Maiungwa	-	Villagehead
Massaba	-	Hammer
Massara	-	Maize
Mata	-	Women
Rani	-	dry season
Risga	-	specie of yam
rumbuna	-	storage huts
Sangwami	-	digging hoe
Shuka	-	sowing
Tamami	-	sword
Tumku	-	specie of yam
Uwar Makera	-	Anvil
Wake	-	Beans
Wanzami	-	Barber
Yan Kasuwa	-	traders
Yan tama	-	Iron miners
Yanuwa	-	relative
Yara	-	Children
Zuga Zugai	-	Bellow

NOTE ON SOURCES

For the historical reconstruction carried out in this study, we have relied greatly on fragmentary pieces of evidence provided by various sources. These sources could be broadly classified into primary and secondary sources. In this section we will attempt to throw some light on these sources. To start off, we will first discuss the secondary sources.

Secondary Sources

Secondary source materials used in this study largely consist of unpublished thesis, books, journals, articles etc. These items were mainly perused at the Kashim Ibrahim Library (KIL), Northern History Research Scheme both situated in A.B.U. Zaria and the Arewa House situated in the Kaduna metropolis.

In general the bulk of studies available on urbanization deal mainly with urbanization process at a general level i.e. the process in Nigeria or in Africa. There are therefore, very few works on Kaduna. But the two major works out of these are the Ph.D. thesis of A.K. Medugbon and E.O. Oyedele.[1]

1. A.K. Medugbon, Kaduna: Nigeria the Vicissitudes of a Capity City 1917-1975 (unpublished Ph.D. Cornell University, 1977) and E.O. Oyedele, Colonial Urbanisation in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna 1913-1960. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Zaria, 1987).

Medugbon's work titled, Kaduna: Nigeria the Vicissitudes of a Capital City 1917-1975 have been quite significant for this study. However, the work suffers from conceptual and methodological problems. More significantly the work lacks historical depth. As a result this has obscured the nature and essence of colonial Kaduna to British imperialism.

The other major study is E. Oyedele's thesis titled, Colonial Urbanisation in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna 1913-1960. This work is based on the perspective (the Political Economy Perspective) adopted in this study. Indeed, this perspective is more superior than others in the sense that it gives a more holistic and class based view of society. It also seeks, among other things to expose the hidden material basis for historical development.[2] Consequently, Oyedele's work contributed (as compared to Medugbon's work) more to our understanding of the process of urbanisation in Kaduna. It's major shortcoming, however, is that it has failed to critically examine the place of Kawo in the history of Kaduna.

2. In addition to E.O. Oyedele, other writers that have made use of the political economy perspective for urbanisation studies (but outside the Kaduna region) are A.V. Dhilwayo (1986, vide biblography) and M. Castell (1977, Vide biblography), just to mention two. Like Oyedele did, these two writers in their various works also gave a critical analysis of the various perspectives adopted generally in urbanisation studies.

Primary Sources

The major primary sources used in reconstructing the history of Kawo are in the form of archival materials and oral data. Broadly speaking, archival materials were mainly perused at the National Archives situated in the Kaduna metropolis. On the whole, we have largely relied on two major categories of archival materials in this thesis. These include the Secretariat Northern Provinces (SNP) series and Zaria Provincial Records (Zarprof) series. All of these series were in the form of intelligence reports, district assessment and reassessment reports, letters, memoranda and touring reports. Others include, letters sent from one level of government to another, extra-ordinary reports made necessary by extra-ordinary events, official diaries etc. It is interesting to note that these archival materials arose largely from the need to record various activities of the colonialists in Nigeria (particularly in the Kaduna region) especially during the present century.

As a result of this, archival materials were, therefore, not originally intended for the general public but only for a restricted group of interested people or persons. Consequently these archival materials offer "objective" evidence, innocent in principle of any second thoughts destined

for a larger public or posterity. Indeed, the correspondence of an official or the confidential proceedings of a board may conceiveably have been drafted in colonial Nigeria to deceive another office, but they were hardly ever composed with an eye to deceiving posterity.

While we were aware of the strength(s) of archival materials for our study of Kawo, we also took into consideration their major limitations in order to guide against a distorted research result. Specifically, one of the major problem with the archival materials used for this study is that most of them either give only passing comments on Kawo or non at all. In addition, these records are replete with spelling mistakes particularly of names of indigenous people(s), indigenous settlements etc. However, perhaps the most impotant limitation of archival records as source materials for the history of Kawo and Nigeria in general is that of perception.

The colonialists had their own perception and values which were undoubtedly in-built in the records they left behind. Their perception of their Nigeria (and Kawo) social environment was basically predicated on the Edwardian-Victorian,

racial and capitalist bourgeois ideology and cultural values. This means that they (colonialists) mostly described their Nigerian experiences (particularly their experiences in the present day Kaduna region) from the outside in rather than from the inside out. No wonder therefore, that one finds in archival records the characterization of Nigerian societies as "pagan" and "traditional" among other such characterizations.

In order not to fall a victim of colonial Eurocentric perception and values in our reconstruction of the history of Kawo, we have among other things, made extensive use of oral sources. In fact oral sources are comparatively richer in the kinds of information this study is interested in. Hence, we interviewed quite a significant number of people both in Kawo and other neighbouring settlements. Most if not all of these informants had diverse experiences largely in the Kaduna region and especially in Kawo. Consequently, we were particularly fortunate to get much information on the economy and society of the study area.

However, apart from the limitations of memory of most informants, we were, among other things, also aware of the problems relating to the impact of colonial and post colonial experiences (and ideologies) on their perception. On the whole,

therefore, data from other sources were compared with oral data. The various sources discussed above were also used to complement each other.

Following on from the above discussion, we shall give brief information on some of our most crucial informants, below.

1. Shehu Galadima (SGD) (Kawo):
   The first interview with him was held on 6/11/91 at the Kawo district office. Subsequent interviews were however held at his house in Hayin Banki. Shehu Galadima (50) is the Sarkin Tarhi (official in charge of oral traditions) in the Kawo district today. He is also the son of Yusuf who was the first Maiungwa in Hayin Banki. In addition, Shehu Galadima is the first Sarki officially appointed in (and for) Hayin Banki. Thus, he has been Sarkin Hayin Banki from 1974.

2. Godwin Imoniye (GIN).
   The interview was held at his house along Kafinsoli Street Kawo on 12/10/92. Godwin Imoniye (46) emigrated into Kawo from Isoko, in the present Delta state, in the early 1960s. His migration into the above mentioned settlement followed the completion of his

elementary school at the Catholic school Isoko in 1962. In Kawo, Imoniye subsequently became a motor mechanic specialising in the repairs of Austin Morris and Hillman cars. At present he is the owner, among other things, of several commutter buses plying different routes in the Kaduna metropolis.

3. Hassan Abdullahi (HAD).

The interview was held on 8/11/91 at his office at the headquarters of Kawo district. Hassan Abdullahi (about 80) is the son of Abdullahi who was the first person officially appointed as Sarki in Kawo during the colonial era. Among other things, Hassan served as Sarki in Ungwan Shanu (1958-1966) and subsequently in Kawo (1966-1973). However from 1973 (up to today) he has been the Hakimi of the Kawo district.

4. Zakari Yau (ZKY)

The interview was held on 10/11/91 at his house in Zangon Aya street, Kawo. Zakari (about 100) was, (as a child) among the migrants who fled Kano for the area subsequently known as Kawo in the late 19th century. Thereafter, Zakari has mostly been a farmer in Kawo until recently when he retired due to old age.

5. Mama Sala (MSA)

The interview was held on 10/11/91 at her house situated off Zaria road in Kawo. Mama Sala (about 80) migrated into Kawo from Ilorin after the Second World War. She became a trader in textile materials and other general goods - in her new residence. By 1980, she was already the most prominent land lady in Kawo. Mama Sala however, died on the 2nd of November 1991.

6. Likko Maidoro (LKM)

The interview was held on 3/392 at his house in Ungwan Gwari. Likko Maidoro, (60) among other things, was a student of the Baptist Seminary Kawo in the 1950s, and ~~they~~ today he is the Secretary of the Kaduna Gbagyi Dattawa (elders) Association.

7. Dari Samaila (DAL)

The interview was held on 5/10/92 at his office in the Kawo district office block. Dari Samaila (about 60) became a tailor in Kawo after the Second World War and by 1957 he was one of the NEPU party members elected as a local Council representatives in the settlement. Today, Dari Samaila is Sarkin Kasuwa of Kawo.

8. Ishiaku Alkali (ISA)

The interview was held on 7/3/92 at his house in Ungwan Dosa. Ishiaku Alkali (about 70) moved to Ungwan Dosa in 1939 after his household, among others, were evacuated from the aerodrome region in Kawo. Today Ishiaku Alkali is Sarkin Gwari of Ungwan Dosa and he is also a fortune teller.

9. Emeka Obienwa (EOB)

The interview was held at his house along Makarfi street Kawo. Emeka Obienwa (in his late 40's) emigrated from Aluu near Port Harcourt to Kawo in the 1960s. Presently he is a well known carpenter in the latter settlement.

10. Dalhatu Sarkin Makera (DSM)

The interview was held at his office (on 4/3/92) in Makera. Dalhatu (about 90) spent most of his life in this region of Kaduna. In fact he is currently the village head Sarki of the Makera settlement.

11. Ali Magajin Askarin Kawo (AMA)

The interview was held at the entrance of his house in Zangon Aya street Kawo. Ali (about 100) migrated into Kawo from Gaya Kano State before 1945. He was a Wanzammi until recently when he retired due to old age.

16. Suleiman Yahaya (SLY)

The interview with him was held at his house in Gwari Street, Kawo New Extension on 2/3/92. Suleiman Yahaya (about 50) is the son of the Sarkin Gwari in Kawo. He is also a civil servant who works with the Kaduna State Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources.

17. Yahaya Alhassan Abdullahi (YAL)

The interview was held at his office in Kawo on 5/10/92. Yahaya Abdullahi (50) is one of the sons of the current Kawo district head, and from 1974 he (Hassan) has been Sarkin Kawo.

18. Mohammed Musa (MHM)

The interview was held at Kasuwan Talata, Kawo on 7/8/92. Mohammed Musa (82) migrated from Awai near Zaria to Kawo in the 1920's when incentives were been offerred to farmers to settle within 8 kilometers radius of Kaduna. Thereafter, he (Musa) became a farmer/trader in Kawo until recently when he retired due to old age.

12. Ibrahim Makeri (IMK)

The interview with him was held on 3/1/92 at his blacksmithing workshop in Kawo. Ibrahim (53) is currently the Sarkin Makera (Chief of blacksmiths) in Kawo.

13. Pastor Baba Fada (PBF)

The interview was held at the headquarters of the Assemblies of Gods Church, Nasarrawa road by junction road Kaduna on 3/3/92. Pastor Baba Fada as the name obviously indicates is a prominent clergyman in this church. He is the editor of a manuscript which also constitutes one of our sources in this thesis.

14. Magajin Fada (MGF)

The interview was held at his house in Kurmin Mashi on 5/3/92. Magajin Fada (60) is Gbagyi and also a farmer.

15. Hassan Bello (HBL)

The interview with him was held at the entrance of the district head's house in Kawo on 10/11/91. Hassan Bello (45) is in fact one of the sons of the current hakimin Kawo. He (Hassan) attended the Kawo Native Administration Elementary school in the 1950s and later joined the Nigerian army. However, by 1970 Hassan had retired from the armed force and he is currently a civil servant.

CHAPTER ONE

KAWO UP TO 1913: ITS GEOGRAPHY AND EARLY HISTORY

1.1 Introduction

This Chapter basically examines the origin of Kawo, focussing on the politico-economic activities that took place in the area up to 1913. The choice of our focus is mainly predicated on the fact that any study of the growth of Kawo (or any other place at all) which does not take into account its early history would remain largely incomprehensible and therefore ahistorical. Our focus on the early history of Kawo in this chapter will enable us to bring out the major historical features of the settlement. However, before we do this, we shall discuss the geography of the area.

The choice of 1913 as the terminal date for this chapter is not simply for convenience of exposition but also because 1913 triggered off the eventual growth of the settlement. In fact this was the year the transfer of the capital of colonial Northern Nigeria from Zungeru to Kaduna was effected.

It must be pointed out too that the evidence for reconstructing the early history of the

settlements discussed in this chapter (including Kawo) have largely been preserved in oral traditions.[1] Since we greatly rely on this source we therefore, found it very difficult to quantify certain important things such as the size of the population of some of the settlements during this particular period; the number of houses in most of the settlements; who are the earliest autochthon/settlers?, etc.

1.2 Location

Presently Kawo lies within the territorial boundary of Kaduna metropolis. In fact, it is situated to the north of Kaduna and occupies an area between latitute 10° 34'48" North and longtitude 07° 26' 5" East.[2] Kawo extends southwards as far as Ungwan Dosa, and to the north as far as Ungwan Gwari and the old airport (now Air Force Base). To the west Kawo extends as far as Hayin Banki and river Mashi, while to the East river Kaduna serves as its limit (see figure one).

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1. It appears that some of these traditions have recently been officially recorded. For instance during the course of my field research I came across some filed documents in the Kawo district office titled "Gen/58/KW-Tarihin Kawo Daga 1900. Rikicin Kan Iyakoki." This means "History of the land of Kawo from 1900: Boundary dispute." This record, among other issues, highlights Kawo's tradition of origin.

2. See, Gazetteer of place names (Federal Surveys Lagos, 1973) P.36.

In addition, Kawo lies very close to the Kaduna - Zaria road and it is in fact 75 kilometers south of Zaria by this highway. On the other hand, a traveller who approaches Kaduna from the south western part of Nigeria (particularly through the Tegina-Kaduna road) or from the North-Eastern part of the country through the Pambegua-Kaduna road almost immediately notices that Kawo is an important entry point into the Kaduna metropolis. Today, Kawo is part of the Kaduna North local government area and is also the headquarters of a very large district known as Kawo district. This district, however, is not only made up of Kawo, but other important quarters include Ungwan Shanu, Badarawa,

Ungwan Dosa, etc, that currently form part of Kaduna metropolis. And as the headquarters of this district Kawo is also the seat of the district head, hakimi of the district.

1.3 Topography and Climate

The topography of the Kaduna region has been described by several writers as consisting of a rolling park-like terrain with little relief of about 30 metres above and below the 610 metres contour line.[3] Kawo within this general description is undulating but with very flat land in some places.

There are two major streams that traverse Kawo. These streams flow from the west, or more precisely from the river Mashi Eastwards into the river Kaduna. One of these streams (river Isiyaku) is situated to the South of Kawo, and part of it, mainly to the South Eastern section, marks the boundary of Kawo with Ungwan Dosa. The other stream (river Kawo,) lies north of Kawo but meander less prominently when compared to the former. This latter stream joins the Southern one (river Isiyaku) about half way eastwards and from there flows through a

3. See, for example, E.O. Oyedele, "Colonial Urbanisation in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna 1913-1960" (Ph.D. Zaria 1987) P.162, among other works.

(single) groove into the river Kaduna.

Kawo's climate like most parts of Northern Nigeria have been influenced mainly by two wind systems. These are the South monsoon wind which blows from the Atlantic ocean and the north-east trades or harmattan wind which blows southwards from the sahara desert.[4] As a result of this, Kawo like all parts of Nigeria has two seasons namely: damana, wet season and rani, dry season.

In line with what obtains generally in the area, Kawo records a mean maximum temperature of 32.2° annually.[5] But unlike areas in the southern parts of Nigeria characterised by a lengthy rainy season stretching from March to November (a period of about nine months), the damana period in Kawo lasts for about five to six months. Rain starts here about May and stops in October or early November. The Kaduna area, including Kawo, receive about 102-152 centimeters of total rainfall

4. We have deliberately made geographical comparisons or contrasts with other parts of the country in our present geographical introduction to the history of Kawo. This is in order to draw attention to the slightly but significantly diverse nature of geographical conditions in Nigeria. However, for more details see R.K. Udo, Geographical Regions of Nigeria, (Heinemann, Ibadan 1971) and K.M. Buchanan and J.C. Pugh, Land and People in Nigeria: The Human Geography of Nigeria and Its Environmental Background. (London University Press, London, 1966) among many others.

5. E.O. Oyedele, Op.cit. P.162.

annually. The rain fall in this areas rises to a peak from about July to September.[6]

The dry season, rani commences immediately after the wet season from about November with the harmattan. The early period of the dry season (harmattan period) is largely characterised by severe cold, dari and much dust, kura. The period is also generally dry and brings about a daily change in the relative humidity of the area. The relative humidity during this period stands at 30 per cent in the mornings and drops to about 15 per cent in the afternoon.[7] However, the climatic condition changes noticeable at about February when it starts becoming hot and uncomfortable. This period which ends just before the rains is known as the bazara, which is part of the dry season.

1.4 Soil and Vegetation

Among other things, climate and vegetation are important factors that influence the nature of soils anywhere in the world.[8] It is for this

6. Ibid. P.163 and interview with SGD.

7. J.A. Kwanashie, A Comparative Analysis of Land Values in Kaduna Central Area and the Suburban Settlement of Kawo (B.A. Research Essay, Geography Department, A.B.U., Zaria, 1977). P.4.

8. K.M. Buchanan and J.C. Pugh, Op.cit. PP.8-41, explains this clearly.

reason that we will start off this section with a discussion of the vegetational type in the Kawo area. It is quite evident from various studies that environment exerts a powerful influence on the formation or evolution of all communities. In addition, human beings also play an important role in moulding the social environment.

It is, therefore, not surprising that by 1980 Kawo was (and still is) punctuated by economic trees like mango and guava trees. These trees are scattered in various parts of the settlement (though concentrated in the eastern section) were planted mostly during the colonial and post-colonial periods. In the main, houses and other structures now make up about three fourth of the whole area of Ungwan Kawo. As a result of this, therefore, it is difficult to give accurately the vegetational characteristics of the area.

The Kaduna area (Kawo inclusive) is generally characterised as having the Northern Guinea vegetation.[9] It is therefore, not surprising that within the vicinity of Kawo's Karkara, the important trees found here, among others, were the dorowa (Parkil Oliveri), Kuka (adansonia digitata) and Kawo (Afzeli Africana).[10] The Kawo tree in particular was

9. Ibid. P.35-36.

10. Interview with Hassan Abdullahi (HAD) 8/11/91 and SGD.

quite dominant in the area. The British described it as one that did not pose any menance, since it did not harbour and spread tsetse flies;[11] The Kawo tree does not support creepers and climbers. It is also widely believed that the area derived its name from this (Kawo) tree which was dominant in the area.[12]

As far as the soil type in Kawo is concerned, the region is largely made up of the ferruginous soils, Jarkasa. This sort of soil is typical of tropical region of Nigeria.[13] The Ferruginous soil is highly weathered and markedly laterised by the loss of silica, and its temperature (which is generally much higher than that of the soil type in temperate regions) ranges from 25 to 32°C at 30 cm depth. The water holding capacity of the Ferruginoussoil is good and crops generally respond well to the application

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11. NAK SNP 17/1 10,222

12. There is a consensus among my informants, both Gbagy's and non-Gbagyis that the settlement derived its name from the Kawo tree. In fact this word is derived from Hausa language and all my informants are agreed on this. In the Gbagyi dialect the word for the Kawo tree is Palai (for more details on this see page 12 of this chapter).

13. For details on this soil type (among other soil types specifically in Northern Nigeria) See, J.M. Kowal and D.T. Knabe, An angloclimatological atlas of the Northern States of Nigeria (A.B.U. Press, Zaria, 1972) and W.D. Clayton, A Preliminary Survey of Soils and Vegetation in Nigeria (Kaduna Soil Survey Section, Ministry of Agriculture).

of phosphate fertilisers in it. Crops that grow favourably in the area of Jarkasa particularly in Kawo include, groundnut, cotton, cowpeas, sorghum, millet, etc.[14]

In addition, a comparatively small area of Kawo has the lowland or Fadama soil. This soil type occurs in areas of low depression with fairly high water table or along the river Kaduna and also along the two streams running through our area of study (Kawo). The fadama soil type is heavy, blackish and fine textured, of alluvial origin and of high fertility. It holds enough moisture because of its high clay content and could, therefore, be irrigated for an all year round cultivation. Crops like rice and sugar cane grow favourably on an annual basis along the fadamomi, while during the dry season varieties of millet and other grain crops are also grown.[15]

1.5 Pre-1913 Settlements Around Kawo

It is quite evident that Kawo was in existence with a number of other settlements around

14. Interview with HAD

15. For more details on Fadama soil see W.D. Clayton, Op.cit.

the Kaduna area before Kaduna was established by the British colonialists in Nigeria in 1913. The historian who proposes to examine the history of Kawo from its genesis up to 1980 can certainly not neglect the history of the various settlements that surrounded it (Kawo) before 1913. This is because, among other areas, the early history of these settlements give some indication of how present day Kawo society evolved. We shall now, among other things, focus on the history of the settlements around Kawo before 1913.

One must state right from the onset that our knowledge of the early settlements in this area is limited. The region has not been studied by archaeologists. Hence, the little we know so far depend among other sources, on oral accounts. And these sources seem to suggest that Gbagyi settlements have been in existence in this area as far back as the 14th century A.D.[16]

Our informants are quite clear that these early Gbagyi settlements were generally small and scatterred around present day Kaduna region.

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16. Max Lock and Patners; Op.cit. P.19 and this is also indicated in E.O. Oyedele, Op.cit. P.166.

The prominent of these early settlements in the area were: Kakugyi, Mashi Kuci, Kaina, Bidna and Apalaita.[17]

It is believed that Kakugyi, which was situated around Kurmin Gwari in present day Kaduna, derivedits name from a bush rat, very small but very common in the region.[18] On her part, Mashi Kuci (presently known as Kurmin Mashi) is believed to have derived its name from the wooded nature of the valley in which the settlement was situated.[19] Oral accounts maintained that Mashikuci was founded by Gbagyi migrants from

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17. I came across a manuscript that discussed early Gbagyi settlements in present day Kaduna region. Contributions to this manuscript were made by members of the Kaduna Gbagyi Dattawa (elders) Association and it was edited by Pastor Baba Fada of the Assemblies of God Church, Nasarrawa road by Junction road Kaduna. I also benefitted from E.O. Oyedele's work cited above. In addition, for early Gbagyi traditions I interviewed a lot of Gbagyi people like Likko Maidoro (LKM) and Dauda Makoshi (DAM) who both reside in Ungwan Gwari. Other are Ishiaku Alkali (IKA) the "Sarkin Gwari" of Ungwan Dosa, Magajin Fada (MGF) of Kurmin Mashi, Pastor Baba Fada (PBF), Suleiman Yahaya (SCY) of Kawo and the "Sarkin Gwari" of Kawo. In addition I interviewed Madaki Kurmin Gwari (MKG) and Yerima Sarki (YRS) in Kurmin Gwari -Kakuri. I also had a group interview there in Kakuri. All interviews cited above were conducted in March 1992.

18. Interview with LKM, DAM and MGF and cited in the manuscript in the possession of PBF.

19. Cited in manuscript with PBF.

Kufena area (Zaria) led by an elder known as Janukpe.[20]

Bidna on the other hand, was situated in the area presently known as Barnawa, and it is believed that it derived its name from an exclamation ("Bidna oo" meaning "I'm stuck"), made by the leader of the Gbagyi founder of the settlement, when he got stuck in the swampy bank of the river (Kaduna) close to which Bidna was eventually situated.[21] Kaina (which was situated around the vicinity of present day Kaduna Air Force Base) was founded by the Gbagyi who are said to have emigrated there from the Borno region.[22] It is believed that Kaina derived its name from a prominent rock outcrop in the region with a stream that flowed close to it.[23] Lastly Apalaita was situated around present day Kaduna central market. The name of the settlement is derived from the Kawo tree, which in Gbagyi dialect is palai. Apalaita according to

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20. Ibid. and Interview with MGF Op.cit.
21. Cited in the manuscript with PBF.
22. Interview with LKM, DAM, MGF, and SLY.
23. Ibid.

Gbagyi informants means "under the Palai trees."[24]

It is important to stress here that E.O. Oyedele's study also mentioned the settlement.[25] He also revealed the existence of other early Gbagyi settlements like Kupei situated around the area where the Kaduna prison is presently situated.[26]

As we mentioned earlier these Gbagyi settlements around Kaduna were generally small and spatially dispersed.[27] However, there is sufficient evidence[28] to show that the settlements related with one another socially and economically. This levels of relationship included inter marriages and the exchange of agricultural products. This is not surprising because apart from being situated

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24. Ibid. and PBF.

25. E.O. Oyedele, Op.cit. P.166. He however referred to it as Palihi.

26. Ibid. and corroborated by LKM, DAM, PBF and IKA.

27. The reasons for the small and scattered nature of the early Gbagyi settlements in the region are not exactly clear to this writer. However, E.O. Oyedele Ibid. P.164 has argued that this pattern was largely occassioned by the nature of the environment in the Kaduna region.

28. Interview with LKM, DAM, IKA, MGF, PBF, SLY, YRS.

within a common territory, they also had certain important binding features. A common language, for instance, was the main feature that binded these settlements. The high degree of internal linguistic homogeneity among Gbagyi groups enabled them to maintain their culture and values as well as a sense of affinity for most part of their history.

Their belief system was another important feature that brought the Gbagyi's together. It is therefore important to discuss this. The Gbagyi generally believed in one Almighty God known as Shenkwo or Shikoki.[29] Shenkwo was considered the King of both the visible and invisible universe ayni and was equally regarded as a just judge. But Shenkwo was also considered too great and distant to take active interest in the daily minor affairs of human beings. For this reason therefore, he was only consulted through intermediary gods Oshna (pl. Oshana). These intermediary gods had their own various oracles, and the main oracles included Kakai and Megiro. Kakai was the oracle whom the Gbagyis appealed to in cases of infectious diseases, while Megiro was the oracle appealed to in cases which were of relative significance.

29. Ibid. and E.O. Oyedele Op.cit. PP. 170-171.

To the early Gbagyi in and around present day Kaduna region, the lesser dieties and/or divinities mentioned above were all subordinate to Shenkwo, since their vocation and functions were determined by him. Therefore, Shenkwo was usually the last resort when all lesser dieties failed. The belief was that Shenkwo knows all that would happen to them (Gbagyi), Shenkwogyelo and would never abandon them. God's distance from them was regarded as an advantage, that it increased his affection and love, Tagnida.[30] The Gbagyi generally belief that their morals came from Shenkwo therefore, they placed great emphasis on social conduct, especially respect for elders, and they also regarded it as particularly immoral to deny strangers water, food and shelter.

It is important to point out here that the Gbagyi also related with non-Gbagyi groups. We know for instance, that from about the 15th century there were migrations of non Gbagyi's made up of professionals and scholars from Borno into Hausaland, and from Hausaland into the

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30. Ibid.

Central Nigerian region.[31] It would appear that some of these groups had early contact and relationship with precolonial Gbagyi settlements that dotted the Kaduna area. This was particularly the case with the predominantly Fulani cattle rearers.

It is clear that Fulbe cattle rearers moved during the precolonial period from one place to another feeding their cattle irrespective of ethnic or political boundaries. These pastoralialists lived in temporary shelters away from the settled Gbagyi communities; and it is apparent that the well watered and fine grazing land of the region attracted them to the area.[32]

It would seem that the Gbagyi inhabitants of Kakugyi, Kaina and Bidna (among others) encouraged Fulbe pastoralists to have temporary camps near their various settlements. They did this, among other ways, by ensuring that good grazing land was reserved seasonally for the

31. See, Y.B. Usman, "A Reconsideration of the History of Relations between Borno and Hausaland before 1884" in Y.B. Usman and Nur - Alkali (eds) Studies in the Precolonial History of Borno (Northern Nigeria Publishing Company, Zaria, 1983) P.204 and Adamu Mahdi, The Hausa Factor in West African History (A.B.U. Zaria, 1978) among others.

32. Interview with LKM, BAM, IKA, MGF, PBF, SLY, etc.

pastorialists. They also provided them (pastorialists) with gifts, such as millet and potash during their stay. The Gbagyi did these because cattle dung aided them greatly in their farming activities.

Hausa traders were another important group from the north that developed some relationship with the Gbagyi in this area. These traders visited the Gbagyi settlements, to engage in economic exchange in commodities such as salt and clothes, for farm products like millet and guineacorn.[33] We also have traces of mutual interraction between the Gbagyi and people to the South, particularly these of the Central Nigerian region.[34]

But the relationship between Gbagyi settlements and the ethnic and occupational groups from outside the region, did not remain casual or seasonal. Significantly, there are evidence that

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33. Ibid.

34. For a discussion of linguistic similarities between these areas see, J.H. Greenberg, The Languages of Africa (Indiana University, Bloomington, 1966) and J.A. Ballard "Historical Inferences from the Linguistic geography of the Nigerian Middle Belt", Africa. Vol.XLI. No.4, 1971.

even before the 18th century, certain groups particularly Fulani and Hausa were permanently settled around and within present day Kaduna region.[35]

The earliest settlement founded by a Fulbe group was Kikinau situated to the south-west of present day Tudun Wada in Kaduna. This was followed by Barnawa. Available evidence seem to suggest that Barnawa evolved around the vicinity of Bidna before the end of the 18th century. Lastly Makera (which still retains the same name) was said to have been founded by Fulani and Hausa scholars, Mallams, who emigrated there from Borno. These migrants first settled around Katabu. However, due to the mysterious deaths experienced at the settlement near Katabu, they (mallams) were compelled to move into present day Makera area by the late 18th century. It is, however, quite clear that these Hausa-Fulani migrants met the Gbagyi settlements of Kakugyi, Mashi Kuci etc, fully established when they arrived

35. Evidence provided by Musa Abdullahi (MAB) Interviewed in Kakuri, Dalhatu Sarkin Makera (DSM) interviewed in Makera (both in March 1992) and M.G. Smith, Government in Zazzau 1800-1950 (O.U.P. London 1960) P.137 among other sources.

at their eventual destination.[36]

These non-Gbagyi settlements interracted socially and economically with the existing Gbagyi settlements in the area and also with one another. For instance, the Gbagyi obtained meat, milk and butter from the predominantly Fulbe cattle rearers (who explored the region from their bases, particularly Kikinau) for farm products such as millet and guinea corn.

TThe existence of non-Gbagyi settlements in the Kaduna region, coupled with the movement of people in and out of the region did not significantly alter the basic elements of language, culture and religious belief of Gbagyi settlements. In fact these developments had a limited impact on the culture of these Gbagyi communities. This was probably because the non-Gbagyi settlements in the region were largely (if not completely) established without any war.[37] Therefore, the question of a conqueror imposing its culture and values on the defeated did not arise. Moreover, Gbagyi settlements still outnumbered non-Gbagyi

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

ones in the region up to the close of the 19th century.[38] This implies that in terms of incorporation, the situation was clearly in their (Gbagyi) favour.

Broadly speaking, by the late 18th century, the sarauta or Habe dynasty of the Zazzau state subordinated the Kaduna region under its political influence.[39] Not long after this, that is during the early 19th century, a socio-economic upheaval (Jihad) was experienced in Zazzau and in other Hausa states.[40] Two Fulani lineages already permanently settled before 1804 around the present site of Kaduna learnt of the plan to launch the jihad and subsequently aided the Jihadists in achieving victory in Zazzau. These lineages were the Bornowa led by Yamusa and his brother Bapaiyo and the Suleibawa led by Mallam Kilba and his son Abdulsalam.[41] It is, however, not our intention

38. Ibid. and E.O. Oyedele, Op.cit. among other sources.

39. E.O. Oyedele, Ibid. P.167 and Abdullahi Smith "Some notes on the History of Zazzau under the Hausa Kings" in M.I. Mortimore (ed.) Zaria and Its Regions: A Nigerian Savannah City and Its Environs (Dept. of Georgraphy A.B.U., Zaria, Occassional paper No.4, 1970). P.86.

40. For details on the Jihad and the consequent establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate see M. Last, The Sokoto Caliphate (Longman, London 1977) among others.

41. M.G. Smith, Op.cit. P.137.

to establish whether inhabitants of two of the three non-Gbagyi settlements mentioned above actually collaborated with the jihadists. Our intention however, is to show further that the Kaduna region was also influenced by general developments that took place in the Zaria region even before the jihad.

On the whole, we can say that important developments took place within and around the Kaduna region during the 19th century. The period for instance, witnessed the emergence of another prominent settlement within the area. This settlement was (still is) Rigachikum founded by a Fulbe group who emigrated there from Katsina.[42]

Politically, there is a general claim among non-Gbagyi informants that the non-Gbagyi settlements within the Kaduna region were organised largely on lineage basis, with each settlement paying its own tributes directly to Zaria.[43] However, these same non-Gbagyi informants also corroborate the fact that precolonial Gbagyi settlements collectively had their own means of

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42. Interview with MDY who is currently writing an M.A. (History) thesis on Rigachikum in A.B.U. Zaria.

43. For instance MAB and DSM hold this view.

sending tributes to Zaria independent of the few non-Gbagyi communities. Thus, the Gbagyis here had evolved a rather complex political structure that particularly enhanced their tribute payment to Zaria during the Emirate era.[44] It is to this aspect that we shall now address our discussion.

In general, the Chief, Otsu was the highest organ of authority and power in each of the Gbagyi settlements. An Otsu was usually advised and assisted by a Council consisting of the elders of the various households. This council of elders was known as Asagba or Garuko and the Otsu had no independent powers outside it.

The household was an important political unit in each Gbagyi settlement. An household head who was usually the oldest male settled disputes and in fact controlled all affairs of his unit. In every serious cases of adultery, slander, etc, between households however, ward heads were approached for settlement. By implication, therefore the authority of ward heads was more than that of household heads. Ward heads were the elders of the particular quarter where they resided in a specific settlement. These ward heads, among other functions, ensured that decisions reached by the

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44. Interview with LKM, PBF, DAM, SLY, MKG and cited in manuscript with PBF.

Otsu and his council were carried out effectively in their various quarters.

The serious cases in each settlement were however, referred to the Otsu and his cabinet. Such cases included disputes pertaining to farmland and witchcraft. It is important to note that the Otsu title was not hereditary in each of the Gbagyi settlements. It usually alternated between various families. However, it was the council of elders that selected a new Otsu whenever the need arose.[45]

It would seem that the office of the Otsu provided its various holders with opportunities for the accumulation of wealth particularly during the 19th century. Such opportunities were derived from his powers of allocating communal land to indigenes and non-indigenes, powers of granting permission to pastoralists to graze around his settlement, powers for granting fishing rights, etc.

Available evidence would seem to suggest that the Gbagyi communities in and around the Kaduna area had already developed some form of

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45. Ibid.

legislative council among themselves during the early/mid 19th century. If a crime was committed that involved two or more settlements, the chiefs of the settlements concerned usually met somewhere in the bush to conduct investigations. Through such means disputes that could not be handled within a settlement were resolved.[46] On the surface, however, it would appear that these Gbagyi settlements were largely independent of each other. But the aspect of tribute collection for Zazzau clearly indicate that the chief of a particular Gbagyi settlement had acquired slight but significant edge over the others in the region. We need to elaborate further on this issue.

Available evidence seem to indicate that each Gbagyi chief after collecting tributes from his territory forwards same to the chief of Kakugyi who was regarded as the Sagbagyi (King of Gbagyi in the whole region). It was therefore the Sagbagyi who forwarded tribute to Zaria.[47] The emergence of the Sagbagyi in Kakugyi has been

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46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

recorded to be due to the comparatively dense nature of the settlement as well as its commercial significance. In fact, it is on record that Kakugyi by this period was made up of about 300 household units and that it was also an important caravan center in the trans-Saharan trade network [48] (see figure 2).

The emergence of the office of the Sagbagyi coupled with his function given above indicate that his authority cuts across clan or geneological boundaries (all other chiefs in the region were under the Sagbagyi). The significance of this political development for our study derives from

48. Contained in manuscript with PBF. On the question of thepopulation of all 19th century settlements around present day Kaduna, our attempt to cite figures from the records left by European travellers of the 19th century like Wallace W. Clapperton H., Paul Standinger (Vide Bibliography) have not been fruitful. However, on the basis of the number of household given for Kakugyi in the 19th century (that is in the manuscript with PBF and mentioned herein) and since our Gbagyi informants agree generally that the average size of a Gbagyi household was not less than 10 in the 19th century, one could suggest that Kakugyi had a population of about 3,000 people by the 19th century. My Gbagyi informants like PBF and LIM claim that the other walled Gbagyi settlements of the 19th century were about or a little bit more than half the size of Kakugyi interms of our suggested estimate.

the fact that it indicates that each Otsu had a territorial unit from where he collects tributes and exercised political control.

In the economic sphere, our informants are clear that the predominantly Gbagyi settlements and the few non-Gbagyi ones in the Kaduna region (as well as groups that did not settle permanently) related harmoniously with one another throughout the 19th century.[49] In fact, commercial relations in the area increased significantly. This development led to the emergence and growth of markets in some of the settlements such as Kakugyi, Mashi Kuci, Kikinau and Kaina during this era.

It is important to stress that inspite of all these the Gbagyi settlements remained largely agricultural communities. The inhabitants of these settlements grew crops like sweet potatoes, millet, guinea corn etc. Another important crop grown but on a comparatively limited scale was cotton. To the Gbagyi land belonged to god and it was a gift for them and other societies for survival. Ogni-Zahabwye, Zhni Sheooiynanu, "land or wilderness is the property of the supreme deity".

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49. The little discussion we have been able to make on the nature of the economy of Gbagyi settlements in the 19th century was derived from interviews with MAB, DSM, PBF, LKM etc.

Land therefore, was seen as something not to be denied anybody who wants it, provided it was available. No wonder, therefore, that land was always communally owned while the right of occupation was usually granted by the Otsu.

Apart from household farms Afabwa which was the basic unit of production, during the late 19th century, the Gbagyis also set aside communal farms known as Ozhi-fa. These farms were often managed by the various chiefs on behalf of their communities. After harvest, the proceeds of such communal farms were usually shared by the Otsu and his cabinet, another proportion ($\frac{1}{10}$ of total harvest) was retained and used to entertain official guests.

In terms of labour, household farms were usually cultivated by members of the specific unit. For various reasons, however, households often extended invitation to other households to assist them, on their farms. This sort of cooperative farming was known as gwonyi. There is however, no evidence that the Gbagyis used slaves in their various economic activities, especially farming. In fact the Gbagyi regarded it as unmanly to use someone else's labour to do a piece of work that one could do.[50]

50. Ibid.

Apart from farming, the Gbagyi also engaged in other economic activities during the 19th century. For example, elderly women usually wove cloth like Jeboje on vertical looms, while men wove mats and baskets. In addition, most, if not all important Gbagyi settlements had their own blacksmiths who produced items such as the big hoes, Zukwo, small hoe, Zukwo beyi and axe, Azeh. These items were used as implements in agricultural production. Perhaps the markets that emerged during the 19th century in the region were formed around the activities of the blacksmiths, weavers, etc. Finally, there is evidence that the Gbagyi were engaged in local or rather restricted pastorialism and fishing during the 19th century.

It is however, important to point out that the history of the Gbagyis in our area of study is certainly not devoid of contradictions and conflicts. That there were conflicts is particularly indicated by the fact that by the 19th century some of the important Gbagyi settlements like Kakugyi, Mashi Kuci and Kaina had already built walls around their settlements.[51] However, we do not

51. Ibid, and cited in manuscript with PBF.

as yet have evidence of wars between the various Gbagyi communities. In addition, we also do not have evidence that the Gbagyi initiated wars against other people. In fact, the Gbagyi see war as disruptive of occupation and way of life and thus did anything to avoid it.[52]

Gbagyi traditions, however, are replete with stories of attacks made on them specifically by the emiral troops of Zazzau particularly during the late 19th century. We find it necessary to recount one of these stories since we consider it relevant to our understanding of the origin and history of present day Kawo.

This particular tradition states that: a savage and surprise attack was launched on the Kaduna region soon after Kwassau assumed office as the Emir of Zaria (that is around 1897). That the attack in an unprecedented fashion took place at the peak of the farming season and was occasioned by the refusal of Gbagyi settlements to pay tribute to Zazzau for sometime.

52. Ibid.

The tradition maintains that the settlement of Kaina was the worst hit. The inhabitants of Kaina were out farming and not well armed when a band of invaders who were said to have camped temporarily at Rigachikum (for the night) launched a surprise attack on the settlement. As a result, the Gbagyi deserted Kaina. However, it is claimed that the attack was meant to serve as a warning to other Gbagyi settlements in the area, thus, they were continously on the alert. It should be pointed out too that the story of the desertion of Kaina is important for our discussion.

Available traditions[53] on the origin of Kawo seem to suggest that it was founded after the Sokoto jihad. The traditions claim that the migrants who founded Kawo settlement came from Kasar Kano. The Kano civil war that dominated the major part of the last decade of the 19th century led to the migration of Hausa and Fulani out of the region.

The Fulani leader of the migration was said to be one Gani, while some of the migrants were

53. Recorded from informants like SGD, HAD etc.

slaves. That, the first place of call was a place where several large Kawo trees were found, from which the settlement got its name. Finally, the traditions maintained that the migrants who founded Kawo consisted of about two hundred men.

The impression that one gets from the above tradition is that the Kawo area was uninhabited before the arrival of these migrants from Kano. This cannot be correct as we have attempted to show earlier in this chapter. The issue here is that the tradition tries to justify the present day non-Gbagyi control of the area.

As far as migration from Kano is concerned there is sufficient evidence that in the 1890's the whole of Kasar Kano experienced a period of intense chaos and disorder.[54] The crisis followed the death of Muhammed Bello in 1893, in which the Caliph (exercising his influence from Sokoto) appointed his (Bellos') eldest son, Tukur, as the new Emir of Kano. This decision was unpopular in Kano and in no time a rebellion aimed at deposing Tukur as the Emir of Kano, for the popular ex-Galadima, Yusuf, was organised.[55] This resulted in a civil war basasa

54. For details See A.M. Fika, The Political and Economic Reorientation of Kano Emirate Northern Nigeria C.1882-1940. (Ph.D. University of London 1973) and his: The Kano Civil War and the British Over Rule 1882-1940 (Ibadan, O.U.P., 1978).

55. A.M. Fika, The Kano ...Ibid. P.51.

which was characterised by intense chaos and disorder throughout Kasar Kano. This resulted in several group migrations out of Kano. Some of the migrants moved to settle in Kawo.

One issue that could be raised here is that the name Gani does not seem to be common among the Fulani. This notwithstanding other evidence seem to corroborate this view of Kano immigrants. For instance, a historical record written by a committee (headed by the Chairman Kaduna Local Executive Representative Council) commissioned in 1974 by the then North Central State government to, among other things, trace the history of the Kawo district and earmark its boundary (particularly in relation to the Gabasawa district) revealed that, some of the migrants that fled from Kano during the civil war settled in Kawo.[56]

The account by Fika seem to indicate that the claimed migration from Kasar Kano in the Kawo tradition took place at about 1894, because that was when migration from the area was at its peak.[57]

56. Gen/58/KW - Tarihim Kawo Daga 1900. Rikicin Kan Iyakoki.

57. A.M. Fika, Op.cit. P.57.

But when one considers the Kaina tradition, it is clear that the settlement (Kaina) had not yet been deserted by this date. Therefore, it is likely that the migrants from Kano took permission from the Otsu of Kaina to settle in his territory.

Following the raid and desertion of Kaina however, it would appear that the migrant Hausa-Fulani group constituted itself as the owners of their new settlement. In essence, therefore, the history of Kawo as a distinct settlement from Kaina must have occured in the mid 1890s. It is also clear that Kawo from this date began to develop some form of relationship with the inhabitants of the neighbouring settlements. The major ones were; Mashi Kuci, Kikinau and Rigachikum.[58]

1.5.1 Economic Activities

Our focus in this section will be on the beginnings of the economy of Kawo before the establishment of Kaduna in 1913. And since an economy is a system for the production and

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58. Interview with SGD and HAD.

distribution of good and services then it must be stated from the onset that agriculture was the mainstay of the economy of the settlement. And inspite of the fact that the new settlement was located close to the Kaduna river, fishing was not a major pre-occupation of the inhabitants.[59]

Land, it should be emphasised, is a necessary prerequisite for production in any agricultural society. The Hausa-Fulani settlers in Kawo at this time believe that the whole land area in the region belonged to God. That, as the residents in the territory, they have been bestowed with the powers of controlling the region by God.

Furthermore, there was no private ownership of land in the region before the advent of colonialism. What obtained however, was that each individual household gida had its own farmland, gandu which it puts into permanent cultivation. And as a result of the availability of land as compared to the number of migrants in the area, an household that wanted to acquire new land merely cultivated the land. Thus, land acquisition/ownership by the

59. Ibid.

households largely depended on the first to cultivate a given land, while right of tenure was through inheritance.[60]

The land tenure regulations or nature of land use in Kawo was however altered with the imposition of colonial rule on the region. Although it is very difficult to say precisely when colonialism was imposed on the settlement, it is however logical to assume that this took place at about 1902, that was the year that the whole of Zaria Emirate was regarded as been colonised.[61]

On British conquest of Nigeria especially with focus on their main motive for penetration and conquest[62] a lot has been written. An important thing for us to note here, however, is that soon after conquest the British formulated several policies and proclamations which helped them to achieve their primary objective in colonial northern Nigeria. Most if not all of these proclamations especially those on land had far reaching consequences.

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60. Ibid.

61. For details see M.M. Tukur, Op.cit.

62. See Ibid for the specific case of Northern Nigeria.

As early as 1902, for example, there was a land proclamation which categorised land in Northern Nigeria largely into crown and public land.[63] This ordinance was however modified by another one made in 1910.[64] But with these two proclamations land in colonial Northern Nigeria, was largely regarded as crown or imperial property. Significantly, the inhabitants of Kawo as a result of these could no longer exercise absolute control over their lands as was the case before the advent of the colonialists. Thus, colonial land procalamations facilitated the acquisition of some portion of the Kawo land area for railine construction. The portion acquired stretched from the South western edge of present day Kawo to the North-western portion of the settlement. The demand for land in Kawo by the colonial government in Nigeria for its activities did not stop there as we shall discuss elsewhere in the work.

Be that as it may, farming activities in Kawo began during the bazara, the period when farmlands were cleared and prepared for cultivation.

63. F. Lugard, Political Memoranda (Frank Cass, London, 1970). P.348-349.

64. Ibid. P.350.

With the beginning of the rainy season "ruwan faduwar damana" sowing of staple crops begins in earnest. These food crops include guinea corn, dawa and millet, gero among such variety of crops that grow favourably under the geographical conditions that obtained in the settlement.[65] Between the period of sowing, shuka and harvesting, Girbi a lot of farming activities took place. However, farming activities were also carried out during the dry season in Kawo. Such activities were generally carried out along the fadamomi.[66] It is significant to note here that all of the above mentioned farming activities could not have been possible without human labour. Therefore, it is crucial to discuss the factor of labour employed in the agricultural economy of Kawo.

Earlier, we showed that some of the migrants from Kasar Kano were slaves.[67] However, it seems that immigration into the Kawo area was synonymous to emancipation for most if not all of these

65. Interview with Zakari Yau (ZKY) and Hassan Bello (HBL), both on 10/11/91.

66. The Shadoof method was used during this season for the cultivation of grain crops and vegetables.

67. See page 31 of this chapter.

slaves.[68] With this development and also as a result of the nature and level of agricultural technology, which we hope to discuss below, it therefore became necessary for agricultural production to be based on household units in early Kawo.

Indeed all members of an household including household head Maigida, women, mata and children yara in Kawo were usually involved alongside each other in tilling household farm gandu. But it remains clear that in the course of this collective agricultural production females withdrew home at intervals in order to, among other things, prepare meals for others.[69]

Apart from collective labour, an household that found it difficult to till its own farmland, extended invitation to neighbouring households to help out. Such invitation was known as gayya. An invited household accepts such invitation voluntarily without expecting any fee for such services rendered. However, it was the unpronounced

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68. Interview with SGD, SKY, HBL and HAD. These informants constitute our main source for the discussion of the early economy of Kawo.

69. Ibid.

duty of the hosting household to feed such labour force.[70]

It is significant to note here that these various forms of agricultural production were subsequently significantly altered with the imposition of colonial rule on the settlement. This change was brought about through various colonial proclamations such as those on slavery,[71] etc. However, the important thing to note at this point is that apart from farming, livestock rearing constituted a relatively important sector of the emerging Kawo economy. There are evidence that a considerable number of households reared sheep, goats, cows etc, in our area of study during this era.[72] Such livestocks were largely acquired from nomads who seasonally passed through the Kawo area. It is significant to note that the livestock acquired by the residents of Kawo through this means were reared locally. Indeed, each livestock owning household assigned one or more of it's members daily for this purpose. In all,

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70. Ibid.

71. For details on colonial slavery proclamations see F. Lugard, Op.cit. P.217-225.

72. Interview with ZKY and SGD.

both the livestock reared locally in Kawo and those that seasonally passed through the settlement provided manure which aided greatly the farming activities of Kawo residents.

The agricultural implements used in production in Kawo included the hoe, fartanya, large bladed hoe, galma digging hoe, sangwami etc. Available evidence also seem to indicate that in this early period, the household of Abdullahi dan Sarkin Bawa was largely reponsible for the production of Farming implements used in Kawo. Among other things Abdullahi's household used apparatus like Uwar Makera (the anvil) Massaba (hammer) etc, in the production of iron implements. And in the course of production one or more members of this same household usually worked on the bellows, Zuga-zugai.[74]

The Kawo blacksmithing households usually acquired their raw materials from iron miners yantama and/or their brokers dilalai who were based in areas like Afaka (about 8 kilometers northwest of Kawo) and Rigachikum, situated about

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74. Interview with Ibrahim Abdullahi (IAD), Isa Mohammed (IMD) and Muhammed Musa (MMA). These interviews were conducted in August 1992.

the same distance to the north. And on their part the yantama and dilalai got iron ore from deposits situated around the vicinity of the aforementioned settlements and sometimes from more distant regions like Fawwa and Kankara in Katsina.[75]

It is significant to note however, that while the household that produced iron implements in Kawo usually produced what it could in excess of what was required in the settlement, it also (due to insufficient skills) could not produce such items as sword, tamami.[76] It is therefore not surprising that by 1913, Kawo had begun trading with neighbouring settlements such as Mashi Kuci, Kikinau, Afaka, Rigachikum. We were informed that Rigachikum was the most prominent trading center patronised by inhabitants. The use of donkey Jaki was the main means of transportation of its periodic markets. Human porterage was however also common.[77]

But in order for us to understand the nature and essence of the various economic activities

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid. and SGD, SKY etc.

77. Ibid.

outlined above, we need to examine the social relations of production that was dominant in this period.

1.5.2 Socio-Political Developments

There is no doubt that Kawo was a small society before the establishment of Kaduna in 1913. One can also surmise that the political conditions that obtained in the Zaria Emirate like the persistence of political raids and such other activities[78] contributed to the location of the settlement immediately after the marshy area of the river Kaduna. That is, to the far South East of present day Ungwan Kawo. Also for security reasons, the households were not scattered but close to each other. And since nature had already provided enough mud and grass in the area, the houses were made of these materials.[79]

The houses in Kawo were makeshift in character with millet stalks, Zana, used in some cases to surround compounds. The houses were also round and water for household consumption (and other

78. See M.G. Smith, Op.cit. PP.178-196 for details of these political conditions.

79. Interview with ZKY and SGD.

uses) was obtained mainly from river Kaduna. In addition, in order to warn inhabitants of Kawo of potential threats and also to announced the arrival of visitors etc, volunteers (at least one was chosen from the various households on a daily basis) were regularly stationed at the bushy area daji of the settlement.

Mention must be made here that Kawo village did not remain at the location it was founded. To understand why this was so, it is essential to state that the whole essence of the various colonial slavery proclamations, was to release potential labour for the colonial system and thereby replace slave labour with peasant cor-vee labour. Lugard himself stated that:

> The single duty which the law imposes upon the people [in colonial Nigeria] without remuneration is the maintenance of roads and water ways.[80]

It is therefore not surprising that during the early colonial era a lot of activities were carried out by means/or use of forced labour. One of the main projects that was carried out through forced labour before the close of this period was railway construction. This project was carried out hastily by the British colonialists

80. F. Lugard, Op.cit. P.243.

in order to facilitate the economic exploitation of the country.[81] The important thing for us to note, however, is that it was colonial railway policies and projects that, among other things, led to the relocation of the Kawo society.

The earliest rail line in Northern Nigeria was the Baro-Kano line. Although the construction of this rail line started in 1907, the first survey party for the project visited the Zaria Province only in 1908. Yet it was only in the year 1909 that most of the construction work of the railway line was carried out. By 1910 the line reached Kawo. And by 1911 the rail line had reached Zaria City.[82]

According to our informants, once rail way construction activities reached Kawo, the colonialists compelled the villagers to move from the immediate vicinity of river Kaduna to areas closer to the railline (Baro-Kano) being constructed. That is about three kilometers

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81. Among other works see "Infrastructures of exploitation Transport, Monetary Changes, Banking etc" by S.A. Olarewaju in T. Falola (ed) Britain and Nigeria, Exploitation or Development? (London, Zed Book Ltd. 1987). For a discussion of why railway was hastily constructed in colonial Nigeria.

82. NAK Zarprof 2559.

northwest of its initial location.[83] This shift was to ensure that the Kawo society performed a role marked out for it by the colonialists particularly during the course of the construction of the Baro Kano line.[84]

The Kawo community were expected to provide food to the railway workers (mainly forced labourers). Households in Kawo prepared their local staples such as guinea corn and millet for the rail workers. This they did without receiving any fee. In fact Kawo households provided free food supplies to forced labourers, among other reasons, because they were informed by colonial agents that the railway been constructed was specifically meant to enhance the prosperity/ commercial base of their settlement.[85]

In addition, one of our informants disclosed that in the course of the construction of the Baro-Kano line, the colonialists often ordered some of their forced railway labourers to assist the inhabitants of Kawo in their farming and cooking.[86]

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83. Interview with SGD, HAD, ZKY, IAD etc.

84. Ibid.

85. Ibid.

86. Interview with SGD.

At this point it is necessary for us to discuss the belief system(s) of the inhabitants of Kawo. This is because the belief system itself played a crucial role in the socio-political development of the society. During the period under discussion two belief systems which largely complemented each other was dominant in Kawo.

In the first place, there was the Islamic belief in Allah and thus the belief that the major means of seeking guidance and forgiveness of Allah was largely through obedience to the messages contained in the Quran and hadith. There was also the belief and worship of spirits, Iskoki. In most if not all cases, the belief in Iskoki was not completely discarded with the increasing acceptance of Islam.[87] This belief in Iskoki side by side with Islam played a dominant role in socio-political development (for instance, land tenure system) in the Kawo society.

In terms of the political set up, Kawo was organised on household basis. An household gida was headed by the Maigida (head of household) and the gida basically consisted of all his relatives or Yanuwa. Thus, all farm harvests came directly

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87. Ibid.

under the control of the maigida. When he found it necessary he organised for the sale of agricultural surplus in the various markets that surrounded Kawo. Any amount generated was used in buying items that were generally in demand in the household.

The Maigida also settled disputes that arose within his household. It was he who had the final say, that is after consulting his Yanuwa on all important matters that affected the whole household. The Maigida was usually the eldest surviving member of an household and this certainly enhanced his authority.

The Maigida usually represented his household unit in village deliberations. He was a member of the village council of elders which consisted of all Masu gidaje (household heads). The council of elders was not the sort that met at fixed regular intervals. The council was usually summoned when there were issues to discuss. Meetings of elders were usually chaired by the village head Maiungwa. The Maiungwa was usually one of the elders selected by the Masu gidaje to head the settlement. Gani who led the migrants from Kano to the Kawo region was the maiungwa at the eve of colonial occupation

of the region and up to 1913.[88]

Available evidence indicate that Kawo, (and other settlements in the Kaduna region) was by the late 1890s under the political influence of the Zaria emirate.[89] This is surely not surprising since it is most likely that the political raiders from Zaria (whose activities led to the desertion of Kaina) subordinated the Hausa-Fulani migrants in the settlement to the political authority of the emirate.

It seems, therefore, that Mallam Gani collected tributes mainly in the forms of agricultural supplies from the inhabitants of Kawo for the Emirate. Such tributes from Kawo most probably went through the district head, hakimi with the title Wombai to Zaria (see figure 3). M.G. Smith revealed that for collecting taxes or tributes, village heads throughout the Zaria Emirate usually kept a portion of the tributes/ due from their areas, while they handed over the remaining to the Emirate messengers, Jekadu. The Jekadu kept another portion of the tribute, while their superiors hakimai kept even more. The

88. Interview with HAD, HBI, ZKY, IAD.

89. E.O. Oyedele, OP.cit. and interview with DSM and PBF.

remainder went to the Emir who in turn forwarded some percentage of the tribute to the caliphate headquarter in Sokoto.[90] In essence, on the eve of colonialism the surplus appropriated from the Kawo society (among other numberous societies) was basically used for the benefit of the ruling class of the Sokoto Caliphate. Nonetheless it was also used for the internal development of the societies that constituted the caliphate including Kawo.

However, with the advent of colonialism, a new political structure was introduced for the whole of Northern Nigeria. This political structure was based on the British policy of "Indirect rule". Inspite of the fact that indirect rule is a subject that has already engaged the attention of several scholars[91] we still find it necessary to state that indirect rule was introduced in the Zaria province as soon as it was constituted by the British colonialists in 1902.

At the head of this administrative machinery was the British resident based in Zaria. The resident was only answerable to the Lieutenant

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90. M.G. Smith, Op.cit. P.

91. For instance M.M. Tukur, Op.cit. exposes the essence of the system and F. Lugard, Op.cit. is more concerned with the appearance of the system.

Governor of the Northern Protectorate who was by the second decade of the 20th century already permanently resident in Kaduna.

An arm of the administration which was headed by the Emir of Zaria was subordinated to the British resident of the province. This arm was (and still is) known as the Native Administration. It is interesting to note here that even before 1913 the Emir significantly assisted the colonialist to carry out a major district division of the native administration.[92]

This major division of Zaria province into districts carried out in 1907 was mainly along "cultural lines."[93] The province was in fact divided into 32 districts each with its own resident hakimi. In summary, with this major district division Kawo was placed under Turaki Baba (hakimi) of Igabi district.[94] And, in principle, among other roles, Gani the Maiungwa of Kawo was supposed to forward colonial taxes collected to Turaki Baba.

92. E.J. Arnett, ""Zaria Province", P.7 in A.H.M. Kirk-Greene and Hogben (eds.), The Emirates of Northern Nigeria. A Preliminary Survey of their Historical Traditions. (O.U.P. London 1967).

93. NAK Zarprof 2554.

94. For details on this specific general administrative reorganisations carried out in the Zaria Province and how they affect the Kaduna region generally see E.O. Oyedele Op.cit. P.

Broadly speaking after the conquest of the Northern parts of Nigeria, the British colonialists imposed taxes on the various settlements that constituted the region. Indeed, there were quite a variety of these taxes, and these included the land tax kudin Kasa, among others.

By 1904, the tax assessment of all parts of the Zaria Province had already been completed. By this year, therefore, colonial tax had accordingly been imposed on the province. However, the colonialists noted that there were settlements in the province that had not started paying the various taxes even by 1913.[95]

With specific regards to Kawo, it is hard to say whether colonial tax was paid during this early stage of colonialism or not.

1.6 Conclusion

We have attempted in this chapter to discuss the early history of Ungwan Kawo. Among other thing we examined its geography with special focus on its place in the history of the settlement.

95. NAK Zarprof 2554.

Subsequently, we discussed various aspects of the early history of the settlement with special focus on its origin and early socio-economic and political developments. As far as the economy was concerned we have shown that it was predominantly agricultural in which production was based on household units. Furthermore, we noted that the Kawo society was a small one with clustered population and that by 1913 the leader of this small society had already been subordinated to the authority of the hakimi of the Igabi district known as Turaki Baba by British colonialist. In the next chapter we shall examine the impact of Kaduna on Kawo in the period from 1913 to 1945.

CHAPTER TWO

THE IMPACT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT AND GROWTH OF KADUNA ON KAWO 1913-1945.

2.1 Introduction

Right from its inception in 1913, Kaduna had visible impact on Kawo society. The establishment of this colonial capital created conditions that stimulated the growth of Kawo. Hence, the focus of this chapter will be on these conditions and how they have affected the growth and development of the settlement. It is hoped that this focus will enable us to situate and understand the place of Kawo in the history of Kaduna.

Our choice of the year 1945 as the terminal date for this chapter is predicated on a number of reasons. In the first place, by that year the basic structural pattern of colonial Kaduna based on the railway, export and import trade and administration had already been completed. Secondly, the year 1945 marked the end of the Second World War and consequently the beginning of a general economic recovery which, as we hope to show in another chapter, together gave rise

to rapid and great changes in the Kawo society. It is also significant to note here that our analysis in this chapter is based primarily on oral sources, colonial and other written records.

Our discussion in this chapter also has to be placed within the context of the general political and economic environment that prevailed during this era. For instance, the year 1914 marked the beginning of the first world war which significantly had adverse affects on colonised peoples.[1] For example, in order to meet capitalist war demands the British colonialists in Nigeria tightened political and economic measures. These tight economic controls were, however, subsequently relaxed in the country following the economic recovery experienced largely in the 1920s.[2]

The subsequent period however from 1929 to 1945 was characterised by economic depression, and the impact of the Second World War. It is significant to note that the great depression itself

1. For a detailed discussion of the First World War and its general impact see Osuntokun Akinjide, Nigeria in the first world war. (London, Longman, 1979, among other works.

2. See E.O. Oyedele, Op.cit. P.266-67.

was a manifestation of capitalist crisis of over production. Agricultural over-production (in the main) in the capitalist metropolis and also in colonies resulted in a sharp decline in the prices of primary commodities. This in turn checked capitalist confidence causing them to become more cautions in investment.[3]

In the specific case of colonial Northern Nigeria, the British colonialists in the face of falling prices and dwindling colonial income, still maintained the incidence of taxation. Therefore, the net effect of the great depression on largely all "indigenous" inhabitants of Northern Nigeria was that it increased their suffering.[4] This was because most people who were farmers were compelled to increase production in order to meet harsh colonial demands. Others who were not peasant farmers had their bitter experiences.[5] For instance,

3. See, Nabudere Dan, The Political Economy of Imperialism (Zed Press, London 1977) P.135-36, and J.K. Galbraith, The Great Crash 1929 (Penguin, London, 1955) among others for more details on the depression.

4. Robert Shenton, Studies in the Development of Capitalism in Northern Nigeria, (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1981) P.194.

5. See for instance A.V. Dhilwayo, A History of Sabon Gari Zaria 1911-1950: A Study of Colonial Urban Administration (Ph.D. Thesis, ABU Zaria, 1986). For details on bitter experiences of non farming Nigerians during the depression.

many traders went bankrupt, while a lot of workers were retrenched.

However, towards the close of the 1930s, there was noticeable recovery (from the depression) particularly in Northern Nigeria. But this development was soon overshadowed by the second world war which broke out in 1939. This war ended in 1945 and it had its own adverse impact on the region.

With this brief background analysis of the prevailing political and economic environment, we shall now examine the establishment and growth of colonial Kaduna.

2.2 The Establishment and Growth of Kaduna 1913 - 1945.

We shall focus on the establishment and growth of Kaduna only to the extent that it helps us to understand the processes that led to the growth of Kawo.

Firstly, it is worth mentioning that despite the various territorial organisation and/or reorganisations in colonial and post-colonial periods, Kaduna has for most if not all part of

of its existence remained a capital city. In fact, it is still the capital city of Kaduna state.

Our discussion in chapter one of this dissertation shows clearly that Kawo was already in existence prior to 1913. Similarly prior to this date there were other existing indigenous settlements in the area where Kaduna came to be established. These, as we have shown in chapter one included Barnawa, Kakugyi, Apalaita, Kupei and Makera, just to mention a few. The existence of such settlements, therefore, debunks colonialists assertion that Kaduna was established on a "virgin land" or a "no man's land". As Oyedele has correctly argued such claims are merely used to justify imperialists forceful acquisition and control of the land of all given colonial people.[6]

It is generally believed that Kaduna derived its name from river Kaduna. The hausa call the river "Kogin Kadduna," ("river of crocodiles"), while the Gbagyi (who we have shown earlier to be the earliest known inhabitants of the area) also refer to it as Kadundna meaning "crossing the river of snails."[7] While one cannot dismiss either of these as the likely origin of the name (Kaduna)

6. E.A. Oyedele, Colonial Urbanisation Ibid. P.162.

7. I came across these views during the course of my field research. However, earlier writers like E.O. Oyedele Ibid have already drawn attention to these views.

as already argued elsewhere, however, it would seem that the hausa people were the most probable group that gave it (Kaduna) its current usage.[8]

Be that as it may, it is important to emphasize at this point that the establishment of Kaduna as a colonial capital actually brought to an end a protracted search by the colonialists for a suitable administrative capital of Northern Nigeria. The first capital was Lokoja (1899-1901), followed by Jebba (1901-2) and Zungeru (1902-1913).[9]

In general, it is important for us to discuss why Kaduna was chosen as the colonial capital but these issues have already been adequately treated elsewhere.[10] The point that must be made here, however, is that with the choice of Kaduna as the capital of the Northern region in 1913, the movement of people into the area, therefore, began in earnest. Although individual migrations was noted to have contributed most importantly to the growth of Kaduna during this period (1913-45), two importnat group migrations were however, also noted to have

8. E.O. Oyedele, Ibid. 1987, P.162.
9. Ibid. PP.119-133 and R.K. Udo, op.cit. P.161.
10. E.O. Oyedele, Ibid. PP.133-149.

boosted the demographic strength of the colonial capital.[11]

The first of these important group migrations into Kaduna also formed the basis for the establishment of the colonial capital. This involved the transfer of the West African Frontier Force (WAFF) from Zungeru to Kaduna sometimes in 1913. In all, over 3,000 people,[12] both British and Africans were moved into Kaduna. This movement in turn gave rise to a number of individual migrations into the area. These latter set of immigrants basically ventured into the colonial capital to provide essential services and to supply food items for those other early immigrants that were predominantly engaged in full time colonial services (that is soldiers and administrators).

In 1917, the second wave of migration into Kaduna took place. This involved the movement of workers, clerks, labourers, administrators and professionals, as well as colonial firms and their employees to the new seat of government in Kaduna.[13]

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11. Railway construction activities like the Port-Harcourt - Kaduna railway that was completed in 1927 also stimulated considerable migration into Kaduna.

12. E.O. Oyedele, Op.cit. P.183 and .H.M., Kirk Greene (ed) Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria (Frank Cass, London, 1968) P.77.

13. E.O. Oyedele, Ibid. P.203.

We do not know precisely how many people were involved in this second group migration into the Kaduna region. The important thing to note is that this second wave of group migration also stimulated another wave of individual migrations into the area for basically the same reasons mentioned for the first.[14]

In all, migrants came largeley from all parts of Nigeria, particularly from areas like Idah, Zungeru, Borgu etc. The others included Nupe, Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo speaking peoples. In terms of class composition, the migrants into Kaduna during this period (1913-45) consisted largely of the ruling class who were essentially the Europeans and the workers which included skilled and unskilled workers, artisans, petty traders etc. Thus by 1945, Kaduna had grown into a township with well over 20,000 people.[15]

Having discussed the migratory trends into Kaduna, it is now pertinent to say a few things about the settlement pattern that developed particularly within the colonial capital. Like all colonial

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14. Ibid. PP. 177-208 and 268-277.

15. Ibid. P.357.

townships, the settlement pattern was organised along racial, class and occupational lines. Concrete historical studies are now available that have shown that such segregation reflected the very essence and substance of colonialism, particularly its socio-politico-economic needs.[16] It is worth noting that the official policy of segregation emerged quite early during the colonial period. Frederick Lugard as early as 1900 stated that:

> The policy shall be gradually to move the native town six to seven miles down stream and so to do away with other evils such as the proximity of a haven of thieves and prostitutes, the infections of mosquitoes with material germs and the insanitary conditions inevitable around a large native town.[17]

Despite subsequent modifications, what emerged in Kaduna from 1913 was that certain areas, specifically the European Reservation Area (E.R.A.) were relatively well planned.

On the other hand, another relatively planned settlement was created for "outsiders" mainly clerks and artisans, while other non-European immigrants largely settled at the comparatively

16. See for instance, A.V. Dhliwayo, Op.cit. Among other works.

17. Cited in A.W. Urqhart, Planned Urban Landscape in Northern Nigeria; (A.B.U. Press, Zaria, 1977). P.26.

unplanned Sabon Gari. And at the outskirts of the township, a camp for labourers known as Tudun Wada was established.[18] Knowing that these settlements could not survive on their own, as we hope to show later in this chapter, the colonialists also ensured that the neighbouring surrounding settlements (satelite villages) were sustained, while the establishment of new ones were encouraged. In particular, Kawo was initially largely separated from the heartland of Kaduna by a forest reserve of about 5 kilometers.[19] However, as we hope to demonstrate in our study of spatial and residential developments in Kawo during this period the colonial conception of Kaduna was already discarded by 1945.

By 1913, Kaduna evolved first as a military camp where a British political officer (M.C. Greene) maintained order and supervised the various construction works been undertaken there.[20] And by 1917, the Township Ordinance was passed. This ordinance provided for the creation, constitution and administration of all towns and municipalities

18. E.O. Oyedele, Op.cit. PP.209-245.
19. NAK SNP 17, 10222.
20. NAK Zarprof 2560.

in Nigeria, with exception of those native towns where population were sufficiently homogenous for it to be administered by a "native administration". Thus, Tudun Wada and other satelite settlements like Kawo were in principle not part of this administrative arrangement of the township.[21] The point to stress here however is that Kawo from 1913 to 1945 evolved to be administratively linked to Kaduna township administration.

2.3 The Impact of Kaduna on Kawo

In this section, we will examine the impact of Kaduna on Kawo. To do this effectively, we have analysed the impact under socio-economic and political developments that took place in Kawo, respectively.

2.3.1 Socio-Economic Developments

Our focus here will be on those socio-economic developments in Kawo that are most crucial to an

21. E.O. Oyedele. Ibid. PP.246-257 discusses in detail the administrative control imposed on the Kaduna township particularly at the early stages of its creation.

understanding of the urban process in the area. Thus, we shall be preoccupied with a discussion of population growth, spatial and residential developments, major economic activities within the settlement, respectively. We are giving these issues separate treatment simply for convenience of exposition.

(a) Population Growth

There is no doubt that census data are quite important for our understanding of the urban process in Kawo especially as it relates to the issue of population growth. It is however important to state from the on set that there is a dearth of data on this and the little available estimates seem unreliable. In addition they do not contain vital information on income distribution, age and sex ratio of the population etc, before 1952. To butress this fact, it is significant to stress that with regards to the official population estimate for Kawo and other satelite settlements at the outskirts of the Kaduna township, the colonialists themself recorded, inter alia, that:

> With the aid of the European health officer, the station magistrate had a very close although not exact census taken [in 1930] and it shows that the numbers for 1929 were underestimated. Unfortunately [even in the 1930 census] the men, women and children were not taken separately.[22]

It is against this background that we must mention here that our informants claim that migrations into Kawo significantly accompanied the establishment of Kaduna (in 1913) and that by the 1920s the settlement already had close to a thousand residents.[23] But according to colonial[24] records Kawo by 1929 had only 339 residents. Indeed, the estimates of our informants seem more acceptable, than colonial official estimates. This is because available accounts seem to indicate that colonized peoples (in order to lessen colonial expropriation of their wealth) usually understated their population. In addition, some of the inhabitants of a given settlement often disappeared from their homes during headcounts in order to avoid taxation, forced labour etc.[25]

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22. NAK SNP 17/2 11617.

23. Interview with HAD, IAD and ZKY.

24. NAK SNP 17/2 11617

25. E.O. Oyedele. Op.cit. P.60 and interview with ZKY.

Although colonial population estimates are generally not reliable, they are still, however, quite useful as they give us an idea of the changes taking place as far as demography is concerned. It is therefore necessary to cite these official estimates as they are.

For instance, an analysis of the population figures given for 1929, 1930 and 1931, unreliable as it is, reveals graphically the development of population growth in Kawo. The population for 1929 (as earlier noted) was 339, while a year later (1930) it rose by about thirty percent (30%) which is a figure of 496.[26] And a year later (1931) the population increased to 762.[27] The issue here is that between 1929 and 1931 (2 years) the population increased by a hundred percent. In addition, it is interesting to note that the population of Kawo increased further particularly from 1940 but we do not have any statistics of this growth.

It should be pointed out at this point that most of the settlers in Kawo during this era were products of individual migrations[28]

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26. NAK SNP 17/2 11617

27. NAK SNP 17/2 16155

28. By individual migrations we mean migration that does not transcend the level of an household.

from within Zaria province, especially the rural areas. In fact the only group migration into Kawo at this point in time involved the settlement of the military in the area from 1940.[29] In all, the population increase experienced in Kawo was a product of several factors. The factors are examined below.

Firstly, as Robert Shenton has correctly argued,[30] the imposition of British colonialism led the peasants of Northern Nigeria to be subordinated to the interests of the world capitalist market. The imposition of various taxes, tolls and the restructuring of the land tenure system etc (discussed earlier) in particular created a lot of strains and stresses in the rural societies. It is no wonder, therefore, that most of our informants maintain that they were prompted to emigrate due to the poor returns they realised from the sale of their farm product.[31]

Secondly, famine which was quite common in this period was another factor that prompted

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29. Interview with AUN, HAD, Ali Magajin Askarin Kawo (AMA) interviewed 11/11/91 and two group interviews conducted separately on 13/11/91 and 14/11/91 etc.

30. R. Shenton, Op.cit.

31. Group Interview 13/11/91.

these migrations. For instance, informants particularly those from Zaria province like Bakura and Awai claimed that their area experienced a very severe famine in 1926. That as a result of scarcity of rains in the area, there was serious shortage of food. The severity of these famine compelled people to emigrate for survival.[32]

It is in order to state at this point that the factors that drew or rather attracted immigrants to Kawo in this period were also varied. Firstly, the various colonial programmes that were been executed within Kawo area attracted more residents, skilled and unskilled labourers to the settlement. For instance, among other factors, the persistent food crisis in Kaduna coupled with the unanticipated and increasing cost of maintaining the forest reserve that was situated beyond the northern limit of the heartland of the township ultimately compelled the colonialists to among other things discard the idea of maintaining the forest reserve.[33] It is instructive to note here

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32. Group Interview 14/11/91.

33. NAK SNP 17/1 10222.

that the forest reserve was created in 1913 when Kaduna was established.[34] Indeed, from this date this forest reserve in no small means contributed to the prevalence of sleeping sickness in the colonial township.[35]

To specifically combat this disease the colonialists were (as earlier hinted) forced to spend money on maintaining the forest reserve from 1913. The amount spent for this purpose was not only unanticipated but was also perpetually rising. Thus towards the close of 1919 the British employed wage labourers to completely clear up (among other areas) the forest reserve. This scheme was heavily criticized by the Southern press and other interest groups in colonial Nigeria.[36]

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34. It is quite evident from NAK SNP 17/1 10,222 that the Kaduna Forest Reserve was created in 1913 in order to store trees/wood and other useful undergrowth for the future/later use of the capital.

35. A.K. Medugbon; Op.cit. P.83 and NAK 17/1 10,222.

36. Ibid. In fact one of the strong critics of this scheme was the colonial Assistant Secretary in Kaduna (Mr. Grier) who suggested that rather than employing wage labourers to clear up the forest reserve, the restrictions under the forestry ordinance and regulations on the area should be removed. He further suggested that once this was done farmers should then be attracted, among other area, into this region since their (farmers) activities of bush clearing for farm land would not only help in ridding the Kaduna region of tsetse flies but will also help in solving the acute food crisis that confronted the capital from its inception.

The dominant argument of these critics was that the money used in clearing the forest reserve could be used in solving more crucial problems.[37]

In 1920, the colonial government responded to criticisms and/or accepted suggestions. In that year it ceased to employ wage labourers to clear the Kaduna forest reserve. In addition, the British announced incentives to farmers who wanted to settle within the forest reserve region and other areas within the 8 kilometers radius of Kaduna. These incentives included tax concession for a period of 3-5 years, free train ride to Kaduna from any part of the Northern region like Kano and Sokoto, just to mention two, free provisions of wells etc.[38] The point to be made here is that the colonial policy of attracting farmers to the Kaduna region resulted in migration into Kawo. For instance, M. Musa who emigrated from one of the famine stricken villages noted above reported that he moved to Kawo to settle

37. On the whole available information indicates that the colonial government learnt several lessons from the forest reserve situation in early Kaduna. One of these lessons, according to one official record was that "all future schemes for forest reserves should take into consdieration the fact that where reserves are formed tse-tse will abound as a natural result (sic) therefore the only areas which should be selected for reserves should be at a distance from any large town." (Source: NAK 17/1 10222).

38. NAK SNP 17/1 10222 and .K. Medugbon; Op.cit. P.83.

as a result of this policy particularly the incentives given to them.[39]

Mention must be made here that other incentives for new peasant settlers into the Kaduna region in the 1920s were: the official recognition given to the leader of a group migration, recognition of the area where group migrants settled in as a distinct settlement etc.[40] What emerged therefore was that three new settlements sprang up around the Kawo area in the 1920s. These new settlements were (and still are) Ungwan Shanu, Ungwan Kanawa and Abapka.[41] The first two settlements were formed separately in 1926 by peasant migrants from Kano,[42] while Abakpa was formed about 1930 by migrants from Sokoto led by one Mohammed Abarshi.[43] In all, the founders of these

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39. Interview with Mohammed Musa (MHM) 7/8/92. This informant claims that it was when the then reigning Maiungwa of Kawo (Abdullahi) told him about these incentives that he decided to settle in Kawo.

40. NAK SNP 17/1 10222.

41. Interview with Aliyu A. Mohammed (AAM) 15/12/91, HAD, NAK Zarprof 1783 and E.O. Oyedele. Op.cit. P.272.

42. Ibid.

43. NAK Zarprof 2745 and E.O. Oyedele; Ibid.

new settlements, easily acquired portions of land where they settled from the colonial government based in Kaduna.[44]

Secondly, it is pertinent to state here that most of the early migrants to Kawo (during this period) were mainly farmers.[45] Thus, the availability of arable land in Kawo was an important factor that attracted/drew settlers to Kawo and this led to population growth.

Also, with the retrenchment of workers in large number following the abandonment of several projects due to the depression a number of those affected moved out of Kaduna township to Kawo as farmers.[46]

Thirdly, the colonialists embarked on projects that drew settlers to Kawo. These projects included the Kaduna-Zaria road construction and the establishment of the aerodrome in 1924 and 1935 respectively.[47] The road project ran parallel to the railway line while the aerodrome was situated around the vicinity of the present day Airforce

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44. Interview with IAD and indicated in NAK SNP 17/1 10222.

45. See section on Economy in this Chapter. For a discussion of farming activities in Kawo during this era.

46. Ibid. and NAK SNP 17/2 11617.

47. NAK Zarprof 2571, Zarprof 2282 and Interview with SGD.

base. However, the issue to be emphasized is that both of these projects took a large chunk of Kawo's land. It should also be stressed that these projects were designed to link up Kaduna (by roads, etc) through Kawo with other parts of the country. In addition, the projects were designed to open up areas of export crop production to European firms (specifically those based in Kaduna) as well as to enable Kaduna import food from far and wide.[48]

Fourthly, another major boost to the growth of Kawo came in the 1940s, following the decision to temporarily accommodate soldiers in the settlement. In fact, the colonial government embarked on the construction of a military barrack in Kawo from 1940. This project which was given top priority attracted a number of skilled and unskilled workers, e.g. carpenters, mason etc.[49] The project handled by the Public Works Department which was meant to accomodate over 200 soldiers and their families was fully completed and occupied by 1945.[50] It was also proposed that the

48. E.O. Oyedele, Op.cit. P.317. This indicates that as in the previous era the projects executed by the colonialists in Kawo (although attracted settlers) were not meant for the specific benefit of the inhabitants of the study area.

49. Interview with LKM, ISA, SGD.

50. Ibid. and NAK Zarprof 251.

maintenance and expansion of the barrack should commence immediately.

(b) Spatial and Residential Developments

Kaduna had significant impact on spatial and residential developments in Kawo right from 1913 when it was established. For instance, with the establishment of Kaduna an area of about 5 kilometers was declared a forest reserve by the colonialists (we gave more details on this forest reserve in the previous section). This area was situated beyond the Northern limit of the major planned unit (heart land) of the colonial capital. In fact the forest reserve was situated, among other things, between Kawo and the E.R.A. In principle, therefore, due to this forest researve Kawo could not expand much towards the core units of Kaduna from 1913.[51]

However, following the abandonment of the idea of maintaining the Kaduna forest reserve in 1920, the erstwhile forest reserve region was officially declared Kawo territory.[52] From 1920 therefore Kawo's territory was officially pin-

51. Interview with SGD and SKY.

52. Ibid. and NAK 17/1 10222.

pointed to have stretched from the region of Ungwan Gwari in the north to the Abakpa area in the south (see figure 4). As a result of this Kawo was able to expand its activities southwards into the region close to the heartland of the colonial capital from 1920.[53]

It is notable that people involved in individual migrations into the pre-1920 forest reserve region of Kawo built their houses (with mud and grass) sporadically in the region. In fact only the three relatively clustered settlements of ungwan Shanu, Abakwa, and Ungwan Kanawa developed to the extreme south of this region. In all, the scatteered households in the erstwhile forest reserve region were linked to each other predominantly by narrow and irregular footpaths. These sort of foot-paths also connected each of these scattered households to focal points in Kawo like the oldest clustered unit where the village head resided.[54]

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53. Ibid. and indicated in figure 4 attached herein.

54. Interview with MHM, SGD, HAD.

Be that as it may, even prior to 1920 when the forest reserve region was thrown open for settlement, another settlement within Kawo of relatively clustered home-steads built of mud and grass developed around the area of present day Kaduna Air Force Base (the north western edge of Kawo) from 1913.[55] It is interesting to note that by 1937 this new unit had over 70 households.[56] However, from 1937 (particularly with the increasing recovery from the great depression) the colonialists embarked on improving the standard of the aerodrome (situated around this relatively new clustered region of Kawo) to an international standard.[57]

This planned programme affected Kawo in the sense that the colonialists ordered that all buildings within 440 yeards of the aerodrome should be evacuated, and no human activities was allowed within the same limit.[58] The Kawo

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55. Ibid.
56. Ibid and NAK Zarprof 2309 Vol.1.
57. NAK Zarprof (Fed) 2309 Vol.1.
58. Ibid.

inhabitants did not comply with the orders immediately because the crops planted for the season (1937) within (and beyond) the 440 yeards of the aerodrome were almost ready for harvest.[59]

In a nutshell, the affected residents of Kawo found the idea of evacuating their landholdings around the aerodrome really repugnant and they did not hide it. For instance, the affected Kawo residents expressed disgust for the policy to the district head. Hence the latter suggested to the British colonialists that an alternative site be officially laid out for them anywhere beyond one mile region of the aerodrome.[60]

Accordingly, the colonialists employed a Mallam with Zaria Native Administration to lay out the suggested new site that was situated to the south western portion of present day Kawo (that is about two kilometers south-east of the aerodrome). The sum of two pounds was used for this purpose. It is instructive to note that the households of Karau, Abdu and Waziri pre-existed

59. Ibid, and interview with ISA and LKM.

60. Ibid.

in the region to be officially laid out in Kawo. Hence, the survey Mallam recommended that these houses be demolished and compensation paid to the affected household heads.[61]

In all, over 110 pounds was recorded to have been paid by the colonialists as compensation to over 70 households affected by the creation of the anti-amaryl zone [62] - for the lose of their very important means of reproduction!

This compensation was only paid in 1939 but not all those affected were paid. One of our Gbagyi informants, Ishiaku Alkali, maintained that some of them were not paid.[63] But by 1939 some of those affected reluctantly moved their gidaje to the new site laid out by the colonialists. Some others (like the informant mentioned above) left to take refuge with friends.[64] There were however the group which included household heads like Bala and Dogo Maude who refused to move until

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61. Ibid.
62. NAK Zarprof (Fed) 2309 Vol.1.
63. Interview with ISA.
64. Ibid.

they were threatened and even forcefully ejected.[65] On the whole, the houses built in the newly laid site in Kawo were generally round and made of mud and grass.

A number of structures were built in the newly expropriated portion of the aerodrome. This include a wireless building, a rest house which consisted of several rooms and an administrative building. The rest house was built to accomodate airways crew members who might out of necessity spend the night in the colonial capital. In all, apart from few huts built with mud and thatched roofs (meant for servants), other buildings erected at the aerodrome were made of wooden flush doors, wooden windows, asbetos cement roofing sheets, cement blocks and wooden trusees.[66]

In 1940, a military barrack (Brompton barrack) was established in Kawo. By 1942,[67] this barrack consisted of batallion offices, stores, workshops, and other minor buildings. It also consisted of

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65. Ibid; and interview with LKM and ZKY.

66. NAK Zarprof (Fed) 2309A and interview with IAD and HAD.

67. Inscriptions on the remains of some buildings in this barrack indicate this date for their construction.

3 bungalows which were meant for the occupation of senior officers. Each of these bungalows consisted of 3 bedrooms and each of them also had a "servants quarters" situated some distance behind it. In addition, by 1942 the Brompton barrack had 20 large rectangular buildings meant for the other ranks in the army. Each of these 20 buildings had 10 rooms in it (that is a total of 200 rooms).

According to a military informant, the Brompton barrack was established in Kawo for strategic reasons connected with the presence of the aerodrome in the area.[68] However, a complaint in official records indicates that an area in the north Eastern portion of Kawo was "forcefully occupied" (by soldiers) in order to form this barrack.[69] This fact is corroborated by our informants[70] who claim that colonial soldiers merely moved into the landholdings of Kawo farmers, installed flags at various directions and ordered

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68. Interview with WOZ A.V. Nkenang (AVN) 3/1/92.

69. NAK Zarprof 2718.

70. Interview with SGD, HAD and IAD.

that Kawo peasants should not trespass- on their own landholdings! There is no evidence that compensation was paid to the affected Kawo residents here. But with the seizure of their lands, most of those affected moved to the area laid out during the aerodrome improvement scheme. Thus, it was here that they erected their houses built of mud and grass (like most others in the region).

On the whole, the improvement (through the creation of the building free zone) of the aerodrome and the forceful military establishment of a barrack in Kawo had significant impact on the economy of the Kawo society. These developments led to the emergence and growth of resident labourers and traders in Kawo. For instance, it has been recorded that about 8 residents of Kawo were employed in 1939 as labourers for the perpetual clearing of grass (among other roles) within the regions of the building free zone in the aerodrome. These labourers were paid an average wage of 6d per day and it is clear from the records that these labourers consisted mainly of Kawo peasants that

were evacuated from the aerodrome region and who subsequently had their houses in the new site laid out in Kawo by the colonialists in 1939.[71]

In addition, the creation of the aerodrome anti amaryl zone and the establishment of the Brompton barrack meant the complete alienation of most if not all of those affected from their very important means of reproduction - land. And this is reflected by the fact that in 1939 alone, some of the Kawo people affected by the creation of the anti amaryl zone moved from the settlement.[72] To alleviate the mounting economic problems of the affected people, Mohammed Gani (the Sarki) and his subordinates "persuaded" some households to give small parts of their landholdings to the affected people.[73] But this did not completely solve the problem since the forceful military occupation further reduced the size of the farmlands of the Kawo inhabitants. Consequently some of the affected people went as far as Afaka to acquire farmlands.[74]

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71. NAK Zarprof 2309.

72. Ibid. Interview with ISA, LKM and ZKY.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid. and NAK Zarprof 2718.

(c) Major Economic Activities Within the Settlement

The economy of Kaduna was intrinsically linked to that of Kawo right from its establishment in 1913 to 1945. The Kaduna economy was centred on administration and the military. These were the two major sources of employment of labour, which in turn gave rise to commerce, which became the hub of the urban economy. Indeed, a large number of early Kaduna inhabitants were employed in the colonial system.[75]

In addition, several construction activities were undertaken in the colonial township during this period.[76] These construction works included the building of offices, road etc. The labour needed for these construction works were recruited from Niger, Zaria and Kano provinces. These labourers were settled in a labour camp built in 1913. This camp initially known as Ungwa Lebura formed the nucleus of what came to be known from 1925 as Tudun Wada.[77]

75. E.O. Oyedele, Op.cit. P.177-343.

76. The rate of these constructions was however, determined by the state of the colonial economy in Nigeria. Construction activities in Kaduna during this period 1913-45 were highest particularly during moments of economic boom in Northern Nigeria.

77. Max Lock and Patners, Op.cit. P.84 and E.O. Oyedele, Op.cit. P.244.

The building materials used vary greatly in quality. For instance, buildings that housed Europeans attracted imported materials such as red clay, roof trusees and tiles. On the other hand, local materials were used in places of lesser significance to the colonialists. Thus, in the Sabon Gari and other areas grass and Zana were used.[78]

Expatriate commercial firms also played a prominent role in the economic life of the Kaduna township. These firms included the Miller Brothers and the Royal Niger Company. The firms were preoccupied essentially with the buying of export crops such as sheanuts and cotton and the import and sales of consumer items such as salt, soap, enamels, etc. They also recruited or appointed retailers (middlemen) through whom the carried out their commercial activities. It was also in this way that they entrenched their commercial monopoly over the area.[79]

In general, the Sabon Gari ward was a very productive centre in Kaduna. It was in this area that the largest concentration of interest groups

78. E.O. Oyedele, Ibid. P.234-245.

79. Ibid.

resided. These interest groups included contractors, leather workers, traders, barbers, firemen, tailors, dyers, fitters, sawyers, carpenters, painters, chainboys, motor drivers, silversmiths, clerks, butchers etc.[80] Thus, while essential services were provided by traders and barbers, etc, the production of mats, stools, ropes, shoes, bags and other leather goods etc, also developed in the Sabon Gari. The materials used in the production of these items were largely derived locally.[81]

Kaduna Sabon Gari market which was established from the establishment of the settlement became the focal point for this economy. The stalls in the market were paid for: for instance, stalls for the sale of textile/cloth attracted a monthly toll of 2/6 while those for meat was 2/-.[82] The colonialists also imposed a number of taxes and levies on the people in their belief "that the surest test for the soundness of

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80. Ibid. and NAK SNP 9 1333/1923.

81. Interview with HAD and indicated in NAK SNP 17/1 10222 Vol.1.

82. NAK SNP 722P/1915.

measures for the improvement of an uncivilised people is that they should be self supporting."[83] These taxes and levies included the income tax and slaughter fees. The taxes were graduated, for instance, those that earned an income of £200 were taxed £2 per annum, while those who earn £100 and above were taxed £1.[84] Two officials were employed to effectively collect the various taxes and levies in the Kaduna township. One of them represented the township authority, while the other represented the Emir or the native administration.[85] In the 1920s, these officials were Mallam Gia and Mallam Lawali. The taxes they collected annually were divided into two parts: one part went to the native administration in Zaria and the other went to the township "revenue".[86] And since Kaduna was an administrative cum commercial centre,

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83. M. Perham (ed.) Mining, Commerce and Finance in Nigeria (London: Faber and Faber, 1946-48). Cited in R.O. Ekundare, An Economic History of Nigeria, 1860-1960. (Methuen and Co. Ltd., London, 1973). P.65.

84. NAK SNP 9 1333/1923.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid.

it generated substantial revenue.

On the whole, like in all colonial settlements the inhabitants of Kaduna were against the various exploitative and oppressive taxes.

The point to emphasise here is that little agricultural (food) production was carried out inside Kaduna township. As a result the city depended on its outlying villages such as Kawo, Mashi Kuci and other Gbagyi settlements around, for its food supplies.[87] Suffice to say that agricultural (food) production remained the dominant economic activity vis-a-vis commerce and wage employment in Kawo.[88] However, it seems that Kawo (and other satelite settlements) was, unable to meet the demand of the Kaduna inhabitants. Food had to be brought in from as far as the Niger and Kano provinces.[89]

The actions of the government particularly the raising of railway fares during the First World War contributed to the shortage of food stuff

87. Interview with DSM, MHM and indicated in NAK SNP 15/1 191.

88. Interview with ISA, MHM.

89. NAK Zarprof 2745. Also E.C. Oyedele, op.cit. particularly P discusses in detail the acute food crisis that confronted early Kaduna.

or rise in their prices. This development also compelled the government to embark on the programme of attracting farming settlers to Kaduna area.[90]

Another measure that the colonialists took to solve the food crisis in early Kaduna, was to send officials to neighbouring settlements like Gadani, Asheshe, Gwagwada, Kasaya, Kugo, Farakwai, Grawaji, Igabi, Kuriga, Dutsen Mai, Katabu and a host of others to encourage them to grow more food crops for sale in the colonial capital.[91]

In the specific case of the satelite settlement of Kawo our informants alleged that Mallam Gani the Maiungwan Kawo and his successor Abdullahi saw to it that inhabitants of the settlement grew more foodstuff for Kaduna market.[92]

The dominant foodcrops cultivated in Kawo specifically for the Kaduna market included beans, wake, maize, massara, species of yam like Risga and tumku and species of sweet potatoes like Gwaza

90. NAK Zarprof 2745 and SNP 17 10222.

91. NAK Zarprof 2560.

92. Interview with ZKY and ISA.

and dankali. Other items cultivated were okro (or ladies finger) kubewa, pepper, Berkono Spinach, aleiho and fruits like mangoes, pawpaw, guava etc.[93]

It is significant to note here that it was only during the great depression that agricultural export crop production began in Kawo.[94] The retrenched workers that moved to Kawo only took to farming. As a result the prices of food stuff began to fall.[95] And in the face of the falling prices of food stuff, the firms based in Kaduna and Rigachikum also moved to Kawo to promote the production of export crops (cotton and groundnuts) either through supply of seedlings or through the grant of loans.[96] Hence, many of the farmers in Kawo shifted to the production of these export crops.[97] Consequently, this had adverse effect on the food situation in Kaduna especially from 1942.[98]

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93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid. and indicated in NAK SNP 17/2 11617.
96. Interview with ZKY, IAD and ISA.
97. Ibid.
98. NAK SNP 17/4 34531.

Significantly, the tools used in the agricultural production in Kawo were to a large extent the one's used at a latter period. And in addition, the gandu largely remained the primary unit of production in the society. Furthermore, as in the previous era, Kawo farmers still reared cattle, goats etc. for milk, manure etc. These products were also highly priced in the Kaduna market.[99] Thus, Kaduna traders Yankasuwa and brokers dilalai ventured into Kawo with goods (both imported and locally produced) like salt, cloths, enamels, bracelets, shoes, bags etc. In return, they bought among other things, food items for re-sale in Kaduna from Kawo farmers.[100]

On the whole, agricultural production expanded in Kawo mainly because more farmers moved into the settlement. Specifically, the expansion in agricultural production here also brought about expansion in the blacksmithing industry. For instance, some blacksmiths moved to Kawo to settle.[101] Prominent among those who migrated there were Umar

99. Interview with ZKY, HAD and IAD.

100. Ibid.

101. Interview with Ibrahim Makeri (IMK) on 3/1/92 and HAD, SGD, IAD.

Na Igabi, Berkonu and Sani Bello.[102] Umar Nalgabi came to Kawo from Igabi while the other two blacksmiths came from Rigachikum.[108] These blacksmiths continued to acquire their raw materials largely through the same means as in the previous era. However, due to increasing demand the blacksmiths tended to depend more on the services of apprentices who were not members of their households. Thus, each blacksmith in Kawo produced over 600 hoe blades yearly.[103] It was also not uncommon to find Kawo farmers supplying bundles of grains to blacksmiths for services rendered (such as the repair of hoe and/or making of new ones etc). However, it was the use of colonial currency (which had become the means of value and exchange) that facilitated transactions between blacksmiths and others (particularly traders from Sabon gari).[104]

Other professionals also featured prominently in the economy of Kawo between 1913 and 1945. These professionals included barbers, traders and

102. Ibid.

103. Interview with IMK.

104. Ibid.

scholars. The most prominent barber often remembered in Kawo was Ali Magajin Askarin Kawo.[105] Barbers were locally known as Wanzami and they performed several functions. This included performing day to day haircut, aski for adults and young boys, Vvula operations known as cirar hakin Wuya and the circumcision of young boys kaciya. These services usually attracted a token fee not often specified.[106]

Those that became resident yankasuwa in Kawo mostly started business with little capital. This capital was partly raised through compensation paid (specifically during the aerodrome scheme) and from friends.[107] It was with such little capital that these traders commenced business to neighbouring communities like Birnin Yero, Jemaa, Mahuta, Mashigi etc. They purchased (largely in cash) sacks of farm products which they sold. The activities of these traders gradually gave rise to the emergence of a market in Kawo by 1945. This market was situated by the Kaduna - Zaria

105. This person happens to be one of my informants AMA.

106. Interview with AMA and ZKY.

107. Group Interview 14/11/91.

road in the South Western portion of new Kawo.[108]

Finally, scholars that settled in Kawo imparted knowledge to the young ones, almajirai in the community. They also helped out in the slaughter of livestock. Some of these prominent scholars were Mallam Kato, Mallam Usman and Abdullahi Ubandosa.[109] These scholars usually provided services for fees not easily quantifiable/ fixed. For instance, they exploited the labour of their students in various ways, that,is, on their farms, to secure firewood, in construction etc.

2.3.2 Political Developments

The socio-economic developments that we have discussed had some political dimensions. It is necessary to reiterate right from the onset, that the British colonialists in Nigeria constituted a separate administrative machinery for the Kaduna township. This township administration as pointed out earlier excluded areas with homogenous native population like Tudun Wada and Kawo. These areas were placed under the native administration. To

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108. Ibid.

109. Ibid.

integrate these latter settlements into the Kaduna township administration would have necessitated more expenditure (in terms of the provisions of social services) on the part of the township administration. This was certainly inimic to colonial interests hence while proposing the Kaduna region as the new capital the British stated that:

> were the indigenous native population restricted to the existing native towns in the vicinity and enlargement therec'f, the sanitation of the proposed new capital would be carried out effectively at a greatly smaller cost than would be the case were the official area water-logged by a dense collection of native humanity.110

This statement clearly shows that the main characteristic of British colonial politico-economic activity was the concept of getting excessive benefits with less costs in any resource combination that it made. Although the colonialists needed the satelite settlements for the production of food and export crops, they could not make the settlements part of the Kaduna township administrative system in order to save/reduce cost. It is interesting to note

110. NAK SNP 15/1 191.

that it was perhaps as a result of this principle of reducing cost that the colonialists extended the political influence of the leader of Kawo, among other areas, southwards to areas close to the heartland of Kaduna from 1920 when they abandoned their idea of maintaining a forest reserve around the vicinity of this region.[111]

However, it would appear that the attempt to keep Kawo and other satelite settlements outside the Kaduna urban administrative system especially was not effective by about 1945. Available evidence indicate that consequent on the expansion of population in the Kaduna area, The British colonialists carried out some major district reorganisations in the Zaria province between 1913 and 1945.[112] The point here is that the administrative linkage between Kawo and Kaduna seems to have developed largely out of general administrative reorganisations that was carried out in the 1930s in the Zaria Province.

It is instructive to note that the first general district reorganisation carried out in

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111. Indicated in figure 4 NAK SNP 17/110222 and interview with SGO, MHM and HAD.

112. See E.O. Oyedele, op.cit. PP.305-313, NAK Zarprof 2572 and finally Zarprof 2574 for more details on these general administrativ changes and how they affected the whole Kaduna region.

the Zaria Province that affected this area was in 1922. In this year Kawo was removed from the Igabi district and placed under Kanglwa district with its headquarters in Kikinau (a settlement, as we have already noted situated within present day Kaduna).

However, in 1925, following another major district reorganisation that involved the transfer of Makera, Barnawa and Kakuri villages (formerly part of Makera district) to the Kangiwa district, Kawo became part of the newly constituted Kangiwa district under a title holder known as Iya. And in 1927, following another district reorganisation Kawo was taken back to a newly reorganised Igabi district now under the Wombai based in Rigachikun.

Finally in 1930, the merger of Igabi and Makera district was effected by the colonialists. With this merger, Iya the district head of Makera was pensioned and retired to Zaria while the combined districts came to be known as Igabi under the leadership of the Wombai. And with this merger, Wombai moved his capital from Rigachikum to Tundun Wada in Kaduna.[113] Hence it became clear that the political focus of Kawo gradually

113. Ibid.

shifted southwards to the Kaduna area.

This shift in political linkage was even made more concrete in 1931 when a sarki was appointed for Kaduna Sabon Gari. Shehu, the then Sarki was also given authority over the area which included the local villages and settlements around Kaduna such as, Tundun Wada, Makera, Kakurin Gwari and Kawo. Thus, Sabon Gari and the regions placed under it were referred to as the Kaduna Sabon Gari village unit.[114]

Thus from 1931 the inhabitants of the settlements on the outskirts of Kaduna which included Kawo, now paid their taxes (through their various villageheads) to Sarkin Sabon Gari. In addition, the Sarkin Sabon Gari was also responsible for the collection of taxes from clerks, artisans, railway employees and government prison employees etc. in the township.[115] This certainly indicates that the township administration also generated some of its revenue from areas under the jurisdiction of Sarkin Sabon Gari.

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114. NAK SNP 17/18939 and NAK SNP 17/2/655.

115. Ibid. and Interview with SGD.

The most important implication of this administrative changes is the fact that these settlements (Kawo and others) were neglected in terms of provision of social services while their resources were used in developing the areas directly under the township administration. In addition, since Sarkin Sabon Gari (who obviously controlled the Sabon Gari village unit including Kawo), functioned essentially as the main link between the Kaduna station Magistrate, and the Emir, it could be asserted that Kawo became politically linked with Kaduna in this period.

In addition, certain specific political developments also took place in Kawo during this period. In the first place, Gani (the Maiungwa) died in 1922 and the council of elders in the settlement could not reach a compromise on who should succeed him. As a result, the district head (hakimi) who was then based in Kikinau, had to intervene in the matter. The hakimi appointed one Abdullahi to head the Kawo village.[116] Abdullahi ruled Kawo from 1922 to 1937.[117] It

116. Interview with SGD, HBL and ZKY.

117. Ibid.

was during his reign (1930) that he was elevated from the title of Maiungwa to Sarki.[118] This promotion was perhaps connected with the general administrative reorganisation effected in the region that year. Abdullahi was succeeded by Mohammed Gani who ruled Kawo from 1937 to 1948. It is pertinent to note here that the promotion (in 1930) of the leader of Kawo from Maiungwa to Sarki seems to have resulted in the creation of new offices within the Kawo administrative structure. For instance, from 1930 and for the first time a scribe was appointed in the administration of Kawo.[119]

On the whole, as a result of the spatial and demographic growth which Kawo experienced in this period, Yusuf Galadima of Hayin Banki and Abdullahi Ubandosa of Ungwa Dosa and others emerged (on the basis of being first or earliest occupants of these specific sections of Kawo) as representatives or linkmen between other inhabitants within their respective units and Sarkin Kawo.[120] However, most of the sectional

118. Ibid.

119. Ibid. and deduced from E.O. Oyedele, Colonial Urbanisation, Op.cit. P.375.

120. Group Interview 14/11/91.

representatives that emerged in the study area did not officially acquire recognition as Masuungwanni.[121]

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter our analysis has focussed on the impact of Kaduna on Kawo in the period 1913 to 1945. To enhance or rather facilitate our understanding of this theme, we discussed the establishment and growth of Kaduna. Among other things, we showed that the settlement pattern in Kaduna was largely segregated along racial, ethnic, class and occupational lines. In addition, we showed that Kawo's economy right from 1913 was geared towards meeting the needs of the new colonial capital. In this regard we showed how Kawo was encouraged to meet particularly the food needs of Kaduna. As far as political developments were concerned we showed that Kawo was initially placed under the Zaria native administration. But to meet the exigencies of the colonial administration, it was later placed under Kaduna urban administration.

In essence, since an urban settlement (as distinct from an urban center which may also be

121. Ibid.

referred to as such) is a unit that is politically and economically intergrated within a whole urban complex, then it is clear that Kawo gradually evolved to be an urban settlement during this era.

CHAPTER THREE

KAWOS ECONOMY AND SOCIETY, 1945-1960: THE EMERGENCE OF A SUB-URBAN CENTRE

3.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is an examination of the factors that were responsible for Kawo's growth between 1945 to 1960 leading to its development into a sub-urban centre. To understand the basis of the rapid changes that took place in Kawo in this period, we need to briefly examine the general environment under which these transformations unfolded. Hence, it suffices to note that the international economy which in the early 1930s appeared to be heading for imminent collapse seemed from the vantage point of the 1950s to have been placed upon a new and more solid footing. Indeed, for the African economies (Nigerian economy inclusive) at the periphery of the resurgent international economy, the end of the second War War largely meant the entry into the most pronounced export boom ever experienced.[1]

1. See J.F. Munro, Africa and the International Economy. (J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., London, 1976), P.176.

The post Second World War economic boom in Nigeria led, among other things, to the improvement of communications facilities and the establishment of a wide range of secondary manufacturing industries which were based on import substitution industrialisation strategy.[2] It is interesting to note (as we have shown elsewhere)[3] that the new light industries that emerged during this period, specifically the textile industries, were established in Kaduna to enhance Kaduna's/Nigeria's dependence to metropolitan capitalist countries. However, the point to be noted here, is that the establishment of light industries and the improvement of communication facilities, among other projects executed by the colonialists in the post-second world war era stimulated the spectacular growth of quite a number of townships in Nigeria. In fact studies have shown that the remarkable growth experienced in Kaduna cannot be divorced from the colonial projects executed in the region during the era.[4]

2. See P. Kilby, Industrialisation in an Open Economy Nigeria 1945-1960 (Cambridge University Press, 1969) among other works.

3. M.B. Salau, The History and Impact of Multinational Corporations in Nigeria: The Case of the Textile Industry in Kaduna State (Unpublished B.A. Research Essay, University of Jos 1988).

4. For instance See E.O. Oyedle, Op.cit. PP.417-503.

Politically, the period 1945 to 1960 was one of militant nationalism in Nigeria. From about 1945, Nigerians increasingly organised themselves into political parties, trade and ethnic unions. And in most cases the urban centres were the bases/ headquarters of these parties and unions.[5] As a result of great pressure from these organisations coupled with those from other external forces, the British colonialists introduced social, economic and political reforms which eventually made it possible for Nigeria to achieve what its 'nationalist' leaders demanded/negotiated for. This ultimately, was political independence which was granted in 1960.

Having clarified the general political and economic environment under which Kawo expanded from 1945 to 1960, we shall now examine the demographic and residential changes that took place in Kawo during this era.

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5. For more details on political activities in Nigeria particularly during this era see J.S. Coleman, Nigeria background to nationalism (Berkeley, California, 1971) and B.J. Dudley, Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria. (London, Frankcass, 1968) among others.

3.2 Migrations and Settlement

Population growth in Kawo from 1945-1960 reveal graphically the rapid growth that characterised this period. In chapter two we showed that by 1931 the population of Kawo was 762. But by 1952, census figures show that the population of the settlement increased to 5,113[6] representing about

6 fold increase over the 1931 figure. By 1963 the population of Kawo from official records had risen to 16,067[7] which is a three fold increase over that of 1952 (representing also about 21 fold increase over that of 1931).

Group migrations played a crucial role in the growth of Kawo during this era. Available evidence indicate that the first group to migrate into Kawo were Second World War veterans/

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6. See, Population Census of the Northern Region of Nigeria 1952, Bulleting No.4 Zaria Province (Gaskiya Corporation Zaria, 1952) P.37. NAK SNP 15/15008 and E.O. Oyedele op.cit. P.444. We must mention here that the 1952 census figure for Kawo and other parts of Nigeria are also contentious on the basis of the nature of the relationship between the colonizers and the colonised.

7. Population Census of Nigeria 1963: Northern Nigeria Vol.1. (Federal Census Office Lagos) and E.O. Oyedele Op.cit. P.444. It is interesting to note here too that since independence, the Political implications of population counts such as the distribution of power and wealth introduced additional sources of unrealiability to the 1963 and other subsequent census figures in Nigeria.

soldiers.[8] Although we cannot state precisely the size of the veteran soldiers involved in this movement, our informants are however clear that some, if not all ofthese soldiers were among those that the British colonialists planned to demobilize and resettle following the conclusion of the war in 1945. Indeed, after the conclusion of this war many of these people were awarded their pensions and gratuities and other disability allowances. On the average most of them received about 10 pounds.[9]

For various reasons, a considerable number of these ex-servicemen decided to settle in Kawo. Interestingly, since most, if not all, of them were financially capable at this point in time and in the face of the limited number of houses in the settlement, many of them decided to erect their houses in Kawo. Thus, the first thing they did was to acquire plots in the settlement.

In order to acquire plots of land in Kawo, colonial exservicemen usually approached earlier

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8. Interview with Paul Tseror (PTR) on 5/11/91, Alhaji Audu (AAD) May 1992 and AUN.

9. Ibid.

occupants (who had been apportioned most if not all Kawo land areas largely as farmland during the previous era) of the settlement. As we showed in the previous chapter, most of these earlier inhabitants of Kawo were farmers who acquired portions of land largely through the village head. It seems that it was for this reason (also perhaps in line with customary procedures) that most, if not all, of them (earlier settlers) had to invite the village head to witness and consent to land transfers they made to ex-servicemen.[10] On the whole, land acquisition in Kawo was glaringly very easy.

It is in order to state here that consequently a number of individual migrations into Kawo took place before 1960. And in 1956 a battallion of the Nigerian army of about nine hundred men moved into the settlement.[11] Thus, by 1960 the army became a dominant force in Kawo; this is made up of serving and ex-servicemen. In fact the settlement was known/ referred to as a "village barrack."[12]

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid. and E.O. Oyedele, Op.cit. P.446.

12. Interview with PTR, AAD etc, also indicated in Max Lock and Patners, Kaduna, 1917, 1967, 2017: A Survey Plan of the Capital Territory for the Government of Northern Nigeria. (London, Faber and Faber, 1967). P.189.

In summary, group migrations played a dominant role in the growth of Kawo. It crucially served as attraction for subsequent individual migrations into the settlement. It should be stated here that individual migrations into Kawo during this era were largely effected in order to provide trading and other crucial services for those involved in the various group migrations (particularly the soldiers) into the settlement. These individual migrants were essentially self employed. These included people like Mama Sala and Micheal Dare who were petty traders.[13] Others in this category included carpenters, tailors, food sellers, and local beer, burukutu sellers, etc. One striking feature of these self-employed individuals, particularly the carpenters and tailors was that they usually had apprentices learning from them. These apprentices usually paid specific amount of money to their master for this purpose.[14]

Another significant feature of these individual migrations into Kawo was the increase ethnic heterogeniety of the area as compared to

13. Both Mama Sala (MSA) and Micheal Dare (MDR) are also our informants interviewed on 15/10/91 and 16/10/91 respectively.

14. Interview with MSA, MDR, and PTR.

earlier phases. In fact many of the immigrants came from more distant parts of Nigeria like Ogbomosho and Mopa in the present day Oyo and Kogi state. The point here, however, is that it was the ethnic composition of the soldiers accomodated in Kawo that influenced the ethnic pattern of subsequent individual migrations.

Thus, by 1960 Kawo comprised of several ethnic groups such as the Hausa-Fulani, Kanuri, Nupe, Gbagyi, Idoma, Tiv, Dakarkari, Ibo, Yoruba, Ijaw and Ibibios. Since most, if not all, of these ethnic groups had their separate unions in Kaduna during this era, it is not surprising therefore that most of the inhabitants of Kawo also belonged to these various ethnic unions. Notable among the unions that the Kawo inhabitants joined were the Ibo Charity Union, Ibo Federal Union, Igosun Progressive Union, Ilorin Descendants Progressive Union etc.[15] It must be emphasised, however, that these ethnic unions mostly had their headquarters in Kaduna Sabon Gari. Thus, the Kawo members had to go to Sabon Gari to attend meetings.

The various migrations into Kawo during this era were both from rural and urban areas.

15. Ibid.

On the one hand, emigration from urban areas into Kawo was prompted mainly by official factors. This was particularly the case with soldiers who on official orders had to emigrate from other urban centers like Maiduguri and Zaria.[16] On the other hand, the attractions of the urban centres, presence of social infrastructures, job opportunities drew many from rural areas to Kawo.[17] For instance, the construction works in Dalet Barracts, St. Peter's Teachers College etc provided job opportunities for labourers and many other groups. In fact, even when some of these projects were completed some of the labourers engaged in the construction activities were offered permanent employment in these new establishments.[18]

Also, the availability of land (largely for housing purposes) in Kawo and its urban fringe character attracted settlers. For instance, it was because of these factors that the colonialist

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16. Interview with AUN and PTR.

17. In fact many were compelled to emigrate from rural areas into Kawo because of the absence of crucial social facilities in these areas. For instance, it was mainly because of the absence of a leprosy clinic in Birnin Yero that one of our informants Wada Bako emigrated from the settlement. In addition, this informant settled in Kawo, among other reasons, because of the clinic that was in it.

18. Interview with MSA, PTR and AAD,

maintained and consequently expanded the Dalet military barrack.[19]

Mention must be made at this point that population growth in Kawo during this era cannot be divorced from the general population increase that was experienced in the wider Kaduna township. This general growth was largely as a result of increased immigrations into all areas in Kaduna (including Kawo). This growth was stimulated by high rate of government spending in the township,[20] and the region in general. As a result, the population of Kaduna increased at an unprecedented rate of 10.6 per cent annually (the highest rate in Nigeria at this period).[21] And since Sabon Gari for various reasons was a major center of attraction to many of these new immigrants, it began to experience overcrowding due to lack of adequate rooms and space for expansion.[22] It was

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19. NAK Zarprof 251.

20. E.O. Oyedele, PP.467-471 discusses indetail how massive government spending influenced immigration into Kaduna between 1945 and 1960.

21. See O. Imoagene "migrating into unemployment and poverty; some consequence of the urban revolution in Nigeria", in A. Adepoju (ed), Internal Migrations in Nigeria. (Institute of Population and Manpower Studies. UniIfe 1976).

22. See E.O,. Oyedele, Op.cit. P.437-38.

this situation that made it possible for the dominant interest groups (self employed professionals, retired clerks and artisans etc) who owned plots and houses in Sabon Gari to periodically raise the rents. In addition, these dominant groups discriminated (sometimes on ethnic or other socio-economic basis) in their choice of tenants.[23] Moreover, tenants who used part of their apartments for business were often ejected by their landlords especially if they (tenants) were making substantial profit and success in the business. In most cases these landlords used the same premises for business.[24] In all, it was largely these cruel ejections and the increasing rate of house rent in Sabon Gari that made people to move from the ward to other areas like Kawo.[25]

Therefore, with time other new immigrants traders, carpenters and craftsmen also began to acquire plots in Kawo. But consequent to the

23. Interview with Benard Ishola Olupo BIO) on 16/10/91. Unfortunately the situation persists up to today.

24. Ibid. and MSA.

25. Ibid.

creation of the Kaduna Capital Territory (KCT) by the colonial government in 1956 the peasants in the "urban fence" including Kawo were dispossessed of their land. All that farmers got was little compensation for crops and economic trees on their farms. In fact, the highest amount paid as compensation was 20 pounds.[26] The point here, however, is that once this process of land acquisition by the government started in Kawo it continued unabetted.

The houses built by immigrants in Kawo during this era consisted mainly of local materials - mud and grass. But by 1960 some of the houses were then built of cement blocks with corrugated iron roofing.[27] Suffice it to say that the settlement was planned out but this was not strictly followed/implemented. Thus, houses were scattered haphazardly around the north western section of the settlement. Interestingly also, while some of these houses were primarily

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26. Interview with Dari Samaila (DAL) and Yahaya Abdullahi (YAL) both in October 1992.

27. Ibid. and also indicated in E.O. Oyedele Op.cit. P.445.

owner occupied, others had provision for tenants. Hence, by 1960's Kawo tenants rented a room and a parlour for 5/- and even less monthly.[28]

Some of the houses were converted to local beer burukutu and palm wime banmi drinking houses and to meet other social demands. The houses around Lafiya hotel, for instance, served as brothels.

On the other hand, some enterprising individuals constructed small makeshift stalls for their various businesses. These talls were particularly situated around Ali Kwamishinas' house where the Kawo market was then situated.[29]

As argued by several writers, the colonialists deliberately did not encourage the establishment of schools and churches in Northern Nigeria until the closing decades of the colonial rule.[30] This was the case in Kawo. In fact, the first mission to establish a church and seminary here were the Baptist Mission. The mission acquired the land for the building through the Sabon Gari native

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. For a discussion of colonial educational and other policies in Northern Nigeria see M.M. Tukur; Op.cit.

administration.[31] The mission houses were basically built of mud and grass, but by 1960 the (Baptist Mission) had constructed more modern houses with cement blocks. These buildings which are still standing today are situated around the present day Hayin Banki.

It should be stated here that the Baptist Church and Seminary continued to be the dominant Christian institutions in Kawo until 1958 when the Anglican Mission established the St. Peter's Church and the St. Peter's Teachers College at the South-western end of the settlement.[32] These institutions which had gathered a large congregation and body of students played a dominant role in the social and cultural life of Kawo.

It is notable that a modern central mosque had been built in Kawo by 1960. The mosque was made of cement blocks and it was situated around the then Kawo market. Although there were other mosques scattered around Kawo, the central mosque relatively had the biggest structure, and it was also the only mosque in the settlement where Kawo

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31. Interview with Pastor Patrick Oke (PPO), 2/1/92.

32. Ibid.

muslims held their Friday, Jumaa, prayers.[33] The central and other minor mosques in Kawo became important focal points in the rapidly expanding settlement.

It was only in 1951 that the colonial government carried out its first project in Kawo. This project involved the establishment of a dispensary in the North-western section of the settlement. The dispensary was named Kawo Maternal and Child Welfare Service Centre and was opened by the Emir of Zaria on 20th February 1951.[34]

Official records indicate that the Kawo Dispensary was primarily established to cater for the health needs of the military personnel, and not for the civilian populace resident in Kawo. Thus, at the early stage of its establishment it was particularly ordered that the latter (civilian populace) should not be encouraged to attend this dispensary.[35] It is our opinion here that the army personnel were given "special treatment" by

33. Interview with AAD and YAL. The Central Mosque built in Kawo during this era still exists today.

34. NAK Med 660/S.3 Vol.1.

35. Ibid.

the colonialists in Nigeria because they were indispensable agents used in forcefully fostering colonial interest in the region.

Thus, at its inception, the Kawo Dispensary was mainly engaged in "restricted medical practice." This was carried out by an attendant (known as Tanko) who was (at regular intervals) supervised by two British doctors - Duggan and Horn. It is interesting to note that within a short time of its establishment the colonialists realised the disadvantage of restricting the activities carried out by the Kawo dispensary. It is no wonder, therefore, that by 1960 the dispensary had expanded its operations and had among other things, special ante-natal and leprosy clinic days. Our informants are clear that it was on leprosy clinic days that the Kawo Dispensary recorded its highest number of patients. In fact, we were informed that patients came from neighbouring villages like Birnin Yero and Dunki on leprosy clinic days in order to receive treatment.[36]

The second important project was the establishment of an elementary school in Kawo.

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36. Interview with SKY, WBK, SGD etc.

This school was established in 1953 and was known as the Kawo Native Administration Elementary School. Two teachers, Rufai and Garba, were employed by the Zaria Native administration to teach in this new school.[37] By 1953, the institution had about 40 pupils on roll.[38] And by 1957, the school was renamed Kawo Junior Elementary School.[39] But right from its inception it was clear that the school could not cater for the increasing number of school age children that resided in Kawo. Therefore, only children of a select few were able to acquire education in this school before 1960.

It is instructive to note at this point that a playground was owned by the Kawo Junior Elementary School. In fact, this was the only playground in the settlement.[40] Thus, every evening those interested met to play football here. And the small boys who found the playground inaccessible

37. Interview with HBL and YAL.
38. NAK Med 660/S.3 Vol.1.
39. Interview with HBL and YAL.
40. Ibid.

specifically in the evenings usually made play grounds of narrow alley way outside their houses. On the whole, since only one official playground existed in Kawo, it was therefore grossly inadequate for the rather expanding settlement.[41]

In 1954, the construction of the Kaduna - Tegina (or Mando) road was completed. To this end a motor garage for passengers and goods to and from the Western part of Nigeria was established in Kawo at the area presently known as Bakin Gate.[42]

Also in 1945, the colonial government planned to move the military barracks away from government residential areas and other important civilian quarters to an area where there would be enough space for training. They also planned to attract a better class of recruits which will involve the provision of better houses and other facilities. The colonialists viewed Kawo as not been among the important civilian quarters in Kaduna at this time. Besides Kawo was located

41. Ibid.

42. Interview with MDR and ZKY.

at the fringe of the township with enough "unoccupied space". It was for these reasons therefore that the colonialists decided to improve and expand the Dalet Barrack.[43]

As a first step towards improving and expanding the barracks the government delimited an area for the project. The barrack came to stretch from the North-western edge of Kawo, off the Zaria road to the area bordering Rafin Guza to the North-east of the settlement.[44] It was within this planned area that the colonialists erected the houses (for the use of both senior military officers and other army ranks). In addition, a junior and senior primary school were established within the Dalet barrack. It seems that the whole construction activities carried out in this barrack at this time was supervised by the Public Works Department (PWD), and labourers resident in Kawo were recruited to serve in the constructions. Cement blocks and roof trusees bought from colonial firms were used for these projects which

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43. NAK Zarprof 251.

44. Ibid.

were completed in two stages - 1956 and 1959.[45]

The completion of construction activities in the Dalet barracks resulted in the accomodation of more soldiers there.[46] This, in turn, hightened the contribution of the army to the economy of Kawo and the social life of it's populace. Indeed, with the movement of more soldiers into the Dalet barracks, the army became the dominant group on whom a majority of the Kawo population depended on. And because the military population became dominant, commercial activities got a boost. In addition, with the expansion of the military population in Dalet barracks more club houses and beer parlours were established in Kawo. Furthermore, it was this same factor that specifically gave impetus to the growth of the settlements of Rafin Guza and Ungwan Gwari (to the far northern edge and north eastern edge of the Dalet barracks respectively).

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45. Interview with AVN, DAL, PTR.

46. On the question of the population of the military in Kawo at this period, one can conservatively suggest (on the basis that over half of the military cantonments in Kaduna were situated in Kawo by 1963 and also on the basis that the census conducted by this date gives the total military population in Kaduna as, 8,547) that it was well over 5,000.

Generally speaking, a large number of soldiers settled in Kawo (mostly in the Dalet barracks) during this era, increasingly interacted with the civilians in the settlement. Such relationship, as hinted above, were basically at social and economic levels. Also, such relationship were largely cordial, and this is particularly indicated by the fact that soldiers in Kawo often gave out their sons/daughters in marriage to civilians in the settlement, and vice versa.[47] However, this does not mean that army and civilians in Kawo were never (particularly as individuals) involved in squabbles. Such conflicts were often triggered off by different factors. The minor quarrels were usually settled amicably without the interference of any official body. However, prominent administrative official(s) in the settlement were often approached for the resolution of serious conflicts. For instance, it was common that the unit Commandant in Dalet barracks (who was in charge of the maintenance of law and order there) was approached for the resolution of serious army/civilian disputes.

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47. Interview with PTR and DAL.

In 1957, a school designed for the training of recruits and officers of the Nigerian army and known as the Nigerian Military Training College and later renamed Nigerian Defence Academy (NDA) was established in Kawo.[48] This scheme obviously involved the acquisition of more lands, especially farmlands to the South western corner of Kawo. Construction work at the acquired site, (which significantly gave rise to the influx of carpenters, painters, masons, etc) was supervised by the PWD.

This establishment and consequent rapid growth of the military training college brought major changes in the demography and socio-economic set up of Kawo. For instance, it was the impact of the establishment and growth of this institution that crucially contributed to the emergence of the Hayin banki and Ungwan Dosa settlements in Kawo.

On the whole, in addition to the expansion of the military/activities in Kawo, other factors

48. E.O. Oyedele, Op.cit. P.435 and A.K. Medugbon. Op.cit.

also contributed to the growth of the new settlements of Ungwan Dosa, Hayin banki, Ungwan Gwari and Rafin Guza. In fact, some of these wards indicate the concentration of migrants from particular areas. Ungwan Gwari for instance indicate the concentration of Gbagyi, Kaje and Kataf elements in the ward, while Rafin Guza, on its own part indicate the concentration of Hausa-Fulani elements. Even though certain ethnic groups tended to concentrate in certain parts, there was no concrete attempt to form segregated settlements in Kawo as was the case in the wider Kaduna township. Basically, however, the settlement pattern that emerged in Kawo was on occupational lines. All the new wards in the settlement, for instance, indicate particular occupation of the people residing in them. For instance, Rafin Guza was mostly occupied by farmers, while Hayin Banki was predominated by labourers and unskilled workers. Also, the settlers in Ungwan Dosa were mostly scholars and petty traders.[49]

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49. Interview with DAL, and AAD.

It is necessary to mention at this point that although electricity did not come into Kawo until in 1961, pipeborne water which is another very important urban infrastructure got into Kawo in 1956. In fact, available evidence shows that the main reason for the provision of pipe-borne water in Kawo, was to meet the needs of the Delet barracks. Thereafter, pressure from other colonial bodies in the settlement like the dispensary led to the extension of the facility to other non-military units in the settlement.[50]

Consequently, by 1960 standing pumps had been installed in several houses in Kawo. However, most residents of Kawo still continued to rely on wells for water supply.[51] It is significant to note here that the wells were usually dug close to pit latrines, hence, they must have contributed to the high rate of intestinal diseases experienced in the settlement.[52]

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50. NAK Med 660/S.3 Vol.1.

51. Interview with DAL and PTR.

52. The fact that there was a high rate of intestinal diseases in Kawo during this era is indicated in NAK. Med 660/S.3 Vol.I.

It is significant to note too that the provision of pipe borne water exposed the poor drainage system in Kawo. It was only a small portion of Kawo laid out in 1939 that had an officially constructed drainage system (in the form of deep gutters).[53] In fact other houses that were built after the 1939 plan were scattered haphazardly around Kawo (obviously due to lack of supervision). As a result these houses did not have an officially constructed and/or cordinated drainage system. Also due to lack of proper maintenance, even the gutters that were officially dug did not serve any meaningful purposes by the 1950s. Thus, with the introduction of pipe borne water, it became common to see water flowing (and in some places forming stagnant pools) all around the settlement.[54] On the whole, inadequate housing, infrastructural facilities etc, had serious implication for the living condition of the inhabitants of Kawo.

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53. Interview with ZKY and HAD and indicated in NAK Zarprof 2309 Vol.1.

54. Ibid.

3.3 The Administrative Setting In Kawo

It was in 1948 that the first major administrative change took place in Kawo. This followed the death of Mohammed Gani and the appointment of Ibrahim Abdullahi as the new Sarki.[55] Other changes took place in this period.

In the first place, the changing complexity of Kawo led to the necessity for a more coherent administrative arrangement for the maintenance of law and order in the settlement. This led to the appointment of ward heads in the new settlements that evolved in Kawo. Two of these appointed Ward heads were Mallam Jatau and Mallam Galadima for Ungwan Gwari and Hayin Banki respectively.[56] These new ward heads were administratively subordinated to the villagehead Sarki of Kawo. Thus, they assisted Sarkin Kawo to collect taxes in their various wards which they forwarded to Sarki Ibrahim Abdullahi. And as a result of the effectiveness of these

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55. Interview with HAD and SGD.

56. Ibid; and interview with ZKY and SGD.

head-Chiefs, Ibrahim was awarded a prize (in the form of a sword)[57] by the colonialists for the high tax return brought about by the administrative changes he aided to effect. In essence, with these administrative changes it is apparent that Sarkin Kawo waxed stronger administratively/politically during this era.

In 1956, the British colonialists created the Kaduna Capital Territory (KCT). Although the general issues and processes involved in the creation of the KCT has been tackled elsewhere,[58] it is still necessary, however, to briefly state that the creation of this phenomenon followed the recommendation of a committee headed by the Resident of Zaria Province. This Committee also had the Gbagyi leader of Kakuri and Magajin Garin Kaduna as members.[59]

Following the recommendation of this Committee therefore, the KCT Law No.8 was passed in 1956. This legislation, through the creation

57. HBL and HAD showed this sword to me in the presence of my colleague Musa Mamman.

58. See E.C. Oyedele; Op.cit. PP.450-466 among other works.

59. Ibid.

of, what MaxLock refers to as, an "urban fence"[60] delineated the physical limit for Kaduna's expansion. This limit to the north encompassed the junction of the Zaria and Mando roads. To the west it followed the valley of the Mashi river in Kaduna north and the main Lagos railway line in Kaduna South, to the East the Kaduna river formed a complete break along with a tributary running down the Kachia road, and finally the river Romi defined the limits to the South. In all, a total area of approximately eight kilometers radius (or one hundred and twenty square kilometers) formed the KCT.[61]

From our description of the KCT it is obvious that Kawo fell within it. Therefore, the land region in Kawo, in principle totally formed part of the Kaduna town planning area. Another interesting thing to note here is that the whole

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60. Max Lock and Patners; Op.cit. PP.33-34.

61. Ibid; PP.33-34.

region that formed part of the KCT (including Kawo) ceased to be part of the Zaria Native Administration. Under the new arrangement, an Administrator was appointed for KCT. In addition two Assistant Administrators were appointed.[62]

One of these Assistant Administrators, Magajin Garin Kaduna, was designated Assistant Administrator II, and was specifically responsible for the administration of some areas in the KCT (including Kawo). In essence, under the new urban administration in Kaduna, it was to the Assistant Administrator II that Sarkin Kawo and other erstwhile Zaria Native Administrative staff in the settlement, like the primary school teachers, became directly subordinated.[63]

Also as part of the new KCT urban administration, four local councils were created in 1957. These local councils were, the Kaduna North Council, the Kaduna South Council, the Kaduna west Council and the Kaduna East Council. These councils were expected, among other things,

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62. SGD and NAK Zarprof C.8/1954.

63. Ibid.

to take over the town planning and social control of Kaduna.[64]

The point to be made here is that the Kaduna North Council was earmarked to have 33 elected members of which eligible inhabitants of Kawo and those of various other wards to the north of the township were to fill. In essence, it was through the Kaduna-North Council that popular inhabitants of Kawo had the opportunity of playing crucial roles, alongside the Sarki and his subordinates, in the administration of their settlement.[65]

3.4 The Economy

The economy of Kawo experienced significant changes in this period. In the first place with the increasing number of projects executed within the settlement more farmland within and around Kawo were lost. In fact, available evidence indicates that most of the displaced

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64. See E.O. Oyedele, Op.cit. P.460. For more details.

65. Interview with DAL, YAL, PTR.

Kawo farmers had to venture into neighbouring villages like Afaka and Katabu in order to seek for farmlands from the leaders of the various villages. Such land that Kawo farmers acquired were held on for a specific period. These land did not attract any substantial fee.[66]

Some petty traders also embarked on farming but this was on a relatively lesser scale in neighbouring settlements. Generally, they employed casual labourers and household labour on the farms. It suffices to note that the casual labourers employed by these Kawo traders were paid about one pound (£1) to farm over two acres of land.[67]

The intense farming activities of the inhabitants of Kawo stimulated and sustained the blacksmithing sector. However, it is instructive to note here that the Kawo blacksmiths were increasingly discarding the use of locally mined

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66. Interview with ZKY, HAD, SGD, HBL.

67. Ibid. and IMK.

iron-ore (tama) for the production of iron implements. Rather, they increasingly used imported European scrap metals in their production process. These imported scrap metals were usually acquired from those who traded in them located mainly in the Sabon Gari or in the Kaduna main market.[68]

In general, the trading sector in Kawo also experienced significant changes during this era. For instance, as a result of the increasing integration of the settlement with other parts of the country especially Southern Nigeria (as indicated by our discussion of migration) products like gari, palm oil etc, became common items traded in Kawo before 1960.[69]

Trade especially in food stuff became an attractive business in Kawo. Many traders in the settlement took to this trade. Others traded in manufactured goods both locally produced and imported ones like textile materials, enamels etc. And because of the high demand for these

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68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

consumables, several traders also specialised in this trade. Two prominent traders in this category were Mama Sala and Jeremiah Kelani.[70]

These traders (particularly those who traded in manufactured goods) went into the business with little capital of money saved over the years and/or with loans raised from friends and relatives. As a result the traders were unable to purchase goods directly from the expatriate trading firms who sold in bulk to the few traders that were well established. Since most of these well placed traders were based in the Sabon Gari/or Kaduna main market, it was from them that the Kawo petty traders did their purchases. Handcarts and lorries were the dominant means of transportation employed by the traders at this time.[71]

A striking feature about the petty trading enterprises in Kawo was the fact that they operated largely as family enterprises. Thus,

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70. Interview with MSA and MDR.

71. Ibid.

the labour force was mainly the owner of a trading stall and/or members of his family. Consequently, there was no distinction between ownership of goods and labour expended in these enterprises. These enterprises also did not have a proper system of accounting[72] which was one of their major weakness.

Another major feature of the economy in this period was the increased diversification as a result of the immigration into the settlement. It would appear that the increased immigration changed the occupational base of Kawo inhabitants. That is from a predominantly agricultural economy to a service oriented economy. As a result the settlement began to experience high cost of living as compared to earlier periods.[73] At the same time the government introduced new levies on Kawo. For instance, in 1950, the inhabitants of Kawo were compelled to contributed 3d per tax payer monthly to the Igabi District Council Fund.[74]

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72. Interview with ZKY, HAD and SGD.

73. NAK Zarprof 251 and Ibid.

74. Interview with ZKY, IAD and indicated in NAK Zarprof 4844.

These new levies added significantly to the economic strains that the inhabitants of Kawo experienced in this period.[75]

3.5 Kawo and Decolonization

The political consciousness of the inhabitants of Kawo was very high in this period, and indeed there are explanations for this. In the first place, Kawo as we have shown earlier was a society that had a large population of ex-servicemen. Obviously most if not all of these ex-servicemen participated in the second world war. Available evidence showed that when the ex-servicemen were being recruited into the army, they were promised a lot of things by the colonialists. For instance, they were told that once the war was over they would be resettled properly back home in Nigeria and that their standard of living would improve.[76]

Interestingly, only few of the things promised them materialised.[77] Thus, the ex-servicemen

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75. Interview with ZKY and IAD.

76. Interview with PTR, AUN, AAD and DAL.

77. Ibid.

that settled in Kawo after the war became greatly disgruntled and embittered. Hence, they embarked on activities aimed at bringing British colonial rule in Nigeria to an end. In particular, these ex-servicemen with their war experiences contributed in breaking the myth of the superiority of the white-man. They also exposed the hypocracy of the British colonialists. For instance, they argued that they (ex-servicemen) were used in fighting for freedom and democracy for the British while the same (freedom and democracy) was denied them in Nigeria.[78] In all, these activities of the ex-servicemen in Kawo and elsewhere in the country[78A] helped the exploited and alienated farmers and workers in Kawo to understand British colonialism better, and accordingly to intensify their agitation against the colonial government.

It is therefore instructive to note that the nationalist activities helped to increase

78. Ibid.

78A. For more details on activities of ex-servicemen in Nigeria generally see G.O. Olusanya, "The Role of Ex-Servicemen in Nigerian Politics," in The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.6 No.2, 1968, among other works.

the political consciousness of the inhabitants of Kawo. It must be reiterated that after the Second World War more political parties were formed in the country which led to the intensification of nationalist activities. Kaduna was a major centre in the nationalist struggle. The activities of these parties certainly affected the political consciousness of the inhabitants of Kawo. Some of them in fact were active members of these parties and organisations/ associations.[79] It was through these unions and associations that Kawo inhabitants were able to support and participate in the nationalist struggle for independence.

One of the issues that these inhabitants opposed or attacked was the prevailing political arrangement in the settlement.[80] These political activitists who were mainly members of new interest and ideological groups wanted to have a say in the political affairs of Kawo. This was because their economic interest was at stake.

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79. Interview with MSA, PTR and MDR.

80. Ibid.

These new forces believed that more meaningful representation and more influence in the running of the affairs of Kawo would enable them protect their interests.[81] It was the activities of this group that influenced government decision to create the local council known as the Kaduna North Council.

As earlier stated, 33 seats were created for the Kaduna North Council. These seats were filled by the eligible and interested individuals who contested under the platform of the existing political parties. But in the first and only election conducted into this council in December 1957, the contest was only between the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) and the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC).[82] And in that election NEPU was victorious over NPC. In fact NEPU had twenty one of the 33 seats while NPC had only twelve.[83] Three prominent NEPU Council members from Kawo were: Usman Kawo, Jeremiah Baba and Ismaila (Tailor). These three members played a

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81. Ibid.

82. Interview with DAL, PTR and ZKY and indicated in the Nigerian citizen 4/1/1958, P.12.

83. Ibid, and E.O. Oyedele, Op.cit. P.498.

crucial role in enhancing the victory of NEPU in the area.[84]

NEPU was the most popular political party in Kawo for several reasons. In the first place, its ideology (which was embedded in the declaration of principles of 1952) was phrased in class terms and this was appealing to the greater majority of the inhabitants of Kawo[85] who, as we have noted, were ex-servicemen, soldiers, petty traders, farmers, etc whose condition of living had deteriorated greatly.

As a result of NEPU's major objective to champion the interest of the masses (talakawa), it is not surprising that it started to hold rallies earlier in Kawo as compared to NPC who held rallies only when the local council election period was at hand.[86] In fact there is evidence that NEPU capitalised on its earlier presence in Kawo to inform Kawo inhabitants that NPC was a party for rich people - the "Ranka ya dade" and

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84. Interview with DAL, PTR, LKM etc.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid. and indicated in "NEPU's Kaduna Victory not a surprise", by Musa Ibrahim in Nigerian Citizen 8/1/58. P.4.

that it was a "government party" which was therefore instrumental to their suffering.[87]

Thus, by the time NPC members came to Kawo for their rallies, they were already at a disadvantaged position. And to compound their unfavourable position here, the NPC (in a settlement that was getting increasingly heterogenous) came along with its rather parochial form of politics. Moreover, during the rallies they held one of the main party objectives was to protect the interest of all Northern Nigerians, this was clearly disregarded by the NPC members. Consequently, NPC members used derogatory words like unbelievers, kafiri and pagans, arne to describe the people of Kawo, particularly non-Muslims and non-Hausa-Fulanis. In fact, even the non-Hausa and non-muslims from Northern Nigeria who were resident in Kawo detested the use of these words.[88] This therefore contributed to the failure of the NPC to muster

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87. Ibid.

88. Interview with LKM and MSA.

majority support in Kawo. In fact NPC members were usually booed at in Kawo. On the whole, other political parties (like the Action Group) were also not popular in Kawo largely because of their ethnic and parochial form of politics. Hence, by 1960 NEPU was still the dominant party in the settlement.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to show that Kawo developed as an urban settlement in this period. The pattern of migration indicate that migrants from all over the country moved to Kawo for the various opportunities it offered. We showed for instance, that dominant group migrations of soldiers to Kawo provided trading and other related opportunities which inspired people like Mama Sala and Micheal Dare to settle in the study area.

We also showed that the creation of the KCT in 1956 had serious implication for the administration of Kawo. Among other things we showed that it influenced the establishment of a

specific representative council (Kaduna North Council) which provided the opportunity for influential inhabitants of Kawo to participate in the administration of their settlement.

Furthermore, we showed that ex-servicemen as well as political and ethnic associations were instrumental in broadening political consciousness in Kawo. We also noted that NEPU was the most popular political party in Kawo during this period, among other reasons, because it capitalised on its position as the first political party to hold regular rallies in the settlement to expose the negative essence of other political parties, particularly the NPC. The next chapter examines the major developments that took place in Kawo from 1960 to 1980.

CHAPTER FOUR

KAWO SINCE INDEPENDENCE, 1960-1980

4.1 Introduction

Our focus in this chapter will be on the major political and economic developments that took place between 1960 and 1980. This, it is hoped, will enable us to see the changes that took place since independence (as compared to the earlier period). We have decided to terminate the chapter and the study in 1980 because by that date the major features of the settlement had taken shape. But to enhance our understanding of Kawo in this period, we shall first discuss the general prevailing political and economic situation that influenced the developments.

With the attainment of political independence in 1960 the responsibility of administering the country went to a select but British nurtured political class. Subsequently, however, Nigeria came under military rule in 1966, went through a

gruesome civil war in 1967-70 and returned (after a planned process of authority transfer which began in earnest in 1975) to civilian rule on the 1st October 1979.[1]

The Nigerian economy, on its own part, continued to center around metropolitan capitalist interests during the post colonial era. It is therefore not surprising that the major features of this economy from the 1960s were: little industrial development, predominance of the agricultural sector, and high reliance on foreign investment.

It is interesting to note, however, that inspite of the fact that agriculture was still the mainstay of the economy in the 1960s it experienced a slower growth rate in relation to the oil and mining sector. In fact, while agriculture grew at 2 percent per annum, the oil and mining sector expanded at an incredibly

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1. For a discussion of political developments in Nigeria during the post colonial period see, A.Y. Aliyu (ed). Return to Civilian Rule (Zaria Institute of Administration, 1982) and B.J. Dudley, Instability and Political Order: Politics and Crisis in Nigeria (Ibadan University Cress, 1973) among other works.

high rate of 38 percent per annum.[2] This trend continued through the '70s when the oil boom was experienced. And consequent on the oil boom, food importation and the neglect of the agricultural sector began in earnest. Thus, agricultures contribution to the gross domestic product (GDP) which was as high as 65 percent in 1966 declined to 24 percent by 1973/74. Correspondingly, the oil sector evolved to be the mainstay of the Nigerian economy. Not only did it emerge in the 1970s as the greatest source of government revenue (as high as 80 percent in 1974) it also became the greatest export item (about 94 percent of total value of exports in 1976)[3] in Nigeria.

Broadly speaking, one of the first things that the Nigerian government generally did on assumption of office was the improvement of infrastructures. These construction works were especially enhanced by the prosperity that came along with the oil boom experienced in the 1970s

2. See T. Lambo, Nigerian Economy (Evans Brothers, Ibadan, 1987) P.3 and S.O. Olajide, Economic Survey of Nigeria (1960-75), (Ibadan, Aromolaran Publishing Company Ltd., 1976); PP.1-13 among other works.

3. Ibid.

in the country. It is interesting to note that the various schemes aimed at improving infrastructure in post colonial Nigeria were largely concentrated in urban areas. Thus Kawo benefitted from these. Our focus in the next section will, among other things, be on how infrastructural improvement schemes influenced migrations into Kawo in this period.

4.2 Migrations

It is necessary to state right from the onset that the inaccuracies and the official cancellations of the 1973 census figures in Nigeria rob us of a possible workable data on the growth of Kawo during this era. Consequently, we have to undertake a population projection in order to get a picture of the demographic growth experienced (particularly during the second decade of this era) in the settlement. It is instructive to first mention, however, that official records put the average annual growth of urban areas in post colonial Nigeria at 5

percent.[3A] Hence, at this rate, and especially taking into account the earlier stated 1963 census figure of 16,067, the population of Kawo is estimated to be 37,580 using the exponential of natural logarithm population projection model:

$$Pt = P_o e^{rt}$$

where Pt = Population of 1980

Po = Population of 1963

t = 17 years (1963 - 80)

r = 5%

e = exponent

Individual migrations and intra-city movements constituted the major form of migration in this period. The migrants were also of various socio-cultural background i.e. from all parts of Nigeria. Thus, this period (which obviously experienced a yet unparalled population increase in any two decades of Kawo's history) more than any previous one account for the heterogenous nature of the population.

The individual migrations into Kawo were largely from the rural areas. These immigrants

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3A. Indicated in Richard, E. Stren and R.A. White (eds), African Cities in Crisis: Managing Rapid Urban Growth (Westview Press, London, 1989) P.69.

moved to the urban areas/Kawo as a result of the socio-economic changes prevalent at this time. For instance, with the increase in elementary education in the immediate post independence period, those that received this education were no longer interested or able to stay or continue as farmers in their localities, thus they emigrated. Also, many migrated with the aim of changing occupation and thereby improving their socio-economic status.[4]

On the other hand, certain projects executed within Kawo by the government influenced immigration. These projects included the establishment of the Airforce Base, and the Livestock Services and Training Center. These construction works attracted a considerable number of skilled and semi-skilled labourers, mason, carpenters, painters etc, to Kawo. Besides, such completed projects or establishments brought new settlers: Clerks, messengers, soldiers, airforce officers, etc.[5]

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4. Interview with Godwin Imoniye (GIN) and Emeka Obianwa (ECB) both in October 1992.

5. Ibid.

In addition, one of the crucial factors that influenced immigration specifically into Kawo is apparently connected with the general expansion of the government machinery/spending and other cash earning opportunities created in Kaduna during this era. Indeed, the feature of massive government spending specifically in Kaduna (outlined in the previous chapter) continued far into the post colonial era. In particular, government spending which reached its peak during the oil boom era stimulated an unprecedented rate of immigration into the Kaduna metropolis.[6]

As a result of the phenomenal rise in population in Kaduna, the value of land and consequently house and shop rents rose greatly especially in the city central zone.[7] The significance of this development was that it forced several people (who increasingly found it difficult either to pay their rents/acquire land and/or

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6. See, S.O. Olorunfemi, Evolving Affordable Housing for the Urban Poor: A Case Study of Kaduna Metropolis Vol.II, Empirical Study (Ph.D. Thesis Dept. of Urban and Regional Planning, A.B.U. Zaria, 1990) PP.373-375.

7. For more details see, G.A. Kwanashie, Op.cit. and .K. Ikudabo, Urban Peripheral Growth: Planning Proposal for Kaduna Metropolis. (M.Sc. Thesis, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, ABU Zaria, 1986).

contend with the unhealthy rivalry/disputes associated with these in the township) to move out of Sabon Gari to other areas such as Kawo and Ungwan Rimi. Indeed, land and rents were cheaper here than was the case in the Sabon Gari, Kaduna.[8]

Furthermore, the location of projects in the vicinity of large population concentration such as the case of Hayin Banki in Kawo where a large population was forced to move to give way for the new barrack project (which accommodated more than 4,000 soldiers and their families) in the early 1970's, also contributed to the crowded nature of Kawo.[9] In a nutshell, with these developments, Kawo experienced an unprecendented influx of job seekers, self employed artisans, etc. between 1960 and 1980.

4.3 Residential and Related Developments

The explosive increase in Kawo's population caused an exceptionally rapid increase in the demand

8. Ibid and interview with Mike Obi (MOI) and Femi Ojo (FOJ) both in October 1992.

9. Interview with Mansur Buhari (MUB) and Mohammadu Lawal (MMW) both on October 15th 1992, and indicated in D.Y. Yahaya, Slums in Kaduna Urban Area: Analysis and Strategies for Renewal; (M.Sc. Thesis. Dept. of Urban and Regional Planning, ABU Zaria, 1979) P.54.

for houses in the settlement. As a result a lot of people separately embarked on the construction of houses in the settlement. Thus, in the early 1960s the houses constructed in Kawo were mostly the compound type i.e. with many rooms, with at least ten to fifteen tenants. Also due to bad layouts (drawn mostly from the Administrators Office in Kaduna) these houses were also haphazardly scattered around the settlement as in the case of the previous period.[10] However, by 1964 it was apparent in official circles that, among other things, the indiscriminate building of houses in Kawo and other areas of Kaduna was against good town planning rules. Thus, the Northern Nigerian government commissioned a town planning firm Max Lock and Patners to plan the city (with all its component parts) especially for the next 50 years.[11]

In 1966, Marx Lock and Patners presented the government with its master plan for the Kaduna metropolis. With specific regards to housing in Kawo, the town planning firm, among other things,

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10. Marx Lock and Patners; Op.cit. P.172.

11. Ibid. P.2.

suggested a new layout and a type of low cost housing development that will provide an urban infilling to the large vacant sites/spaces in the settlements. In addition, a grid-Iron plan was also considered for the then unbuilt eastern section of the settlement. They also suggested that for the unbuilt section, the new houses to be built should be of cement blocks, with roofs of uncut standard asbestos sheets along with exclusively in-built squat W.C., shower unit, tap and sink, etc.[12]

Thus in complaince with the Marx Lock plan vacant sites in the developed region were systematically built up while the eastern part of the settlement was also built up on the grid-Iron pattern.

The plots to fill in the built up area were acquired through the Administrators Office. The plots were also to have a plan. It was only after the plan had been approved that the building could be erected. However, there are several cases that showed that what was erected was not what was approved by the Administrator's office.[13]

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12. Ibid.

13. Interview with MOI and FCJ.

Thus, the newly built up area was made up of all sorts of materials mud blocks, cement blocks, stones with cement mortar, etc. Most of the houses are the compound type - with several rooms and a central corridor. In fact, only a few were bungalows. And, as most of the new immigrants were poor semi-skilled workers, job seekers, petty traders etc, it was a common feature that two persons came together to rent a room.

The acquisition of plots for housing was generally the monopoly of the well to do in the community - including civil servants and wealthy businessmen from the Kaduna township. Also few urban poor were able to acquire plots, but they commonly faced the problems of funds to build.

As earlier hinted, the land developers (Kawo landlords) did not comply with approved plans, rather they changed the plans and used cheaper building materials. In all, the absentee landlords appointed caretakers for the houses in Kawo. These caretakers were responsible for the collection of rents as well as receiving complaints/effecting repairs for the tenants. In some cases, the caretakers were also tenants in the houses.[14]

14. Ibid.

It is essential to stress at this point that in addition to the housing plan for Kawo Max Lock and Patners also recommended that other improvement schemes be carried out specifically in the settlement. For instance, it suggested that an area to the south of the Mando road in Kawo should be developed primarily for light industries. According to the town planning firm this would ease circulation problems (which by 1966 was mounting particularly in Kaduna south where industries were dominantly located) and also discourage the unbalanced location of housing and places of work in Kaduna. In addition, Marx Lock and Patners suggested that the use of bucket and pit latrines be brought to an end in Kawo and that in place of these a communal sewerage and sewage disposal system be organised in the settlement. Also the town planning firm proposed that a regional mental hospital be sited on some 57 acres of land at the eastern extremity of Kawo and that several bulk storage bins be installed at strategic points in order to facilitate refuse collection in the settlement, etc.[15]

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15. For full discussion of Max Lock Planning suggestions for Kawo see Max Lock and Patners Op.cit.

However, there was quite some delay before the government generally started implementing the Max Lock plan in Kawo and other parts of Kaduna. Thus, by 1980 many of the improvement schemes were not yet executed in the settlement. Available evidences indicates that there was a delay on the part of the government in implementing the Max Lock plan in Kawo and other parts of Kaduna **mainly** because soon after the master plan was published the country became involved in a fierce civil war which generally had adverse impact on government spending on infrastructure in the country.[16]

However, the point that must be emphasised here is that the various plans designed for Kaduna (particularly those of the 1960's) all favoured the concentration of military establishments in Kawo.[17] It is therefore not surprising that projects related to the armed services were among the major projects executed by the government in Kawo in this period. One of these projects for instance, was the construction of additional housing units within Dalet barracks.

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16. Specifically the civil war situation has been noted in the New Nigerian Newspaper of 20/4/74 to have checked the implementation of the Max Lock plans in Kawo and other parts of Kaduna.

17. For details of these plans see Max Lock and Patners Op.cit. PP.18-44.

But the most significant project that had to do with the armed services that was executed in Kawo was the establishment of the Airforce Base, or the Nigerian Airforce Tactical and Training Wing (NAFTTW). This army establishment by 1980 consisted of several residential and institutional buildings. These buildings included: Senior Officers quarters, junior officers quarters, Senior non-commissioned officers quarters, Cadet quarters, boys and recruit dormitories, nursery/primary school, secondary school, recreational facilities which include masses, etc.

According to G.A. Kurfi[18] the idea to establish the Airforce Base was first mooted by the government in 1961. Nigeria's involvement in the peace keeping operations in Tanganyika in 1964 has often been given as the stimulus for the establishment of the base. For during this peace keeping operations, foreign airforces were employed to convey Nigerian troops to and from the area of operations and this fostered the

18. G.A. Kurfi, Planning for Nigerian Air Force and Ground Training Base. (M.Sc. Thesis, Dept. of Urban and Regional Planning, A.B.U. Zaria, 1986).

awareness that the country needed an airforce of its own. Consequently, the Airforce Base was established in 1964 north-west of Kawo area (within the building free zone of the airport) with the aid of the German government. One of the main functions of the base at this early stage was that it served to build up the nucleus of the Nigerian air force personnel through a rigorous army to airforce conversion programme.

In 1967, the Nigerian government awarded a contract for the reconstruction of the Kaduna - Zaria road to a foreign firm known as Borini Prono. The Kawo section of the road, in particular, was expanded to be a 24 feet wide carriageway and with a 9 feet wide shoulder on either side of the carriageway, giving an overall width of 42 feet.[19]

In addition, Gilco Nigeria Limited, another expatriate firm, was awarded a contract worth ₦140,358.00 in 1973 to install street lights on the double carriage road from Kawo to the parliament road roundabout in Kaduna. Also ₦20,000.00 was awarded by the government for the

19. New Nigerian Newspapers (NNN) 26/9/67 P.26.

replanting of trees along the road.[20]

In 1971, the government awarded a contract of the sum of £140,000.00 to Taylor Woodrow for the resurfacing and expansion of the Kaduna airport runway. This contract was completed by the end of the year with the provision of adequate and efficient lighting facilities. As a result the airport was capable of offering night flight services.[21]

Also in the same year the government completed the building of a modern motor part and passenger transit station in Kawo. This motor park was situated to the north-west along the Kaduna-Mando road. The motor park which had two fully equipped dinning halls, four dormitory blocks of six double rooms etc, was constructed at the cost of £65,000.[22]

The Livestock Services and Training center is another important establishment that emerged in Kawo during this era. This centre was established

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20. NNN, 5/7/73, P.9.

21. NNN, 111/5/71, P.1.

22. NNN, 2/7/71, P.20.

by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in 1966. The center which was situated to the north-west corner consisted of a poultry production unit, a model farm, livestock disease laboratories and herds of cattle.[23]

Lastly, the government embarked on some projects to improve the urban status of Kawo. For instance, a new market was established there in 1963. The market was situated at the eastern outskirts of the settlement. Three blocks of large rectangular buildings were erected in the market, and each of these consisted of 20 stalls. The contract for the construction of the blocks was undertaken by Alhaji Zakari Isa, the district head (Hakimi) of Doka in Kaduna.[24] The blocks were built of cement blocks, Azara trusees and corrugated iron sheets.

As soon as the market was ready, the local authority moved into action to compel traders to move to the new market. The traders felt that the

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23. NNN, 9/7/66; P.4.

24. Interview with Dari Samaila (DAL) in October 1992.

new market was hidden, and that they would loose the patronage of a vital group - ie. travellers, drivers etc. However, the authorities used persuation, then the threat of force and fines to ensure the movement to the new market. And, as the stalls constructed in the new market were not enough, those who did not get were allocated space to erect their own stalls. These stalls were made of corrugated iron sheets and with time became the most common stalls in the market.[25]

The state of sanitation in Kawo from the 1960s became increasingly deplorable. This was as a result of the haphazard planning, poor drainage system, poor sanitary attitude of the people, poor refuse disposal, etc. Hence, the settlement was characterised by filth, squalor, etc. The little effort put in to solve the problem such as the digging of deep gutters to improve the drainage system etc, did not achieve much. According to the Max Lock report:

> The gutters having been impressively dug (and in the same impressive spirit neglected) now constitute a challenge to hygiene in this village [Kawo]. Over grown with weeds and almost concealed entirely by these

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25. Ibid.

> grasses, brinked with filthy, stenching stagnant water, these deplorable water ways are also the refuse absorbers of great many Kawo households.[26]

A major cause of the sanitary condition in Kawo is the governments' (urban administrations') failure to allocate adequate funds for clearing the settlement. This responsibility was left in the hands of the various inhabitants of Kawo. But the residents had neither the time nor means to meet this vital need. The residents who include labourers and unskilled workers had to work from dawn to dusk to earn a living and so had no spare time to clean the settlement.[27]

The sanitary situation became very serious in the early 1970s that several inhabitants of Kawo sent petitions/letters to the authorities in charge of sanitation in the city i.e. the Kaduna capital Development Board (KCDB). They complained of the deplorable sanitary situation in the settlement. But very little was done to seriously combat the problem.[28]

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26. Max Lock and Patners; Op.cit. PP. 189-190.

27. Ibid; and Interview with MOI and FOJ.

28. NNN; 13/9/75, P.13.

However, by 1976 the KCDB responded to the clamour for the improvement of sanitary condition in Kawo as they sent a vehicle and labourers thrice a week to clear the settlement. It is interesting to note too that as part of the preparation for the durbar (FESTAC '77) the government stepped up action on the clearing of the settlement. Hence, shortly before the durbar an "Operation keep Kaduna clean" was launched. Kaduna was divided into 9 zones for this exercise. Each zone was supervised by a commissioner and assisted by a district head (or Sarki) and a health supretendent. The Kawo zone was headed by Alhaji Abu Gidado. A lot was achieved in terms of clearing the settlement under Alhaji Gidado's supervision.[29]

However, government effort towards clearing Kawo of filth was relaxed soon after the durbar. In fact the KCDB vehicle was no longer sent on regular basis. It was therefore common to find mounds of decomposing and foul smelling rubbish deposited all over Kawo.

4.4 The Kawo Economy 1960 - 80.

Kawo's economy which is intrinsically related to that of Kaduna and which particularly with the

29. NNN 20/1/77; P.6 and interview with MOI.

oil boom - enjoyed a major boost in this era, was based on administration, the military and industry. In fact, the three comprised a large wage earning population which in turn attracted commercial concerns and services of all sort to the settlement.

Although precise figures ~~not~~ are not available, there is little doubt that the informal sector (wage earning) expanded significantly during this era.[30] Indeed an increasing number of people in the settlement were employed by the local government, state and federal establishments, including the army, airforce and educational institutions. In addition, others were employed by the various construction companies (like Borini Prono) who were mostly involved in the construction of urban infrastructure. And more importantly, an increasing number of self employed individuals like shoe shiners, mechanics, wrist-watch/clock repairers, canteen owners etc, operated in Kawo.

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30. In fact, it was the armed services that expanded most in Kawo during the era. Conservative A.K. Medagbon (op.cit. P.132)estimates that the population of the military in Kaduna by the late 1970s was over 20,000. Thus, when one considers this along with the fact that Kawo remained the dominant military base in Kaduna, then it is most likely that the population of army and airforce personnel in Kawo was well over 13,000 by 1980.

In fact Kawo became more intensely diversified during this era.

Food production increasingly got limited within Kawo because of the numerous construction activities executed within and around the settlement. Therefore, more farmers had to venture to neighbouring settlements for farmland. However, the food generally produced by Kawo farmers was also quite limited. Due to this factor and also because of the growth of population of especially those engaged in the informal sector, trading expanded and in fact developed into a major absorber of labour in Kawo. Basically therefore, it was the local traders who generally brought in most of the goods like rice, maize, millet, potatoes, etc. consumed in the settlement.

The Kawo market more than ever before became the focal point of the economy. It was here that most self employed individuals like, tailors, blacksmiths, artisans, etc, carried out their daily activities. Among other groups these self employed individuals were taxed. For instance, by 1980, those who occupied stalls erected by the government were taxed ₦8 per month while those who occupied stalls erected personally in the market were

taxed ₦6.[31]

Inflation became a major feature of the Nigerian economy from 1966. In the first place, the political crises in the country led to a restriction in trading activities between the north and south eastern Nigeria. And with the mounting insecurity that followed the 1966 coup d'etat many Igbo traders who dominated the commercial life in the North began to move back home.

This development seriously affected the economy of Kawo. Major food items from South-eastern Nigeria like palm oil, rice and gari were in short supply. Also other consumer goods like enamel wares, building materials etc, became scarce hence prices rose significantly. For instance, a bottle of palm oil which by December 1965 cost 1s.1d rose to 2s.5d by July 1966; and rice which by December 1965 cost about 2/- per measure rose to 3s.3d per measure by the middle of 1966.[32]

As a result of the scarcity or supply gap of these commodities and its attendant rising prices many more of the inhabitants of Kawo were compelled to change their taste for local stapples and

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31. Interview with DAL and MSA.

32. Ibid. and indicated in NNN, 8/10/1966; P.12.

manufactures. eg. millet and maize. Although these crops were grown by inhabitants of Kawo, their prices also began to rise due to increased demand. For instance, a bag of sorghum which cost £3 by late 1965 throughout the Kaduna region rose to £4 by mid 1966; and a bag of millet which cost £3 in 1965 also rose to £4 by mid 1966.[33]

The rising inflation which began with the civil war and continued into the oil boom era seriously affected the lot of the people of Kawo. Significantly, they suffered economic hardship which was further compounded when the Kaduna local administration increased community tax by 2.5% per head. As a result of this mounting economic hardship, many inhabitants of Kawo significantly became indebted. Available records showed that many residents of the study area were summoned and tried before the Alkali courts for tax default.[34] In fact from 1967 many landowners had to sell off their plots either to pay off debts of stay afloat.

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33. Ibid.

34. NNN, 20/6/66; P.8, NNN, 28/11/68; P.12 and interview with DAL and YAL.

It is important to point out here that the government made/took some cosmetic actions aimed at solving this problem (inflation) through the establishment of the Price Control Board (PCB) in 1970. The board, among other things, fixed the prices of imported commodities. For instance the price of milk and soft drinks was fixed at 9d each.[35]

To complement the effort of PCB the Kaduna local administration pegged the prices of foodstuff sold in Kawo (and other areas of Kaduna) in 1971.[36] Thus, this was how the government tried to check the growing inflation in the country in general. However, with the end of the war in 1970 trading links between South-eastern Nigeria and the north was restored. With this development the prices of food items from the South-east began to drop. For instance, the cost of a bag of rice in 1971 dropped from £18 to £13. Similarly that of a bag of gari dropped from £10 to £7[37] in the same year. Consequently, the cost of a bag of guinea corn

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35. NNN, 21/7/90; P.1.

36. Interview with MUB and DAL and indicated in NNN, 20/11/71; P.1.

37. NNN; 26/11/71; P.11.

dropped from £4.10s to about £3 in 1971.[38] We must mention here, however, that this post civil war reduction in prices of commodities in Kawo was shortlived. Available evidence indicated that the oil boom and its effects on the Nigerian economy especially from 1974 made the traders to flout the prices fixed by the PCB and the Kaduna Local Administration.[39]

Another major development in Kawo economy in this period was the establishment of the Tuesday market - Kasuwa talata. The talata market developed from a small beginning, centred on the activities of patients (and their friends/ relatives who accompanied them) that attended the Tuesday leprosy clinic in the Kawo dispensary. With the increasing importance of the clinic especially for the neighbouring villages (Birnin Yero, Buruku, Mashyi, etc) in the mid 1960s, the visitors (to the clinic) always arrived on Mondays with some food items for sale. As a result, the area grew into a mini-market attracting traders/customers from Kaduna.[40]

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38. Ibid.

39. NNN 9/1/74; P.9 and interview with MOI and FOJ.

40. Interview with DAL, ZKY and HAL.

The Kasuwa talata expanded rapidly in importance and size. For instance, by 1980, traders from Kano, Sokoto, Borno etc, brought products like, maize, groundnut, beans etc. for sale there. It was also patronised by traders, contractors, private companies etc, from all parts of the country. In all, the traders who brought goods to the talata market were taxed. For instance, every bag of grain brought to the market attracted a tax of one naira.[41] Hence by 1980, this became an important source of revenue for the local urban administration.

4.5 Major Political Developments in the Area

Crucial administrative transfers involving Kawo took place during this era. On the one hand Sarki Alhassan of Ungwan Shanu was transferred in 1966 to head the Kawo society (also as Sarki). On the other hand, Sarki Ibrahim of Kawo was also transferred in this same year to head the Ungwan Shanu Village.[42]

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

Prior to the administrative transfers however, a major feature of the administration of the early 1960's is the poor performance of the representatives of the local council. Part of their problem had to do with the fact that the NEPU members were operating within a larger political set up centred in Kaduna with its intense NPC rivalry.[43]

Meanwhile, many inhabitants of Kawo at their ethnic and political meetings clamoured for the dissolution of the Kaduna North Council and the conduct of fresh election. Also by September 1965, the Middle Belt Congress of Nigeria (MBCN) publicly called on the Northern Minister for Local Government to dissolve the entire Kaduna Town Council and conduct fresh elections as it was long over due since such elections are held every 3 years.[44] Interestingly, however, it was the 1966 coup that eventually brought an end to the tenure of office of the representative of the Local Council.

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43. Interview with DAL and indicated in the Nigerian Citizen, 15/8/65; P.11.

44. Ibid.

Thus, Sarkin Kawo and his appointed officials remained the main authority in Kawo from 1966 to 1973. The lack of popular representation in Kawo's administrative machinery particularly during the period of the civil war was apparently a political set back for the society. For instance, according to our informants this situation contributed to the insecurity experienced in Kawo.[45]

It is significant to note that with the January 1966 coup and its aftermath, relationship between various ethnic groups resident in Kawo (particularly between the Igbo and Eastern Nigerians on the one hand and ethnic groups in Northern Nigeria on the other) became sour. In fact, there were numerous threats to lives and properties of settlers from South-eastern Nigeria following the military take over. The administrative authority in Kawo with the absence of elected representatives was unable to cool down tension. Consequently, many Igbos decided to move back home.[46]

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45. Interview with MSA and FOJ.

46. Ibid.

However, inspite of the departure of South Easterners to their region, the general insecurity persisted in Nigeria. In Kawo, this was mainly because most strategic military establishments in the country were located there. For instance, on the ninth of August 1967 a B26 rebel (Biafra) bomber flew into the Kawo area where it dropped its first bomb. This bomb, according to news paper report killed six people and left many wounded.[47] The bomber was eventually driven out of the Kawo air space by anti-aircraft and machine gun shots fired at it. The issue here is that the air raids instilled fear and insecurity in the inhabitants of Kawo throughout the civil war.[48]

It is significant to note, however, that it was only in 1973 that the military government responded to calls made by different interest groups in Kaduna when it carried out some administrative reorganisations in the settlement. This led to the establishment of the Kaduna executive local authority representative council and the creation of five districts within the metropolis.[49]

47. NNN; 11/8/67; P.1.

48. Interview with MSA and ZKY.

49. NNN; 12/11/73; P.16.

The Kaduna executive local authority representative council established in 1973, was principally responsible for the administration of the Kaduna Capital Territory. Among other things it was responsible for the collection of community tax, jangali and the social control of the city, etc. The membership of the Council was made up of a full-time Chairman, five ex-officio members comprising of the five newly appointed district heads (including the newly appointed district head hakimi of Kawo district) and 24 appointed members. Four of these appointed members were Ali Kwashina, Abba Ungwar Kanawa, Alhaji Madumbi and Alhaji Abdulmumin Mai Gold.[50] However, the tenure of these officials ended in 1978 following the lifting of the ban on partisan politics when new officials were democratically elected.[51]

The point to be made at this point is that in 1973 Ungwan Kawo was named the headquarters of the then newly constituted Kawo district and at

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50. Ibid.

51. Interview with DAL, HBL and indicated in NNN 12/11/73. P.16.

the same time Alhassan was also promoted from Sarki to Hakimi. Broadly speaking, the Kawo district comprised (and still comprise) Ungwan Shanu, Badarawa, Abakwa, Rafin Guza, Hayin Banki, Ungwan Dosa and Ungwan Gwari wards of the Kaduna metropolis. It is interesting to note that following his appointment as hakimi, Alhassan also promoted the leaders of most if not all of these wards (particularly those who were hitherto Masu-ungwoyi) to Sarakuna. He also appointed his own son Yahaya the Sarkin Unguwan Kawo, hence, he (Yahaya) was directly in charge of the administration of Ungwan Kawo.[52] In addition, the leaders (of the various wards of the Kawo district including Yahaya of Kawo) constituted and still constitute the dominant members of the district council. Consequently, they advise the hakimi as well as carry out/implement his orders.

Finally, immediately after his appointment Yahaya constituted a village council. This Council by 1980 comprised of title holders like, Magajin Gari, Ciroma, Turaki and four Ward heads (S. Maiungwa)

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52. Interview with YAL and DAL.

etc. The ward heads in Kawo by this date were namely Maiungwan Dari, Maiungwan Dan Mauri, Maiungwa Rabiu and Maiungwa Turaki. Other important title holders in Kawo by 1980 were craft and occupational heads/chiefs, they include: Sarkin Pawa, Chief of butchers, Sarkin Berkono, Chief of Pepper sellers, etc. It was, therefore, around all these officials that Kawo's administration revolved by the end of our period.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, we examined the developments that took place in post independence Kawo. We have demonstrated that post independence urbanisation was characterised by rapid population growth, which in turn influenced residential expansion, economic growth and political changes.

CHAPTER FIVE

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The mass of the dwellers in urban settlements (and rural areas) in Nigeria today perpetually fight for survival, and struggle against exploitation, homelessness, housing shortages, hunger, diseases, etc. The Nigerian government (and perhaps other bodies) has apparently been slow in addressing these urban problems because of their magnitude and perhaps due to lack of successful concepts. The question of why numerous problems currently beset Nigerian urban settlements is one which must be answered before informed decisions can be made to address these urban problems. This thesis has therefore been an attempt to arrive at a portion of the answer in a concrete historical fashion.

In this study, we have attempted to analyse the growth of Kawo as part of the Kaduna urban center. The focus of the study is on the period 1913 - 1980, but, among other things, the outline of the process from the inception of the settlement

in the mid 1890s is traced out.

The discussion in this thesis shows that colonial urban development was influenced by the nature and structure of the colonial system itself. Central to this system was the extraction of absolute surplus value from colonies, hence the British in Kaduna ensured that the provision of urban infrastructures etc, did not threaten this relation. Thus, they treated the pre-existing Kawo society outside the main design framework for the Kaduna township from 1913. The colonialists also situated Kawo within a special (unfavourable) category for separate treatment. This polarized development resulted in the sporadic development of houses, as well as the absence of solid construction and a functioning infrastructure (that was specifically meant for the benefit of Kawo residents) in Kawo right from its inception as an urban settlement. However, colonial urban policy as it relates to Kaduna and it's environs changing during the later started phase of colonialism (1945-1960) when Kawo was completely intergrated into the main Kaduna design framework. Although the settlement became planned,

this was not strictly implemented due to factors related to the essence of the colonial system.

Inspite of the attainment of political independence there were in fact few major changes in the outlines of urban development in the country. Of course with a new Nigerian government the urban development policies have been revised and the style of policy expression has subtly altered. But as in many other areas of national and indeed local policy the most striking aspect is the high degree of continuity in the realm of urban development. It is interesting to note that this continuity itself was (and still is) a product of the nature and structure of the Nigerian neo-colonial system. Thus, inspite of the fact that a more broadened master plan was designed in the 1960s for Kawo and other parts of Kaduna, the activities of petit bourgeoisie groups, Kaduna urban administration etc. ensured that Kawo continued largely as a settlement with poor housing, abysmal sanitation, uncontrolled refuse heaps etc, during the post colonial era.

We contended in this thesis that racial segregation was one of the main contents of

colonial policies in Kaduna. And that this policy was essentially tied up with the needs of the colonial political economy which emerged in the region. In line with these needs, therefore, the British segregated the Kaduna township into three broad categories which included the GRA (dominantly meant for the occupation of Europeans), the Sabon gari (meant for African Clerical staff and other essential personnel and important intermediaries of expatriate firms) and the satelite settlements. In particular, Kawo (which was dominantly Hausa) was sustained as one of the ethnically homogeneous satelite settlements. However, inspite of the segregation policy in Kaduna, the settlement (Kawo) evolved especially from the 1940s to be an intensely heterogenous society. The increased concentration of army units in Kawo remains the single most dominant factor for this trend. In fact, the increased concentration of soldiers (who were basically of diverse ethnic groups) in Kawo influenced the ethnic pattern of migration into the settlement. It also provided impetus for the growth of the unplanned settlement of

Ungwan Dosa, Hayin Banki, etc. In essence, British policy of segregated settlement for all ethnic and racial groups failed woefully in Kawo right from the colonial era, thus, by 1980 the settlement was intensely heterogenous comprising Ibo, Yoruba, Kaje, Kataf, Idoma, Igala, etc. speaking people.

In addition, this study indicates that rising demand for accommodation in Kawo was basically as a result of immigration. These migrations (particularly the individual migrations) into Kawo were from other Nigerian rural societies and were most rapid during the post colonial era. And in most cases people were forced to emigrate from these areas by the pressures of socio-economic conditions to which there was no alternative. Often leaving the country side was comparable to expulsion from it. On the other hand, we showed that economic considerations were the major factors that influenced migrants to settle in Kawo throught the study period.

Furthermore, we demonstrated that central to the growth experienced in Kawo from 1913 to 1980 was the transformation of the political order by changes taking place in the nature and pattern of the composition of the settlement and

the changes in beliefs and ideology associated with these. Specifically, this historical process started with a political system centred around the Maiungwa. However with the changing complexity of the settlement (i.e. with expansion, population increase, diversification of economic activities etc) necessary and constant political adaptations were effected for the survival of the society. Thus, by 1980 Kawo had evolved to have a more complex administrative machinery headed by a hakimi who worked alongside popularly elected local council members and other appointed officials.

Finally, Kawo evolved first as an agricultural society whose economy was mainly geared towards serving the needs of ~~the~~ Kaduna/colonialism. However, increasing in-migration subsequently facilitated a change in the economic base of Kawo i.e. the society was transformed from an agricultural economy to a colonial and subsequently new colonial service oriented economy. Largely accompanying this major economic change particularly from 1966 was high and persistent rising cost of living in the settlement. This situation significantly entrenched poverty in Kawo, and as earlier mentioned, this poverty syndrome is also symptomatic of most Nigerian Urban settlements today.

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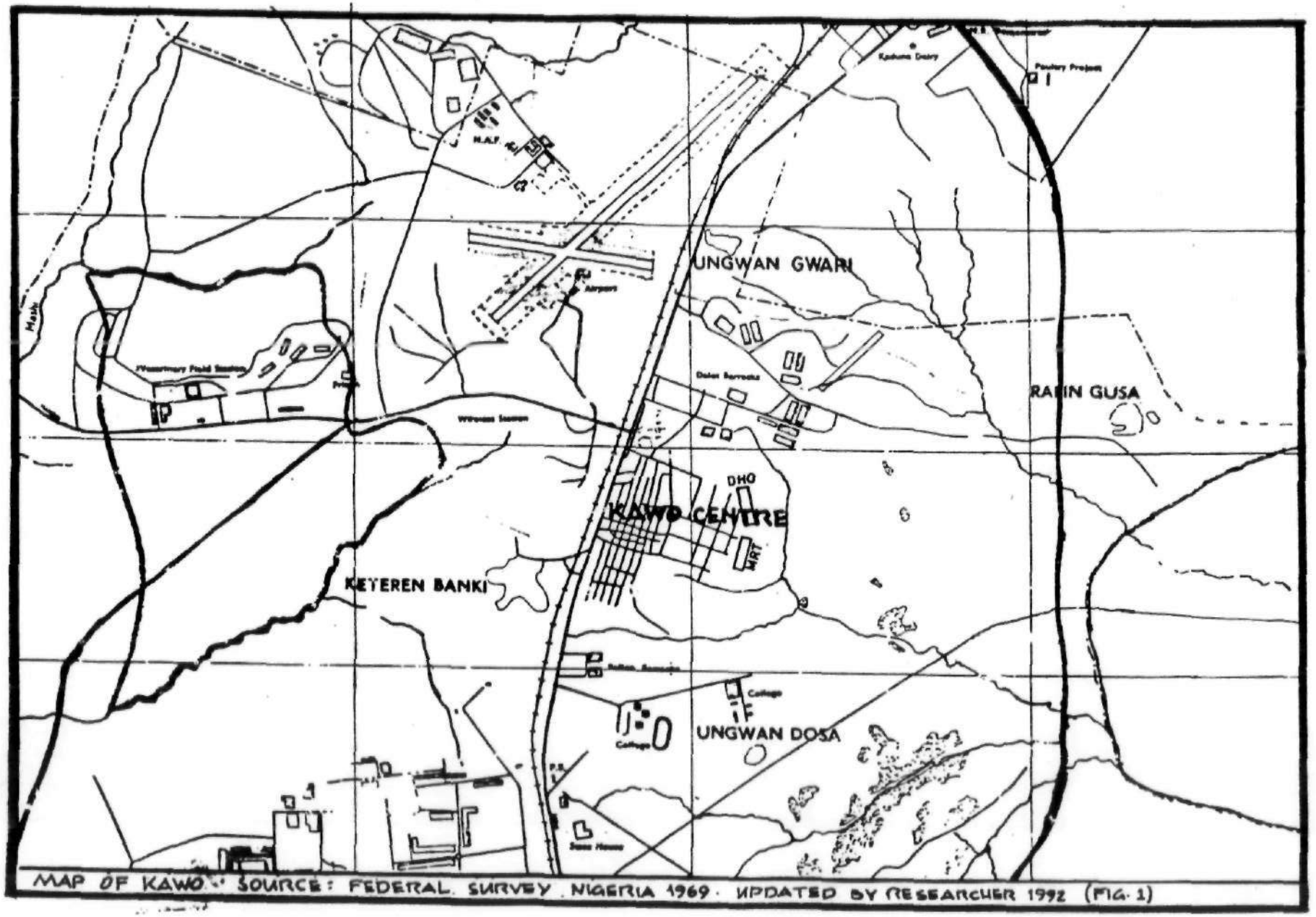
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MAP OF KAWO :- SOURCE: FEDERAL SURVEY NIGERIA 1969. UPDATED BY RESEARCHER 1992 (FIG. 1)

Figure 2 The Principal Trade Routes Passing Through Zaria Before The Railways

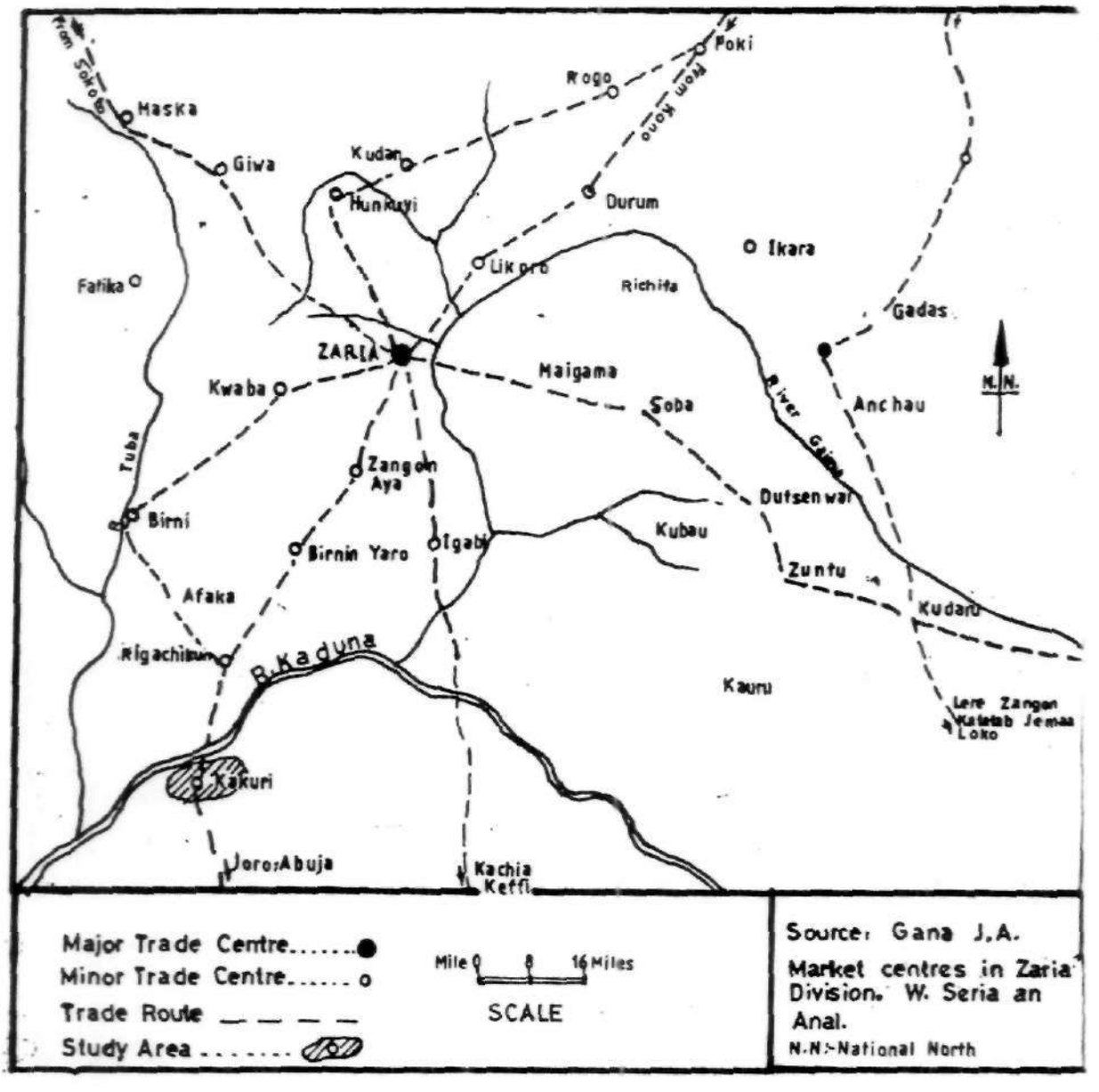


Figure 3 THE DISTRIBUTION OF FIEFS AND VASSAL STATES OF FULANI ZAZ
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

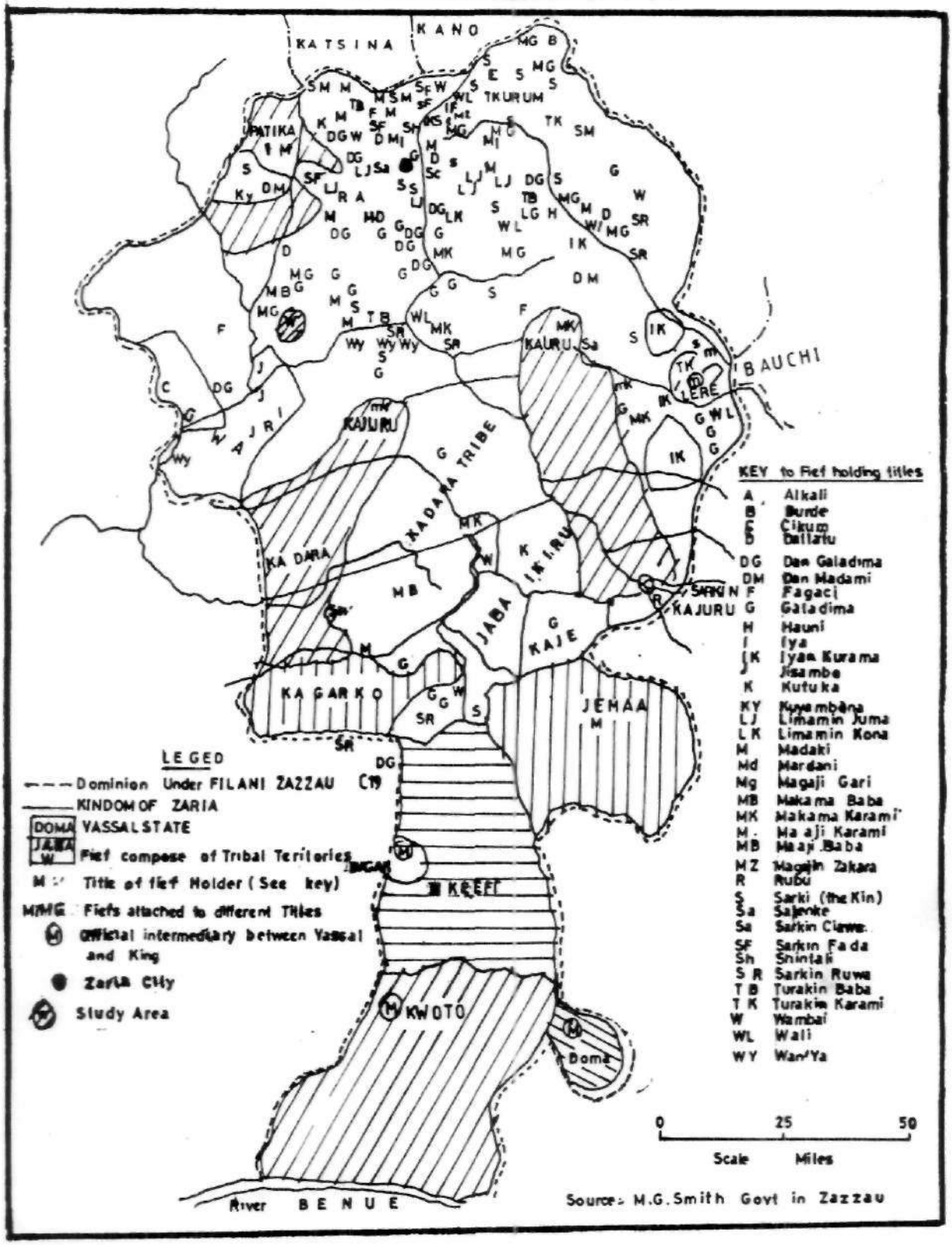
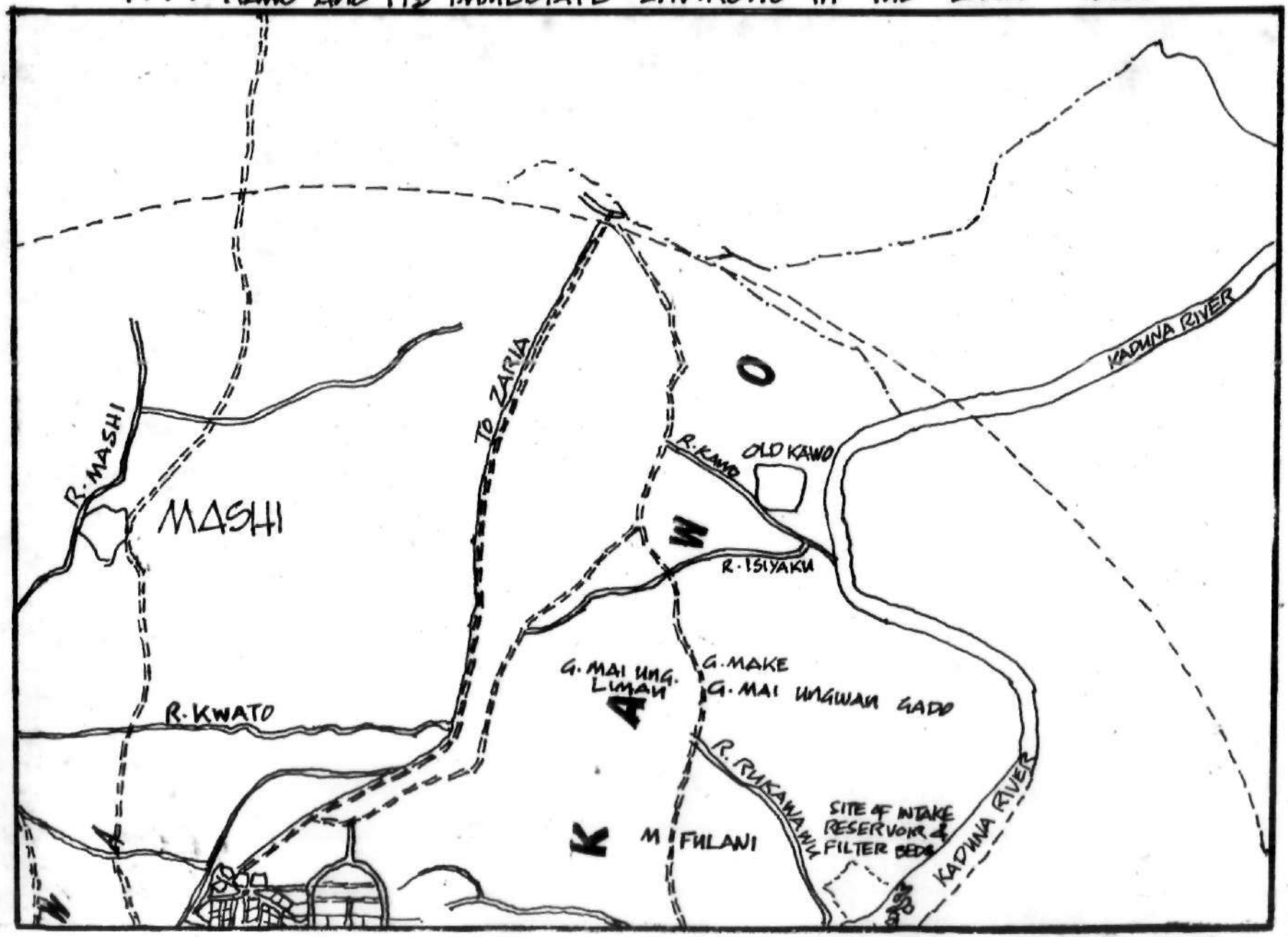


FIG 4: KAWO AND ITS IMMEDIATE ENVIRONS IN THE EARLY 1920s



SOURCE : NAK SNP 17/1 10,222