SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ADAPTATIONS TO THE DROUGHT IN BEDDE DIVISION BORNO STATE.

BY

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Dedicated to:

1. Mallam Abdulkadir Benisheikh -
   A friend in need,
2. Dr. Patrick F. Wilmot - But for whose timely positive intervention my hopes would have become a mirage. From him I derive my inspiration and finally to
3. Mallam Chiroma S. Leka Balbaya
   for a lasting friendship.

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INTRODUCTION

DEFINITION

Drought is a very difficult phenomenon to define because, it has "no distinct onset and is recognisable only after a period of time. In addition, this period is variable because the time required for a drought to develop depends on many interlocking variables," (Shulz, 1973 : 492). As such the attempt here, is not so much to define drought - as to provide a working formula for use in this essay. A drought then, may be said to represent a temporary deficiency of weather and climate in a given environment, which creates in time a deficiency of water; which restricts food and economic production and plunges the society into a crisis called famine. Drought is neither predictable nor is it easy to control through the contemporary scientific and cultural practices.

In recorded history, drought has been plagueing West Africa since the 18th century but surprisingly, apart from isolated cursory mention in voluminous history books, there has not been any fully pledged

Scientific Research on it. Even the ones mentioned in such history books, are usually refered to as famine which though often came as a result of droughts, can also be a corollary to other pestilences like insects or rodents infestation or some other Natural Hazards like severe storms and floods. Untill recently, a drought was merely a temporary period of suffering which after passing becomes a mere historical event with no effort made to minimise the impact of the next one. This trend can be said to have been interrupted by the attempt to assess the 1970 - 74 drought not only with a view to providing assistance - a thing not heard of in the years past! - but to provide structures that would prevent or minimise the impact of another one should it recur. This attempt is evidenced by the symposia being held (regretably however) outside the affected areas - in London, Colorado and other european cities instead of West Africa. It is also disheartening to note that Africa and Africans who could be said to be most affected by the crisis do not seem to view it with as much seriousness as those who are apparently least directly affected by it. Under the circumstances the least we ----------

can do is to consider the recent crisis.

From early 1968 to late 1974, the whole of West Africa experienced a prolonged weather and climate deficiency so much that the whole social fabric was agitated and economic institutions disorganised. Here in Nigeria, the severity of the period was great enough to evoke from the leaders/planners the comment that the "Gross National Product" in agriculture has an absolute fall of seven percent in 1972/73 which, being the most severe of the 1970 - 74 drought period, maintained the attention of the planners whose comment continued that; "this contraction of agricultural output was itself a consequence of the adverse impact of the drought on agricultural activity especially in the Northern most parts of the country.

In Marte and Ngala villages of Borno division, A.R. James witnessed a desolation in which open waterless spaces were hurriedly abandoned to go to the shores of Lake Chad which was said to have receded for 20 km. In Bedde Division (here after Baderi) starvation and

poverty, the extent of which will be described in chapter III & IV, gripped the whole society and caused many theories to be expounded as to the cause of the drought. The theories both scientific and superstitious will be discussed in the chapters following. During this period, because of the need for food people started hunting small - animals from caves and burrows using fire which caused great damaged to the forest resources due to the frequency and extent of bush fires which were difficult to control. This burning away of the forest resources including grass and the disappearance of water from the surfaces, caused great hardship to the herders and death to their livestock.

In the towns and villages business, i.e. buying and selling, became the prerogative of the very wealthy; petty traders and people with borrowed or small capital were all squeezed out of circulation as a result of their being unable to muster adequate purchasing power to off-set their losses. The drought in 1970 - 74 supt the vitality of the people, threatened to destroy the social structure, cohesiveness and kinship love as well as respect, friendship, and faith in one another

greed in people increased and stealing was widespread throughout the affected area.

THE TOPIC.

Drought of the magnitude of the recent devastation, is a national calamity which demands national as well as individual efforts for a solution. The period having passed, the demand shifts from the realm of solution only to an additional one of a possible future control of, or even the prevention of its recurrence. Sociology as a discipline has the duty of conducting research with a view to reducing or even eliminating human suffering not only from the society in which the researcher may be chanced to be living but from other societies which may even be internationally removed from him. Funds and time are an all time scarce commodity for all researchers, so that it is rare for a single researcher to cover a wide area in a short time. Thus the necessity for demarcating a small area which possesses the same characteristics as the wider whole. By this I mean that though the study may be limited in scope, its applicability may be nation wide. Hence the choice of

the Drought Effect on the Social and Economic conditions of the people in Baderi as a topic to be investigated and the degree of its impact to be tested. The results of this study may be generalised to include all areas to the North of 11° North of the equator.

There are many topics of national importance, but drought is now an issue of the moment and on which research attention is now focussed. So many disciplines such as geography, history and economics; have variously and severally overtime studied drought and its effects on humanity albeit in a disciplinary limited way with respect to orientation and focus. Sociology and its adherents have a duty to render their skill, energy and resources for the study of human problems with a view to making human life fuller.

Attempt shall be made to investigate and consider all aspects of the topic in relation to the society in its environment; but it should be noted that this essay does not pretend to answer all questions related to the drought. It is rather hoped that the essay will raise more questions that may be relevant enough to interest other students. If this essay is able to shed any

amount of light, provoke thought and entice a follow up, then the work would have been a worth while exercise.

OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this study are mainly two.

1. To assess the impact of a disaster of the magnitude of the recent drought on the people and on the basis of this assessment to evolve strategies that may be able to minimise or completely prevent the recurrence of a situation like the recent crisis.

2. To satisfy a need and personal desire for contributing towards the search for a knowledge of national social problems so that solutions to them may be provided, while at the same time, experience in conducting a scientifically orriented research, through the application in practice, methods learnt in theory may be acquired. Through this it is hoped, the necessary confidence in dealing with an experimental crisis situation may be developed.

It may be argued that the second objective being more personally oriented, is irrelevant, I would like

to mention that while it may be irrelevant as a research focus, it can stand the test of time as a statement of intention and as a primary aim of my having to conduct and present any research at all.

HOW DOES THE ESSAY HOPE TO ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVES.

As an attempt at meeting the stated objectives above, the following questions will be discussed in the body of the essay and answers to them shall be attempted.

1. What happened to the people and their livestock in remote villages and hamlets during the drought.
2. How did the people and their livestock survive the crisis and were the methods the people adopted able to minimise suffering?
3. What strategies and encouragement was the authority (both government and local) able to provide?
4. What were the nature and strength of these strategies and encouragement?
5. What were the peoples opinion about the crisis,

the authorities and their own measures; and what are the future safeguards?

6. How do people feel now that the crisis is over and what hopes do they have for the future?

METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

Collection of data involved the use of questionnaire and the use of informal questions (interviewing) which were made up from the study of local authority files, head and cattle tax records and other relevant records which had to do with the drought. This was then followed by a tour of the whole division (Baderi) during which free discussions were engaged in, with the village heads and their servants as well as some of the villagers themselves. This tour also enabled an on the spot inspection and study of the physical features of the whole division. The time available for the research was limited i.e. it would not have been possible to issue, collect and analyse the questionaire throughout the whole division thus, four representative (by ethnic inhabitants and location) villages were selected - one each representing the extreme northern and southern



BADERI POLITICAL

KEY

- - - - - SURVEY TOUR ROUTE
= = = = = SURVEY TOUR AND QUESTIONAIRE DISTRIBUTION ROUTE
□ - DISTRICT H/Q.
⊙ - SAMPLE VILLAGES
• AND X OTHER VILLAGES VISITED.

ends of the division - Bizi and Mugram; one representing the middle West - Amshi and the fourth representing the middle east Ngeljabe. Interviews were conducted in the two district headquarters - Gashu'a and Jakusko. There were discussions, held with the villagers, of an informal nature mostly at night. Questions asked usually arose out of a discussion of one or the other of the villagers daily encounter with each other and nature and thus were impromtu and casual though enlightening.

THE SAMPLE

From each of the four representative villages fifty farmers were selected in the following proportions based partially on the records of the farmers kept by the local authority agricultural department: Twenty of the farmers were fairly well to do and sixteen were poor or average farmers. The remaining fourteen were randomly selected in the villages. The sample selection thus combines and consists of three types of sampling method; i.e: Cluster, due to taking of representative villages, stratified due to a combination of rich and poor or average farmers and random which makes up the remaining fourteen members of the sample per cluster.

The sample size is 200 and this sampling method was adopted in the hope that through it, a more representative sample for the whole division may be obtained which will provide a more representative information. During the tour, it was discovered that the poorer farmers were not willing to express their opinions - a situation which made the survey tour a little more difficult. But this difficulty was overcome during the questionaire filling by two factors. One, the farmers notised the way their richer neighbours - answered the questions with confidence; and two, answering to a questionaire the like of which many others have and which demands no name, was less personal and many of the questions were less involved than the tour impromtu questions. The sample size was made necessarily small in order to facilitate easy completion and collection incurring the least possible less of questionaire. It is made small also, in order to facilitate easy analysis and interpretation.

DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

Most of the difficulty arose out of caution and

simple misunderstanding of the reason for the survey. The village heads at first hesitated to co-operate inspite of my being accompanied by a servant of their district head. I had to give them time between the first tour and the second - during which to contact the Mai and ascertain that my visit to their villages had received his blessings. During the first tour also, the farmers (people) thought I was a local authority or government official out to investigate the state of their wealth for the purposes of taxation. By the time I returned to distribute the questionaire however, the village heads had already dispelled this fear. Another area which could have posed a problem was language. In this, I was lucky that the whole division can be described as being bilingual in that, in all the major ethnic groups, the individuals were able to speak at least one other language in addition to their own. Also the Hausa language is almost universally spoken.

QUESTIONAIRE ADMINISTRATION

Due to the shortness of available time, the questionaire was not pre-tested before being administered to the respondents. The majority of the respondents could read and write in arabic alphabets only, so that at the risk of personal bias, the responses had to be recorded for the respondents. I would first read the question to the respondent and because the questions were framed in Hausa, translation was necessary only in a few cases - except initially, when some joked of not being able to understand Hausa. The responses were then recorded as they were voiced by the respondent. In this way a lot of valuable time was wasted in an effort to get as accurate a record as possible of the responses.

INTERVIEWS

When the questionaire administration and response recording was completed, permission was requested from the district heads to visit and interview people in Jaba and Gidgid, the two other major villages after Jakusko. In the two district headquarters, the people interviewed

were mainly wealthy merchants, petty traders, local - authority and government officials. The government officials, like the villagers mentioned earlier were at first reluctant to agree to answer the questions put to them, but gradually, they relaxed, removed the barrier to answer the questions and even allowed me to go through some of their files.

CHAPTER I. THE LONG MEMORY

ATTITUDE AND OPINION.

Perhaps the saying that 'human mind works better in retrospect' applies here more than any other instance. This is because while the respondents found it difficult to recall alot of the happenings in the recent drought, they were able to recollect clearly and narrate their experiences of droughts as far back as 1914. Why this should be so, can conveniently form another topic for research. Suffice it here to mention that it has been so; and thinking that the respondents were deliberately being difficult about the recent crisis, I changed my approach in three instances only to come up against the same problem. My theory of the peoples fear of taxation and levy assessment was disproved when some village elders and heads who had nothing to fear about taxation or levy reacted in the same way. When the district head of Jakusko was interviewed and he reacted in the same way, I was left with no doubt of the respondents sincerity and had to accept the information supplied as it was.

It is remarkable how these people mostly illitrate are able to keep accurate dates of occurrences, which when tested against some records of famines and droughts compiled by the local authority and other publications (see bibliography) were found to be correct. The deviations notised were mostly of only two to three years which can be overlooked considering that, theirs was merely a remembered history.

DROUGHTS AND FAMINES 1790 - 1954.

In a paper produced by Dr. Paul Lovejoy. "Desert side economy", there is a list of famines/droughts which covered the whole of Hausa Country and a few that included the Borno Empire. Five of the dates supplied in this essay have been found to agree with dates quoted by respondents in this research. According to Lovejoy, there was a drought which covered 'the whole of Borno, Kano and Agades in 1790'; and that this (1790) drought was so severe that people and livestock died in hundreds. In the course of my interviewing, this drought was remembered by three respondents who claimed to have been told about it by their grandfathers. These three called it variously as Kangusasi (ant hole) sukukum (?) and Kandira

(the hunter). The dates given by the respondents were all different for while one maintained that it happened 190 years ago, the two insisted that it was only 180 years old. Thus the date supplied by Lovejoy which is half way between, becomes a reasonable compromise.

It is reported that this crisis of 1790 caused the deserts inhabitants mostly the Tuaregs to migrate West and Southwards. The ones that migrated southwards spread themselves into the Northern Nigeria Provinces of Kano, Katsina and Sokoto forming different diasphoras which took the names of 'Agalawa, Adarawa, Azbinawa, Gobirawa, Agadasawa etc; 'and the descendents of these migrants are still seen in the three provinces mentioned, especially Kano. As a result of their ability to move about and trade, today, these descendents of migrants are to be found almost every where in Nigeria. After this drought. comes 1847 one which was not remembered by any

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* An article in the International Journal of African Historical Society 1975 Vol. 8 No. 4.

of my respondents but which was recorded as having caused much suffering to humanity and livestock.

Lovejoy's 1855 Hausa and Borno drought was remembered as Bazawen. (Banhinia) a shrub growing in the savana zone. Towards the end of the crisis in 1855 people dried and pounded the pods of this shrub into flour and prepared it into gruel and tuwo. It was said to have been tasty but many people died as a result of eating the food prepared from it; and this toll in human life was why the crisis was called Bazawen. The 1890 Hausa country famine, did not extend into Borno much and was not mentioned by the respondents in this research. However there were local - shortages in 1903 and 1905 called Bada bai. turn your back and Gwandai - stylochiton respectively. One informant claimed that the two, were but one continuous period of crisis which caused much suffering. He also reports that the effect of the crisis was not uniform even in Baderi.

A major drought which the respondents remembered with shivers is the Kangale Kori - short stalks of 1908 and Kamo - stalks of 1911. Because of the emphasis

by people on the suffering and death during this period, one tends to assume that from 1908 to 1911 was but one three year period of crisis like the 1970 - 74 drought. It is perhaps this period which Lovejoy dated 1913 - 14 Hausa and Borno droughts. Thus it is not unlikely especially judging by its severity that this could have been one prolonged period 1908 - 14 of suffering. In places like the Niger Republic, even the recent drought is dated from 1968 and not 1970. Cognizance is being taken of 1908 and 1911 because of the similarity in name, Kangale Kori is Kanuri word for short stalk while Karmro is Hausa word for stalk. It was also cross checked that the respondents using Kangale Kori did not know about Karmo while those, using Karmo claimed to have heard Kangale, Kori, being talked about and agreed that it could have been Karmo During this period, it was said, parents gave out their children as 'TRUST in order to get food for the rest of the family, and the food was merely tree barks, leaves, dried fruit and anything that could be pounded or ground into flour and made into any form of paste for eating. There was

no taboo for eating anything or for doing anything to get food; what mattered was the keeping of body and soul together. It was not of any - consequence who died or who disappeared. Kanjale Kori 1908 - 14 was the most severe drought after Bazawen 1855.

Other minor searcity periods mentioned include Kumumuwa 1919 the killer weed and Garahunu 1924 balsam apple, in both of which there was no death. The report has it that it was the leaves of these plants which saved lives. The leaves were made into Gwate or Fate - fate - a mixture of millet flour paste and leaves. Sometimes - pumpkin and melon fruits are used in place of leaves in making food - variety. The searcities of both 1919 and 1924 were the result of locust invasion of farm crops. The next crisis was recorded in 1935 variously called Kuka - baobab Kabo Tulur seven pence and mai buhu - Buhu is the hausa word for sack. Both Mortimore and Hill working in hausaland dated this crisis as 1927. And like in the other instances of naming, these names were used because of the extensive use made of Baobab leaves, barks and fruit as food. It was

Kabo Tulur because that was the first time a sack of millet sold at the exhorbitant price of seven pence (about six kobo)*. Prior to then, a sack or large basket Jogo not Kwando of millet fetched from two to two and a half pence only. The name mai buhu, though widely known in Kano and Zaria where I casually apoke with some elders in order to confirm some of the dates, is not known in Baderi; which probably accounts for the defference between the date supplied by my respondents and the one established by Hill and Mortimore. In Baderi the names Kuka and Kabo Tulur are the best known and used.

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* The respondent insists that the penny of those days (the 1930s) cannot be equated to our Kobo of today which is worth less. One oldman said he could buy with one penny in those days what a naira cannot fetch today! that to be a richman, one needed to have ₦3-4 only - ₦6 - 8.

The next in the series is Garmodo 1937 and Balangada 1938. Respondents interviewed were not able to identify what Garmodo means, but Balangada is a large pot with a wide mouth in which guel is (cooked) prepared and distributed. These four and a number of others such as Ngalgo bawo 1940 nonwis better, 1947 Matuwari (?) and sakatariya 1948 female secretary were minor searcities with localised effects. As a result most of the respondents merely heard about them without experiencing them even though those happened only recently. At one time the respondents got carried away arguing that the 1948 was a continuation of 1947 and these bear the name of Ngalgo bawo none is better.

From 1951 to 1954 was another period of searcity which was given different names by different sections of the society. Some of these names include sude mu gaisa we greet when you finish, yunwar rakuma famine of the camels, and Yar Mubi. The name yar Mubi is the most popular because of guinea corn brought from Mubi which flooded Baderi markets although at high prices per measure. The high prices might have been the result of the need to offset lorry, donkey, oxen and camel trans-

port costs from Mubi to the villages - and perhaps trade losses bases too. It is relevant to note at this point that, throughout the period 1790 - 1954, no respondent ever mentioned the receipt of any assistance from the government or the local authority; except in 1951 - 54 when guinea corn from Mubi reached the villages through the effort of the Native Authority who hired donkeys, oxen and camels for the purposes. Even then, the prices of the guinea corn in the villages was higher than in Gashu'a. Nobody mentioned ever hearing of any assistance given to any community. This should not be thought of as a defective - memory since these same people were able to remember droughts which occurred long before they were born.

It was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter that, respondents found it difficult to recall occurrences of the period 1970 - 74. But their ability to remember the historical incidencies shown above has convinced me that probably ten years from today, a better report of the recent crisis 1970 - 74 may be obtained, since, then relaxation and recovery from the pinch might have been achieved. Also the shock currently gripping the people might have waned away. As a result

of which people may impersonally re-appraise the whole situation and analyse it with greater detachment than may be the case now. By then also, people may not need to protect or uphold the interest of others which they may be doing now.

TECHNOLOGY AND TRANSPORT

The period 1951 - 54 could have been as severe as Kangale Kori 1908 - 14 but for the emergence of lorries and road transportation system. In 1951 - 4 the lorries were the main agents of saccour for the masses although the commodity (guinea corn) they brought was very expensive. They brought this commodity from Mubi, Yola and Gombe for sale in Baderi. They also brought into Baderi, gari (garin kwaki)from Keffi, Onitsha and Wamba as well as yams (doya busa) from Jos and places to the south. These food items were new to the area. Before the crisis, food items like gari and yams were seen in Gashu'a only and were called Kumbu - Kirdi be the food of the non believer; and no inducement would make the village citizenry to partake of these food items, but

the crisis forced them to be widely accepted and used. The lorries were able to save the situation because of their ability to cover a great distance in a shorter time than beasts of burden which were then used.

But because the lorries could not go to even some of the larger villages, the beasts of burden - donkey Ox and camel were used to transport the food items into the hinterland. Camels were particularly used in transporting grains from Potiskum through Gashua to places to the north. These beasts however, never did more than three trips before they collapsed as a result of sheer exhaustion, lack of forage and water. In this way many were lost. Yar Mubi was the only major drought which covered the whole division after Kuka 1935.

From 1954 came intermittent minor - searcities. In 1958 bani mayafina give me my coverlet (implying that he wanted to travel - migrate?); Lauma tafi dan uwa 1960 a loaf is better than a brother, and mai rakuma 1961 owner of camels; and these minor difficulties like small bush fires, had to end with a major crisis in 1970 - 74.

EFFECT AND COMPARISON

Of all the crisis periods discussed above, the following presented the greatest difficulty: The 1790 sukukuni, Bazawen 1855, Kangale Kori 1908 - 14, Kuka 1935 and Yar Mubi 1951 - 4. In those days transport system was not as sophisticated as it is today thus whenever there was a crisis, people had to rely - entirely on their own resources and initiative. In addition neither the colonial government nor the native authority - who in any case had no money) was alive to its responsibility to the people. As such, there was no assistance throughout the period 1790 - 1951. Except in caravans, travelling from one area (village) to another was extremely dangerous - since one ran the risk of being captured as a slave or becoming the breakfast of some wild beast. Before 1908, there was no trust and every one feared the others. People were always ready to take to arms for self defence, defence of the village or to go on a raid. So that people had no other means of getting food but to rely on their accumilated reserves and the traditionally known edible

plants and other material that happened to be available.

The villagers, up to 1935 did not like going into the town because, to them, the rulers lived in towns and they were feared and respected because of their servants' dexterity in meting out oppression. In those days the mere arrival of a Dogari into a village, was enough to paralyse most of the activity and send household heads into hiding until the purpose of his visit was made known. Thus whenever crisis occurred, the whole population had to suffer in silence and hide away any surplus food for fear of its being confiscated from them in the name of the ruler who may never even hear about the act. The slow moving donkeys oxen, mules and horses constituted the main means of transport for goods and humans; and used to take 3 - 4 days to cover the 140 km. from Potiskum to Gashu'a.

By 1951 however, lorries had penetrated into most of the villages centres and foods other than the traditional millet had come into use and were available in the markets albeit at high prices. These new types of food, even though refused at the early stage because of their originating from Kardi nonbeliever lands, were

later used a great deal; when the people realised that they were better than leaves. Thus considering the technological innovation as evidenced through transport, the only real difficult periods could be said to have been Kangale Kori and Bazawen; since both occurred at a most difficult of times in terms of personal safety and the possibility of getting food commodities from other sources.

In those times, help was not expected, was not asked for, nor was it given, as testified by six respondents who claimed that even when they were young the type of co-operation existing between the authority and people now, was beyond the imagination of the people in their time. Even the more recent crisis of 1935 can be considered on the lines of primitive suffering since although there was easy interaction and mobility among the people, the means of transport was still mainly the beasts of burden which was too cumbersome and slow, to be able to prevent human embarrassment and suffering.

From 1790 to 1935 people and livestock died in large numbers as a result of the various scarcities and the absence of assistance. In the drought of 1951-4 the availability of fast moving transport greatly reduced human death because they were able to move large volumes of commodities quickly. But livestock death could not be prevented since the grass they depended on, was not available in their own environment and was not transported for them. In addition there was no water for all ponds and streams had dried up. Wells were few and scattered far apart and very deep reaching down to 30 - 35 metres in depth. Both humans and livestock had to depend on these few wells and naturally the human being prefered to preserve his own life. In Baderi, up to 1951, only the divisional headquarters Gashu'a could boast of properly constructed wells i.e. wells which have their sides plastered with cement and a dust prove wall entending to about 90 cm. above the ground with wooden rollers for ease of drawing of the water.

Government and Native Authority assistance could be said to have started in 1952-4 when wells like the

one described above began to be constructed in the villages. The construction of these wells turned the villages and their environs into forced labour camps. This was because of the decision of the Native Authority to have no lorries (not that there were none) for use in the transportation of gravels for use in the concrete mixture for the construction of these wells. Thus every man and woman (adults) were levied fifteen (15) headpans of this special white fibrous gravel called jigila. Considering that Baderi is mostly a sandy plain with no hills or rocks of any type, this was really a tall order since the people had to travel 24 - 32 kilometers to get the gravels - and this evaporated the enthusiasm of having the wells.

This lack of water and grass which resulted in the death of hundreds of livestock forced the people to think and be resourceful and started making banda dry meat in commercial quantities which became competitive because everyone was trying to out produce the others. This banda making also helped to reduce loss of livestockas a result of death - since such animals were

then never allowed to die but sold to butchers who slaughtered and turned them into banda for export to the southern parts of this country.

A comparison of the short stalks crisis with the recent one produced the statement that "--- the soils are now poorer, the human population much greater, the cattle far more numerous and commercial crops have been introduced" ('Church and Dalby 1973:16); which seems to imply that the 1970 - 74 is the more severe of the two. It is difficult for me to accept this implication considering the information we have of the previous situations as narrated in this essay. However, each of these crisis situations designated droughts and famines, had its own field of play and devastation which varied in nature and extent this variation is not because people had learnt a lesson but because man had been able to shorten the distance - so that what was transport constraint yesterday, is today not a problem at all. Human social outlook has also greatly changed over time and villages as well as towns have increased in size as quoted above.

But unfortunately, increase in number of people and livestock did not and does not correspond with an increase in the size and number of farms and farmers. So that there are today, everywhere, more eaters/ than produces! This necessarily entails the rapid disappearance of food items as soon as they are made available. This increase in number of both humans and livestock has been brought about by:-

a. The absence of inter ethnic/inter village wars which consumed men and property, and women no longer suffer from the dishonourable position of being a war booty! livestock loss, except as in crisis period like 1970-4, has almost become extinct.

In the establishment of hospitals, health centres and dispensaries in towns village centres and hamlets, along with the production of more effective medicines have made disease to cease from being the agent of death it used to be. People are now able to live longer and produce more offsprings whose fertility is even greater as a result of peace, good health and good food.

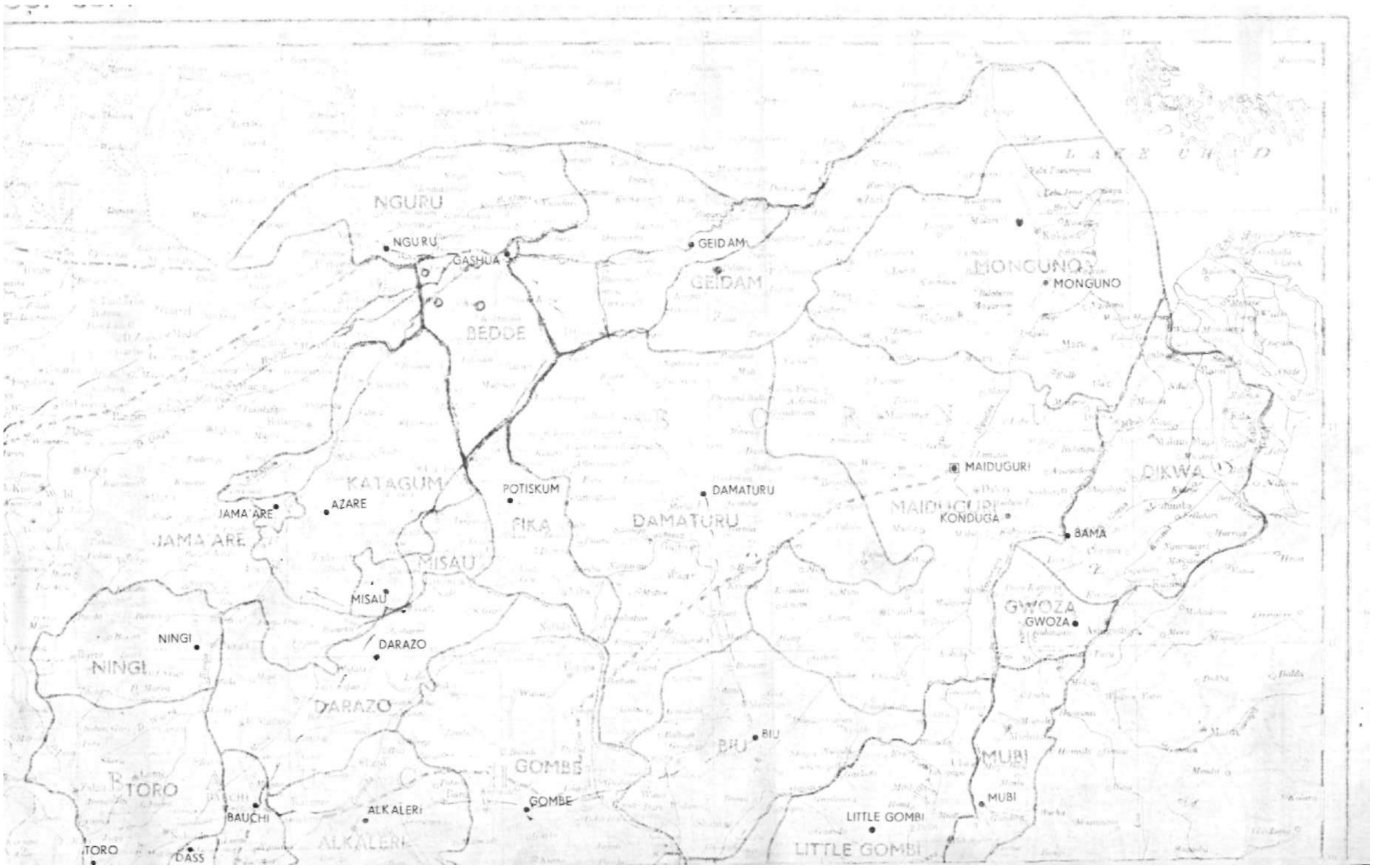
In view of the above historical exposition, therefore, one may conclude by submitting that it is difficult to

compare adequately, the various crisis situations which occurred over time; since each difficulty period is unique in itself with its own peculiar peoblems and style of solution.

CHAPTER II. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF BADE DIVISION.

Baderi (Bedde Division), is one of the administrative divisions of Borno State. It lies roughly between lattitude 11.80° and 12.80° North; and between longitude 10.60° and 11.40° East. Baderi has, as its neighbours, the emirates of Hadejia in Kano State and Katagum (Azare) in Bauchi State - to the west and southwest respectievely. Nguru development area - a district of Borno division forms the northern neighbour. To the east lies Gaidam district, and Damaturu district to the south east. Both Gaidam and Damaturu are districts of Borno division. Fika division is the southern neighbour - and historical ally.

II. All administrative unit areas are known as emirates when they are within the caliphate: i.e: that part of Nigeria which was under the direct supervision of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio. In Borno, these units are known as Divisions and there are five of these, Borno Bama, Biu, Fika and Bedde. They were all formerly under the influence of the Shehu of Bornu.


NGURU
NGURU
GASHUA
GEIDAM
GEIDAM
BEDDE
MONGUNO
MONGUNO
LAKE CHAD
KATAGUM
POTISKUM
DAMATURU
DAMATURU
FIKA
JAMA'ARE
AZARE
JAMA'ARE
MISAU
MISAU
MAIDUGURI
KONDUGA
BAMA
DIKWA
GWOZA
GWOZA
NINGI
NINGI
DARAZO
DARAZO
BIU
BIU
GOMBE
GOMBE
BAUCHI
ALKALERI
ALKALERI
TORO
TORO
DASS
MUBI
MUBI
LITTLE GOMBI
LITTLE GOMBI

The above constitutes the modern boundaries of Baderi, which historically, has variously been administered as a component of Gaidam, Nguru districts and Fika division up to the early 1930s; when she was made an administrative entity with a government representative of her own (the Divisional officer) who elected to live and administer Baderi from Nguru some 57.2 kilometres away. He gave as his reason, the factors of transport and communication. Nguru was the Railway terminus 1D and had telephone lines which were not available in Gorgoram the old capital and Gashu'a the present headquarters lacks the two amenities.

Baderi lies within the 'Sudan Savannah' which has been described as an area of 25 - 35 inches of rainfall per annum and which has "---- a vegetation lying some what intermediately between the Guinea Zone and the Sahel Zone and possessing a mixture of the broad leaved species of the former with narrow leaved species of the latter.

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND OCCUPATION

Like the rest of the areas in this zone - 'Sudan Savannah', Baderi is a ~~rocky~~ sandy land watered by the Rivers Hadejia and Katagum which form the river - rain areas of north by northwestern section of the division These rivers, after travelling about three quarters of the northern - width of the division converged to form the river known as Kumadugu [12] Yo be which empties into Lake Chad via the village of Yo. To the south, almost on the border, flows the third water source known as Kumadugu Gana. This river continues along the border travelling north-east wards leaving the division at a point where she borders with Damaturu and Geidam districts. Flowing into Geidam district, the river turned straight east and then north to join Kumadugu Yobe at Musakali on the Niger-Nigeria border, and together flowed into lake chad.

The soil throughout Baderi is generally loamy with sandy plains in the centre and water logged areas in the north and south. To the north however, the soil is claycy which dries into a hard pan which cracks in

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12. The word 'Kumadugu' means streams in the Manga language - as opposed to Burum which is a River. When spoken ordinarily, the work Kumadugu is usually used to mean Burum as for example, Kumadugu Gana can mean both small river or stream.

the dry season; but which is soft, maleable and treacherously slippery in the rainy season. Soil colour is mostly black, and in plains, iron grey. The fadamas support rice cultivation and the rivers form good fishing grounds. These were, until recently, an exclusive occupation of the Bade ethnic group i.e. fishing and rice cultivation. Nowadays, the Bade compete unfavourably with migrants from Sokoto, Kano (Hadejia) and Bauchi (Katagum) States. These migrants bear the names of Kabawa and Kwarawa. Along the banks of the two rivers also are found, small gardens in which tobacco (more for the flower than leaves), african garden eggs, onions, pepper etc are grown.

To the south along the banks of the Kumadugu Gana the soil type and occupation become almost identical to what has been described above; except that here both the rice cultivation, fishing and gardening are being done by the Ngizim ethnic group which predominates at this end of the division.

The centre is a corridor, - running east to west, of sandy soil with patches of claycy slippery areas. Most of the livestock and their herdes, the fulani ethnic group are fund in this corridor. The greater section of the population of the whole division lives on the northern half of the corridor. This population concentration and freedom from tsetse fly menace makes this corridor to be attractive to the fulani herders - making them to establish semi permanent homes and rushing to the Fadama areas of the north and south only when they have to i.e. when there is no more grass and water to be have in the plains as a result of the dry season.

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13. Women use the flower stems (FURG) with Kolanut to colour their teeth - red and black. The women in the dry season spend almost 3 - 4 hours daily on this exercise.

The Fadama areas are tsetse infested - flies which are extremely dangerous to livestock - and become water logged during the rainy season - a condition which is also harmful to cattle: thus the nomads (herders) had to shuttle from one zone to another following climate and favourability. Nowadays the Fadama areas have been declared tsetse free but due to the water logging the seasonal migration still continues.

VEGETATION AND AGRICULTURE

Grasses in Baderi, as in other areas of the Sudan Savannah, are mainly one to one and a half metres tall and most are thorny. Most of the creepers, twiners and shrubs are thorny and the trees which are few and scattered have, mostly in addition to the thorns, thick barks, hardy leaves and long tap roots. The trees comprise mainly of the woody stem type such as desert date, gum acasia spina christi jujube tree, mimosa (all the thorny varieties) doum palm, palmyra palm, apple ring, dwarf date palm, african myrrh - and all the gum producing acasias. Some of the more thorny trees are black plum tree, plum tree, mitragyne baobab, all the ficus varieties, the imported neem, chew stick

tree, tamarind, dry zone ebony and Guil tree etc.

The shrubs and creepers - thorny and non thorny are - sweet sop, mountain ebony, sodom apple, balsam apple, edible stemmed vines, custard apple, euphobia, gardenia, jetropha, henna, horse radish trees, bamboo palm, hog plum, banhinia, cordia, grewia, guierra, african plum tree, capparis, and terminalis etc. Grasses, both leguminous and non leguminous include; finger grass, stur thistle, elensine, cassia tora, gynandrop-sis, panicum, eragrostic, alycarpus, cymbopogon, andropogen, penisetum, prickly burgrass, comb fringe grass, cow itch, water lettuce, spear grass, hemp leaved hibiscus, anstralian asthma, crinum lilies, thorn apple, negro coffee, star bur, surrel, white water lily, elephant grass, devils thorn, bur weed etc, From their list of trees, shrubs and grasses, one may be able to understand the term - 'savanna.' The crops grown should necessarily be like the vegetation - i.e. quick growing and maturing - since the maximum length of the rainy season is three months.

The division of Baderi into two soil types also provides a zonal restriction in plant cultivation, the crops are mainly - rice, sweet potato and cassava for the fadama areas. Also some legumes and maize, which

through them. Where these grow profusely, , the soil is usually considered to be fertile - especially when when such an area constitute an abandoned land. The presence of edible stemmed vine, blood flower, terrestrial or-chid and bamboo are indicators of water presence, be it a pond or stream.

PHYTA ADAPTATION TO ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS

Rainy season begins in Baderi from late June to early July and before this period i.e. between the months of September to June, all the grass and shrubs (most are annuals) dry up to the extent of becoming so brittle that even a loud noice breaks them. At this time, the trees and the perennial shrubs shed leaves in order to reduce transpiration. The green stems become brown or grey and scaly and inspite of the intence sunlight, photosynthesis as reduced to the minimum and growth seases. Almost all trees exhibit varying degrees of this phenomena except the apple ring tree and one species of Euphobin. These shed their leaves during the rainy season and show profuse leafage (growth) in the dry season.

This drying of grasses, shrubs and the shedding of leaves by trees, usually increases the force of wind since there is nothing to ~~set~~ act as wind break. As a result of this, the sandy soil is blown about - first, by the northeast winds and then the south-west winds. As a result of this erosion is enhanced - which was already given encouragement by the bush fires and animals that burrow or even walk on hooves.

THE FAUNA AND C/MOUFLAGE

Other organisms, besides the plants, also suffer during the period September to June. The drying up of grasses and shrubs and the shedding of leaves by trees express the ground, the nests in the trees and shrubs and the burrows. This makes the small animals and birds to have no hiding places. In order to escape being made into prey, these usually develop protective colouration. Small animals like, hare, squierel, rabbits, deer, duiker, bush cat, fox, rats and mice - take up earth colour which varies from dark grey to dark brown - so that where ever and when ever they sense danger, they

usually, simply raise a lot of dust and lie down until the danger signal is over. Many of them however got caught this way. At this period, reptiles usually migrate into dark tree caves, or deep holes in the ground to hibernater until the return of favourable conditions.

The larger angulates and the members of the cat class - escape the dessicating condition by migrating to the fadama areas where water and forage are to be found in quantity. The cats, naturally have no option but to follow their preg - in any case, they too cannot exist without water. Birds which can be seen in large numbers at the beginning of the rains - reproduce to increase their population during the rainy season as a result of the favourable condition for their breeding. They usually become a menace to grain farmers from about the middle of August when the farm crops - especially millet and rice would have started flowering and fruiting. The aves suck away the newly formed grains and when these mature, the birds still peck them out of the tussle ears. Thus by about September, when harvest normally begins, the farmer - sometimes is left with only about one third of his expected production. At about this

time also, the birds begin their seasonal migration since there is nothing more in the fields for them. By about January, the migration would have finished and the forest would become very quiet. Whatever of the birds and animals that have not migrated - in most cases grace the family pot of some hunter or become a source of revenue for him.

WATER - Two main problems face the human population at this period (September to June) and these are water and shade. Trees having shed their leaves and the ponds and even the streams dried up, shelter from the swelter- ing heat becomes difficult except under sheds constructed of millet stalks or Zana mats. Even these become almost useless when whirl wind begins to blow heat and dust on to every exposed surface. Water becomes extremely scarce - to the extent that - it becomes a common sight for livestock and humans to be at the village well for a whole day. Not all villages are priviledged enough to have concrete wells like the one described in chapter one of this essay. To get water, these people dig holes about ten to twelve metres deep - to reach water. Usually this water is not as much as well water and people

have to allow it to collect - such water holes are called SOA or KUYYAKA. 14 Even where the village has a concrete well, it is often 50 - 60 metres deep.

The drying process reaches its peak around March, April and May. At this time even the villages have a desiccated appearance, washing and bath are kept to the minimum and to reduce wastage, the water ~~need~~ used for washing is not usually thrown away, but collected and given to livestock - who inspite of the soap - seem to enjoy the salty taste of dirt. It is characteristic at this period to see groups of people - especially old men and children huddled together playing the

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14.a. SOA - Kanuri word for a water hole usually dug in soft sand area. The sides of such a hole being soft are protected by means of guisra twined-rope - like an arranged in concentric rings - from the bottom of the hole to the tap.

b. KUYYAKA - Is Hausa word for the water hole.

Dara [15] game while sheltering under the rumfas and Zaures. This game is now being replaced by card game! Some of the elders could, however, be seen to engage themselves in house mending, the making of mats, ropes and curving. The animals after being given the small amounts of water that may happen to be available are usually released into the village streets and surrounds to cater for themselves.

THE PEOPLE CHARACTERISTICS AND WAY OF LIFE

Baderi is composed of Bade, Fulani, Hausa, Manga and Ngizim major ethnic groups. Each of these ethnic groups occupies a small section of the division except Hausa who are spread throughout the area. Bade, though not the largest, constitutes the ruling ethnic group and occupies the northern end of the division. The town of

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15. Dara is a game involving 2 - 4 persons using 6, 12 and 48 pieces of stones, canes beads or some similar material - moving them from one hole on the ground to the next. The holes can be arranged in circular form, square or rectangular. It is usually played during the dry season when there is less work to do.

Gashu'a, and Bizi, Dachia, Amshi and Gorgoran as well as Gwayo constitute the main Bade village centres. The Bade like the rest of the ethnic groups in Borno state believe that their ancestors were driven out of Arabia by Prophet Muhammad's religious wars. They wondered about in the desert until about the 15th century when they started westwards arriving in Ngazargamo by circa 1700. The ancestors were a family of four brothers who disagreed with one another at Dilawa in Gaidam district (see map). Each took his own way and formed a different ethnic group at the end of his journey. The story has it that Muza went northwards and formed the Buzu ethnic group, Amsagiya went south-east-wards to found the Ngazai ethnic group in Fune District of Borno, Dodo went south to become the Ngizim ancester while Ago, the eldest of the four, continued westwards to become the Bade ancester.

The need for defence against raids forced Ago and his later descendents to move about the area called Baderi in search of a suitable capital. They finally settled at a place called Gokaram or Gorgoram whose walls were completed in 1825 - some 53 km. southwest of Gashu'a the present headquarters of Baderi. Gorgoram has, until

of cows and the selling of this milk in order to get small cash for daily necessities. Their men herd the livestock. The cattle are medium sized, brown with medium horns. They participate minimally in transhumance. Their pastime is sharo which is a competition for winning a wife and away of dissipating the fury of enmity traditional or temporary. It involves the beating of one individuals body by another individual using a stick - tsabga of diametre 3-4 cm. and length about 90 - 120 cm. The pastime is is watched by fulani and non fulani alike since most often, in order to have a neutral ground, the pastime takes place in non fulani villages.

2. The second group Bokoloji are migratory by nature - moving from the corridor to the river banks and back to the corridor following the seasons dry and wet, they are seen in the corridor from about July to October and found along the river banks from November to June. They are of medium height, plump and light in complexion. Their women have the hausa Kalangu marks on both cheeks. Both men and women are adept at picking languages other than their own. Until

recently the women's dress consisted of one wrapper tied above the breasts with no blouse and another covering the head in addition to the head tie Kallabi. Their prefered colours are black and white. Their livestock consist of the white hornless Sokoto Gudale cattle which are much fatter than those of the fulbe Hadejia, Toran-kejo and Sankarajo ones. Their division of labour follows the pattern of Fulbe Hadejia's. This and the remaining two groups Abare and Udabe rarely participate in the share. But inspite of variation and insistence in questioning, no respondent was able to explain their pastime adequately.

3. The Abore group are known to the Hausa and some Fulani as Bororoje. Manga, Bade and Kanuri use Abore. They are generally tall, darker skinned and slenderly built. They become provoked to anger easily and until the beginning of the civil war, when an edict prevented them from doing so, they carried swords and knives about their person as a dress complement. Their women dress differently from the Fulbe Hadejia and Abore women. The dress consists of a tiny blouse which starts from the neck and stops just below the breasts exposing

the abdomen down to the navel. The single wrapper is tied mini-skirt fashion from just below the navel to just above the knees and tight on the body. Like Bokoloji the Abore are migratory following the same paths more to the south than north. Most of them believe in neither Islam nor Christianity.

4. The Udabe's body build resembles that of the Fulbe Hadejia but dark skinned. They are generally tall with a characteristic mark accross the left cheek like Bille but wider and made up of many tiny longitudinal cuts starting from close to the bridge of the nose cut-wards. The Udabe specialise in sheep breeding only. The sheep are characteristically distinct from all other varieties and bear the name of their owners UDA - as the owners are also known to non fulani ethnic groups. The sheep are dark brown or black in colour from the middle of the body to the head and completely white from the middle of the body to the ~~head.~~ tail They are usually lean and tall with large horns.

5. The Manga are a Kanuri group whose intonation and pronounciation differs slightly from the known Kanuri language. They occupy villages towards the eastern end

practices* the languages of the various ethnic groups so far discussed take the names of their speakers. The majority of the people in Baderi have Islam as their religion. Christians, inspite of about 30 years preaching by an expatriate evangelist and family of four, are few and mainly found in Gashu'a and Amshi. The whole population is included to a bilateral kinship system i.e. an individual can inherit wealth and property from both mothers and fathers side, The social unit is the 'house hold' not the family; and by a 'household' it is meant all individuals living in the same house under the guardianship of one person known as the household head. These may be man, his wife, parents, parents in law, grand parents from both parties, cousins, sisters and brothers or their children, friends and or their children, etc; all that is commonly dubbed, "the extended family system."

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*Note - The above description of the people and their way of life constitutes the contemporary case only. The historical description will require entirely another research with a different orientation in focus.

All the ethnic groups in Baderi are polygamous i.e. the men marry usually as many as four wives - as evidenced by the responses obtained in the questionaire. This fact may be accounted for, by their way of life which permits that both men and women should till the land together and the women should also participate in the search for water and the cutting of firewood for household use. As a result, the more wives a man has, the greater would be his work force. Which also means the more women there are in a house the greater becomes the household work force. It is probably this reasoning which condones early marriage among boys. I found that men marry as early as 16 years of age as shown in this table below. It can be seen that the tendency is for

TABLE I: II AGE GROUP VS NO. OF WIVES

	NUMBER OF WIVES						
	SINGLE	1	2	3	4	TOTAL	%
15.5 - 25.0	3	20	-	-	-	23	11.5
25.5 - 35.0	6	25	20	3	-	54	27.0
35.5 - 45.0	-	28	25	2	4	59	29.5
45.5 AND OVER	5	14	27	15	3	64	32.0
TOTALS	14	87	72	20	7	200	-
%	70	43.5	36.0	10.0	3.5	-	100

men to marry more wives as they get older. I have not been able to identify any difference in the number of wives as being a specific case for a particular ethnic group. But in ownership of land, I have found that the Bade group generally are better farmers in terms of plot size and these are already followed by the Manga ethnic group as the table below indicates. All the ethnic groups do not have their farms as one large plot. They are rather scattered at all compass points from the village. Their reason for this, is to safeguard against a sectional bad ' year. The crops are usually inter-planted e,g. millet interplanted with cowpen or G/nut interplanted with G/corn etc; as another strategy against a bad year for some crops. A likely case which I have not investigated is the reflection of age and number of wives on farm size. I am of the opinion that the three are strongly interrelated.

OCCUPATION OTHER THAN FARMING AND HERDING

As has already been described above, occupation varies with the geographical location of the people within the division and variation in cultural tradition. The people living along the river banks have in addition to farming; fishing, basket and mats making. The fish

ETHNIC GROUPS BY NUMBER OF ACRES CULTIVATED SEPT. 1975

TABLE 2: II

	NUMBER OF ACRES CULTIVATED							
	HERDERS 0.5-3.0	3.5-5.0	5.5-7.0	7.5-9.0	9.5-11.0	HERD-ERS.	TOT-ALS	%
BADE	11	32	15	8	9	-	75	37.5
MANGA	11	19	7	5	4	4	50	25.0
HAUSA	2	11	10	3	1	6	33	16.5
FULANI	3	9	3	1	-	10	26	13.0
NGIZIM	5	6	1	-	-	-	12	6.0
OTHERS	-	1	2	1	-	-	4	2.0
TOTALS	32	78	38	18	14	20	200	-
%	16.0	39	19	9	7	10	100	100

is usually transported for sale, into the corridor. Due to physical distance and preservation difficulties, the fish is rarely transported fresh. It is usually either dried or smoked into BANDA. The smoked fish is usually sold in Gashu'a, where people from Maiduguri, Kano, Jos and even Onitsha came to buy. These fisher people, after selling their fish and other products in the corridor buy meat both dry and fresh, small animals like goats and sheep which they take home to breed for sale in the future or use for some ceremonial purposes. Some of the wealthier ones, buy these animals for their normal domestic consumption they, like the rest of the farmers usually exchange grains for milk and butter with the Fulani herders.

The corridor provides no fishing ground but most of the livestock live in this zone, so that in addition to milk and butter - grains exchange there is also a buying and selling of livestock - cows, sheep and goats by the Fulani and some non Fulani ethnic groups. Other items sold and bought include, pots, mats, shoes, arrow heads, knives and hoes. Cloth and clothes, grains and other crops etc. were all to be found in the markets.

Most of these are produced within the corridor and sold or used there. The people in the corridor, in addition to weaving mats, baskets and zana mats for sale also cut fire wood, poles and posts for building. The Manga group who live in this section are the most active producers of the products mentioned above. The Fulani depend entirely on their livestock - selling milk and butter to buy grains and other minor needs. Cattle are sold only when marriage is to take place or fines are to be paid. Their nomadic way of life makes them to be distinctly different from other ethnic groups.

In all sections of the division petty traders proliferate - hawking their wares in villages and hamlets, others display their goods on a table and sit to await customers while the few village 'richmen' have small stalls attached to their Zaure called SHAGO where they usually transact their business. But the drought destroyed all this economic activity to the extent that, petty traders who could, before the drought, earn anything from ₦15 - 30 per week found it difficult to secure even ₦10.00 per week. The table below constructed from questionaire responses illustrates the approximate weekly

income of people with occupations additional to farming and herding.

A WEEKLY INCOME TABLE

TABLE 3 : II

	INCOME IN NAIRA				
	0.5-5.0	5.5-10.0	10.5 & OVER	TOTALS	%
FISHERMEN	14	11	6	31	33.7
PETTY TRADERS	22	15	3	40	43.5
OTHER OCCUPATIONS	6	7	8	21	22.8
TOTALS	42	33	17	92	-
%	45.7	35.9	18.4	100	100

LOCAL AUTHORITY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The Local Authority structure follows the pattern established by the former - North-Eastern Stage government. The Mai[16] (Emir) is head; and superintends over all council meetings where the affairs concerning the running of the division are discussed and decisions arrived at. The councillors, three of whom are portfolio holders, have the duty of explaining to their heads of departments

16. MAI is both Bade and Kanuri word for King. In Borno there are Mai Bedde, MOI pikka (Fika) MAI or KULSHI BIU and Shehu (learned) for Borno and Dikwa.

those sections of the decisions which requires their attention. Among the three councillors, is a senior councillor (the Waziri) who deputises for the Mai, in his absence. In addition, there are four non portfolio councillors who attend meetings and cast votes, to receive their periodic sitting allowances.

The two district heads and the two portfolio councillors take instructions from the senior councillor. The Alkali Court also used to be under the direct control of the Mai, and in his absence, the waziri. The courts are now directly - the responsibility of government. The heads of departments having taken their instructions from the councillors, translate them into action. Feedback on decisions comes through the monthly reports of heads of departments and through the district council meeting reports. The district council meeting is superintended over by the district head. The council is made up of district councillors and Lawans (village area heads). The lawans also have their village area councils - where ward heads - Bulamas meet to discuss the affairs of the village area - and take new instructions which the Lawan brought back from the district

council meeting. The Bulamas convey these instructions or decisions to the household heads of their respective wards and the results of their various discussions are brought back to the lawan at the next village meeting and these are further discussed and synthesised into a form, the lawan would take back to the district council. At the district council meetings, reports from Lawans are put together and refined into a form the district head would be able to lay before the Mai and council.

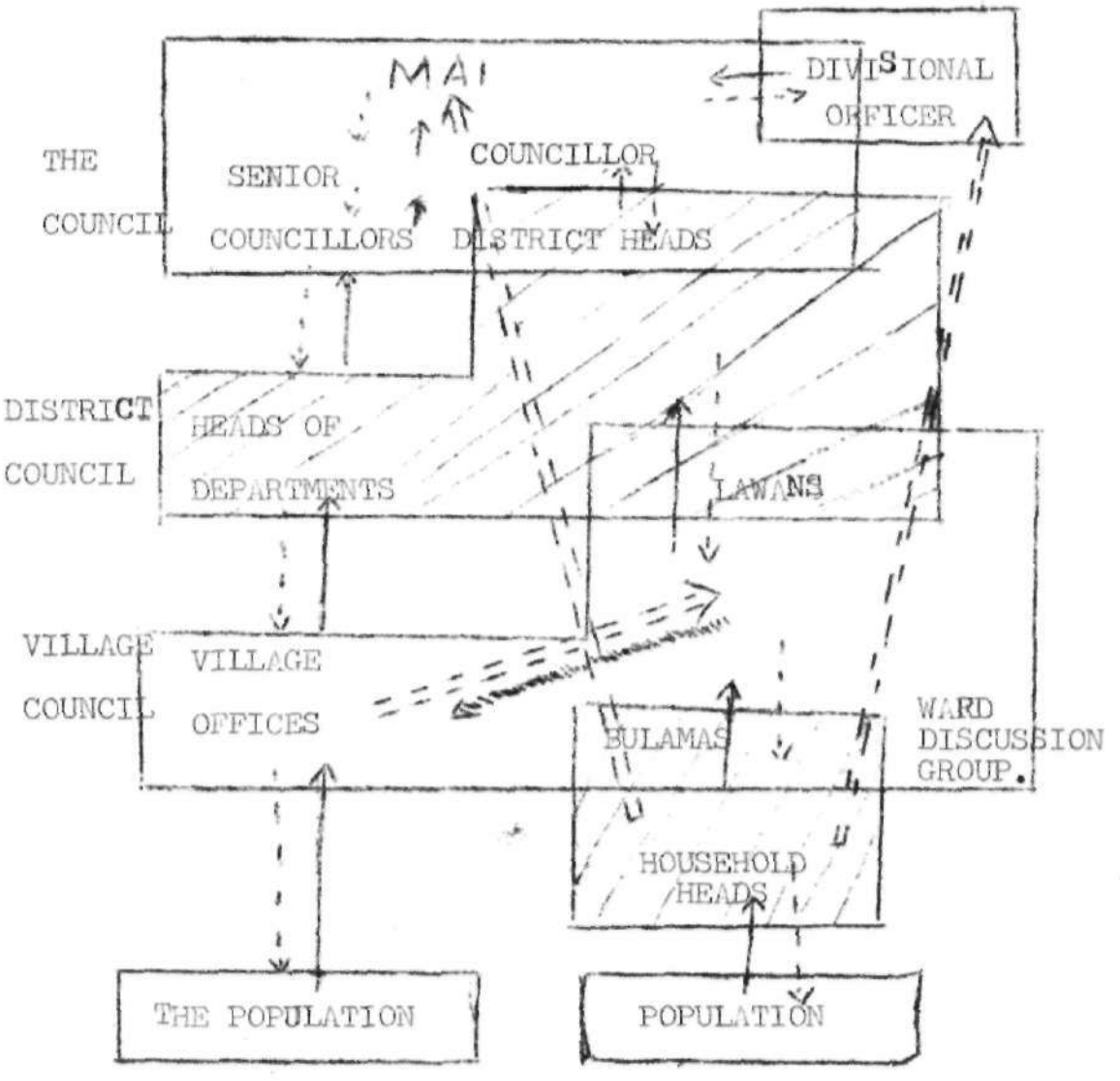
The Mai the senior councillor and the Divisional officer - who is the local government representative discuss the results of the council meetings - the three are always present at council meetings - and formulate the discussions into a form that will be acceptable to the government. The Divisional Officer sends these decisions to the Provincial Adminstration Offices through weekly despatches and by the same route receives government instructions and decision which he reports/submits to the Mai, the senior councillor or the council as he sees expedient. The provincial secretary is directly responsible to the states Commissioner for local government.

The society is stratified on the basis of wealth and status.. All local authority employees are refered to as Maila i.e. of the Mai. Mallams and Imams occupy special positions in the society and the rich and wealthy weld power almost equivalent to that of a lawan. The beggars* (not Almajirai and the disabled) but musicians and their entourage, butchers and lepers are considered to be very low on the social ladder. Inspite of this stratification however, people meet at market places, mosques and play grounds to watch wrestling, sharo, boxing etc on equal basis. In such places - minus the market, only the village head has a special place to sit - all others choose their position according to the time of their arrival to watch the performance.

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*NOTE. That the term begg - in hausa means MAROKI and ALMAJIRI (sing.) or MAROKA and ALMAJIRAI (plural) Maroki is a person who sings praises for the elation of another individuals' ego, in return for a gift in cash or in kind. It includes drummers, singers and blowers - all types of musici . Almajiri is a person whose daily well being depends on a door to door begging - with or without the usual calabash (bowl). He may be a disciple (student) of a Koranic Mallam or a disabled individual the blind, leper and the lame. Of these two groups, the first group (students) merit the name almajirai better than the second who may be termed MABARATA i.e. begg or MASU BARA.

D E C I S I O N S.

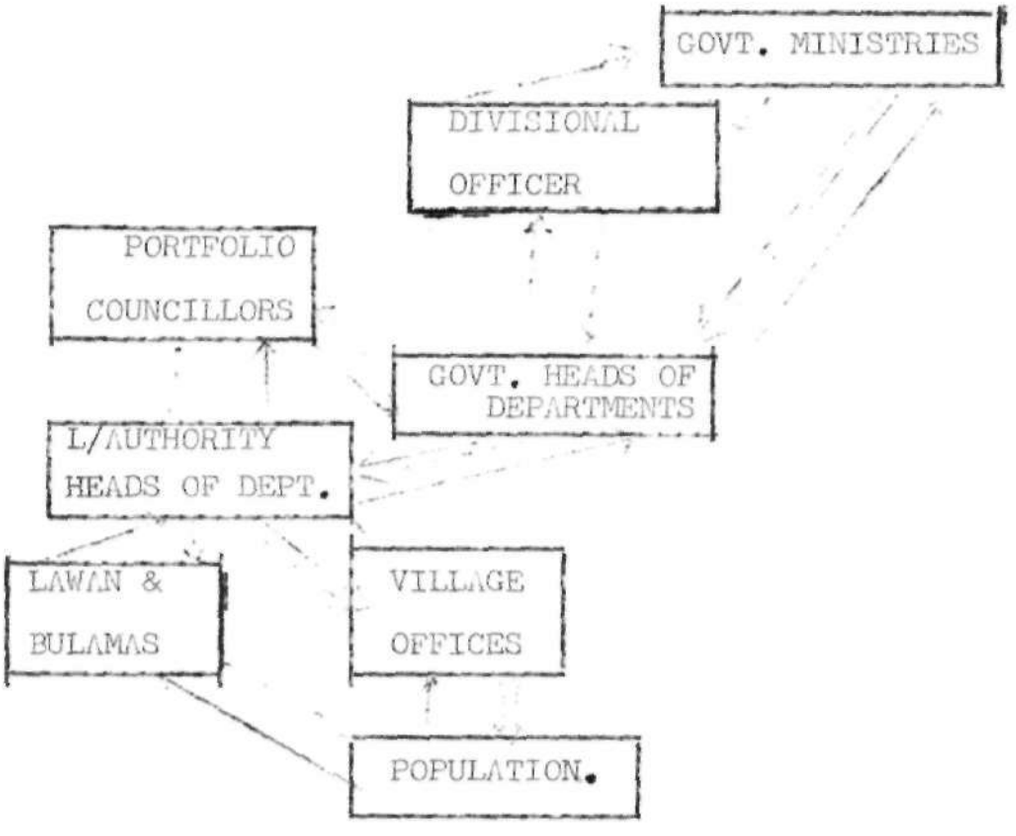


Communication top to bottom & AMONG EQUALS

Communication bottom to top " "

Rare Communication Channels - But Always open - People use these channels only when they have to.

F U N C T I O N S



- - - - - -> INFORMATION AND ENLIGHTENMENT

——— -> INFORMATION AND ACTION

————————> FEED BACK.

CHAPTER III

THE DROUGHT 1970-74

Quotes

I. "The history of mankind is one of continuous development from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. This process is never ending. "Chow Enlai.

II. "Where as each adult non human vertebrate is a self sufficient subsistance unit, a large percenta ge of a human's energy expenditure goes to feeding others, and a large percentage of an individuals consumption tion is of food produced by others; "Lee.

ESSAY: In the previous chapter, I mentioned the camouflage by small animals and migration by the big ones; the shedding of leaves to reduce stomata exposure and the development of scales to hide chlorophyll by plants. These are all strategies which happen normally and are under taken by the organisms in order to escape being made into food and to conserve moisture.

These phenomena are normal every year within the circumscribed area, and when difficulties started became so accentuated that not only these, but even the humans within the enclave had to do something different. In order to appreciate fully the enomity of the suffering, it is necessary to look through the period 1970-74 carefully; always remembering the fauna and vegetational situation discussed in chapter II.

It is necessary to do so because, as W. Allan says, "A drought must be related to the physical, economic and social conditions of the environment at the time of its accurence." ('Church and Dalby 1973:16). Thus against the back-ground described in chapter II the drought came. When it did, and because people were already aware of the nature of the territory in which they live, they had some grains accumilated over the ' 'fat' years. In 1970, the disaster started by an early cessation of rain. In this year, only some of the crops mostly of guinea corn variety failed. Guinea corn in this area is not a major food item millet is the only food grain extensively used all over the division- including the rice growing fadama areas. Rice is used in most houses when there is a special occasion such as

the Sallah or other festival days, marriage and naming ceremonies or when there is a respected visitor in the house. Rice is, also like groundnut and cowpea:- Wake considered to be a money earning crop and the farmers usually sold most of it to be transported to Kano, Jos, Maiduguri, Azare and sometimes to as far away places as Sokoto by means of lorries and the railway. Guinea corn is a food item only when there is no millet or an - occasional change of diet. It is usually fed to domestic animals like horse, donkey poultry, goats, sheep and cattle where there are not too many, on normal occasions.

Because of this, people did not worry about the early cessation of rain, since there was food and there was grass for the livestock. Thier chief worry was water; which was a normal problem year in year out except that in this year they were made to deepen the wells and water holes a little more than usual. The second year, 1971; was worse since the rains started late and stopped early. The grass, some of which did not mature enough to have viable seeds in the previous season before the rains stopped; was less in growth and those that grew were stunted by lack of rain.

Only grasses like the prickly bur, penisetum and comb fringe grew well. The growth of even these, was in patches or stretches and not as profuse as usual. The failure of the guinea corn crop in the previous season had necessitated the use of millet under an abnormal condition. Abnormal because it was rare to feed these domestic animals and birds, which are useful with millet. It was also abnormal because now the people had to use millet instead of guinea corn as an exchange with the fulani hawkers for milk. So that the failure of guinea corn, even though agriculturally and as it concerns food was not significant, created a big constraint in 1971, when it was seen that not only the previous yield was used up but also that the millet reserved over the years had also gone down, Among a people, who, according to my questionnaire are peasant and only 5% have an extra source of income above ₦60.00 per week with up to 55% of them depending on farming and farm produce for their entire well-being, this is a real danger.

Inspite of this rain shortage, diminishing of reserves and the problem of getting raw cash with which to buy necessities however, the suffering could

not have been as great as it had been for places to the south of the lattitude 12.5°N.; were it not for the unexpected arrival of herder migrants from the north. These migrants literally invaded the whole division soon after harvest and became additional human and livestock mouths that have to be fed. Some of these herder migrants are said to have travelled with their families and livestock from Zunguri, Gudumaria, Abaram, Zangari and villages and small towns to the north of these villages of Niger Republic. These migrants popularly known as Alagamba (ALAGAMBA) [17] were not the only invaders of the division during the crisis period even though they constitute the most conspicuous group due to their way of life which resemble that of the nomadic Fulani. Other migrants came from the Nguru development area to the north and Geidam development area to the

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17. Alagamba as an ethnic group were distinct and conspicuous due to their manner of adorning their hair with beads and the males use loin skins even when they wear jumpers or nothing else. They were also distinct because unlike the other ethnic groups, they did not have friends or kins in Bade at the time of their arrival. The Buzu, especially the Mangi, have had reletives living in Bade ever before disaster started.

east and north-east of ~~the~~ Bade, Statistics of migrants showed 40% of total migrants in the questionaire to have come from within Borno Province while only 15% are migrants from Niger Republic.

Other identified migrant ethnic groups include the Buzu, Manga and some Fulani. However these others have been known to frequent the division which is on their path of potash trade. They (the Buzu) carry the potash from the mines of Moori, Yanla, Gurselik, Karagu and others on the Niger - Nigerian border; through Bade division to Potiskum in Fika division, on camels, The Manga group use the same path for the same commodity using donkeys as transport mechanisms instead of camels. Only a few Fulani who own camels without cattle engage in this type of business. The Alaganba group visited Bade last in 1951 when the same type of disaster forced them to spread southwards in order to keep their livestock and families alive. The migration which was a mere trickle in 1971 stepped up early 1972 and continued throughout into 1973. Most of them owned livestock in the form of cattle, sheep and goats; these lived a nomadic way of life like the fulani who had all along

been in the division. There were also those who lost their livestock, these together with the Buzu group settled in the villages and participated as best they could in the normal life of the village - twining ropes, making mats, carrying load for pay, and or in the town as petty traders, watchmen, smiths and labourers. There were still some of them who after a short stay found it necessary to procede with their movements into Damaturu development area, Fika division and Katagum emirate. Some of them, however, who neither continued with their southward movement nor took up a specific trade could, up to September 1975, be found begging for alms in the market, street, human and public places. These additional and unplanned for mouths had to be fed and the persons accommodated[18] So that the little grain which was then available, was shared between families the settled and migrant alike. This sharing, in some cases was free, in other cases, it was an exchange for money and in yet some other cases, it was a loan to be paid in cash or with grain at the time of harvest;

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18. Bade custom & tradition dictates that a stranger in ones house is like one's brother, with whom everything must be shared for the benefit of all. This is so because one is considered to be a stranger within the first seven days of his arrival only. After that he becomes assimilated or coerced into the ways of the village or town.

or grains given in exchange for livestock. The exchange of grain in yet other cases was for household services, or for normal labour service when neither cash nor any of the material forms of payment was to be have.

Because of the people's optimism in their hope for a better next year, and as a result of the increased number that had to depend on the meagre reserved grain, the supply was quickly exhausted to the extent that farmers were hardly able to preserve the next seasons seeds. So that in late June of 1972 when the rains, should have come, but did not; manyfarmers for fear of being forced to consume their seed grains before the coming of the rains, decided to dry sow the seeds. After dry sowing, the wind blew sand over some, insects and birds removed much. Other grain eating organisms made their 'small harvest' in "time of scarcity; so that by the middle of July 1972 when the rains came, germination was not good at all; in some cases there was not even any germination. This loss of seeds and the lateness of the rain caused panic to grip the whole society. This panic was evidenced by the revival of long discarded superstitions and rituals in hiding at first and later in the open.

Religion of all types saw a boost and became the much talked about "opium of the people", which gives the people the courage to even talk! This period saw an unprecidented slaughter and killing of sheep, goats and poulty as alms offerings for appeasement of gods and ancesters and for food. Amulets and other charms were produced, bought and sold; to be brandished in certain places infront of certain people and to be buried in the farms usually in the centre; and to be buried or hung in the house. People were called witches and wizards: they were mercilessly beaten and in some cases even driven out of the villages. Collapsed, long forgotten ancesters' graves were revisited, remade and graves of unknown persons also buried. Charity, the fear of God and gods, the fear of spirits both evil and good were rampant..

A SOCIETY IN PANIC

People saw ghosts of their long dead ancesters in their sleep as dreams, and in broad day light due to halucination, exhaustion and fatigue and in some cases stark hunger. Daily, the village gathered outside the villages - mostly on the eastern and southern edges of the village to read from the holy books in supplication

to God for rain. Those that believe in gods also did the same in their own way. Women wore men's clothes and pretended to carry on with the husbands normal business - going through a lot of movements and miming - all along singing in a loud chorus. They did this in the morning, afternoon and evening for days! before the rain finally came on 21st July, 1972. The local authority then came quickly to the rescue - because it was an open secret that farmers at that time had no more grains to sow. The local authority distributed seeds at subsidised rate and even this, had to be an loan for payment in cash at harvest time; so that the local authority may utilise the money to buy new grains for storage against another lean period.

This second sowing also did not show a good germination. Many theories were profounded as to the reason for the poor germination. The agricultural department of the local authority - when contacted - suggested that the poor germination could have been either as a result of long storage of seed grains during which its viability diminished or that because the farmers needed the grains for food, they put only a few seeds in the holes and burried pressing the earth back hard; or a combination of the two factors. It was reported

that although the germination was generally poor it was relatively fair in village areas of Jakusko. Lafiya loi loi, Gidgid, Muguran and Chirawa and that it was very poor or none at all in northern village areas like Bizi, Anshi, Dawayo, Dagona, Dachiya, Usur and Gashu'a itself. The rain also in addition to being irregular stopped early, so that the harvest - particularly in the northern section of the division was mainly of stalks; since the rain did not last long enough for the crops to nature. The few that matured were removed from the field ever before harvest time. The southern section of the division in comparison to the north made a modest harvest. In the year 1971 i.e. 1971/72 - planting season the total harvest for millet in the whole, was 6555.60 tons for the whole division at the rate of 20 sacks each weighing approximately 112Ibs per ton. The harvest for Guinea corn for the same period was 851.40 tons, Groundnut - 1160.10 tons, Rice - 3274.05 tons and cow pen 193.80 tons. The harvest for 1972 i.e. the 1972/73 planting season, can best be seen as a comparison against the 1971 harvest in a table form as shown below.

Table 4 : III

CROP	YEAR IN TONS		
	1971	1972	LOSS
Millet	6555.60	1112.85	64442.75
Guinea Corn	851.40	105.70	745 .70
Ground nut	1160.10	106.55	1053.55
Rice	3274.05	501.85	2772.20
Cow Pea	193.80	25.70	168.10

Table produced from figures per village area compiled as a survey by Bade Local Authority Agricultural department.

The situation in 1972 in Bade division was as bad if not worse than it was in the whole of Northern Savannah Zone of Nigeria which received so much attention to the extent of meriting a comment like the one reproduced below in a London conference on the drought: (Dalby; 1973; p. 96).

"It would be fair to say that the severity of the drought was such that even 'drought resistent crops' would not have produced any yield in the drought affected areas. This was because 3 - 4 weeks of drought occurred at the time when the crops were forming their yields. "(Dalby and Harrison Church; 1973 : 96).

Against this picture of poor harvest, came the harsh dry season exhibiting even more severity than was earlier described. People were poor, hungry and tired but for love of life they had to keep up courage, for love of the loved ones, they had to maintain a balance, search for food and pretend happiness which they did not feel. In the midst of this chaos, came the tax man requesting for an immediate payment of the annual head tax.

THE TAX MUST BE PAID

The people were threatened with imprisonment in lieu of payment. For fear of shame and the suffering of the loved ones, the house-hold heads, had to cough out the money. The severity of the dry season was so intence that ponds, lakes andstreams quickly dried up; the grass which was in any case not laxnriant in growth

withered and perished, water table in rivers and wells receded far below the normal level and the number of migrants increased. By 1973 people and livestock were at starvation point. Because the harvest was poor, the local authority did not get her money back and thus did not buy any more grains for reservation and the existing reserve had long been exhausted. Inspite of the threat, tax collection which together with cattle tax (Jangali) formed the main source of revenue, was not a success. At the beginning, thinking that the people were deliverately refusing to pay, the local authority agents started implementing the threats they had issued earlier of 'pay or prison'. Many were thrown into jail and very soon the jail house was full of sad/happy tax prisoners. They were sad because they were not sure how their relations outside were faring and were happy because even though in custody, they were now able to feed on three square meals aday. There was weeping and wailing in the jail house day and night from those anticipating the death, for starration, of kins.

The prison became almost like a mad house. After sometime however, the local authority realised that

she was wasting a lot of funds and doing a lot of injustice, in the process, to other family members whose heads had been imprisoned. Such family heads were released along with others whose relatives had been able to secure the money and those whose promise to pay when they were in position to do so, were accepted, thereby reducing prison maintainance costs and congestion, *noise, filth and human indignity.

IN THE GRIP OF DROUGHT

*In villages and hamlets, the little grain obtained through the harvest of the wild growing hungry rice, - bull rush and fruits had already been exhausted. Very soon the result of the learning internalised during the tax imprinsonment, started to yield fruits - for people threw all care to the winds and took to stealing

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*Note - The above facts were obtained from a reformed criminal living in Jaba but interviewed in Ngeljabe on Monday - 22nd day of September 1975. He claims to have been serving the last months of his three year sentence in 1973 for a reason he refused to disclose - but continued to insist on the genuineness of his reformation. He seemed to be well known by everybody who is somebody in Ngeljabe. This story is also corraborated by another respondent in Jakusko on thursday 25th Sept. 1975

food commodities - by forming elaborate plans as if they were stealing some thing other than food. The custom of removing bran from grains to sell to the nomads in exchange for cash, milk or butter was completely stopped, since, this bran also became a food item which not all families could boast of possessing. . The herders who used to give it to the livestock started to use bran for themselves, later they could not even see it to buy.

Water became an expensive commodity; selling at 10 - 30 kobo for two kerosine tins in both towns and villages, especially in the villages and hamlets where humans and livestock competed unfavourably at the rapidly dwindling ponds and receding wells. The scarcity of water created a condition whereby the cows could not eat well and thus could not produce the necessary milk needed by the herders for food and cash and the non herders for food. The livestock and their owners shrivelled and became lethagic. They could not get water to help whet their apetite and even when they had the apetite the grass was not there. Cattle started to eat roots of grasses and small shrubs whose leaves had long been eaten or broken underfoot. This necessarily forced the cattle to take in the roots along with some undigestible earth and stones;

and which - accumulate in the gizzard, the omasun and the abomasun of the cow to cause death. Many cows and other livestock died this way, and the deaths as a result of this and other causes were so rampant that when the reports reached Maiduguri, a decision to take the census of livestock drought deaths was reached and the letter/ circular below was sent out to all provincial, Divisional and Touring area Veterinary Officers. The letter which was written on 16th June, 1973 under the reference No. VSD/ANI/102/1 runs, inter alia:

"DROUGHT"

"I am directed to inform you that the present drought has affected livestock in all the provinces of the state in one way or the other and as a result, some livestock died and other have to be slaughtered. We want to have as clear a picture as is possible of our losses".

2. " I enclose with this letter, a proforma which should be stencilled and sent to all towns, villages, and hamlets in your province. For this exercise all livestock workers both local authority

and government should participate. Workers in slaughter slabs, slaughter houses and abattoirs should give comparative figures from October to December 1972 and January to June 1973".

3. "Forced slaughter, and death from starvation in villages and hamlets that have no slaughter slabs should be reported beneath or behind the form of the nearest reporting slaughter slab. Please note that only figures of animals that die as a result of the drought are required in this case. And not animal slaughtered for ceremonial purpose or disease".

4. "The data collected should please be compiled and sent to us division by division. The proforma should not be rigid and can be altered where and when required. The exercise should please continue until conditions return to normal".

Sgd. - Alhaji Yakubu Gana
for: Perm. Sec.

THE HUMAN FACTOR

The situation as regards humans was no better during the same period - 1973. In this period only the most wealthy families were in position to give their members - in the villages - a meal of cassava or sweet potato twice a day. In some families only the children were given meals once everyday, the adults had to go a whole day or even two days without any meal except water; because there was nothing to eat in the house and there was no money to buy from the market. In a few cases people had the money but could not get anything to buy. The situation was so bad that even the dispensaries (there are five in the division), which prior to then few people bothered to attend, started to experience greater attendance and the complaints were mainly hunger type or sickness which - nutritional deficiency had agravated. The dispensers in these dispensaries helped as best they could in most cases prescribing and issuing vitamin tablets which soon became scarce all over the whole division and the local authority had no money to buy more. In the year 1972 January to December the five dispensaries together handled

a total of 32,646 cases, in 1973 it rose to 38,355 and fell down in 1974 to 34,480 cases. From the monthly returns of the five dispensaries for the three years shown above the following table was prepared in percentages.

BADERI DISPENSARY ATTENDANCE

1972 - 74

Table 5 : III

	FIGURES GIVEN AS % OF TOTALS			
	TOTAL CASES RECORDED	STOMACH ACHE	IDENTIFIED ANAEMIA CASES	OTHERS
1972	32646	22.53	27.43	50.04
1973	38355	41.00	32.80	26.20
1974	34480	32.26	29.98	37.76

Most of the stomach ache and anaemia cases were refered to the General Hospital in Nguru where an official said that, the hospital staff had sometimes to take a bedford lorry in returning the refered cases back to Gashu'a due to lack of space in the hospital

It was a difficult and terrifying situation which reached the Zenith of human endurance. And like the American drought of 1900 - 1901, "the Government appears to have been taken by surprise and the severity of the calamity was not recognised until it was too late," (Tannehill: 1947 : 18). In Baderi belatedly the government through the local authority started enquiries in June 1973 to ASCERTAIN THE SEVERITY of the crises. These enquiries did not yield any dividend for the people until September, 1973 - even though the Federal Government had been said to have voted the sum of ten million naira for relief services to the whole of the disaster area, as early as January 1973, ('Church & Dalby 1973 : 94). The assistance (millet and guinea corn), when it came, it was grossly inadequate because it was anforced that every house hold head was to buy not more than three mudus, approximately (15 lbs) at a time. One can imagine how far three mudus of millet or guinea corn would last in a hunger ravished house hold of five members only. There were houses containing eight to ten souls. To compound it, even these three mudus were supposed to last one week before one can buy some more.

This agravated the situation which calminated into an exodus of both nomadic and settled people. The rains in 1973 were poor as in 1972 and because there was a carry over of the problems of water and grasses, migrations could not have been avoided. These that remained behind lived in desolate villages abandoned by the inhabitants who were away in search of food. Up to the time of conducting this research interview - September 1975 not all the inhabitants of the deserted villages returned. How did the people survive the crises? How were they able to maintain a modicum of trade.- buy and sell? How was the vegetation and fauna partially rejuvenated? We shall attempt to answer some of these questions in chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV. THE STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL

QUOTES: I, "---- all men, in varrying degrees, are responsive to changes in the world about them. As they strive to catch up with this changing world, they find themselves with ease, or with difficulty, with ready acceptance or with extreme reluctance changing their attitudes. This is the individual and psychological accompaniment of social change, social upheaval, and the rise and fall of societies and cultures." -(Kretch, et al; 1962 : 215).

II, "---- populations are generally sparce, mobile and poor - and achieve security by investing in social relations rather than in capital goods, equipment or land; says Nicholas David (Dalby and Harrisonchurch, 1973 : 85)

III, Fosbroke quotes Nyerere -- "My own experience suggests that our people in the rural areas are prepared to work together for their common

good --- the problem is not the principle: the problem is that of getting people to adopt practices which retain the central ideas(of mutual self help) at the same time as they allow for development and growth. "(Dalby and Harrison Church, 1973 : 101-2).

MIGRATIONS.

From early 1973, finding that pasture was becoming less and less available, grains for human consumption hard to secure, and their hosts becoming more and more poor, the migrants particularly - the Alagamba from Niger Republic, moved south-eastwards out of Baderi into Damaturu development area and to the south, into Fika division. At about this time also, other people non - in - migrants* to Baderi - like the Abore, Bokoloji and the Udabe - whose livestock provided the bulk of Baderi Jangali (cattle tax): joined the multitude fleeing south to escape the cruel grip of hunger for themselves and certain death for their livestock. It is

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* (Non-in-migrants) becquse even at normal times these go on annual migrations - but not so early as at this period.

worth nothing that, the - arrival of the migrants into Baderi in 1972 had swelled up the population of both the people and their livestock and this had necessarily meant an increase in revenue to the local authority; so that, this-out-migration of the people along with their livestock should be seen as a reduction in the annual and weekly income [19] of the local authority. This was not all, but other people also who were non nomads and who were finding it hard to provide the daily needs - for the sustainance of their families and themselves, but who considered it shameful to declare their problems as the others did, found refuge in religion. They decided to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. At this time 1973, according to an informant,[20] there was much talk that it was more profitable to walk to Mecca than to travel there on horseback or by lorry. Many people believedthis,

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19. The annual Jangali (cattle tax) is subvented by a weekly ly collection from the sales of livestock in markets. For every goat 3 Kobo is paid to the L.A; sheep fetches 5 Kobo and a cow 20 Kobo - in every village market in Baderi - before Jangali was cancelled.

20. The informant, Adamu Kabalju - went to as far as Ndjemina before returning home without success in 1974.

and started the journey - some as a camouflage for their difficulties and others in genuine belief. They soon discovered that the journey to Mecca on foot was much easier said than done - for many of them were not able to go even beyond Ndjemena (Fort Lamy). The condition in Ndjemina was so severe that those who were able, quickly found their way back home - so that by September 1975 quite a number of them had returned without achieving the objective of their leaving home.

But inspite of their return, damage had already been done i.e. the accentuation of loss of revenue by the local authority in 1973 and 1974 as a result of their abortive migration had already occurred. However, because of the difficulty of having to journey through unknown territory, these people in most cases did not go with their wives and children. The inmigrants of 1973/74 from Nguru and Gaidam development areas as well as from Hadejia emirate had a greater population of women and children. This may be attributed to the good fishing available then, at lake chad; since, Hadejia people were noted fishermen as some of the people in Baderi were, as well as the factors mentioned earlier on. So that by September 1975 the situation as recorded is

shown by the table below:

Table 6 : IV

	YEAR	POPULATION	TAX PAYERS
Table compated	1970/71	80435	10047
From Local	1971/72	88837	21768
Authority Tax	1972/73	105056	27923
list 1970 - 74 *	1973/74	111632	19585
	1974/75	99666	17540

From the above table, it can be seen that although there was an increase in population of 6576* persons or 6.50%; the decrease in the number of tax payers was 8338 or 31% in 1973; and this went down again in 1974 as a result of the difficulties encountered in the previous year. As a result of this shortage in head and cattle tax, the local authority, like the population it controlled, started using its savings to meet its recurrent expenses. The savings was not much to begin with, and so very soon it dwindled to zero; so that the local authority found it very difficult to meet even the recurrent expenditure from its own resources. In order to maintain its essen-

tial services, many daily rated staff had to lose their jobs; as far example; at the beginning of 1973, the 15 persons whose duty it was to see to the cleanliness of the town's (Gashu'a) main market were reduced to 8 by August 1974. The six labourers cleaning the motor park were halved and the 25 street cleaners had 13 of their number laid off - while the 22 road works labourers were reduced to 9.

The permanent staff did not fare any better although none was displaced, their pay was not as regular as it used to be. The normal date for salary payments was the 25th day of every month; the crises changed this to any date that the local authority could raise some funds. This, sometimes extended up to the 10th - 15th day of the next month.

As a result of this - realisation of the people's suffering the local authority relaased the ban on cutting wood from one of the local authority forest and game reserves. This reserve is situated around Lafiya loi - loi about 70 km. to the south of Gashu'a the divisional head-quarters. This was an opportune gesture both from the view point of the people and that of the local authority itself. For, with this relaxation people found a new

hope and energetically embarked on the felling of trees of palmyra and doum palm, which were then split into beams to make building poles (Azara). Each beam sold at 40K. Other trees within the reserve that could not be made into poles were cut into posts (gofa) and fire wood which became a lucrative occupation. Very soon this thickly wooded reserve became a wide open space (up to the end of ones vision); which left the nests, the river course and the underbrush exposed to the merciless heat and strong dry winds. These soon dried up and the small and large animals that were taking refuge in the forest, graced the pots and finally the stomachs of the people. Ostrich and ostrich eggs which were hither to protected, became an ordinary diet in many homes. People, having obtained money from the sale of their poles posts and fire wood, Ostrich and other animals - all of which were previously protected by the local authority forest reserve edict of 1964; were now able to afford better meals of grains and were able to buy better clothes and other necessities. Since these trees were protected, it became necessary to charge a small fee of ₦3.50 per month - for every individual who wanted to fell down trees - be it for sale or for his own house construction. Through this fee paying - the local authority was able to realise a revenue of ₦4,000.00 in 1973 and

~~₦2,500.00~~
~~₦250.00~~ in 1974.

A POPULATION IN SEARCH OF FOOD

In other parts of the division however, the story was different; because those other parts did not have doum and palmyra palm trees and the few chew stick trees, desert date and jujube trees - were, inspite of their being inadequate and unprotected, quickly exhausted. They soon became fire wood and house construction poles. This meant that the revenue the people obtained from the sales of these tree - products was very small and soon used up and there was no grain. Thus the people had to revert to the old methods of survival through the eating of leaves from cordia, leptodenia, gynandropsis, cassia tora, capparis, stylochiton, baobab, edible stemmed vine to negro coffee as food. These were either cooked - as they were - and eaten or combined with a little amount of grain or grain flour - if available - or their leaves may be dried and pounded so that the flour is made into a watery (Gwate) paste. Fruit from

desert date, spina christi, baobab, custard apple, sand peper tree, gardenia, cordia, deterium, plum tree, terminal:, black and african plum trees and capparis saved many lives. These fruits, like the leaves were either consumed in their ripe form or dried. In a few cases, fruits such as the desert date, spina christi, baobab, jujube and doum palm which in addition to the edible pericarp and the mesocarp; have a stone in the centre which when broken exposes the soft edible seed.- were highly treasured, so that their consumption took place where every stone could be accounted for. Such fruits when obtained were either eaten, sucked - as one sucks pepper mints or the sugery useful part is made to dissolve in water which is then drunk. The seeds when obtained, could be eaten raw or roasted like groundnut, or cooked. They could also be pounded into flour for making gruel, and other local dishes. The barks and roots of the trees listed were also food, except the barks and leaves of doum palm which are too coarse and tough.

THE ECONOMIC FACTOR

As an alternative to the felling of trees for poles, posts and firewood, others, especially the Bade group

and some Fulani joined the Buzu and Manga ethnic groups to make the potash trade more competitive. Potash and salt (Mongul) were transported from the Niger border by camels, donkeys and oxen - to Gashu'a and further south to Potiskum. But as the trade developed and its lucrative nature was recognised, lorries replaced the beasts of burden which in any case were slow and ineffective and were (except the donkeys) good source of meat. Thus the potash trade transformed from a simple occupation which needed only animals as carriers and ₦2 - 3.00 as capital, to a booming trade which demanded hundreds of naira as capital and a capacity to calculate costs and gains in order to out do the other competitors. During this period also dry meat (Banda) making saw a boost just as it was in America that "the lack of pasturage in the south-west led to a record breaking shipment of cattle and hogs to market at Kansas City. Here, the receipts for July 1901 exceeded those of July 1900 by 263,000 head. The animals were shipped not because the market wanted them, nor because they were in the best condition, but simply because of their owner's inability to feed them." (Tannehill; 1947 : 19). - So was it

here in Baderi. Many of the cattle were railed south - their last destination, number - and the revenue they fetched - can conveniently be another topic for research. However, those which were not railed, transported by lorry or driven alive, were slaughtered to make banda. At this period, 1972 - 1973 - 4 some of the cattle owners lost all their herd (s). Four of my respondents testified that before the drought, they owned 150,248,79 and 307 heads of cattle respectively. The ones with 79 and 150 heads - claimed to have lost all their cattle, while the remaining two - 248 and 307 said, they had only 52 and 100 heads of cattle left in September, 1975. All four claimed to have sold not more than half of their losses. The rest were said to have either died or been lost in the wilderness.

The following table compiled from figures of emergency slaughter - collected by the Bedde Veterinary dept. in response to a circular from Maiduguri (reproduced in chapter III) shows a clearer picture of livestock loss. The record covers slaughters from 1st October 1973 to 30th June 1974 - only. It does not include normal slaughter for consumption or for ceremonial purposes.

Table 7 : IV

YEAR	NO. CATTLE	NO. SHEEP	NO. GOATS
1972/73	38,132	8,628	33,777
1973/74	13,421	-	-
1972 - 74	51,553	8,628	33,777

As per Bedde Vet. Dept. file No. VBE/DRO/35/1/4.

By reason of the data collected, I have the inclination to believe that an almost equivalent number of livestock had died or been slaughtered unrecorded by the local authority officials. To a question I put to the veterinary supervisor, he replied that, "my boys in the villages had instructions to record only those animals they themselves saw slaughtered, they were not to record on the basis of information." So that in view of this table and in view of the statement made by Tannehill and which I adopted, the rise in the number of Banda licence holders, should be an anticipated occurrence - as shown below:

Table 8 : IV

	YEAR	OLD	NEW	TOTAL
As per Bedde Local	1972	15	32	47
Authority Health	1973	47	15	62
Dept. File No :	1974	27	-	27
HB/DM/12/4.	1975	11	-	11

By 1974, the number of emergency slaughter and death had greatly reduced due to the fact that sheep and goats were nowhere to be found - while the cattle population had become greatly depleted due to death and migrations. In addition, in the period 1973/74, there came into being a substitute source of meat - for which the people did not need to register or take any (permit) licence from the local authority. These were donkeys, horses and dogs. - Donkey and horse eating is a social and religious taboo, while the eating of dogs is a prohibited act. This made the killing of these animals to be done in secret - at night in the bush. The meat was transported to where it would be dried or smoked into Banda at night; so that by morning, the usual first

boiling should have taken place and no one can recognize the differende between taboo and non taboo meat; i.e. between donkey or horse and cow or sheep meat, However, towards the end of 1973, this got to the ears of the local authority and an edict was passed which discouraged the killing of donkeys and horses within Baderi territory and which necessitated the burying of all such animals when they meet their natural death.

Thus the killing having been discouraged, the people took to transporting these animals (donkeys and horses) 'live' out of Baderi. One informant asserts that these animals were sent to the eastern state of southern Nigeria, where they sold highly.

MAN MUST EAT. AS MAN MUST LIVE.

As the hardship continued, the people - in order to live, started eating such animals designated KARAHIYA (prohibited) - as hyenas, foxes, cats, and dogs because the edict did not affect these animals snakes, monitor lizards, squirels, hares and other small animals were hunted day and night - and children were made to dig mud water beds for entrapped hibernating mud fish, earth

worm, and other moisture loving organisms - including snails and frogs. Even some adults participated in this mud raking and collected encrusted water lily seeds (fruits) and roots (rhisomes) stems and leaves having withered to nothing. Dried water lettuce did not escape the attention of these mud diggers - who found, like in the case of water lily, that the seeds and roots - (rhisomes) could be ground into flour and eaten or sold for money. Neither did insect holes and hills which were destroyed because of their grain content - escape.

Plants like horse raddish tree and leptodenia - which were neglected before - due to their abundance in almost every home, becomes scarce and coveted commodities - since - they were not only hunger killing but also money fetching. No part of horse raddish, leptodenia hibicus, sorrial, cassia tora and gynandropsis was thrown away as useless. They formed good diet and economic resource.

VALUE VERSUS LIFE

It was reported that, at this time - 1973 - to own a canava or sweet potato farm was like owning the whole world - since one would regularly be receiving visits

from those considered to be the society elite at night and by day, from almost every body. To refuse to give would be going against a cultural life time of socialization - and to continue to give would be to invite disaster for one self and family. To compromise the dilemma, the people borrowed the KURFI[22] method from the mat makers - so that - the household head with these commodities could comfortably hide in his kurfi and members of his house hold would declare him absent within his own hearing, thus, very easily getting rid of unwelcome visitors without loss of face or violation of a tradition. His commodity also escapes going into unplanned for stomachs. Because of his powerful position of owning everything in his household, including the 'people', the household heads' word is law which every one in the house has to obey - and because of this, no one would dare disclose anything the head wants hidden. So that while in hiding, the individual was free to pursue his own trade, unmolested and unnotised by inquisitive

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22. Kurfi is a hole dog - about 2 metres deep and another 2 metres diametre. The top is covered with Zana mat leaving 3 small square or round opening of about 30 sq. cm. - on three sides and about 60 sq. cm. on the fourth side - which forms the entrance. The Zana mat itself is first covered with husks of millet, rice or groundnut and on to this earth is spread. Rain does not pehetrate this cover, and the kurfi construction on an elevated ground prevents flooding. The kurfi is usually dry and cool.

eyes. Because 'he was not in town' (according to members of his house hold), he would not attend the village market where he would be seen by others from outside the house thereby making his own people to appear liers, If he had any commodity for sale, he took such commodities to the markets of the neighbouring villages where it would be safe for him to be seen. The journey to these markets and back was necessarily undertaken at night to avoid meeting some village friends - for in the villages, everyone is a friend or the friend of a friend. Madu the Cobler (shoe maker); Hassan, the mat and rope maker; Bukar, the local 'loom' weaver and Saleh a calabash curver, insisted that this was the practice they employed to maintain food for their families until the cassava and potato they had, was finished; and by then millet was ripe and they had money from their various occupations which received much of their attention while in hiding.

But for the people without these commodities, cassava and potato, it was not so easy going since extreme hunger had prevented concentration on the usual occupation which demands physical strength and at times mental concentration. The hardship increased to the extent that

people with low resistance had to indulge in crimes in order to exist. As already discussed in chapter III these crimes started with the stealing of cooked food, than grain and gradually built itself into real thievery of house hold property, clothes and even livestock.23 This increase in the number of crimes necessarily increased the work of court officials who witnessed (according to them) an unprecendented number of cases since the last ten years. The cases were not only criminal but include some civil cases too.

THE POPULATION AND GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

When all hope was about to be lost, there came an assistance a kind of 'MANNA' for surely the government did not decide to construct a road and barracks as a result of her sympathy for the peoples' suffering. But these pieces of work could not have come at a better time. These constructions, the road which now links Damaturu with Gashu'a was started early 1973. Men rushed to the construction site and registered as labourers,

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23. Discussions with some court officials in Gashu'a and with a known criminal in Ngeljabe (already sited).

messengers and other manual non skilled workers. This for some time provided income to the people living mainly on the eastern and southeastern parts of Baderi. Soon people began to have money and food grains - enough to send surplus back to those left behind at home.

Later, still in 1973, construction work on police barracks in Gashu'a started and this also helped people greatly - inspite of the fact that the work was difficult and the pay low. Due to the large number of people turning up to register for the work, many were sent off particularly those that looked too frail to provide any useful service, until the police and army barracks construction started in Nguru; which made labourers to be scarce. There was an acute competition, between the eleven contractors, to secure as many labourers as possible - because all were desperately in haste to complete their contracts before the others.

Labourers converged on Nguru from Hadejia, Baderi and even Katagum and Yusufari but they could not satisfy the contractors needs. Also in the most part, labourers were after better pay. Both contractors and labourers were also aware of the Hospital construction work and a dam construction both in Hadejia. In both Nguru and Gashu'a, potash loading needed labourers and the road

construction was by then a mere 56 km. from Gashu'a. Thus labourers started to dictate their pay and bargain with the contractors until they could find one that can meet their compromise. They obtained the money, bought food - gari, locust bean flour, semovita, semolina, bread, fan cakes etc consumed some and despatched some home for those who remained behind. Up to this period late 1973 very few people were able to get grains (millet) for which the Federal Government had released ₦10,000,000. (see chapter III).

The presence of soldiers in large numbers and great concentration of labour most of whom male without families provided a competitive market for the unattached women in both Gashu'a and Nguru. A respondent (Jambo Mada) claimed that many housewives at that time decided they had - had enough of marriage life and went to the courts for its dissolution or eloped with one of the labourers or soldiers who had money. Very soon at these construction sites drought and scarcity became a thing of the past and men worked by day and enjoyed themselves in various ways including gambling by night. It cannot be said for certain whether or not anybody had permanently settled at these construction sites, since this

factor has not been investigated.

From then to September 1975 construction works continued to replace one another; for, as soon as the road and barracks were completed, there were government, corporation and local authority staff houses, offices, schools and other works to be have in both Gashu'a and Nguru. So that for most parts of Baderi from late 1973 to late 1974, the problem as it concerns money ceased to exist. The problem became one of where to get the grains to buy; for people were then tired of eating leaves not to mention barks and roots, and gari was not coming in good quantity. Neither were semovita, semolina and locust bean flour coming fast enough and in large quantitities. Every one of the respondents, including the district heads, the lawans and some Balamas, said relief was not adequate. So that from the dilemma of having no money and no grain, people then had money but no grain.

Inspite of this hardship, people are said to have stayed together. There was not recorded in any of the responses, any incidence of total desertion of the family by its members; those who did not go to the shores of Lake Chad, found work in large towns like Maiduguri,

Gombe, Potiskum, and as far away as Yola. These sent in money regularly as did those that took up work at the construction sites. Some times these emergency migrants even paid brief visits to the home, to see the loved ones that were still there. Such visits usually provided them with an opportunity to display their worldliness to their village friends who did not go out as a result of instructions from elders or their own decision to look after the house. In some cases it was poverty which prevented movement. It was reported that even the women that absconded from their husbands or eloped, were known to have sent money back to the husbands or to their parents regularly. Most of these women (according to Jambo Mada) returned to their husbands or parents in the rainy season of 1974.

THE INFIRM AND THE DISABLED

Throughout this period of crisis, the old people who had no one to look after them; were taken up by their friends and neighbours and treated as members of the house hold. Those among them who had children elsewhere, were either sent some money and food or were taken away by the children to where they were living.

Culture and tradition, even though submerged for a time, were not completely thrown over board, so that towards the end of the crisis when the labourers were sending in money and food as regularly as they were able to have them, the food and money coming to a household were shared among friends and neighbours as if it were communally worked for. By August 1974, the period of crisis could be said to have been over, for that was the time relief grains became more abundant as a result of the appearance of other food items like yams, potato; etc in other parts of the state. Gari quantity as well as cassava, locust bean flour, semovita, bread and other food commodities flooded the markets albeit at high prices. But at this time, prices were no barrier since the money to buy was available.

The migrant disabled (according to Dala Mute) begged and were given alms without ill feeling, whenever there was anything to give. The local disabled were retained by their relatives and were not allowed to beg since to do so, was to bring disgrace to the whole family. The blind twined ropes using doum palm leaves, made mats, wove baskets and these were sold for them by members of

their house hold. The leper was classified: those with raw wounds were made to stay away from people inside their homes, while those whose wounds were healed engaged in trade like any healthy person. The cripple participated actively in all business that could be transacted while seated. Those among the disabled that could not do anything were retained in their homes by their relatives.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The interaction between the people and environment as illustrated in chapters II and III of this essay constitutes a stuggle by the people for survival through a situation not entirely of their own making. It was thrust upon them (the people) and all they could do was to adapt themselves to the prevailing condition inspite of the adversity.

CULTURE AND ENVIRONMENT

In chapter II the environment has been shown to contain meagre vegetation and is dry for most part of the year, a condition which necessitated various adptations by the plants in an effort to reach underg ground water and to reduce transpiration. Adaptation by the faunain their effort to get food and drinking water as well as to escape both animal and human hunters have also been illustrated in chapter II. As the situation was allencompassing to all organisms, human beings also had to develop their own strategies which in time became their 'way of life' by which I mean, a system of behaviour pattern that a society evolves and practices over time in relation to the climate and weather condition

of its environment, so that life may be tolerable fro for its members. This behaviour pattern I call CULTURE which Murdock defines as, "the differences observable among behaviour habit (which) are the cumulative products of mass learning under diversegeographic and social conditions"(Hollander and Hunt;1972:92). It should be noted that the social conditions refered to are an expression of the 'geographic effects on the environment and the people in it. Thus in Baderi the combination of weather and climate acting on the environment forced the people to evolve a way of life which I call their 'social culture' and which was entirely dependent on the environmental conditions.

This conclusion is reached because, of the two hundred respondents on whom questionares were administered 92 indicated their partial independence from the land having other occupations beside farming and herding which took up 54% of the respondents (see table 3:II). As it is known the success of agriculture and herding entirely depends on the continued generation of good weather. The people have become so tied to the environmental weather condition that any innovation which deviates from normal is viewed with suspision and is usually rejected. Thus the efforts of both the local authority and government extension workers was heeded

by only a few; the majority continued to use the old hoe which cannot be expected to till the land adequately. So that the surplus if any, of food and money within the society was too small to sustain a prolonged crisis like the 1970-74 one.

THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE DROUGHT

The economic activities of the people were interrupted by the environmental dessication illustrated in chapter II; and the suffering of the people in search of food is shown in chapters III and IV. The fishermen were no longer able to get adequate fish for even their pots as a result of the receding of the rivers and the drying up of ponds bunds and temporary lakes where fish used to be abundant; and the fishermen had to migrate as shown in chapter IV to BAGA and MALAM FATORI at the shores of lake chad. The weavers of mats, hats, and baskets became only partially engaged because the doum and palmyra palm leaves they used in their work was no longer easily availabe since the roots of these young trees had became very good food. The pottery makers and house builders were temporarily to abandon their trade for lack of water with which to moisten the clay to pliability.

Petty trading as mentioned in chapter IV, became almost impossible to even those with a fairly reasonable capital because most of it went to the purchase of food.

The deaths and slaughter of thousands ofcattle and other livestock left many herdsmen with little or no livestock and now must look for an alternative occupation. At the time of this data collection this group of people(the herders) had not recovered from their shock, as a result they were not able to voice their decisions of what they hoped to do in the future. Inspite of the deaths and slaughter of so many livestock, leather workers did not receive much attention from the people. In addition, the leaves and fruits the usually used in preparing (curing) the leather, as well as the leather itself, had then become food for human consumption.

The whole society was very poor and very hungry with no avenue of getting any food other than the leaves and other adaptations mentioned in chapter IV. As also mentioned earlier, even the local authority had to lay off some of her daily rated staff and release a whole forest reserve for devastation in order to secure the necessary revenue for the maintainance of essential services. However just as the drought had reduced many to paupers, others especially in the urban centres of Gashu'a and Jakusko, found an opportunity to become wealthy. As regards the case of such 'rich-men' who are now paupers and the herders who had lost all their livestock, it is difficult to say with any certainty based on the availabe data

what they will do or what has become of them. So that this fact and the return of migrants from Lake Chad, pilgrimage etc, should form a good follow up topic.

The migration of the farmers into neibouring and other districts, who formed part of the 54% discussed above, (whether theyreturned or not) is bound to affect the local economy at least temporarily, since, as these return, life is bound to feel strange at first untill some readjustments take place. Inspite of all this, it can be said that, the damage to the economy was not extremely severe, since by the time of this data collection (September,1975); there was evidence of partial recovery . Many people engaged in their various occupations seemed to have already forgotten about the scourge.

POVERTY ILLHEALTH AND STARVATION

Table 2:II and 3:II both in chapter two are indicators of the amount of available wealth in the society. In my view, it is not correct to call an individual cultivating a mere seven acre field using as many as three wives and possibly five or more other dependents to do so, a wealthy person; neither would I call an individual with an average income of ₦15.00 per week as being wealthy. And to this material and financial poverty, was added an educational one. Up to 1974, Western Education Education in Baderi had not been properly accepted since

parents were still taking their children away from the division so as to escape from enrolment into the nine existing primary schools; in Gashu'a, Anshi, Jakusko, Gwio Kura and Bizi; Jaba, Tagali, Gwayo and Gasanu, in order of establishment. Attendance to these schools which was not very good, was further aggravated by the drought (see appendix IV) particularly in 1974. Thus, not many people had the privilege of even a primary education which could have taught them the necessity for personal and environmental hygiene and the need for attending the dispensary before sickness becomes severe. With this ignorant behaviour, then, came the drought throughout the period of which there was a severe famine and during which, particularly in January 1973 to May 1974, people became sick in large numbers. They attempted the local treatment, which could not serve the purpose and finally after such sickness had advanced and people had no money to buy drugs of any type, they had to attend the dispensaries.

So that the attendance became so great that the five dispensaries in the division were daily choked with people complaining mostly of stomach ache. There were also others who just went to the dispensary, sat and stared at the dispenser - unable to voice their complaints and the dispenser had to diagnose the problem

on his own initiative, prescribe and treat. As shown in table 5:III of chapter three, most of these peoples' people'scomplains had been diagnosed as stomach ache or anaemia. Such were mostly the cases refered by the village dispensers to the central dispensary in Gashu'a. The central dispensary in turn had refered hundreds of cases to the General Hospital in Nguru where the prescription was just like it was in the village dispensaries except that here the people were given proteinous foods in addition to the vitamin tabs- for 2-3 weeks depending upon the extremity of deterioration. My source (a member of staff in Nguru Hospital)could not say whether or not there was death during the crisis but under the circumstances, the possibility of human motility cannot be ruled out. This makes it necessary for the contention that, although "...animal mortility was as high in 1973 as ever known but there was NO RECORD YET of human motility or EVEN DISEASE, which was clearly attributable to famine, " - (captals mine) (Mortimore;1973:104); to be revised.

Considering the distance between Gashu'a and Nguru some 67.2km, it is possible that not half of the cases identified as stomach ache and anaemia 16211 in 1972, 28306 in 1973 and 21460 in 1974 had been refered to Nguru and of those refered about 50% may not have been able

to go to the Hospital; since the local authority did not have many vehicles to the extent of leaving one attached to the dispensary as an ambulance; and particularly in 1973, the people did not have money to pay the fare to Nguru. Again the five dispensaries at Gashu'a, Anshi, Jakusko, Gwio Kura and Jaba are,,with the exception of the Gashu'a -Gwio Kura distance, about 55km removed from each other and are linked to the villages they serve by foot paths only. Even the road to Nguru was not in any good condition -thus there was no access to these dispensaries and the hospital for everybody that needed to attend them.

Another factor that could have contributed to possible deaths' is the dire shortage of food which forced people, as shown in chapter IV, to eat plants including the roots and barks, to disregard tabooness in meat and to hide from friends in order that food may not be shared with them; inspite of a life time of internalisation of the social norm of generosity and helpfulness to friends. It was said that the grocest crime an individual can commit within the society apart from murder, was theft. It was shown in Chapter IV that this social view was less stringently applied in the period 1972-74; and that even some family heads engaged in this socially debased occupation in order to feed the family. In comments on famine in Hausaland 1973, it was stated that "...poor farmers were widely

reported to have no seed reserve but to depend on friends for loans or gifts; to have no more animals to sell, all having either died or already been sold; and to be selling household goods and clothes in order to raise cash.....some farmers could not even raise a loan from a rich farmer because they were not considered capable of repayment," (Mortimore 1973:106). But there was no mention of what happened to such farmers who, like some of the herders in Baderi, had lost everything and were not able to secure loans.

Thus a society that lacked money, food , good health, education and material possessions; a society that went through a devaluation and reversal of its norms and values could not have escaped the crisis unscathed. So that inspite of the possibility of incurring a speculative error, it will be more correct to suggest that death couldhave occurred unrecorded than to say there was no death at all. This is especially so, since Mortimore himself and A.R.James were reporting on the effects of the drought from 1970-73 only, and since the reports are valid only up to May 1973 just as this one is valid only up to September 1975. It is probably the recognition of this shortcoming which led to the comment that, "...the drought is not yet over and some judgements my have to be revised as better information is obtained,

" (Mortimore 1973:97). It is also difficult now to ascertain the extent of the social norm and value devaluation and reversal i.e. there is not enough data on which to base a categorical conclusion that these social phenomena were only temporarily submerged or that they have permanently yielded to the new phenomena. This aspect deserves further investigation.

A SOCIAL NORM AND VALUE TREMOR

It has been shown in chapters III and IV that the effect of the recent crisis was great enough to reverse values and norms, reduce human beings into exhibiting unfavourable social behaviour and lead them to the brink of death. But inspite of this, it has also been shown in chapter IV that the infirm, the disabled and the seriously needy among the society had not been allowed to beg as the case was in other parts of the country. This may be said to constitute a contradiction, but I see no contradiction since those household heads who stole food and other items that could easily be converted into food, did so in the interest of the house hold in which it was possible to find a disabled. The same argument applies to those house hold heads who adopted the KURFI method to hide their food supply.

Although the difficulty was great enough, there was not a total desertion of kins as shown in chapter IV

where it was reported that, migrants returned home from time to time with food and even wives who absconded from their husbands, some of them were known to have sent money to these husbands. Many of these absconding wives were also said to have returned and were accepted back by their husbands. The reasons for the husbands acceptance of their erring wives cannot be categorically stated since the few people interviewed did not wish to comment on the issue which was definitely not a traditional behaviour. Soon after the drought also, there was a fall in the crime rate, dispensary and hospital attendance greatly reduced and social generosity and assistance re-appeared. People stopped eating food indiscriminately. So that in view of this meagre information it is valid to state that the reversal of these social norms was merely temporary.

Social structure had throughout the crisis remained intact with only minor bruises, as shown above, which had since almost healed. But it should not be assumed that things had happened and dis-appeared completely from the society, because the newly acquired norms are not immediately visible. Those like the original norms might have just gone down in the face of new life and new hope and may probably reappear when complete normalcy

is achieved. The migration had depleted the number of tax payers whose return was being speculated, unless they do so , the local authority revenue will have to be annually sub-vented by the government until such time as other migrants flocked into the area. In conclusion, it can be said that the crisis even though severe, did not leave a permanent dislocation of the social and economic life of the society.

COMPARING NOTES

Under the conditions enumerated in chapters III and IV, morality and kinship affiliation usually become lose - sometimes temporarily and at other times permanently. In Baderi, by September 1975 the situation was almost back to normal (by normalcy here it is meant an almost pre-crisis situation as seen by the respondents). A large number of the migrants had returned and, unlike Dr Polly Hill's Batagarawa migrants, had taken back their farms and houses which at the time of their departure were not even pledged; although I realise the fallacy of comparing the two situations i. e . the Batagarawa and Baderi migrant cases due to their difference in setting. Again, Dr Hill's research was conducted under normal conditions and was aimed at depicting a society in normal conditions, but this is focussed upon a society in a crisis situation and thus, the behaviour under ther two different conditions is bound to differ from one

another. Unlike Hill's Batagarawa society, the people in Baderi do not sell land: consequently there was no sizeable re-distribution of land as a result of the drought. Land ownership is vested in the village head, and in the person who felled down trees the first time to make a farm. There is no restriction as to who or when this can or cannot be done. Land can be lent or left to remain fallow. An individual household head may have up to four patches (blocks) of land which he would call his (plot) farms.

Another reason why there was no sale of land even at the time of the crisis was the fact that most of the people had not the money to buy such lands and those able (who had money) to buy were far from the lands put into market, these lived in Gashu'a and were more pre-occupied with material or property that would sell quickly thereby maximising their profit more quickly than if they had bought lands for future sales. However, the fact that this research had not encountered any sale of land by the people in Baderi, does not rule out the possibility of such transactions having taken place, especially since even in Batagarawa, Dr Hill says, such sales were conducted with an amount of secrecy.

Again unlike in Batagawa, few people use the plough, because most cannot afford to even hire them

(the oxen and plough) for a day; and thus the acreage cultivable by a household is comparatively small as shown in table 2:II. Because there was no sale of land and houses in the rural villages of Baderi, the returning migrants did not need to be assisted by anybody; rather, they provided the assistance needed by none migrants they (the returnees) having returned with some money and foodstuffs. They did not need to buy materials for house repair since these were available free in the bush and on neighbours' farms.

Dr Hill also mentioned that relief was distributed in the 1927 drought Mai Buhu and was supported by Mr. M.J. Mortimore that "some 18 village heads said they could remember subsidised grains in 1927 and/or 1942; "(Mortimore 1973:104). However, although the two droughts have been remembered by the respondents in this research, NOT EVEN ONE of the 25 oldmen and women whose ages ranged from 60 - 97 interviewed, was able to remember any government or even local authority assistance prior to the 1951 drought. According to these old people, in the 1951-4 scarcity, guinea corn w s trasported from Mubi to Gashu'a (by whom? - they could not say)probably by local merchants using lorries; and the Native Authority according to them, trasported this guinea corn by means of donkeys, oxen and camel into the villages where the price per Mudu - measure was slightly higher than in

Gashu'a. This was the only assistance they could remember before late 1973.

CAN DROUGHT BE CONTROLLED ?

The occurrence of drought cannot as yet be prevented since it is a climatic phenomenon but conditions can be created that will help in minimising its impact. Structures to grow and preserve more food can be established which will provide an immediate supply, should a shortage occur at any time or place. To do this successfully, agricultural mechanisation should receive the priority it deserves. Such a strategy will definitely bring more land under cultivation. Agricultural mechanisation alone cannot however solve the problem for which it is established if the present trend of differential development i.e. the concentration of skills and resources in only one section of the country , is not replaced by a uniform system of distribution. In this direction however, there is an encouragement in the recent revenue allocation broadcastedby the Head of State on 1/4/76. Inspite of this there is still need for an equitable distribution of skills, technology and high level personnel since as at now some parts of the country are enjoying more than their fair share while others are suffering. Where some are able to recognise the value of crop rotation, the use of fertiliser; can get bank loans to buy or hire tractors and other farm machinery, practice

warned that,"there is... evidence that the availability of a more advanced technology than that of the subsistance farmer and pastoralist can lead to an abuse of the ehvironment and to the disturbance of a previously unrecognised ecological balance;"(Dalby and HarrisonChurch 1973:13).But how this can be so ? Allan did not elaborate in his article. I shall attempt providing some guidelines which can, if properly practised, eliminate Allan's pessimismwhich in any case has no base since, Britain, the U.S.A., and Holland did not start their lives as fully pledged mechanised agricultural countries. Or closer home,we have the successful mechanised farmers of Egypt, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Uganda and Sudan. South Africa has for a long time been pursuing mechanised agriculture. It is a mystery that "the unrecognised ecological balance" of these countries has not been disturbed. But probably the statement applies to West Africa only. Even so, if in the process of improving the Nigerian social life- a useless"unrecognised ecological balance" is disturbed, it is better so, than leaving it undisturbed and we continue to suffer under a continueing social problem.

"Anne Graham's study of a drought in the Sudan in 1961 shows how the people of a small area, their econony and way of life partly transformed by governmental investment in improved water supply, had to fall back on traditional strategies of migration when the new

supplies gave out. The new communities that had made the clearest break with the past had the greatest difficulty in adapting to water shortage. There is food for thought here for those who want to transform rural life on the basis of modern technology,"(Mortimore 1973 :99); is another pessimistic view from an expert. The fact that Sudan had tried water canalisation for rural transformation and had failed, does not mean that other modern technologies will also fail in other parts of Africa or even within Sudan itself. In any case it is better to try and fail than not at all, since in failure, learning should have taken place and efforts redoubled. The other section of the quotation I leave silent since it speaks for itself. For, life according to Mao and Lumumba, is a continuous struggle for problem solving and that, man, survives only when he is able to solve the problems confronting him.

Nigeria in the grip of drought devastation is a country that needs to struggle harder than ever before, if life is to continue being tolerable fo the society. Thus it is my view that agricultural mechanisation should be given an immediate priority as already discssed above. The recent annoucement of deploying students to work on farms for their vacation is in my view, a misconception of the issue at stake and its solution, since it is not so much numbers of workers which is lacking on the fields

today as skills and technology, both of which all studentsapart from those doing agriculture and probably Biology, do not posses . In addition to these two lacks , there is also a dearth of investment funds and the necessary supporting structures such as accessibility, communication, storage facilities, as well as market. Concomitant to this, is the need for social and administrative integration of the whole country which will provide the co-ordination of the necessary structures of reducing distance and effectiveness between individuals and between them and the administration.

SOLDIERS AND CIVILIAN CO-OPERATION

Agricultural mechanisation should start with the education of the people on the need for a ch-ange in t tillage methods. The education should be followed by a systematic practice of the new method. If inspite of every effort i.e. persuasive propaganda and demonstration (practice), the people are seen to be unwilling to accept the new method - which during the demonstration should have proved its own quality, they must be made to accept it by any available means suchas an edict or legislation and by a redoubling of a continuous education and positive demonstration. All such demonstrations must be impecably carried out - since a miscarriage at this stage will scare away people from adopting the new

method or they may adopt it haphazardly thereby defeat ing the objective before it actually got started. The soldiers may be able to help in this if they are made to attempt the experiment. The demobilisation exexcise exercise currently being discussed and probably* considered , will be less of a problem if instead of total demob ilisation, the soldiers are deployed to virgin lands tagged "farming V illages" close to rural farming local ities, with their army promotions, discipline and remmunerations. There should be about 75 soldiers on each 500 acre farm. Engineers, - agricultural, lives tock, and other experts should be included on these farms to instruct and guide the soldiers in carrying the various operations of farm management. Any soldier who spends a period of three years on the farm should be retired with full benefits and with specific instructions to establish his own farm which shall be periodically inspected by army agricultural experts, giving advice and disciplining where necessary. The vacancy in the farm units such retired soldiers had left, should be filled with soldiers who are about to complete the contract service period they had signed at enlistment. Where such contracts do not exist, any soldier below the rank of Regimental Sergeant Major should be retired

*Probably - because as yet no specific decisions on the issue has been communicated to the nation (public).

in the same way after serving for 12years in the army.

Any soldier of any rank wishing to resign from the army for any reason, at any time should be allowed to do so, on condition that they are sent to one of the farming villages to work for a stipulated period. All farming village retired soldiers should cease to enjoy retirement benefits afterbeing on their own farms for a period of five years.

By the same token, agriculture, biology and chemistry should form a compulsary component of the curriculum up to secondary and teachers college levels; more emphasis on method should be laid in the teachers colleges. These lessons should consist not only of the theory alone but of the practices as well. As much as possible the old drudgery called 'agriculture' should be avoided since it scares away children from the land; in its place a new method (fully mechanised) which will generate more interest should be evolved and adopted.

Every citizen of Nigeria should be free to visit these farming villages and the students demonstration plots as friends, relatives, parents, interested farmers and even hawkers and beggar minstrels Maroka who will be able to carry the news all round. Both farming villages and the Institutions should have a "display week" every year with invitations to attend sent to all parts of the

immediate vicinity. Through this it is hoped that when people see the methods employed and the success being achieved, government propaganda will become more meaningful. And it might be easier for the people to imitate these soldier farmers than to approach the local agricultural officer for his advice. By this method also, the soldiers would have become productive in the process of acquiring skills that will help them in their later life; and the students would have been prepared for career in agriculture which most are shirking now. If the methods succeeds, and the people adopt it, inflation and food scarcity even at disaster period will be minimised. But agriculture of this enormity, necessrily requires water in large volumes more than rain water .. alone can provide. Thus, it is necessary for the govern ment to urgently start investing in the construction of dams, bunds, diverting water courses and the sinking of viable bore holes to provide the required water for the land, people and their livestock.

VEGETATION COVER.

But these sources of water can easily dry up as happened in the Sudan as quoted earlieron, and the effort exerted will thus become a mere waste. Therefore, both the government and people should embark on a.. massive water conservation methods which can also become effective

erosion control measures as well as wind-break. The people must be educated to understand the value of vegetation cover and be made to transplant trees and shrubs which must be seen to survive at least the first two dry seasons. This transplanting of trees and shrubs should be made to be an annual necessity in all parts of the Sudan zone and desirable for all citizens in the other climatic zones. Who ever wants to fell down a live tree, must be able to transplant and maintain three trees in its place as recompence. People shpuld be educated on the benefits of shrub hedges around their farms, houses play grounds and relaxation as well as religious centres. It is understood that force breeds rebellion - but rebellion ensues ~~only when the issues~~ only when the issue for which force is being used is vague or not recognised as being benefitial to the generality. Thus the necessity for success in the farming experiments and educational propaganda becomes even more apparent.

If these measures are to succeed also, grazing must be controlled to reduce an unnecessary destruction of grass cover. Herders should be taught the method and advantages of hay, and silage making. The use of concentrates as livestock feeds should be encouraged. Bush burning must have a severe penalty and if investigation

fails to produce an individual as culprit, the whole village from which the fire started should be made to suffer the consequences. Hardy and useful grasses like comb fringe grass, penisetum, andropogon guyanas, cymbopogon giganteum, alycarpus vaginalis, eragrostic tremula, penisetum pyramidale, elencine indica and finger grass; should be protected, developed and where necessary cultivated.

WHY THE EMPHASIS ON VEGETATION COVER?

This combination of vegetation and grass cover will reduce evaporation from water andsoil surfaces and because of the thick foliage that may be availabe and a presence of exposed large bodies of water transpiration will become minimal. Animals both large and small will find adequate cover and food. The control of grazing will reduce the herder's annual transhumance thereby creating a stable population which will make social development to become easier. The tree and grass cover will provide a wind-break to check wind force which destroys soil surface and grass. The force of raindrops will also be checked and this will reduce surface run off, erosion and enhance percolation thereby raising the sub-soil water table. The sub-soil water table may then be diverted to feed the dams, bunds, bore holes and to raise the level of rivers and lakes.

The gradual nature of the water seepage will enhance p plant growth since the roots will not have to exert much energy to get the necessary water and dissolved minerals from the soil. The soil population which thri ves best in moist soils such as the earth worm that promotes soil aeration and fertility will also develop for the betterment of the cultivated crops.

IS THE ABOVE AN ADEQUATE MEASURE?

The above cannot materialise without the general mobilisation of the people into a realisation and accep tance of change. People must realise the importance of patriotism, become more industrious and ambitious. People must learn to trust and accommodate one another and have a sense of unity. Parochialism, conservatism and all the colonial legacy bad 'isms' must be thrown overboard by the society. Indolence, austentation, nepotism and selfishness must be pushed to the realm of history, Greed, petty bickerings and unnecessary power struggle accumilation ofill gotten wealth should be shunned. Blind copying of things western, eastern or anywhere should be guarded against and as much as possible society should be given maximum encouragement to be innovative. This will definitely increase produc tion in all sectors of the economy, especially in agricul ture which shall then demand for a viable market and

a more sophisticated and efficient storage method to replace the old "traditional" granaries."Equally essen tial is a good road and rail infrastructure, to gether with a system of emergency transport priorities to over come the administrative and financial bottlenecks and remove competitive traffic standing in the way of the distribution....Ahierarchy of distribution centres is required based not merely on existing towns and roads but on population distribution;"(Mortimore 1973:99).

Along with these developmental measures comes the need for establishing small industries in strategic places all over the country, which will be able to process agricultural products such as rice, groundnut, cotton, tomato, popper, beniseed, potato, wheat and others too numerous to mention. Such industries will serve dual purposes in that while their primary aim will be to process agricultural products and their storage; the secondary purpose will be the absorption of labour released from the fields by mechanisation. Such a devel opmental system when pursued may bring about the over throw of the fulani from the monopoly of livestock rearing; and create a more effective means of settling them. Since water and roughage may be available every where, transhumance will be minimised.

In addition to raw materials and water, industries depend on power; this fact then necssitates the electri fication of the whole country so that the remotest vil village may enjoy the benefit ofmechanisation and moder nity. The communication system of the country needs to be improved 100 times its present shabby state. Other modernamenities should be made available in village centres so that the rural-urban drift may be minimised. The less of this drift is done, the more skills and labour will there be to man the farming technologies, husbandry apparatus and the village industries. Good road system and organisation of transport are (as mentioned above) very essential for the success of the operation.

Greater success will be achieved however, if appointments are made on the basis of skill and expertise rather than on a mere knowledge or relationship to the appointee. Bureaucratic procedures should be kept to the minimum and education and demonstration should continue all the time. New adaptations should be introduced gradually and people should be encouraged to make suggestions for practical adaptability of new methods and gadgets; and to air their views on any issue affecting the society without hindrance or molestation.

This does not in anyway exhaust the list of possibilities but that both time and space are against this essay.

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APPENDIX I

LIST OF OFFICIALS CONSULTED IN BADERI 1ST. TO 30TH. SEPTEMBER, 1975; IN RELATION WITH THIS RESEARCH.

1. GASHU'A. 1.9.75. 1. Mai Bade, Alhaji Umar Suleiman O.O.N., OBE, Hon. LLD. Chairman Of Council; Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

2. Waziri- Alhaji Duchi Kura; Senior Councillor and councillor for Finance.

3. Wambai- Alhaji Suleiman Gorgoram; Councillor for Education and Social Welfare.

4. Galadima- Mallam Suleiman Kawusgg; Councillor for Natural Resources, Medical and Health.

5. Alhaji Yerima Saleh Suleiman; District Head Gashu'a.

2.9.75. 6. HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS

(i) Alhaji Usman Idris .....Agriculture.
(ii) Alhaji Baba Toro. .... Veterinary.
(iii) Mallam Isa Gambo Adamu..Education.
(iv) Mallam Umar Yerima Saleh..Health.
(v) Mallam Abdu Yaro.....Medical.

3.9.75. (vi) Alhaji Saleh Abubakar....Court.
(vii) Shlaraku Bukar Sakan....Forestry.

7. GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

(i) . . .. Divisional Officer.
(ii) Mallam.Umaru Lamorde... M.O.W.(water Superintendent).
(iii) Mallam Saidu ? ..Agricultural Assistant.

8. SURVEY TOUR CONSULTATIONS

6.9.75. Bizi i. Lawan Goni of Dagona.
ii. Bulama of Bizi.

Gergoran Lawan Makinta.

7.9.75 Anshi Bulama Wunumzan Anshi.

8.9.75 Ngeljabe i. Bulama Baba Gaha

ii. Wakil Maruma.

9.9.75 Jakusko i. Alhaji Abba Kyari- D. Head.

ii. Mai Yandu Village Head.

iii. Maina Amadu Yandu.

iv. Mall. Mamuda Liman.

10.9.75 Lafia Loiloi Mallam Hamza Adamu.

ii. Mallam Kole Lawan.. Police.

Mugran Lawan Umar Nasari Village Head.

ii. Bukar Maila .. Village Elder

iii. Ya Saleh. ... " "

Jaba Bulama Mustapha Jaba.

11.9.75. Gwio Kura i. Lamido Ndemeri

ii. Lamido Keli.

9. QUESTIONAIRE ADMINISTRATION AND INTERVIEW

16-17.9.75.... .Bizi.

19-20.9.75.....Mugran

22-23.9.75.....Anshi.

25-26.9.75.....Ngeljabe.

28.9.75.....Gashu'a Interview only.

A P P E N D I X II

TAMBAYOYI BISA NAZARIN YADDA AL'UMMAR BADE TA SARRAFAR DA KANTA DA DUKIYARTA LOKACIN FARI MATO KAKUDBA.

I. BAYANIN FARKO

1. Lamba.....
2. Namiji/mace.....
3. Mai aure / Mara aure.....
4. Mata nawa gareka.....
5. Me ke sana'arka banda noma?.....
6. Kakan sani misalin nawa daga sana'arka cikin sati guda?. .....
7. Menene harshenka (kabila) Bade, Fulani, Manga, Hausa, Ngizim, Saurensu.....
8. Shekarunka nawa? ..Kasa da 17, 17-25; 26-35 36-45 and 46 and over.. .. ..
9. Ko ka dade a wannan garin?
   a) Ban shekara ba b) Nafi shekara daya.
   c) Nafi shekara biyu d) Nafi shekara uku.
   e) Nan aka Haifeni .
10. Daga ina ka kaurato ko aka kaurato da kai zuwa nan.....
11. Wane dalili ne tasa ka, ko kuka kaurato daga can? .....
112 Da ka ko kuka bari can nan ka/kuka zo?. gaba. gadi Ko an dakata a hanya .....
13. Wadanne wurare aka ziyarta kafin a zo nan?. .....
14. An zo nan tare da iyali ne? E; a.a.
15 In a.a ne yaushe iyali suka iso?..... ...
16. Ne waka fadi game da mutanen garin nan - suna Kaunar ka ko suna kinka? ... .
17. Nufinka ne ka zauna nan har/da Allah zai kiraye Ka?...

118 In a.a. ne ina kake da nufin kaura?
19 Gonakinka sunyi nawa?..... .....
20 Ko ka iya kwatanta mana girman ko waccensu?....
21 Wadanne da cikin wadannan kake nemawa?.....
22 Gero, dawa, gyada. shinkafa, wake gangala,rogo dankali da sauransu.
22. Dani/jogo nawa kakan samu a shekara ne daga ko wane abinda ka noma?..... ....
23. Haka ka samu shekara 3-4 da suka wuce? E. A:a.
24 Idan a.a.ne ne ya hanaka samun hakan? (bayyana sosai)..... ....
25. daga wane lokacin ka soma ganewa Fari na tafe?...
26. Wane dalili yasa ka gane akwai wahala a gaba?...
27. Me kayi na tanadi don ka tsira daga wannan w wahalar da ke tafe(wato fari - Bayani sosai)....
28.Ka iya cewa kana daga cikin wadanda Kakudba ta wahalar?.....
29. Me yasa ka fadi haka?..... .....
30. Wadanne irin abubuwa kayi cikin Kakudba don Ka sami abin sawa a baka?..... ....
31. Daidaine a ce Kakudba ta wahalar da kowa k.. kamar yadda ka wahala? ....
32. Me yasa ka fadi haka?..... ....
33. Daidai ne ace kowa irin abin da kayi dinnna shi yayi don ya sami abinci cikin Kakudba?...
34. Idan a,a. ne to me sauran jama'a sukayi donsu taimaki kansu da iyalansu?
35. Makiyaya da Manoma; wadanne sukafi shan wahalar Kakudba?. . .....
36. Menene dalilinda yasa ka fadi haka?.. . . ..
37. Wadanne irin shawarwari zaka iya bayarwa don a rage wahala inda wani fari yaka zo?.....
38. A ra'ayinka ne kaga hukuma da jama'a zasu yi don a hana aukuwar wani farin?.....

39. Ko ka sani wani taimako cikin farin da ya wuce?....
40. Wa ya baka taimakon kuma wane ir ne?. ..... .
41. Taimakon ya wadace ka?... ... .
42. In a.a. ne to ne ya hana taimakon ya wad_ tar?....
43. Ko da wani abinda kake son gayamma kuma game da kakudba?... ....

II. JIYA BA YAU BA

44. Ko zaka iya tunawa da wata yunwa ko fari da aka tabayi kana wayo ko kaji labarinta?..... ...
45. An yi yar Mubi a Zamanin Mai Umar yaushe akayi wadda/wadanda ke fada?. ..... .
46. Wace yunwa ko fari ne a zatonka ta fi wahalar da jama'a?..... .....
47. Ko kasan irin hanyoyin da mutanen da suka bi don su tsira daga yunwoyin nan?.....
48. Ka taba jin labarin wani taimako kamar na kakudba da mutanen da suka samu don su fita daga yunwa?....
49. Ko da wani karin bayani da zaka bamu game da wahalun dadaddun yunwoyi?..... .. ..

Mun gode.

A P P E N D I X III.

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ADAPTATIONS TO THE DROUGHT IN BEDDE DIVISION - GASHU'A: BORNO STATE.

I. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

a) case number. b) Sex..... c)Marital status.....
d)Herdsman/ Farmer. e) Ethnic origin. Bade, fulani Manga, Hausa, Ngizim, others.
f) Age group: under 17; 17-25; 26-35; 36-45; 45 and over.

1. For how long have you been living in this town/village?
   a) less than one year, b) more than one year
   c)more than two years d) more than three years
   e) born here.
2. Which is your original home?
3. Why did you leave your original home?
4. When you left your original home did you come straight to this town/village? Yes/No.
5. Which other places did you visit before coming here?
6. Did you come with your family? Yes/No.
7. When did your family join you?
8. How did the people here receive you?
9. Do you intend to stay here for the rest of your life? Yes/No.
10. Where do you intend to live for the rest of your life?

II. OCCUPATION AND STRATEGY.

11. What do you do for a living?
12. How many farm blocks do you have?
13. About how big is each one of them?
14. Which of these crops do you mostly grow on the farms? Millet, G/corn, G/nut, Cow pea, Bambara nut cassava, potato.
15. How many bundles/baskets of each do you normally harvest in a year?

16. Did you get the same yield from these farms 3-4 years ago? Yes/No.
17. If not why?
18. When did you begin to notise the advent of the drought?..
19 How were you able to know that disaster was approaching?.... ..
20, What measures did you take to safeguard yourself and family from the the coming disaster?.....
21. Did you find it difficult to survive the Kakudba?....
22. Why so?.. .. ..
23. What methods did you to survive the Kakudba?.. ..
24. Would you say everybody suffered as you did? Yes/No.
25. Why so ?..... . ...
26. Would say every body empolyed the methods as you did? Yes/No.
27. If not what methods did the others adopt?..... .
28. Would you say the Kakudba affected Herders more than it did farmers?
29. Why do you think so?..... ... .
30 What would you suggest as measures for reducing hardship should the drought come again?.. .....
31. What in your opinion should both the authority and people do to prevent the recrrence of drought in this area?.. .....
32. Did you receive any help during the previous recent drought?.. .. ..
33. Who provided the help?.. . ...
34. Was the assistance you received adequate? Yes/No.
35. If not, why?... .. ..
36. How would you have liked the help to be?. .....
37½ Would you like to comment further on the kakudba?...

III. HISTORICAL DATA

38 Can you recall any such disaster that you experienced [illegible] ...t?... . .

[illegible] ...t were

or you were told about in the past?,..... .....

39 The recent crisis is called Kakudba , What were those ones called?... ... .

40. Can you give the approximate date of their occurrence; as for example Yar occurred in the reign of Mai Umar..... . ...

41. How do those scarcity periods compare to Kakudba?..

42. What methods did the people adopt to survive then?..

43. Was any help given to the people then?... . ..

44. Who rendered the assistance?.. ....

45. What kind of help was it?.....

46. Why was there no help?.. ....

47. Is there any comment you would like to add?.....

Thank you.

A P P E N D I X IV.

A SAMPLE OF THE INFORMAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Greetings would you know how old you are today?
2. Were you born here, did come or you were brought?
3. Where was your original home? town?
4. Lawan/Bulama has told you why I am here, would you like to tell me how many disasters of this nature you have gone through or have heard of being told?
5. The recent drought is called Kakudba, can you r remember the names given to the others you experiencdd or heared?
6. Was each on of these as severe as Kakudba?
7. Can you remember how people survived those droughts? How did you survive the Kakudba?
8. Was ther assistance during the previous droughts as there had been in Kakudba?
9. Why was there no assistance?
10. If someone should come to the village and decide's to get a farm and construct his own house, how would he go about acquiring the two?
11. How can I get a farm now, would I need to pay for the land?
12. What kind pf tools do people here use in weeding; Do they apply fertilizers and manures to their plots; why?
13. Have manypeople migrated from this village; where did they go; do you know some of the occupations they have adoptedin their new environment?
14. Are ther many disabled people in this village; How did they survive the druught?
15. Have you ever participated in potash trade?
16. Where and how did you used to get the potash .

17. Has there ever been any authority control over the digging; collecting and the sale of potash?
18 Should you be asked to make a suggestio you think will prevent the recurrence of drought or reduce peoples suffering when it comes?
19. Why were the droughts so far named given all these names.

PAPER I

APPENDIX V

CONTRIBUTION OF EACH VILLAGE TO TOTAL HARVEST OF VARIOUS CROPS IN 1971 AND 1972

		No. of	MILLET		GUINEA CORN		GROUND NUT		RICE		COW PEA	
	VILLAGE AREA	People	1971	1972	1971	1972	1971	1972	1971	1972	1971	1972
1.	GASHU'A	2370	8.15	6.71	14.01	8.06	10.19	7.17	57.42	53.50	—	—
2.	USUR	257	6.87	4.29	10.25	2.22	2.06	0.23	15.52	13.59	9.21	6.61
3.	DAWAYO	607	3.88	2.37	4.65	12.96	3.56	5.25	2.43	2.32	8.51	—
4.	DAGONA	759	6.92	1.72	5.60	9.41	6.47	3.28	6.02	2.88	25.61	3.69
5.	TAGALI	231	1.42	2.40	2.49	—	—	—	0.06	—	10.16	19.26
6.	SUGUM	245	2.50	1.53	2.91	—	—	—	1.98	3.03	5.46	11.86
7.	GWIO KURA	676	5.67	13.69	0.43	0.61	9.77	15.53	—	—	7.01	5.05
8.	ZAGWUM	778	5.89	3.01	0.42	—	0.03	—	0.55	2.49	—	—
9.	GOKARAM	735	5.21	3.92	1.32	1.89	0.46	1.68	5.87	3.08	0.36	—
10.	GUYUK	448	2.99	4.27	2.37	5.96	1.37	4.17	2.73	19.95	10.44	9.92
11.	MUGURAM	683	6.23	8.87	8.23	2.03	3.72	1.12	6.53	0.10	0.85	—
12.	GIDGID	785	6.37	14.89	9.03	33.77	6.01	28.67	—	—	13.02	40.07
13.	KATAMMA	720	8.11	7.38	12.61	4.35	30.35	12.52	—	—	5.23	3.50
14.	DUMBARI	786	6.44	8.85	6.38	2.60	19.97	15.11	—	—	2.08	—
15.	LAZIA LOILOI	628	13.49	8.09	18.06	13.71	5.90	5.20	0.32	—	—	—
16.	JAMSICO	404	15.80	7.92	1.17	2.36	0.70	—	—	—	—	—
			99.94	99.91	99.93	99.95	99.93	99.93	99.43	99.94	99.53	99.96

PAPER V

APPENDIX V

TOTAL VILLAGE AREA PRODUCTION (IN BAGS) FOR 1971 AND 1972

	VILLAGE AREA	No. of Pop.	MILLET		GUINEA CORN		GROUND NUT		RICE		COWPEA	
			1971	1972	1971	1972	1971	1972	1971	1972	1971	1972
1.	GASHO'A	2370	10,686	1,495	2356	171	7365	153	37601	5270	—	—
2.	USUR	787	9,020	957	1746	47	478	5	10168	1365	357	34
3.	DAWAYO	607	5,093	529	793	274	828	112	1922	233	330	—
4.	DAGONA	759	9,084	385	955	199	1503	70	3947	290	993	19
5.	TAGALI	231	1865	535	424	—	—	—	45	—	394	99
6.	SUGUM	248	3280	342	458	—	2	—	1302	305	212	61
7.	GWIO KURA	676	7438	3,048	74	13	2267	331	—	—	349	26
8.	ZABUDUM	778	7725	671	72	—	8	—	364	250	—	—
9.	GOKARAM	735	6840	873	226	40	167	36	3849	310	14	—
10.	GUYUK	448	3928	951	404	126	318	89	1788	201	405	51
11	MUGURAM	683	8169	1,975	1402	43	865	24	4281	11	33	—
12.	GIDGID	785	8355	3,316	1539	714	1395	611	—	—	505	206
13.	KATAMMA	770	2770	1644	2143	92	7044	267	—	—	203	18
14.	DUMBURI	786	8445	1970	1087	55	4635	322	—	—	81	—
15.	LAFIA LOILOI	625	17685	1802	3076	290	1369	111	214	—	—	—
16.	JAKUSKO	404	20,726	1,764	200	50	18	—	—	—	—	—
			131112	22257	17028	2114	23202	2131	65481	10037	3574	514

PAPER III

APPENDIX V

TOTAL VILLAGE AREA 1972 HARVEST AS A PERCENTAGE OF 1971

NAME OF VILLAGE	No. of PEOPLE	MILLET 1971	MILLET 1972	GUINEA CORN 1971	GUINEA CORN 1972	GROUNDNUT 1971	GROUNDNUT 1972	RICE 1971	RICE 1972	COW PEA 1971	COW PEA 1972
CAHU'A	2370		13.99	7.1	7.16		6.46		14.01		—
USUR	787		10.60		2.69		1.04		13.42		9.52
DAWATO	607		10.38		34.55		13.52		12.12		—
DAGONA	759		4.23		00.83		4.66		7.34		1.91
TAGALI	231		28.68		—		—		—		25.12
SUGUM	248		10.42		—		—		23.42		28.77
GWIO KURA	676		40.97		17.56		14.60		—		7.44
ZAGUDUM	778		8.68		—		—		68.68		—
GOKARAM	735		12.78		17.69		33.624		8.05		—
GUYUK	448		24.21		31.18		28.16		11.24 (~~12.07~~)		12.59
MUGURAM	683		24.17		3.06		2.77		0.25		—
GID GID	785		39.68		46.39		43.79		—		40.79
KATAMMA	770		59.35		4.28		3.79		—		8.86
DUMBARI	781		23.32		5.05		6.94		—		—
LAFIA LOILOI	628		10.18		9.42		8.10		—		—
JAKUSKO	404		8.51		25.00		—		—		—

APPENDIX VI

The drought has most adversely affected our economy, social and moral well - being to the extent that persons, who were well off before the drought, became poor and the poor became poorer with the nasty inevitable result of withdrawing children from schools. Efforts were consorted, mobilised and concentrated on looking for food in order that all could survive. Many respectable houses took to and, ignifying jobs; and women formerly secluded do now come out and participate shoulder by shoulder with their male counter parts in looking for the means of livelihood.

= E.O. Bedde - in his report on drought to the Perm. Sec. Ministry of Education Maiduguri vide his letter BED/EA/SCH/DEP/1/6 of 29th January, 1974.

Sgt. Isa Gambo Adamu (Mallam)

BED/EA/SCH/DEP/1/17 Drought Effects on Primary Schools.

APPENDIX VI

BADERI SCHOOLS ENROLMENT 1972-74.

		CLASSES ENROLMENT.							
YEAR	SCHOOLS	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	TOTALS
DEC 1972	Amshi	44	38	36	40	30	34	31	253
	JAKUSKO	40	39	38	34	38	30	31	260
	GWIO KURA	40	40	34	33	38	33	35	253
	~~BABIZI~~ BIZI	40	35	38	34	30	33	35	242
	JABA	45	38	35	26	36	33	40	253
	GASAMU	40	39	40	40	39	-	-	198
	GWAYO	40	40	40	40	-	40	-	200
	TAGALI	40	37	35	-	41	-	38	191
									1850
SEPT 1973	AMSHI	38	31	38	37	35	26	27	232
	JAKUSKO	30	35	32	27	35	28	40	227
	GWIO KURA	35	40	40	34	33	35	33	253
	BIZI	40	40	35	33	35	33	24	242
	JABA	36	35	36	35	34	33	35	244
	GASAMU	25	30	30	26	26	34	35	206
	GWATO	40	40	42	40	36	40	-	238
	TAGALI	40	36	39	35	35	36	-	224
									1866
JAN 1974	AMSHI	16	23	15	13	25	18	20	130
	JAKUSKO	8	21	21	18	15	12	24	119
	GWIO KURA	20	12	15	14	18	20	20	119
	BIZI	25	18	24	23	10	20	20	140
	JABA	15	21	20	14	20	18	20	128
	GASAMU	10	25	14	25	17	20	27	138
	GWATO	27	24	19	18	20	25	-	133
	TAGALI	20	15	17	20	16	22	-	110
									1017

N.B. GASUA - being an urban centre has not been included in this table - prepared from a report compiled by the Local Education officer.