

**AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN ZANGON
KATAF DISTRICT UNDER BRITISH COLONIAL
RULE, 1907 - 1960**

BY

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MA/ARTS/1731/2009-2010

**BEING A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE POST-GRADUATE
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ARTS**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research work titled: “Agricultural Production in Zangon Kataf District under British Colonial Rule, 1907 – 1960”, has been written by me as a product of my research. This work has not been written or presented by any other person to any institution of higher learning. All sources gotten from other works are duly acknowledged in form of footnotes and bibliography.

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CERTIFICATION

This project entitled, “Agricultural Production in Zangon Kataf District under British Colonial Rule, 1907 – 1960”, written by Grace Auta, meets the requirements of the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History, Faculty of Arts, Ahmadu Bello University and is approved for its contribution to knowledge.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to God Almighty in heaven who makes everything possible including this research thesis and also my beloved children Oluwapelumi Bright Tommy and Ayomide Jezreel Tommy for being an inspiration for me to embark on this work.

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ABSTRACT

This work is an attempt to study the Impact of British Colonial Rule on Zangon Kataf District, 1907 – 1960. In order to achieve this, several sources were consulted and oral interviews were carried out on the field of study. The research revealed that colonialism was the cause of underdevelopment of our area of study. This is because the British colonisers did not introduce policies aimed at improving the living condition of the people. The result of colonialism led to the dependence of the local people on manufactured goods and other commodities of the British and Europe as a whole. The policy of colonial taxation negatively affected the people of Zangon-Kataf District. The failure of the people to pay tax was usually interpreted by the British as refusal to recognize their authority. As a result, the people were punished collectively. There are food and security challenges that are presently confronting Nigeria and it is in a critical moment for it to embrace lasting change by moving away from colonial legacies. We can not continue to blame the Europeans for our condition. We have to look for ways to solve our problems. One of the major legacies left by the colonizers is that they disrupted the traditional system of production in indigenous Nigerian societies, thereby reinforcing the existing systems of social inequality and introducing oppressive forms of social stratification throughout the country. Colonial policies relegated women to the background. Women are the main caretakers of the household members. The nation has to acknowledge that when women are empowered, there would be improvement in the well being of the family, the community and society at large. It is also concluded that colonialism left a legacy of divide and rule which the colonialists adopted in order to have effective control of the people. Today Nigeria is bedeviled by ethnic and religious conflicts here and there. There is no unity among the people of Nigeria. The major causes of lawlessness in Nigeria are as a result of poverty and hopelessness as well as greed and corruption of the highest order.

PREFACE

The main aim of this study is to discuss and evaluate the impact of colonialism on agricultural production in Zangon Kataf District.

Chapter One discusses the introduction and general background to the study, providing a clear picture of the area of study.

Chapter Two discusses the society and economy of Zangon-Kataf Area before British colonial conquest. It discusses how the people of Zangon-Kataf were able to use their initiatives in agricultural activities and device ways of storing agricultural produce to prevent shortage.

Chapter Three focuses on gender roles in agriculture before British colonial rule in Zangon Kataf area. It discusses how women in Zangon Kataf competed favourably with their men folks in terms of their over-participation in agricultural activities and contribution to household economy and food security.

Chapter Four focuses on British conquest and establishment of colonial rule in Zangon-Kataf. It discusses how the British introduced the policy of social stratification to enable them bring disunity among the people so that they would be weak in fighting colonialism.

Chapter Five discusses agricultural production under colonial rule in order to bring out a comparison between pre-colonial and colonial agriculture in Zangon-Kataf.

Chapter Six discusses Role of Women in Agriculture in Colonial Zangon Kataf District. It discusses how the colonial government placed some restrictions on women which changed their position in the society. It also discusses how women held series of protests during the colonial period against colonialism.

Chapter Seven discusses the impact of colonialism on Zangon-Kataf. It shows how colonialism in Zangon-Kataf led to the underdevelopment of agriculture and how the economy became devastated.

Chapter Eight, which is the last chapter, brings out the summary of the whole work and conclusion.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

Questions have been asked as to why countries like Nigeria are underdeveloped. This question has aroused the interest of scholars not only in Nigeria, but in other countries as well. The question often raised is why Nigeria is unable to achieve economic development despite numerous economic potentials. In an attempt to proffer answers to this question, neo-Marxist thinkers put forward the dependency theory as a standard to explain the unfortunate situation of underdevelopment in the world. The contention of dependency theorists who are mostly from the Third world or developing economies is that dependency relates to a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of others to which the former is subjected.¹ This thinking centers on interrelations between and among nations of the world where to some, this relationship is advantageous, while to others it is the reason for their continuous stunted growth and underdevelopment. The relation of inter-dependence between two or more economies in world trade terms, assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant ones like the USA, Britain, Germany and France) can expand and be self-sustaining; while other countries (the dependent ones like Nigeria, Rwanda, Bolivia, Thailand and India) can do this only as a reflection of expansion which can have either a negative or positive effect on their immediate development.

This situation, therefore, presents asymmetrical relationship which exists in the world system under world capitalist foundations; thereby creating wealth within the

¹ Dos Santos, T. El Nuevo caracter de la dependencia (The New Character of Dependence), Reversed Edition Cuadernos del CESO (CESO's Notebooks), 10. Santiago: CESP. 2002.

metropolis², or the Center³; and poverty or under-development at the other pole, the satellite or periphery. This is an unequal relationship between the countries perceived to be already at an advantage (North) and disadvantaged countries (South) as a result of past economic exploitation. Under the maxim of “development of underdevelopment,” which was necessitated by the twin concepts of imperialism and colonialism, dependency theory identifies different external factors based on relationships which transcend decades between developed countries and their underdeveloped counterparts as plausible reasons for underdevelopment.⁴ Examples of such external factors identified so far are: Slave Trade, Imperialism, Colonialism and current asymmetrical global economic conditions which ultimately led to the pre-mature integration of Third world economies into the global capitalist economy.⁵ Third world countries thus argue that since the emergence of a world capitalist system, relationships which currently exist have been to their detriment. In this context, the dominant theme of underdevelopment is the global asymmetrical economic relationship between the underdeveloped and developed economies which results in dependency of Africa, Latin America and Asian countries on Europe and North America.

On the African side, by the 1960s, most sub-Saharan African countries became independent nation states. Despite Africa being a victim of slave trade; and being traumatized by colonialism which exploited its raw materials, agricultural products and mineral resources for the industrialization of Europe, Colonial African governments sent

² Frank, A.G. *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*, New York: Monthly Press. 1968.

³ Galtung, J. “Structural Theory of Imperialism.” *The African Review*, Vol. 1. No. 4. 1972

⁴ Wallerstein, I. “Dependence in an Independent World: The Limited Possibilities of Transformation within the Capitalist Economy” Paper presented at the Conference on Dependence and Development in Africa Ottawa, 16 to 18 Feb. 1973.

⁵ Ake, C. *A Political Economy of Africa*. Enugu: Longman. 1981.

their soldiers to fight on the Allied side (USA, Britain, defunct USSR, France and China) during WW II. Colonial Africa also shipped foodstuffs for the feeding of Allied forces; it also sent materials for the war efforts. In short, Africa contributed in no small measure to the defeat of the Axis powers (Germany, Italy and Japan).⁶

With such conditions, by the 1960s, Africa joined the comity of nations handicapped, short-changed and cheated; thus making her quest for industrialization problematic despite her enormous contributions to the global capitalist economy. Demonstratively, African governments at independence were heavily dependent on their colonial masters to survive as some tied their currency, trade and other economic relations to them. Nigeria, – a political amalgamation of the British had in no little way benefited from this dependent relationship which existed before and after independence in 1960. Between the late 1800s and early 1900s, almost every part of Nigeria had been subdued militarily by British forces and the British government had asserted her political dominance in Nigeria. Ideally, this was an attempt to protect trading activities which had been going on for decades between Nigeria and Britain (represented by the different trading companies, such as the Royal Niger Trading Company). This trade fueled the industrial process in Britain with raw materials like palm oil, rubber and cocoa alongside providing a veritable market for finished products churned out from British industries. Previously, Nigeria like many other African counties, had also supplied slaves to fuel the massive agrarian transformation in the Americas and Europe as labour for their enormous

⁶ *Ibid.*

plantations. At independence, Nigeria still maintained strong economic ties with Britain despite denouncing political ties.⁷

The main aim of this study is to address and evaluate the impact of colonialism on agricultural production in Zangon Kataf District. In order to achieve this, it is very important to first and foremost give the background to the study. Therefore, this chapter, being the first of the research work, starts by giving the statement of the research problem in order to get acquainted with the problem the research work intends to solve.

The literature review raises issues relevant to the research work that have been raised by different scholars with the intention of adding value to the work and justifying the need for undertaking it. The chapter goes further by giving the methodology of the research. Problems expected in the course of the research are also highlighted.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The issue of colonialism has been very controversial, most especially if it has to do with development. Scholars, most especially Europeans, have been of the view that colonialism has helped in positive development of Nigerian societies. In the first place, the motive behind European colonisation of Nigeria was economic.⁸ Therefore, how could it be that the British, who came to colonise for economic exploitation were interested in developing the economy of the colonised societies?

⁷ Uchechukwu Igwe and Austine Ifeanyi Okere (2013), Third World Dependency: The Nigerian Perspective. In *Journal of Arts and Contemporary Society*, Vol. 5, No. 2, Pp. 67 – 86. Department of History and International Studies Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Nigeria.

⁸ Anene, J.C. (ed). *Essays in African History 19th & 20th C. for Grammar Schools*. Ibadan: Onibonoje Press, Ilorin, 1999.

The Europeans made people to believe that the societies of Nigeria were static and barbaric and that the only way to develop these societies was by colonising them, based on Hamitic theory.⁹ The Hamitic Hypothesis was derived principally from the Bible Book of Genesis 9:18-27. These recount the story of Ham, the son of Noah. Ham, upon discovering his father naked and drunk, exposed him to his brothers, Shem and Japheth. When Noah woke up, he “knew” what Ham had done and pronounced a curse in retribution, but interestingly, only Canaan, Ham’s son is directly mentioned: “Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants he shall be to his brothers.” According to the Hamitic Hypothesis, Ham and Canaan were “marked” in the pigmentation of their skin (that is, they were black) and thereby became the fathers of the “Negro” or “black race”, and the curse, “a servant of servants he shall be” accounts for why the “black race” had to be colonized.

In agreement with the Hamitic Hypothesis people like Cecil Rhodes¹⁰ believed that Europeans are the first race in the world. This is evident in his statement that:

*I contend that we are the first race in the world, and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race... If there be a God, I think that what he would like me to do is paint as much of the map of Africa British Red as possible...*¹¹

⁹ The Europeans believe that Africans are cursed by God because they are believed to be the descendants of Ham, Noah’s son whom God has cursed (Hamitic Hypothesis). They also believe that slavery or colonisation of Africa was an injunction from God. The Hamitic Hypothesis was cooked up by Europeans to justify their racism, their past exploitation of black labor (black slavery), and their economic rape of the African continent. For evidence, see Edith Sanders, “The Hamitic Hypothesis: Its origins and Functions in Time Perspective,” *Journal of African History*, v. 10, 1969, pgs. 534-536.

¹⁰ Cecil John Rhodes was a British businessman, mining magnate, and politician in South Africa. He was an ardent believer in British colonialism and the founder of the Southern African territory of Rhodesia, which was named after him in 1895.

¹¹ BBC World Service, from Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia, www.en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cecil_Rhodes. See also McFarlane, Richard, A. *Historiography of Selected Works on Cecil John Rhodes (1853-1902)*.

The British claimed they introduced some economic and social changes that were beneficial to the colonies and that they came to the colonies on a civilizing mission with no inherent economic interests. But the fact is that, at least from what is obvious, the Europeans do not have interest to even come to a place if that place is static or not economically endowed. Another question to ask is: “were the Europeans so benevolent as to come to a place just to develop it without gaining anything?”

The area of Zangon Kataf was and still remains underdeveloped as part of the Third World countries. Scholars blame the Europeans for being responsible for the underdevelopment of the Third World, as a result of colonialism. The Europeans on the other hand are saying that the Third World countries are responsible for their own underdevelopment. Each group is pointing accusing fingers at the other for being responsible for the Third World countries’ misfortune. There is controversy between the theory of efficiency versus the theory of equity. These are conflicting issues that this research work will try to discuss and analyse. The basic problem is the present stagnation and decline of the agricultural sector. The study will help to trace the historical roots of this by looking at the colonial history of Zangon Kataf as a case study.

1.2 Justification for the Study

Despite the fact that colonialism has brought many problems with it, it is still claimed by many, especially Europeans, to be the significant factor behind the improved agricultural production of Africa¹². It is important to study the validity of this assertion through the study of Zangon Kataf to see whether agriculture was already developed to

¹²Walter. R. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Bogle-L’Ouverture Publications. London, 1972. p242.

some extent and the British colonisers only built on this development in order to exploit the economy to their own advantage.

The research work is very significant because there has not been any work of this kind that has been written on Zangon Kataf District. The few works written on Zangon Kataf District are mostly by early missionaries and, therefore, tend to be subjective to Eurocentric views. This research project will enable the people of Zangon Kataf District to know more about themselves and it will enable other researchers to build more on the work.

Based on the literature review, the general approach by scholars in studying the impact of colonialism in Northern Nigeria lacks any serious scholarly and critical reinterpretation and re-evaluation of colonial work and impact upon minority groups and the entire Northern society.¹³ This is because our understanding of the impact of colonialism on Northern Nigeria, where the study area is located, has been, in most cases, based on biased and prejudiced interpretations of colonial work and historiography. Scholars make mistake of generalizing their studies based on the Northernmost parts of Kaduna with little attention on the people in Southern Kaduna.

In view of the problem stated above, this study is significant in providing more light on the impact of colonialism on micro areas like Zangon Kataf. The study will help us to know more about the history of other ethnic groups in Southern Kaduna during colonialism. This study will concentrate on the people of Zangon Kataf District.

Agricultural production is very significant to development because it is the mainstay of the economy. Agricultural production is chosen in this research work because, as already stated in the literature review, it was a very important sector for

¹³Turaki, Y. *Op. cit.* p11.

generating revenue to the British colonisers, during colonialism. For any society to be developed it has to be agriculturally strong. Due to the fact that Zangon Kataf District is underdeveloped, it is important to study the extent to which colonialism contributed to her underdevelopment. The study focuses on agriculture because it is the major occupation of the Zangon Kataf people in which almost all adult males and females were engaged.

1.3 Aims and Objectives

The objectives drawn to guide the study are to:

- i. determine whether the economy and society of Zangon Kataf area were developed before British colonization or not.
- ii. examine the role of women in agriculture during the pre-colonial era in Zangon Kataf area.
- iii. examine the economic and socio-political effects of colonialism on the women during colonialism.
- iv. determine whether the people of Zangon Kataf area resisted British colonial rule or not.
- v. examine the agricultural policies that the British colonizers introduced during their administration in Zangon Kataf District.
- vi. determine the effects of British colonial rule on agricultural production in Zangon-Kataf District.
- vii. determine whether Zangon Kataf District experienced agricultural development after colonialism or not.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

The Vent-for-Surplus Model and the Underdevelopment/Dependency Theory are the major theories usually used to explain colonial agricultural policies. The two theories will be discussed below after which the researcher will adopt the one that best suits the research topic.

The Vent-for-Surplus theory is a bourgeois approach used by western economists in the study of capitalist penetration into pre-capitalist social formation. It was first publicized by Myint¹⁴. Myint's model, which focuses on the role of international trade as an 'engine of growth' in subsistence economies, has been used to explain the rapid growth of agricultural exports during the colonial and post-colonial periods in Africa. He abandoned the traditional classical assumptions, such as specialization and comparative advantage in certain crops in trying to explain the sudden upsurge in exports in some countries. Myint developed this model which directly attributed the export boom to improved local transport, access to overseas markets and incentive goods and services. These factors provided a 'vent' to tap the 'surplus' productive capacity inherent in 'surplus land' and family labour after subsistence food needs of farm families had been met. The model stresses the key role of effective demand by European markets in mobilizing surplus labour and land in under-populated areas with peasant type of production. It is presumed to be 'costless' type of growth, by reducing their leisure time, since Africans after all were plain lazy.¹⁵

¹⁴ Myint, H., "The Classical Theory of International Trade and the Underdeveloped Countries", *Economic Journal*, 68, 1958.

¹⁵ Rodney, W., *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Ikenga, Enugu, 1982. Also see Rodney, Hamburg Lectures, p. 23.

Macphee¹⁶ calls the rapid expansion of export crops, a ‘revolution’ which was facilitated by the imposition of British rule starting in the 1880’s. Similarly, Hopkins argues that the large increase in agricultural exports in the early 1880’s was the beginning of modern “West African agricultural development”.¹⁷ Helleiner also views Nigeria as a land surplus economy.¹⁸ Surplus land was considered to have played a role in export crop expansion.

The Underdevelopment/Dependency Theory (UDT) is a branch of the Marxist theory of dialectical materialism which tried to explain the reasons behind the continued underdevelopment of African nations despite the fact that they have achieved independence. The most influential and radical proponents of this theory include Frank¹⁹, Dos Santos²⁰, Samir Amin²¹, Walter Rodney²², and Claude Ake²³.

These scholars try to explain the processes of exploitation of African resources by colonialists. According to Claude Ake colonialism is seen as a logical outcome of the industrial revolution. It was fuelled by a competition among the European powers for colonies due to heightened consciousness of the economic advantage of colonies. Walter Rodney shows how Europe underdeveloped Africa through the economic and administrative policies that Europeans practiced in Africa during colonialism. He shows how railways were built to facilitate exploitation of regions that were endowed with

¹⁶ Macphee, *The Economic Revolution of British West Africa*, London, 1971.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Helleiner, G.K., *Peasant Agriculture, Government and Economic Growth*, Homewood, Illinois, 1966, p. XI.

¹⁹ Frank, A.G. *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*. Monthly Review Press, New York, 1974.

²⁰ Santos, T.D. “The Crisis of Development Theory and the problem of Dependence in Latin America” in Bernstein, H. (ed.), *Underdevelopment and Development*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1973, pp.76-77

²¹ Amin, S. *Accumulation on a World Scale: A Critique of the Theory of Underdevelopment*. Monthly Press, New York, 1974.

²² Walter, R. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Ikenga Enugu, 1982.

²³ Ake C. A. *Political Economy of Africa*: Essex 1981.

natural and agricultural resources. Amin points out that, cash crop phenomenon makes sense only when understood as part of a large process of world wide accumulation and as a mechanism for production into a unified capitalist system.

This study will adopt the Underdevelopment/Dependency Theory. This is because unlike the Vent-for-Surplus theory, the Underdevelopment/Dependency Theory will better explain the reason behind the underdevelopment of the area of study and why in spite of the introduction and expansion of cash economy in Zangon Kataf during the colonial period, agricultural development lacked modernization. Moreover, dependency theory attempts to explain the present underdeveloped state of many nations in the world by examining the patterns of interactions among nations and by arguing that inequality among nations is an intrinsic part of those interactions.

Dependency Theory developed in the late 1950s under the guidance of the Director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, Raul Prebisch. The theory came about because Prebisch and his colleagues were troubled by the fact that economic growth in the advanced industrialized countries did not necessarily lead to growth in the poorer countries. Indeed, their studies suggested that economic activity in the richer countries often led to serious economic problems in the poorer countries. Such a possibility was not predicted by neoclassical theory, which had assumed that economic growth was beneficial to all (Pareto optimal) even if the benefits were not always equally shared.

Dependency can be defined as an explanation of the economic development of a state in terms of the external influences--political, economic, and cultural--on national

development policies.²⁴ Theotonio Dos Santos emphasizes the historical dimension of the dependency relationships in his definition:

[Dependency is]...an historical condition which shapes a certain structure of the world economy such that it favors some countries to the detriment of others and limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economics...a situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which their own is subjected.²⁵

Most dependency theorists share three common features to these definitions. First, dependency characterizes the international system as comprised of two sets of states, variously described as dominant/dependent, center/periphery or metropolitan/satellite. The dominant states are the advanced industrial nations in the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). The dependent states are those states of Latin America, Asia and Africa which rely heavily on the export of a single commodity for foreign exchange earnings and have low *per capita* GNPs.

Second, both definitions have the assumption that external forces are of singular importance to the economic activities within the dependent states. These external forces include multinational corporations, international commodity markets, foreign assistance, communications and any other means by which the advanced industrialized countries can represent their economic interests abroad.

²⁴ Osvaldo Sunkel, "National Development Policy and External Dependence in Latin America," *The Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 6, no. 1, October 1969, p. 23.

²⁵ Santos Theotonio Dos, "The Structure of Dependence," in K.T. Fann and Donald C. Hodges, eds., *Readings in U.S. Imperialism*. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1971, p. 226.

Third, the definitions of dependency all indicate that the relations between dominant and dependent states are dynamic because the interactions between the two sets of states tend to not only reinforce but also intensify the unequal patterns. Moreover, dependency is a very deep-seated historical process, rooted in the internationalization of capitalism. Dependency is an ongoing process.

Prebisch's explains the theory by saying that poor countries exported primary commodities to the rich countries who then manufactured products out of those commodities and sold them back to the poorer countries. The "Value Added" by manufacturing a usable product always cost more than the primary products used to create those products. Therefore, poorer countries would never be earning enough from their export earnings to pay for their imports.²⁶

Therefore, dependency theory was viewed as a possible way of explaining the persistent poverty of the poorer countries. The traditional neoclassical approach said virtually nothing on this question except to assert that the poorer countries were late in coming to solid economic practices and that as soon as they learned the techniques of modern economics, then the poverty would begin to subside. However, Marxist theorists viewed the persistent poverty as a consequence of capitalist exploitation. A new body of thought, called the *world systems approach*, also argued that the poverty was a direct consequence of the evolution of the international political economy into a fairly rigid division of labor which favored the rich and penalized the poor.²⁷

²⁶ Vincent Ferraro, "Dependency Theory: An Introduction," in *The Development Economics Reader*, ed. Giorgio Secondi (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 58-64.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

Most dependency theorists regard international capitalism as the motive force behind dependency relationships. Andre Gunder Frank, one of the earliest dependency theorists, states:

...historical research demonstrates that contemporary underdevelopment is in large part the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the now developed metropolitan countries. Furthermore, these relations are an essential part of the capitalist system on a world scale as a whole.²⁸

According to this view, the capitalist system has enforced a rigid international division of labor which is responsible for the underdevelopment of many areas of the world. The dependent states supply cheap minerals, agricultural commodities and cheap labor and also serve as the repositories of surplus capital, obsolescent technologies and manufactured goods. These functions become conversant with the economies of the dependent states toward the outside: money, goods and services do flow into dependent states, but the allocation of these resources is determined by the economic interests of the dominant states and not by the economic interests of the dependent state. This division of labor is ultimately the explanation for poverty.

Moreover, to a large extent, the dependency models rest upon the assumption that economic and political power are heavily concentrated and centralized in the industrialized countries, an assumption shared with Marxist theories of imperialism. However, not all dependency theorists are Marxist and dependency and theory of imperialism should be clearly distinguished. The Marxist theory of imperialism explains

²⁸ Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," in James D. Cockcroft, Andre Gunder Frank, and Dale Johnson, eds., *Dependence and Underdevelopment*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1972, p. 3.

dominant state *expansion* while the dependency theory explains *underdevelopment*. In other words, Marxist theories explain the reasons why imperialism occurs, while dependency theories explain the consequences of imperialism. The difference is significant. In many respects, imperialism is, for a Marxist, part of the process by which the world is transformed and is therefore a process which accelerates the communist revolution. For the dependency theorists, underdevelopment is a wholly negative condition which offers no possibility of sustained and autonomous economic activity in a dependent state.

The propositions which form the core of dependency theory include:

First, *underdevelopment* is a condition fundamentally different from *undevelopment*. The latter term simply refers to a condition in which resources are not being used. For example, the European colonists viewed the North American continent as an undeveloped area: the land was not actively cultivated on a scale consistent with its potential. Underdevelopment refers to a situation in which resources are being actively used, but used in a way which benefits dominant states and not the poorer states in which the resources are found.

Second, the distinction between underdevelopment and undevelopment places the poorer countries of the world in a profoundly different historical context. These countries are not "behind" or "catching up" to the richer countries of the world. They are not poor because they lagged behind the scientific transformations or the Enlightenment values of the European states. They are poor because they were coercively integrated into the European economic system only as producers of raw materials or to serve as repositories

of cheap labor and were denied the opportunity to market their resources in any way that competed with dominant states.

Thirdly, dependency theory suggests that alternative uses of resources are preferable to the resource usage patterns imposed by dominant states. For example, one of the dominant state practices most often criticized by dependency theorists is export agriculture. The criticism is that many poor economies experience rather high rates of malnutrition even though they produce a lot of food crops for export. Many dependency theorists would argue that those agricultural lands should be used for domestic food production in order to reduce the rates of malnutrition.

Furthermore, the diversion of resources over time (and one must remember that dependent relationships have persisted since the European expansion beginning in the fifteenth century) is maintained not only by the power of dominant states, but also through the power of elites in the dependent states. Dependency theorists argue that these elites maintain a dependent relationship because their own private interests coincide with the interests of the dominant states. These elites are typically trained in the dominant states and share similar values and culture with the elites in dominant states. Hence, the elites in a dependent state are consciously betraying the interests of their poor; the elites sincerely believe that the key to economic development lies in following the prescriptions of liberal economic doctrine.²⁹

²⁹ Vincent Ferraro, *Op. Cit.*

1.5 Scope and Limitation of the Research

This research work is centred on Zangon Kataf District. Zangon Kataf was a District under the defunct Zaria Province, created in 1920³⁰. The District is found in Southern part of the present Kaduna State located in Northern Nigeria. It is located between latitudes 8° 25 South and 9° 50 North and longitude 5° and 7° East. The land area of Zangon Kataf District covers approximately 928 square kilometers. It is bordered in the North by Kauru District, in the West by Kachia District and in the South by Maroa and Kagoro Districts of Jema'a, a division of the then Nasarawa Province.³¹

The period of this research work begins in 1907 and ends in 1960. This period has been selected by the researcher because it covers the period of the active involvement of the British colonisers in agricultural production during colonialism in the area of study up till the year of independence.

1907 is taken to be the starting period of this research work because although Zaria Province was colonized by 1902, it was around 1907 that the British were able to have effective control of the people of Southern Zaria, Zangon Kataf District inclusive. It took time for British troops to occupy these areas because of numerous ethnic groups, which were functioning as mini-states that had to be conquered one at a time which was unlike the Muslim areas. Northern Nigeria was declared a Protectorate by 1906 and by 1907 the Native Administrative system was introduced. The year 1960 is the terminal period of this research because it was the year Nigeria as a whole attained her independence, which marked the end of colonial rule.

³⁰ Turaki, Y. *The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria: A Social Ethical Analysis of the Colonial and Post-Colonial Society and Politics in Nigeria*. Arewa House. 1993.

³¹ Nyam-Jim, L.K., "Colonial Education and Employment Opportunities 1902-1960 A.D.: A Case Study of Zangon Katab District in Zangon Katab Local Government Area". An Unpublished M.A. Thesis, submitted to the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1990. Pp. 6-7.

A major limitation which posed problem for the researcher during this research work was finance. This posed much problem because in order to make this research work possible a lot of money was involved. The researcher had to travel a long distance to get to the field of study and National Archives, Kaduna. A lot of money was also involved in photocopying and printing of material relevant to this research.

Another problem is that it was difficult for the researcher to get people who witnessed colonialism and interview them owing to the fact that they had to be from 80 to 100 years of age. However, this problem was solved because other people with relevant information regarding the impact of colonialism in Zangon-Kataf District were also interviewed. Age is not a major factor for useful information, but availability of information.

Lack of sufficient materials was a problem. This research work is more of a new topic, as the secondary sources focus more on colonial agriculture in Northern Nigeria, Nigeria, West Africa or Africa as a whole. The research on Zangon Kataf District largely depends on the use of primary sources. This is coupled with the fact that majority of the records in the archives are dilapidated and it is very difficult to handle the records without tearing off.

1.6 Geographical Environment

There is less distinction in terms of average monthly maximum temperature in this area compared to the Northern parts of Kaduna State where the hottest months are March – April, while the coldest are December and January. Rainfall is heaviest in the

Southern parts of Kaduna as a whole and it decreases Northwards towards Ikara. The rainy season is usually from March to October and the areas of Southern Kaduna fall within the wetter areas with an average monthly rainfall of 9.1694 metres. The patterns of temperature and rainfall determine the types of crops, planning of farm operations, food and animal production and assessment of drought and erosion hazards.³² The area is confined to the Savannah tropical climate, which is also influenced by the proximity to the Kagoro hills and the Jos Plateau. Rainfall in this area ranges from 1.2700 metres to 1.5494 metres.³³ This is so heavy that sometimes it brings water-logging and affects crops. In the most exposed and hilly areas erosion could be experienced.³⁴

The bulk of the food crops are grown during the rainy or wet season. The dry harmattan season, which is characterized by cool days and chilly nights come after the wet season. This period is the harvest season and it lasts from around November to February. The vegetation of this area is the Guinea Savannah. Savannah woodland with trees like sheabutter, locust bean and tamarind dominate this area and the black soil is suitable for cotton, maize and root crops.³⁵

The main types of soils are red lateritic soil and the heavier and more fertile blackish soils which occur further south. The lateric soils, being of low or medium fertility are suitable for growing crops like groundnuts, millet and *acha*.³⁶ Mineral deposits in this area include tin and iron ore.³⁷ The area is also characterized by thick

³² www.onlinenigeria.com/kadunastate.

³³ NAK: ZARPROF: AR1/28: "Meteorological Notes No. 2, Preliminary Notes on the Rainfall of Nigeria". Pp. 4-19.

³⁴ Simon, Y. "Southern Zaria in Historical Perspectives". A paper presented at the Departmental Seminar of History Department, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria 1982. P. 3.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Nyam-Jim, L.K., *Op. Cit.*

³⁷ Simon, Y. *Op. Cit.* P. 3.

vegetation, which discourages concentrated human activities. As a result of this, a lot of wild game is found making the area an enticing ground for dry season hunting.³⁸

1.7 Literature Review

The researcher has not come across literature written specifically on colonialism and agricultural production in Zangon Kataf District. However, a lot of people have written on colonialism, agricultural production as well as the nature of colonial economy in Northern Nigeria. The works of such people are reviewed because they provide us with relevant information that is useful in our understanding of the impact of British agricultural policies on Zangon Kataf. The review will be arranged from general texts to texts that are more specific to the area of study.

The first work reviewed is that of Temple who has written on *Native Races and Their Rulers: Sketches and Studies of Official Life and Administrative Problems in Nigeria*. According to Temple, there is no question of more importance to the European administrator of African tribes than that of land tenure. It is only through the adoption of right or wrong measures of land tenure system that a government can either accomplish satisfactory economic status and social relations of a native population or on the contrary completely reduce the native to a state of “poverty, mutual discord, grumbling and resentment against their rulers”.³⁹ It is quite obvious that the population, prosperity and

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Temple, C.L. *Native Races and Their Rulers*. Sketches and Studies of Official Life and Administrative Problems in Nigeria. 2nd edn. 1968.

strength of every community depend to a very large extent on how the members of the community make use of their natural resources.⁴⁰

Temple asserts that a very close enquiry was held by the government of Northern Nigeria in the years 1907/1908 during the Governorship of Sir Percy Girouard into local native law and custom regarding land tenure. The result of the enquiry showed that it was a consistent rule that the natives or communities were practicing communal mode of production. The right of every adult individual of a tribe to occupy and farm a portion of the native lands sufficient for the needs of himself and his family was recognized, so long as he conformed to those rules and regulations governing the tribe in order to ensure their protection and welfare. If he failed to meet those obligations he was very drastically dealt with, deprived of his farm, enslaved by other members of the tribe or even sold into slavery to other tribes.

In Northern Nigeria, before colonialism, the occupation of land was strictly conditioned on the proper use of the land and the performance of those duties called for by the needs of the community. However, when the Europeans came they took control of land tenure system and enacted the 'Land and Native Rights' Proclamation of 1910.⁴¹

Some people believed that the proclamation led to the development of Northern Nigeria but Temple went on to say that a further amendment to the original proclamation was introduced. In its original form the Land and Native Rights proclamation of 1910 referred all questions that might arise between the government as landlord and the individual as tenant to the decision of the Supreme Court. If a tenant thought that his rent had not been assessed correctly or he had been treated unfairly by the government, he

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

could sue the government by taking the issue to the courts, but when the law was amended he could not do so. This meant that the native had no say over agricultural production. He was at the mercy of the British colonisers.

Despite the fact that Temple's work is relevant to this research work, it is difficult to relate the work to a particular scope because it has no time frame.

The next work reviewed is *British Administration in Nigeria, 1900 – 1950: A Nigerian View* by Okonjo.⁴² Okonjo asserts that in 1908, a Land Committee was set up to investigate the whole question of land tenure in Northern Nigeria and to make recommendations. The Committee came down firmly in favour of confirming the main principles of Lugard's land laws and of enacting a new proclamation declaring the tenure and occupation of land within the protectorate which was not based on English land law and equity. In the view of the committee, such land proclamation should declare that the whole of the land of the protectorate was under the control of the government.⁴³

The effect of the Land and Native Rights Ordinance, first enacted as a proclamation in 1910, was formally to recognize all land in Northern Nigeria, with certain important exceptions, as native land and to vest their actual control and administration in the governor, acting in accordance with what he considered to be public interest. More to the point, the enactment declared that no title to the occupation and use of any native land was to be valid without the consent, in writing, of the Governor. The Governor had legal rights to give or not to give rights of occupancy to Africans and non-

⁴² Okonjo, I.M. *British Administration in Nigeria, 1900 – 1950: A Nigerian View*. New York, Nok Publishers Ltd. 1974.

⁴³ *Ibid.* P.51.

Africans alike; hence it was a crime to take decisions about land without the consent of the Governor.⁴⁴

Okonjo goes further to say that the purpose of this enactment was to bestow powers on the Governor to give him authority over the acquisition of land. He claimed that this law was to control the activities of inhabitants of the coastal regions of West Africa, alien traders and businessmen, and especially of lawyers and missionaries who, if allowed to practice their egalitarian and libertarian beliefs in Northern Nigeria, will destroy the mutual relationship between the British and the ruling class. This relationship, which Lugard and his workers had worked hard to build up and on which depend the future stability and progress of the Protectorate, might be destroyed if the authority of the African rulers are undermined.⁴⁵ However, his claim was in total contradiction with the reality. This was because the authorities of the African rulers were actually undermined for the benefit of the Europeans. The purpose of the enactment was to deliberately subjugate the sovereignty of the Africans.

The work of Okonjo is important in understanding this research work because it shows that the British administration was in control of agricultural production in the areas that formed Northern Nigeria. According to Okonjo, the British government took control of land so as to protect the area from external influence. But it should be noted that the enactment of the law was to guarantee the production of export crops and finally the recognition of the supremacy of British rule in the region. In fact, Temple makes it clear

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

that the law became amended because the Native had no right to report the administrators to court, if he was unjustly treated.⁴⁶

However, Okonjo's work does not give us a clear picture of what was happening in Southern Zaria. His work does not also tell us, in details, the impact of colonialism on livestock production in Northern Nigeria and Zangon Kataf in particular. The work centres more on the native land tenure system. This research work will bridge the gap by bringing out the effects of colonialism on livestock production in Zangon Kataf District.

The next work reviewed is that of C. Michael & A. Guda, *Nigeria an Introduction to Its History*⁴⁷. These authors make us to understand that the British aim was for their colonies to be financially self-supporting and they regarded their colonies primarily as suppliers of raw materials for home industries and as consumers of their manufactured goods.⁴⁸

In all the colonies, African interests were subordinated to those of Europe in many ways. For example, Africans were not allowed to industrialise because their industries would compete with those of the British who wanted to have monopoly of trade. Communications were improved not to benefit the Africans but in order to encourage external trade rather than internal trade, all for the benefit of the British. To further enhance their exploitation, the British concentrated on the production of export crops while little was done to improve domestic crops. These authors stress that it would

⁴⁶ Temple C.L. (1968), *Native Races and Their Ruler, Sketches and Studies of Official Life and Administrative Problems in Nigeria*. 2nd Edition. Frank Cass and Co. Ltd.

⁴⁷ Michael, C. & Guda, A. *Nigeria: An Introduction to Its History*. Hong Kong: Longman Group Ltd. 1979.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p163.

perhaps be more correct to talk of economic exploitation rather than economic development during the colonial period.

Colonial rule was largely concerned with the exploitation of Africa's resources to Europe's advantage. For the peasants, what affected them most during colonial rule was tax collection. Taxation served as a means not only of providing revenues for the colonisers' needs but of forcing farmers to grow export crops in order to get the money to pay their taxes.⁴⁹

The British colonisers, in order not to interfere very much in economic matters, practiced the policy of *laissez-faire*. This means as part of the British policy, the subjects had to raise revenue, usually from taxes or custom duties, in order to pay for all public works, which included roads, railways, schools and hospitals. Hence, infrastructural development in Nigeria throughout colonialism was a product of Nigerian people's sweat owing to the fact that these infrastructures were paid for by Nigerians and they were built largely to benefit the trade of the British and their companies.

Michael and Guda further draw our attention to the development of railways in Nigeria, which were built mainly to benefit the European rulers rather than the Nigerians themselves. The railways were built to facilitate external rather than internal trade, because, the colonizers were primarily concerned with getting raw materials, like groundnuts, cotton, cocoa and minerals like tin, to the coast for shipment to Europe and opened the interior for the sale of surplus European manufactured goods. This is why it can be seen that almost all the railways in Africa ran from the coast to the interior, like the ones linking Northern Nigeria with Lagos and Port-Harcourt. Railways were built

⁴⁹*Ibid.*

only to where there were raw materials, such as tin around Jos and groundnuts around Kano. It was entirely incidental that indigenous internal trade benefited from this.

The British colonial masters did everything possible to encourage export crop production when the railways were built. The main products the British got from Nigeria were palm produce, groundnuts, cotton, rubber, cocoa and timber. In return the British sent cheap manufactured goods to Nigeria like cotton print cloth, enamel bowls, machetes and soap.⁵⁰

As we can see, from the work of Michael and Guda, there are great differences in the quality of goods exchanged between Europe and Nigeria, being that European manufactured goods were highly perishable and destructive while Nigerian goods were very useful. The disadvantage of their work to our own study lies largely in the fact that it covers the whole of Nigeria as they have set out to do and as a result of this, emphasis is not laid much on Northern Nigeria, or Southern Kaduna in particular with which this research work is concerned. It was a general rather than specific study, a macro rather than a micro study. Nevertheless, it constitutes a very relevant reference material to our topic.

Next is the work of Safiyanu,⁵¹ who wrote on “The Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of the Zaria Native Authority C. 1902-1945”. He asserts that the colonisers changed the land tenure system of the region in fundamental ways. After the conquest of the area, the colonisers introduced land policies that helped effectively in exploiting the human and natural resources of the area. The

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Safiyanu, M.A. (1991), “The Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of the Zaria Native Authority C. 1902-1945...”

control of land by the colonisers was very important to them because colonial taxation solely depended on the basis of it.⁵² As a result, the masses were made to be temporary occupants of their farms because the administration of land issues was placed under the Native Authorities (N.A.), through the use of indirect rule system.

The colonisers saw the need of making the Emirs and their subordinate officials to be fully involved in land matters. They (colonisers) saw the need of the chiefs and leaders of the people to hold land because they could get income to supplement their meager salaries. Also, by so doing the leaders (N.A.) would be in closer touch with the peasants, thereby increasing their influence and making them to be more loyal to the colonisers as well.⁵³

Hence, by implication, while land control was under the colonial administration, theoretically, practically it still remained under the control of the Emir. The powers of the colonial administration, over the control of land, were normally made manifest when it comes to issues of big projects requiring large portions of land. Examples of such projects were: forest reserves, construction of Rest Houses in District headquarters or the construction of Government Reservation Areas (GRAs).⁵⁴

The poor peasants (*talakawa*) were forced to live in harmony and maintain good relationship with their local chiefs so that their lands would not be confiscated. This is because the N.A. had the authority to confiscate the lands of the peasants when they failed to obey the dictates of the colonisers. The N.A., working under the instructions of the colonisers, used their posts to collect lands from the peasants for their personal usage or sell to the government (colonisers) or trading companies. Consequently, the peasants

⁵² Ibid. P. 205.

⁵³ Ibid. P.212.

⁵⁴ Ibid. P. 213.

became landless citizens, which negatively affected the economic development of Zaria, most especially in the aspect of agriculture.⁵⁵

Zaria served as the center of colonial agricultural infrastructure and commerce, which made it to attract many trading companies which traded in commodities that were produced in the area.⁵⁶ Therefore, Zaria is a good example of an area where “a clear case of colonial state intervention in production for export was manifested”;⁵⁷ but these activities were governed by the needs of the capitalists.

In order to exploit the raw materials of Zaria, the colonisers promoted the massive production of export crops. The colonisers used brutal economic and political measures to ensure that the peasants maintained and increased production of agricultural commodities for export purposes. The peasants were seriously exploited by the British because the colonial administrators depended on the peasant farmer as the backbone of the country’s economy.

In as much as the work of Safiyanu is relevant to this work, it also has weaknesses to the research because it does not highlight extensively the extinction of traditional crops and the impact it had on the society as part of the colonial economy which is the focus of the work. Furthermore, the work does not talk about livestock which is also part of agricultural production. But, all the same the work highlights how colonialism underdeveloped Zaria Province. We find the work to be a very useful reference material to our area of study.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* P. 220.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* P. 221.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* P. 222.

The work of Abdulkadir Adamu titled, “British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria. C. 1902-1945: A Case Study of Soba District”, is also worth reviewing. According to him, for us to understand well the agricultural policies of the British in Northern Nigeria, we must know “how they understand our society, what they wanted from it and how they planned to get it.”⁵⁸ In talking about how they understand our society, the British saw the society as one that is endowed with vast economic potentials, most especially the agricultural benefits offered. They assumed that economic activities in this area depended on slave labour, before colonialism.

European explorers like Huge Clapperton and Richard Lander, who passed through Zaria, gave reports about Northern Nigeria as a region having “extensive agricultural production and commercial transactions.”⁵⁹ The British became very much interested in the region because of its endowment with natural resources, which they badly needed to solve their economic problems. For example, they needed cotton for the Lancashire textile mills in Europe. So, what the British wanted from our region was basically raw materials and agricultural produce. They planned to get these raw materials through colonisation, using the available human and natural resources in the region to their own benefit.

One of the first issues the British addressed after the conquest (during colonialism) was the control of land, because of its importance to the economy.⁶⁰ The British introduced land policies that helped in developing their interest and were able to incorporate the region in its economy and into the world’s capitalist system. These

⁵⁸ Adamu A., (1992) British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria. C. 1902-1945: A Case Study of Soba District... P. 89.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* P. 89.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* P. 91.

policies came with their adverse consequences to the region, which will be discussed below.

The immediate consequence of land use was the expansion of export crop production by the British, which led to the confiscation of peasant lands by the colonisers. But one problem was that most of the wealthy people that had large lands did not devote much of their time to farming activities. Taxation also contributed to loss of lands by the peasants because most of them that did not have money to pay their taxes always pledged their farms in order to get money to pay taxes.⁶¹

Abdulkadir Adamu goes further to say that the consequences of British agricultural policies on the general well-being of the masses cannot be overemphasized. There was poverty in general and people were much indebted, because of food shortages and other reasons alike. Also, the production of export crops increased, taking cotton, for instance, the price of the crops did not increase so that the peasants were not able to benefit from increased production. This led to the devastation of the peasants.

Finally, Abdulkadir Adamu is of the view that colonial taxation led to the decline in industrial production.⁶² This was because, due to the nature of British taxation and labour mobilization, a great number of craftsmen emigrated. The remaining craftsmen combined agricultural production (export crops mostly) with other part-time activities like dyeing, blacksmithing and others. Locally made iron (*tama*) declined because they were made to be very expensive, compared to the imported iron bars. Thus, it is arguably that this was the beginning of our technological dependence on the British.⁶³ The industries, such as blacksmithing that survived, was due to their importance in producing

⁶¹ *Ibid.* P. 174

⁶² *Ibid.* P. 185c.

⁶³ *Ibid.* P. 186.

implements like hoes, used for agricultural production, which were important for the cultivation of export crops by peasants.

Despite the fact that the work of Abdulkadir Adamu, reviewed above, does not cover the entire period of this study, it is very important. This is owing to the fact that it shows our area of study was naturally endowed with human and natural resources before colonisation. The work has shown that the Europeans are responsible for the underdevelopment of the area of study. Our research work will contribute well by covering the entire period of British colonization of our area till the year of independence.

The next work is that of Jumare, "The Nature of Land Tenure in Sokoto Emirate under British Overrule, 1903-1916".⁶⁴ Jumare starts by stating that "the issues of land as it affected tenurial rights and privileges in Sokoto, was indeed one of the cardinal points that engaged the minds of the British in the trajectory of colonial rule".⁶⁵ This was because any change brought about by the British concerning the system of land tenure in Sokoto was bound to affect the rest of Northern Nigeria. Issues of land were important for the British to address in order to "ensure loyalty to the British colonisers and also because it is significant to the overall development of colonial economy". Colonialism in Sokoto led to changes in land tenure and agriculture and these brought about labour migration, increased production of export crops and wage labour leading to the opening of more virgin lands.

⁶⁴ Jumare, I.M., The Nature of Land Tenure in Sokoto Emirate under British Overrule, 1903-1916, *Zaria Historical Research*. Journal of The Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria. Vol. 2, No. 1, 2002.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p 66.

Before colonialism, land distribution was controlled by the caliphate to avoid conflicts among the various groups in Sokoto.⁶⁶ The state entrusted much land under the control of its officials so that the policy of *waqf* land will be sustained. This was to ensure the continuity of allocation of land for housing, farming and grazing as more and more people arrived the city.

At the turn of the 20th century, when the British colonised the area, they initially did not worry about the ownership, transfer and rights to sell or mortgage private holdings or the control of official estates because the British wanted “to use rural economy to produce more export crops despite the food crisis being experienced by the peasants and slaves”. Later the British colonisers changed the caliphate system so that they would be able to deal with the problem of generating revenue and they wanted to break the dependent relationship between the Sokoto officials and the peasants. Sokoto land tenure, according to Jumare, had never been subject to taxation before colonialism so the British colonisers decided to find ways by all means to introduce taxation in the area.

The opportunity for the British to impose taxation in this area came, when by accident, they found a copy of Abdullahi bn Fodio’s tract on land tenure in the caliphate. The copy of the tract (*Ta’alim alradthi*) was a translation of the Arabic work on land law into English and it was gotten in Kano by H.R. Palmer, the acting Resident. This helped the colonisers to understand more about the nature of land tenure within the context of the caliphate laws.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* P. 68.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* P. 69.

The lands committee justified their arguments over land because by chance Ta'alim al-radthi complemented the issue by saying that:

*The disposition and settlement of all land questions lies with the Imam (Sarki); that since all the Hausa states were conquered by the caliphate, no land other than Sokoto waqf could be subjected to ownership by individuals; that private right did not amount to true ownership.*⁶⁸

Consequently, the British justified their claim over the control of the same lands that were under the control of the caliphate including Sokoto after its collapse because they have conquered the area. The colonisers recognized that the agric sector dominated the economy in Sokoto, so their control over land became the basis for the imposition of colonial taxation.

These issues raised are relevant to our research work because in Zangon Kataf District the people were also forced to pay taxes and the colonial Government took the overall control of land ownership. This really affected the economy of the people because the agricultural production of the people, of the societies was controlled by the government and agriculture was the mainstay of the economy in this area.

The British made tobacco to be one of the important export crops produced in Sokoto so that it would generate revenue for taxation. Consequently, this led to the neglect of food crop production and increase in the use of *fadama* land in the production of tobacco, cotton and rice.

Jumare concludes by saying that family holdings and law of inheritance of land continued because they were of benefits to the British colonial administration in Sokoto. He says that the British policy of demarcation of colonial boundaries created land use

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* P.70.

problems among the border communities. This led to communal conflicts and massive migration of peasants in search of land and sources of livelihood.

Jumare's work is related to what was experienced in our area of study because labour migration was also experienced in Zangon Kataf, during colonialism. The people of this area used to run in order to hide themselves from tax collectors. Many also migrated to the urban areas for better living conditions.

This work proves that, developments in land use, human settlement and agriculture had been going on in the border towns and communities, Zangon Kataf District inclusive, before British and French rule in Nigeria and Niger respectively. This proved that communities in Nigeria and Niger were already in the process of transformation that would have ultimately led to social and economic integration on the eve of European conquest.

The weakness of this work is that there are no names of authors in some of the published and unpublished sources, which are very important for the analysis of the work. Secondly, the scope of the work, which is 1903 – 1916, is too short to talk about such crucial issue as land tenure in Sokoto Emirate under British overrule. Hence, a complete knowledge of British administration in Northern Nigeria is lacking in the work. Our research work will bridge the gap by covering the period of colonialism in Zangon Kataf District.

Next, is the article on “Economic and Social Issues” by Yusufu, B.U. (et al) in Yakubu, A.M. (et al) (eds) *Northern Nigeria a Century of Transformation, 1903 – 2003*⁶⁹. The authors point out that the Great World Economic Depression of the 1930s, which lasted for almost a decade, devastated all the economies of the capitalist world. Factories were closed and there were political upheavals in the industrialised world, which led many to think that the colonial world did not suffer greatly during the depression.⁷⁰ This thinking is even expressed in the statement of Gavin and Oyemakinde that “the early 1930s saw harvest after harvest of unprecedented size and value in Nigeria’s North ... food prices fell”.⁷¹ But this was not a cause for contentment or security, on the contrary there was great deal of suffering, increased debt, new waves of migration to avoid taxation and family burden and even anti-government violence. There were very few people in the North who purchased food outside of officialdom, since tens of thousands of workers in the tin mines were sent back to the farms when the tin mine owners’ cartel closed many of the mines.⁷²

The authors further observe that because of the drastic fall in agricultural prices, sometimes by 80% or more, for groundnuts and cotton, farmers had to produce more than they were producing in order to pay their taxes. This was because the taxes did not take economic reality into consideration; they were primarily intended to force farmers to produce much of exportable crops. The authors point out that taxes remained the same for many years. This brought problems because many taxes by the early 1930s were still

⁶⁹ Yusufu, B.U. (et al) “Economic and Social Issues” in Yakubu, A.M. (et al) (eds) *Northern Nigeria a Century of Transformation, 1903 – 2003*. Kaduna: Arewa House Ahmadu Bello University, Kaduna. 2005.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p287.

⁷¹ Gavin, R.J. & Oyemakinde, W., “Economic Development in Nigeria since 1800” in Ikime, O. (ed), *Groundwork of Nigeria History* (Ibadan: Historical Society of Nigeria with Heinemann, 1981.) pp 506-507.

⁷² Yusufu, B.U. (et al). *Op. Cit.*

calculated based on data from 1924 when prices were very good. This, however, meant that the unfortunate, the sick, the burdened and many others often had to pay a burdensome amount of money as tax and it became impossible for them. The outcomes of this tax policy were crime, debt, loss of property, abscondment, emigration and embezzlement.⁷³

The drastic collapse of world export prices resulted in drastic decline in the currency available in Nigeria because the amount of money was strictly related to the monetary value of exports. According to Kirk-Greene, this currency dropped from over £7,000,000 million by 1925 to £6 million in 1939.⁷⁴ This worsened the effect of the depression on the Nigerian economy leading to a decline in the standard of living of many Nigerians.

Another major policy which affected Nigeria's economy was "Imperial preference". According to Ekundare: "The system was in the nature of tariff alternations and the imposition of quotas on imports".⁷⁵ This formally ended any claims that the British practiced "free trade" policies. The policy favoured British industry, because there was less competition. The prices of exports from Nigeria were very low compared to the high prices of imports; and these imports were mainly from Britain. The Nigerian economy during this period became overheated and inflation ensued leading to distress in Northern Nigeria in particular and Nigeria in general.

The work reviewed above is relevant to our research work because it shows our area was already integrated into the world market and economy. The colonizers were in

⁷³*Ibid.*

⁷⁴Kirk-Greene, "The Major Currencies in Nigeria History", p. 137 in Yusufu, B.U. (et al) Op. Cit.

⁷⁵Ekundare, R.O. *An Economic History of Nigeria 1860 – 1960*. New York: Africana Publishing Co. New York, 1973. p.216.

control of prices of goods in this area and the people were distressed. The work is also relevant to this research work, because it shows us how the world economic depression has affected agriculture in Northern Nigeria.

One of the limitations of this work to our area of study is that it concentrates more on the aspect of currency than agriculture during the colonial era in view of the fact that both are aspects of economy, bearing in mind that the work is on economic and social issues. Secondly, it also concentrates more on the northernmost part of Nigeria, paying little attention to the central part where Zangon Kataf District is located. It is important to find out whether the effect of the depression affected the different regions and societies differently or uniformly – for example, the core caliphate and the periphery or what the British called “pagan” or non-Muslim areas.

Next is the work of Kazah-Toure, titled “The Development of the Nationalist Movement in Zaria Province, 1902 – 1960”.⁷⁶ In writing about the development of the nationalist movement in Zaria Province, the author is of the view that nationalist movement in Zaria Province emerged in order to fight against colonial exploitation and oppression, which manifested in taxation, cash crop production, force labour and wage labour. Taxation was a main source of income that the colonisers used in controlling the area.

The various types of taxation that were collected by the British included the *Kurdin kasa* (land tax, rent or tribute), composing of *Haraji* (Poll tax), *Jangali* (cattle) tax, and others. *Jangali* tax payment was initially levied on nomads alone, but by 1912 it

⁷⁶ Kazah-Toure, K., “The Development of the Nationalist Movement in Zaria Province, 1902 – 1960”. A Masters Thesis submitted to the Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria. 1991.

became imposed on all pastoralists, whether nomadic or not.⁷⁷ The taxes paid were more exploitative to the poor people in general than to the rich. This was because, the rich, no matter how wealthy, were given a specific amount of shillings (the amount was actually not burdensome to them) to pay, while the poor, on the other hand, no matter how poor, were given a specific burdensome amount to pay, even if they did not have money.

Ethnic groups in Southern Zaria were made to pay taxes in order to serve as an “acknowledgement of their submission” to the colonial administrators.⁷⁸ Non-Muslim women were also made to pay taxes unlike the Muslim women, who were exempted, because of some reasons that were not historically true.⁷⁹

The method of collecting tax was subjected to abuse. For example, it was discovered in Ikara and Kudara Districts, in 1922, that records were not up to date and there were no receipts issued to tax payers.⁸⁰ Corruption ensued and there were cases of tax embezzlement by colonial officials that were covered. Kazah-Toure also states that the British policy of limiting the payment of tax to adults alone, only existed in theory. In practice, the District officials always included the old people (aged) and the children deliberately so that the aged would give them bribes to remove their names from the list, when they were not even supposed to be there in the first place.

Furthermore, natural disasters such as famine, drought, poor harvest, invasion by locust and fall in prices of agricultural materials never made the British to reduce the amount of tax paid by the peasants. In the same vein, whenever there was a bumper harvest, culminating in the rise in prices of crops, the British increased the taxes. In some

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* Pp 192-194.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* P. 193.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* P. 194.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* P.195.

instances, however, the conditions of the people could be exaggerated by the provincial authorities just to justify continuous collection of high taxes. This was what happened in 1922 when the peasants of Zaria found it difficult to pay taxes and the Provincial authorities made false allegations that the peasants were contented, without having problems. This led to the peasant revolts of 1922, which were against British oppressive tax system.

During wars or crises, the colonized were made to carry the burden of financing the wars, despite the fact that they were already burdened with harsh conditions and high taxation. For example, during World War I, the people of Zaria were made to pay war levies, meaning an additional tax. The colonised were the ones that financed the British war machine, during their confrontation with the Germans in the Cameroon. Apart from voluntary enrolment by the masses into the army, the British embarked on seizures of food stuff from the peasants in order to feed the British army, alongside compulsory payment of funds by the workers.

Taxation caused migrations of peasants from Zaria District to places like Kano. Struggles against colonial taxation were more prominent in Southern Zaria area. This was so because, before colonialism, the people of Southern Zaria were not used to paying tax.⁸¹

British colonisers went ahead to encourage export crop production. According to Z.A. Bonat,⁸² the British gave ginger, tobacco, cotton and sugarcane seeds to Hausa farmers only so that the non-Hausa farmers would be forced to go to the mines or farms of Hausa farmers to get tax money. But the distribution of ginger went to the people of

⁸¹ *Ibid.* Pp 200-201.

⁸² Bonat, Z.A., "Colonialism and the Underdevelopment of Zaria Province ..." P. 291.

Southern Zaria. The British brought these seeds in order to wipe out the indigenous seeds they claimed to be inferior.

Forced labour was also used by the British to exploit and oppress the people of Southern Zaria. The roads, railways, courts, prisons, police and military barracks, European officials' houses, offices, among others, were mainly constructed by the people of Zaria through the use of force. The authorities used *dogarai*, police and soldiers in the process of using forced labour so that people had no choice but to comply. Kazah-Toure goes ahead to state that in order to understand the nature of forced labour requirement made on the people, it is necessary to acknowledge the fact that there were concentrated railway lines in Zaria Province that passed through it in different directions, more than any Province in Nigeria. This is an indication that the railway lines demanded lot of labour.⁸³

It was claimed by the colonisers in a bid to justify the act of forced labour that it was something that united the people; that it brought together different tribes that were hostile to each other, to work in harmony. They also said that forced labour made the people of Southern Zaria to be in contact with the so-called "more civilized" Hausa neighbours, which made them wiser or bolder and therefore encouraged them to make complain when treated unfairly. But the nationalists' struggles that were staged by both the non-Hausa and the Hausa people against forced labour proved wrong the claims of the Europeans.⁸⁴ Besides, the Europeans were not interested in uniting the people because their control would be at risk. Wage labour developed slowly as a result of forced labour. The number of the working class was very small because colonialism did

⁸³ Kazah-Toure. *Op. Cit.* P. 211-214.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* P. 220.

not bring about the development of industries, which would have led to the expansion of working class in the area. Wage labour was used to exploit the masses by the colonial authorities and capitalist firms. The native (colonised) workers were given lower positions to occupy in all organisations, which included railway clerks and workmen, road workers, agricultural worker and forestry workers.⁸⁵

The work of Kazah-Toure is very essential to this research work because it covers the entire period of our work, bringing out some of the evils of colonialism. One of the limitations of the work to this research work is based on the fact that the work is on nationalist movement in Zaria Province and not on agriculture. Therefore, it did not give detailed account of the nature of agricultural development under colonialism which is the focus of our study.

Finally, and more specific to the area of study, is the work of Bonat titled, *Aspects of the Economic and Social History of the Atyab (Katab) c. 1800 – 1960 A.D.*⁸⁶ According to him the Atyap (Kataf) people engaged in series of economic activities before colonialism. First of all, he asserts that by 19th century the people were predominantly farmers. They cultivated various crops like millet (*dauro* in Hausa), sorghum, *acha*, several varieties of beans, groundnuts, cassava, yam, cocoyam, garden eggs, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, peppers, okro, benniseed, among others. They domesticated tree crops like pawpaw, guava, mango, banana, oil palm and raffia palm.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Ibid. Pp. 225-227.

⁸⁶ Bonat, Z.A. "Aspects of the Economic and Social History of the Atyab (Katab) c. 1800 – 1960 A.D." In: *Savanna: A Journal of the Environmental and Social Sciences* (Vol. 10, No. 1). Zaria: ABU Press, 1989.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 41.

Bonat makes it clear that land was collectively owned by the community thereby making the society to be communalistic. There was no sale of land, either by an individual or the household head. Tools used for agriculture consisted of machetes, sickles and hand hoes.⁸⁸ Apart from farm produce the people acquired their meat through hunting and rearing of domestic animals such as goats, chickens and other livestock. Meat could not be bought through the market.

Another economic activity engaged by the people of Atyab before colonialism was manufacturing. Manufacturing was practiced by the people in order to provide means of production and items for other uses.⁸⁹ The people of Zangon Kataf District live within the Nok culture area and it can be inferred that the people are descendants of these early iron working people. Iron making became a highly specialized industry among the people of this area. Some families in the area smelted the iron stone into *tama* (raw iron), while others converted the iron into various implements like axes, hoes, arrows, spears, sickles, among others. These implements were used for agriculture and further industrial production.

Bonat goes further to state that woodwork was well established in the area. Wood was used to make hoe and axe handles, beds, pestles and mortars, carriers, spoons and musical instruments, like drums.⁹⁰

Pottery was widely established in Zangon Kataf District. Pots were used for storage, cooking and beer making, while potsherds were used for laying floors and covering walls and graves. Spoons and eating utensils were made from wood and clay.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

Stone carving was also practiced alongside. Stones were turned into grinding stones, or broken into smaller pieces and used for building barns and houses.

Bonat also asserts that as part of craftwork, there was weaving of mats, waterproof capes and cloths from raffia and umbrella palm leaves, leather and cotton respectively. According to him some of these crafts survived into the 20th century.⁹¹

Furthermore, the Atyab people engaged in trading activities before colonialism. During this period, trade was of three types among the people. First, there was simple trade by barter between women within one household and between members of a few households. Secondly, there was trade at the village markets that involved both barter and money exchanges. This means goods could be exchanged with goods and also with money. Thirdly, there was external trade with other traders from outside the village and from outside Atyabland, in larger markets. These exchanges were necessary and possible because different households were producing different articles in differing quality and quantity.

In consonance with the above, Bonat asserts that some of the long distance caravans sometimes raided Atyab villages and captured slaves for use as carriers of their goods and for sale. The Atyab people reacted to these raids by organizing themselves into war parties to harass these traders, set the captives free and confiscate their goods. The British were later to interpret this phenomenon as a manifestation of a germ of theft in the blood of the Atyab person. There were no traditions that the people of Zangon-Kataf District quite often united to ambush the slave raiding caravans.⁹²

⁹¹ *Ibid*, p. 45.

⁹² *Ibid*, p. 49.

Apart from engaging in economic activities, the people of Atyab were also well established politically. This is because they had an organized system of government. The individual village was the basic political unit. Political authority lay with the elders of the lineages and clans. The most prominent authority was the *Agwam Abwai* (the Chief Priest). His power lay in a belief that he was in constant contact with the *Abwai* which were believed to be the spirits of the ancestors of the village.⁹³ The elders of the village, clan or lineage always mediated in disputes but if they did not succeed, the disputes were referred to the *Abwai* to take over. Such matters included land clearance and settlement, farm boundaries, among others. Disputes involving people from different clans, lineages or villages were settled by elders from both or all sides.

However, based on centralized authority Bonat asserts that:

It is thus clear that even by the nineteenth century the economy of these village-based political units had not yet developed to the extent of enabling a group, through ownership of the means of production, to exploit the labour of the majority of the villagers to enrich itself. Consequently, although political authority was well-defined, there was no clear-cut division between a ruling class possessing sovereign powers and a mass of people serving as subjects. At the same time, these were not "stateless", as each village unit was situated within a definite tribal territory, with its political institutions, even if these were not centralised in one overall authority, a Chief or King.⁹⁴

Based on the above quotation, it becomes explicitly clear that the people of Zangon Kataf District were living comfortable lives before colonialism. This was because there was no single authority that was exploiting their labour for its own benefit.

⁹³ *Ibid.* P. 48.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* P. 49.

The work of Bonat is very important to this research work because it discusses more about the area of study. A major contribution of the work to our study is that it covers the entire period of this research work. Bonat's work really makes it clear that the people of Atyab (Katab) were engaged in series of economic activities before colonialism. They were developed in their own way and having control of their own activities. However, the issues raised and discussed are not in detail. This is owing to the fact that the economic and social history of the Kataf people covered a long period of the study, that is, 1800 – 1960, but was summarized in some few pages. Our work focuses on a shorter period which will enable us to provide detailed study that will throw more light on the history of the area of study.

1.8 Research Methodology

The research methodology will consist of primary and secondary sources. It will first and foremost be based on field work to interview respondents. Among the primary sources to be used for this research work are archival records. These are records written by European government officials, who were participants in the government during colonial period. These are very important primary sources because they are eye witness accounts.

Secondary sources will also be used which will consist of both published and unpublished material such as books, journals, internet sources, among others. Although, as it is well known, secondary sources have the limitation of alteration, more importantly, subjectivity, distortion, primarily written by Europeans from Euro-centric views. In spite of this, they are very important sources of information and can be used together with

primary sources to get the right picture of colonialism. All sources gathered will be analysed and duly acknowledged.

1.8.1 Sampling Technique

Simple random sampling technique will be used in the selection of respondents. In statistics, a simple random sample is a subset of individuals (a sample) chosen from a larger set (a population). Each individual is chosen randomly and entirely by chance, such that each individual has the same probability of being chosen at any stage during the sampling process, and each subset of k individuals has the same probability of being chosen for the sample as any other subset of k individuals. A simple random sample is an unbiased surveying technique.⁹⁵ Simple random sampling is a basic type of sampling, since it can be a component of other more complex sampling methods. The principle of simple random sampling is that every object has the same probability of being chosen.

This research will be based on field work to know the views of individuals about the nature and impact of colonialism on the people. Questionnaires will not be administered but rather interview questions will be asked. (See Appendix II for interview questions guide). Field work will be used not only because of the scarcity of secondary sources available on the area of our discussion but also to corroborate written sources with oral sources. Oral sources shall constitute part of the primary source of this work. The focus of discussion shall be on: agricultural production before colonialism and agricultural production during and after colonialism in Zangon Kataf District; the effects of colonialism on agriculture in Zangon Kataf District; the history of Zangon Kataf

⁹⁵ Yates, Daniel S.; David S. Moore; Daren S. Starnes (2008). *The Practice of Statistics, 3rd Ed.* Freeman. ISBN 978-0-7167-7309-2.

District itself and lots more. The people to be interviewed will include those from 80 to 100 years of age, because they were alive during colonialism. People between 50 to 70 years will be interviewed because they will be able to recall their experience from childhood or what their parents told them about colonialism. Village Heads will also be interviewed because they have knowledge of what happened during colonial period. Generally, anybody with useful information will be interviewed, which cut across age, gender, occupational group, status, tribe, religion among others.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed why we need to study Zangon Kataf. The literature review makes us to understand that the people of Zangon Kataf were developed in their own way before the coming of British colonizers. They engaged in series of economic activities and they had their form of political system which was organized. The review shows that the societies in Zangon Kataf District experienced changes during colonialism, which were not favourable to them. It discusses about how the people were maltreated during colonialism and how their lands were controlled by the colonizers. However, we can not reach a general conclusion on agricultural production in Zangon Kataf District under British colonial rule until we have discussed and examined the agricultural policies that were introduced during this period. These will be discussed subsequently. But we can conclude here by saying that the British colonizers really benefited a lot from colonizing the people of Zangon Kataf District because they took control of the people's agricultural activities.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SOCIETY AND ECONOMY OF ZANGON KATAF AREA BEFORE BRITISH COLONIAL CONQUEST, 1800 – 1900

2.0 Introduction

For us to know whether Zangon Kataf District experienced agricultural development after colonialism or not, we must know about the society and economy before colonial conquest so that we can compare the two periods. This chapter will start by discussing the traditions of origin of the people. It is very important for us to know about the origin of the people so that we can have a clear picture about them.

The chapter will proceed to discuss about their socio-political organization before colonialism, to help us know how the people interacted between themselves and similarities in their settlement patterns. The nature of pre-colonial economy, land tenure system, labour organization and agricultural production will also be discussed. This will enable us to arrive at a good conclusion on whether the economy and society of Zangon Kataf area was developed before British colonization or not. Societies are not static but changing, which is contrary to colonial description of African societies.

2.1 Traditions of Origin

Zangon Kataf District was one of the Districts created following the colonial territorial reorganization which occurred at the end of 1907¹. The creation of this District by 1907, however, does not mean that the area was not under colonial influence by the British before this period. The area comprises of Jaba, Kataf, Kaje, Kagoma,

¹ Bonat, Z.A. The Colonial Phase of the Underdevelopment of Zaria Province 1902-1945. M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1985, p. 209.

Kagoro, Moroa, Ikulu, Kamantan peoples and a few others.² Linguistically, the peoples are classified as Benue Congo or Semi-Bantu group. Their language structures are quite similar. Languages spoken in the District include Atyap (Kataf), Jju (Bajju), Ikulu and Kamantan. The origins of these peoples are still not completely revealed. Most oral traditions of the people claim migration into the area. Some of the peoples have traditions of migration from the south of Zaria area to the North; others claim the Bauchi, Lake Chad and Jos Plateau areas. A few claim to have been shifting around the vicinity from time immemorial.

In addition to the origins of these people were the archaeological findings of 1933 and 1944 near Nok in Jabaland. The Nok Culture civilization was discovered in 1928. The first discovery was accidentally unearthed at a level of 24 feet in an alluvial tin mine in the vicinity of the village of Nok in Jaba Local Government in the southern part of Kaduna State, near the Jos Plateau region which lies in the central part of Nigeria in West Africa. As a result of natural erosion and deposition, Nok terracottas were scattered at various depths throughout the Sahel grasslands, causing difficulty in the dating and classification of the mysterious artifacts, but fortunately, two archeological sites, Samun Dukiya and Taruga, were found containing Nok art that had remained unmoved. Due to radiocarbon and thermo-luminescence tests the sculptures were aged between 2000 and 2500 years ago, making them some of the oldest in West Africa. Nok culture earned its name from the Nok civilization that inhabited the area from around 500 BC in the village of Nok of the Ham people in Kaduna State.³

² Turaki, Y. *The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria: A Social Ethical Analysis of the Colonial and Post-Colonial Society and Politics in Nigeria*. Arewa House. 1993. p. 15.

³ www.nokculture.com.html.

According to the archaeological findings of 1933 and 1944, the cultural artifacts of Nok culture have been found to be identical with the cultural features of the contemporary inhabitants of Jabaland in our area of study. Therefore, it is suggested that some of the ethnic groups in Southern Zaria, where Zangon Kataf is located, might have descended from the people who created the Nok culture complex, giving room for migrations.⁴

The Atyap (Kataf) People

The Atyap people derive their name from their language, “Tyap”, a descriptive name meaning “the people who speak Tyap”. The Atyap people are referred to as “Katab” or “Kataf” by their neighbouring Hausa people due to the large amount of cam wood (*Katambari* in Hausa and *Gbandaad* in Tyap) which the Atyap people used as an important item of trade. There are several traditions about the origin and migration of the Atyap people. According to one of the traditions, the Atyap once lived in the Bauchi area from where they migrated to Kano. From Kano they moved southwards and split into two, that is, the Agba’ad and the Minyam. The Agba-ad went through Kargi while the Minyam passed through Adara land. According to traditions, when the Minyam and the Agba’ad reached the area, they met the Aku and the Ashowa as earlier arrivals.⁵

⁴ *Ibid*, pp 15 & 16.

⁵ Bala, A.D., *Zangon Kataf: A Journey of a People*. Mangut Publishers in Collaboration with Heritage Africa. 2004, p. 7.

Another tradition of the Atyap people is that they were living in Kauru before they moved to their present location in 1846 due to the heavy taxation imposed on them by a Kauru chief.⁶

Another tradition states that they moved from Bauchi area to Kalla. From Kalla it is said that they moved to their present-day location.⁷ The Atyap are good agriculturalists and breed a considerable quantity of livestock.⁸ They consider that all members of a clan have a common descent through one ancestor and, therefore, encouraged inter-clan and inter-state marriage. Traditionally, the states and clans had complementary functions. The Agba'ad clan had primacy in both cavalry and archery warfare and led the army. Agba'ad clan leader, therefore, became the commander-in-chief of the Atyap army. The post of Atu-Taliyen, a military public relations officer who announced the commencement and termination of each war, was held by a member of the Agba'ad clan. The Shokwa were in charge of rain making and flood control rites. During dry spells in the rainy season, the Shokwa clan leader, the chief priest and Rain maker had to perform rites for rain making. When rainfall was too high resulting in floods and destruction of houses and crops, the same officers of the clan were called up to perform rites related to rain control. The Aku clans were the custodians of the paraphernalia of the Abwoi religion and performed initiation rites for all new initiates. To prepare adherents for initiations, their bodies were smeared with mahogany oil (*Amia'akoh*) and were forced to take exhaustive exercise before they were ushered into the shrine. They had to swear to

⁶ Achi, B., "The Kataf People: Theories of Origin, Migration, Settlement and Inter-group Relations". Paper prepared for the Research and Information Committee of the K.Y.C.A. Workshop Seminar on Kataf History, December 1981.

⁷ Bala, A.D. *Op. cit*, p. 8.

⁸ Temple, C.L. *Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Province of Nigeria*. P. 222.

keep all secrets related to the Abwoi.⁹ The belief within the clans that members of a clan had a common descent through one ancestor, prevented inter-marriages between members of the clan.

The people practiced Abwoi religion, which included elaborate initiation ceremonies and belief in the continued presence of deceased ancestors. It was secretive, with incentives for spies who reported saboteurs and death penalties for revelation of secrets.¹⁰ Abwoi leaves (*Nansham*) a species of shea leaves, were placed on farms and on top of houses to scare away thieves since the Abwoi were believed to be omnipresent and omniscient. Any revelation of Abwoi secrets could be meted with capital punishment. To ensure that war secrets did not leak to the opponents, women were made to wear *tswa ayuan* (woven raffia ropes) for 6 months in a year. During this period, they were to abstain from gossips, late cooking and travelling. At the end of the period, it was marked by a celebration known as *Song-Ayet*, which was celebrated in April, when women were free to wear fashionable dresses. These fashionable dresses included the *Atayep* made of strips of leather and decorated with cowry shells, or the *Ayiyep*, which had dyed ropes of raffia sewn together into loin cloth. Women also wore the *Gyep yuan* (lumber ornament) for the *song-Ayet* ceremony. It was woven from palm fibre and was tied round the waist using a projection from a cord.¹¹

For men, the *muzurwa* was the major dress, which was made of tanned leather and properly oiled. The wealthy in society decorated the edges of this dress with beads and cowries. The dress was tied round the waist with the aid of *gindi* (leather strap). By the

⁹ "The Culture and Religion". *Atyap Community Online*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

late 18th century, a short knicker called *Dinari*, made of cloth, became part of the men's attire. Men also had their hair plaited and at times decorated with cowry's shells. They wore raffia caps (*Katah*) decorated with dyed wool and ostrich feathers and their bodies painted with white chalk (*Abwan*) and red ochre (*tsuo*).¹²

The Bajju (Kaje)

The language of the Bajju people is called Jju, while the land is called Kajju. According to oral tradition, the origin of Bajju people (also called Kaje) can be traced to Plateau area from a tribe called Jarawa, who were living on hills. Two people, who were Zamfara and Awai, came down from the hills and settled with the Miango tribe. Zampara further moved to Chawai area in search of greener pasture. Although it is unclear from oral history when the migration occurred, but evidence suggests that the Bajju were in their current location since about 3,000 years ago.¹³

Zampara gave birth to two sons, Baranzan and Akad. Baranzan is the father of Bajju, while Akad is the father of Atakad. Baranzan gave birth to five children namely, Akwak, Tadon, Kadon, Kashuwa and Iduwang. Akwak, the eldest son, gave birth to fifteen (15) children who formed fifteen villages of Bajju. These children made up what is known as Banyet Ahuwan or Katag Ahuwan. They were: (1) Sakwak, (2) Kamurum (our study area), (3) Akudan, (4) Kpunyai, (5) Azauru, (6) Katsit, (7) Amasa, (8) Byet,

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Interview with Dr. Auta Audu, Retired Civil Servant, Age 62 at Hayin Dogo, Samaru – Zaria on 15th October.

(9) Duhuwan, (10) Arikawan, (11) Chenchuwuk, (12) Atachap, (13) Ungwarimi, (14) Byena and (15) Ankpang.¹⁴

When Baranzan died, he was buried near Duccu Nchen and named Dibyyi, the present day Kurmin-Bi. Kurmin-Bi is a nick-name given by the Hausa men who could not pronounce Dibyyi and since the place was in the heart of a forest, they used the Hausa word for forest (kurmin) and Bi for Dibyyi.¹⁵ After Baranzan's burial, the children presented the *addommanu* (bag), *antsurang* (staff of office) and *ron-tabu* (pipe), to his eldest son Ankwak symbolising transfer of leadership to him and he became their leader.¹⁶

One important cultural value that has survived generations of the Bajju is respect for traditional institutions. For instance, if a man sleeps with his brother's wife, he would be punished and *Amuwuan* rite would be administered on the husband of the wife and his brother. If such was not done, they were not permitted to greet because if one of the brothers is sick and they greet, the one that is sick would die. Furthermore, it was compulsory for anyone who wants to go into anything like farming, hunting, marriage, festivals, gathering and worship rites to consult the Gado who was regarded as the highest leader in the community. He did not wear shoes or cut his hair and his nails. The only thing he wore was the *kpa* (animal skin). The Bagado (Traditional Council) always met and invoked sanctions on anyone that went against the norms and values of the community. They either stopped them from attending meetings or banished them from the community.

¹⁴ Mon Duccu Nawon Bajju ECWA Kaduna Diary, 2003. *Dityin Bajju* P. 19.

¹⁵ Amina B.P.D. *Bajju Tradition*. Kaduna: Kenyi Prints, 2011, p. xix.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

The Bajju people had different rites and rituals they performed in different occasions but for the sake of this work, the farming rites are the most important. The *hyyum kabuwa* ritual was done before the beginning of agricultural activities, which was performed by the *Gado*, the overall leader of the village. This ritual was done by the *Gado* of each village in order to purify the land before planting. In the evening of the performance of the ritual, no one was to leave the community but individuals were to stay indoors to ensure the success of the ritual. The *Gado* prayed for a fruitful season, took some benni seed or hungry rice paste (*hwu*) and gave it to the male children to spread it on the stones which the *Gado* would sit during the ritual and on the nearest cross roads.¹⁷ The *Gado*, while sprinkling the paste on all of the rooms in the household as well as on the granaries, then declared that all sickness has been removed from the household and placed upon a hoe. The next morning the *Gado* would continue the ritual by calling all the elders and taking the hoe he would make a few ridges and plant a small amount of benni seed or hungry rice. From then on, farmers were free to start cultivating their farms.¹⁸

During the farming season, the young men usually gathered in the morning before going to farm and met with the elders who prayed for them in order to have a successful day. After returning from the farm, the elders would bless them and they would drink wine together. It was a tradition for them to pray for each crop before planting and farmers usually took some herbs to enable them farm well for a long period of time.¹⁹

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 3.

¹⁸ *Ibid*.

¹⁹ *Ibid*.

Hyyu Yak was the harvest ritual performed prior to the eating of the first fruits of the harvest. During this ritual the Gado mixed a concoction, which was normally a mixture of hungry rice with some medicine, and would rub it on the hoe. He would spread some on the walls of the granaries and houses, while some were sprinkled at the nearest cross roads. The Gado would then take a little of each type of grain (*yak*) and eat it raw. Some of the paste was also smeared on the walls and doorway of the shrine (*abvoid*) with the prayer that they would continue to have fruitful harvests. People could start eating the new grain after this ritual.²⁰ *Hyyuk anok* was the ritual performed before eating new harvested yams. The household head normally performed this ritual by feeding some of the cooked yam to the hoe (*anok*) used in farming yams, before it could be eaten. He then rubbed some of the yam to the hoe and prayed that Bajju people would continue to have good yam harvests in the future.²¹ *Swa nakan* or *Yanakan* was the end of farming festival for which every man in the community had to donate a big chicken (*Nyon*) and contribute to the making of a local drink (*Nkwa*). Only men were allowed to go in front of the traditional pot and kneel facing southward, before drinking. Men in the community drank one after the other to signify the end of farming year. No one was also to start farming unless the Gado started. He normally moved to the farms in the night during raining season to plant in all the four corners of the community. After one or two weeks, he would tell the people of the community what to expect during harvest.²²

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 4.

²¹ *Ibid*.

²² Sunday Isuwa, "In Bajju Kingdom, Respect for Traditional Values and Taboos take Centre-Stage. *Sunday Trust*. Sunday 10th November, 2013.

The Ikulu (Bakulu)

The people generally referred to as “Ikulu” call themselves “Bakulu” (enterprise people) and they have several traditions of origin. One of the traditions claims that some of the Bakulu descended from the Jaba. The Banyi Kum clan of Bakulu are said to have descended from an unknown Jaba man who was found under a cocoyam leaf hiding as a result of inter-tribal wars. The man was later introduced into Bakulu society.²³

Another tradition of origin of the Bakulu people claims that they came from a place called Ikulu near Kano through Kauru District and settled northwards of their present location. According to the tradition, slave raids by Zaria forced some of them to move southwards and some moved to Kataf land to areas like Ginkpene, Ataligan and Dinyama.²⁴

The Agworok (Kagoro)

The Agworok people claim that they migrated from a place called Fabour presently occupied by the Jarawa people in Plateau State. They started the migration by 1600AD.²⁵ They first settled at Numbia and hunted wild animals for food. They later left Numbia because wild animals were killing their domestic animals. They moved to an area called Tsok-Busa on top of the Agworok hills, where they discovered good plain land at the western side of the Agworok massif. Kachechere people were occupying the Eastern and Northern parts of the area at that time.²⁶

²³ Simon, Y. *Op. Cit.* P. 5.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Ibrahim, J. *Studies in the History, Politics and Cultures of Southern Kaduna People's Groups.* Jos: Landsomas Press Ltd, 1997, p. 62.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

According to oral tradition, the Agworok came down and fought the Kachechere people, driving them northwards and settled on the plains at the foot-hills of the Agworok massif. Later, the Kachechere people came back and settled peacefully among the Agworok and became part of them. Some Agworok people migrated to other parts and as a result gave rise to the Angan-Kamantan and perhaps the Angan who both claim to be Agworok immigrants. By 1700AD the Agworok finally arrived and settled at their present settlement.²⁷

All the Agworok villages were situated close to one another and close to hills except Malagu, Makabo, Mafor and Tum and the compounds were usually shaped like square with the centre used for beer drinking and relaxation. The Agworok were heavy drinkers of wine but during wars they abstained from drinking.²⁸ The compounds were for the most part fenced with cactus, which usually grew to a great height, forming strong and almost impenetrable barriers and proved very useful to the Agworok people in the past in case of attack. The cactus provided good cover for discharging their arrows. Most compounds possessed at least three granaries for storing millet and guinea corn.²⁹ The spaces in the compounds left unoccupied by huts were devoted to growing of beans especially by the women.³⁰

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ SNP 17, K2987, "Kagoro Tribe Anthropological Notes on..." p 9.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³⁰ 424P/1921. Re-Assessment Report of the Kagoro Independent District of Jema'a Division, Nassarawa Province, by Lieutenant John A. Bulger, Assistant District Officer. 1921, p 4.

The Asholio (Morooa)

The Asholio tradition of origin, however, is surrounded by many controversies. One tradition says that they migrated from between Katsina and Kano to Kafanchan and settled for some time before gradually migrating to their present settlement at Tsok-Manchok.³¹

The second version of the Asholio origin states that they migrated from the far north between Katsina and Kano. A section of them moved to the present day Plateau State and eventually joined their kinsmen at a place called Tankurang. The other section of the Asholio people mostly of the Aswa clan moved and settled at Afang Rimi in the present-day Katafland. These later joined the main section of the Morooa people who were already settled at Tankurang.³²

According to this tradition, some Aswa clan further left Tankurang and moved to Randiyam while the other clans migrated to Manyi Agyui. Some of the Aswa clan remained at Randiyam up to the present, while a section of the Aswa left Randiyam and moved to Tsok Manchok their present settlement.³³

A third version of the Asholio tradition claims that the Asholio people are indigenous to their present settlement. According to this tradition, the Asholio had lived in Vak (Kajim) from time immemorial and had not migrated from anywhere like other traditions of origin have claimed. Vak is the religious and secular headquarters and served as the main “dispersal point’ for all Asholio clans. This tradition is strongly

³¹ Smith, M.G., *Social Organisation and Economy of Kagoro*.

³² Ibrahim, J. *Op. Cit.* P. 65.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 65.

associated with the oldest clan, Alitsue of the Asholio and it also claims that the Akuru Berom of Plateau State are of Asholio origin and have migrated from Vak.³⁴

Another version of Asholio origins, which is the most popular among the people is that they migrated from Bauchi Plateau through Ganawuri area³⁵, along with their Netzik neighbours. They experienced slave raids as well as series of communal clashes and intertribal warfare with their neighbours. These prompted their migrations. They first settled at Tankurang and later moved back to Tinariya still in Bauchi Plateau (Atyin). From Tinariya they migrated and finally settled at Tsok their present settlement because it provided them with a natural non-hill related defensive site of gallery forest. The place was thickly forested.³⁶

All these ethnic groups mentioned above have certain distinctive features which culturally link them together and it is also important to say that these ethnic groups became organized only at a certain point in their history. As these ethnic groups migrated, they assimilated new elements in the process or were themselves absorbed by new immigrants.³⁷

In analyzing the myths of origin of the people of Zangon Kataf it is important to say that even if we are not sure of the dates of migrations of these people, myths of origins contain some kernel of truth woven into them. It is these kernels of truth that constitute the interpretation of the history of the people. A people's story was part of the culture, as it helped to shape their identity and build an orderly society. If there were no

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Simon, Y. *Op. Cit.* P. 5.

³⁶ Ibrahim, J. *Op. Cit.* P. 66.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, P. 72.

stories, perhaps the problem of origin and creation would not have been clearly defined nor understood in most contexts in the world. Stories are narratives. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines narratives as a spoken or written account of connected events which could be part of a literary work.

What also make the version of the oral traditions of the people, which claim that they migrated from the east in the high Jos Plateau and Bauchi area, more convincing is that, it is not only one group that lay claim to this area as their centre of origin. The Asholio, Attakad, Bajju'u and Agworok, Atyap and others all claim this area as their centre of origin.

Linguistically, the close relationship in language and culture between the people of Zangon Kataf and with those of the Jos Plateau indicates that they must have had a common origin and must have come from the same geographical area. It is as a result of the intimate linguistic and cultural relationship between the Atyap and the Rukuba, Irigwe, Afizare and Berom of the Jos Plateau, and the Bajju, Ham, Agworok, Angan (Kamantan) Kaninkon, Fantswam, Attakad, Attachirak, Gwong, Tsam, Bakulu, Ninzam and Adara, that all are classified as members of the "Katab group of people" by C.K. Meek³⁸. Language constitutes an important ingredient of a people's culture and therefore not coincidental that all these people speak similar languages. It means that all these groups have the same parent language which we classified them as the "Katab" group. The origin of the people cannot therefore, be studied in isolation because they are related.

³⁸ Meek, C.K., *Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd. 1931.

This goes on to show that if the people of Zangon Kataf migrated at all, it could not have been far away from the area which they now occupy.³⁹

Furthermore, the socio-political values and organizations of the people are quite similar owing to the fact that, they exhibit similar characteristics in culture, language, religion, customs and physical features. Having many things in common, points to the fact that in the distant past, they might have had the same origin.

2.2 Population and Settlement Pattern

The population of Zangon Kataf District was made up of Ham, Atyap, Bajju, Kagoma, Agworok, Asholio, Bakulu, Angan peoples and other ethnic groups and Hausa settlers. According to 2006 census, the area had a population of 316,370.⁴⁰ The researcher could not get an exact estimate of the population of Zangon Kataf District before British occupation but according to a British colonial record of 1932-33, the population of those heads of families (men) that were eligible for tax payments was 6,866.⁴¹ Women and children were not included in the list of those legally eligible to pay tax.

The Zangon Kataf people were then living in mud houses with grass roofing. The hamlets were built in groups ranging from 3 to 20 rooms, depending on the family size. This is still maintained, but the only difference is that the rooms are now with zinc roofing and few educated-rich people now build their houses based on their choice. The oldest person in the family (it could be the grandfather) is the head of the compound. The inhabitants of each compound are from the same extended family.

³⁹ <http://www.atyap.net/atyap/AtyabHistory.aspx>

⁴⁰ Wikipedia the Free Encyclopedia.

⁴¹ See Appendix III, p 208.

The influence of geography and natural conditions, most especially agriculture, has been very important and responsible for the movement of tribes and in molding their culture, social organisation and economic life.⁴² The ethnic groups of Zangon Kataf District have similarities in their identical settlement patterns. The settlements were notably of the hill defensive type and the forest defensive type. The hill settlements included Kagoro, Kwoi, Kufana, Nok and others. The forest settlements included Kurmin Sara, Kurmin Mata, Kurmin Dangana, among the Jaba; Kurmin Dawaki, Kurmin Gandu, Kurmin Masara among the Kataf; Kurmin Biri, Baban Kurmi among the Kadara and Kurmin Yaki among the Ikulu. The hill settlements gradually gave way to nucleated hill-foot and dispersed hill-foot settlements during colonial and post colonial periods.

The people of Zangon Kataf preferred the non-hill defensive settlements because the settlements made them to be hidden in thick gallery forests. These villages were either surrounded by series of forest or concentric circles of forests or were established right inside a forest. These settlements have undergone changes from the nucleated forest settlements to the dispersed or and linear patterns along major roads and rail lines like Kurmin Masara, Kurmin Biri, Kurmin Dangana and others.

A second type of non-hill related defensive settlements developed as a result of isolated migrations of some break-away lineages, sub-lineages, or families. These often derived their names from the head of the lineage or family and are always referred to as Gidan, meaning house, of the name of the head. Examples of such settlements include Gidan Tagwai, Ungwar Issa, Gidan Jibir and lots more.

⁴² Nyam-Jim, L.K., *Op. Cit.*

2.3 Socio-Political Organization

The social structures that existed in Zangon Kataf area were family or household groupings, clan or lineage groupings and village communities. However, the basic social unit is the lineage system. Marriages and their types are well regulated by the lineage system. The lineage system also provided a framework for kinship, collective differentiation and structural segmentation of societies. According to Turaki, a lineage group is an association of members who believe themselves to be related by descent from a common ancestor.⁴³ Genealogical relationship and the legend of a founding ancestor provided the philosophical basis of unity in a clan or lineage system. Stories of heroes and their great exploits add pride and prestige to the members of a lineage or a clan. A household is part of a lineage or clan system which may consist of children, parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, brothers and sisters and other immediate relatives. Kinship is a category of relationship which exists between two individuals or a group of individuals in a family or household with a common geneology or lineage.⁴⁴

The concept of brotherhood, which is kinship affinity of relatives is the most pervasive principle of social organization. This guided social interaction in society among relatives and persons. It regulated social behaviour and attitudes thereby guiding social interactions of kinsfolk. A society was divided into clans or lineages. Each lineage had its way of differentiating itself either by name, symbols (totems), identity and social function in a community. Each lineage has a social function to perform, which included hunting, religious affairs and welfare. Lineage relations united all those who can trace back their ancestry to an actual common ancestor, naming the intermediate

⁴³ Turaki, Y. *Op. Cit.* P. 28.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

ancestor in each generation. Clan relations existed between descendants of a more distant ancestor or an ancestor to whom one cannot trace back one's relationship through an unbroken chain of intermediate ancestors. The two real constitutive elements of the kinship network were the clan and lineage relations.⁴⁵

The segmentation of the societies into different lineages did not mean that the people were separated. On the contrary, there were various social activities that united the people together and strengthened social ties. Such activities were cultural feasts, festivals, hunting expeditions, wars, religious rites that had to do with initiations, births, marriages, deaths, sicknesses and lots more.⁴⁶ As the people came into contact with the Hausa, Fulani and Europeans, they experienced rapid social changes. The most important aspects of their social activities were their dances. The Bajju people, for instance, were great dancers. In fact, their history will not be complete without mentioning their dances. These dances took the form of step dances by the men, as music of horns and pipes was played. They were very interesting to watch despite the fact that an amount of dust was usually raised while dancing.

Generally, African political systems have been divided into two broad groups. The first group comprises of the societies that have centralized authority, while the second group is characterized by societies that are segmented. In the first group of societies there were differentiations based on privileges, wealth and status resulting in the distribution of power and authority. But these attributes were lacking in the second group of societies. Zangon Kataf District, being our area of concern, falls into the second group

⁴⁵ Ibrahim, J. *Op. Cit.* P. 84.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 29.

of political system because there was no centralization of authority. Hence the societies of this area lacked sharp division of rank, status or wealth.⁴⁷

The traditional political system of the Zangon Kataf people was that of village confederacies or consolidated group type of decentralized state system. In this system, the people recognized the authority of the Chief Priest, known as the “Atiyihwap” among the Bajju (Kaje) people, “Tienwhop” among the Agworok, “Teawap” among the Atyap, “Wuchishiri” (Atetung) among the Adara and “Kpop Ku” among the Ham.⁴⁸ It is however, important to state at this point that the leadership of the Chief Priest was that of obedience, not power. This means the Chief Priest commanded obedience and made some decisions but he did not have power to enforce the decisions.

The political groupings and unity was characterized by the sense of kinship or the possession of a common religious cult. The societies organized themselves in groups to enable them resist external aggressions or environmental disasters. The socio-political organization was arranged along the horizontal lines based on clans and the segmented lineage system.⁴⁹

Real political power was vested in the council of elders (gerontocracy),⁵⁰ the clans and lineage heads and holders of ritual offices. The elders were representatives of the ancestors and the mediators between the ancestors and the kins-group. This close relationship between the elders and ancestors gives the elders semi-political and judicial authority. The institution of the elders, according to Okonjo, was the main basis of political power and authority in society. The system meant that the elders in the

⁴⁷ Turaki, Y., *op. cit.* P. 26.

⁴⁸ Ibrahim, J., *op. cit.*, p. 91.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 92.

⁵⁰ Okonjo, I.M., *British Administration in Nigeria, 1900 – 1950: A Nigerian View*, New York: Nok Publishers, 1974.

community represented the corporate personality of the clan or the lineage group. In the council, decisions were usually taken by way of agreement in matters of public interest and in the name of the clan or lineage or community.⁵¹ Authority rested in the hands of the oldest men. The oldest men were normally the heads of the families or clans or lineages or communities. No one man had absolute power over the people. To support this statement, based on centralized authority Bonat asserts that:

It is thus clear that even by the nineteenth century the economy of these village-based political units had not yet developed to the extent of enabling a group, through ownership of the means of production, to exploit the labour of the majority of the villagers to enrich itself. Consequently, although political authority was well-defined, there was no clear-cut division between a ruling class possessing sovereign powers and a mass of people serving as subjects. At the same time, these were not "stateless", as each village unit was situated within a definite tribal territory, with its political institutions, even if these were not centralised in one overall authority, a Chief or King.⁵²

Based on the above quotation, it becomes explicitly clear that the people of Zangon Kataf area were living comfortable lives before colonialism. This was because there was no single authority that was exploiting their labour for its own benefit.

Power relations among the people of Zangon Kataf were based on dependence and reciprocity and not on a ruler-subject, commanding-obeying relationship. According to Ibrahim, there were mild wars between the neighbouring villages but it never led to the establishment of territorial supremacy of one tribe over another.⁵³ These wars were

⁵¹ Turaki, Y. *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁵² Bonat, Z.A. "Aspects of the Economic and Social History of the Atyab (Katab) c. 1800 – 1960 A.D." In: *Savanna: A Journal of the Environmental and Social Sciences* (Vol. 10, No. 1). Zaria: ABU Press, 1989. P. 49.

⁵³ Ibrahim, J. *Op. Cit.* p. 92.

normally as a result of land disputes, hunting grounds, wife-stealing and witchcraft. The wars and conflicts between them later stopped in order to fight against Zazzau raids. The people formed alliances to contain the menace of the jihadist threat to their ancestral rituals and religion.

There was maintenance of law and order in the societies of Zangon Kataf before colonialism and by so doing some social vices were curtailed. For example, the Bajju people had ways of punishing thieves, which was done by making the thief's relations pay for the crime by bringing a horse whenever a thief was caught. A man who committed murder was expelled for two (2) years from his village, leaving his women folk behind. The murderer was punished by first of all taking him to Kurmin Bi, then to Sakwot and finally to Fadan Kagoma where the people of Kagoma would force him to work on their farms. He was allowed to return to his village after the two years but he had to give an expiatory feast to the elders of the village. Even after this whole process, he was not allowed to eat or drink with the other men for the rest of his life.⁵⁴

2.4 The Nature of Pre-Colonial Economy

The people of Zangon Kataf area engaged in series of economic activities both internally, that is, between themselves and externally, that is, with other neighbouring Northern states, like Zaria and also Kano. In talking about the economy of Zangon Kataf area, we can not ignore the importance of agriculture, which is the mainstay of the economy. Agricultural activities included farming and rearing of livestock. The people were excellent farmers and breeders of livestock. They manure the ground with dung from goats and fowls as well as ashes.

⁵⁴ SNP 17, K2985, "Kaje Tribe – Anthropological Notes on..." p. 8.

The major crops grown in the area before colonialism were mostly food crops. These included: millet, guinea corn, *acha* (hungry rice), beans, maize and *gujiya* (local groundnut). Others included cocoyam, yam, *yangwab* (a kind of cocoyam) and others. Many nutritious leaves were also grown such as *mimiyim*, *arurumatak*, *kabvu* (*dinkim* in Hausa), *karandam*, *ponsrong* (which served as curry) and others. Plants used for medicinal purposes included *dinya* leaf (for healing wounds from mostly local gunshots), *marshang* (as protection from wild animals) and others.⁵⁵ During colonialism, production of export crops, such as sugarcane, groundnut, ginger, beniseed was encouraged.

There was a market in Zangon Kataf which was well positioned. It was a terminus for traders. Traders from Kano were coming to the market to sell potash and buy ginger, honey and in a small scale, mats from the Zangon Kataf people in return. People from places like Ilorin came to buy cattle and brought cloths and palm oil for sale and the trade continued further. Some of the potash were sold to people from the South and the palm oil was taken and sold to the Northerners.⁵⁶

Corn was not usually exported because trade in corn was mostly done between the people of Zangon Kataf and the Fulbe and sometimes it was taken to Jos. Industrially, the market of Zangon Kataf attracted all sorts of brokers, retailers, tailors, leather workers and butchers. Blacksmithing and dyeing were the major industrial activities that were taking place in the market while women were engaged in pottery making and selling.⁵⁷ An important economic tree in the area was the *dorowa* tree (locust bean).⁵⁸ This was

⁵⁵ Interview with Mr. Banachat Dutse, Retired Farmer, Age 84, at Kamurum Bajju in 9th September, 2007.

⁵⁶ ZARPROF 607, Zangon Katab.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ SNP 10 Nassarawa Province, 1919/1920.

used in making soup and also for building purposes, like plastering walls and making local blocks. Honey was also important in the area because it was found in abundance owing to shortage of sugar in the native markets. It fetches high prices (6d per cash bowl or 4/- per large jar or pot).⁵⁹

Another economic activity engaged by the people of Zangon Kataf before colonialism was manufacturing. Manufacturing was practiced by the people in order to provide means of production and items of consumption.⁶⁰ The people of Zangon Kataf District live within the Nok culture area and it can be inferred that the people are descendants of these early iron working people. Iron making became a highly specialized industry among the people of this area. Some families in the area smelted the ironstone into *tama* (raw iron), while others converted the iron into various implements like axes, hoes, arrows, spears, sickles among others. These implements were used for agriculture and further industrial production.

Woodwork was also well-established in the area. Wood was used to make hoes and axe handles, beds, pestles and mortars, carriers, spoons as well as musical instruments, like drums.⁶¹ Pottery was widely established in Zangon Kataf area. Pots were used for storage, cooking and beer making, while potsherds were used for laying floors and covering walls and graves. Spoons and eating utensils were made from wood and clay. Stone carving was also practiced alongside. Stones were turned into grinding stones, or broken into smaller pieces and used for building barns and houses. As part of craftwork, there was also weaving of mats, water-proof capes and cloths (from raffia and

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Bonat, Z.A. "Aspects of the Economic and Social History of the Atyab (Katab) c. 1800 – 1960 A.D." In: *Savanna: A Journal of the Environmental and Social Sciences* (Vol. 10, No. 1). Zaria: ABU Press, 1989, p. 45.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

umbrella palm leaves), cotton and leather. Some of these crafts survived into the 20th century.⁶²

Furthermore, the Zangon Kataf people engaged in trading activities before colonialism. There were three types of trade among the people during this period. First, there was simple trade by barter between women within one household and between members of a few households. Secondly, there was trade at the village markets that involved both barter and money exchanges. This means goods could be exchanged with goods and also with money. Thirdly, there was external trade with other traders from outside the villages, in larger markets. These exchanges were necessary and possible because different households were producing different articles in differing quality and quantity.

2.5 Land Tenure

Land tenure is the relationship, whether legally or customarily defined, among people, as individuals or groups, with regards to land. Rules of tenure define how property rights to land are to be allocated within societies. They define how access is granted to use, control and transfer land, as well as associated responsibilities and restraints. Land tenure systems determine who can use what resources for how long and under what conditions.

Land tenure is an important part of social, political and economic structures. Land tenure relationships may be well-defined and enforceable in a formal court of law or through customary structures in a community. They may also be relatively poorly

⁶² *Ibid*, p. 45.

defined.⁶³ Land tenure is often categorized into: state, open access, private and communal.

Under state categorization of land tenure, property rights are assigned to an authority in the public sector. For instance, in some countries, forest lands may fall under the mandate of the state, whether at a centralized or decentralized level of government. In open access land tenure system, explicit rights are not assigned to anyone and no-one is excluded. This includes marine tenure where access to the high seas is generally opened to anyone; it may include forests and range lands, where there may be free access to the resources for all. Private land tenure is the assignment of rights to a private party, such as an individual, a married couple, a group of people, or a corporate body, such as a commercial entity or non-profit organization. For example, in a community, individual families may have exclusive rights to agricultural land, residential land and certain trees. Other members of the community can be excluded from using these resources without the consent of those who hold the rights. In communal land tenure, a right of commons may exist within a community where each member has a right to use independently the holdings of the community. For example, members of a community may have the right to graze cattle on a common pasture. A difference between open access and communal system is that under a communal system non-members of the community are excluded from using the common areas.⁶⁴

Before colonialism, one of the fundamental principles of land management in Northern Nigeria was that land belonged to all the people which may be held by individuals and or jointly by families. The family head, normally the oldest man, was

⁶³ What is Land Tenure? <http://www.fao.org/docrep/005/Y4307E/y4307e05.htm>.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

regarded as the administrator of lands. He was responsible for allocating plots of family land. Such allocations were considered to belong to the individuals granted for a life time since those who were allotted the lands had complete control over them.⁶⁵

Before colonialism, land tenure throughout Nigeria was based on customary laws under which land was considered community property. An individual had rights to the land he farmed in his lineage or community area. He could possess the land as long as he used it to his family's or society's benefit. He could also pass the land on to heirs and pledge its use to satisfy a debt, but could not sell or mortgage it. The right of disposal belonged only to the community, which, acting through traditional authorities, exercised this right in accordance with customary law.⁶⁶

The Fulani conquest of most parts of Northern Nigeria in the early 1800s brought a change in land tenure in areas under Fulani control. Fiefs were given to some individuals by the rulers, who sometimes appointed overseers with the power to allocate unused land without regarding the communities. Consequently, number of grants given to strangers during the nineteenth century grew because the overseers tended to increase the revenue from their landlords' holdings. In the early 1900s, the British took over from the Fulani and declared all land in the former Fulani fiefs to be public property. Thenceforth, contrary to what was obtained in Southern Nigeria where the community owned land, in the North, the government required occupancy permits, but the authorities were in charge of supervision and protection of the indigenous population's traditional

⁶⁵ Pre-Colonial Land Management Practices. From <http://www.onlinenigeria.com/land/?blurb=527>. Retrieved 24/4/2013.

⁶⁶ Nigeria-Land Use, Soils and Land Tenure from <http://www.mongabay.com/history/nigeria/nigeria-land-use,-soils,-...> Retrieved 4/24/2013.

rights. In 1962, the government of Northern Nigeria placed formal restrictions on landholding by individuals who were not members of a northern community.⁶⁷

In Zangon Kataf area, land belonged to all members of the lineage. All lands belonged to tribal communities. There was collective ownership of the land by the clan which its members settled and used. The head of the lineage was responsible for apportioning of lands to households and he, on the other hand, could own land by virtue of inheritance, or being the first to clear it for use by his household from the clan's bush lands. Inheritance of farmland was based on kinship and residence. Sons could inherit their fathers' lands when the fathers died, and in some cases, the fathers shared lands to their sons in their old age. It is, however, important to note that even when the lands were shared the individual adult sons in the household still cultivated the lands collectively. There was no sale of land but it could be loaned, exchanged or pledged.⁶⁸

It was only the male children that inherited lands from their fathers, but where the man had no male children, his brothers inherited his lands. If the sons were not yet adults, their uncles or mothers (who chose to remain even when their husbands died) would inherit the land in trust for them till they became adults.⁶⁹

There were factors that determined how much land each household could hold. Firstly, was the amount of labour a household could command. The largest portions of lands were held by the biggest households. This encouraged polygamy in order to have more wives and children to help in farm work. Secondly, the first households to settle in

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Interview with Moses Audu, Civil Servant, Aged 56 at Zonkwa, Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area, Kaduna State on 24th November, 2012.

⁶⁹ Bonat, Z.A. "The Colonial Phase of the Underdevelopment of Zaria Province 1902-1945". M.A. Thesis, Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria, 1985, p. 93.

a village normally had larger portions of land than those that arrived late. Lastly, chiefs or notables who were able to acquire slaves could own more lands.⁷⁰

The people of Zangon Kataf area did not recognize any authority outside their villages, clans or tribal councils as regarding land matters. In most of these areas, when members of a village wanted new land, they did not have to consult the chief because land within territory belonged to the whole village from which any needy household could clear farm land.⁷¹ Every community had a definite tribal territory, like *Abyin Atyab* (Land of the Atyab), *Kabyen Bajju* (Land of the Bajju), and others, where no other groups could settle or farm except they have obtained permission from the tribal council of elders.

Therefore, at the level of the tribe, ultimate supervisory rights on land lay with the Council of Elders. By the 19th C, the concept of clan land had ceased, except where clans could be articulated within one village. For example, a member of a clan, living in a village could not go to another village where other members of his clan resided and claim land there, because he did not belong to that village. Such a person had to be absorbed as a member of a household in the other village before he could enjoy such rights.⁷²

Because of the possibility to find people of one lineage living in close proximity with one another, lineage land was more acknowledged in the area. This invariably means that, the lineage could easily identify certain lands which its members used for livelihood. At this level, there was the most effective collective authority of the elders in land matters, although the village chief priest was the final authority in land matters

⁷⁰ Bonat, Z.A. "Aspects of the Economic and Social History of the Atyab (Katab) c. 1800 – 1960 A.D." In: *Savanna: A Journal of the Environmental and Social Sciences* (Vol. 10, No. 1). Zaria: ABU Press, 1989. P42.

⁷¹ Bonat, Z.A. *The Colonial Op. Cit.* Pp 84-85.

⁷² *Ibid.* p. 86

within the village.⁷³ It is important to note that the chief priests and village chiefs could not appropriate land for private use except from their own clan or lineage and they could not also drive anybody from his inherited land, neither could they use their authority to tax the inhabitants of the village or tribe. The authority of the lineage elders, the village chief and priests depended on their control of those resources which in turn depended on the level of the control they exerted and on their ability to extract surplus from the workers of such land and the maintenance and improvement of such authority.⁷⁴

Most villages had a common hunting ground, by the end of the 19th Century, not divided according to clans, although communal hunting grounds could be divided between the clans if there was abundant land within the village territory. There was usually the individual casual hunt, where the hunter appropriated the killed game to himself, except in the case of a big game. In the case of communal hunting, the animals were delivered to the village chief and from there, they would be shared out. Part of it was cooked and eaten together during festivals, as in the case of *Akad Nyam* Festival among the Agworok.⁷⁵

As the ownership of land rested on the head of the household, he determined the proportion of land to lie fallow, the crops to be planted on what farm, regulated the ploughing and harvest and the disposal of the product. Apart from the collective land ownership, individuals could also own lands, which was allocated by the household heads and his sons and brothers who had their families, but this kind of land could not be pledged, loaned or rented without the permission of the household head.⁷⁶ The relatives

⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 87.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*. P. 88.

⁷⁵ M.G. Smith, *Social Organisation and Economy of Kagoro*, pp 17-20 cited in *Ibid* pp 89-90.

⁷⁶ Bonat, Z.A. *The Colonial Op. Cit.* Pp 91-92.

had to be informed when the land was pledged. The land could be redeemed even if the original participants died and this depended on the return of the equivalent goods taken for the land, which could be goats, money, chicken and others. The borrower gave gift of some beer after each harvest, which was shared by the elders of both households. Borrowed lands could be redeemed after two years notice. Land could only be exchanged on the condition that the residences of those involved were far from their own farms, but nearer the land sought for in exchange.⁷⁷

With regards to storage of agricultural produce, it is worth noting that the people of Zangon Kataf were able to use their initiatives and develop ways of storage, which were very effective. The usual store for grains of any household was the large master granary. Yam, cocoyam, potato and cassava were normally left in the farm until when they were needed. The people also had a way of storing potato in big holes for months without spoiling. Onion was stored by putting it inside hungry rice because once the hungry rice had dried, it stayed at a very cool temperature, suitable for storing onion.⁷⁸

In the case of fertilizer, the dung from Fulbe sheep and cattle made the most popular manure which shortened fallow periods. This shows that there was co-existence between ethnic groups in the area but crises came when outsiders were imposed over the people to rule them, that is, Hausa and Fulani. Goats and chicken droppings, mixed with ashes and the compost heap of the household or village also served as fertilizer. This green manure helped in preserving the moisture in the ground and reducing the effects of drought. Rotational bush fallowing was common in the area. For example, groundnut,

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p 94.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p 97.

okra, and legume were always rotated with grain; root crops like yam, cocoyam, *risga* were also rotated with grain.⁷⁹

2.6 Labour Organization

The household was the basic unit of production. Labour was very crucial in the production process and free labour was more economical. Farmers in Zangon Kataf District used free labour because they recruited labour through their wives, children and relatives and there was division of labour among the family members. There was no need for payment because the agricultural produce they got from farming were for the benefit of the entire family members. The head of the household determined the allocation of labour, the periods and intensity of its use and the use to which the products of labour were put.⁸⁰ In some cases supply of labour was through communal assistance known as *gayya*.

Cooperative labour was very important in Zangon Kataf area. All able-bodied men and women in the household joined and farmed on the household farms collectively. This was done to help speed up each other's work. The males of the same age-group usually organized themselves according to their proximity to one another, based on lineage or clan, for the purpose of cooperative work. The responsibility of feeding was on the person on whose farm work was done that day.

The principal classes engaged in agricultural labour were the peasants, the slaves and the pastoralists. In the case of the peasants and pastoralists, labour was organized on household basis as the basic unit of production. The extended family formed the labour

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p 100.

⁸⁰ Bonat, Z.A. "Aspects of the Economic..." *Op. Cit*, p. 41.

pool of the household. Polygamous marriage was encouraged in order to have large family for agriculture. This was because the size of a household determined the size of farmland that household could cultivate, which in turn determined the amount of food that could be produced.⁸¹

2.7 Agricultural Production

Agricultural production can be defined as the cultivation of crops and rearing of animals, either for sale or for consumption. Crops can be divided into two, namely: export crops and food crops. Export crops were mainly commercial for export, while food crops were mainly for domestic consumption.

Agricultural production in Zangon-Kataf was done on household basis using manual labour. This manual labour was provided mainly by the family because agricultural production was primarily done to satisfy the subsistent needs of the family, although there were few cases whereby production was done in surplus for commercial purposes also. Hoes and axes served as the major implements for agricultural production before colonialism. These hoes and axes were made of rocks called *tama*, which were very heavy. The axes were made in different shapes and sizes serving different purposes.⁸²

The major crops grown in the area included: millet, guinea corn, *acha* (hungry rice) and beans. These crops are discussed below.

⁸¹ Bonat, Z.A. The Colonial *Op. Cit.* P. 102.

⁸² Interview with Dr. Auta Audu, Retired Civil Servant, Age 62 at Samaru – Zaria on 10th December, 2007.

Millet:

Millet was broadcast on seedbeds of about 1 metre by 50 metres and was grown during the first rain period, that is, May/June. After 2 months, the millet seedlings were uprooted from the seedbed and transplanted by slanting method on ridges, around the month of August. Millet was used to prepare recipes like *kunu*, *fura*, *tuwo* and others.⁸³

The use of labour in millet production was manual and this was done on communal basis (*gayya*). The main implement used in the cultivation of millet was the hoe, because there were no tractors during this time. Millet production was important to the people because it served commercial purposes, thereby bringing money to the people. Trade in millet was mostly internal, that is, between the farmers and the Fulbe who used it to make *fura* and also between the farmers and those who did not engage in farming. Sometimes, trade in millet could also be external, that is, between the farmers and other neighbouring villages. But this form of external trade was not well pronounced because the neighbouring villages also engaged in millet production.

Guinea Corn:

Guinea corn was planted in the months of June – July by direct seeding on the ridges, putting about 5-6 seeds per hole, which were later thinned down to about 2 regardless of distance between plant-to-plant. Its recipes included *pete* (porridge), couscous, locally brewed wine (*burukutu*) and others.⁸⁴

Form of labour in guinea corn production was also human labour used with the help of the hoe. This was done on a communal basis mostly by the youths of the village.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

The youths were always willing to participate because food and *burukutu* were made available on the farms. Guinea corn generated revenue to the village because it was used as a commodity of trade. The villagers used the money gotten from the trade to satisfy their needs, like buying cloths and feeding their families. Guinea corn was also a commodity for trade by barter.

After harvest, the stalks of guinea corn were used for building houses or fencing of farm products in order to prevent animals from eating them. The stalks are also burnt in order to produce ashes that were later turned into potash. The potash was used in the preparation of food, most especially soup or beans.

Acha:

This was planted normally on a virgin land, freshly cultivated, either on flat ridges or ridges that were not very high. *Acha* seeds were broadcast all over the place, not minding whether they fell on the ridge or not. There were two types of *acha*: early maturing, called *tsori* or *tsuni*, in Bajju and late maturing, which was called *iburu* in Hausa. The early maturing *acha* normally matured within 2 months, while late maturing *acha* matured between 3 – 4 months.⁸⁵ *Acha* helped greatly in generating revenue to the village because it was available all through the year and it was used for external trade to other communities outside Zangon-Kataf area.

Acha served as rice and it could be used for various recipes like those of millet and guinea corn. It was more important because it could be used for medicinal purposes. Many local medicines were prepared using *acha* palp to heal various ailments. In the

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

case of barren women, *acha* medicine was prepared for child bearing. Hunters used it to make charms against wild animals; they could use it to disappear.⁸⁶

Other crops grown in Zangon Kataf area included maize (on a small scale), *gurjiya* (local groundnut) and *yangwab* (a kind of cocoyam)⁸⁷. Many nutritious leaves were also grown, such as *mimiyim*, *arurumatak*, *kabvu* (*dinkim* in Hausa), *Karandam* and *ponsrong* (which served as curry). Plants used for medicinal purposes included *dinya* leaf for healing wounds mostly from local gunshots and *marshang* for protection from wild animals.⁸⁸

The type of agricultural activities done in the area was determined or influenced by the period of the year. Agricultural activities were done in four seasons of the year. The first agricultural season, March to April, was called the *ayoushiim* in Tyab and *ryang kabyen* in Bajju, which was the period immediately preceding the rainy season. The land was made ready for millet and guinea corn, which was characterized by clearing the land and burning debris.⁸⁹

The second agricultural season, June to October, was known as *Akwoi* in Tyab and *Dikwoi* in Jju. This was the time of food crops cultivation beginning with the guinea corn, followed by the *titam* then millet. The potato, hungry rice, cocoyam and *risga* were then cultivated while waiting for the millet to grow. The millet was then transplanted and yam were cultivated while it grew.⁹⁰ The *Siam* (Tyab) and *Sian* (Jju) was the third period which lasted from September to November. This was the period of harvesting grain and

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Interview with Mr. Bananchat Dutse, Retired Farmer, Age 84, at Kamurum Bajju in 9th September, 2007.

⁸⁹ Bonat, Z.A. The Colonial *Op. Cit.* P. 104.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

the cultivation of yam. Lastly, the fourth period was the dry season (*Awan* in Tyab). This season was for hunting, making houses, fishing, handicraft production and others.⁹¹

2.8 Conclusion

We have seen that the people of Zangon Kataf District were developed in their own way, because they had their own system of leadership and were able to engage in agricultural activities before the coming of the Europeans. The people had enough to eat and even sell because they had a lot of independence with regards to what to produce, when to produce and what to do with it. The pre-colonial economy was, therefore, a collection of communities engaged in agricultural production basically as a traditional activity which was necessary for their subsistence, producing and processing food for their family needs and for the localized markets. The people were able to use their initiatives in agricultural activities and devised ways of storing agricultural produce to pre-empt shortage. The political system was also organized because they had leaders who were able to maintain law and order despite the fact that there was no centralized authority that the people paid allegiance to. This is an important attribute of a developed society, which proved wrong the notion of Europeans that societies in the Third World countries were not developed before colonialism.

In the aspect of social relationship, the people of Zangon Kataf were able to relate well with themselves because they had occasions of working together particularly in agricultural production or ceremonies. The most important aspects of their social activities were their dances. Our findings reveal that the socio-political values and organizations of the people are quite similar owing to the fact that, they exhibit similar

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

characteristics in culture, language, religion, customs and physical features which points to the fact that in the distant past, they might have had the same origin. In a nutshell, we can conclude that the economy and society of Zangon Kataf area was developed before British colonization. Zangon Kataf societies were not static but changing, which is contrary to colonial description of African societies.

CHAPTER THREE:

GENDER ROLES IN AGRICULTURE IN ZANGON-KATAF DISTRICT BEFORE BRITISH COLONIZATION, 1800 – 1900

3.0 Introduction

Gender is defined by Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) as ‘the relations between men and women, both perceptual and material. Gender is not determined biologically, as a result of sexual characteristics of either women or men, but is constructed socially. It is a central organizing principle of societies and often governs the processes of production and reproduction, consumption and distribution’¹. Despite this definition, gender is often misunderstood as being the promotion of women only. However, as we see from the above definition, gender issues focus on women and on the relationship between men and women, their roles, access to and control over resources, division of labour, interests and needs. Gender relations affect household security, family well-being, planning, production and many other aspects of life.

Gender roles are the ‘social constitution’ of women and men. They vary among different societies and cultures, classes, ages and during different periods in history. Gender-specific roles and responsibilities are often conditioned by household structure, access to resources, specific impact of the global economy and other locally relevant factors, such as ecological conditions.²

¹ www.fao.org/docrep/007/y5608e/y5608e01.htm

² *Ibid.*

Gender relations, on the other hand, are the ways in which a culture or society defines rights, responsibilities and the identities of men and women in relation to one another. Men and women act differently, because of their socially ascribed roles; therefore, they have different sets of knowledge and needs.

Sometimes it is hard to understand exactly what is meant by the term "gender", and how it differs from the closely related term "sex". "**Sex**" refers to the biological and physiological characteristics that define men and women. "**Gender**" refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women. To put it another way: "Male" and "female" are sex categories, while "masculine" and "feminine" are gender categories. Aspects of sex will not vary substantially between different human societies, while aspects of gender may vary greatly. Some examples of sex characteristics include the following:

- a. Women menstruate while men do not
- b. Men have testicles while women do not
- c. Women have developed breasts that are usually capable of lactating, while men have not
- d. Men generally have more massive bones than women

On the other hand, some examples of gender characteristics are as follows:

- a. In the United States (and most other countries), women earn significantly less money than men for similar work

- b. In Viet Nam, many more men than women smoke, as female smoking has not traditionally been considered appropriate
- c. In Saudi Arabia men are allowed to drive cars while women are not³
- d. In Zangon Kataf District, women do more housework and take care of the children than men.

Experience shows that agricultural, environmental and related policies and programmes do not differentiate between male and female farmers. Therefore, they often fail to recognize the differences between men's and women's work, knowledge, contributions and needs. This has significant consequences for biodiversity as well as for gender equality.

The prevailing condition in Africa and indeed the under-developed regions of the World tends to be generally characterized with gender blindness, gender deafness and gender dumbness in the formulation and implementation of most development policies and strategies. Thus, the deaf-mute gender consciousness in planning and in the policy making machinery has, therefore, failed to capture and appreciate the concrete reality of the different though symbiotic roles both women and men must play in any meaningful and sustainable activity for human development. It must, however, be noted that even though men and women have different roles, needs and constraints in strategies for development, they are nonetheless complementary in their relationships.

As men and women have different responsibilities, needs and interests, they however differ in the roles they play in agricultural activity. These differences are not however static but have continued to change over time and space through dynamic

³ www.who.int/gender/whatisgender/en/

internal changes or external influences. It must be stressed that whenever any development plan neglects or overlooks these stark realities of gender roles and relations, it means that a proper understanding and reflections of the more than half of human agitation are ignored. This is thus tantamount to further consolidation and reinforcement of the existing gender inequalities.

Gender analysis focuses on the different roles and responsibilities of women and men and how these affect society, culture, the economy and politics. Women are too often marginalized in their families and their communities, suffering from a lack of access to credit, land, education, decision-making power and rights to work. This chapter will emphasize more on the role of women in agriculture because this has always been ignored in the literature.

Gender inequality characterized most underdeveloped countries and it is a significant factor that underpins other anti-development factors. Even though, dependency theory is able to emphasize internal factors as a basis for development, it does not elaborate on the concept of internal growth, which is the point of view of the gender analysts. Gender equality is a basic internal factor that is significant to sustainable individual and societal development. The recognition and allocations of resources should be without gender bias, but on the reality of the gender roles along the developmental process to enhance sustainable development in less developed countries of the world.⁴

Societies in Africa generally view the feminine gender as inferior. This view is expressed right from birth. The boy is made more important than the girl and it becomes

⁴ Olanike F. Deji, *Gender and Rural Development: Advanced Studies*, Vol. 2. Published by LIT Verlag Münster, 2012, p. 18.

the beginning of the unfair treatment meted out to the girl throughout her life. This today, has its roots from the pre-colonial era up to the present time. Women as seen today, were not in most cases regarded like men. They were not allowed to attend some occasions nor watch some masquerades during festive periods. Some men did not allow women to come to them during menstruation. Women were discriminated against in some aspects of life due to existing structures in the societies. Customs, sexual division of labour and taboos made women to be subordinated to men. Women were generally regarded as property of their husbands and the power to make decisions lied with the men. Women were accorded low status and this denied them access to basic socio-economic opportunities that could enable them enhance their productivity.⁵

Most of the recent studies on land tenure in Northern Nigeria have generally ignored women and gender relations. The exclusion of women in the Northern Nigeria literature has been attributed in part to the widely held view that women do not own or have access to land, which restricts their use and management of the land. These, it is argued, have led to women's rights being subsumed under those of men.

Most farmers in Nigeria operate at the subsistence, smallholder level in an extensive agricultural system; hence they control the country's food security and agricultural development. Particularly amazing, however, is the fact that rural women, more than their male counterparts, take the lead in agricultural activities, making up to 60-80 percent of labour force. It is unfortunate that their contributions to agriculture and rural development are hardly ever noticed. Furthermore, they take little or no part in the decision-making process regarding agricultural development. Gender inequality is,

⁵ Yemisi, I. O. & Aisha A.M., "Gender Issues in Agriculture and Rural Development in Nigeria: The Role of Women". In *Humanity & Social Sciences Journal* 4 (1): 19-30. ISSN 1818-4960. IDOSI Publications, 2009.

therefore, dominant in the agricultural sector and this constitutes a bottleneck to development⁶.

The legal status of Nigerian women in the pre-colonial period needs to be analysed. Under the pre-colonial customary laws in most Nigerian societies, women were considered free adults. At the same time, certain limitations were imposed which subordinated them to male authority. Women had independent access to income. Since land was usually owned communally, whoever worked or tilled the land, whether male or female, derived the benefits. Nevertheless, women in many societies could not inherit land.⁷

Women in Zangon-Kataf District have always been active in agriculture, trade, and other economic pursuits, but a majority of them are in the informal labour force. They are the household managers, providing food, nutrition, water, health, education and family planning. This placed heavy burden on them.⁸

During the pre-colonial era, women in Zangon-Kataf area contributed to the sustenance of the kin groups. Pre-colonial Nigerian economy was basically at a subsistence level and Nigerian women participated effectively in this economy. Apart from being mothers and wives and taking charge of the domestic sector, women contributed substantially to the production and distribution of goods and services. This

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Hussaina J. A. & Ibrahim H. "Women Need Independent Ownership Rights: Women and Land in Northern Nigeria". Paper Presented at an International Workshop on Women and Land in Africa organised by the Emory University Law School, Atlanta, Georgia in collaboration with Associates for Change, Kampala, Uganda at the Entebbe Beach Hotel, April 24-25, 1998.

⁸ Interview with Mr. Auta Audu, Danmalikin Bajju, Age 68, at his Residence in Hayin Dogo, Samaru – Zaria on 19th July, 2013.

chapter will discuss the role of women in agriculture during the pre-colonial era in Zangon Kataf Area.⁹

3.1 Differential Position of Gender in Zangon Kataf

Women are at the heart of development as they control most of the non monetary economy such as subsistence agriculture, child bearing and domestic labour among others and play an important role in the monetary economy such as trading, wage labour and employment among others. Everywhere in the world, women work both around the home and outside the home. The most topical issue in international developmental programme is women.

The woman, unlike the man as a person is an agent of reproduction of life itself. This places her in the position of the life blood of the entire humanity. She is the first teacher, the sustainer and maintainer of the home, the peace maker, the symbol of beauty and major molder of the character of the child. She is a mother of the human race. As mothers and wives, women do exert considerable impact on the productivity of male workers.

The position of women in meeting the challenges of agricultural development cannot be overemphasized. Women contribute significantly to domestic crop production and processing, although men take more of the farm decisions and control the productive resources.¹⁰

Inheritance practices among societies in Zangon-Kataf were based on the customs and traditions of each ethnic group. Although there might be variations in matters of

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Rahman, S.A. "Women's Involvement in Agriculture in Northern and Southern Kaduna State, Nigeria", *Journal of Gender Studies*. Vol. 17. No. 1, 2008.

detail, the general principle was the same. Inheritance was traced through male descent and the people who were entitled to inherit were the male children of the deceased,¹¹ his brothers, his brother's male children, parents and grandparents. Wives, sisters, aunts and all other female kindred were excluded from inheritance¹². In the event that there were no relations to succeed, the land went back to the community. By implication, this means that the women were not seen to be as important as the men; hence, the women had to depend on the men's approval in order to get land to farm. But if such should happen among the Ham of Southern Kaduna, female relations were allowed to inherit the land.

Based on the principles outlined above, women were, in most cases, therefore, not entitled to inherit or have personal rights in land as Yakubu puts it, "they had nothing to be inherited and did not inherit as well"¹³. Thus, a woman's rights in land was only through marriage or her family. The right she derived from status was usufructory and, therefore, she could not alienate the land. On the death of her husband, she was sometimes allowed to continue using the land that was allocated to her by her deceased husband on condition that she remarried a member of the family or remained as part of the family. If she decided to opt out of the options given her, she lost the land. If because of old age, the woman remained with her children she retained her right to use the land. A woman using her family land did not have the right to alienate such land either.¹⁴ This meant that the women had to endure de-humanization just to have access to land.

¹¹ Aya, Y.A. "Report on Land Tenure in Southern Jema'a Federation and among the Gwari of Gwari and Bida N.A. Areas in *Traditional Land Tenure Surveys – 1964 Covering Selected Parts of Bauchi Province, Ilorin Province, Katsina Province, Niger Province, Plateau Province and Zaria Province.*, Institute of Administration, Zaria. 1964, p. 99.

¹² Yakubu, M.G. *Nigerian Land Law*, London, Macmillan Publishers. 1985. P. 134.

¹³ *Ibid*: P. 138.

¹⁴ *Ibid*.

In Zangon-Kataf area, women had no inheritance rights according to the tradition. Rather women were inherited by men on the death of their husbands because they needed someone to take care of them. It is believed that the concept of widow inheritance was necessary for family cohesion.¹⁵ If there was no suitable member of her deceased husband's family who wanted to inherit her, she would be considered as part of the family and provided with farmland. This only happened if the widow had only female children. However, widow inheritance and polygamy are disappearing because of Christianity, due to restrictions placed on the number of wives its adherents could have.¹⁶ This can be regarded as a positive development for women's relationship in marriage and access to property.

According to the people's custom, women could not inherit either from their father or husband's property. They were only entitled to inherit their mother's personal property like clothing, cooking utensils and furniture. On the death of her husband, if a woman had male children, they would inherit their father's property. If there were no male heirs, the land and houses of the deceased passed on to his relations. Again, this meant more importance placed on male children than female children. A widow or divorced woman in need of farmland had to beg her male relations to allot a plot of land for her to use in her lifetime. If she was given, she could use the land as long as the male relative wished. On her death, the land reverted to its owner.

Inheritance among the people of Zangon-Kataf was patrilineal. When a man died, his property was shared among his male child(ren). Wives and daughters were excluded.

¹⁵ Hussaina J. A. & Ibrahim H. *Op. Cit.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

If the children were young, the property was held in trust either by the mother or a male relative of the deceased, but male relations were not always trustworthy. It is expected that a male relation of the deceased would help in caring for the family. If the deceased had no male child(ren), his property was shared among his male relatives including his father. A woman with male child(ren) had unlimited access to land and landed-property and might be allowed some form of control. But all this was subject to the longevity of the child(ren). If she survived her children, such right to access ceased. Divorced women and widows, without male child(ren), who refused to be inherited had no place in the people's custom when they became single.

A woman had rights over her personal effects, her husband also had rights over her property. In fact, in Zangon Kataf area, the husband owned his wife and a woman could not travel outside her village without his approval. This was due to the fact that a woman must consult her husband about every activity she undertook in his house. She could not engage in any activity-business, trade and others without his instruction, consent or approval. She could not dispose of her property without his consent. If a husband wanted to use any part of his wives property she could not object. This code was enshrined by both tradition and religion that a woman was under the guidance of her parents or husband. A woman could have independent thinking only when she was divorced and did not have surviving parents or male kin. Under this condition she could decide for herself what was best for her. This was only for well-disciplined women.

The position of women in pre-colonial Nigeria obviously differed between the vast numbers of ethnic groups in Nigeria. A woman's position varied according to the

kinship structure of the group and role of women within the economic structure of the society. Common factors among women of different ethnic groups, however, included the domestically oriented jobs and the range of economic activities that the societies reserved for women. Women in pre-colonial societies held a complementary position to men although patrilineal and patriarchal kinship structures pre-dominated Nigerian societies. This meant that the women were working side-by-side the men in economic activities in the societies. The kinship group expected married women to give birth to sons to ensure the future of the group. Furthermore, the position of a young wife improved as she grew older, bore children and earned approval of elders. She gained assistance from younger wives as she grew older, thus allowing her to spend less time in the home and more time engaging in activities outside the household, such as farming and craft making which allowed her to provide the material resources needed in order to take care of her family. In the Nigerian society, the responsibility of a woman to provide for her family included provision of material resources.

The status of women in Zangon-Kataf area was indisputably subordinate to that of the men. Women were seen as minors, equivalent to that of children including boys that were not initiated. In fact initiated boys of as low as the ages of ten or eleven who had been initiated into the *Abvoi* cult were seen to have a status higher than that of women. For example, the Bajju people had expressions concerning women which reflected their inferior status as compared to the men. Such expressions included: "*Arenbyring a yet kyang atasa*", meaning, "A woman is a property of outsider"; "*Arenbyring a shyak bu kabawon ba*", meaning, "A woman is just like a child"; "*Arenbyring a yet kyangn*

agbyang ayin”, meaning, “A woman is a naked person”, just to mention but a few.¹⁷ Male children were seen as more desirable than female children because male children were seen as the foundation of the household. In contrast, female children were called “*nawon atasa*”, meaning outside children. This was because female children married to other families and left their own families but the male children married and remained in their families. Because of the status of the woman, she could be allowed to marry any man whether rich or poor, but much importance was placed on who the man could marry because he was to remain and enhance the welfare of the family.¹⁸

The society considered the work the women did complementary to the work of men and some women achieved impressive status in the economic and social realms of the society. However, more commonly, women achieved power by means of their lineage or by means of marriage into ruling families. By achieving such power, they obtained indirect political influence, but they rarely showed their influence in public. Like the family and economic structures, the religions of many Nigerian peoples conceived the position of women as complementary to that of men. However, the fact remains that the societies of Pre-Colonial Zangon Kataf area believed men to be superior to women and, to some extent, in control of women.

In spite of the overwhelming restrictions on the Nigerian women, particularly in Zangon-Kataf area, they have tremendous achievements in different parts of the country in participating so remarkably in various fields of developments, particularly in agriculture and in business.

¹⁷ Amina B.P.D. *Bajju Tradition*. Kaduna: Kenyi Prints, 2011, p. 52.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

3.2 Role of Gender in Agriculture

Women are key players in the agricultural sector of most developing countries of the world. In spite of this major role, men have reportedly continued to dominate farm decision making, even in areas where women are the largest providers of farm labour. There has been little farm-level information regarding their role in decision making, particularly in male dominated export crop environments like cocoa agro-forestry households. They tend all types of livestock; process domestic crops for home consumption and for markets; manage natural resources through efficient use of water and fuel for their crop and animal activities and market their products at the local, regional and national levels.

In Zangon-Kataf area, the men married for two reasons: firstly for farming activities and secondly for child bearing. The land was low-grass that did not require too much work during land clearing. The grass was allowed to dry around February and March; and then set on fire. But where a virgin land was to be cleared, the women would be very much involved. Whenever the man went to the farm in the morning, the wife normally stayed at home to prepare the food and then take it to the farm from about 10:00 to 12:00 noon and will not return home till late in the evening with her husband. The women planted the seeds as the men tilted the land. When the crops became weedy, the men did the weeding while the women packed the grass. The harvesting of the crops was done by both men and women.¹⁹ It was very important for men and women to engage in farming because it gave them high prestige. People preferred marrying their daughters to families that were great farmers because it meant they would be well fed. On the other

¹⁹ Interview with Mr. Auta Audu, Danmalikin Bajju, Age 68, at his Residence in Hayin Dogo, Samaru – Zaria on 19th July, 2013.

hand, if the women and men in a family were lazy farmers, people would not like to associate with them. Some women also had their farms aside the family farms in order to help in providing for the family.²⁰

The majority of the world's food producers are women. The United Nations estimates indicate that they provide 60 to 80 percent of the agricultural labour in Africa and Asia and 40 percent in Latin America.²¹ In Africa they produce much of the food their families consume, while in Asia and Latin America, they engage in key stages of production and processing of crops and are the main producers of vegetables, poultry and livestock for the household.

Women played a critical role in Zangon Kataf area by fulfilling their role as food providers. There are 2 basic variants of household food production systems in Sub-Saharan Africa: 1) Women are responsible for production of all or most food crops. In this variant, domestic crop plots are considered women's plot. 2) Men and women jointly cultivate staple food crops in fields controlled by male household heads. In this type, male household head controls the output. Women participated more in cultivating domestic crops needed for the consumption of the family. For example, the cultivation of vegetables was mostly done by women because they need them for making soup. They also threshed grains, harvested groundnut and benniseed.²²

Several activities during crop production were taken up by women in Zangon-Kataf. They included pre-sowing activities like seed treatment, leveling of land, cutting

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Adisa, B. O. & Akinkunmi, J.A., "Assessing Participation of Women in Poultry Production as a Sustainable Livelihood Choice in Oyo State, Nigeria", Department of Agricultural Extension & Rural Development, Faculty of Agriculture, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife.

²² Bonat, Z.A., Bonat, Z.A. "Aspects of the Economic and Social History of the Atyab (Katab) c. 1800 – 1960 A.D.," *Savanna: A Journal of the Environmental and Social Sciences* (Vol. 10, No. 1). Zaria: ABU Press, 1989. P. 43.

bushes, puddling, spreading of cow dung manure as well as other functions like paddy transplantation, weeding, harvesting, threshing and post harvest activities. It is common for women to manage farms in all parts of the world while men drift about cities in search of paid employment.²³ This is because they have been engaged in farming activities even before colonial period and so it is not a new thing for them to do.

Harvesting of crops was jointly done by men and women but transportation was mostly the duty of the women in Zangon Kataf. Transportation of agricultural produce from the farm to the house was done by the women through trekking and carrying the produce on their heads. This task was very burdensome because there were no cars or other vehicles to make the process easy. After this whole process, at home, the women still continued with their domestic chores like cooking, cleaning, washing, food processing and others. When the women were so tired, their older daughters helped in performing those tasks because they were considered to be female duties and not male.²⁴

3.3 Role of Women in Poultry

Raising poultry is a popular activity among women in most countries. In fact, women have been reported to be the predominant owners of poultry.²⁵ Feeding of backyard poultry is a good example of the recycling of household and farm wastes and the use of naturally occurring resources. Women were regularly involved in disposal and replacement of poultry litters. They devised innovative ways of using waste products. Grain and grain by-products are usually offered as supplements to the birds.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Interview with Mr. Auta Audu. *Op. Cit.*

²⁵ Okitoi F O, Ondwasy H O, Obali M P and Murekefu F, 2007, "Gender Issues in Poultry Production in Rural Households of Western Kenya". *Livestock Research for Rural Development*. 19(2):1-2.
<http://www.lrrd.org/lrrd19/2/okit19017.htm>

Women were involved in different activities of poultry production. They participated in preparation for the brooding activities which included cleaning, washing and disinfecting of the brooding room, arrangement of feeders and setting of lighting, spreading of litters and acquisition of feeds and drugs. This operation required thorough handling, skilful and careful planning. Therefore, most women preferred to handle this operation by themselves.

In our area of study, there were varieties of poultry housing systems. These ranged from crudely constructed houses, to bamboo baskets, wire mesh or bamboo cages placed in the backyard, to innovative systems of putting bamboo or wooden cages on tree tops, wooden poles or along the roof. Saving the birds from predators is the major objective of these innovations. Birds are trained to climb or fly over to the cages, placed on trees - or are manually picked up and put there. The entire rearing of small animals is the responsibility of women. It involves small money for selling and buying of poultry products and serves as a 'reserve bank' that provides ready cash and food.

In Zangon-Kataf, women traditionally play an important role in livestock production. Most of the productive activities of women are performed within the household. Though they may appear to be unemployed, generally they are overworked. Women make a direct contribution to the economy through their participation in agricultural and non-farm activities and indirectly coupled with the fact that they are responsible for all the domestic work such as cleaning, cooking, washing, child rearing, raising poultry and vegetables as well as tending animals.

Poultry raising was a popular activity among rural women in Zangon-Kataf area. It could provide meat for the family, manure for crop production, feathers and other items for traditional rituals and gifts for friends. Labour requirements are low compared with other farm activities. Small livestock and production tasks can be combined with women's other household responsibilities. Unlike in the case of larger livestock, women often control the marketing of poultry and poultry products.

During the pre-colonial era, most women practised the extensive system of poultry production, where fowls ranged freely and scavenged in the backyard, which required only minimal cash expenditure on feed. Subsequently, some had introduced a semi-intensive system, based on confinement or semi-confinement of the poultry, requiring building of sheds and purchase of feed. An important reason for keeping poultry is that it gives status to the owner, though not as much as cattle.²⁶

The importance of poultry can not be overestimated. Animal protein is essential in human nutrition because of its biological significance. Poultry and poultry products such as poultry meat and eggs are important food for improving nutritional and health status, particularly of children, pregnant women and weak persons. Poultry was a source of income for buying soap, cooking oil and other daily needs. Around 50% of the eggs were sold. The sale of chickens was mainly important during festivities or in case of emergencies.²⁷ Although, in most African societies, there were taboos associated with the eating of eggs, especially by pregnant women, the eggs and chickens for consumption

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Brorholt, G. & Odgaard, P. (1999.) "Women and Chicken: Traditional poultry management in Nicaragua and Tanzania", *Proceedings: Development workers' course: Poultry as a tool in poverty eradication and promotion of gender equality*, at Course Centre Tune Landboskole, March 22–26, 1999.

were also important. About 35% of the eggs were consumed within the family. The proportion consumed was higher in the more wealthy households compared to the poorer households, who depended more on the income from sale of eggs. The remaining 15% of the eggs were used for incubation and thereby maintenance of the flock.²⁸ The adult birds were only slaughtered at special occasions such as weddings, whereas the male growers were slaughtered for home-consumption mostly for special dinner. Poultry was in most cases an integrated part of the cropping system and could be seen as an instrument to add value to surplus grain.

3.4 Role of Women in Preservation and Processing of Agricultural Produce

Women played and are still playing active roles in preservation and processing of agricultural produce in Nigeria as a whole and Zangon-Kataf District in particular. Women had various forms of preserving or processing different agricultural produce. Maize as one of the agricultural produce could be processed and cooked as traditional foods like *tuwo*, *pete*, *kunu* and others. Guinea-corn could also serve the same purposes as maize and could be made into traditional beer (*burukutu*) for sale or as drinks during festivals. These were solely the women's responsibilities. Others like tomatoes that could spoil easily were preserved by cutting and drying and other means of preservation by women so that they would not be wasted.

Another crop was groundnut. The processing of groundnut into various products was mostly done by women either for home consumption or for commercial purposes. The most common commercial products of groundnut were: groundnut oil, groundnut

²⁸ *Ibid.*

cake and fried peanuts which were sold at market places or hawked on the streets. The processing of groundnut was both the source of income and employment to a large proportion of rural women in Northern Nigeria.²⁹ Groundnut cake was often deep fired or dried to make a snack locally called *kuli-kuli*. Groundnut paste was used as an ingredient in soups, puddings and others. Groundnut especially those produced in developing countries had been used traditionally from time immemorial. It was rich in oil and protein and had a high energy value. Women contributed a lot in the production of groundnut.

3.5 Role of Women in Marketing

Generally, women are more enterprising in marketing than their male counterparts. It is assumed, by the researcher, that the natural softness of women both vocally and character wise contribute well in their being more enterprising than men. This is not saying that the woman was to be a flirt but women knew how to convince men to buy their goods with their “sugar-mouth” words or friendly looks. In some cases, the women only had to smile for their products to be bought. That is why even today most people prefer to employ females than males in their businesses.

In Zangon-Kataf area as in other parts of Northern Nigeria, women were involved in marketing of agricultural goods. When it became necessary for a man to sell some of his agricultural produce, it was the duty of the wife or wives to market them because of their honesty, patience, entrepreneurship and the likes, which the men were lacking. This was coupled with the belief that a woman was always supposed to be humble and

²⁹ Hassan, I.I. & Hussaini Yusuf Ibrahim, “An Evaluation of Groundnut Processing by Women in a Rural Area of North Central Nigeria”. *Journal of Agricultural Science*. 2006.

submissive to the man. The women had no right to spend from the money after marketing the produce and they were always sincere to their husbands by telling them the correct amount or value of sale.³⁰ If suspected by their husbands for telling lies, they were made to go through trial by drinking a concoction to prove their innocence. They were engaged in marketing of processed foods as well. For example, it was common to see women selling *moi-moi* and *akara*, (made from beans or cassava), local beer (*burukutu*) and lots more. Some of them did not have to take the products to the market place because they could sell them in front of their houses and people would patronise them.

Some women usually operated their markets by sending their young girls out onto the streets or operating small stands. They normally sat in the market-places under the trees, exposing their goods for sale, or hawk them through the streets from door to door and from village to village. A lot of products were marketed in various categories, which included unprocessed, processed, raw, cooked, grains, vegetables, meat, tubers, beans, nuts, livestock and others. Some were found locally while others were bought from outside through trade by barter and in some cases currency was involved.

3.6 Conclusion

The recognition of the role women played in agriculture and rural society is fundamental to agricultural and rural development in sub-Saharan Africa. More importantly, recognising and supporting this role is crucial for the development of women and the fulfilment of their economic potential.

Women held a basically complementary, rather than subordinate, position to men in indigenous pre-colonial Nigerian society, which based power on seniority rather than

³⁰ Interview with Mr. Auta Audu, *op. cit.*

gender. In pre-colonial indigenous Nigerian societies, however, a woman's role included providing for her family by means of financial support. Therefore, her traditional responsibility required her financial independence. Furthermore, many members of the extended family helped to rear the children, not only the mother. The contribution made by rural women to agricultural production and rural development in Nigeria was grossly under-appreciated in spite of the dominant role they played in the sector. Women in Zangon Kataf competed more favourably with their men folks in terms of their complementary role in agricultural activities and contribution to household economy and food security.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE BRITISH CONQUEST AND ESTABLISHMENT OF COLONIAL RULE IN ZANGON-KATAF, 1900 – 1940

4.0 Introduction

Colonialism is the practice by which one country establishes its control over the people of another country. It is generally associated with the European overseas expansion that began about 1500. It occurred in most parts of the world.¹ Colonialism exhibited itself in three (3) structures namely: economic, social and political. Socially, it undermined all forms of social systems of the colonies. Politically, it entailed the loss of sovereignty by the colonies to the colonizers. Economically, it restructured the distribution of wealth, thereby exploiting the colonies for the selfish interest of the colonizers. It is a known fact, from the literature review, that the colonizers were selfish in the sense that nothing they did in the colonies was for the benefit of the colonized. If the colonized benefitted in some aspects it was by mistake. All the colonizers did was for them to benefit at the detriment of their colonies.

By 1900 the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria was formerly declared by Colonel F.D. Lugard at Lokoja without the consent of the people. With the declaration of Zaria Province in March 1902, during the reign of Emir Kwassau Muhammadu Lawal, son of Yero (1897-1902)², most of the communities in the south became known as Southern Zaria³, including people of Zangon-Kataf area, while the rest were included in the Jema'a

¹ *World Book Encyclopedia* 2002 p813.

² Green -Kirk. *Gazetteers of the Northern Provinces of Zaria. Volume 1. The Hausa Emirates (Bauchi, Sokoto, Zaria, Kano)* Frank Cass. London. 1972.p.14

³ Kazah-Toure, *op. cit*, p. 103.

Division of Nasarawa Province.⁴ Once the Protectorate was formally declared, any form of resistance against the British was considered as refusal to submit to “constituted authority” and therefore brutally suppressed.⁵ Between 1900 and 1903, most of the Hausa States had fallen prey to the British armed forces, but the story of British occupation of our area of study was quite different, as it took the colonial administration many years before it could effectively occupy the area as we shall discuss in this chapter.⁶

This chapter starts with colonial conquest and discusses the various strategies the people used to resist colonial domination. This is in order to see whether the people of this area just folded their hands and waited for the British to colonize them easily.

4.1 Colonial Conquest

The conquest of Zaria Province as a whole was not a uniform phenomenon because the state of affairs in the area before colonialism did not favour the existence of a united state that was able to resist any foreign invasion. The rulers of Zazzau did not put up any strong resistance against the British forces and it was conquered by the British. In March 1902, the British entered Zaria as “partners” of the emir and established a battalion outside the city walls, under Captain Abadie as the Resident.⁷ The people were unable to drive the British from the area and Emir of Zazzau, Kwasau Muhammadu, was arrested, deposed and exiled in 1903 for his willingness to allow Kano and Sokoto to use Zaria territory in their resistance to British rule, while Aliyu dan Sidi was appointed to

⁴ *Ibid.* P. 116.

⁵ *Ibid.* P. 104.

⁶ Turaki, Y. *The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria: A Social Ethical Analysis of the Colonial and Post-Colonial Society and Politics in Nigeria*. Arewa House. 1993. P. 54.

⁷ NAK. ZARPROF 2552, “Zaria Province, Annual Report for 1905”.

replace him as Emir of Zazzau.⁸ Jema'a Province, situated in our area of study, easily submitted to the British rule because it witnessed the surrender and collapse of neighbouring chiefdoms like Nassarawa (1902), Keffi (1902), Abuja (August, 1902) and Lafiya (1903). The leaders of the Jema'a thought it was wise to submit easily to the British colonizers instead of wasting the lives of their people in vain as it happened in neighbouring areas. It was, however, ironic that the people they claimed to be their subjects resisted colonial subjugation for more than a decade after 1902.

In Zangon Kataf area, the British found it very difficult to subdue the people, because, as we have seen in the previous chapter, the people were living independently before the coming of the British and were not under the rule of a central government. In fact, the Gwong, Ham (Jaba), Agworok and Asholio were later ruled as "Independent Pagan Districts" by the British⁹ on November, 4, 1914.¹⁰ It took the British long time to occupy these areas, as the areas were full of numerous ethnic groups, which were functioning as mini-republics, unlike the Hausa areas. The British embarked on two aggressive policies in order to have effective control of these areas, which were: punitive patrols and tax assessments.¹¹

Lugard used punitive patrol to subdue the people of these areas who were able to resist British occupation in one way or the other. Under punitive patrols, Lugard gave four conditions. The first condition was, people were always obliged to accept the terms given by the British troops or face the use of force. Secondly, it was necessary to occupy

⁸ Bonat, Z.A. "The Colonial Phase of the Underdevelopment of Zaria Province 1902-1945". M.A. Thesis, Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria, 1985, p. 189.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 189.

¹⁰ NAK: SNP7, 7239/1912, "Kagoro Assessment Report".

¹¹ Turaki, Y. (1993). *The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria: A Social Ethical Analysis of the Colonial and Post-Colonial Society and Politics in Nigeria*. Arewa House. P. 57.

a “hostile village” when it became obvious that the villagers were refusing to accept the terms given to them or if they were preparing to resist. The third condition allowed the seizure of foodstuff and livestock to serve as payment of fines or to hold as ransom for prisoners who were captured as means of inducing submission. The fourth condition was the use of “extreme measures” when the third condition fails. This mandated the destruction of the chiefs’ houses or those of the people that were known to be the leaders of the resisting groups.¹²

These conditions of the punitive patrols justified not only conquests but also, massive destruction of property, homes and worst of all, human beings by the army. Initially, Lugard’s two major justifications for punitive patrols were: firstly, “should a British officer be attacked and killed, an ethnic group involved would have to be punished and brought under control”, secondly, “a warlike or lawless ethnic group that persisted in raiding its neighbours or creating lawlessness should be pacified by force”.¹³

But as time went on, the use of armed forces against ethnic groups became so cruel and intensive, not guided by the two justifications given by Lugard, as stated above. Therefore, the British political officers “left a legacy of cruelty, maltreatment and the humiliation of people”.¹⁴ The people were treated as animals, not as human beings because they were seen as savages by the colonisers. Most of the people’s huts were burnt down in the night. For example, in 1907, punitive patrols were conducted against the people of Zangon Kataf, destroying lives and property, because the British regarded

¹² *Ibid.* P. 58.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.* P. 60.

them as “savages”, “raw pagans”, “uncivilized” and wild people characterized by warlike traits and prone to lawlessness.¹⁵

The Atyap and Bakulu which were exposed to attack without physical barriers were constantly breaking up and migrating. The resistance of the Kataf people was not as fierce as the hilly people not because they were not strong but the environmental condition did not offer protection against eminent attacks.¹⁶ Naturally it was expected that once their neighbours were under control, they would follow suit, but the reverse was the case because it was very difficult for the colonialists to conquer these people. Hence from 1903-1950 onward, military expeditions in the area never ceased.¹⁷ According to Toure, despite the fact that the polities of the area of our study were lacking in the kind of military might of Zazzau, the level of violence and massive destruction of human lives and property unleashed against them by the British was quite immense as compared with the emirates.¹⁸

The first expedition in 1903 was conducted by six (6) officers and 195 men under Major E. Grawley, Lieut Short, Lieut Parker, Surgeon Rice and Resident Lobb.¹⁹ The march began from Zaria moving south-eastwards, taking one village at a time. These expeditions were characterized by looting, burning, excessive killings, confiscation of livestock, among others. According to Turaki, Lugard explained the conduct of punitive patrols as follows:

¹⁵ *Ibid.* P. 59.

¹⁶ Nyam-Jim, L.K., “Colonial Education and Employment Opportunities 1902-1960 A.D.: A Case Study of Zangon Katab District in Zangon Katab Local Government Area”. An Unpublished M.A. Thesis, submitted to the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1990. P. 113.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Kazah-Toure, *op. cit.* p. 114.

¹⁹ NAK: SNP7 2148/1903: “Military Operations in South East of Zaria Report on”, cited in *Ibid.*

All these expeditions (punitive patrols) were most ably conducted and the officers in command were instructed to achieve their objects with a minimum of loss of life or costly delays. All were accompanied by a political officer of the province in which they took place, who was careful to explain to the people the reason of the expedition and to impress upon them that a recurrence of lawlessness and the perpetration of murders and outrages would bring a further chastisement.²⁰

Based on the above quotation, lives and property were bound to be lost and destroyed respectively because the officers in command were instructed to achieve their objectives with a minimum of loss of life, meaning the British officers were brutal and ruthless in dealing with the people during expeditions. The violence meted on the people by the British spurred nationalist reaction. In March 1903 it was reported that the Gada, Bajju and others, were blocking roads, raiding caravans and murdering traders passing through their territories.²¹ Highway traders and travelers were considered as potential collaborators with the British. They were viewed with suspicion and always violently attacked. The attack against Hausa increased because they formed the bulk of traders on the trading routes coupled with the fact of the history of slave raids.

4.2 The Establishment of Colonial Administration

To start with, social status, religion and culture were the tools that the colonialists used for social stratification, differentiation and recruitment in to colonial service.²² This stratification was necessary for the British to enable them bring disunity among the

²⁰ Accounts of Punitive Patrols in the *Annual Reports, Northern Nigeria* p. 468 cited in Turaki, Y. *Op. Cit.* P. 59.

²¹ NAK: SNP 7, No. 2148. Letter from Acting High Commissioner Northern Nigeria to the Secretary of States for the Colonies in London on Sept. 7, 1903.

²² *Ibid.* P. 7.

people so that they would not be able to fight colonialism successfully. There were religious and cultural intolerance, tribal groups were treated differently; some were given preferential treatment and others were not. Social stratification led to the formation of superior-inferior status and socio-political role in the colonial hierarchical structure.²³

Colonial policies also brought about the development of negative or anti-social virtues, like elitism, greed, dominance, aggressiveness, social status, exploitation, tribalism, parochialism and regionalism, in Northern Nigeria. There was insecurity because British colonisers made the practice of dominance-subordination relationships between ethnic groups and regions an acceptable social norm and political practice in the system of governance in Southern Zaria.²⁴

Nigeria suffered greatly from this type of relationship and, in fact, it was the relationship that brought about the downfall of the First Republic in 1966 and brought in military rule. Up till date, Nigeria is still faced with the problem of ethnicity or tribalism, religious intolerance and different forms of segregation.²⁵

The concept of 'tribe' became the colonial unit of classification of ethnic groups. This is not to say that tribal distinctions did not exist in the pre-colonial period. Tribal distinctions existed before colonialism but it was not based on racial differentiation, which the British colonisers later institutionalized. The British saw the English, the Arabs and the Fulbe as superior to all black people.²⁶

²³ Turaki, Y. *op. cit.*

²⁴ *Ibid.* P. 7.

²⁵ *Ibid.* P. 14.

²⁶ Turaki, Y. *op. cit.*

Consequently, the British were the overseers and the Fulbe were taken to be natural rulers to preside over their racially less distinguished subjects,²⁷ although there is no way it can be concluded that the Non-Fulbe or Non-Hausa groups were inferior or primitive as portrayed by the colonial and missionary historiography. In fact, Turaki rightly puts it that:

*The histories and social facts about the NMG (Non-Muslim Groups) as they were thus recounted, interpreted and understood were not based upon true anthropological understanding of the historical transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols or inherited conceptions which were expressed in symbolic forms by means of which these peoples communicated, perpetuated and developed knowledge about and attitudes towards life.*²⁸

Also, the British colonisers did not allow Christian missionaries to enter Muslim areas because they were believed to have a civilisation, but they allowed the Christian missionaries to Christianise the non-Muslim areas because they were seen or believed not to have a civilisation. British colonisers centred their classification by laying emphasis on inequality of races, tribal boundaries and cultural differentiation not minding the fact that these people had common values such as socio-political values and organisation and language groupings.²⁹

There were two hierarchical levels of government under colonialism namely: the British controlled administration and the Native administration. The British controlled administration was at the top of the hierarchy, which was headed by the High Commissioner in Northern Nigeria. It was structured to be based on the British socio-political institutions seen as superior. It comprised of the Residents, District Officers

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.* P. 43.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

(D.O.S.), Assistant District Officers (A.D.O.S.), European political and technical staff and their African clerical and non-clerical supporting staff.³⁰

On the other hand, the African Administration was below the British controlled Administration. The Native Administration of each Division or Emirate was headed by the Native Authority or paramount Chief with his staff. It was controlled by native rulers and was structured to be based on indigenous institutions seen as subordinate.³¹

The High Commissioner was answerable to the Governor-General who was stationed at Lagos, which was the capital of the country; the Governor-General was answerable to the Secretary of State for colonies, who was in London; and the later was in turn answerable to the Queen, who was the Head of the British Empire. The administration controlled by the Europeans had three tiers of rulership namely: the Central Administration (Government), Provincial Administration and the Divisional Administration. All these administrative levels advised and controlled the Native Administration.³²

Lugard used taxation as a means of keeping in touch with the people for effective administration. Assessment of taxation led to the selection of men who were very influential. These men were given responsibilities and authority over the people to serve as advisers and chiefs. Tax collection and punitive patrols were used by the colonisers to control the people of Zaria Province for over twenty (20) years. These policies came with adverse consequences in that they resulted in massive destruction of agricultural products, villages, human lives and property.³³

³⁰ *Ibid.* P. 56.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.* P. 56.

³³ Turaki, Y. *Op. Cit.* P. 62.

From 1907 onward, the reorganization of Zangon Kataf took effect. Before then, District Heads remained in Zaria and were only represented by representatives (*Jekadu*). But from 1907, the system was changed with actual residence of the ruler in the area of his jurisdiction. In April 1907, the District Heads (Hakimai) went to their new districts and tried to get acquainted with their new duties and responsibilities by making lists of householders and collecting taxes even when the peasants were not happy with the situation.³⁴ There were two classes of District Heads, one which received 25% of the tax collected and the other which received 20% and this division of class depended on the “hard work” or “efficiency” of the District Heads. This promotion or demotion was to promote the spirit of rivalry and emulation to make the District Heads strive hard to attain the top class and effectively perform their duties by being loyal to the British.³⁵

By 1912, Katuka District of Zangon Kataf was established.³⁶ In 1925, the Bajju, Bakulu and Angan were transferred to Zangon Kataf District. In 1931, Zaria Emirate was divided into 26 districts and the districts were further divided into villages with each village under its Village Head and Districts under District Heads.³⁷ District Heads were usually selected from offices of the court and cadet of the royal house and there were frequent changes of staff which resulted in lack of traditional consistency.

There were reactions against the re-organisation of Zangon Kataf because some villages were subjugated couple with the fact that some elevated chiefs were demoted and seconded to smaller villages.³⁸ Therefore, boundary definition created enmity between

³⁴ Nyam-Jim, L.K., *op cit*, p. 125.

³⁵ *Ibid.* P. 126.

³⁶ H.B.E. Laing: NAK: ZARPROF: 2559 Annual Report for 1912 “Summary of Changes Affecting Zaria Province for the Last 7 Years to be included in” (cited in *ibid*).

³⁷ NAK: ZARPROF: 2572: Annual Report for 1925: Comments from Resident on the Report).

³⁸ Nyam-Jim, L.K., *op cit*, p 143.

tribes within Zangon Kataf and as a result the people started fighting themselves and were not able to unite and fight against colonialism. This was a clear case of divide and rule on the side of the British colonizers because as the people of Zangon Kataf were fighting themselves over land boundaries, the colonizers were ruling the people without much opposition.

An example was in 1915 when the colonialists exploited intra-communal conflict over land between the Bajju towns of Dibyi and Zonkwa to deal with the people. The Dibyi community was penalized by the British on the grounds of an assumed attack on Zonkwa and was fined £15 sterling. The British collected the money and not even a penny was given to the Zonkwa people. Also, the Dibyi people were forced by the British colonizers to produce 100 bows and arrows.³⁹ As a result of the boundary definition, members of various villages lived in confusion because it was common to find boundaries cutting across kinship groups. Boundary disputes became rampant and continued for about eighteen years. The major ones were between Bajju-Agworok and Atyp-Agworok.⁴⁰

In the north generally, the non-Muslim areas were included in either Zaria or Jema'a emirates for administrative convenience and by so doing, the British extended the authority of the emirs into areas which they did not control before British colonization.⁴¹ By doing this, the British got the support of the emirs in appeasing the non-Muslim people who were still resisting British colonization to submit to the British. The British gave reasons to justify the subordination of the non-Muslim people to the Emirate administration. First, the British deliberately upheld the claim of the Muslim rulers over

³⁹ Kazah-Toure, P. 143.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Bonat, Z.A. *Op. Cit.* p 201.

the non-Muslim areas even when evidence showed that it was false.⁴² By 1915 the British claimed that all tribes in Zaria Province were subjects of the emir of Zaria.

Furthermore, this was coupled with the claim the British made, as has been said earlier, that the non-Muslim people were more ‘backward’ or uncivilized than the “Muhammedan Fulani” and that they needed to be supervised by the Muhammedan Fulani for their administration to be effective and so the British proceeded to impose emirate over-rule on the people of Zangon Kataf.⁴³ The wars before 1914 were the only reason why Kagoro, Moroa and Kwoi remained independent districts.⁴⁴ The next paragraph explains these wars.

From 1904 – 1906 there had been series of wars between the Agworok and the British West African Frontier Force (W.A.F.F.) in a bid to colonise the people. In 1908, the Aninka (Ninzam) and Mada fought the British and Jema’a because of tax payment. In 1912, the Agworok and Asholio waged an overwhelming war against Jema’a because of the latter’s supposed claims of over-lordship status over them on the counterfeit claims of conquest. This war forced the British to recognize the Ham, Agworok and Asholio as Independent Districts on November 4th 1913.⁴⁵

Problems abound because subjecting the people of our area of study under emirates caused disaffection among them, which led to constant boundary adjustments by the colonial administration and anti-Hausa sentiments among the people of Zangon Kataf. This continued up to 1930 when the British administration of Browne (Chief

⁴² *Ibid*, p 201.

⁴³ NAK. SNP17/8, K. 4046, “Pagan Subjects under Mohammedan Rulers”.

⁴⁴ Bonat, Z..A. *Op. Cit.*

⁴⁵ NAK ZARPROF C. 8/1946.

Commissioner Northern Provinces) and Cameron (Governor of Nigeria) decided to review the political and administrative situation.⁴⁶

In 1932, the “Inter-tribal Boundary Settlement Ordinance was promulgated:

- a. to make better provision for the administration of justice and the constitution of native courts in the Protectorate.
- b. to provide inter-tribal boundaries.⁴⁷

They (Browne and Cameron) tried to remove the non-Muslims from the emirate control and organize them on the basis of their own institutions but failed due to the combined resistance of the Emirs and the Provincial Residents. The death of the Hausa District Head in Chawai (Atsam) area of Zaria Province gave Browne the opportunity and he appointed an Atsam to the post, but the recommendations that the Bajju be given a tribal council with a rotational presidency were not accepted.⁴⁸

In 1932 the District Scribe of Zangon Kataf sketched the re-grouping and the villages were regrouped. The table below shows the re-grouping of the villages of Zangon Kataf, 1932-1933:

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ NAK: ZARPROF: C. 28 “Inter-Tribal Boundary Settlements Ordinance” 1932; Enclosure 2 No. 314, 16th March 1932.

⁴⁸ NAK: ZAR PROF. 4846: “Kaje Tribe – Report on”, J.A. Reynolds, A.D.O.

Table 1: Regrouping of Zangon Kataf, 1932-1933

S/N	Recognised Villages	Subordinate Villages	Tax Payers & Tax Amount	Tribe, etc.
1	Zonzon	Zarkwai Sako Bain Kogi (I)	490 £122-10-0	Katab
2	Zaman Dabo	Kurmin Masara Kibori Zaman Awom	459 £114-15.0	Katab
3	Taligam	Magamiya (I) Magamiya (2) Gidan Wuka	206 £51-10.0	Katab
4	Gora	Kurmin Gandu	502 £125-10.0	Katab (Agbat, Gbaikokwan)
5	Anguwar Gaiya	Mabushi (1) Mabushi (2) Kurmin Dawaki Gidan Karo Fada Tsohuwa	705 £176.5.0	Katab (Agbat, Nge)
6	Jankasa	Magada Kura	424 £106	Katab (Agbat, Kpaisa)
7	Kachechere arna	Kachechere Hausawa	70 £120-5.0	Kachichere Hausa
8	Gidan Zaki	Bakin Kogi (2) Kwaku Kigudu	166 £41-10.0	Katab (Aku)
9	Fadan Kaje	Wandon Churyam Tsohon Gida Rumfa	408 £102-0.0	Kaje, Bainchok (East)
10	Zonkwa	Kurmin B Madauchi Hausawan Arna Abobo	552 £141-5.0	Kaje, Baiden (East)
11	Fadiyan Mugu	F. Bukur F. Yazanu F. Abursan Zagon Gajere Zagon Afifan Kahon Aron	442 £110-10.0	Kaje, Bainchok (West)
12	Zuturun Fama	Zurutu Fama Zuturu Mago Kangurara	263 £65-15.0	Kaje, Baiden (West)
13	Gidan Jatau	Ifam Anguwan Jatau	268 £67-0.0	Kaje, Baitarun

14	Fadan Ikulu	Bato Lisuru	166 £41.10.0	Ikulu, Kaninkon (Northeastern)
15	Kamuru	Anza Katul Fansil Gidan Bako Ashafa Hausawan Fansil Hausawan Tasha	430 £110.10.0	Kadara immigrants Ikulu, Inkokaya and others (Southern)
16	Anchuna	Gidan Ali Yade Gidan Gimba Anchar Akwarjini	288 £72.0.0	Ikulu, others (Northern)
17	Fadan Kamanton	Kangun Kaba Lena Tabiri arna Zaku Kagal Yangal Balo Tabiri Hausawa	620 £156-0.0	Kamantam
18	Zangon Katab	Yalwa	407 £162-15.0	Hausawa

Source: NAK: ZARPROF: 607 “Zangon Kataf Notes on”

From the table above, it can be seen that as a result of this regrouping, the over all number of villages, which was 81 was reduced by the British to 18 and the amount of tax expected from each village was allocated.

From 1934, there were inter-provincial boundary changes as a result of District amalgamation in our area in order to bring tribes separated by district boundaries into their appropriate groupings as tribal areas.⁴⁹ Boundaries were changed to bring Moroa, Kagoro and Kwoi independent Districts from Plateau Province to Zaria Province in

⁴⁹ D.M.H. Beck: NAK: Nigeria 23562 “Zaria Province Annual Report for 1934”.

1934.⁵⁰ The 1934 re-organisation concentrated at the centre to the district area with emphasis on District Heads and their officials. The districts were supervised by District officers that were answerable to the Divisional Officers. The District Chiefs were under the authority of the Emir of Zazzau because the British still retained the issue of the Hausa supremacy over the people of our area of study.

By the 1940s, it became obvious that the mission educated people from our area of study were not given posts in the N.A. bureaucracy and the district offices. The British and the Emir concluded that these people were not yet ready for such responsibilities. This led to serious unrest which cut across the whole of our area of study in the 1940s. The British saw this unrest as a revolt against colonial rule and they strongly supported the N.A. officials and maintained emirate dominance over the people of Zangon Kataf throughout the colonial period.⁵¹

4.3 Resistance to Colonial Rule

The people of Zangon Kataf District resisted colonial rule before and after the conquest. When the Europeans came to the area, they first met some Hausa men and being that the Europeans were interested in Hausa system of rulership, they imposed Hausa rule on the people of the area.⁵² Hausa leadership system was more favourable to the Europeans because it entailed the subjects' loyalty to a particular ruler or king unlike in Zangon Kataf District where all the ethnic groups were ruled by different chiefs and no central authority.

⁵⁰ Bonat, Z.A. *Op. Cit.* p. 205.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Interview with Yusuf Kantiok, former Local Government Chairman of Zangon Kataf, Age: 52 years at Zonkwa, Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area, on 24/11/12.

The people of Zangon Kataf District used bows and arrows for attack and defence against colonial rule. These bows and arrows were very poisonous and once an arrow penetrated an enemy's body, that person died instantly.⁵³ The people used to set a particular date for their rituals in order to prepare themselves against colonialism. During this period, they obeyed certain rules like abstinence from sex and other things that would make the rituals to be futile. With the bows and arrows the people were able to resist colonial domination for a long time. In fact, it is written in one of the archival records that the Bajju and Angan were unconquered⁵⁴ by 1932/33. The people of Zangon Kataf were eventually defeated because their bows and arrows could not compete well with the guns of the British colonizers, which were more sophisticated.

Another important factor that aided the people's defence strategy was their settlement pattern. This is because they were surrounded by hills and forests where they could easily go and hide in times of attacks. Those hills and forests provided great defence for the people. Despite these they were still colonized because they could not hide forever as they had to look for food to eat for sustenance. But even when they were colonized the people put up some resistance because of the way they were maltreated and because of the burdensome taxes that were imposed on them. They resisted and put up various forms of protests because they were not used to paying tax before colonialism. Colonial policies on taxation will be discussed as we proceed because it was a very important aspect of generating money to the British colonizers. Some of the struggles put up by the people of Zangon Kataf area against the British are discussed below.

⁵³ Interview with Sunday Bakut, Businessman, Aged 49 years at Zonkwa, Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area, on 24/11/12.

⁵⁴ ZARPROV 607: Zangon Katab p. 109.

The Moroa people refused to recognise the British until the British transferred the chieftaincy from the Abuwat clan to the Aswa clan and appointed Boman as the District Chief in 1906. When the British arrived Moroa, the Agwam Asholio (that is the Chief of Asholio) Duya, knowing about the escapades of the British, asked Akut, the Clan Head of the Aswa and his son, Shekari, to meet the British and deputise for him. He then withdrew to Tukwat, which was the sacred place where the Asholio chiefs were given investiture of office, in order to wait for the British to go away. After three attempts to meet with Duya failed, the British then made the Head of the Aswa Clan to be the Agwam Asholio and cut off Duya and his clan from the chieftaincy and this broke the resistance of the Asholio.⁵⁵

In the case of the Agworok, they withdrew into the hills and behind their cactus hedges. From there they put up a strong fight against the British, using bows and arrows, and rolled stones and bees down the hills on to the British. In 1908, the Kagoro resisted the British by refusing to pay tax.⁵⁶ In 1909, the British invaded the Attakad, Aninka, Agworok and Mada areas using 107 rank and files of the West African Frontier Force (W.A.F.F.), one Non-Commission Officer (NCO), 2 officers, and Maxim gun. The people resisted well and killed six W.A.F.F. men, wounded five carriers and 71 resistance fighters were killed.⁵⁷

In Kaingi town, several arrows were fired by the inhabitants at the soldiers who went to the town to collect food, which the inhabitants had refused to offer. The villages were attacked and the attacks on these villages led to the discovery of hundred of freshly poisoned arrows which were destroyed and forty prisoners and two horses were taken by

⁵⁵ Nyam-Jim, L.K., *op. cit.* P. 193.

⁵⁶ NAK: ZAR PROF 2084: "Kagoro: State of Lawlessness in".

⁵⁷ Bonat, Z.A. *Op. Cit.* P. 194.

the British.⁵⁸ At Gada the town was already depopulated but still, few men fired at the soldiers as the soldiers approached the town and fled. They were pursued and defeated and sixty prisoners together with six horses were taken by the British.⁵⁹

Bajju villages put up violent resistance against the British during expeditions. When the British troops approached Kankada, the natives stood their ground, forcing the colonial troops to split into two. Fighting lasted about 2 hours until the natives were overpowered and began to disperse and fled in all directions. The soldiers still used the Maxim gun even when the natives were running away and many of them were killed.⁶⁰ Coming to Madakiya, the British burnt down the town despite the fact that the inhabitants had fled to Kachim. At Zonkwa also, most of the inhabitants had fled, yet three prisoners were captured and three horses. At Fadia, the soldiers (Maude and Sergeant Major Bullah) narrowly escaped being ambushed by some Bajju people who were lying in wait for them. Amid all these, native hostility persisted and as a result scarcely a year passed without a military patrol in our area of study.⁶¹ In 1908 there was constant patrol by British troops to the area in order to suppress anticipated opposition. The patrol was to ensure order, to provide peace for market or trade and the sale of food which was the only means to ensure the payment of tribute collected from these communities.⁶²

When the Agworok were told that they would be under the administration of Jema'a in 1912, they took up arms and went to war against Jema'a. It was said that this war was started by a woman who beheaded the Fulbe man who brought the message.⁶³

⁵⁸ NAK: SNP 7 2148/1903: "Military Operations in South East of Zaria Report on", p. 1.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Nyam-Jim, L.K., *op cit*, p 115.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* P. 116.

⁶² NAK: ZAR PROF: 4904/1908 "Patrol in Southern Division of Zaria – Sanction for" in *ibid* p 117.

⁶³ NAK: SNP7, 7239/1912, "Kagoro Assessment Report.

The Ningkwop and Bajju attacked the emir of Jema'a in 1914 at the villages of Kachib, Afana and Bakin Kogi. This attack happened when the emir went to collect tax arrears, which the Village Head of Kachib, Mallam Makoshi could not collect. In 1914, the emir of Jema'a was attacked at Ayu, while he was on tour of the Aninka area and he was killed in the process.⁶⁴ Consequently, 60 soldiers with a maxim gun were sent to mete out collective punishment to the Aninka. The successor emir was chased by the Ningkwop and Bajju into Zaria Province.⁶⁵ It was reported that the youths of the villages were driving out the village heads and elders because they did not lead them properly against the Europeans.⁶⁶ The British officials sent to control the situation were shot and the people refused to identify the culprits.

Consequently, the villages were burnt down and destroyed and according to the Resident these extreme measures were meant to teach the villages that the British were present and had the power to enforce law and order and that refusal meant punishment. These made the people of our area of study not to be able to unite and resist colonial conquest strongly and therefore they went through colonial exploitation.⁶⁷

The youths were involved actively in the struggle against British colonialism in our area of study. The elders of the various villages operated from behind the battle field because the youth constituted the main military force. Women, the aged and children were taken out from the settlements and hidden deep in the bush in camps during hostilities with the British. Such camps were the supply bases and the women while in the camps, cooked the meals for the fighting men. Those wounded in the battles were

⁶⁴ Bonat, A.Z. *Op. cit.*

⁶⁵ NAK: ZARPROF 2089.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Nyam-Jim, L.K., *op cit*, p. 119.

also taken to the camps for treatment. Medicine men prepared herbs, charms and amulets for the soldiers as protection against enemy fire. Normally, every youth was a soldier, trained in the art of warfare and hunting because there was no regular army. Distinguished warriors in the various communities with outstanding records of being brave in hunting, wrestling and armed conflicts were given command positions. The soldiers took oath before the religious priests to be loyal to their land even in the face of death. It was a taboo for any soldier going to battle to have sex with a woman because it was believed that such act would bring disaster to the people in battle.⁶⁸

Still talking about the role of the youths in colonial resistance in our area of study, in the mid-1914 when the British were looking for those involved in the shooting of an arrow that killed a Fulbe herdsman, the leader of Kokum helped the British to investigate. They found out that two young men were suspected and as a result, one of the men was arrested while the second escaped. The youth became angry and turned against the elders, saying they were sell-outs to the Europeans.⁶⁹ On the 24th October, 1914, the Agworok youth of Kpak Village attacked two police constables, Ibrahim Buzu and Dogari Usuman, who were in charge of two prisoners, Adam and Bili, when they were being moved to Moroa from Kagoro, and, as a result, the prisoners were released.⁷⁰

During these expeditions and wars villages were burnt down and economic valuables of the natives destroyed. Prisoners of war were sent to Zaria for forced labour. All these made it very difficult for the people of our area of study to regain their losses and strongly oppose colonialism.⁷¹ The imposition of collective punitive measures on

⁶⁸ Kazah-Toure, p 120.

⁶⁹ NAK: ZAR PROF No. 2084, "Kagaro State of Lawlessness in 1914" in *Ibid.* P. 140.

⁷⁰ Kazah-Toure, *Op. Cit.* P. 140.

⁷¹ Nyam-Jim, L.K., *op cit.* , p 120.

stubborn towns and villages was the weapon used against colonial resistance in the area of study, in which every one was punished regardless of whether guilty or not.

Furthermore, primary nationalist revolts were crushed with the support of the Emirs and Chiefs who opposed anti-colonial movements in the interest of their overlords and themselves. Some of them did not have to wait for the British to ask them to crush resistance. There was no year that passed without a military operation against the people in our area of study. Sometimes, the ethnic groups submitted to the British temporarily in the face of total extermination as a tactical move to later reinforce and keep resisting colonial domination.⁷²

4.4 Conclusion

One cannot properly explain the early resistance of the people of Zangon-Kataf without mentioning the fact that the tribal communities and the people made it difficult for the institutionalization of a strong resistant system and this created conditions for capitalist exploitation. Different contradictions existed in Zangon-Kataf due to boundary changes and colonial policies, which made the people not to be united to fight against the British. Consequently, the British colonizers were able to exploit the existing contradictions between the different polities in the area in order to have a stranglehold on the people of Zangon-Kataf. Furthermore, primary resistance to colonial rule was partly subdued because of the technological superiority of the Europeans. Consequently, many of the resistance fighters were killed and villages totally destroyed.

⁷² Kazah-Toure, pp. 126, 130.

As we have observed, the British colonial administration in our area of study built a new political structure where power-base was made up of the Emirs and the nobility of the Emirates because political power was handed over to the Hausa-Muslim groups in the area. The discussion in this chapter clearly shows that the colonial administration did not care much about the needs and the political aspirations of the natives of Zangon-Kataf. Instead, it cared so much about the survival of its colonial structures at the detriment of the people of the area. The convergence of interest between the British Colonial Rulers and the Emirs and the Nobility of the Emirates is synonymous and a reflection of interests of elites from dependent states maintenance of dependent relationship because their private interests coincide with the interests of the dominant state. This is an authentic or veritable construct of the dependency theory.

CHAPTER FIVE

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN ZANGON KATAF DISTRICT UNDER BRITISH COLONIAL RULE, 1907 – 1960

5.0 Introduction

The colonial authorities' approach to the 'management' of the Nigerian economy was characterised by two main orientations. The first was informed by the major factor which initially informed British presence in the territory that eventually became Nigeria and the establishment of British colonial rule. It was the need to ensure that the exploitation of Nigeria's resources for the benefit of the British Empire was undertaken in a more efficient manner that led to colonial rule. Thus, during the early decades of colonial rule, the colonial authorities in Nigeria were concerned with sourcing and shipment of raw materials to Britain. The second orientation was an approach by which the government sought to directly influence, in some ways, the course of events in the country. This change in orientation was brought about by a combination of forces.

The colonial government's idea of development and how to pursue it were summarised in two documents which the administration described as 'development plans.' These were the so-called Ten Year Plan of Development and Welfare for Nigeria 1946-1956, which was terminated in 1954 and the 1955-1960 Plan.¹

The colonial economy was dominated by agriculture and trade, because the dominant motives of colonialism were the search for cheap raw materials and expansion of markets for the products of the colonialists. The colonizers stimulated the production

¹ <http://www.onlinenigeria.com>. Nigeria – The Colonial Economy, 1860 – 1960. 2003.

of such industrial raw materials as palm oil and kernel, cocoa, cotton, groundnut and rubber.

The result was that export trade in these commodities soon became the dominant feature of the colonial economy in Nigeria. It indicates the extent of export of two of the most important agricultural products, namely palm oil and kernel, between 1865 and 1889. These show that, overall, there were fluctuations in the quantities of both products exported from year to year. Yet, during 1885-9 substantial increases were recorded.

The production of food crops was left in the hands of peasant households who generally worked on small plots of land, with low inefficient technologies. Thus, the emphasis on export crop production created the conditions for the food insecurity which the country later experienced. With the growth of foreign trade came the need of modern financial institutions, especially banks, mainly from Britain.²

This among others, led to the establishment of the Central Bank of Nigeria in 1958 to, among other things, regulate developments in the financial sector. Another significant economic activity during the colonial period was mining of such minerals as coal, tin, columbite, petroleum and gold. The colonial authorities controlled the mining of gold, but left the mining of the other minerals to private foreign companies. It gave information about the contributions of the minerals to the country's foreign exchange earnings between 1900 and 1960.³

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

The colonial authorities built some basic infrastructural facilities in Nigeria. But, in this sector also, the motive of promoting the economic interest of the authorities was clear. This motive dictated the nature and pattern of the facilities, for instance, roads. These, as the other facilities, were designed mainly to facilitate the evacuation of agricultural and mineral products.

The economic interest of the colonialists also led them to avoid the promotion of industrial activities, particularly manufacturing, in order to protect the market for the products from their home country. But these and the several other features of the colonial economy were explained in terms of the *laissez faire* philosophy of the time.⁴

This chapter discusses agricultural policies the British colonizers introduced during their administration in order to have a stranglehold on Zangon Kataf to fulfill their selfish interest. After all these, conclusion will be drawn to see whether the agricultural policies introduced by the British were favourable to the people in question or not.

5.1 Colonial Policies on Land Tenure System

The impact of colonial land tenure system still lingered in Nigeria even after independence, which comprised the following:

1. Ownership of all land comprising the territory of each state in the federation is vested in the Governor;
2. All land in urban areas were to be under the control and management of each state Governor; all land outside these areas were to be under local authorities' control and management;

⁴ *Ibid.*

3. The Land Tenure Law and the state land law shall continue to be applied by the Governor;
4. The Governor may grant statutory rights of occupancy to any person; local authorities may grant only customary rights of occupancy;
5. No single customary right of occupancy be granted in respect of an area exceeding 500 hectares of land for agricultural purposes or 5,000 hectares for grazing purposes;
6. The occupier should have exclusive rights to the land against all persons other than the Governor;
7. During the tenure of a statutory right of occupancy the holder should have the sole right to and absolute possession of all improvements on the land and may, subject to the prior consent of the Governor, transfer, assign or mortgage any improvements on the land;
8. No customary right of occupancy may be alienated by assignment, mortgage, transfer of possession or sub-lease without prior consent of the Governor or the local authority;
9. A statutory right of occupancy may not be divided into two or more portions on devolution by the death of the occupier except with the consent of the Governor;
10. The Governor may revoke a right of occupancy for overriding public interest and in some cases of revocation, the holder be entitled to compensation for the value of improvements at the date of revocation.⁵

⁵ Federal Republic of Nigeria. Supplement to the Official Gazette Extraordinary. Vol. 65.14. 29 March 1978. Part A. Retrieved from: www.unv.edu/unupress/unupbooks/uv28ae/uv28ae/uv28aeoe.htm-28k.

It is important to state that in Nigeria, in the provisions of land use decree, the principle of absolute grant of rights to land to the benefit of private persons was not included.⁶ This means that everything was for the benefit of the colonial masters, as we shall see. No wonder Walter Rodney says that everything the colonisers did was for their own selfish interest.⁷

In talking about colonial land tenure, Bonat has this to say:

*The British land policy was based on the retention of the system of land ownership they found in Northern Nigeria. But we must quickly add that this policy was maintained only in so far as the retention of the pre-colonial land tenure system did not conflict with the interests of the colonial state and the expatriate firms. Therefore, when we say that the British retained the “native” land tenure system (as they called it) in our area of study, this should not be understood to mean that they did not tamper with the land tenure system.*⁸

With the collapse of the Sokoto resistance in 1903, Lugard announced that just as conquest had given the Fulbe the right to rule, control the land, levy taxes, create and depose king, by the same token, the Fulbe were forfeiting those “rights” to the British, upon whom the control and ownership of land and its resources were now vested.⁹ Therefore, the ultimate rights in land were transferred to the British crown.

Consequently, the people of Zangon Kataf who were already considered by the British as “subjects” to the Fulbe, were included in this proclamation. The British declared unoccupied lands and the property of any conquered or deposed ruler, “public

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Walter R., *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications. London. 1972.

⁸ Bonat, Z.A. “The Colonial Phase of the Underdevelopment of Zaria Province 1902-1945”. M.A. Thesis, Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria, 1985, p. 247.

⁹ Kirk-Greene, A.H.M. *Principles of Native Administration in Nigeria*, “The Speech at Sokoto”, pp. 43-44 cited in *Ibid*, p. 252.

lands”, which could be leased out by the High Commissioner. As these issues of land tenure were going on, most of the peasants did not know that their communities were no longer the legal owners of the land and certainly did not have authority over land matters.¹⁰

For us to understand well the agricultural policies of the British in Northern Nigeria, we must know “how they understand our society, what they wanted from it and how they planned to get it.”¹¹ In talking about how they understand our society, the British saw the society as one that is endowed with vast economy, most especially the agricultural benefits offered. They assumed that economic activities in this area depended on slave labour, before colonialism.

The British were very much interested in Northern Nigeria because of its endowment with natural resources, which they badly needed to solve their economic problems. They basically needed raw materials and agricultural produce from our region and planned to get these raw materials through colonisation, using the available human and natural resources in the region to their own benefit.¹²

As we have mentioned in chapter one of this work, in the literature review precisely, there is no question of more importance to the European administrator of African tribes than that of land tenure. It is only through the adoption of right or wrong measures of land tenure system that a government can either accomplish satisfactory economic status and social relations of a native population or on the contrary completely reduce the native to a state of “poverty, mutual discord, grumbling and resentment

¹⁰ Bonat, Z.A. P. 253.

¹¹ Adamu A., (1992) British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria. C. 1902-1945: A Case Study of Soba District... P. 89.

¹² *Ibid.* P. 89.

against their rulers”.¹³ It is quite obvious that the population, prosperity and strength of every community depend to a very large extent on how the members of the community make use of their natural resources.¹⁴

Therefore, one of the first issues the British addressed after colonial conquest was the control of land, because of its importance to the economy.¹⁵ The British introduced land policies that helped in developing their interest and were able to incorporate the region in its economy into the world’s capitalist system.

A very close enquiry was held by the government of Northern Nigeria in the years 1907/1908 during the Governorship of Sir Percy Girouard into local native law and custom regarding land tenure. The result of the enquiry showed that it was a consistent rule that the native or community were practicing communal mode of production. The right of every adult individual of a tribe to occupy and farm a portion of the native lands sufficient for the needs of himself and his family was recognized, so long as he conformed to those rules and regulations governing the tribe in order to ensure their protection and welfare. If he failed to meet those obligations he was very drastically dealt with, deprived of his farm, enslaved by other members of the tribe or even sold into slavery to other tribes.

In Northern Nigeria, before colonialism, the occupation of land was strictly conditioned on the proper use of the land and the performance of those duties called for

¹³ Temple, C.L. *Native Races and Their Rulers*. Sketches and Studies of Official Life and Administrative Problems in Nigeria. 2nd edn. 1968.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.* P. 91.

by the needs of the community. However, when the Europeans came, they took control of land tenure system and enacted the 'Land and Native Rights' Proclamation of 1910.¹⁶

In its original form, the Land and Native Rights proclamation of 1910 referred all questions that might arise between the government as landlord and the individual as tenant to the decision of the Supreme Court. If a tenant thought that his rent had not been assessed correctly or he had been treated unfairly by the government, he could sue the government by taking the issue to the courts, but when the law was amended he could not do so. The committee relied on evidence from colonial officers in London, who did not have an intimate knowledge of such land tenure practices as existed in this area. No evidence was taken from Nigerian chiefs, not to talk of the peasant land users.¹⁷ Furthermore, the committee was completely made up of British officers, of which all, but one, were colonial officers who already held their own ideas on colonial land tenure. This was a clear exhibition of imperialism. It was a crime to take decisions about land without the consent of the Governor.¹⁸

The purpose of the enactment was to deliberately subjugate the sovereignty of the Africans. Colonial land policies helped effectively in exploiting the human and natural resources of the area. The control of land by the colonisers was very important to them because colonial taxation solely depended on the basis of it.¹⁹ As a result the masses were made to be temporary occupants of their farms because the administration of land

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Bonat, Z.A. *Op. Cit.* P. 254.

¹⁸ Okonjo, I.M. *British Administration in Nigeria, 1900 – 1950: A Nigerian View.* New York, Nok Publishers Ltd. 1974.

¹⁹ Safiyanu, M.A. (1991), "The Colonial State and Colonial Economy in Northern Nigeria: A Case Study of the Zaria Native Authority C. 1902-1945... P. 205.

issues was placed under the Native Authorities (N.A.), through the use of indirect rule system.

The colonisers saw the need of making the Emirs and their subordinate officials to be fully involved in land matters. They (colonisers) saw the need of the chiefs and leaders of the people to hold lands because they could get income to supplement their meager salaries. Also by, so doing, the leaders (N.A.) would be in closer touch with the peasants, thereby increasing their influence and making them to be more loyal to the colonisers as well.²⁰

Hence, by implication, while land control was under the colonial administration, theoretically, practically it still remained under the control of the Emir. The powers of the colonial administration, over the control of land, were normally made manifest when it comes to issues of big projects requiring large portions of land. Examples of such projects were: forest reserves, construction of Rest Houses in district headquarters or the construction of Government Reservation Areas (GRAs).²¹

The poor peasants (*talakawa*) were forced to live in harmony and maintain a good relationship with their local chiefs so that their lands would not be confiscated. This is because the N.A. had the authority to confiscate the lands of the peasants when they failed to obey the dictates of the colonisers. The N.A., working under the instructions of the colonisers, used their posts to collect lands from the peasants for their personal usage or sell to the government (colonisers) or trading companies. Consequently, the peasants

²⁰ *Ibid.* P.212.

²¹ *Ibid.* P. 213.

became landless citizens, which affected negatively the economic development of Zaria Province, most especially in the aspect of agriculture.²²

Zaria Province served as the center of colonial agricultural infrastructure and commerce, which made it to attract many trading companies who traded in commodities that were produced in the area.²³ Therefore, Zaria Province is a good example of an area where “a clear case of colonial state intervention in production for export was manifested”.²⁴

From the aforementioned, it can be seen that the British administration was in control of agricultural production in the areas that formed Northern Nigeria. According to the British government, it took control of land so as to protect the area from external influence. But it should be noted that the enactment of the law was to guarantee the production of export crops and finally the recognition of the supremacy of British rule in the region. The law became amended because the Native had no right to report the administrators to court, if he was unjustly treated.²⁵

5.2 Colonial Policies on Labour

The main aim of British colonialism was to exploit the natural resources of the colonized. For the colonizers to achieve this aim they had to use the labour of the people they colonized. They used both voluntary and forced labour. The colonizers needed the people’s labour for agriculture, road and railway construction, interpretation for patrol or

²² *Ibid.* P. 220.

²³ Arnett, Gazetteer of Zaria Province. P. 25; “ZARPROF, 2559 “Zaria Province Annual Report for 1912”. Cited in Safiyanu. P. 221.

²⁴ Safiyanu. *Op. Cit.* P. 222.

²⁵ Temple C.L. (1968), *Native Races and Their Ruler, Sketches and Studies of Official Life and Administrative Problems in Nigeria.* 2nd Edition. Frank Cass and Co. Ltd.

expedition teams, building and maintenance of colonial offices and their residential quarters, transportation of military equipment and food, guards and lots more.

Forced labour entailed forcing people to work against their wish without pay. It also served as punishment to people when they revolted against the British colonizers.²⁶ Wage labour was used by the British colonizers as part of their policies of exploiting the people. The people sold their labour because they needed money to take care of themselves and pay the tax imposed on them. They experienced poverty, hunger and famine during colonialism, so they had to work and earn money in order to survive. The roads, railways, courts, prisons, police and military barracks, European officials' houses, offices, among others, were mainly constructed by the people of Zaria Province through the use of force.²⁷

Wage labour developed slowly as a result of forced labour. The number of the working class was very small because colonialism did not bring about the development of industries, which would have led to the expansion of working class in the area. Wage labour was used to exploit the masses by the colonial authorities and capitalist firms. The native (colonised) workers were given lower positions to occupy in all organisations, which included railway clerks and workmen, road workers, agricultural workers and forestry workers.²⁸

²⁶ ZARPROV. 8/1946, Kataf File.

²⁷ Kazah-Toure. Op. Cit. P. 211-214.

²⁸ *Ibid.* Pp. 225-227.

5.3 Colonial Policies on Taxation

In Nigeria, colonial taxation system dates back to 1904 when personal income tax was introduced in Northern Nigeria and it was later implemented through the Native Revenue Ordinances in the Western and Eastern regions in 1917 and 1928, respectively. Among other amendments in the 1930s, it was later incorporated into Direct Taxation Ordinance No. 4 of 1940 and since then different governments have been trying to improve on Nigeria's taxation system.²⁹

Colonial rule was largely concerned with the exploitation of Africa's resources to Europe's advantage. For the peasants, what affected them most during colonial rule was tax collection. Taxation served as a means not only of providing revenues for the colonisers' needs but of forcing farmers to grow export crops in order to get the money to pay their taxes.³⁰

The British colonisers, in order not to interfere very much in economic matters, practiced the policy of *laissez-faire*. This means as part of the British policy, the subjects had to raise revenue, usually from taxes or custom duties, in order to pay for all public works, which include roads, railways, schools and hospitals. Hence, infrastructural development in Nigeria throughout colonialism was a product of Nigerian people's sweat owing to the fact that infrastructure was paid for by Nigerians and it was developed largely to benefit the trade of the British and their companies.

Tax payment was imposed on the people of Zangon Kataf during colonialism and the taxes must be paid in British currency. Consequently, most peasants were forced to either sell their labour power or their livestock and grains in order to get money and pay

²⁹ Forum.chinabuye.com/showthread.php/1006-**Tax-Policy-In-Nigeria**.

³⁰Michael, C. & Guda, A. *Nigeria: An Introduction to Its History*. Hong Kong: Longman Group Ltd. 1979, p 163.

taxes. Taxes served as means of extracting surplus from the peasants, tools for intimidation, exploitation, impoverishment, hunger and famine, disintegration of family and communal relations. Receipts of taxes paid were given only when the individual had paid the whole of his tax. Receipts were not given for instalmental payments and sometimes even when the full payments were made.³¹

Colonial policies on taxation were very burdensome to the people of Zangon Kataf. This was because the amount of taxes paid remained fixed even when the condition of the people was critical, coupled with the fact that the amount paid was normally very high. Full tax must be paid for each year even if there was serious loss or shortfall.³²

Taxation was a main source of income that the colonisers used in controlling the areas. The various types of taxation that were collected by the British in Zaria Province included the *Kurdin kasa* (land tax, rent or tribute), composing of *Haraji* (Poll tax), *Jangali* (cattle tax) and others. *Jangali* tax payment was initially levied on nomads alone, but by 1912 it became imposed on all pastoralists, whether nomadic or not.³³ The taxes paid were more exploitative to the poor people in general than to the rich. This was because, the rich, no matter how wealthy, were given a specific amount of shillings (the amount was actually not burdensome to them) to pay, while the poor, on the other hand, no matter how poor, were given a specific burdensome amount to pay, even if they did not have money. Ethnic groups in Southern Zaria were made to pay taxes in order to

³¹ JEMA' A N.A. 279, Tax Collection and Accounting at Kafanchan, 1936.

³² JEMA' A N.A. 279, 1944.

³³ Kazah-Toure, K., "The Development of the Nationalist Movement in Zaria Province, 1902 – 1960". A Masters Thesis submitted to the Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria. 1991. Pp 192-194.

serve as an “acknowledgement of their submission” to the colonial administrators.³⁴ Non-Muslim women were also made to pay taxes unlike the Muslim women, who were exempted.³⁵

As we have mentioned, the method of collecting tax was subjected to abuse.³⁶ There were cases of tax embezzlement and corruption by colonial officials that were covered. Furthermore, natural disasters such as famine, poor harvest and fall in prices of agricultural materials never made the British to reduce the amount of tax paid by the peasants. But, whenever harvest was good, culminating in the rise in prices of crops, the British increased the taxes. This was coupled with the fact that in some instances, the conditions of the people were exaggerated by the provincial authorities just to justify continuous collection of high taxes.

Colonial taxation led to the decline in industrial production.³⁷ This was because, due to the nature of British taxation and labour mobilization, a great number of craftsmen emigrated. The remaining craftsmen combined agricultural production, mainly export crops, with other part-time activities like dyeing, blacksmithing and others. Locally made iron (*tama*) declined because they were made to be very expensive, compared to the imported iron bars. Thus, it is arguably that this was the beginning of our technological dependence on the British.³⁸ The industries, such as blacksmithing, that survived, was due to their importance in producing implements like hoes, used for

³⁴ *Ibid.* P. 193.

³⁵ *Ibid.* P. 194.

³⁶ *Ibid.* P.195.

³⁷ Adamu A., (1992) British Colonial Agricultural Policies in Northern Nigeria. C. 1902-1945: A Case Study of Soba District... P. 185c.

³⁸ *Ibid.* P. 186.

agricultural production, which were important for the cultivation of export crops by peasants.

Taxes remained the same for many years, which brought problems because many taxes by the early 1930s, during the Great World Economic Depression, were still calculated based on data from 1924 when prices were very good. This, however, meant that the unfortunate, the sick, the burdened and many others often had to pay a burdensome amount of money as tax and it became impossible for them. Consequently, crime, debt, loss of property, absconding, emigration and embezzlement became the order of the day.³⁹

Taxation also contributed to loss of land by the peasants because most of them who did not have money to pay their taxes always pledged their farms in order to get money to pay.⁴⁰ Taxation caused migration of peasants from Zaria District to places like Kano. Struggles against colonial taxation were more prominent in the Southern Zaria areas. This was so because, before colonialism, the people of Southern Zaria were not used to paying tax.⁴¹ Furthermore, children were also made to pay tax because there were cases of children, who were not more than 10 years of age, were listed as adults to pay tax⁴². Youths from the age of 15 must pay tax because they have reached the age of puberty.⁴³ This caused serious problems because some men had up to four or five wives and each woman might have eight or ten children. One might find out that in a house there might be up to twenty (20) people, including women, liable to pay tax. The people of Zangon Kataf were made to pay taxes in order to show that they had submitted to the

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 174

⁴¹*Ibid.* Pp 200-201.

⁴² SNP 17. K6094, "Kagoro District – Jema'a Division, Re-assessment Report", 1923, p. 1.

⁴³*Ibid.*

colonial administrators. They were made to pay taxes by force or face the consequences.⁴⁴ Most of the people had to be selling their valuables like gowns, goats, in order to be able to pay tax.⁴⁵

5.4 Colonial Policies on Production of Crops

The British aim was for their colonies to be financially self-supporting and they regarded their colonies primarily as suppliers of raw materials for home industries and as consumers of their manufactured goods.⁴⁶ In all the colonies, African interests were subordinated to those of Europe in many ways. For example, Africans were not allowed to industrialise because their industries would compete with those of the British who wanted to have monopoly of trade. Communication was improved not to benefit the Africans, but in order to encourage external trade rather than internal trade, all for the benefit of the British. To further enhance their exploitation, the British concentrated on the production of export crops, because of the benefits they derived from it, while little was done to improve domestic crops. It would perhaps be more correct to talk of economic exploitation rather than economic development during the colonial period.

Railways in Nigeria were built mainly to benefit the European rulers rather than the Nigerians themselves. The railways were built to facilitate external rather than internal trade, because, the colonizers were primarily concerned with getting raw materials, like groundnuts, cotton, cocoa; and minerals, like tin, to the coast for shipment to Europe and opened the interior for the sale of surplus European manufactured goods.

⁴⁴ Interview with Sunday Bakut, *Op. Cit.*

⁴⁵ SNP 17, K6094, *Op. Cit.* P. 5.

⁴⁶ Michael, C. & Guda, A. *Nigeria: An Introduction to Its History*. Hong Kong: Longman Group Ltd. 1979, p163.

It can be seen that almost all the railways in Africa ran from the coast to the interior, like the ones linking Northern Nigeria with Lagos and Port-Harcourt. Railways were built only to where there were raw materials such as tin around Jos and groundnuts around Kano. It was entirely incidental that indigenous internal trade benefited from this.

The British colonial masters did everything possible to encourage export crop production when the railways were built. The main products the British got from Nigeria were palm produce, groundnuts, cotton, rubber, cocoa and timber. In return, the British sent cheap manufactured goods to Nigeria like cotton print cloth, enamel bowls, machetes and soap.⁴⁷ As we can see, there were great differences in the quality of goods exchanged between Europe and Nigeria, being that European manufactured goods were highly perishable and destructive while Nigerian goods were very useful.

Export crops grown in our area of study, which included tobacco, groundnut, ginger and sugarcane were meant to generate money for the benefit of the colonisers. These are briefly discussed below.

5.4.1 Groundnut (*Arachis hypogea L.*)

Groundnut was a major export crop that was produced in our area of study during colonialism. The colonisers made sure that the farmers were highly exploited for their own enrichment. There were middlemen who exploited the farmers by buying groundnuts at low rates from them and sold at high rates to make more money. For example, in 1920, the price of groundnut was low and the farmers got low prices between £4 and £5 per ton,⁶ but the middlemen still made their own profits.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶ Kazah-Toure, "The Development of the Nationalist Movement in Zaria Province, 1902 – 1960". P. 209.

When there were high prices in groundnut marketing, the ones that benefited most were the middlemen leading to the devastation of the farmers, the main producers. The cultivation of groundnut was done by the local farmers but the processing was done in European firms and the marketing was controlled by the colonisers.⁷

5.4.2 Ginger

Ginger was also a major export crop that rose to prominence in our area of study during colonialism. A high level of exploitation of the farmers was experienced in the production of ginger. By 1924, the price of ginger in the capitalist market was about £60 per ton,⁸ when it was gotten at a very low price from the producers, even lower than £2.

In discussing ginger in the area, Kazah-Toure gave an example that in 1924, a Ham peasant got only one shilling in Kachia market from the sell of 501bs of ginger after the vigorous efforts put in the production. The exact quantity was sold at 2 shillings, 6 pence in Zangon Kataf market to the main agent. The main agent in turn took it to Zaria and sold that same quantity at 12 shillings, 6 pence. The Europeans in turn sold it in Europe at the price of £60.⁹ Because of the huge profits the Europeans were making in the production of ginger, they promoted its production more and more and the indigenous farmers were at the losing end.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.* P. 210.

⁹ *Ibid.*

5.4.3 Sugarcane

Sugarcane production was not important before colonialism in our area of study because it was done on a small scale. However, sugarcane came to be produced in large quantities during colonialism, leading to a large cultivation of the fadama areas. From 1930s, most especially during the Second World War, the production of sugarcane further increased. This was because it was used to generate money to finance the war.

Sugarcane was important to the colonisers because it was used to produce sugar. Sugar was in turn sold to the people, who were the producers, at high rates. Peasants were forced to go into sugarcane production so as to get money to pay their taxes. Sugarcane production was done to benefit the British because they were the ones that were in charge of the processing.⁵

5.5 The Role of the British Marketing Boards in Nigeria

In Zangon-Kataf District, as was the case in other places, the British Marketing Boards controlled prices of agricultural produce. Market prices of peasants produce were usually quoted by the assessment officers in our area of study as the basis for calculating tax rates. Example of prices quoted for Kagoro market can be seen in Tables 4.5 and 4.6 below.

⁵ Interview with Ayuba Magaji, A Farmer, Age 67 at Kamurum, on 8th September 2007.

Table 4.5: Breakdown of Prices at Fadan Kagoro Market: Used for Calculation of Tax for 1922-23

Agricultural Produce	Prices Fixed
Meat	3½ per 1b
Chickens	1/- to 1/6 each, small ones 9d
Ducks	3/- to 4/6 each
Milk	3d. per bottle
Honey	3d a cash bowl
Eggs	Penny each
Okro	15 to 20 a penny
Acha	3d cash bowl
Rice	9d cash bowl
Beans	1d cash bowl
Indian Corn	6 for penny
Sweet Potatoes	2d a cash bowl
Cassava	3 roots a penny
Groundnuts	3d a cash bowl
Guinea corn	1/- 40 lbs bundle
Guinea corn (thrashed)	2d per cash bowl
Dauro	1d per hand
Dauro (thrashed)	2d per cash bowl
Onions	Penny each
Sheep	8/- to 12/-
He goats	4/- to 8/-
She goats	8/- to 12/-

Source: NAK. SNP 10, 424P/1921.

Table 4.5: Breakdown of Prices at Fadan Kagoro Market for Tax Assessment, 1922-23 to 1926-27

Article	Appendix "C" of Report August 1921	Harvest Time January 1921	Harvest Time January 1922	Price Per lb. Clean Grain Jan. 1922
Dauro	2d per cash bowl	1½d per cash bowl	1½d per cash bowl	9/16d.
Dawa	2d per cash bowl	1½d per cash bowl	1½d per cash bowl	9/16d.
Acha	3d per cash bowl	2½d per cash bowl	2½d per cash bowl	1d
Beans	1d per cash bowl	1d per cash bowl	1d per cash bowl	½d
Rice	9d per cash bowl	5d per cash bowl	5d per cash bowl	2d.
Maize	6 cobs 1d.	5 cobs ½d	5 cobs ½d	-
Groundnuts	3d per cash bowl	3d per cash bowl	3d per cash bowl	-
Cassava	3 roots 1d	3 roots ½d	6 for ½d	-
Sweet potatoes	2d per cash bowl	6 for ½d	6 for ½d	-
Okra	15-20 for 1d	15-20 for 1d	15-20 for 1d	-
Milk	3d per bottle	1½d per bottle	1½d per bottle	-
Honey	3d per cash	-	-	6d.
Eggs	1d each	½d each	½d each	-
Chickens	1/- to 1/6 each	6d to 9d each	6d to 9d each	-
Ducks	3/- to 4/6 each	None to sell	None to sell	-
Sheep	8/- to 12/- each	2/- to 10/- according to size, sex and age	2/- to 10/- according to size, sex and age	
Goats	4/- to 12/- each	2/- to 10/- according to size, sex and age	2/- to 10/- according to size, sex and age	

Source: NAK. SNP10, K. 6074, T.A.G. Budgen, 3/4/23.

From the above tables it can be seen that tax assessment was comprehensive and it shows that every food stuff and livestock was given market value and taxed. The prices include a breakdown for the harvest period when grains were cheapest and that was when the colonial state normally collected its tax. Over the years, tax rates kept on increasing in Zaria Province as a whole and the peasants had to sell their grains and other foods cheap, according to the dictates of the Marketing Boards in order to have the money to pay their tax.⁴⁸

Furthermore, the West African Marketing Boards were established about 1946, 1947 and 1948. Their main functions were to fix the prices which merchants pay to farmers for the main export crops throughout West Africa. They licensed merchants to pay those prices to the farmers. They compulsorily purchased the whole of the crops from the licensed merchants. They then sold the export crops, in the case of cocoa, in the market; and in the case of other crops, by long-term contracts with the British Government.⁴⁹

The establishment of the Marketing Boards was clearly the most fundamental aspect of the colonial economy. Marketing of export products was reviewed immediately after the World War II in 1946. A white paper stated that the experience of the war years showed that government could achieve stabilization of seasonal prices. Consequently, it was decided to set up statutory marketing organization for the support of products which

⁴⁸ Bonat, Z.A. "The Colonial Phase..." *op. cit.* P. 335.

⁴⁹ Akande, O. Nigeria Macro Report: A Report to the Afrint Project, Nigerian Institute for Social and Economic Research (NISER), 2003.

were formerly handled by the then West African Produce Control Board. They artificially regulated the prices farmers were paid for their crops.

The Marketing Boards appointed licensed buying agents to buy the crops and convey them to port. Licences were originally granted to only a few large companies. The agent was expected to finance purchases, supply sacks and arrange transport. He was liable for produce sales tax. He was paid a commission at a standard rate per ton and an allowance to cover transport costs. This allowance was based on cost on an approved route by a specified mode of transport.⁵⁰ The colonial administration failed to develop a self-sustaining economic infrastructure or to create vehicles that would equitably distribute wealth and social services.

The Nigerian Cocoa Marketing Board was established by ordinance in 1947, followed in 1949 by the cotton, groundnut and oil palm produce Marketing Boards. The boards were expected to provide funds for the economic development of the areas of production and for scientific research. The accumulated funds were allocated thus: 70 percent for price stabilization, 7½ percent for research and 22½ for development.⁵¹

As to the price policy, the Boards had absolute control of purchases of the major export products. They fixed the buying prices at the beginning of each crop season, but the manipulation of prices came into play when the boards faced major fluctuations in the world prices. Tied up with this policy was the policy of adopting different grades for the same product and paying different prices for each grade. From the accumulated funds the boards provided the capital which financed the establishment of the Regional Production

⁵⁰ Alan, H. Crop Marketing Boards and Transport Policy in Nigeria 1950 – 1964, *Journal of Transport Economics and Policy*. 1970.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

Development Boards, later known as Development Corporation. The Marketing Boards fixed producer prices and adopted price support and stabilization policies.

In a nutshell, Marketing Boards were established with the right to buy export crops at very low prices, but these prices never reflected the interest of Nigerian farmers or the development of the agricultural sector. Developed capitalist nations purchased these primary products at very low prices and then processed them into finished goods for re-sale in Nigeria. The bourgeoisie class maintained these boards and other agricultural policy which ultimately led to the massive importation of food items like rice, wheat, sugar, poultry feeds and fertilizer.⁵² Hence, in the agricultural sector, British colonial policy maintained an economic imperialism by first encouraging farmers to specialize in the production of export crops to meet her desire for raw materials for her teeming industries. The establishment of Marketing Boards was in order to further maintain this condition. Consequently, the farmers' terms of trade depended upon the world price and the profit margins of the marketing boards and the result was severe hardship if the price fell.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the main reason for British colonization of Zangon Kataf and Nigeria as a whole was economic. They were interested in exploiting the human and natural resources of the area for their own enrichment. In order to achieve this, they had to take control of everything and the sector that was more beneficial to them was the agricultural sector, which was the economic mainstay of the people. The

⁵² Uchechukwu Igwe and Austine Ifeanyi Okere (2013), "Third World Dependency: The Nigerian Perspective", *J. of Arts and Contemporary Society*, Vol. 5, No. 2, Pp. 67 – 86, Department of History and International Studies, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Nigeria.

consequences of British agricultural policies on the general well being of the masses cannot be overemphasized. This was coupled with the fact that, they had to sell their agricultural produce at cheap fix rates, according to the dictates of the marketing boards. There was poverty in general and people were much indebted, because of food shortages and other reasons alike.

With this in mind one should not be surprised why the British introduced those policies during colonialism. The introduction and encouragement of export crop production was purely for the benefit of the Europeans to the detriment of the people of Zangon Kataf.

CHAPTER SIX

WOMEN AND AGRICULTURE IN ZANGON KATAF DISTRICT UNDER BRITISH COLONIAL RULE, 1907 – 1960

6.0 Introduction

After having an idea of the general status of women in our area of study before colonialism, it is important to take a look at the economic and socio-political effects of colonialism on the women during colonialism. This chapter discusses the role of women in agriculture during colonial era and not men because, women were more active in agricultural activities during this period than the men as we shall see as we proceed. We are going to see whether colonialism encouraged the women in agricultural production or not. Colonial governments placed some restrictions on women that changed the position of women in indigenous societies. Women were restricted during colonialism and indirectly prevented from performing their duties towards their families effectively. The extent of the changes inspired many Nigerian women to hold series of protests throughout the colonial period against particular colonial policies and colonialism itself.¹ Colonialism disrupted the traditional system of production in indigenous Nigerian societies, reinforcing the existing systems of social inequality and introducing oppressive forms of social stratification throughout the state.²

In the historiography of colonialism in Africa, many authors have tended to negate the experiences of African women. By taking the generalized experience of certain African men as a reference point, many historians have written African women

¹ Obadiya, J. O. *Nigerian Women and Development: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*.

² Turaki, Y. *The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria: A Social Ethical Analysis of the Colonial and Post-Colonial Society and Politics in Nigeria*. Arewa House. 1993.

out of history. Good examples are the works reviewed in chapter one of this work. Though their works are portrayed as universal histories of colonialism, these accounts deal exclusively with men's experiences. This rejection of African women's points of view ignores the gendered nature of colonialism. Both men and women had experiences which were obviously different from each other in a variety of ways. Though all Africans were subordinated under colonial rule, the status of most women relative to men was slowly eroded throughout the period of colonial rule.

It is however, necessary to state that the idea of this study is not to blame colonialists for women predicament. The aim of the study is to share knowledge concerning the current state of affairs of women for better future.

6.1 Effects of British Colonialism on Women in Zangon-Kataf District

The British colonizers believed that women belonged to the home, nurturing their family. Women were to preoccupy themselves with domestic issues and leave the 'real work' of ruling and running the nation in terms of politics and economy to the men.³ Nigerian men have carefully selected and interpreted from the British, a model that relegates women to the kitchen thus destroying the indigenous courage and capabilities displayed by their great grand mothers in service to their communities.⁴

The British colonial administrators found it unusual that the African women were involved in substantial economic and political activities outside the home (kitchen). According to Dadirep, this is because they came from a background where a

³ "The Effect of Colonialism on African Women". <http://afrikaneye.wordpress.com/2007/03/08the-effect-of-colonialism..>

⁴ Dadirep. M.E. "A Preview of Women Participation in the Modern Sector of Labour", *Women and Trade Unionism in Nigeria* Ibadan: Johnmof Printers limited. 1995.

woman's place was in kitchen.⁵ The naturalistic movements of the period in England in the 18th and 19th centuries re-emphasized the fact that the physiology of women naturally made them timid, feeble and unable to think because they hold 'smaller' brains than men.⁶ In view of this, women naturally need the protection of men with powers and the brains.

In his work, *Urbanisation and Social Change*, Mabogunje argues that the "PULL" factor and the opportunities offered by the new cities induced the limited opportunities of the country side. The movement to the city results in discontinuity in the role of women in traditional setting. The African culture and that of Nigeria in particular at the time of Colonialism lost its functional role. The Nigeria value system during this period was modified and foreign one introduced. Nigeria customs and traditions were described as primitive. What operated then were two cultures, with the foreign one enjoying the privileged position by being the expression of the dominant political power.⁷ It was very difficult for women to contribute positively to national development in such a confused culture.

Colonial administrators and Christian missionaries introduced European patriarchy into the Nigerian society. Their ideas of the appropriate social role for women differed greatly from the traditional role of women in indigenous Nigerian societies. The colonizers believed that women belonged to the home, engaged in child rearing and other domestic chores. The colonizers expected Nigerian societies to consider women as

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Mabogunje, A. L. *Urbanisation and Social Change*. London: University of London Press. 1969.

subordinate to men. They thought that if a woman obtained financial independence she might not give her husband and his family their entitled respect.⁸

The restrictions that the colonialists placed on women changed the position of women in indigenous societies. This was because many of the smaller markets that were dominated by women gradually disintegrated because of the emergence of expatriate firms like Lever Brothers, John Holt, among others. Export production was restricted to men. In Nigeria, the colonial state passed legislation restricting women, indirectly preventing them from performing their duties towards their families. The colonial economy was an export oriented one and it seriously undermined the prestige of the traditional occupations of Nigerian women. While it placed women at a great disadvantage, it enhanced the economic status of the British, Lebanese, Syrian and a few male Nigerian merchants. The impediments to women's empowerment encompassed their lack of access to decision making processes, their low participation in local governance, as well as their limited access to technology input and credit.⁹ Colonial policies and statutes were clearly sexist and biased against women.

In Zangon-Kataf District, one significant difference that existed between the status of women before colonialism and their status during colonialism was in the aspect of marriage. Before colonialism, women lived with the constant fear that their husbands would turn their misdeeds to the *Abvoi* cult for punishment. This was coupled with the fact that the women were made to undergo some rituals and drink concoctions that would tie them to their husbands and never think of leaving them no matter the suffering and

⁸ Obadiya, J.O. *Op. Cit.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

maltreatment they were experiencing. But during colonialism, all these stopped because of the introduction of Christianity into the area.¹⁰ Although this was a positive development for women, they still remained under the authority of the men.

Another policy that affected women negatively was forced labour. Forced labour during colonialism was accompanied by acts of physical and sexual abuse, which were often committed by African or European men against the African women. Working on the plantations further compromised women's well being and ability to be as productive as they were before colonialism. African patriarchs and the colonial government attempted to restrict women movement in a bid to control their sexuality. The restriction of the movement of women limited the social freedom they used to enjoy. Before colonialism the movement of women was not restricted because they participated in trade and contributed greatly in marketing of agricultural products.¹¹ Colonialism made the women to lose the freedom they once enjoyed.

Furthermore, male migration to urban areas during colonialism affected women negatively. This is because many households were left without the security and protection or support of the men. The responsibilities older men had of guiding and training younger males were abandoned. In most cases, women became the heads of the families because the men had migrated to urban areas in search of jobs. Female headed households had lower incomes and their ability to adopt technology was also restricted.

¹⁰ Amina B.P.D. *Bajju Tradition*. Kaduna: Kenyi Prints, 2011, p. 71.

¹¹ Interview with Mr. Auta Audu, *Op. Cit.*

6.2 Effects of British Colonialism on Women Agricultural Activities in Zangon-Kataf District

The colonization of Nigeria by European powers including Britain brought Nigeria into the world economic system as a major target for exploitation. Nigeria not only provided Europeans with a source of raw materials but it also provided them with what they viewed as raw and uncivilized people on whom they could impose their views and whom they could exploit. For example, with the incorporation of Nigeria into the international economy as a supplier of raw materials, new patriarchal conceptions of the appropriate social role for women dictated by colonial administrators and missionaries changed the position of women in economic and therefore, social endeavors.¹² This is discussed below.

We have already mentioned that women in Zangon-Kataf area were very active in agricultural activities alongside their male counterparts, despite the fact that they did not have right over the lands they cultivated. During colonialism, women lost access and control of land. These impediments to women's empowerment were also obstacles to agricultural development and food security in this region. Before colonialism, although women could not inherit or have claim over land, they could have access and control land; but during colonialism, this was not the case. As women did not have access to land during colonialism, they became more economically dependent on men. Women

¹² Maria Rojas, "Women in Colonial Nigeria". 1990. Retrieved from <http://www.postcolonialweb.org/nigeria/colonwom.html> on 5/7/2013.

were only restricted to have smaller sizes of land for cultivation.¹³ These small lands were usually overused, thereby leading to exhaustion of soil and nutrient reduction. These negatively affected crop yields because women faced far greater time constraints than men. They might have spent less time on farm work, but worked longer hours on productive and household work and paid and unpaid work, due to gender-based division of labor in child care and household responsibilities, caused by colonialism.¹⁴ Hence, colonialism reduced the impact of women on agriculture and on the household because their role in food production was affected.¹⁵ Control over land is an important factor which explains the sharp/wide differences in investments on land made by men and women.

Wage labour that was introduced by the colonizers affected women's contribution in food production. Wage labour forced men to seek for jobs from the Europeans which made them to abandon their responsibilities at home. This was the case in Zangon-Kataf District where the men had to go to the urban areas and spent days, weeks or even months, working for the Europeans and leaving their families behind.¹⁶ This increased female labour in providing for the family in the absence of men. Women had to take over the work on the household farms, coupled with their traditional responsibilities as women at homes.¹⁷ Domestic crop production reduced because the women had to do it

¹³ Doss, Cheryl R. *Twenty-five years of research on women farmers in Africa: Lessons and implications for agricultural institutions; with an annotated bibliography*. 1999. CIMMYT Economics Program paper No. 99-02. Mexico D.F.

¹⁴ Interview with Mr. Auta Audu.

¹⁵ "The Effect of Colonialism on African Women". Retrieved from <http://afrikaneye.wordpress.com/2007/03/08/the-effect-of-colonialism...>

¹⁶ Interview with Maiangwa Bala Ayuba, Farmer, Aged 80 years at Zonkwa, Zongon-Kataf Local Government Area, on 24/11/12.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

alone without the help of the men who were busy working for the Europeans in order to earn money for tax payment and other economic responsibilities.¹⁸

In addition, women in some cases, had to hire labour in order to substitute the labour of male household members that were absent. This normally caused the women some amount of money, thereby increasing their economic constraints. In most cases in our area of study women were included in the payment of tax,¹⁹ apart from their economic responsibilities, in the absence of men. The absence of men had both social and economic impact on women. The loss of male labour was usually in form of migration because the men had to leave rural areas to seek for jobs in the urban areas.

Furthermore, the introduction of colonial export crop economy also had negative impact on women. This was because the men were in control of the export crop economy, which became very lucrative, leaving the women to continue farming domestic crops with low economic values. In Nigeria, despite the fact that women were expected to cultivate domestic crops, in some cases they were also required to contribute their labour in export crop production. By this the agricultural burden was doubled on the women. Even at that, they became more economically depended on men. This is coupled with the fact that men were using ploughs while women were left to handle the labour demanding works of weeding and sowing which normally caused back pains for the women.²⁰ With increased capital intensification like increased use of tractors and ox implements, as well as acreage increase, women had to do more weeding and harvesting

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Bonat, Z.A. The Colonial Phase of the Underdevelopment of Zaria Province 1902-1945. M.A. Thesis, Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria, 1985, p. 326).

²⁰ <http://afrikanyeye.wordpress.com/2007/03/08/the-effect-of-colonialism...>

and increased work of caring for domestic animals.²¹ Therefore, during colonialism women labour became increasingly exploited, their autonomy decreased and their level of dependence on men increased. By focusing on men, the export crop farmers, bureaucratic efforts to improve agriculture further encouraged the separation of economic roles of men and women that had previously complemented each other.

The importing of cheap manufactured goods from Europe and later from Japan to Nigeria, led to the decline of craft industry, except for a limited range of luxury goods which in some regions, affected the significant proportion of women engaged in such manufacture. The creation of the colonial economy thus tended to marginalize the position of the majority of women in Nigeria as a whole. As a result of economic hardship in Zangon Kataf District, women started joining their men in urban settings seeking for education and employment opportunities.²²

6.3 The Response of the Zangon-Kataf Women against British Colonial Rule

Literature on the works of Zangon-Kataf women on agriculture is quite limited, but many scholars have written on the response of women against British colonial rule in Nigeria. Significant protests by women against colonial rule took place in 1929, when a local demonstration against a proposed tax sparked a mass movement of tax resistance and a longer term mobilization of women.²³ In that year, there was rioting by women in Aba against exploitative taxation. About 25,000 Igbo women covered about 15,540

²¹ Galdwin, C. and McMillan, D. Is a Turnaround in Africa Possible Without Helping African Women to Farm?. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 37, No. 2. 1989, pg 345-369

²² Amina, B.P.D. *Op. Cit.* Pp 73-74.

²³ Mba, Nina Emma, *Nigerian Women Mobilized: Women's Political Activity in Southern Nigeria, 1900-1965*, Berkeley: University of California Institute of International Studies, 1982, p. 344.

square kilometres in their march, burning and looting British trading posts and services in their path. They eventually forced the resignation of the warrant chiefs, who helped the British colonizers in exploiting them through taxation and made the British to lower the taxes.²⁴

Lagos women also campaigned to remove income tax. Women market workers in Lagos were organized in the 1920s into a powerful group known as the Lagos Market Women Association (LMWA). In 1932, there was a rumour that the British government was going to start taxing Lagos women, which was not done before. The women, who were already experiencing economic hardship, felt that it would be unfair for them to start paying taxes. The LMWA quickly organized and, led by Madam Alimotu Pelewura and leaders from other markets, met with the administrator of the colony. The women were able to procure a written assurance of guarantee that they would not be taxed. The issue of women taxation did not occur in the next 8 years.²⁵

However, in March 1940, the government issued an Income Tax Ordinance, which mandated the women whose yearly incomes were less than 50 pounds per year to pay a flat rate of 5 pounds, but women who earned 50 pounds or higher to pay 3d on each pound.²⁶ Consequently, the women started protesting in December. On 16th December 1940, the women closed the Lagos Market and marched to the office of the Commissioner of the Colony. Around 10,000 women participated and the leaders of the women spoke out against the Ordinance. The Commissioner said that only “well-to-do” women would be taxed. The women did not agree and then marched to the Government

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Lekey Leidecker, “Lagos Market Women Campaigned to Remove Income Tax, 1940-1941”. A Project of Swarthmore College, 2012.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

House, where the leaders met with the Governor. The Governor (Bourdillon) refused to reverse the Ordinance.²⁷ The women then marched to the house of Herbert Macaulay to inform him of the day's events and to plan strategy for opposing taxation.²⁸

A mass meeting was held on December 18th at Glover Memorial Hall attended by between 1000 to 7000 people.²⁹ The commissioner argued that because English women paid tax African women also had to pay tax. Pelewura responded by saying that England was where the money was made and that African women were poor. Also, it was the African women who bore the burden of wartime hardship because they had to feed and take care of their husbands and relatives who were unemployed. They also had to help them pay income tax so that they would not be imprisoned for failure to pay. The government refused to abolish the law, instead it increased it.³⁰ The market women kept protesting. Many women were arrested and some were imprisoned. Pelewura sought for the assistance of western-trained lawyers and nationalist leaders, particularly Herbert Macaulay and his son.³¹

There were also series of protests in Abeokuta by the Abeokuta Women's Union (AWU), who later became part of the Nigerian Women's Union (NWU). The AWU was more prominent than any other women's organization in Nigeria. They were able to force out of office the Alake of Abeokuta, who was the traditional ruler of one of the Western Region's most important cities. The AWU was able to succeed because of the

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Johnson, Cheryl, "Grass Roots Organizing: Women in Anticolonial Activity in Southwestern Nigeria". *African Studies Review*, Vol. 25, No. 2/3 (Jun. – Sept., 1982), p. 140.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.* P. 141.

³¹ *Ibid.* P. 142.

vision and outstanding leadership ability of Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti.³² Alake's policies during World War II were burdensome on the women. His police set up roadblocks at strategic points along the way to Ibadan, Lagos and Ijebu-Ode so as to stop the women and examine and check their loads. They seized their goods like yams, gari, chickens, and others, saying that nobody should eat until the soldiers have enough. What disturbed the women most was the heavy taxation imposed on them.³³

The AWU launched a well organized and forceful campaign bringing together the women of the community petitioning against taxation and colonial policies. The Alake did not accept the women's petition, instead he retaliated by increasing their tax rate. The women, led by Funmilayo Kuti, kept protesting and they embarked on a major demonstration on November 29 and 30, 1947 with more than 10,000 women participating. They maintained an overnight vigil during which they sang songs which were very abusive. Two of the songs were as follows:

Even if it is only one penny,
If it is only a penny Ademola,
We are not paying tax in Egbaland.
If even it is one penny.

Ademola Ojibosho!
Big man with a big ulcer!
Your behaviour is deplorable.
Alake is a thief.
Council members thieves.
Anyone who does not know Kuti
will get into trouble.
White man you will not get to your country safely.
You and Alake will not die an honourable death.³⁴

³² Johnson, Cheryl, "Nigerian Women and British Colonialism: The Yoruba Example with Selected Biographies." Ph.D Dissertation. Northwestern University: Evanston.

³³ Johnson, Cheryl, "Grass Roots Organizing: *Op. Cit.* P. 150.

³⁴ *Ibid.* P. 152.

While embarking on these protests, the women were well-organized, well-disciplined and dedicated. To sum it up, on January 3, 1949, the Alake abdicated and female taxation was abolished. As a result of the success of AWU, its organizational structure was expanded and it changed its name to the Nigerian Women's Union (NWU) with branches in different parts of the country.³⁵

In Zangon Kataf District, though there was no record of an organized women protest against British colonial rule, it does not mean that the women did not join the men in fighting the colonizers. The absence of an organized women protest against British colonial rule in our area could be due to the fact that culturally, the women were not supposed to speak when men were talking in public, even despite the fact that they were very active in promoting the economy of the societies. It was seen as disrespect for a woman to speak in public when men were involved.³⁶ It was documented in one of the archival records that the war between the people of Agworok and the colonial rulers in Jema'a in 1912 was started by an Agworok woman.³⁷ This means that women also participated alongside their male counterparts in fighting against British colonial rule in Zangon Kataf District. Apart from fighting the colonizers, women in Zangon Kataf District supported the men by cooking meals for those fighting and attending to people that were wounded.³⁸

³⁵ *Ibid.* Pp 150-154.

³⁶ Interview with Auta A. *op. cit.*

³⁷ NAK: SNP7, 7239/1912, "Kagoro Assessment Report".

³⁸ Kazah-Toure, *op. cit.* p. 120.

6.4 Conclusion

It has been made clear in this chapter that the British colonialists placed some restrictions on women during colonialism that changed the position of women in indigenous societies. Economically, women were affected because the colonial economy, being an export oriented one, seriously undermined the prestige of the traditional occupations of Nigerian women. In Zangon Kataf District, the burden of women increased during British colonial rule because they engaged in domestic and export crop production coupled with the fact that they were the ones managing their homes. We were also made to understand that because of the colonial policies introduced in the area by British colonizers, the people, both men and women fought and revolted against colonialism.

It is important to note that the survival and sustenance of agriculture and rural development in Nigeria, as well as in many sub-Saharan Africa countries, rested squarely on the rural women. The recognition of the role women played in agriculture and rural society is fundamental to agricultural and rural development in Nigeria. More importantly, recognising and supporting this role is crucial for the development of women and the country at large.

Despite the efforts of rural women to combine income-generating activities with unpaid household responsibilities, the burden of work formed a considerable constraint in terms of their health, well-being and productivity. The difficulty they faced in accessing the key factors of production – land, water, credit, capital and appropriate technologies were problems which constrained the development of women's entrepreneurial activities and their potential to exercise more influence over their living conditions.

Colonialism truly led to deterioration in the status of women across Africa. This marginalisation of women led to a wearing away in the position and influence of women in society. As this new status quo was maintained, African men actually began to believe that women were incapable of leading their nations and in Zangon Kataf District it was difficult to see a woman holding political position. The men normally complained that they did not want their wives to have more money than them because they believed it would lead to disrespect and the men always wanted to be in control of their wives.³⁹ This erroneous opinion is still held by many Africans to this day. Little wonder that the number of appointments women receive to parliament and ministerial positions is small.

³⁹ Amina B.P.D. *Op. Cit.* Pp. 72-73.

CHAPTER SEVEN

IMPACT OF BRITISH COLONIAL RULE ON AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN ZANGON KATAF DISTRICT, 1917 – 1960

7.0 Introduction

Based on the nature of colonialism in Zangon-Kataf as has been discussed in the preceding chapters of this work, this chapter discusses the effects of colonialism on agricultural production in Zangon-Kataf that were obvious by 1960, that is, during independence. It discusses extensively, on how colonialism affected agricultural development. In order to bring out the effects of colonialism on agricultural production in Zangon-Kataf, labour migration, loss of farmlands, effects on the economy as a whole and decline in food production will be discussed.

7.1 Labour Migration

There were many factors that led to labour migration in Zangon-Kataf. First of all, the people of Zangon-Kataf were subjected to aggressions from both the Europeans and the Hausa. This was because of the policy of segregation and differentiation introduced by the British. Some Hausa Muslims were unfriendly to the people of Zangon-Kataf because they felt they were pagans (*Kafirai*). It could be recalled, as has been mentioned in chapter one of this work, the Europeans did not find it easy to conquer the people of Zangon-Kataf when they came to the area. So the Europeans had to encourage Hausa aggression against the people to get absolute control and total submission to them.¹

¹ Interview with Mr. Banachat Dutse. A Retired Farmer, Age 84 at Zangon-Kataf Bajju, on 8th Sept. 2007.

Labour migration was well experienced in Zangon-Kataf, during colonialism, because the people used to run to the caves in hills, in order to hide themselves from external aggression. They normally came back to their homes after the attackers had gone but went back whenever there was another attack. As a result of this, agricultural labour became very unstable because agricultural activities were halted whenever the people were hiding in caves and were only continued when the people returned to their homes.²

Talking still on labour migration, many able-bodied young men left the villages during colonialism and went to the urban areas to settle down and look for more convenient jobs to do, leaving behind the old people and children.³ This led to the underdevelopment of the area because the means of livelihood of the people, which was agriculture, was seriously tempered with and the able-bodied men that were supposed to do something about it, left the villages to the cities where they felt were the places they could make money and live well. There were series of out migrations from villages in Zangon Kataf area like Mabushi, Kumin Dawaki, Ungwan Wakili, Zonkwa, Fadiya, Fadan Ikulu, Zonzon, Kamurum, Zarkwai, Magamiya, Kurmin Bi and others. These migrated and formed diaspora communities in places like Kaduna main town, Kaura, Zaria, Jos, Abuja, Kafanchan, Zankan among others.⁴

Some of the young men that left the villages during colonialism settled in the cities and got married there, making children and grand children with wives from other ethnic groups. They did not care about going back to the villages to help in developing

² Interview with Mr. Samaila Yashim, Sarkin Bajju Abuja, Age 55, at Zangon-Kataf Bajju, 1st January 2008.

³ Interview with Dr. Auta Audu. *Op. Cit.*

⁴ Ibid.

them, because they felt the villages had nothing to offer them. Consequently, their culture gradually started to become extinct because some of their children did not even know the road to the villages, neither could they speak the local dialect.

7.2 Loss of Farmlands

Labour migration in Zangon-Kataf, during colonialism, led to loss of farmlands. Many people, when they returned to their houses, found out that their farmlands were given out to other people by the British colonisers. Based on the land tenure system, the people had no right over their farms. Some of the people, whose lands were taken over by the colonisers, went to take other people's own because they needed to farm in order to survive. This led to series of conflicts over land and many lives were lost.⁵

Loss of farmlands by the natives made the British colonisers to further strengthen their domination over the people. This was because the natives had to be begging them for lands and they had to agree with the terms of the colonisers. Furthermore, the natives became disunited because they were engulfed in fighting themselves over land, instead of uniting to fight the British colonisers.

7.3 Economy

The economy was monetized in such a manner that the peasants were made to accept a new exchange relationship. In order to sell their products, the peasants were compelled to use the new currency. There was an added effect in that the British required that the peasants paid taxes for the maintenance of the colonial territory. Tax default was

⁵ Interview with Mr. Bisi Banachat. A Retired Soldier, Age 4 at Zangon-Kataf Bajju on 9th September, 2007.

visited with sanctions. Therefore, to enable them pay the tax the peasants were obliged to produce and sell specific commodities which the British trading companies could accept in cash payment. The commodities in this case were non-food but industrial raw materials which included groundnuts, ginger, palm oil and kernel, cocoa and later on, rubber and cotton. These raw materials were sold at prices determined by the British buyers and the goods produced by the British companies were, in turn, sent to Nigeria and sold at prices that were also determined by the British.⁶

Colonialism led to the stagnation of the economy, generally, instead of developing it. This is owing to the fact that the people were not allowed to practice agricultural production, being the mainstay of the economy, the way it was supposed to be. There was no much development in the techniques of farming and the farmers were not supported with funds to improve agricultural production. On the contrary, the farmers were exploited in various ways, most especially through taxation.⁷

By 1960, the economy of Zangon-Kataf was well devastated because food crop production suffered due to lack of maintenance and other problems already highlighted. Although commercial activities were going on in the area, they were nothing to write home about because they were done on small scale basis. There was no infrastructural development because the economy of the area was poor.

One of the reasons that made agricultural production in Zangon-Kataf not to develop the economy was that the people were not given enough land to cultivate by the

⁶ Akande, O. "Nigeria Macro Report: A Report to the Afrint Project", July 2003, Nigerian Institute for Social and Economic Research (NISER)

⁷ Interview with Bulus Magaji. *Op. Cit.*

colonial masters.⁸ Based on the land tenure system, the hectares to be granted to the natives for agricultural purposes must not exceed 500 hectares. It is a well-known fact that any society that has a weak agricultural sector will also be weak economically; most especially if the society solely relies on agriculture for economic advancement. Zangon-Kataf's economy became underdeveloped because of lapses in its agricultural sector. The only time that the society started to develop was some few years after independence because the people became determined to develop the society, economically.

Prior to colonial period, there was enough food for the Nigerian people. But the incentive created by the demand for raw materials made the local population to be inadvertently complacent about food production.⁹ Following the emphasis on export crop production by the colonialists, land hitherto used for domestic crop cultivation was diverted to export crop production. This shifted the attention and expertise of farmers from domestic crop to export crop production. The Nigerian economic landscape became dominated by the groundnut pyramids in Northern Nigeria, cocoa warehouses in the West and the palm produce stores of the Eastern region. These features were detrimental to the production of adequate quantities of rice, maize and cassava for consumption by the people.¹⁰

Although the focus of agricultural development initiatives during the colonial period was largely directed at expanding production of export commodities, certain other strategies were associated with colonial administration. For instance, the colonial

⁸ Enough land was needed by the people to be able to feed their families and sell the surplus (if gotten) to solve societal problems like payment of taxes.

⁹ Ekpo, A.H., "Food Dependency and the Nigerian Economy: An Ex-post Analysis, 1960-1980," *The Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies* Vol. 28, No. 2. 1986.

¹⁰ Yayock, J.V. "Fertilizer Use and Agriculture in Nigeria." Paper presented at the National Conference on Fertilizer and Nigerian Economy. Port Harcourt. 1986.

administration encouraged native establishment of plantation of tree crops that were indigenous to the climate. However, the administration was against the development of Nigerian agriculture by foreign interests. To strengthen this policy, the government introduced legislation to control agricultural leases in 1917. Thus, agricultural leases of land which covered the areas of Northern Nigeria and the colony of Lagos, were limited by statute to 1200 acres each with a term of 45 years. In the Southern Provinces, leases of land other than crown land were acquired under the provision of the law (the Native Land Acquisition Ordinance, No 32 of 1917).¹¹

The recognition of the strategic importance of technological development in supporting Nigeria's agricultural development had a relatively early beginning. For example, in order to guarantee the availability of raw materials for oversea industries, the British Colonial Government had, in the early 1900s, evolved an implicit science and technology policy in respect of such export crops as cocoa, palm produce, groundnut and cotton. This led to the establishment of agricultural research stations in the early 1920s at the Moor plantation in Ibadan, at Umudike, Samaru, as well as Vom.¹²

In the 1940s, the British colonial powers also set up several West African research institutions from which the Cocoa Research Institute, the Institute for Oil Palm Research and the Institute for Trypanosomiasis Research emerged in 1957. These institutes served as centres for training of agricultural personnel, creation of research facilities and means of collecting, interpreting and disseminating new farming systems and techniques.¹³

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Akande, O. *Op. Cit.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

7.4 Decline in Food Production

In the agricultural sector, British colonial policy maintained an economic imperialism by first encouraging farmers to specialize in the production of export crops to meet her desire for raw materials for her teeming industries. To further maintain this condition, Marketing Boards were established with the right to buy these export crops at very low prices for export, but these prices never reflected the interest of Nigerian farmers or the development of the agricultural sector. Developed capitalist nations purchased these primary products at very low prices and then processed them into finished goods for re-sale in Nigeria. The bourgeoisie class maintained these boards and other agricultural policies which ultimately led to the massive importation of food items like rice, wheat, sugar, poultry feeds and fertilizer.¹⁴

During colonialism, some major domestic crops gradually became extinct. These crops were very useful because the people of the area had been surviving on them for many years, that is, before colonialism. Some of these plants will be discussed below.

The most important major crop that gradually became extinct during colonialism was the *acha*. As has been mentioned earlier, *acha* was used by the people in several ways. It was important to them because of its nutritious value and it was also used for medicinal purposes because it healed ailments like diabetes. This crop was replaced with rice, during colonialism, but *acha* had more value, health-wise. This is not to say that the people were not producing *acha*, but its production was very small. In fact, it is very difficult to get it now.¹⁵

¹⁴ Uchechukwu Igwe and Austine Ifeanyi Okere, *Third World Dependency: The Nigerian Perspective*. In *J. of Arts and Contemporary Society*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2013. Pp. 67 – 86. Department of History and International Studies Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Nigeria.

¹⁵ Interview with Bananchat Dutse. Op. Cit.

Gurjiya (local groundnut) is another crop that is fading away in Zangon-Kataf. This crop is high in protein and is consumed in different ways. *Yengwap* (a sort of cocoyam) was grown in the area, before colonialism, but it became extinct. These crops, alongside *Akam Nasarga* (also like cocoyam), which is no longer found in the area, were very good body building food.¹⁶

Some plants that were eaten in Zangon-Kataf, before colonialism, which became extinct and had no supplements were as follows: *Mimiyim*, *Arurumatak*, *Turuvut*, *Kabvu* (*dinkim* in Hausa), *Karandam*, *Ditun* and *Ponsrong*. *Ponsrong* was used for herbal medicine and also for curry to give food a pleasant aroma.¹⁷

The colonial regime believed that Nigeria produced enough food for her population. However, this could not be correct because one of the dailies of the colonial era, *West African Pilot* of Monday, September 11, 1950 gave its opinion on the then Agricultural Department, saying,

*While the spate of food scarcity spreads gradually into the remote villages of Nigeria, the agricultural Department fiddles before the nourishment danger of a country under famine, like Nero while Rome burns. We say so because we are not able to see practical steps the Agricultural Department is taking to ease the worsening food situations.*¹⁸

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Interview with Bulus Magaji. Op. Cit.

¹⁸ Akande, O. *Op. Cit.*

7.5 Conclusion

By 1930-1939, the Great Depression reduced Britain's willingness to commit new money to its colonies. The introduction of the pound sterling as the universal medium of exchange encouraged export trade in tin, cotton, cocoa, groundnuts and palm oil. But agricultural production continued to go down. Other than a handful of elite local businessmen, most Nigerians were excluded from economic participation.

By 1940-1947, resource shortfalls in Europe brought on by the war effort temporarily increased the demand for raw materials, in particular tin and rubber. Prosperity was short-lived as artificially inflated demand ended with the war itself. Nigeria's strategic importance as a staging area and supply line during the war effort resulted in rapid development of airports and military bases and roads to connect them.

With specific reference to Nigeria, the most fundamental structural adjustment in the capitalist transformation of agriculture and food production in the country was initiated by the Colonial State. This was an adjustment which redirected the logic of Nigeria's agricultural economy into serving the interests of global capitalist economy. The colonial capitalist penetration and expansion seriously eroded the traditional social relationship to agricultural production by the Nigerian people. The capitalist expansion tended to have transformed Nigerian peasant producers, from resource owners and decision makers to suppliers of labour and dependants on the capitalist controlled markets and agencies. It also created class divisions in the local communities, similar to those of

other capitalist societies. Further, the colonial era created a new dimension in production relation among the different ethnic groups in Nigeria.¹⁹

By way of summary we need to take note of certain aspects of colonial administration that might have weakened the solid foundation for the development of the food sector then. First, the colonial policy towards land achieved the objective of retaining the rights of the indigenous population, as perhaps was appropriate in view of the conception of Britain as a trustee. This was not oriented towards creating opportunities for economic development and this constituted hindrance to development of the food sector. Second, most of the research institutes established and the research carried out were geared towards export crops while only token effort was devoted to research on domestic food crops. Third, the Marketing Board system during the colonial period implied withholding substantial proportion of what ought to be the farmer's incomes either as a means of combating inflation or preparing for the foreign exchange balances.

This was forced saving that ended up hurting the farmer and agriculture as a business. It would have been quite instructive to see what farmers could have done with their earnings if these were not withheld for other development purposes by the state. Fourth, the various institutional devices (marketing boards, cooperative institutions and others) later had significant impact on the direction of agricultural development at the end of the colonial rule.

The effects of colonialism on the people of Zangon-Kataf in particular and Southern Kaduna in general, culminated in mal-nutrition, spread of different types of diseases like tuberculosis and typhoid, among others. The situation was worse because

¹⁹ Uchechukwu Igwe and Austine Ifeanyi Okere, *Op. Cit.*

they could not get proper medical attention. The general condition of poverty in the area led to insecurity because anti-social vices became rampant in the area. These included prostitution and armed robbery, among others. These unfortunate acts are products of colonialism in the area. Instead of developing themselves, the people of Zangon-Kataf District ended up developing the British colonizers. This is because they laboured endlessly for the British firms in return for small amounts of money, or in some cases no money at all. Even when they got the money from the British colonizers, they were obliged to pay exploitative taxes which they were not used to before colonialism.

CHAPTER EIGHT

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This work has studied colonialism and agricultural production in Zangon-Kataf from 1907 to 1960. It starts by looking at the land and people of Zangon-Kataf to know its location and historical background. It has brought out what some scholars have said about colonial agriculture and also brought out the justification of the study. Pre-colonial agriculture in Zangon-Kataf has been discussed, bringing out some major crops that were grown in the area as well as the animals available. We have been able to see that agricultural production in Zangon-Kataf was already developed to some extent, before the coming of the Europeans.

Chapter two discusses the society and economy of Zangon-Kataf Area before British colonial conquest. In the chapter, we were able to show that the pre-colonial economy was a collection of communities engaged in agricultural production basically as a traditional activity which was necessary for their subsistence, producing and processing food for their family needs and for the localized markets. The people were able to use their initiatives in agricultural activities and device ways of storing agricultural produce to prevent shortage. The political system was also organized because they had leaders who were able to maintain law and order despite the fact that there was no centralized authority that the people paid allegiance to. This is an important attribute of a developed society, which proved wrong the notion of Europeans that societies in the Third World countries were not developed before colonialism.

Chapter three focuses on gender roles in agriculture before British colonial rule in Zangon Kataf area. We discussed that in pre-colonial indigenous Nigerian societies, a woman's role included providing for her family by means of financial support; therefore, her traditional responsibility required her financial independence. Furthermore, the contribution made by rural women to agricultural production and rural development in Nigeria is grossly under-appreciated in spite of the dominant role they played in the sector. We also pointed out that women in Zangon Kataf competed more favourably with their men folks in terms of their over-participation in agricultural activities and contribution to household economy and food security.

Chapter four focuses on British conquest and establishment of colonial rule in Zangon-Kataf. It points out that the British introduced some measures for the effective control of their colonies, some of which were punitive patrols and tax assessment which led to the colonisers' justification for burning natives' houses, destruction of property and even killing of human beings. We have also seen how the British introduced the policy of social stratification to enable them bring disunity among the people so that they would be weak in fighting colonialism. Colonial land tenure system and decree was discussed to show us that the natives had no right over their own land.

We have observed, the British colonial administration in our area of study built a new political structure whose power-base was made up of the Emirs and the nobility of the Emirates because political power was handed over to the Hausa-Muslim groups in the area. The discussion in this chapter clearly shows that the colonial administration did not care much about the needs and the political aspirations of the natives of Zangon-Kataf.

Instead, it cared so much about the survival of its colonial structures at the detriment of the people of the area.

Chapter five discusses agricultural production under colonial rule in order to bring out a comparison between pre-colonial and colonial agriculture in Zangon-Kataf. It was deduced that there was no much development in the aspect of farming during colonialism and the people had to resort to encouraging pastoralism and hunting in order to survive and be able to pay their taxes. A comparison between pre-colonial and colonial agriculture in Zangon-Kataf proved right the words of Walter Rodney who said that the African farmer went into colonialism with a hoe and came out with a hoe.¹

Chapter six discusses “Women and Agriculture in Zangon Kataf District under British Colonial Rule”. It shows that the colonial government placed some restrictions on women which changed their position in the society. Women were restricted during colonialism and indirectly prevented from performing their duties towards their families effectively. The extent of the changes inspired many Nigerian women to hold series of protests throughout the colonial period against particular colonial policies and colonialism itself. Colonialism disrupted the traditional system of production in indigenous Nigerian societies, reinforcing the existing systems of social inequality and introducing oppressive forms of social stratification throughout the state.

Chapter seven discusses the impact of colonialism on Zangon-Kataf. It demonstrates that colonialism in Zangon-Kataf led to the underdevelopment of agriculture and the economy became devastated. Colonialism also led to labour migration whereby people left their villages for greener pasture.

¹ Walter. R. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications. London, 1972.

Based on the findings of this work, it will not be wrong to say that colonialism was like a roaring lion, which came and devoured the development of the people of Africa, for its satisfaction. In the case of Zangon-Kataf, colonialism completely reduced the natives to a state of poverty, mutual discord, grumbling and resentment. If not for colonialism, the society would have been developed; colonialism only suppressed the development of the society.

Throughout the early 20th century, Nigerians used many ways to oppose foreign rule. Local armed revolts, concentrated in the Middle Belt, broke out sporadically and intensified during World War I (1914-1918). Workers in mines, railways, and public service often went on strike over poor wages and working conditions, including a large general action in 1945, when 30,000 workers stopped commerce for 37 days. Over taxation prompted other conflicts like the ones fought by women in the Aba area. More common was passive resistance to avoid being counted in census. There was also working at a slow pace, telling stories ridiculing colonialists and colonialism. In Nigeria, a few political groups were formed to campaign for independence, including the National Congress and the National Democratic Party, but their success was slight. In 1937, the growing movement was given a voice by Nnamdi Azikiwe, an Igbo nationalist, who founded the newspaper *West African Pilot*. In a nutshell Nigeria struggled and gained her independence; it was not just granted on a platter of gold by the British colonial masters.

The Europeans are to be blamed for the underdevelopment of the Zangon-Kataf area, because they were the ones in charge of agricultural production in the village and they prevented the people from benefiting from the sector and thereby making them to be economically backward. Had it been the colonial masters brought much development in

agriculture, for the benefit of the natives, colonialism would have had a positive outlook; but the reverse was the case. Instead of developing the economy, the colonisers succeeded in destroying crops and natives' property, apart from seizure of natives' lands.

Pre-colonial agriculture in Zangon-Kataf showed that the people had sufficient food supply despite the fact that the cultivation of crops was not done in large quantities to have surplus for sale. The people were contented because nobody was dictating to them what to cultivate or what not to cultivate. Land within the territory belonged to the whole village and any household in need could clear any farm land. The people had a lot of independence with regard to what to produce, especially the production of exchange values. It can be concluded that the soils were fertile because they were not cultivated continuously. This is because there were enough farmlands, which made the practice of land fallowing (shifting cultivation) to be a continuous one. In essence, pre-colonial agriculture was a rich one and heading for economic advancement.

Colonial agriculture marked the beginning of economic underdevelopment and suffering of the people of Zangon-Kataf. It led to restructuring of agricultural production. During this time, the people stopped benefiting from the freedom of agricultural production they used to get before colonialism. The British colonisers failed to develop food productions of the area; rather they helped in destroying it.

Decline in food production was one of the most important effects of colonialism. This was caused as a result of increase in export crop production. This led to malnutrition and the spread of diseases like typhoid, tuberculosis, kwashiorkor and the likes. As a result of this, the population of the area decreased alongside technological activities.

The British effort to incorporate the entire colonial society into a unit led to the building of ports, railways, roads and telecommunications services. These were meant to ensure that all sections of the ethnic groups that had some materials to produce were reached. The colonial policy towards agricultural development in the country was total dependence on the peasants for the production of raw materials. In the North, West and Eastern regions of Nigeria where the chief class existed, the chiefs were collaborators in making the peasants produce the raw materials. The ruling class became allies in the exploitation of peasant labour, thus furthering the colonial policy of the development of peasant agriculture for the maintenance of the colonial territory and for the furthering of the economic policy of the British colonial regime and the overall interest of British industries. With the concessions given to the trading firm, the United African Company (UAC), to establish plantation firms in the colony, oil palm, rubber and cocoa plantations became part of the agrarian policy.

Perhaps the key issue to hold in the colonial administration with particular reference to the agricultural sector was that it was the mainstay of the colonial economy but the emphasis was on export and not on food production. The present food crisis in Nigeria could, therefore, be traced partly to the advent of British colonialism which changed the focus and objective of production away from food.

Colonialism is the cause of underdevelopment of our area of study. This is because the British colonisers did not introduce policies that would improve the living conditions of the people. The result of the British colonisers, not allowing technological advancement in our area of study is that it led to the dependence of the local people on manufactured goods and other commodities produced by the British. The policy of

colonial taxation negatively affected the people of Zangon-Kataf District. The failure of the people to pay tax was usually interpreted by the British as refusal to recognize their authority. As a result, the people were punished collectively.

We can conclude that in the life of any nation, it is only logical that during critical times, strategic and difficult decisions must be undertaken in order to influence the survival of the nation and the quality of life of the citizens. There are food and security challenges that are presently confronting Nigeria and the country should embrace lasting changes by moving away from colonial legacies. We can not continue to blame the Europeans for our conditions. We have to look for ways to solve our problems. Among the legacies left by the colonizers is that they disrupted the traditional system of production in indigenous Nigerian societies, thereby reinforcing the existing systems of social inequality and introducing oppressive forms of social stratification throughout the country. Colonial policies relegated women to the background. Women are the main caretakers of the household members. The nation has to acknowledge that when women are empowered, there would be improvement in the well being of the family, the community and society at large. The level of involvement of women in developmental programmes as a basis for sustaining food security initiatives and general security for economic development should be emphasized.

Colonialism left a legacy of divide and rule which the colonialists adopted in order to have effective control of the people. Today the country is divided by ethnic and religious conflicts here and there. There is no unity among the people of Nigeria. The major causes of lawlessness in Nigeria are as a result of poverty and hopelessness as well as greed and corruption of the highest order. The country is led by selfish leaders who

have distorted the unity of Nigeria and brought economic hardship on the people. The people of Nigeria have lost confidence in their leaders because of accumulated evils and corruption over the years. All these are colonial legacies.

We are said to have been independent of British colonialism but we are still suffering from the legacies they left behind. The leaders of Nigeria have a lot to do in order to get the confidence of the people. Youth-unemployment must be reduced and men and women should be engaged in capacity building programmes, because without women as active participants the nation will not be developed. Women empowerment should be seen by the government as a positive endeavour and not as a threat to masculinity. Food security at individual, household, community and national levels can be achieved when there is genuine political policy by the leaders in order to ensure that people always have both physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their daily needs and food preferences for an active, healthy and productive life for the economic development of the country.

This study has contributed a lot to scholarship in the sense that lessons can be drawn by the agriculturalist on the disadvantages of relying on imported goods instead of developing the home country's agriculture. The study also brings out the importance of gender equality in nation's development. Another contribution of this study to research is that it has shown that, it is very important to stop blaming the British for our underdevelopment, since it has already been established that they are responsible for it, and move forward by finding means to develop ourselves. Furthermore, lessons can also

be learnt from the agricultural policies that the British colonizers introduced during their administration in Zangon Kataf District, which led to underdevelopment of the economy.

We learn from our past mistakes in order to avoid such mistakes and better our future.

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S/N	Name	Rank/ Occupation	Age	Place of Interview	Date of Interview
1	Ayuba Magaji	Farmer	67 years	Kamurum	8 th Sept., 2007
2	Bananchat Dutse	Retired Farmer	84 years	Kamurum Bajju	9 th September, 2007
3	Bisi Bananchat	Retired Soldier	54 years	Kamurum	9 th September, 2007
4	Bulus Magaji	Village Head of Kamurum	84 years	Kamurum	8 th September, 2007.
5	Iliya Ahuwan	Retired Reverend	73 years	Sakwak	8 th September, 2007
6	Maiangwa Bala Ayuba	Farmer,	80 years	Zonkwa, Zongon-Kataf Local Govt. Area	24 th November, 2012
7	Moses Audu	Civil Servant	56 years	Zonkwa, Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area	24 th November, 2012.
8	Mr. Auta Audu	Retired Civil Servant	62 years	Samaru – Zaria	15 th October, 2007.
9	Mr. Auta Audu	Danmalikin Bajju	68 years	at his Residence in Hayin Dogo, Samaru – Zaria	19 th July, 2013.
10	Paul Kahuwai	Civil Servant	59 years	Zonkwa, Zongon-Kataf Local Government Area	24 th November 2012.
11	Samaila Yashim	Bajju Head in Abuja	55 years	Kamurum	1 st January, 2008.
12	Sunday Bakut	Businessman	49 years	Zonkwa, Zongon-Kataf Local Government Area	24 th November, 2012.
13	Yusuf Kantiok	Former Local Government Chairman of Zangon Kataf	52 years	Zonkwa, Zongon-Kataf Local Government Area	24 th November, 2012.

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APPENDIX I

NOTES ON SOURCES

In carrying out this research work several sources were used which comprised of primary and secondary sources and internet sources.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Primary sources are those sources that were produced or recorded in the era which one is researching. They are sources whose origin one can not go beyond which are either written or unwritten. These generally include: diaries or personal journals, letters or telegrams, books or autobiographies written by contemporary figures (people who lived in that era), court transcripts or police records, newspaper or magazine articles, government documents such as law codes or transcripts of parliamentary proceedings, recorded speeches, interviews or their transcripts, laboratory notes, ships' logs, inscriptions, photographs and others. Other, less conventional primary sources can include: folk tales, oral histories or legends, works of art, song lyrics and others.

Primary sources are historians' windows on the past, enabling them to discover what people were doing, planning, or discussing, at a particular time. By examining such sources in a larger context, such as an historical investigation into a particular event or societal trend, they can provide valuable clues. In dealing with primary sources, the researcher must be careful when approaching sources written by those figures that were close to the events they are describing. Their memories may be fuzzy and they might even exaggerate or deemphasize particular details. The tendency for major figures from

the past, such as revolutionary leaders or politicians, to gloss over their less successful ventures when writing about their own lives is very possible. For example, if one is writing an autobiography of his or her own life, that person will not describe in detail all of the most embarrassing moments or faults. Similarly, they might choose to portray their contemporary rivals in a less than flattering light. So, in dealing with primary sources one has to be careful because sometimes the authors of primary sources could also be bias.

Government documents are example of primary sources that may provide highly specific information such as legislative text or statistical figures, but may not provide a very broad overall context. It is, therefore, up to the researcher to determine the relevancy or the validity of the details they provide. Considering the nature of the era in which the documents were produced and the audience for whom they were written, can help to evaluate their usefulness. Similarly, newspaper reports and articles are often greatly influenced by the political atmosphere in which they are written. The information and especially the analyses that they provide must be weighed carefully with less editorial or opinionated sources.

Unlike historians, journalists generally produce reports about current events and do not have the benefit of hindsight to help them draw their conclusions about the present. Thirty years after a story appears in the newspaper, new information would often have come to light and the article's contemporary assumptions may appear incorrect – or even ridiculous. It is important to remember that earlier authors may not have had access to as many sources – or as many sides of the story, as oneself.

Among the primary sources used for this research work are archival materials. These are records written by European government officials, who were participants in government during the colonial period. These are very important primary sources because they are eye witness accounts. Oral interview also constitutes part of the primary sources of this work.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Secondary sources are those written about the past from the point of view of a future date. Typically they are produced by authors who have examined a variety of primary sources dating to a previous era or eras while conducting investigation into an historical topic. Secondary sources generally take the form of monographs (books written by an author or authors on a particular subject), composite works or compendiums written by a series of authors about a subject or subjects and articles in academic journals or any type of work. After sifting through a good deal of evidence such as autobiographies, speeches, government records and others, the authors of secondary sources are then able to draw a series of broader conclusions about particular historical subjects. For example, the individuals involved in a large event, such as a World War, were typically participants in only a small part of the action – but the author of a secondary source can combine the writings or recollections of several dozen participants to form a larger picture of the nature of the conflict. Through such a composite analysis, conclusions might be drawn about the impact of the war on anything from world oil

prices to the role of women in wartime production, depending upon the sources consulted and the author's angle of inquiry.

It should be noted, however, that not all the authors of secondary works on historical subjects are professional historians. Many such works are also produced by journalists, biographers, investigative reporters and even authors of fiction who have opted to write nonfiction works. The sources produced by these kinds of authors can range in character from broad, general accounts to highly specified or technical investigations. Often they are reflective of a popular approach to the past that readers from many walks of life, young or old, find enjoyable to read. Sometimes these authors have digested the works of professional historians and have proceeded to write an account of the same subject that is more approachable for people with a casual or passing interest. One's choice of secondary source material will have an impact on the nature of his or her investigation and the angle of argument.

The secondary sources that have been used in this work consist of both published and unpublished material such as books, journals, internet material and others. As it is well known, secondary sources have the limitation of alteration, more especially in terms of subjectivity, distortion, primarily written by Europeans from Euro-centric views. In spite of this, they are very important sources of information and can be used together with primary sources to get the right picture of colonialism. All sources gathered were analysed and duly acknowledged.

INTERNET SOURCES

Internet sources are also used by the researcher in writing this thesis, because they also contain useful information. In the past dozen years, a wide variety of electronic media sources have come into use by people in many professions, including historians. They can be valuable sources of information, such as government documents, statistics and bibliographic references. While these sources can be very useful it must be noted that the credibility of the sources can vary widely. When consulting sources online, one has to consider the nature of the publications encountered. Are they web-based academic journals or government databases, or are they popular web sites hosted by private individuals? If they are popular sites, what are the credentials of the person or group hosting the site? What is the publication date of the site and when has it been updated?

Many web sites about historical events or subjects are available, but one has to be careful when examining their contents. If they make bold or innovative claims without providing reference to their own source material or evidence, it is possible that their arguments are unsubstantiated. Well researched and well written history will always provide the reader with explicit references to the sources used in the authors' investigations.

The internet provides access to a wide variety of online academic journals, known as electronic-journals or Ejournals, and many historical journals are among them. Authors of articles featured in such sources are typically professional historians and their work is usually peer-reviewed, which means that it has been examined for credibility and accuracy by an editorial committee and a series of experts in that particular field.

One major problem with internet sources is that occasionally they require a small fee to access. Sometimes a researcher might see a very important document, but accessing it will be very difficult.

APPENDIX II

INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Bio-data of Informants
2. What is the historical background of Zangon Kataf area?
3. Who are the people that constitute Zangon Kataf?
4. How is the settlement pattern of Zangon Kataf?
5. What are the occupations of the people of Zangon Kataf?
6. What kinds of festivals do they celebrate?
7. How did they conduct their marriages before colonisation and during colonisation?
8. What kinds of crops do they produce?
9. What are the differences between their mode of living before and now?
10. What kinds of activities do they engage themselves in during rainy season and dry season?
11. What are the differences between their rulership before colonisation and now?
12. What were the activities found in Zangon Kataf before colonialism, which are still prevalent in the area?
13. What were those activities found in Zangon Kataf before colonialism, which are no longer practiced?
14. Who are the surrounding neighbours of Zangon Kataf District?
15. What was the nature of trade between the people of Zangon Kataf before colonial rule?

16. What is the population of Zangon Kataf?
17. What is the size of Zangon Kataf in terms of kilometres?
18. What kinds of animals and crops were they rearing and growing before colonialism?
19. What was the position of women before colonialism?
20. What was the status of women during colonialism?
21. During colonialism, what kinds of animals and crops were they producing?
22. What crops were they producing before colonialism, which are still maintained now?
23. Did the colonizers help in giving loans or fertilizer to the farmers of Zangon Kataf during colonialism?
24. What kind of implements were the farmers in Zangon Kataf using for farming before colonialism?
25. Did hunting continue during colonialism?
26. What are some of the medicinal plants they were producing before colonialism that have become extinct?
27. What are the general effects of colonialism on Zangon Kataf?
28. Did colonialism help in the development or the underdevelopment of Zangon Kataf District?

APPENDIX III

Regrouping of Zangon Katab, 1932-1933

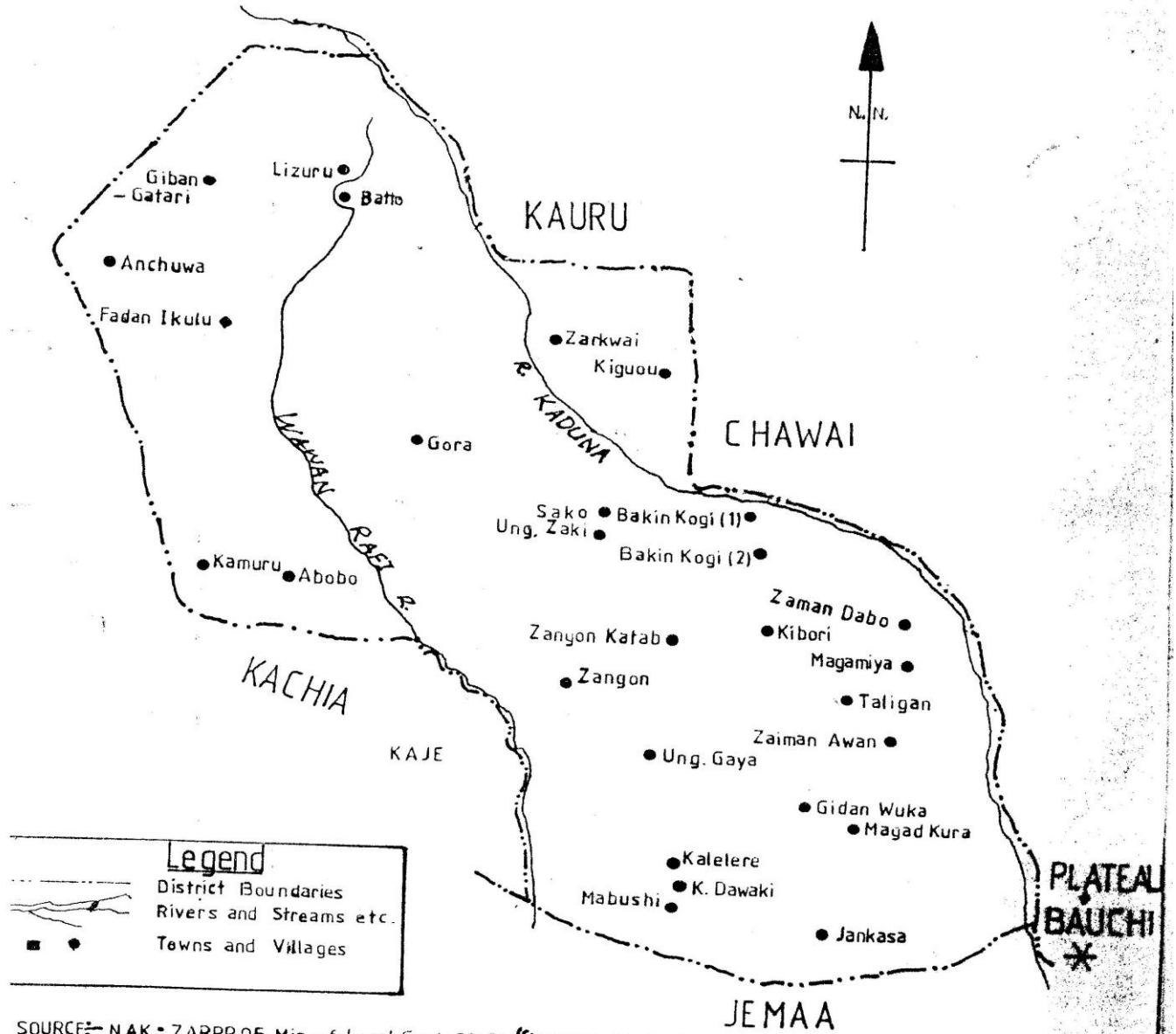
	Mansyan	Sabon Ehawara	bisa Hada	Garurukan	Kassar	Zangon	Katab
		Yafda K 1932-33					
			Masubinsu				TRIBE etc
I	Zenzon	I	Zarkwai	}	490	}	Katab
		2	Sako		£12-10-0		(Mungun Fakam)
		3	Bakin Kogi (I)				
II	Zaman Dabo	I	Kurmin Masara	}	459	}	Katab Aswara
		2	Kibori		£14-15-0		(Mungun Fakam)
		3	Zaman awon				
III	Taligan	I	Magamiya (I)	}	206	}	Katab
		2	.. (2)		£5-10-0		(Katab to Mungun, Mungun)
		3	Gidan Wuka				
IV	Gora	I	Kurmin Gandu	}	502	}	Katab
V	Anguwar Gaiya	I	Mabushi (I)		£125-10-0		(Agbat - Bankwan)
		2	.. (2)	}		}	
		3	Kurmin Dawaki		705		Katab
		4	Gidan Kare		£17-5-0		(Agbat - Uze)
		5	Fada Eshuwa				
VI	Jankasa	I	Magada Kura	}	434	}	Katab
					£125-0-0		(Agbat - Kpansa)
VII	Kachachare arna	I	Kachachare Hausawa	}	70	}	Kachachare Hausa
					£20-5-0		
VIII	Gidan Zaki	I	Bakin Kogi (2)	}	166	}	Katab (AKU)
		2	Kwaku				
		3	Kigudu		£4-10-0		
IX	Fadan Kaje	I	Wandon	}	408	}	Kaje Banchok (East)
		2	Churyam		£102-0-0		
		3	Eshon gida				
		4	Rumfa				
X	Zankwa	I	Kurmin Bi	}	552	}	Kaje Baidan (East)
		2	Madanski		£141-5-0		
XI	Fadiyan Mugu	I	F. Bukur	}		}	
		2	F. Yazanu				
		3	F. Abursan		442		Kaje Banchok (West)
		4	Zagon Gajere		£110-10-0		
		5	.. Afiffan				
		6	Kahon Kahon aron				

	Manya	Masu binsu	Seuran Magana	
XIII	ZUTURON FAMA Fadayan-Magu	1 Zuturn Fama	263 £65-15-0	Kaje Baiden (West)
		2 .. Mago		
		3 Kangurara		
XIV	Gidan Jatau	1 Ifom	268 £67-0-0	Kaje Baitanun
		2 Anguwan Jatau		
XV	Fadan Ikulu	1 Bato	166 £41-10-0	Ikolu, Imfakan Inkan. (N. Eastern) Kaduna imiyarshi
		2 Lisuru		
XVI	Kemuru	1 Anza	430 £110-10-0	Ikolu Inkalaya + others (Southern)
		2 Katul		
		3 Fansil Fansil		
		4 Gidan Bako		
		5 Askafa Hausawan Fansil Hausawan Tasha		
XVII	Anchuna	1 Giden Ali	288 £72-0-0	Derta, various. (Northern)
		2 Yade		
		3 Gidan gimba		
		4 Anchar		
		5 Akwarjini		
XVIII	FadanKamanton	1 Kangun	620 £156-0-0	Kamantam.
		2 Kaban		
		3 Lena		
		4 Tabiri arna		
		5 Zaku		
		6 Kagal		
		7 Yangal		
		8 Balo		
		9. Tabiri Hausawa		
XIX	Zangan Katab	1 Hausawan-arna	407 £162-15-0	Hausawa
		2 1. Yalwa		
		3 Abobo		
		4 Tabiri Tabiri Hausawa		
		5 Hausawan-Fansil		
		6 .. Tasha		

Source: NAK: ZARPROF: 607 "Zangan Katab Notes on"

APPENDIX IV

MAP OF ZANGON-KATAF DISTRICT, OCTOBER, 1922



SOURCE: NAK: ZARPROF Min. of Local Govt, 22055 "KATAB District Re-assessment, October 1922 P. 216."

MAP SCALE: R.F. 1/10,000: 1CM = 100M