RESETTLING THE GWOZA HILL PEOPLE OF BORNO STATE: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

M.Sc.(U.R.P) Thesis

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Being a thesis submitted to the Post-Graduate School, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria, in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Science, Urban and Regional Planning

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JANUARY, 1990

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and that it is the outcome of my research work. It has not been accepted in any previous application for a higher Degree. All sources of information are specifically acknowledged by means of reference.

.....

Ndirpaya, A. Y. G.

CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled: "RESETTLING THE GWOZA HILL PEOPLE OF BORNO: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS", by Ndirpaya, Angus Yana Gapciya, meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Master of Science of Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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Head of Department Date: 15th March, 1990

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AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY

D E D I C A T I O N

This thesis is dedicated to my wife (Sarah) and daughters (Julie and Jummai) for enduring my absence and missing my love and company throughout the period of the course.

--- Ndirpaya, A. Y. G.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The production of this thesis would not have been possible but for the numerous support, assistance and encouragement recieved from many whom I cannot individually mention all.

Foremost, my gratitudes to God Almighty for sustaining me throughout the rigours of the course and the frequent risky journeys.

I am particularly indebted to my dynamic and able supervisor Mr. I. D. Suleiman for the rounds of discussions, constructive criticisms and suggestions through which I was able to get the right bearing of my work. I also owe the success of the work to his moral boosting which has always inspired and encouraged me to work harder to see to the success of the work.

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Development and Finance and Economic Planning for the help rendered during the field work of the thesis.

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--- Ndirpaya, Angus Yana G.
January, 1990.

THESIS ABSTRACT

The Gwoza Hill resettlement scheme under execution is an attempt by the Borno State Government to assist the Hill dwellers to re-establish themselves on the plains, following futile attempts by previous governments to resettle them and the desire by the Hill duellers to be resettled. The attempt in this study is to evaluate the previous attempts and current effort at resettling the Gwoza Hill people. This is with a view to finding out problems, future prospects of the scheme and to suggest some proposals and recommendations for an appropriate resettlement of the hill dwellers and future resettlement in the State.

Data for the study was collected through field surveys in the study area, questionnaire administration, interviews discussions, personal observations, photographs, published and unpublished documents from various sources.

The study first examined the physical, social and economic conditions of the Hill people. This has shown the trying conditions under which the people have for over a century lived such as acute water shortage, scarcity of form-land, and object poverty. It also showed the general absence of government's assistance to the Hill people in terms of basic infrastructural facilities, which was found to be due to their inaccessible locations.

An evaluation of the previous attempts at resettling the Hill people was made and found that the attempts

failed mainly because of inadequate and inappropriate planning and administration of the schemes, as yell as the very attitudes of the hill people to the plains vis-a-vis their nasty experiences of the past. Also, some lessons were learnt from the previous attempts such as timing, comprehensive physical and socio-economic surveys, public enlightenment and participation, avoidance of use of force among others as vital to the success of not only voluntary resettlements but also compulsory ones.

An attempt was also made at assessing the current government effort at resettling the hill dwellers. It was therefore, found that lessons from the previous attempts were not sufficiently learnt as to guide the planning and implementation of the current scheme, which have led to many lapses in the planning and implementation. Further analysis of the current scheme revealed such problems as; insufficient water for construction of houses and domestic needs of resettlers, ineffective and inappropriate organisation and co-ordination machinery, absence of proper resettlement planning schedule, non-provision of farm-land to resettlers that are most hard hit, among others, which are serious threatening the successful implementation of the scheme.

On the basis of the findings of this study, some proposals were put forward to correct the lapses identified in the existing scheme and some recommendations made to ensure a successful implementation of the Gwoza Hill dwellers and future resettlements in the State.

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CHAPTER - ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 STATEMENT OF RESEARCH PROBLEM AND JUSTIFICATION

The Gwoza Local Government Area has a land mass of about 2,400 square kilometres and a population of about 155,805. Over 65,000 live on the hill top. The large population on the hill top was the result of several factors which forced the people to seek refuge on the hill top during the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries. These include insecurity of the plains because of the frequent invasions by the Mandara, Fulani and Kanuri slave raiders; frequent inter and intra-tribal wars; and diseases particularly sleeping sickness.

Since 1950, various political, socio-economic and administrative reasons, have led to attempts by successive governmentsto resettle the hill people on the sparsely populated plains but without success. The major concern in this study therefore, is to understand the causes of failures of the previous attempts at resettling the hill people.

The hill people, faced with the problems of acute shortage of water, depleting soil fertility, inaccessibility, and the social, economic and technological advancement on the plains, have all added up to make the people consider descending to the plains.

In the last three years, there has been hightened interest by the hill people to come down to resettle on the plains. It is in recognition of this that drew the attention of this study, i.e., to understand the reason for their resistance to previously come down, the reasons for their decision to come down now and how to best plan and organize their resettlement on the plains. It is envisaged that the effects of the eventual descent of the hill people on the Gwoza sub-region will be enormous, both to the hill people and those already on the plains, hence the need for proper planning of their resettlement to avoid haphazard development and also to ensure an economic provision and optimum use of amenities.

1.2 AIM AND OBJECTIVES

1.2.1 Aim

The aim of the study is to appraise previous attempts and current effort at resettling the Gwoza Hill dwellers. This is with a view to finding out problems, future prospects and to suggest some proposals for an appropriate resettlement of the hill dwellers.

1.2.2 Objectives

The following objectives are to achieve the stated aim:

1. To examine the concept of resettlement as a strategy in rural development and appraise some selected resettlement schemes in Nigeria.

ii. To review the previous attempts at resettling the Gwoza Hill dwellers.

iii. To evaluate the current effort at resettling the Gwoza Hill dwellers.

iv. To examine the physical, social and economic characteristics of the study area.

v. To suggest some proposals based on the existing situation and to recommend implementation strategy.

1.3 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

The study covers only the resettlement of the Gwoza Hill dwellers with a major focus on the evaluation of the previous attempts at resettling the hill dwellers noting the causes of failures and assessment of the current effort. The study being an evaluative or review one, the design of typical model layout is beyond its scope.

The paucity of relevant data on similar resettlements, and on the previous attempts have limited the study. Of serious limitation also is the inability to get the colonial layout plans which could have helped in a more adequate evaluation of the attempts, and the complete aerial photographs of the area for a more elaborate analysis of the hill settlement pattern, form and structure.

Similarly, financial constraints and terrain difficulties have limited the wide coverage and detailed study of the

hill settlements. Hence only easily accessible hill settlements have been covered.

1.4 METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH

1.4.1 Methods of Data Collection

Data for this study has been collected through the following:

i. Field Surveys

To obtain a first hand information on the physical, social and economic conditions, field trips to the study area were undertaken. Photographs on the actual situation and of some features described and analysed were also taken. Some sketches were equally drawn to illustrate the typical form and structure of the hill settlements.

ii. Interviews and Discussions

These were held with Government officials, individuals and some officials of Development Associations in the area. Information such as the history of the people and their perception of the scheme, which were not covered in the questionnaire survey were collected through these methods.

iii. Questionnaire

Information on the socio-economic characteristics, the people's perception on the resettlement drive, the problems confronting the hill people, their

decision to descend, among others were all obtained through the use of questionnaire survey.

iv. Other Sources

Some official documents partaining to the current effort, maps and layout plans were obtained from Ministries of Co-Operative and Community Development and Land and Survey, and Gwoza Local Government. Accounts of the colonial resettlement attempts were obtained from the National Archieves, Kaduna, while some published and unpublished literature relating to the study were got from libraries.

1.4.2 Sampling Procedure

The resettlement scheme involves ten identified hill-top settlements with over 7,000 house-holds. Five settlements or 50 percent of the ten identified villages were selected on the basis of their accessibility for the questionnaire survey. A sample size of 2.5 percent of the total house-holds in each of the five selected settlements were randomly selected for the interview. Five villages on the plains settled by some of the hill people were also selected for the questionnaire survey.

A total of 138 questionnaire were administered. 84 questionnaire were administered on the hill top while 54 questionnaire were administered on the plains. The respondent was the head of each house-hold. The small size of the sample is due to the 100 percent homogeneity of the

hill people. Within each hill settlement, there is only a single ethnic group with the same culture, attitude, language, etc. With the contention of social science researchers that people of truely homogeneous group are likely to answer similar question in much the same manner, large samples are not very necessary[1]. All the questionnaire administered were possitively responded to. There was therefore, no incidence of non-response.

1.4.3 Data Analysis

All data collected from the survey were collated and analysed manually and presented in the form of write up, graphs, tables and plates.

1.5 THESIS FRAMEWORK

The study consists of five chapters. Chapter one deals with the introduction; statement of research problem and justification; aim and objectives; scope and limitations; methodology of research and the framework of the study. Chapter two examines the existing physical, social and economic characteristics of the study area.

Chapter three looks at the concept of resettlement and its use as a strategy in rural development; review of some resettlement schemes in Nigeria. It also consists of a review of the previous resettlement attempts of the

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1. Backstorm, C. H. and Hush, G. D.(1963): Quoted by Ike, J. E.(1978), Problems and Prospects of Villages in Expanding Makurdi Urban Area, Unpublished M.Sc.(URP) Thesis, P.9.

Gwoza Hill dwellers, identification of problems and causes of failures of the attempts as well as some lessons learnt. Chapter four assesses the current effort by the government; the objectives of the scheme; state resettlement policies; an evaluation of some of the resettlement layout plans and findings from the current effort. Also an analysis of the people's responses to the scheme and the prospects of the resettlement.

The final chapter comprises the proposals for: the existing resettlement layout plans; appropriate procedure for resettlement of the Gwoza Hill type and future related resettlement schemes; an alternative solution to the water problem and farm-land issue. Finally, a general recommendations for the Gwoza Hill and subsequent resettlement schemes in the State; and implementation strategy for an effective resettlement; summary and conclusion. Below is the schematic representation of the framework of the thesis.

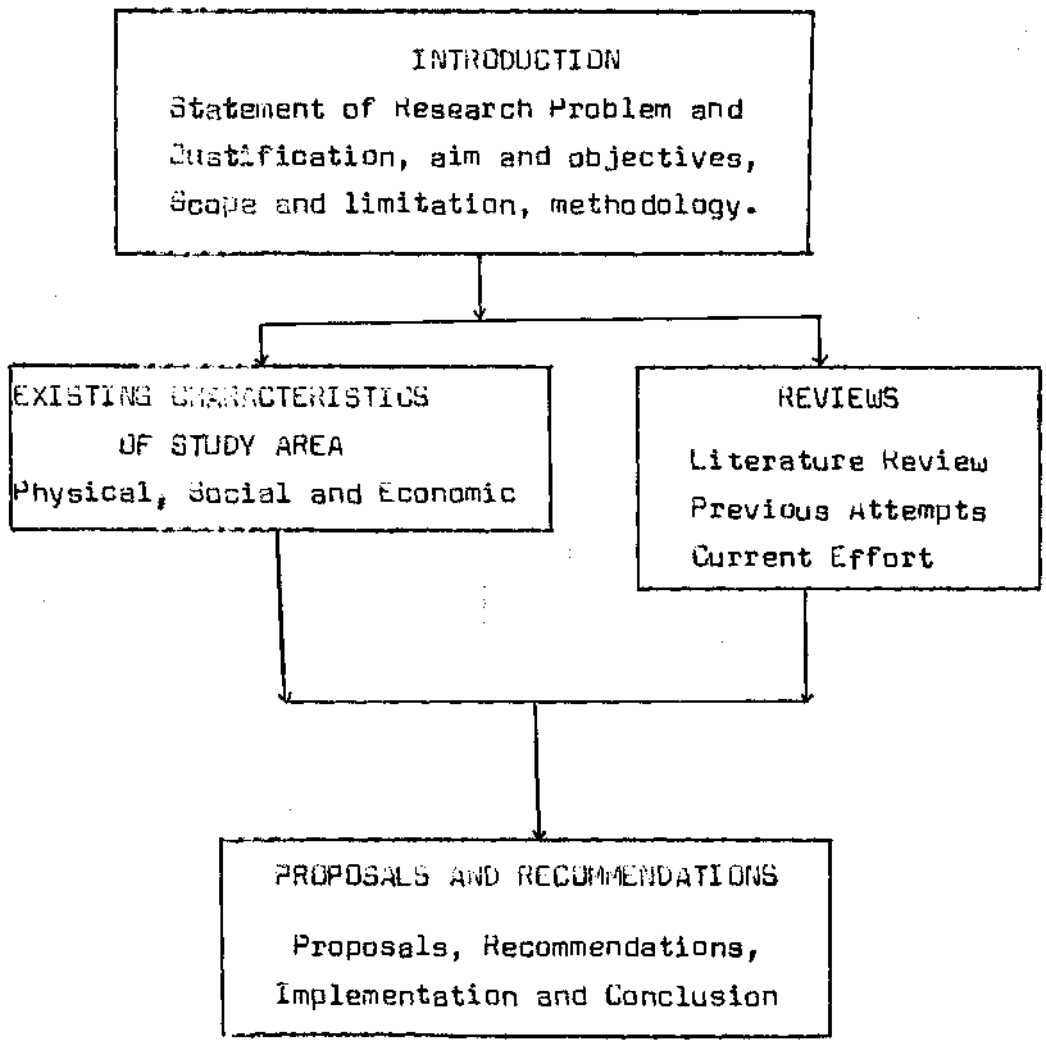


FIGURE - 1: Thesis Framework

CHAPTER - TWO

2.0 EXISTING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY AREA

2.1 PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

2.1.1 Location and Size

Gwoza Local Government Area is located between latitudes 11^{0} 07' to 11^{0} 13'N and Longitude 13^{0} 20' to 13^{0} 40 E. It is bounded on the East by the Cameroon Republic, on the North by Gwoza Local Government Area, on the West and South by Damboa Local Government Area and Gongola State respectively (Figure 2). The Local Government Area covers an area of approximately 2,400 square kilometres until the creation of New Local Government Areas in the State in 1989, it was the smallest Local Government Area. The 1984 estimate put the population at about 155,805[1].

2.1.2 Relief and Drainage of the Hill Environment

The physical environment of the Gwoza Hill dwellers is characterized by strong relief which vary from foot hills to pediments and rugged mountain ranges (Figure 3). The relief therefore, contrasts sharply with the adjoining plains, which is generally flat and undulating. The hill range stretches for about 30 kilometres North to South and ranges in width from one to ten kilometres at its narrowest and widest respectively. The elevation ranges between 900 metres and 1,300 metres above sea level. The Gwoza Hill range forms the Northern part of the Mandara Mountains.

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1. Borno State Statistical Year Book, 1984.

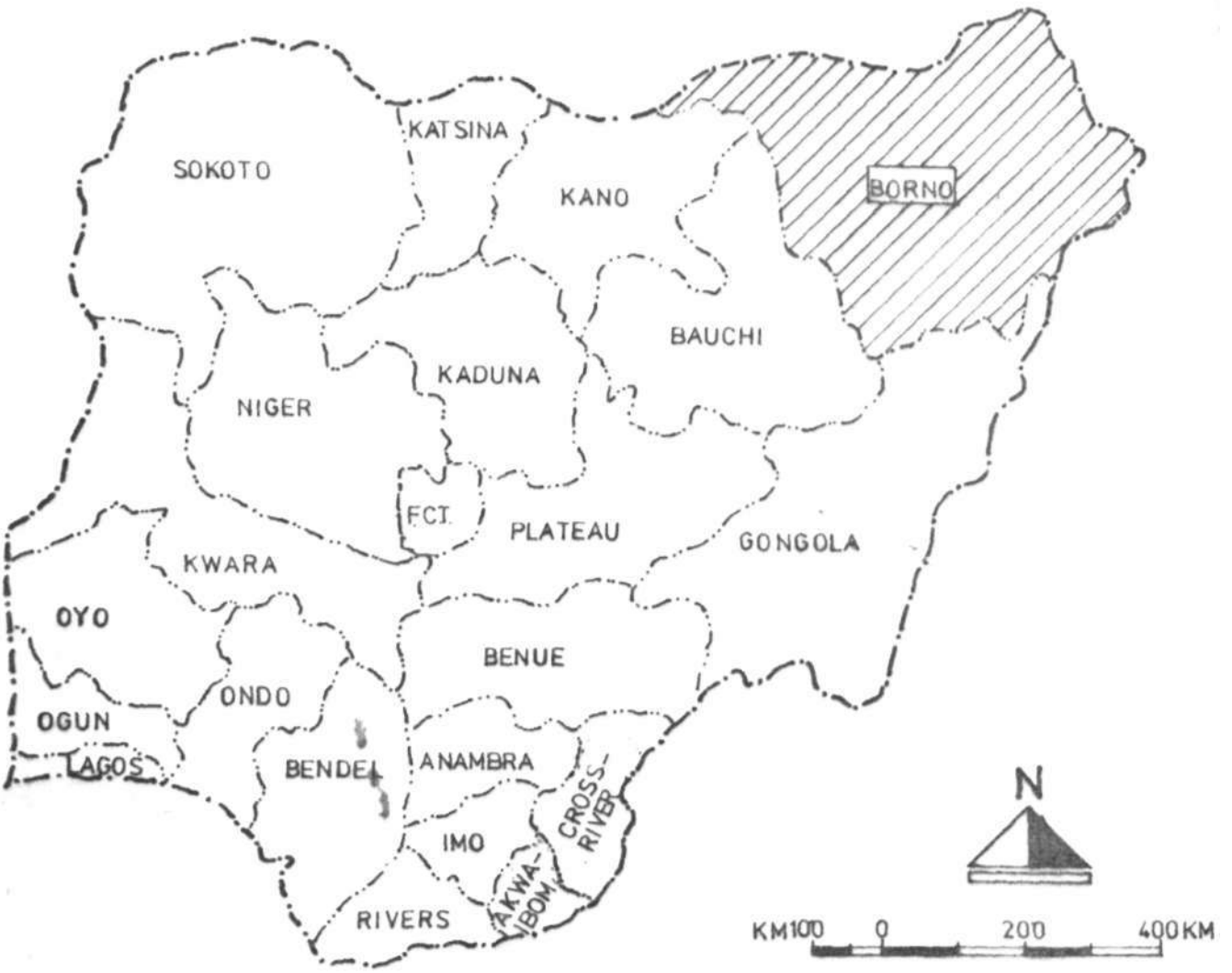


FIG. 2 : BORNO STATE WITHIN NATIONAL CONTEXT

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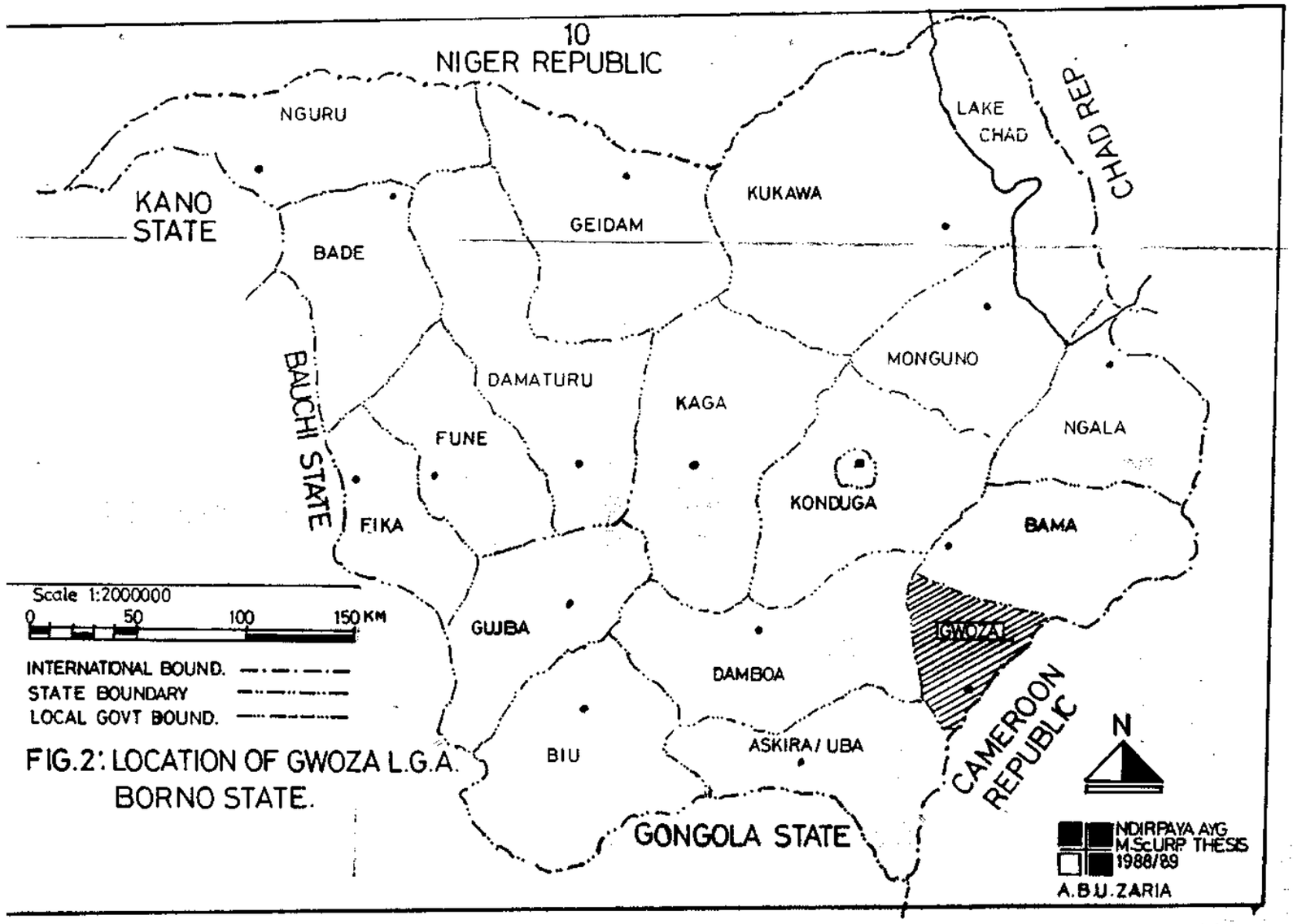
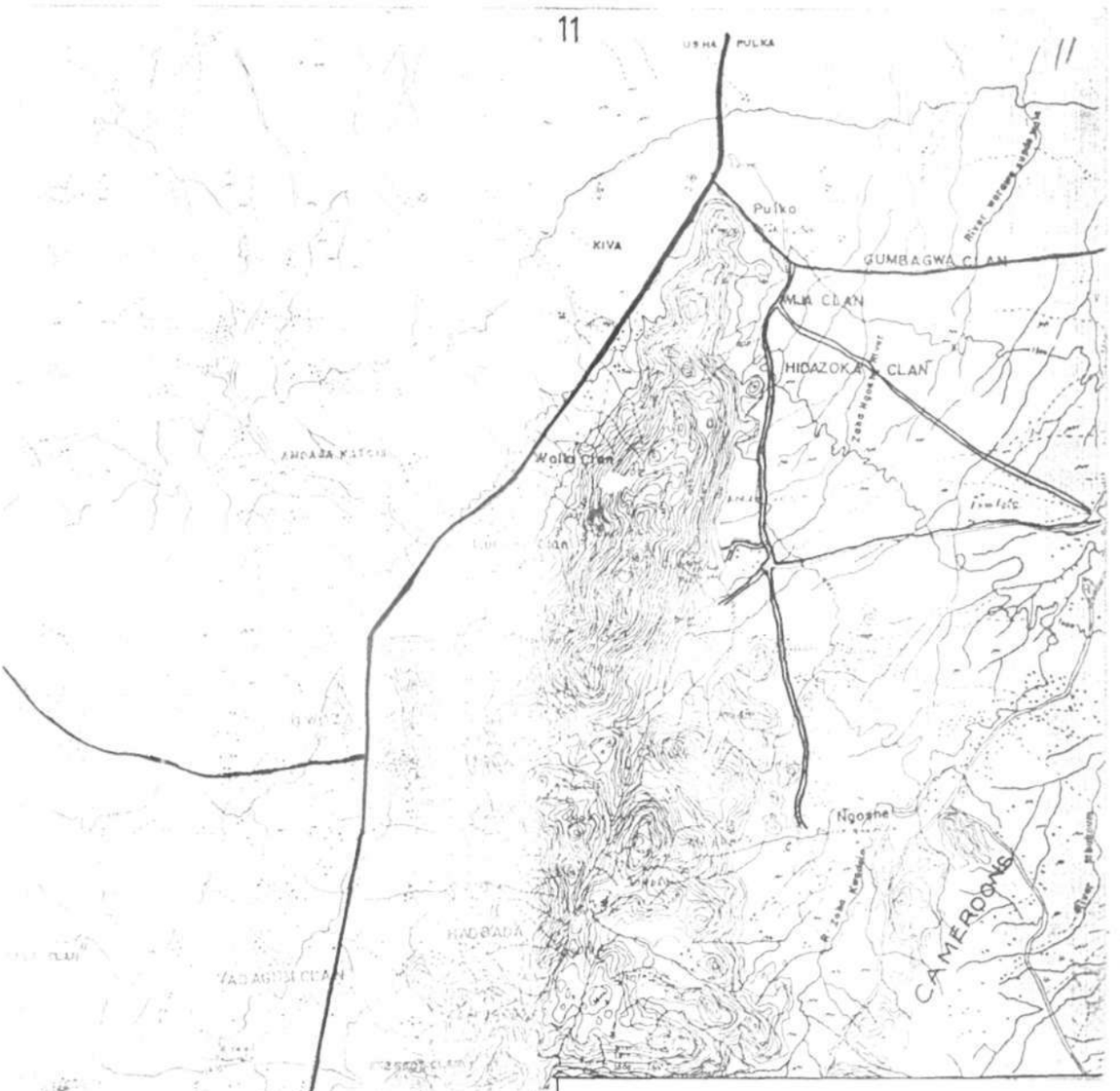


FIG.2: LOCATION OF GWOZA L.G.A. BORNO STATE.



GWOZA PHYSICAL SETTING

FIG 3 N

0 1 2 3 KM

MAJOR ROADS

MINOR "

FEEDER "

FOOTPATHS

CONTOURS

STREAMS AND RIVERS

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PART OF GWOZA SHEET 114

The assortment of rock bolders that are strewn on the Mountain sides have been weathered down through the ages by agents of erosion. The various peaks present a kind of rugged skyline with upstanding rock masses exposed on the hill tops as dykes. In some parts such as the Southern part which broadens to about 13 kilometres, the hills rise steeply from each other by narrow longitudinal valleys. This rugged nature of the hill relief makes human settlement extremely difficult. Movements and general accessibility is greatly impeded, such that the hill dwellers even use sticks to maintain their balance in their movements up and down the mountain.

Between the ranges are intermontane valleys and gorges through which the incised streams tumble their way to the plains below. Infact the Gwoza hill range forms a water shed to the numerous streams and rivers that dissect and drain the Local Government area. Both the incised streams in the hills and those on the plains are seasonal and therefore, do not under normal circumstances offer attraction to human settlements.

2.1.3 Climate, Soil and Vegetation

Like most parts of the State, the Local Government Area generally falls within the Sudan region with two distinct seasons namely wet and dry. The rainy or wet season normally starts from late May and end early October with peak in August. The dry season commences from October and ends in April. It is characterized by dry, cold and dusty harmattan or North-easterlies which blows from mid October and lasts till February when the hot period sets in.

Quite unlike highland climates such as the Jos and Mambila Plateau for example, the Gwoza hills climate is not significantly different from the plains below. However, temperatures are lower and reinfall heavier than the adjoining plains. Winds can be so violent up and down the slopes that movements are impired as earlier mentioned.

As a result of the relief of the hill environment and constant erosion which cause rills and gullies along the Mountain slopes, the soils are rocky and too skeletal. For Fertile soils are only found in the valleys where mineral soils have been accumulated as a result of the decomposition of the basement complex series and other granites. These are however, inadequate to sustain life and cater for a flourishing economy. There is therefore, very limited cultivable land. To check, the erosion of the soil terracing has to be practised (Plates - I and II).

The hill top vegetation, unlike the plains, is essentially man made. The dominant trees are Mangoes, Date Palms, Palm Trees of the Guinea Savanna zone, African Mahogany and occasional thorn bush. These trees all play a significant role in the economy of the hill people as they supply leaves, seeds and oil for fodder, human consumption and for building, fencing and fuel.

2.1.4 Settlement Pattern, Form and Structure

The traditional Gwoza settlement pattern particularly the hill area is characteristically dispersed and therefore,



PLATE - I: Terrace System of Checking Soil Erosion.
Note: The Thurn Bush - A Source Material for Fencing Compound Units.



PLATE - II: Main Foot-Path Through the Lowest Pass (Guduf) to One of the Hill-top Settlements.

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2.1.4 Settlement Pattern, Form and Structure

The traditional Gwoza settlement pattern particularly the hill area is characteristically dispersed and therefore,

isolated. This is attributed to the topography and the tradition of the people who are not known to live in nucleated villages. Infact as one of the colonial officers put it "they do not even regard a house as a permanent habitation but merely as a temporary base of operation, if there is a sickness or evil spirit in the house, it is invariably abandoned and a new house built on a more propititious site"[2]. This has tended to influence the pattern and distribution of settlements on both the hill top and the plains (Figure 4).

As regards the form of the settlements, like the pattern, it has been influenced by the physical environment and their tradition. A form of isolated compounds scattered over space within the given area. It depicts a kind of 'every man to himself'. Compound units are never contiguous. Each unit is therefore, completely isolated from each other and only linked by a network of footpaths that meander round borders (Figure 5). Space availability has thus given rise to the form of settlement obtained on the hill top. Some traditional, Gwoza settlements on the plains still depict the same form where compound units are isolated and separated by farm-lands. The influence of social change has however, exerted dramatic effect on the forms of the settlements on the plain. Hence the emergence of the 'Dandal' element, i.e., in some of the settlements. In most cases however, the plain settlements have assumed a linear form mostly along major roads and water courses.

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2. Stapleton, J. H. D.(1952): Gwoza Resettlement Scheme Report File No. 45773/S.58, P.89.



FIG 4 :GWOZA LOCAL GOVT DISTRIBUTION OF SETTLEMENTS



KEY

- ISOLATED COMPOUND UNIT
- CLAN HEAD'S COMPOUND
- ROCK BOLDER
- NET WORK OF FOOT PATHS
- ow WELL
- GM GRINDING MACHINE
- SC SOCIAL CENTRE
- STREAM
- ASSUMMED BOUNDARY

FIG. 5 TYPICAL GWOZA HILL SETTLEMENT FORM

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PLATE - III: A Typical Traditional Hill Top Hut

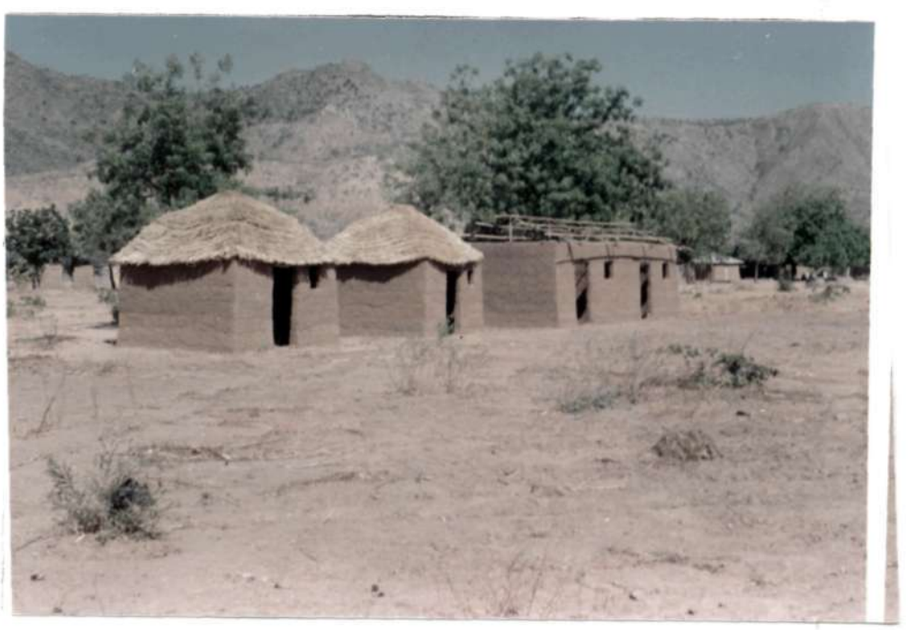


PLATE - IV: New House Type of the Resettlers. Influence of Change on the Housing Form.



PLATE - III: A Typical Traditional Hill Top Hut

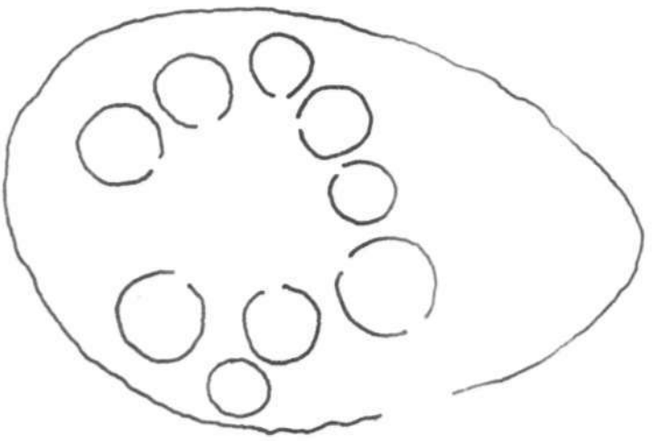


PLATE - IV: New House Type of the Resettlers. Influence of Change on the Housing Form.

The structure of the hill settlements to a large extent has been influenced by the terrain and again their tradition as pointed out earlier. The single most dominant element in a typical Gwoza hill settlement is the house of the 'village' head who incidentally is the clan head and hence commands considerable authority, respect and allegience from the people. Despite the terrain and the isolated or scattered nature of the compounds, the house of the clan head takes a most central location within the compound units. The different compound units are therefore, linked to this dominant element and to each other by a network of footpaths intertwining the obstructive bolders (Figure 5). Around each compound unit is its small farm-land. The 'Dandal' element is completely a non-existent aspect of the structure of the hill settlements because of the physical constraints to its creation and it is not an aspect of their settlements.

Most village activities take place within the focal point - the house of the clan head. As observed in one of the hill settlements the few amenities such as primary school, dispensary, grividing mill (Plates IX and X) are located within the vicinity of the house of the clan head. The only 'social' centre observed where the people congregate to treat themselves to drinking the local beer is also within this same vicinity. It apparently serves as a 'market' where the main item for sale is the local beer.

As noted, the forms and structure of any given settlement and the housing form in them is usually the



SKETCH PLAN

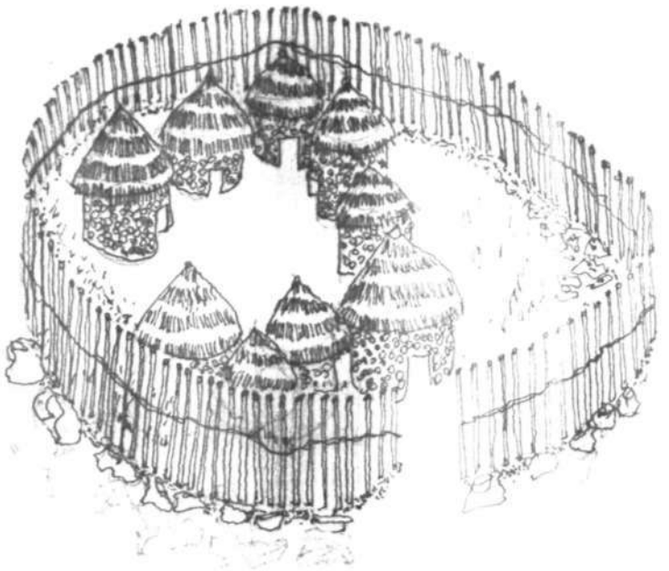


FIG. 6 : TYPICAL GWOZA HILL COMPOUND

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product of factors such as cultural traits, the kind of agricultural practice, climate, etc. (United Nation, 1974).

The compounds on the hill top are isolated from each other and each is defined or enclosed by a fence made up of either piled stones or thorns with single entrance to it. The 'Zaure' is not a common characteristics of the traditional hill compounds (Figure 6). Each house or compound is made up of a couple of huts depending on the size of the family but usually accommodates the nuclear family. There are also some storage facilities (rumbu) located within the compound enclosure. The huts are constructed essentially of stones and roofed mostly with millet stalks, as grasses are very limited. All the houses on the hill top are the round type (Plate - III). However, there tends to be changes in the house type where rectangular and square types are introduced as apparent in the resettlement sites (Plate - V). This shows the impact of change of the new environment on the people. The new adopted form of building unlike their hill top round type, allows for flexibility where additional house (room) can be added as the need arises.

Open courts within compounds tend to be limited for the obvious lack of sufficient space. In the Eastern part of the hill, courts are not open but covered while the trend in the Western and central spur, the open courts appear to be larger. They are the result of population pressure on land where land is not used extravagantly.



PLATE - V: Mixed Cropping - Millet and Beans



PLATE - VI: A Typical Beans Farm on a Terraced Pocket of Plain



PLATE - V: Mixed Cropping - Millet and Beans



PLATE - VI: A Typical Beans Farm on a Terraced Pocket of Plain

In terms of the general circulation within the hill settlements as mentioned earlier, they are only in form of a maze of foot-paths connecting the isolated compounds to each other and to the focal point-area. There is apparent absence of hierarchy in the circulation and infact no definite rule as to the directions and pattern but they are very flexible and allow for inter compound movements.

On the whole therefore, the pattern, form and structure of the hill settlement depict the extent to which the environment dictates man's action and conversely man's response, i.e., modification and adoptability to the physical environment.

2.2 SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

The social and economic conditions of the Gwoza hill dwellers is to a considerable extent the result of the physical environment and historical past. The rugged and steep hills topography constitute a serious constraints to crop cultivation, animal rearing, movement and infact the very survival of the hill dwellers.

2.2.1 Social Characteristics

Within the entire Local Government, there are about eleven distinct ethnic groups and seven are on the hill top (See Table 1). Each hill top settlement is exclusively occupied by a single clan and has a defined territory. Their distribution is as seen in Figure 7.

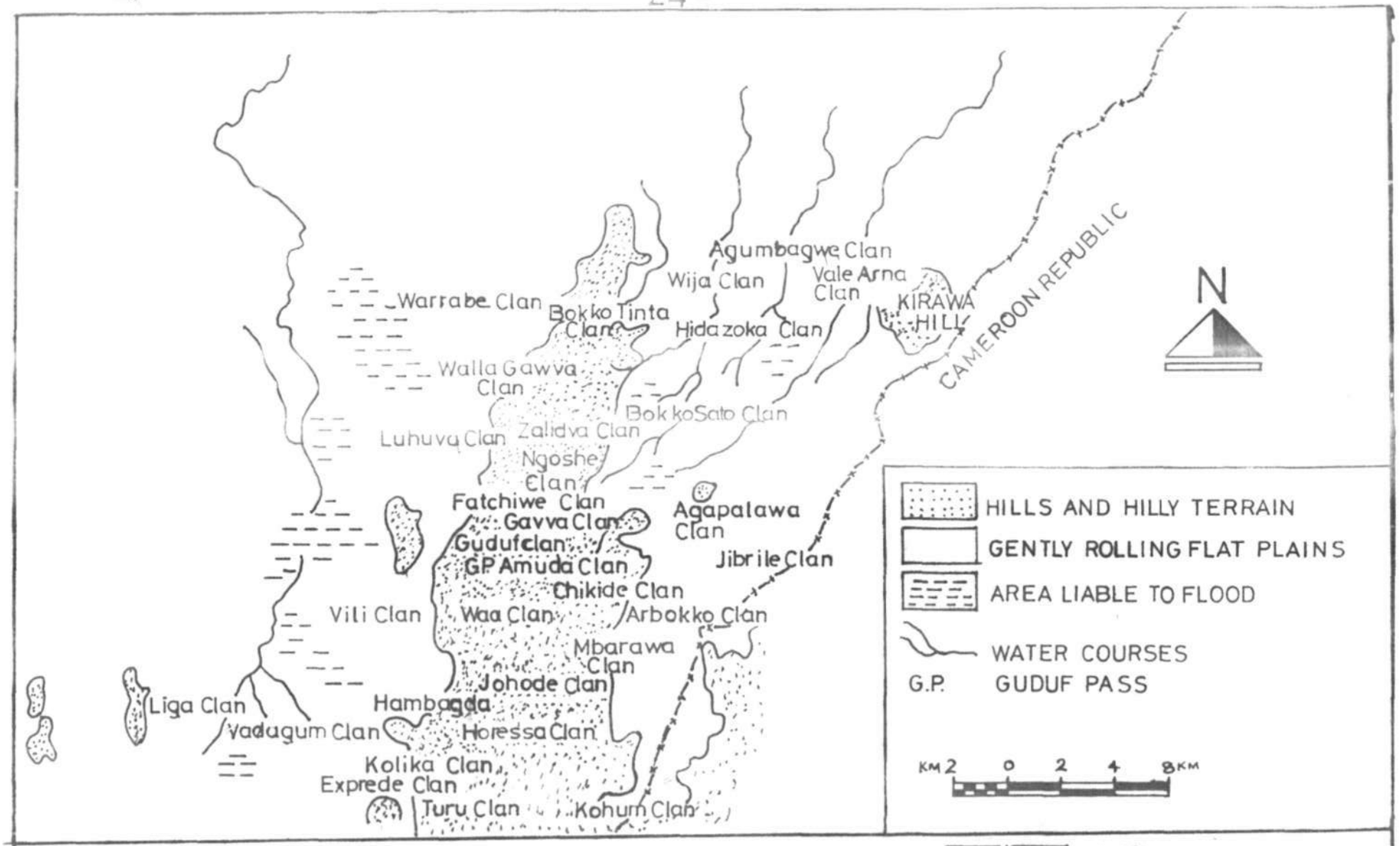


FIG. 7 : GWOZA HILLS DISTRIBUTION OF CLANS SETTLEMENTS

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TABLE - I: Gwoza Hill Ethnic Groups, Hill Top and Plains Settlements

Ethnic Group	Hill Top Settlements	Important Plain Settlements
Zalidva	Zalidva, Tahadgele	Wala, Warabe, Kwashare
Gavva	Gathlahive, Hembe	Gavva Kasa
Guduf	Guduf Nagadiyo, Guduf Dubayagwa, Huture Kunde, Wha'a	Guduf Nagadiyo, Guduf Dubayagwa (Kasa); Gwoza
Duhade	Takwashe, Kurana Bassa, Hudimcha, Ghuraza-Hudimcha, Ghuraza-Gudule, Holika, Kwandama	Fegen Kurana Bassa Uvaha, Limahkara Waha
Matakam	Matakam	Ashigashiya
Tur	Ngoshi Sama	Limankara
Chikide	Chikide, Chinene	Chikide, Arboko

SOURCE: Abbas, D. G.(1988): Resettlement Scheme in Gwoza Local Government Area, Unpublished B.Sc. (Political Science) Project, P.43.

Most of the hill dwellers are mainly amenists except for some few of the younger ones whose constant movement to the urban areas during the dry season insearch of minial jobs, exposed them to other religions.

The house-hold survey conducted revealed an over-all average family size of about eight persons per house-hold on the hill top, while those resettled revealed a higher average of nine persons per house-hold because of the availability of

health services and general improvement of living standard and space availability.

Social interaction among the hill dwellers is highly restricted to individual settlements, due to the physical environment and past experiences which completely disallow inter-settlement interaction. Infact until recently, people do not venture to go outside their own hill territory because of the fierce inter-tribal fueds. Changing circumstances however, have made it possible for the people to interact on the plains either when they visit the plains for markets and festivals or when their relatives who have earlier resettled go up to visit them.

2.2.2 History of the Hill Settlements

From the scanty data on the Gwoza Hill people, it is found that they were forced to inhabit the hill-top in the pre-colonial times to avoid the harassement by slave raiders from apparently all directions around them, i.e., Mandara from the East, Fulani from the South and West, and Kanuri from the North. The exact period of their stay is not known but from local sources, they must have stayed on the hill-top for over a hundred years[3]. It was therefore, circumstance that forced them up hills and not by design.

The Gwoza Community is a complex one with diverse ethnic groupings each of which traces its geneology to a common ancestor and it is this ancestral relationship that

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3. Village Head of Guduf Duba Yagwa.

holds the society together. There is absolute loyalty to the ancestral home, to the ancestral land and spirits. The elders are accepted as the living vicars of their ancestral fathers. Accordingly, they can evoke the anger of the ancestral spirits upon any erring or intransigent member of the clan. It is this belief system of the people that binds the absolute social cohension of the people and also preserve their values and identity[4].

The hills therefore, became the only safe refuge to the people from the then slave raids. It was impossible for the raiders with their horses to climb the hills. Infact as Mahdi (undated) reported, "the only military reversal suffered by Rabeh's forces during their occupation of Borno was at the hands of the people of Zalidva in Gwoza, who rolled down avalandies of rocks on the attacking soldiers in their attempt to go up the mountain top to subdue the inhabitants"[5]. This shows how fortified and safe these hill dwellers were during the trying moments in their history.

This sense of security has encouraged them to stay on. According to Abbas (1988), this situation changed in 1902 with the appearance of the Germans in the area. The area then formed part of the Northern Cameroons and was under the administration of the Germans. However, because of

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4. Ghide, G. A.(1982): The Resettlement of the Gwoza Hill People, A Symposium Paper, P.3.

5. Mahdi, A.(Undated): The cities of Borno, Cities of the Savannah, P.17.

financial constraints and difficulty in administering the hill people, the Germans transfered the administration of the area to the Local Authority[6].

The invasion of the area in 1914 by the dritish, French and Belgium troops schemed the Germans out of the area. This finally led to the spliting of the area between France and dritain. The British then had the mandate over the colony contaminous with Nigeria, and therefore, the people of the former British Trust Territory of the Northern Cameroon decided to amalgamate with Northern Nigeria during the 1959 plebicite.

2.2.3 Economic Characteristics

Most of the hill dwellers are essentially farmers. Farming therefore, constitutes the most dominant activity during the wet season as shown in Figure 8. It was also found that only few supplement farming with animal rearing. The environment provides little interms of games, hence hunting is the least activity of the hill dwellers. It has been observed however, that most of them do virtually nothing during the dry season except for those who look after their animals or do variety of things such as repair of houses, going to towns for jobs (Cin rani) among others.

Like all rural communities, their economy is essentially subsistence. The difficult terrain allows only

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6. Abbas, Op. Cit., Pp. 3-5.

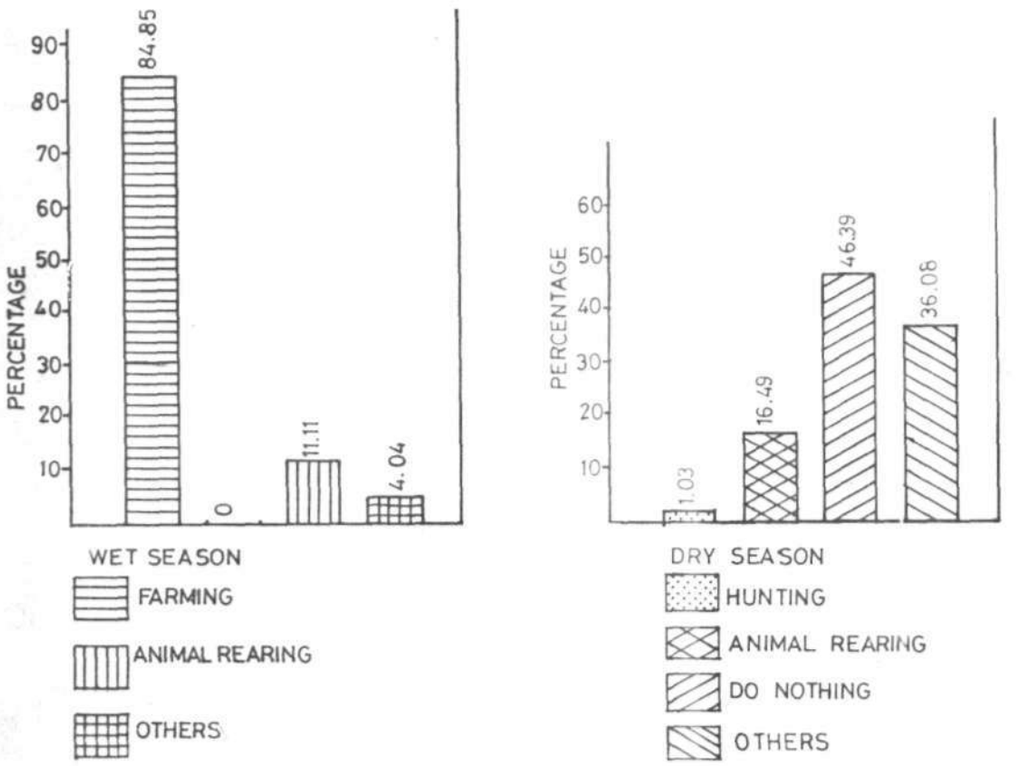


FIG.8: HILLTOP ACTIVITIES

Source: Field Survey 1989

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for a limited but highly intensive cultivation of the land due to acute shortage of cultivable land (Plate - VI) and the use of ox-drawn plough is not possible. The crude traditional implements such as the hoe and axe are therefore, used. Farm lands are extremely small usually in pockets of available space and scattered in different locations. The non-contiguous mature of their farms only means they have to move from one location to the other and this leads to considerable loss of man-work hour and consequently, crop yield per house-hold is very low.

Due to the hilly terrain, cultivation is made difficult and tedious. Terracing therefore, is the only system which reduces the effect of erosion (Plates - I and VII). And to improve the soil fertility, human, animal and house-hold wastes are used as manure, the application of which is limited to those farm-lands close to the settled areas because of the obvious difficulty of movement and the non-contiguous nature of the farms. Major crops grown are guinea corn, millet, maize and beans. Crop rotation and mixed-cropping (Plate - VIII) have to be done to prolong the life span of the soil. Bush fallowing is practised but on a limited scale usually not more than two years in view of the land shortage.

Despite their highly subsistent economy, they still have to sell or even barter some of their farm produce in



PLATE - VII: Environmental Constraints to Crop Cultivation

NOTE: The Rocky and Skeletal Soil Cover



PLATE - VIII: Intensive Use of Limited Cultivable Land on the Hill Top.

NOTE: The Isolated Compound Units - The Effect of Environmental Constraints.

the markets on the plains to meet some of their material and other social needs such as the payment of their taxes.

As already noted, some of the people rear animals such as sheep, goats and cattle only as supplements to farming, none of which is done on commercial basis because of the water scarcity, poor pasture and theft. It must be noted that the significance of the animals lie more in their status symbols than their economic values. They are mostly used for sacrifices on important occassions such as festivals or given out as bride prices on prospective brides.

2.2.4 Existing Infrastructure

Within the hill settlements, there is a general absence and inadequacy of infrastructural facilities when compared to the whole local government area. With their population estimated at over 65,000 and considering the facilities available to them on the hill-top, it can aptly be said to be grossly inadequate. For those few that are provided, their uses are exclusive to only those settlements, these facilities are provided or located as there is no inter 'village' link on the hill-top (Figure 9).

For example, out of the seventy existing primary schools in the local government, only five are located on the hill-top, i.e., in Guduf Nagadiyo, Guduf Gubayagwa, Kurana Gassa, Chikide and Ngoshi Gama. Even these primary schools are limited to between one to four classrooms

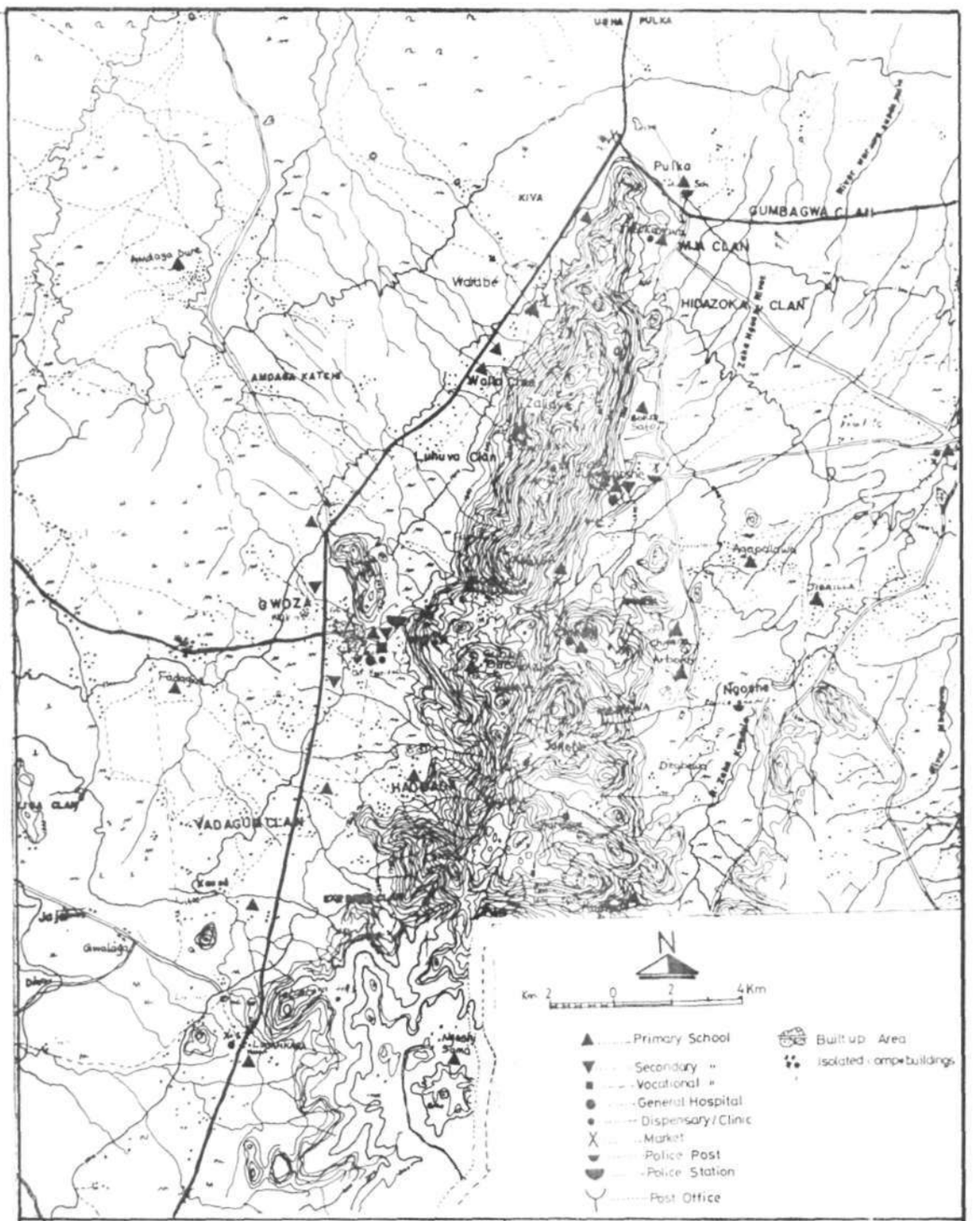


FIG 9: EXISTING SITUATION

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PLATE - IX: One of the Existing Primary Schools on the Hill Top



PLATE - X: Grinding Mill - A Rare Facility on the Hill Top

(Plate - IX). There is again the problem of teachers to man the schools because of the hardship of moving up and down the hills and that of staying on the hill-top. All the five existing Post-primary institutions with the Local Government are located on the plains.

In terms of health services, the Local Government has two General Hospitals, one comprehensive health centre, four dispensaries and three clinics. However, only two dispensaries are located in temporary structures on the hill-top with services limited to two days a week. Like the schools, the accessibility problem limits the uses to only those settlements, the dispensaries are located.

Other basic facilities such as pipe borne water and electricity are non-existent. The only sources of water are the few wells (Plate - XI(a) and within rock crevices and valleys, the adequacy of which are only during the wet season. There is therefore, a general acute water shortage on the hill-top. Facilities such as grinding mills (Plate-X) are very rare. Market facilities, other than the type mentioned earlier, are non-existent. It is therefore, only when they come down to the towns and villages with such facilities that they avail themselves. In fact the study revealed that market constitutes the most important reasons for the people's visit to the plains.



PLATE - XI(a): Cement Well, One of the Sources of Water on the Hill Top



PLATE - XI(b): Gwoza Hill Clan Head's House. The Most Conspicuous and Largest Hut in the Settlement



PLATE - XI(a): Cement Well, One of the Sources of Water on the Hill Top



PLATE - XI(b): Gwoza Hill Clan Head's House. The Most Conspicuous and Largest Hut in the Settlement

2.3 PROBLEMS OF THE EXISTING HILL TOP SETTLEMENTS

The problems that the people are being confronted with have constituted among others the major reasons for their decision to come down to the plains. Asked what prompted their decision to come down to the plains, 30.60 percent said it is because of farm-land problem, 28.67 percent said water problem, 25.37 percent said lack of basic amenities and 17.16 percent to various other reasons. To further ascertain the actual reasons that prompted their decision to come down, those already resettled said, they came down to the plains because of the general lack of amenities on the hill top (32 percent). Farm-land problem (28 percent) water problem (19 percent) and other reasons (21 percent). Cummulatively therefore, farm-land problem, lack of amenities, water problem and other problems in that order have prompted the hill dwellers to come down to the plains (Figure - 10).

To compare the situation (problems) on the hill top and those on the plains those already resettled were asked which problem is more pressing. The result shows water to be the most serious problem on the plains than on the hill top, while farm-land problem seems to be more acute on the hill top (former village) than on the plains (Figure - 11). This shows that water availability especially for the construction of houses is fundamental to the successful implementation of the hill dwellers resettlement as will be seen later.

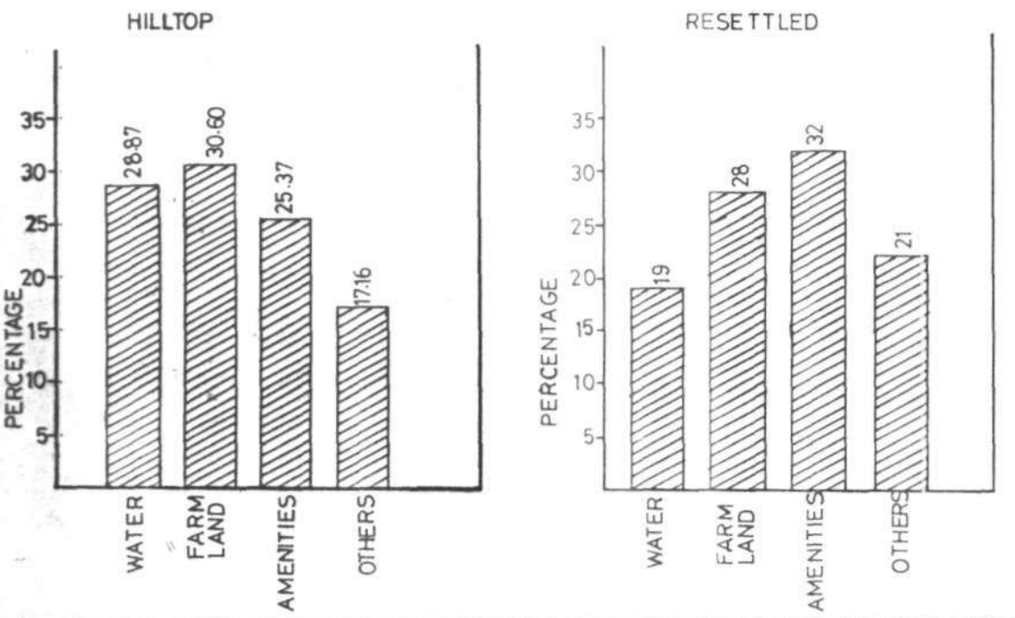


FIG.10 : REASONS FOR DECIDING TO COME DOWN

SOURCE : FIELD SURVEY 1989

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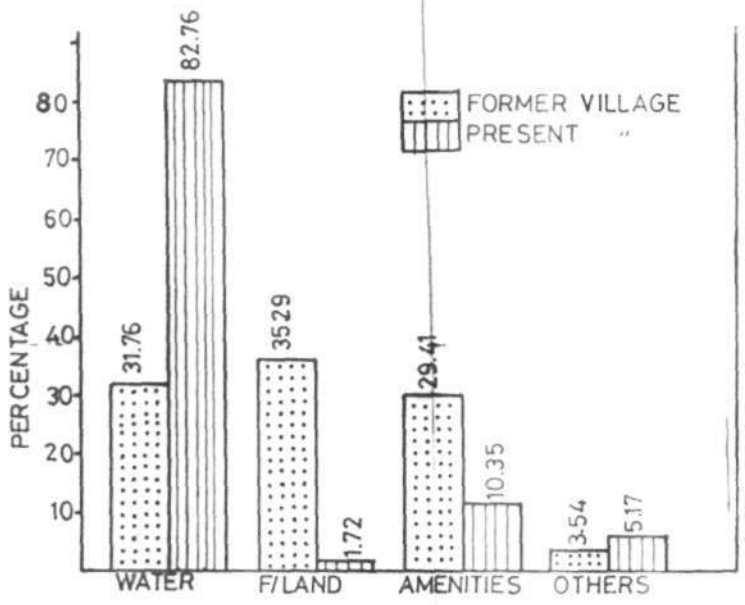


FIG. 11: PROBLEMS IN VILLAGES

Source: Field Survey 1989

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From the evaluation and analysis of the existing physical, social and economic conditions of the people, it is apparent that they experience serious hardships which pervade their entire social well being. The problems can therefore, be summarized as follows:

i. General low standard of living of the people.

ii. Wide spread of acute water shortage for both human and animal consumption and for building purposes.

iii. General insufficient cultivable land because of the terrain and population pressure and hence their low agricultural out puts.

iv. General inaccessibility and movement problems because of the rough, steep and winding hill terrain.

v. General lack of services, facilities and utilities as a result of their location.

CHAPTER - THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter briefly examines the concept of rural development and also examines the concept of resettlement as a strategy in rural development within the context of the study.

As will be seen later, resettlement forms an integral part of rural development programmes and its adoption as a strategy in developing the rural areas is to solve problems such as population pressure and consequent land shortage problems. Through resettlements the provision of basic welfare amenities to dispersed and inaccessible rural population is made more easy functionally and economically than their hitherto dispersed nature.

3.1 CONCEPT OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The term rural development means different things to different people depending on how each views it. Until recently, it had often been confused with or taken to be synanymous with agricultural development, agriculture largely being the main occupation of the rural people. But rural development entails much more than just agricultural development. Its scope is therefore, wide.

Mabogunje (1980) for example conceives of rural development as "concerned with the improvement of the living standards of the low income population living in the rural areas on a self sustaining basis, through the transformation of the socio-spatial structures of their productive activities"[1]. In the view of Williams (1978) rural development is aimed at the "generation of new employment, more equitable access to arable land; equitable distribution of income; wide spread improvements in health, nutrition, and housing; maintenance of law and order; creation of incentives and opportunities for saving, credit and investment"[2]. By all intent and purpose therefore, rural development is expected, through its programmes, create wide opportunities for the individuals to actually realize their full potentials through education and sharing in the decisions and actions which affect their lives.

As Osayande (1978) pointed out, rural development programmes, when meticulously pursued, are expected to achieve the following: improvement in the standard of living of the rural dwellers, stabilisation of growth in the rural areas, provision of self-sufficiency in National

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1. Mabogunje, A. L.(1980): The Development Process, A Spatial Perspective, Hutchinson University Library for Africa, P.94.

2. Williams, S. K. T.(1978): Rural Development in Nigeria, University of Ife Press, P.XVIII.

Food Supply, improvement of foreign reserves, steeming rural - urban drift and increase in the purchasing power of the rural dwellers[3].

It is apparent from the foregoing therefore, that, rural development is a massive effort to increase production, create and spread employment opportunities and to eliminate fundamental causes of poverty, disease and ignorance among the rural inhabitants. It also tries to establish an economic base of the rural areas which would ultimately lead to improvement in their living standard.

It is presently recognised that, rural developments represent perhaps the only logical way through which the overall development of an area, region or the Nation can be stimulated. Various attempts to improve rural conditions have therefore, been taken by various governments of the developing world and have since taken the form of resettlement programmes although mostly motivated by projects such as dam constructions.

Again, it is to be emphasized here that rural developments must be tackled focusing on some specific regional or sub-regional problems to avoid being

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3. Osayande, N. E.(1978): Strategies for Rural Development, Unpublished M.Sc.(URP) Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria, P.X.

over ambitious, a phenomenon which has characterized most of the programmes. In Nigeria, and indeed most developing countries, such problems as population pressure and consequent land shortage problems particularly in hilly areas such as the Shendam/Langtang and Gwoza Hill areas, social problems such as the school leavers in Eastern and Western Nigeria, have resulted in the establishment of resettlement and farm settlement schemes.

3.1.1 The Concept of Resettlement Scheme

Resettlement has been defined by many authors differently but all have a common central theme. Chambers (1969) for example defined it as "a situation where a group of people are up-rooted from their familiar environment to an unfamiliar one"[4]. Bridger (1962) looked at it as "the transfer of population from one area to another on a planned basis, the object being to raise living standards"[5]. In his own definition of resettlement, Belshaw (1967) viewed it as a "project involving the planned and controlled transfer of population from one area to another"[6].

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4. Chambers, R.(1969): Resettlement Schemes in Tropical Africa, London, P.10.

5. Bridger, G. A.(1962): Quoted in Chambers, R.(1969) P.10.

6. Belshaw, D. G. R.(1967): Quoted in Chambers, R. (1969), P.10.

Looking at it from a different perspective, Gana (1978) viewed resettlement as "an exercise which provides an excellent opportunity for a proper and functional spatial organisation of the affected rural landscape with a view to increasing its capacity for growth and harmonious absorption of further development in the near future"[7].

From these definitions, the fundamental features characterizing resettlement are:

i. Movement of population.

ii. Elements of planning and control of such movements.

iii. An attempt at modifying the socio-cultural life style of the people.

iv. The desire to improve the economic base and standard of living of the affected people.

Various studies on resettlement have shown that there are differences as to the forces motivating them and the number of people involved. The financial cost all vary, with each one of them. While some are undertaken because of the risk to the lives of the people, others however, are undertaken with the object of improving the general living conditions of the people. The latter of course could be either compulsorily done

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7. Gana, J. A.(1978): Federal Capital Resettlement Scheme: A Strategy for a New Sub-Regional Spatial Design. In Ajaegbu, H. I. and Morgan, W. T. W.(2nds), Geography and Planning in Nigeria, Salam Press, Jos, Nigeria, P.

or voluntary, and there are also those which are neither wholly voluntary nor wholly compulsory as in the case of the current issue under review.

When the resettlement is voluntary, the impetus of movement is endogeneously induced that is the movement is out of the free will of the people to their choice places. Usually, these type of resettlements lack planning in their organisation. The movement of people from remote or interior areas to newly constructed highways signifies such type of voluntary resettlements, for example the 'Tsuntsaye' village located along Malumfashi-Yashe Road in Kankia Local Government Area of Katsina State. Also such resettlements are found along the Ibadan-Ife, Ife-Ondo High-ways and Lagos-Ibadan Express way. The Shedam scheme also offers a good example of the voluntary but assited resettlements during the colonial period as will be seen later.

A point of note here is that in such spontaneous movements, there is apparently no risk or danger to the lives of the people involved unlike the compulsory ones and as pointed out, little or no planning is done to control the nature of the settlement except when it is the assisted type. Sutton (1978) however, disputed the voluntariness of resettlement since there is usually a 'pull' or even 'push' factor(s) as exemplified by those that have resettled along major high-ways and also that

of Shendam, because of the acute land shortage on the hills due to the population pressure being the 'push' factor while the availability of land on the sparsely populated plains as the 'pull' factor. In effect therefore, the motivating factor is really not from within but outside. The central factor though is the willingness on the part of those involved.

Resettlements that are compulsorily undertaken are those motivated by either disasters or projects. Most resettlement schemes in Nigeria and indeed most developing countries, fall under this type. They result from construction of dams for either irrigation purposes and or generation of electricity. For example, the Volta, Kanji, Shiroro, Bakolori and Tiga Dam Resettlement Schemes.

During the colonial period, such compulsory resettlements were motivated by agricultural and rural development projects such as the Daudawa and Mokwa in Nigeria, Gezira and MUEA in the Sudan, etc. Other resettlements were motivated by health hazards such as the Anchau in Nigeria, Kigumba and Busoga in Uganda which were designed to evacuate people from tsetse-fly infected areas, some have political motives such as the case of the political refuges in Sudan and those designed specifically to curb the drift of school leavers to towns

as witnessed in the Western and Eastern Nigeria farm settlements in the 1960s[8].

In recent times however, most of the resettlement schemes carried out in Nigeria have resulted from the establishment of River Basin Development Authorities (R.B.D.As). The construction of multi-purpose dams by these River Basin Development Authorities from the 1970s have led to the displacement and hence resettlement of people affected by their activities. Other more recent resettlement schemes in Nigeria include those resulting from the development of the Federal Capital, Abuja such as Wuse and Ushapa. In effect therefore, many resettlement schemes have been undertaken in Nigeria and indeed most countries of the developing world. These have been executed for a variety of reasons, their sizes interms of people involved and the approaches to their planning also varied from one to the other.

In the next section, some selected resettlement schemes undertaken in Nigeria which have been fairly well documented, will be examined to appreciate and identify their success or failure. This is with a view to drawing some lessons which could either be adopted or avoided in the final recommendations for the resettlement

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8. Chambers, Op. Cit., Pp.31 - 39.

of the Gwoza Hill dwellers and future resettlements in the State. Three examples will be examined. Their choice is based on what they represent as regards the planning and final results.

3.2 SOME SELECTED RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES IN NIGERIA

3.2.1 Shendam Resettlement and Development Scheme

The scheme started in 1948 and was one of the early numerous agricultural and rural development schemes undertaken by the Colonial Administration, as an experiment to see what could be done for the improvement of agricultural conditions in the Shendam Division of the then Plateau Province. More specifically, it was meant to provide a model organisation and agricultural practice suitable for migrants from heavily populated hill areas to sparsely populated plain areas.

One other objective was to put an end to the destructive method of shifting cultivation practiced in the area and to increase local productivity and prosperity for the benefit of the farmer and to alleviate the food supply problems of less, fortunate areas, to be achieved by gradual adoptation of more advanced method[9].

The scheme started with a pilot village at Gabon Gida initially designed to resettle 50 ex-service men,

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9. Hunt, E. O.(1949): Shendam Resettlement Scheme, File Number 73, 176/S.1: P.55.

but because these ex-service men could not adopt to living in the pilot village, they abandoned it. Following this development, the operators had to divert attention to those in heavily populated areas. Two pilot villages, i.e., Sabon Gida and Mabudi were tried. Subsequently, a 10 Year development plan (1950 to 1960) was prepared to establish 32 resettlement villages including the first two pilot villages. The detailed development plan is as follows:

(a) First Year

i. Continue clearing - 1

ii. Continue clearing - 2

iii. Permanent water supplies for 2

iv. Recce (reconnaisance), layout, prove permanent water supplies and move settlers into 3 and 4.

v. Continue metalling main arterial roads.

vi. Metal roads in 3 and 4.

vii. Recce, layout, prove permanent water supplies and open roads to 5, 6 and 7.

(b) Second Year

i. Complete 1 with contour strips and commencement of rotation of farming.

ii. Continued clearing 2

iii. Continue clearing 3 and 4.

iv. Permanent water supplies for 3 and 4.

v. Move settlers into 5, 6 and 7.

vi. Recce, layout, prove permanent water supplies and open roads to 8, 9 and 10.

vii. Metal roads to 5, 6 and 7.

(c) Third Year

i. Complete 2

ii. Continue clearing 3 and 4.

iii. Permanent water supplies for 5, 6 and 7.

iv. Move settlers to 8, 9 and 10.

v. Metal roads to 8, 9 and 10.

vi. Recce, layout, prove permanent water supplies and open roads to 11, 12 and 13.

The same sequence continued till the 30 settlements were established within the plan period. The numbers represent the individual settlements according to the order of their establishment. For example, Sabon Gida (1), Mabudi (2), Dorowa (3), etc.[10]

The scheme covered an area of about 1,550 square kilometre. The planning and administration were handled by mostly expartriate officers with the resettlement officer being solely responsible for the co-ordination and monitoring of the scheme. The settlers were given

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10. Ibid, Pp.56-57.

the free hand to elect their own village 'headman', and to pursue their own tribal customs within their villages and return to their ancestral land for religious festivals and ceremonies.

The scheme was an assisted self-help. The authorities provided site and services such as the lay-out plan, community water supplies, roads, dispensaries, schools and other necessary services. The settlers themselves built their own houses and the clearing and cultivation of their farms. Some subsistence were initially given to the settlers in form of grains, pending their first harvest.

The modalities of the provision of welfare amenities mentioned above, were such that a number of settlements had to group centre where these amenities were provided. The method enhanced the establishment of subsequent villages to take advantage of the same amenities. The whole implementation sequence was followed closely such that by the end of 1964 almost 100,000 people were resettled in over 40 villages[11]. This shows the success rate of this scheme, a scheme designed for the people and implemented with their full co-operation.

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11. Shu'aib, I. M.(1983): Critical Evaluation of Selected Development Project Initiated Resettlements Schemes in Nigeria, Unpublished M.Sc.(URP) Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria, P.11.

However, despite the general success, the scheme was not without problems. Some problems such as insufficient water and sleeping sickness were encountered. They were however, adequately and promptly solved by drafting health personnel to the area and the construction of dam reservoir.

3.2.2 Kainji Dam Resettlement Scheme

The Kainji Dam Project was borne out of the realisation of the Kainji region as a great potential for Nigeria's economic development. It was envisaged in the Hydro-electricity potentials of the River Niger, the development of which would lead to the overall progress and development of the country. The Dam construction was commissioned on 15th February, 1969, but the conception and other preliminaries of the project started much earlier.

The reservoir created by the dam construction covers an area of about 1,250 square kilometre and cut across the emirates of Borgu, Kotangora and Yauri in the former Ilorin, Niger and Sokoto Provinces. Following the inundation of the 1,250 square kilometre of land, 44,003 farmers, 200 professional fishermen, and some 100,000 animals were dislodged. These were subsequently resettled in 139 new villages and two towns. Six indigenous ethnic groups were affected by the resettlement. These were

Gungawa, Kamberi, Larawa, Hausawa, Shangawa, Bussawa and some non-indigenous ethnic groups[12]. Table-II shows the number of affected settlements, ethnic groups and percentage of total by each ethnic group.

TABLE-II: Ethnic Distribution of Settlements

Ethnic Group	Number of Settlements	Percentage
Gungawa	111	46.4
Kamberi	35	14.6
Larawa	23	9.6
Mixed	43	18.0
Hausawa	16	6.7
Shangawa	7	2.9
Bussawa	4	1.7
TOTAL	239	99.9

SOURCE: Oyedipe (1983), P.27.

To effect the resettlement of the dislodged persons, a recommendation was put forward that a resettlement area be curved out of the Native Authorities to be affected. A resettlement officer to administer the scheme was also appointed as well as the establishment of the Niger Dam Resettlement Authority (N.D.R.A) in October, 1962 (Oyedipe, 1983).

12. Oyedipe, F. P. A.(1983): Adjustment to Resettlement, A Study of the Resettled People in the Kainji Lake Basin, Pp.26-27.

Policy Guidelines and Strategy Adopted

Two policies guided the implementation of the scheme. These were cash and building compensations:

i. Cash Compensation

Under this first policy, the affected people were paid the value of their houses, crops and economic trees in cash and were only assisted in the rebuilding of their new houses according to their taste. The adequacy of farm-land and water supply formed the major criteria in the site selections which were done with the people's involvement. There were other forms of assistance such as sinking wells, allocation of farm-lands, agricultural and extension services and evacuation expenses. A total of 17 settlements were resettled under this policy, nine of which were resettled in nine separate villages, while the remaining site were amalgamated (regrouped) into two new villages. By 1964, when this policy was abandoned, 2,349 people in 242 house-holds were resettled (Table-III).

ii. Building Compensation

This did not run concurrently with the cash compensation policy but taken sequal to the abandonement of the cash compensation policy because of its 'abuse' by the resettlers. It was the aim in this policy to relocate each village as

a separate unit and as near as possible to the old one in order to keep them within familiar environment. Unlike in the first policy, the authority was directly responsible for the actual construction of the resettlers houses. A total of 80 settlements were therefore resettled in separate units while 142 settlements were amalgamated into 50 new villages. An overall total of 222 settlements were resettled in 130 new settlements with a total population of 41,654 people.

Table III shows the total number of people, old and new settlements at the end of the two policies.

It was observed that under both policies of the scheme, there were problems. For example, the cash compensation policy adopted first was later abandoned because of the flagrant misuse and under-utilization of the cash compensation money by the people. Oyedipe (1983) reported that when the "farmers were given compensation for their farms, they relaxed and did not go to look for new farm lands. Furthermore, they would not do any farm work after receiving money in the way of compensation for their houses and farms"[13]. The reasons given for such actions were that the new sites were too far for them to go and work and at the same time maintain their present farms.

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13. Ibid, P.42.

TABLE-III: The Two Policies for Compensation

Policy	Number of Settlements	Whether Amalgamated	Total	Population Size	Number of Compounds
Cash Compensation Policy	9	No	9	2,169	218
	8	Yes	2	180	24
Total	17		11	2,349	242
Building Compensation Policy	80	No	80	20,407	2,171
	142	Yes	50	21,247	2,219
Total	222		130	41,654	4,390
Both Policies	89	No	89	22,576	2,389
	150	Yes	52	21,427	2,243
Total	239		141	44,003	4,632

SOURCE: Oyedipe (1983), P.42.

The problem with the building compensation policy centred mainly around the 'foreign' type of houses that were built for the people. This was because the foreign consultant architect whom the work was contracted to, had "a wide scope" of freedom in determining the type of resettlement to be planned and the responsibility to determine the housing type that would be 'acceptable' to the people and at what cost[14]. This free hand given to the architect led to designing and construction of housing types which the people did not like.

It is important to point out that the Authority at the inception of the scheme made it clear that only policies based on the wishes of the people would be favoured. The urgency attached to the time schedule of the entire project, like most projects, did not allow for the various surveys and research activities to be completed to ensure a systematic implementation of the resettlement. Hence, villages around the immediate vicinity of the coustruction site had to be hurriedly evacuated. This infact gave the people the option not to build the new houses. This lapse created serious problems which led to the eventual abandonement of the cash compensation policy for the building compensation policy.

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14. Ibid, Pp.43-44.

Unlike in the first policy, the people were not given any chance under the building compensation policy, to participate in the choice of the type and construction of houses, despite the resemblance of the houses to their old ones. However, this led to dissatisfactions. Some infact deserted the houses but carried along the roofs. Those who stayed made some modifications and addition to the houses to suit them.

3.2.3 Bakolori Dam Resettlement Scheme

Like other project motivated schemes, the resettlement scheme was consequent upon the construction of a dam over the Sokoto River at Talata Marafa in 1979.

The dam construction inundated a total of about 25,000 hectares thereby displacing 14,000 farmers at Talata Marafa. Nine affected villages were regrouped and resettled in three new sites through mainly cash compensation policy and site and services. In addition, resettlers were to be given building materials instead of government's direct involvement in housing construction as it was thought to be more expensive.

Varying rates of labour allowance were paid to the people. As Rimi (1986) reported "this allowance was paid in three installments on the basis of a certificate duly signed by the Engineer of the Authority confirming that work has reached cartain specified levels".

As expected of resettlements involving large populations of scattered villages, the regrouping strategy was used in the resettlement. The general frame-work of the resettlement was first the selection of sites with the people participating initially; followed by clearance of sites, layout designs and allocation in that order. Building materials were in the form of mud, water supply, roofing sheets and nails.

Like any other project motivated resettlement schemes, but more than any other, the problems that confronted this scheme and the subsequent events such as the revolts and subsequent killings made it the worst interms of its planning and implementation. For example, farm land compensation was later concelled by the Authority, sites earlier selected with the people's participation were changed to those they did not participate; complaints of too small plot sizes compared to their previous large houses; slow payment of the agreed labour allowances, general lack of public facilities such as markets, dispensaries, roads, water supply and places of worship. Other areas of complaints were discripancies in allocation of farm lands such as slow and unequitable re-allocation of farm lands and in fact allocations to non-genuine resettlers[15].

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15. Mohammed, A. R.(1986): Appraisal of Zobe Dam Agricultural Resettlement Scheme, Kaduna State, Unpublished M.Sc.(URP) Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria, Pp.44-45.

All these problems led to desertion, mounted dissatisfactions which culminated into revolts and subsequent killings of people in April, 1980.

From these three schemes examined, there is much to be learned interms of the general planning and administration or implementation of the schemes which could either be avoided in the case of the short-comings or adopted in future resettlement planning.

The obvious draw-back in the Kainji Scheme from planning point of view is the timing. The first set of people to be resettled through the cash compensation policy had to hurriedly be evacuated. This led to problems such as the misuse of the compensation money. Second, the lack of participation in specifically the choice of house types constructed for the people. Third, the amalgamation (regrouping) strategy, though inevitable, was not studied carefully to avoid merging incompatible people, which resulted in some desertions. Compatibility for co-existence is significant and therefore, fundamental to successful resettlement of people who must have to be resettled.

Despite the above mentioned draw-backs and some initial logistic problems with the Kainji Resettlement Scheme, it is rated the most successful among resettlements undertaken in the country and in Africa.

The success has been attributed to among others:

i. The extensive public enlightenment of the people on the project right from the inception.

ii. Adequate lessons and experiences the authorities learnt from other schemes preceding it.

iii. Two years tax relief given to the people to cushion the effect of the displacement.

iv. Prompt payment of compensation and the full evacuation expense taken by the authorities.

The Bakolori Scheme represents the worst scheme in terms of its planning, administration and execution, despite the ample lessons and experiences which could have been learned sufficiently to effect an effective and successful resettlement of the affected resettlers. There was the glaring inconsistency in the policies, slackness in implementation of the policies and programmes. In effect, the schemes execution had no "human face" to it, i.e., it lacked sympathy and understanding of the people's plight. The ultimate result was dissatisfactions, desertions and an unprecedented massacre of the people. A clear case of failure.

The Shendam Scheme was a success despite some initial problems. In view of its voluntary out-look compared to

the Mainji and Bakolori. The authorities drew a careful plan which was followed to the later. There was no rush or compulsion as characteristic of project motivated schemes. Problems that arose were adequately solved. The success of the scheme could be said to be due to the willingness on the part of the people and careful planning and implementation. A lesson that ought to be learnt in the planning of resettlement schemes.

3.3 EVALUATION OF PREVIOUS RESETTLEMENT ATTEMPTS OF GWOZA HILL PEOPLE

3.3.1 Conception of the Scheme

The Gwoza Hill Resettlement Scheme was one of the many rural and agricultural development schemes embarked upon by the Colonial Government in the 1940s and 1950s. In Gwoza. It started in 1950 and the initial plan was to develop one of the hill 'villages' which was centrally located.

However, the plan to develop one of the hill 'villages' could not succeed due to several reasons. First, the lack of inter - 'village' link between the hill settlements because of the hilly nature of the topography and the hostility that existed between them, such that the impact of developing one hill settlement will not be felt by the others. Second, it would require an Engineering feat to construct a road up to the hill top, the technology of

which was then not available[16]. Consequent upon these and other problems, the plan to develop one of the hill settlement was discarded for a resettlement scheme on the plains.

3.3.2 Reasons for the Resettlement

The resettlement attempt was motivated following the impossibility of developing any of the hill settlements and later by the following factors:

i. There has always been a serious pressure on land resources due to the acute land shortage on the hill top.

ii. It was difficult to control and govern the hill dwellers because of their inaccessibility which infact served as their only security during the slave raid period. It was the Germans who first administered the area, then the French and finally the British. Neither of which actually penetrated the hill settlement and this made the control of the hill dwellers difficult.

iii. At the time the idea of resettling the people on the plain was conceived, the colonial government was keen on encouraging cash crop cultivation in its

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16. Gwoza Resettlement Scheme: File Number 4394, Volume 1, Pp.5-14.

colonies, because of the urgent world demand for tropical products such as groundnut and cotton. There was again the need to create sources of badly needed revenue for the provision of infrastructural services such as schools, roads and health facilities which were fundamental to the socio-economic and political progress of the areas. The empty plains around the Gwoza Hills were therefore, found to be suitable for the production of the crops. This would only be possible when the hill people were resettled on the plains.

iv. The increasing difficulty of land shortage or the hills and the relative peace on the plains following the abolishing of slavery, witnessed a spontaneous descent of the hill people to the plains especially in the Eastern part where the land shortage has always been serious. With ample land at their disposal compared to their hill top problem they adopted a more dispersed settlement pattern than what they had on the hill top; and started practicing a "destructive type" of shifting cultivation as against the highly intensive terraced system of agriculture on the hill top.

3.3.3 Objectives of the Colonial Resettlement Attempt

Following the above mentioned problems, these objectives were outlined for the Gwoza Hill resettlement attempt as then conceived:

i. An orderly resettlement of the hill people on the plains.

ii. An attempt at relieving the chronic shortage of land on the hill top and to provide them a chance to follow a more peaceful mode of living.

iii. To introduce a system of agriculture based on 'sound principle' which would seek to increase production of crops above the existing scale on the hill top.

iv. To improve both social and economic standard of living of the hill dwellers[17].

3.3.4 The First Attempt at the Resettlement (1952 - 1967)

This started in 1952 with a pilot scheme at Gwalaga (a site 5 kilometres off Gwoza-Madagali Road) South-West of Gwoza town, where 50 house-holds were expected to be resettled.

The guiding principle for the site selection were:

i. A good water supply

ii. Good farm-land

iii. Ample space

iv. Good communications

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17. Ibid, P.23.

In the first year of its operation in 1952, a clear programme of action modelled after the Shendam Scheme was prepared and the first colonial resettlement officer adopted the following approaches or strategies in the implementation of the scheme:

i. Site selection and clearance.
ii. Construction of roads and wells.
iii. Provision of farm-lands.
iv. Establishment of demonstration farms.
v. Invitation of the hill dwellers to descend[18].

It was observed that before the commencement of the scheme, no effort was made to enlighten the people of the scheme to make them appreciate it, nor was any survey undertaken to actually study the people, their physical environment, social conditions, and to seek their opinion, all of which would have provided a good basis for the resettlement planning. The result of this lapse led to poor choice of the site of the pilot village, which was located too far from the hill settlements and a 'nucleated village' as a unit of settlement created, was contrary to the traditional form of settlement of the hill dwellers.

At the end of 1952, only 25 house-holds of the 50 expected resettled. This was considered by the authorities

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18. Ibid, Pp.73-74.

a very poor response in view of the target (50 house-holds) hence, a failure.

The second year 1953 had a different resettlement (project) officer who introduced a different 'strategy' to getting the people down since the previous strategy did not succeed. The Project Manager then employed the use of force to bring down the hill people. In the process of effecting the order, the village head was murdered by the hill people for attempting to force them to descend against their will.

If anything, this crude 'strategy' only succeeded in making the hill dwellers become more hostile to the scheme. In fact the little achievement of the first year was destroyed as the 25 originally resettled house-holds at the pilot village deserted it and returned to the hill-top. This marked another failure in a bid to resettle the hill dwellers.

From 1954 to 1967, another Project Manager took charge of the scheme. The strategies adopted were first, the withdrawal of all privileges and inducements provided in the first year such as the provision of farm-lands, extension services and provision of fruit bearing trees. Second, an indiscriminate and mass construction of roads and especially wells as a bait to the hill dwellers

because of the acute water shortage on both the hill top and the plains. Third, the declaration of each well site as a resettlement site with or without people at the sites.

The withdrawal of the earlier inducements shows a clear misjudgement and tactlessness of the Project Manager. The view about the water as bait was so strong that the Project Manager wrote "put a dozen of cement lined wells in the area and you would need police to control the rush of the settlers from the hills"[19]. It was disappointment that resulted instead of the high expectation. It again only succeeded in further compounding the people's hostility to the scheme. There was in fact no progress achieved as regards the resettlement of the hill people. Actually it was only those already on the plains that were attracted to the well sites.

It must be pointed out however, that, although this particular approach to the scheme achieved virtually nothing in terms of resettling the hill dwellers, the road constructed though not through conscious planning, is still in use and in fact the second most important road within the area that links Nigeria and the Republic of Cameroons - Pulka to Kirawa.

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19. Gwoza Resettlement Scheme, File Number: M/FAR-14, Volume 1, P.60.

3.3.5 The Second Attempt (1967 - 1974)

In 1967, the execution of the scheme was passed over to the Interim Common Service Agency (I.C.S.A) following the creation of States and subsequent out-break of the civil war. This National emergency (Civil War) could not allow anything to be done as all attention and even resources were directed at the war. Nothing was in fact done as it (I.C.S.A) almost immediately passed the responsibility to the newly created North-Eastern State Government. As a new State with so many urgent responsibilities of developing the State and with the war still on, no attention was given to the resettlement issue. It was in fact officially closed in 1968.

After the war and at a time the State Government had fully taken off, the Government reopened the resettlement issue in 1973 by setting up a Resettlement Planning Advisory Board (Department of Geography, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria). The terms of reference of the Board were to look into the existing State of the resettlement and other related problems of the scheme, and come up with appropriate recommendations for a rational redistribution of the settlements. This was to enable the Government extend its welfare programme to the people for betterment of their social and economic lives.

The Board commissioned a study group comprising staff of the department. This study group undertook a study of the hill environment. At the end of the study, only a preliminary (classified) report was submitted to the State Government. The main report containing the final proposals was not submitted to date because of non-payment of fees to the Board.

From the above account, it is apparent that nothing was actually achieved. The civil war, change of government and subsequent Government luke-warm attitude to the scheme after the preliminary report was submitted, all led to 'do nothing' strategy. The issue of resettling the Gwoza Hill dwellers then became a forgotten issue again until its reactivation in September, 1986 by the Borno State Government.

3.3.6 Religious Proselytization - (1964 - 1968)

Much of what can be called achievement in resettling the hill dwellers actually came through an indirect approach due to Islamic and Christian proselytization in the area. It must be pointed out that these were not a deliberate strategy adopted for the resettlement scheme but independent activities, which achieved remarkable success more than all the previous attempts put together, in making some of the hill dwellers resettle on the plains.

The converts from these religious proselytizations became 'misfits' among their traditional people as they could no longer adhere to the traditional system of beliefs. To this end, they had to be resettled on the plains. This then led to the creation of several villages such as Uycha, Jarabe, Bala, Pulka, Kiva, Ngoshe and Padagwe. Also some other settlements were expanded such as Gwoza town, Izge and Bita. This therefore, clearly shows how much education or enlightenment of the people as a strategy, more than the other strategies adopted in the two government attempts, can achieve in terms of resettling the people.

3.3.7 Identified Problems and Causes of Failures

The success of a project or scheme is measured in terms of the extent to which the set objectives are achieved in the end. If they were not achieved the scheme or project can be said to have failed, question as to why the objectives were not achieved then comes up. This could be due to problems which ultimately lead to failures as seen from the survey of the Gwoza Hill resettlement attempts. To this end, the previous attempts at resettling the Gwoza Hill people from its inception, objectives and the success rate showed a complete failure. None of the objectives seemed to have been reasonably achieved.

It is pertinent to point out that the problem was not completely with all the strategies adopted, but fundamentally with how the operators went about the implementation. The whole administration and implementation procedure was faulty. If planning for people is to be successfully carried out, it must first start with understanding them, their socio-cultural and physical conditions, as well as their basic needs, preferences and importantly, their full participation. The most obvious short-coming in planning the scheme, like any other scheme, is the general mistake made by the planners where they take decisions on behalf of the people without giving them the benefits of participation in the decision making process. Hence, plans are often prepared without the involvement of the affected people.

The study therefore, revealed that, the previous attempts to resettle the Gwoza Hill people failed because of several problems (Figure 12). Some of which are summarized below:

i. The inappropriate approach of the planning and implementation of the scheme. Experiences in resettlements from different parts of the world show that to resettle people, even in the face of eminent danger or risk to their lives, requires understanding, imagination, persuation, tact and

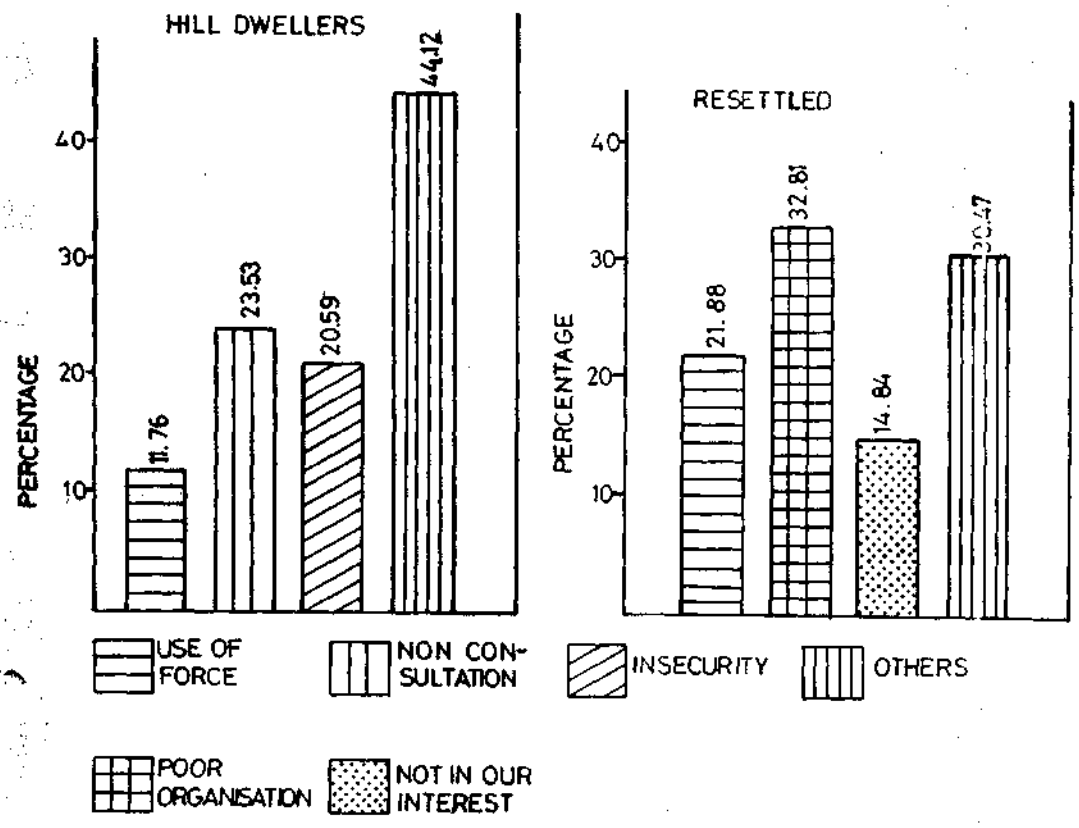


FIG. 12 : REASONS FOR FAILURE OF PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS

Source: Field Survey 1989

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sympathy. The planners of the scheme did not have those qualities enough, to have taken into congnissance the people's tradition, beliefs, social and infact political organisation as mentioned earlier. It is found that no comprehensive survey of the area was carried out before the take off of the scheme. All necessary surveys should have been done which would then form a basis for the planning of the scheme.

ii. The use of force as manifested in the second year of operation to compel the people to descend was the worst strategy or approach for any form of resettlement exercise. As noted, it only succeeded in destroying the little 'achievement' of the first year.

iii. The attitude of the Hill dwellers' to their hill environment and their perception of the plains which they percieved as hostile and therefore, unsafe, following their nasty experiance of slave raids, contributed in no small way to the failure of the scheme.

iv. The choice of nucleated village as a unit of settlement was at variance with the established traditional form of settlement of the Gwoza people

which was dispersed and in fact isolated and therefore, unacceptable to the people.

iv. Changes in government with consequent differences in priorities and commitment led to lack of continuity in the execution of the scheme.

vi. The unsolved water problem on the plains despite the indiscriminate digging of wells by the Project Manager in the third year of operation. Wells dug usually dry up in the dry season. The people therefore, saw no point in changing from one problem just to go into another.

3.3.8 Lessons from Previous Attempts

From the review of the previous attempts the following are lessons to be learnt in planning resettlements:

i. For a resettlement scheme of the Gwoza hills type and indeed all types of resettlements, there is the need to plan well ahead and to systematically follow the plan to its logical conclusion.

ii. Comprehensive physical, socio-cultural and economic survey of the affected is fundamental to be able to understand their environment, basic needs and preferences.

iii. Adequate enlightenment of the people to make them see the benefits of the scheme.

iv. Avoidance of use of force to forestall aversion to the scheme.

v. Avoidance of over assumption of peoples reaction as a basis of planning schemes.

CHAPTER - FOUR

REVIEW OF CURRENT EFFORT

The current resettlement effort by the Borno State Government started in 1986, following a tour of Local Government Areas and particularly Gwoza Local Government Area by the then Military Governor. It was during the tour that the Governor had the opportunity of visiting some of the hill settlements and during which the hill dwellers expressed their desire to be resettled on the plains.

A study group made up of three Senior Community Development Officers was set up to carry out an opinion survey of the people. Based on their report, the government embarked upon the execution of the scheme with the aim of resettling 10 hill settlements in different sites on the plains in accordance with the request and choice of the people.

4.1 OBJECTIVES OF RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES IN THE STATE

The objectives of resettlement schemes in the State are as follows:

i. To resettle communities whose inhabitants are permanently or seasonally exposed to certain natural or health hazards due to the locations of such communities.

ii. To improve the general accessibility and communication with the hitherto isolated villages so that they can be brought into the mainstream of the State's and Nation's economies.

iii. To facilitate the provision of welfare amenities for both human and domestic animals.

iv. To resettle the scattered farming population in order to facilitate the dissemination of modern agricultural practices so as to maximize agricultural production.

v. To establish permanent communities, i.e., cattle herdsmen so that their physical hazards are lessoned and to ensure that modern veterinary and range management services can be easily disseminated in such communities[1].

The Gwoza hills resettlement scheme is therefore, expected to be achieved through the first three State resettlement objectives stated above.

4.2 RESETTLEMENT POLICY OF THE STATE

The policy of resettlement schemes in the State rests on the State and Local Governments and the affected people. By the policy therefore, the Gwoza Hills resettlement scheme is expected to be funded as follows:

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1. Technical Sub-Committee Resettlement Report, P.1.

i State Government - 65 Percent

ii. Gwoza Local Government - 25 Percent

iii. Gwoza Hill Community - 10 Percent[2].

Based on the above funding system, the State and Local Governments are to be responsible for the following:

(a) Provision of some basic social amenities such as clinics, primary schools and water sources.

(b) Assist the people through the provision of some building materials such as roofing sheets and nails and labour for roofing the houses.

(c) Prepare and demarcate resettlement layouts.

The people on their part are to build their houses and evacuate themselves to the plains as and when they find convinient.

These are the strategies adopted by the government for implementing the resettlement of the Gwoza Hill dwellers. It is more of site and service and aided self-help scheme.

4.3 IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SCHEME

To effect the planning and implementation of the scheme, the Government set up a Resettlement Committee with members drown from Ministries of: Co-Operative and Community Development (as the Co-Ordinating Ministry), Land and Survey, Works and Housing, Finance and Economic Planning and the

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2. Ibid, P.7.

defunct Local Government, Military Governor's Office (Parastatals), Gwoza Local Government and Gwoza Traditional Council.

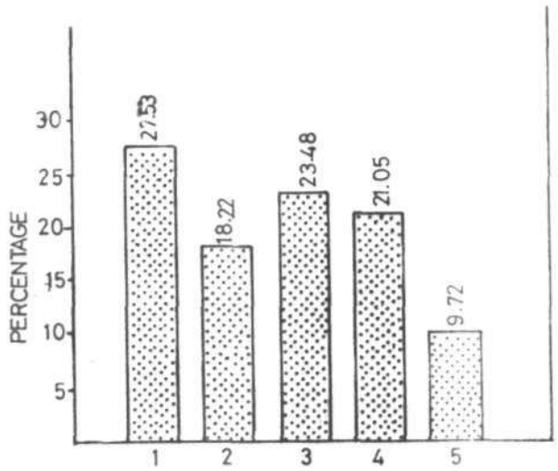
The Committee inturn set up a technical sub-Committee with membership constituting of staff from Ministries of Co-Operative and Community Development, Land and Survey, works and Housing, defunct Local Government, State Water Board, Gwoza Local Government and a representative of Gwoza Traditional Council[3]. Both the operations of the main and technical sub-Committees are being co-ordinated by Ministry of Co-operative and Community Development. Infact the study group was made up of only three Community Development Officers, who did the opinion survey.

The Committees commenced work in September, 1986, without any programme of action to guide the implementation of the resettlement. All what the study group did was to carry out an opinion survey to determine the 'willingness' of the people to resettle and to establish the actual number of those to be involved as well as where they would like to be resettled. This was, it appeared as far as they went in avoiding mistakes of the previous attempts.

Together with the elders of the hill people, the Committee selected the actual sites and by June, 1987, the layouts were designed and surveyed but roads were not

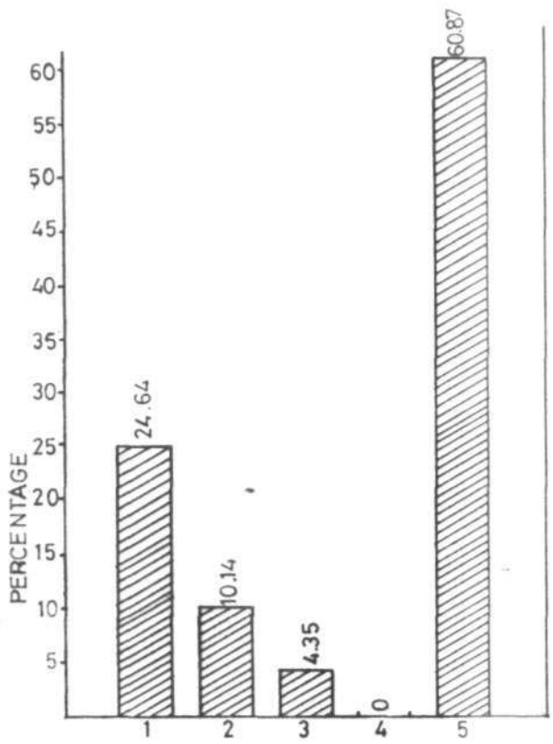
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3. Interview Report of the Honourable Commissioner of Co-Operative and Community Development with Trend Magazine, P.3.



1. MARKET 2. F/LAND 3. FESTIVALS 4. HEALTH 5. OTHERS

FIG.13 : REASONS FOR GOING DOWN(VISIT)



1. DAILY
2. WEEKLY
3. TWICE A WEEK
4. MONTHLY
5. UNDEFINED

FIG.14 : FREQUENCY OF VISIT

Source : Field Survey 1989

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demarcated. All the resettlement areas are within the former areas of the hill dwellers except two hill settlements namely Kuryam Bassa and Ngoshi Sama, which had to be located else where other than their former land because of the land problem they face and the conflict they have with Cameroonians as they share boarder (Figure - 18).

Table IV shows the 14 resettlement areas, the number of intending resettlers in terms of house-holds and their estimated population, the number of layout and plots per each resettlement area and the area.

As at the time of the field study (April, 1989) the following achievements were recorded in the resettlement exercise:

i. Identification of intending resettlers

ii. Designed and surveyed resettlement layouts but access roads were not demarcated.

iii. Constructed two classroom block in each of the villages near which the resettlement sites are located.

iv. Sunk four bore-holes and dug some wells in the resettlement areas.

v. Constructed three clinics and staff houses in three of the resettlement areas.

TABLE-IV: Number of Settlers, Layouts, Plots and Hectarage

Settlement Area	Number of Intending Resettlers	Estimated Population	Number of Lay-Outs	Number of Plots	Area (Hectare)
Wala	380	3,040	2	475	37.16
Warabe	170	1,360	1	192	13.84
Hurana Dassa	319	2,552	1	352	32.48
Hughum	158	1,264	1	186	13.49
Chikide	733	5,864	1	895	62.34
Ngoshi Game	245	1,960	2	278	25.10
Johode	859	6,872	1	572	37.95
Gavva	278	2,224	1	320	21.30
Guduf Negadiya	728	5,824	3	727	53.34
Guduf Buba Yagwa	637	5,096	1	323	25.85
TOTAL	4,507	36,056	14	4,320	322.85

SOURCE: Technical Sub-Committee, Gwoza Hill Resettlement Scheme, 1988.

4.4 EVALUATION OF THE RESETTLEMENT LAYOUT PLANS

The staff of the Town Planning Division of the Ministry of Land and Survey being members of the Technical Sub-Committee were charged with the responsibility of designing the layout plans. The design was expected to provide a setting for people and therefore, is seen as a problem solving activity which should be based on the understanding of the physical environment of the people, preferences, aspirations and psychological needs of the people for whom the design is intended.

Table V indicates the analysis of ten of the fourteen layout plans designed for the resettlement of the Gwoza Hill people. (See appendices III–XII, for the layouts).

Primary Schools Proposed

The analysis of the layouts indicate that proposal for primary schools were made in respect of only four layouts. It would be recalled that already two classroom block in each of the villages near which the layouts are located have been constructed. This is inadequate considering the anticipated population in each of the descending hill settlements. Using the population threshold for the provision of a primary school, i.e., 1/3,000 - 4,000 each layout qualifies for at least one primary school. Rather than extending the existing primary schools by a block of two classrooms, these (blocks of classrooms) could have best been provided within each of the

TABLE-V: Analysis of Ten of the Resettlement Layout Plans

Lay-Out	Area (Hectare)	Number of Plots	Primary School	Health	Market	Parking Space	Open Space	Religious Mosque	Church
Wala 'A'	14.80	197	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Wala 'B'	22.36	278	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Chikide	62.34	895	1	1	0	0	4	1	0
Hughum	13.49	186	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
Ngoshi Sama 'A'	12.55	140	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
Ngoshi Sama 'B'	12.55	138	1	1	0	0	5	1	0
Gavva	21.30	320	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Johode	37.95	572	1	1	0	0	1	1	0
Guduf N. 'B'	17.36	239	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Guduf N. 'C'	17.38	230	0	0	0	0	2	1	0
TOTAL	232.10	3,195	4	5	0	1	15	10	1

resettlement sites (layouts). By only extending the existing schools, the distance to be trecked by pupils in the resettlement areas was not given serious consideration. This shows a lack of foresight on the part of the planners of the scheme.

Health Facilities

It was found that five clinics have been proposed in five of the layouts. Considering the existing health services in the Local Government, which has the second highest in the State, this proposal is adequate. There are already two General Hospitals, a comprehensive health centre and five dispensaries. The locations of the two General Hospitals are such that one each is located on the East and Western sides of the hills to serve the people in these areas. It was observed therefore, that those layouts where no proposals were made for health facilities are located close to either the hospitals, dispensaries or clinics.

Markets and Parking Spaces

Markets constitute one of the main reasons the hill dwellers visit or frequent the plains. When asked why they visit the plains, the result revealed 27.53 percent for markets, 23.48 percent for festivals, 21.05 percent for health reasons, 18.22 percent for farming while 9.12 percent for various reasons (Figure 13). It is apparent therefore, that market forms an important attraction to the people

and yet there was no provision or proposal within any of the layouts. This shows no adequate survey was carried out to determine the felt needs and aspirations of the people, to form a basis for the layout design. The estimated population of each of the settlements that are to be resettled have the requisite population that can support a market activity. Besides too, markets are so located that the use is not exclusive to the village within which they are located.

Parking spaces and motor parks in the village go along with markets. The study notes that only one proposal for motor park was made in Ngoshi Sama 'A' layout which neither has a market proposal in the layout nor any existing market around.

Open Spaces

The analysis of the layouts revealed that only fifteen open spaces were proposed in layouts with overall of 3,195 plots. These are inadequate. The location of the open spaces within those layouts that have been provided are inappropriate, infact indiscriminately located as to achieve their desired purposes. Some seem to be so designated open space to fill in gaps. A functional layout is that which takes care of the peculiar needs of the people for whom it is designed. Rural areas are noted to have neighbourhood courts or cluster centres. This is glaringly lacking in the layouts. It must be

pointed out that even within urban layouts, cluster centres or open spaces with strategic locations are desirable, to say the least rural areas where the 'only' recreational area or play fields for children are within their immediate neighbourhood courts. This shows another deficiency of the layouts.

Religious Centres

There is seeming lopsideness in the proposal as observed in all the layouts. The mosque seems to be the most dominant element, second, infact only to the village head's house. It is only in Kughum layout that a church is proposed. It must be pointed out that the hill dwellers are essentially anemists, as such, they could incline towards any of the two religious groupings if they so desire. The lopsidedness and the complete neglect of the peoples cultural traits in the layouts are clear manifestation of an imposition of some elements of Kanuri concept of layout design such as the 'Dandal', 'Palace', with the characteristic East-west orientation and the mosque.

The general observations therefore, reveal the following:

i. The layouts are generally stereotyped and non-flexible with uniform plot sizes of 15 metre by 30 metre except for those of the village heads

which in most of the layouts measure 75 metre by 90 metre, a size which is out of proportion and even bigger than some of the areas proposed for primary schools. It is apparent therefore, that no consideration was given to variations in family sizes, forms and structures of the hill settlements. Although compound sizes of the hill top settlements are much smaller than what has been provided, the former was basically the result of the physical constraints where houses were in some cases built on flat bolders so that available cultivable land around could be used for farming. Besides too, the study revealed that family sizes of those on the plains tend to be higher as exemplified by those who earlier resettled due to their improved living standard.

ii. The high density urban type of layout designed is not the best and therefore, unsuitable for a village set up that requires space within and around compounds for cultivation of especially early maturing crops. The density is therefore, too high and inadequate. There is infact no apparent justification for a high density type of layout in a rural environment where land for residential purpose is not a problem as in the urban areas and the hill top.

iii. There is a general absence of cluster centres within all the layouts as pointed out earlier. The irrational proposal of the open spaces infact defeats the purposes they are expected to perform.

iv. It has been observed that there are mainly two hierarchies of roads, that is, the 'Dandal' and the village access roads. There tends to be rigidity in the orientation of the 'Dandal' and the 'Palace' elements, that is East-West orientation whether or not they lead to the rear of the village.

v. Layouts such as those of Wala and Ngoshi Sama are located too close to a Federal High-way without regard to the high risk of accident especially when children have to cross to go to or return from school, as layouts are prepared on both sides of the high-way. Even if these layouts must be located by a high-way, adequate butter ought to have been created or provided.

vi. Location of some facilities such as the primary schools and open spaces appear to be inappropriate considering the distance required to be travelled by pupils as in the case of the primary school at Chikida layout. It ought to have been centralized to be easily accessible to all parts of the layout.

4.4.1 Existing Situation at the Sites (Resettlement Areas)

Three years after the scheme started, less than 10 percent of the total intending resettlers for each site have resettled. The reasons, as observed, are attributed to the lapses in the entire planning framework of the scheme.

At Guduf Nagadiyo with about 380 expected house-holds and three layouts with 727 plots, only two families settled on government layout, while ten outside government layout. This is because the access roads within the layouts are not demarcated. Therefore, the people could not distinguish between plots and roads. Secondly, water is not sufficient for their construction and even domestic purposes. The same situation exists at Guduf Buba Yagwa layout where out of the 637 intending resettlers (house-holds) and 323 plots designed only 25 house-holds came down. This is inspite of one of the bore-holes located in the area.

At Wala layout, some few came down, but because of the water problem, the construction of building have been impeded. Some of those who came down said they track some 15 kilometres before they could get water to even drink. The study infact found that some of the people that started construction abandoned and went back to the hills.

At Warabe layout, no settler came down, some few started construction of their houses but with the same water problem, complains of non-provision of promised building materials and non-demarcation of roads within the layout.

At Kurana Bassa, which the co-ordinators claim to be the most successful of all the resettlement areas, had no single resettler as at the time of the field study. However, several houses or structures are coming up. The 'progress' that seemed to be achieved is because these people are among the hill dwellers with more acute land problem hence their eagerness to resettle more than the others. When a second field survey was undertaken in August, 1989, only two house-holds have actually resettled on the site as against the 37 claimed by the Community Development Official. This figure is infact the uncompleted structures at the site and not actually resettled families or house-holds.

At Ngoshi Sama Site 'A', some few started construction but when the site was revisited in August, it seemed the people abandoned work on the site as buildings (unroofed) appeared to be collapsing. At the site 'B' however, there were more resettlers that have actually settled, as shown on Plate-XIV. The success rate here like the Kurana Bassa, is because of the land



PLATE - XII: A Clinic Built for Resettlers



PLATE - XIII: Clinic Staff Quarter

problem and the frequent clash with Cameroooneans whom they share border.

At Gavva, with 279 intending settlers and 320 plots provided, only 40 house-holds resettled. This represents only 14 percent of the total. The reasons are as in the others.

The general problems observed and which the people complained as being responsible for the slow pace of work as well as which have even discouraged some from making effort to come down are as follows:

i. Inadequate water for construction and domestic uses.

ii. Inability to identify plots from roads as none of the layouts have roads demarcated.

iii. Uneven distribution and insufficient supply of building materials to the resettlers, as indicated or depicted by the various plates. The Government took cognisance of the low income level of the people which might have been the reason behind the promise of some building materials, but as noted these seemed not to be done appropriately.

iv. There is ineffective monitoring and co-ordination of the implementation of the scheme.

The above observed problems as revealed by the study are attributed to the lack of proper planning of the scheme from the very on set. Infact the entire scheme ought to have first been costed, programmed or phased and then the most appropriate implementation machinery (co-ordination and monitoring officer) appointed to see to the smooth execution of the scheme. It would have even been best to have started the scheme with a pilot scheme first before embarking on this massive scale. The pilot scheme could have tested the feasibility or otherwise of the entire scheme.

4.5 FINDINGS FROM THE CURRENT EFFORT

Rural societies, like all human societies are dynamic and therefore, experience rapid changes in social and cultural values with subsequent consequencies on the settlements. Resettlement as one of the strategies used in the development of rural areas, requires adequate planning to ensure its success or the achievement of its objectives. The role of the physical planner in this regard is foremost as such, when deciding on the siting of a new rural settlement, it is partinent that the planner takes due cognissance of the improvement of the physical environment and the living standard of the settlers through a comprehensive planning with least or minimum destruction of the socio-cultural values of

the people for whom the planning is being made. This is the ultimate goal of planning.

In planning resettlements, particularly the Gwoza Hills type, due cognissance should be taken of their existing physical environment interms of their settlement pattern, form and structure as well as their socio-cultural characteristics. This will then provide a good basis for the planning and subsequent design of the layouts. This is found to be lacking in the entire planning of the current effort.

It is also note worthy to say here that the basic needs of a population to be resettled and indeed any population's need, are work, shelter including services and access roads in that order. The place to work, in this case farm-land should have been upper most before the consideration of the place to live and the services i.e., the layouts and the infrastructure therein. The rural people of course build their houses in the place near their work or farms. It is therefore, not expected that they build houses before reviewing the economic potential of the surrounding area. It is infact fundamental that farm-lands are secured then layouts for housing are planned for. This is one important sequence, that the operators of the scheme fail to realize.

The general observations or finding from the current resettlement effort therefore, reveal the following:

Water Supply

Attempts were made to provide water to the people through the sinking of four bore-holes and digging of wells. However, almost all the bore-holes do not have sufficient water to meet the construction needs of the people. This was due to technical hitches in the operations of some of the bore-holes, and the depth at which the bohe-holes were sunk. Wells dug also dry up during the dry season like other existing wells in the area. The water problem is so serious that it has consequently slowed down work on the sites and therefore, threatening the successful implementation of the scheme.

Lay-outs

The total number of intending house-holds is about 4,507. The layouts prepared for them have only 4,347 plots thus showing a shortfall of 160 plots. Even if all of them may not come down at the same time, it is expected that all those that intended descending would be allocated a plot. It was also found that all access roads within all the lay-outs were not demarcated. This infact is a case of faulty implementation.

Farm Lands

There was actually no provision of farm land to the resettlers. Infact, the issue was not even

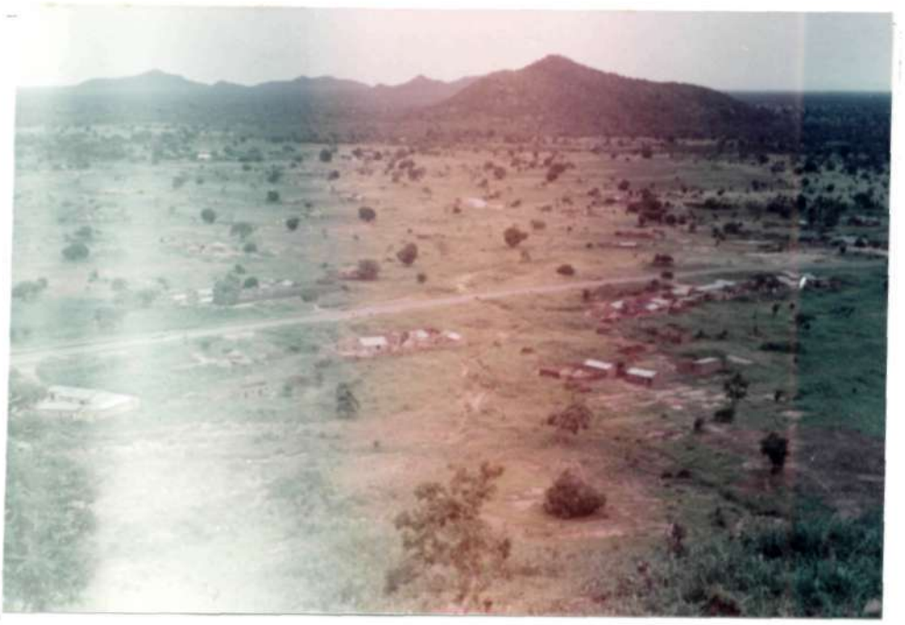


PLATE - XIV: Aerial View of One of the Resettlement Villages.

NOTE: The Scattered and Haphazard Nature of the Settlement Development.



PLATE - XV: A Group of Resettlers at their Resettlement Site.



PLATE - XVI: One of the Bore-holes Drilled at One of the Resettlement Sites.



PLATE - XVII: A Dry Well at One of the Resettlement Sites. Characteristics of all Wells in the Area.

considered by the resettlement Committee despite the significance of it to the Hill people, who have for long suffered from the acute shortage of farm land. Although the study found that those already resettled face no farm land problem, with the anticipated population of intending resettlers of over 4,000 house-holds coming down, the farm-land problem might be more complex than has been under-estimated.

Building Materials

It was found that the Government promised to provide building materials to the resettlers. The condition for this was that the people built their houses to rafter stage and the Government will provide the roofing sheets and nails plus the labour for the roofing. The study however, found the distribution of these materials to be uneven. To this end, some of the resettlers houses were damaged by rain having waited in vain for the materials promised (Plate - XIX). Some of the resettlers even had to resort to using thatches on the rafters to avoid distruction of their houses by rain (Plate - IV). Some were also found to be more assisted than others. For example resettlers at Wala and Morabe seem to be unassisted compared to those at Nurana Bassa (Plates - XX and XXI).



PLATE - XVIII: Abandoned Hill Top Compounds of those that have Decended.



PLATE - XIX: Some Ruined Buildings due to Insufficient Water for Completion.



PLATE - XX: Unassisted Resettler's Compounds.

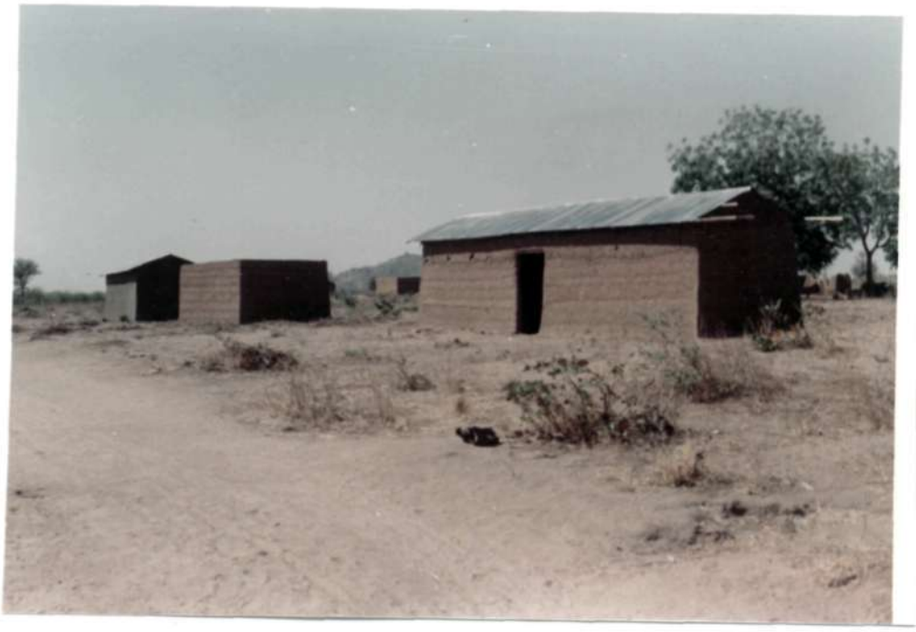


PLATE - XXI: A More Assisted Resettlers Houses. A Case of Uneven Distribution of Materials.

NOTE: The Modification in the Type of House Form.

Resettlement Organisation and Management

It was found that the Committee handling the scheme is an ad-hoc one. However, for a resettlement of the Gwoza Hills type where the definte time to complete it is not known, the scheme need a permanent unit within an appropriate Ministry to ensure the planning and implementation of the scheme. It was also observed that the co-ordination and implementation are both handled by the Ministry of Co-Operative and Community Development. The planners were inadequately utilized as they only came in at the stage of layout design and their roles seemed to have ended there. This actually explains the serious lapses with the entire scheme from its planning to the implementation. The role of the physical planner was not appropriately recognised at the inception of the scheme, and hence were not given the chance to understand the people they would be planning for nor their type of environment. Planners involvement actually came in when it became clear to the Co-ordinating Ministry that it could not execute the scheme without the planners.

Resettlement Plan

It was found out that there was no programme drawn for the execution of the resettlement. Because of this there was no phasing or timing of the scheme and hence everything seem to be running concurrently instead

of in sequence. It is infact a scheme without a programme to guide its implementation. This explain the many planning and implementation problems of the scheme.

4.5 RESPONSES TO THE SCHEME

The focus of this section is to analyse the perception of both the hill dwellers and those already resettled. The aim is to determine their awareness and reaction to the resettlement plan. In addition it is to authenticate their preference as to the choice of location. This will help in the final recommendation. Also the preparedness of those already resettled and the influence they have on their kins and kiths still on the hill top.

4.6.1 Awareness of the Scheme and Reaction

During the interview, the hill dwellers were asked whether they were aware of government's plan to assist their resettlement. 97.62 percent of the respondents answered in the affirmative while only 2.38 percent answered in the negative. It is therefore, apparent that majority of the people were quite aware of the resettlement intention (Figure 15). As to how they reacted to it, 72.62 percent welcomed it, 10.71 percent disliked it and 16.67 percent remained indifferent (Figure 16).

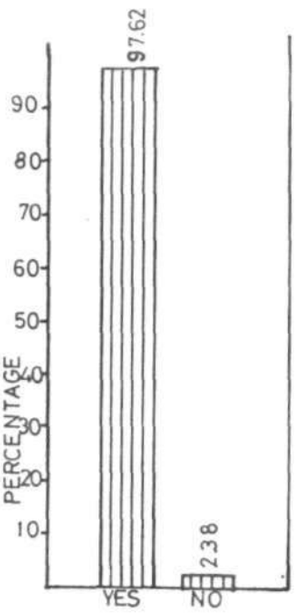


FIG.15 : AWARENESS OF RESETTLEMENT PLAN

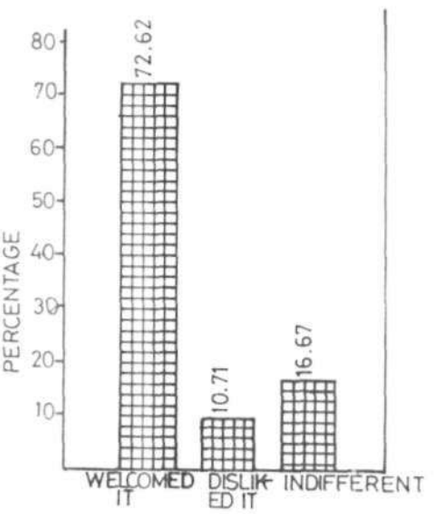
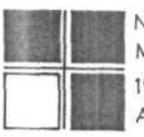


FIG.16: REACTIONS

Source: Field Survey 1989



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The level of response therefore, is indicative of their willingness to resettle and not any force used on them. Those that showed indifference are either old and therefore, see no difference or that if everybody is descending, then they also would descend. Those who showed complete dislike are the very old who still recall their nasty experience before and said at their age, they would not move anywhere since they have lived most of their lives on the hill-top.

4.5.2 Site Location Preference

The analysis of the site location preference shows that 56.82 percent of the sample house-holds said they would only settle on their previous land, 15.30 percent said apart from their previous lands, they could also settle on neighbouring land, 25.08 percent however, said they could settle anywhere (Figure 17).

It is obvious from the responses that the people's opinion is important in the resettlement planning, hence any resettlement plan as much as practicable has to be done on their previous land. This further indicates that the success of the plan is among others, dependent upon the location of the sites. When further asked why they chose their previous land, the reasons are varied such as; they own the land before; proximity to their hill settlements such that in case of eventuality

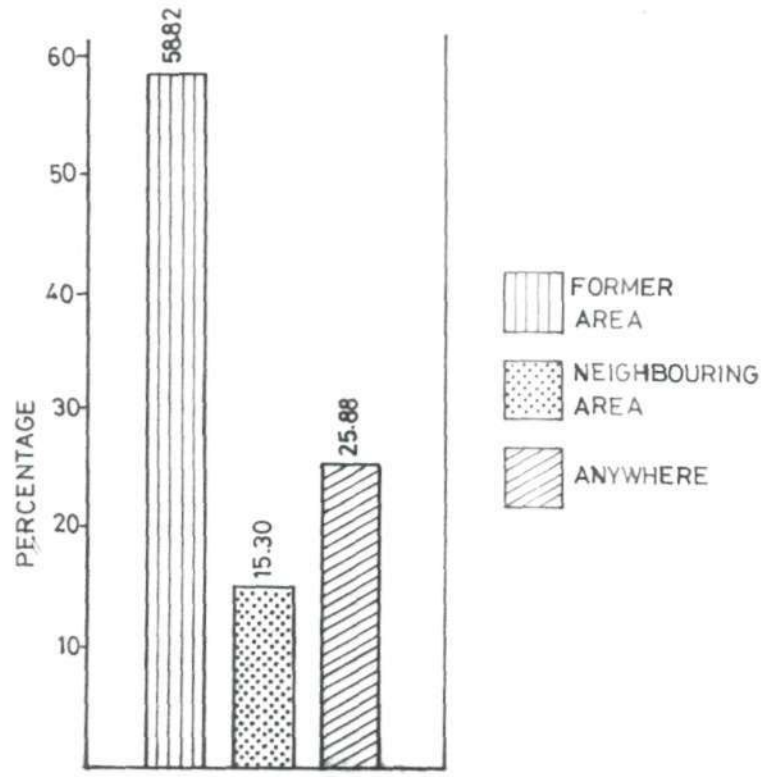


FIG.17:SITE PREFERENCE

Source : Field Survey 1989

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they do not have to 'leap frog' other people to reach the hill-top for safety. The opinion of the people in resettlement planning generally is an important consideration which should not be over-looked. Figure 18 shows the volume, direction of movement and locations of the resettlement areas of the hill dwellers.

4.6.3 Preparedness for the Resettlement

Asked whether they were prepared for the resettlement, majority of those already resettled said they were fully prepared. This constituted 96.15 percent while those who said they were not fully prepared constitute only 1.85 percent (Figure 19).

As to whether they still climb or visit the hill top, 68.52 percent indicated that they do while only 31.48 percent do not (Figure 20). When further asked why they still visit the hill top, some said to see relations and to encourage them to come down, others said they visit the hill top in the event of sickness or death of a relation.

The influence of those already resettled or their relatives still on the hill top could therefore be remarkable regarding their descent to the plains, more so when the hill dwellers also visit the plains and see the improvement in their living standard.

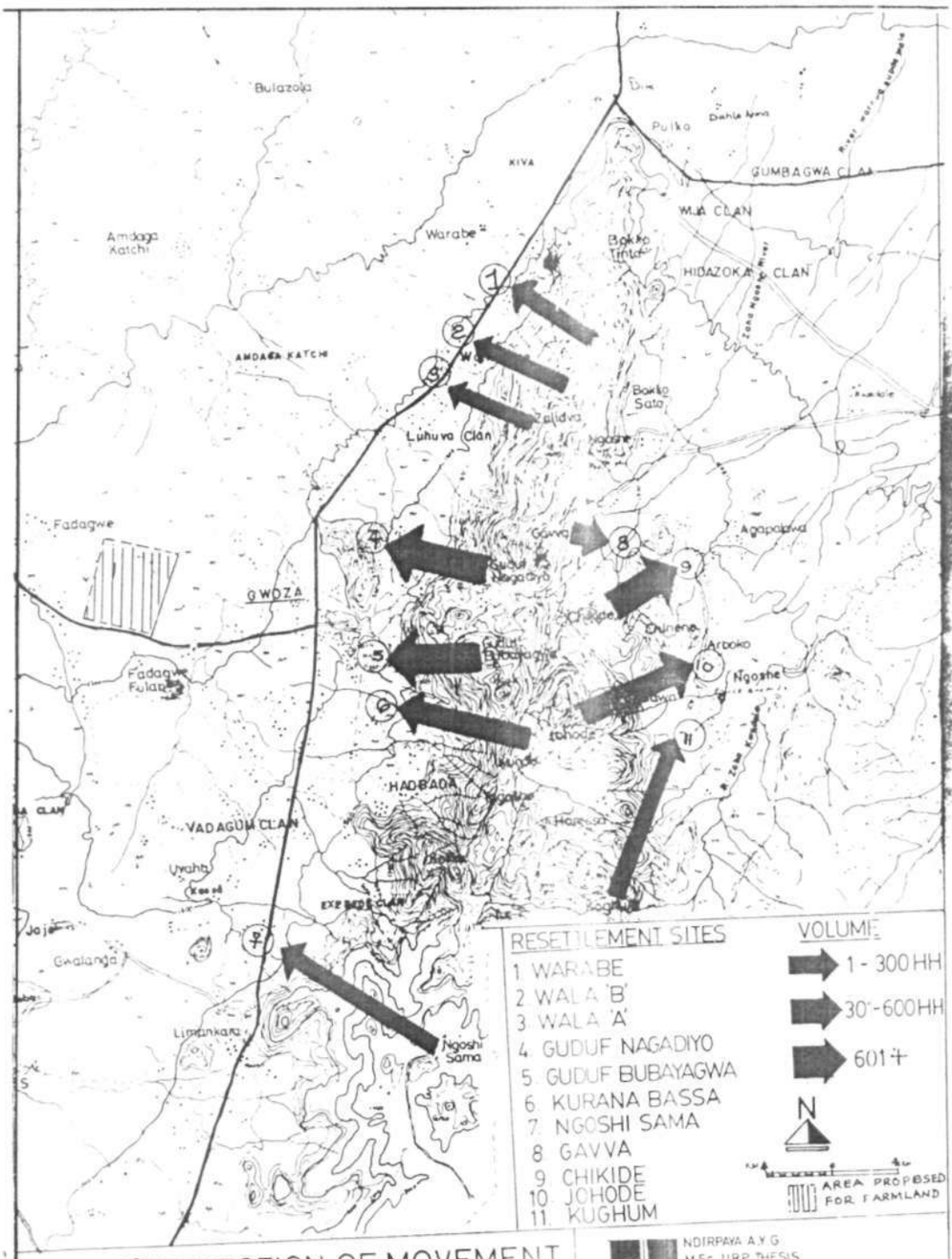


FIG.18: DIRECTION OF MOVEMENT AND VOLUME

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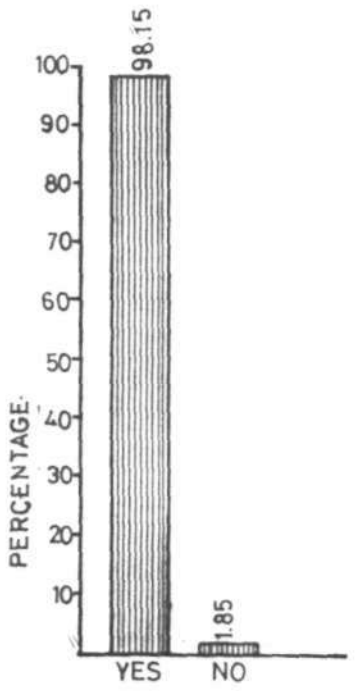


FIG.19: PREPAREDNESS FOR THE RESETTLEMENT

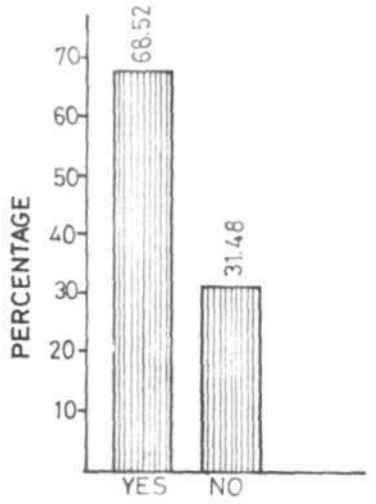


FIG.20: WHETHER STILL CLIMB (VISIT) HILLTOP

Source: Field Survey 1989

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4.6.4 Findings from the Responses

From the survey of the people's responses the following are apparent:

i. The decision of the people to come down this time around is voluntary though necessitated by their harsh living conditions and their realisation of government's inability to reach them with basic social amenities so long as they are on the hill top.

ii. The people are quite aware of and welcomed government's commitment and plans to resettle them.

iii. The past experiences are still fresh in their memories hence their insistence on settling only on their former lands except for the open minded ones who are younger and said could settle anywhere.

iv. That those already resettled have remarkable influence on those still on the hill top as regards decisions to descend.

4.7 PROSPECTS OF THE RESETTLEMENT

The prospects here are looked at in two perspectives. First, as it relates to the successful resettlement of the people in the light of the problems' identified with it

and given the many possibilities available which could enhance the success of the scheme. Secondly, as it relates to the benefits that could acrue to the hill dwellers upon their eventual resettlement.

It is partinent to note that the future, though obsecure, the preveiling or existing conditions could be used as a basis for predicting what it holds for a given situation. In this regard, it must be stated that based on the findings of the study, the future prospects of the resettling the Gwoza Hill dwellers successfully depends significantly on drastic change in the handling of the scheme. The problems identified earlier, are pointers to a gloomy prospect. But as pointed out, with more concerted effort through a complete over-hauling of the planning and implementation machinery, the situation could be reversed for a more positive prospect.

There are, more than ever before, the necessary inputs that could facilitate the successful resettlement of the hill dwellers such as, the people's willingness and commitment of the governments. With the increased revenue and direct funding of Local Governments, Gwoza Local Government can direct more attention to the resettlement. Again, Governments Rural Development programmes through the activities of D.F.R.R.I and MAMSER, in the area can now be directed at the implementation of the scheme.

Inspite of the problems, with all the inducements and resource possibilities, given proper planning, tremendous benefits are envisaged for the people and as envisaged in the aim of the scheme:

i. The hill people as earlier seen, have been living under harsh physical conditions due to their location in difficult terrain which has considerably limited their productive capacity and out-put. Their resettlement on the plains will therefore, offer them greater opportunities in terms of land availability, improved agricultural practice, agricultural extension services with consequent increase in their agricultural out put and hence increased standard of living.

ii. Their inaccessibility due to their locations have hindered the government from reaching them with infrastructural facilities. This is not to say all accessible areas have been catered for. Their planned resettlement would therefore, offer them the opportunity of availing themselves with those facilities they have been missing, because government could then extend to them welfare services such as health services, education, planned environment among others.

iii. Another benefit inherent in their resettlement is the diversification of their economy as opposed to only agriculture or farming which is their singular economic base. This will further enhance their economic welbeing.

iv. There is also the opportunity to rid themselves of ignorance, to participate adequately in government through their political education and emancipation.

CHAPTER - FIVE

PROPOSALS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND IMPLEMENTATION

The review of the previous attempts and the current effort at resettling the Gwoza Hill dwellers indicated that a combination of problems have resulted in unsuccessful attempts and the current effort is equally tending towards a failure. The major problem identified from the inception of the scheme to date seem to be with the planning, organisation and implementation.

It is to be pointed out that a serious constraint to the more effective planning of the hill dwellers as identified is the insistence by most of them to resettle only on their own land. It is because of this that all the existing resettlement layouts were prepared on their former lands. This constraint as it turns out to be, has limited the planning of the resettlement on a sub-regional basis and hence restricted to areas either immediately surrounding the foot-hill or not too far from the hills. Unlike most resettlements where regrouping strategy is employed to resettle the affected people to provide the necessary population threshold for the provision of basic welfare amenities, this has not been possible in the current Gwoza Hill resettlement. With the over 4,000 expected house-holds, each hill settlement is being resettled on its previous land. Thus, 14 different layouts have been prepared surveyed and allocated to the people though the study found

less than 10 percent of most of the layouts are developed. Each site also has its distinctive characteristics and physical constraints.

It was pointed out earlier in the study that design of model layout is beyond the scope of the study since it is a scheme that is already being implemented. The attempt in the study is therefore, to improve on the situation based on what has been found, by proposing some ammendments which would at least make life better for the people than their former situation on the hill top. And at this stage where large amount has already been expended by the Governments on the scheme, and with the present economic crunch, it will only add to more expenditure which would have been better used in improving the existing situation. More importantly, the study is more concerned at tackling problems emanating from the scheme that are threating its success.

It is the authors contention that the deficiencies identified in the layouts prepared for the resettlement of the hill people lacks simple planning principles in their design and this has been due to the non-recognition of the important role of the physical planners in the resettlement planning from the very inception to the end. The study believes that given the free hand, the planners could actually have prepared better and more functional layout than the ones prepared. What is being contented in this

study is that resettlement planning generally should be flexible enough to be able to reflect the cultural set up of the people instead of being rigid and not yielding to change from the colonial legacy of grid-iron concept of layout designs.

Some of the problems identified with the Gwoza resettlement scheme therefore, include the following:

First, there is a gross inadequacy and even absence of infrastructural facilities on the hill top compared to the plains. It was found that where such facilities are available, they are inadequate and limited in their services and infact exclusively used by the communities where such facilities are located. This state of affair has been occassioned by the lack of inter-settlement links between the hill top settlements. This then only means some of the hill top settlements are more disadvantaged than others.

Second, the unsolved water problem observed is seriously militating against the successful execution of the schemes, and so is the lack of demarcation of the roads within all the layouts. These are two most fundamental constraints which steemed from the poor planning and organisation of the scheme. This study therefore, contends that comprehensive survey and investigation into other possibilities of water sources ought to have been carried out which would have indicated the magnitude of constraints the scheme would face, then appropriate strategy

could have been taken to avert them. The issue of undemarcated access roads is a case of lack of resettlement planning schedule, and rush for quick result. It would be wrong or inappropriate to expect resettlers to start moving into sites without clear demarcation of access roads and sufficient water for construction and domestic uses.

Third, considering the funding policy of the resettlement State Government - 65 percent and the Local Government - 25 percent the Governments are taking almost full responsibility for the scheme. This has raised the expectations of the resettlers but which are not successfully realized as seen for example in the issue of building materials assistance.

Fourth, from the findings of the study, it is apparent that the physical planner's role in the creation of a new settlement, which is what the resettlement entails, has not been accorded its rightful position. Thus, the relegation of the planners to only design of layouts at a time when it was apparently impossible to collect all necessary data which would form the basis for a better design based on basic planning principle.

It is therefore, in the light of these and other highlighted problems in the text that the proposals and recommendations are put forward.

5.1 PROPOSAL ON RESETTLEMENT PLANNING PROCEDURE

This study has revealed that the existing resettlement effort is tending towards failure because of the absence of any concerted planning procedure. The entire scheme is therefore, run concurrently which has led to problems such as non-demarcated access roads and non-provision of sufficient water for construction and domestic purposes at the sites.

To ensure that resettlements are planned properly with the various activities sequentially programmed, it is proposed that the planning and implementation be scheduled in such a way that all the self-help construction activities be planned to coincide with the dry season when farm work is less. Also government construction work such as the provision of water, construction of roads, schools, clinics, etc., should not run concurrently with the resettlers work. It is expedient therefore, that all government construction work preceed the self-help work of the resettlers.

Following the completion of the construction work by the authorities, with plots demarcated and allocated to the people, they (resettlers) can then be asked to the site to start their self-help housing construction. To avoid the problem of abandonement of work on the housing construction and food subsistence to resettlers, this particular stage of the work should be when the people must have harvested their crops in

their hill settlements. While construction on houses is going on, the clearance of their farms should also be done so that by the end of the dry season both houses and farm lands are ready for occupation and cultivation respectively.

The details as to the procedure of the resettlement and the timing is presented in Figure 21. The whole procedure is broken into four stages, i.e., stage one is the preparatory work which consists of comprehensive physical, socio-economic survey and the detailed plans; stage two is the construction work by the authority; stage three is the self-help constructions and stage four, completion of the scheme, It is expected that at stage four resettlers are expected to move to the sites and from then on, the development of the settlements continues (Figure 21).

It is expected that the proposed resettlement procedure will correct the mistakes often made in resettlement planning and execution, where for most of the time, surveys, field studies, planning and development of houses and farms all run simultaneously without following proper procedure, thereby, resulting into problems of implementation. The Guoza hills resettlement is not compulsory nor does it have a specific time for completion. There is therefore, no justification for any form of rush which will only result into problems as identified already. It is therefore, expected that the set out procedure and timing be followed closely for a more smooth resettlement of the people.

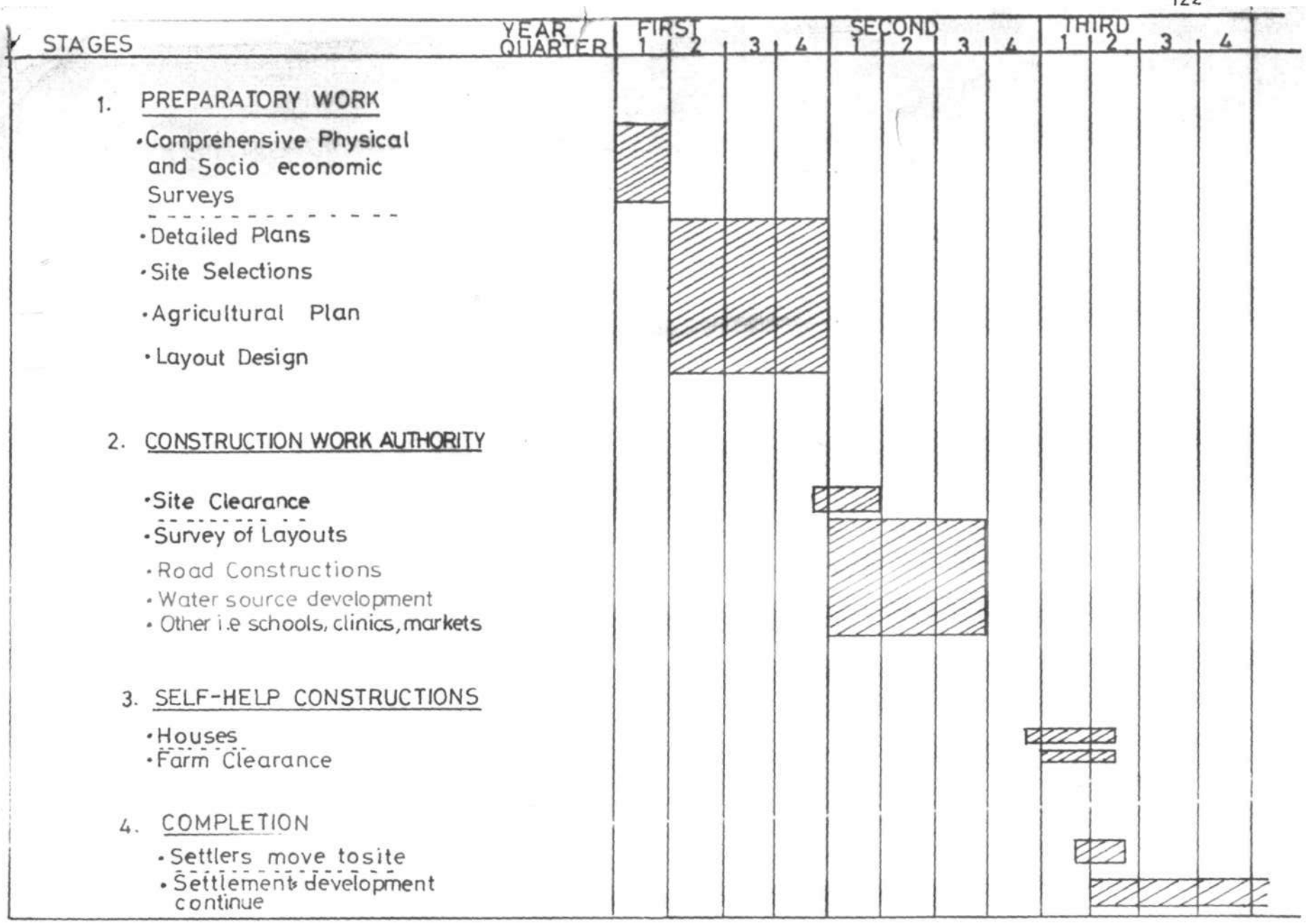


FIG. 21: PROPOSED RESETTLEMENT PLANNING PROCEDURE

5.2 PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO EXISTING LAYOUTS

From analysis of all the layouts designed for the resettlers, it is apparent that not much have been provided in them (layouts) in terms of basic facilities such as primary schools, markets, open spaces among others to make life for the hill people better than their hill top condition. Some minimum amendments or adjustments are therefore, proposed in some of the layouts where practicable. These are based not only on the felt needs of the people as established during the field study, but on the real needs since some of the existing facilities are not within easy reach of some of the resettlement areas, moreso, as the anticipated population in all the resettlement areas have the population threshold to support the services.

Wala 'A' and 'B' Layouts

The analysis of these layouts revealed that nothing was proposed. The recommended amendment is to incorporate market and a primary school. The primary school should be located centrally, preferably in Wala 'B' layout to be easily accessible to all the people. The market should preferably be located in Wala 'B' within plots 37 to 80. The plots adjoining the Cemetry should form part of the Cemetry instead of residential plots (Figures 22 and 23).

Chikide Layout

With the largest expected house-holds and largest layout, the provisions within the layout are inadequate, most especially

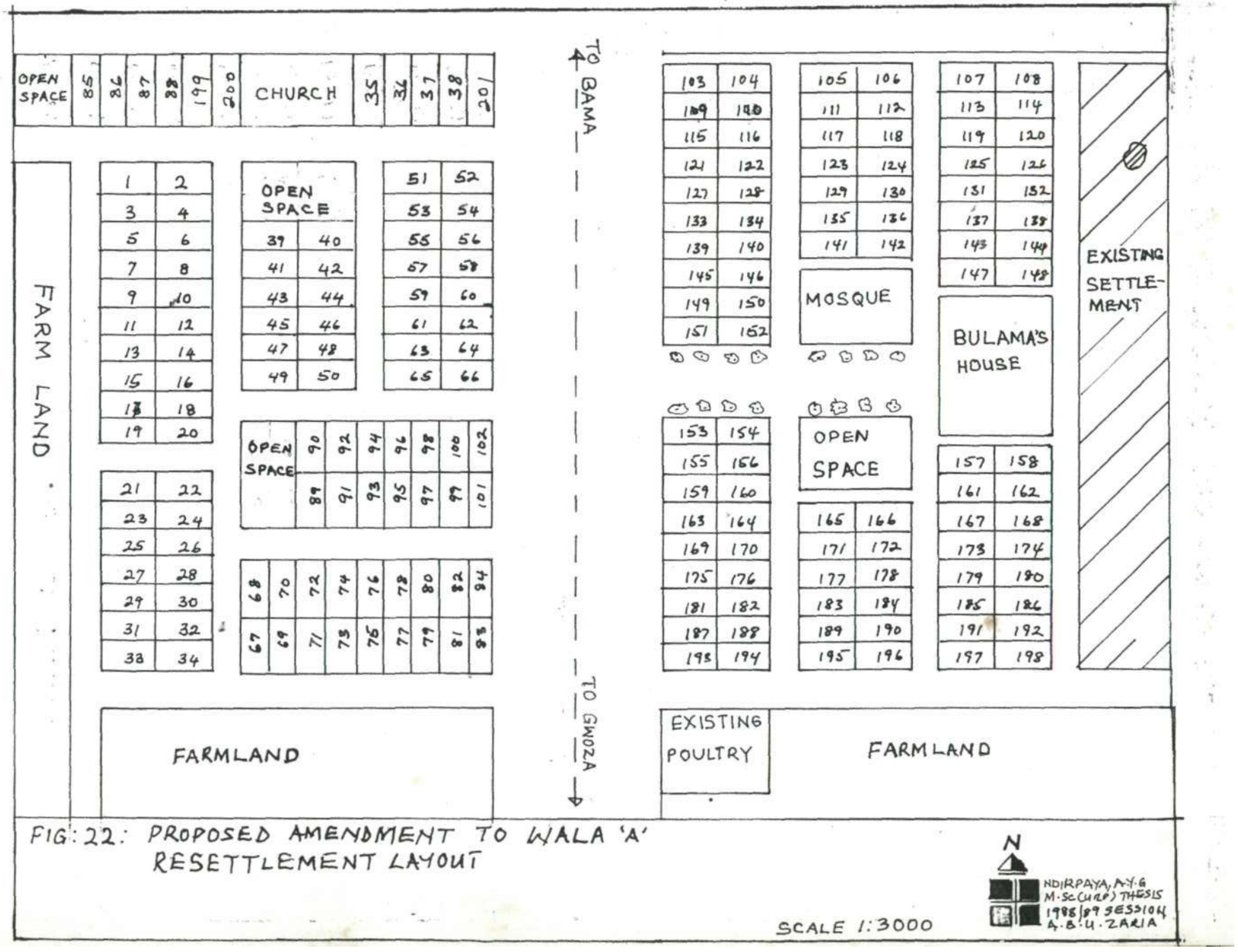


FIG: 22: PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO WALA 'A' RESETTLEMENT LAYOUT

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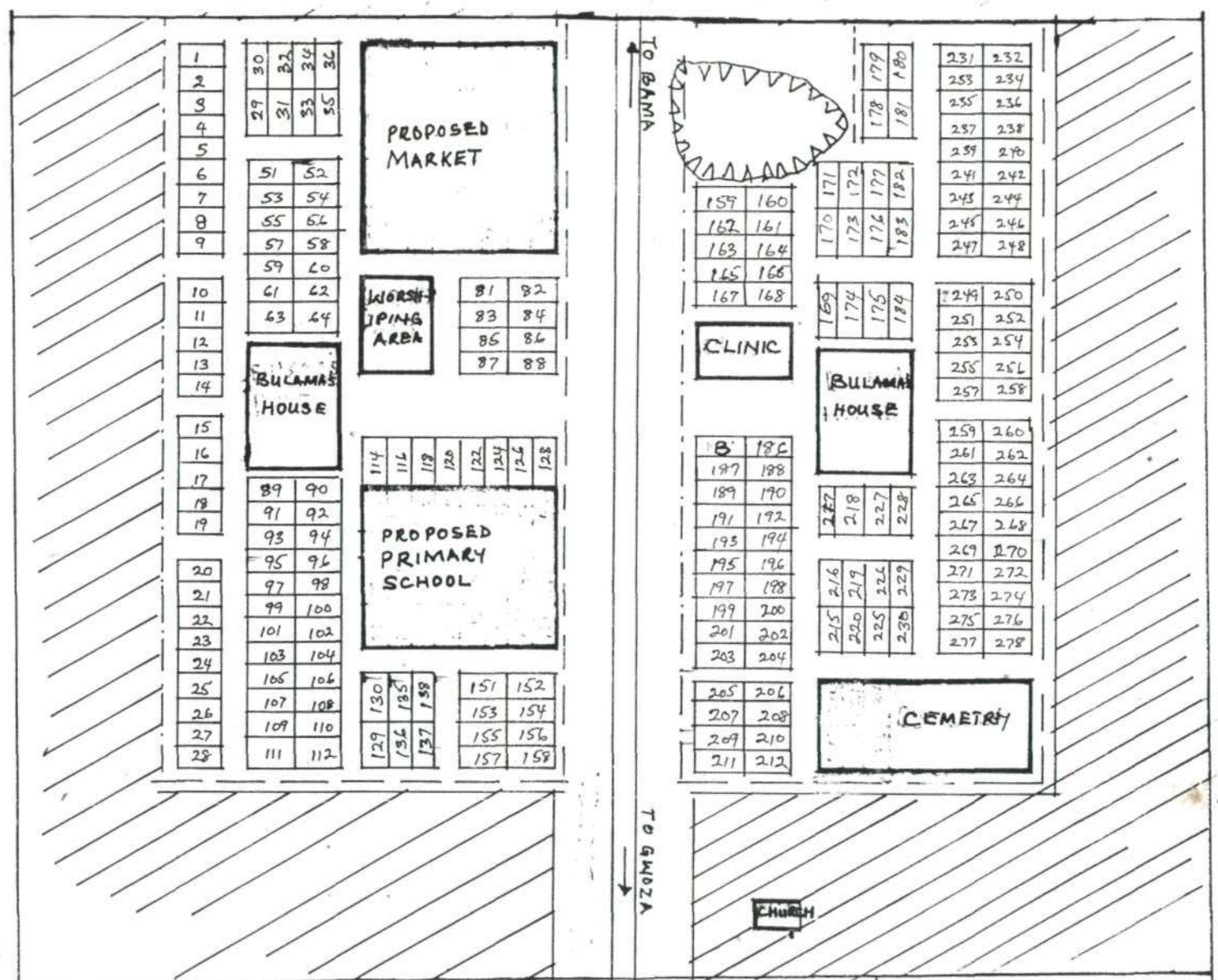


FIG. 23: PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO WALA 'B' RESETTLEMENT LAYOUT

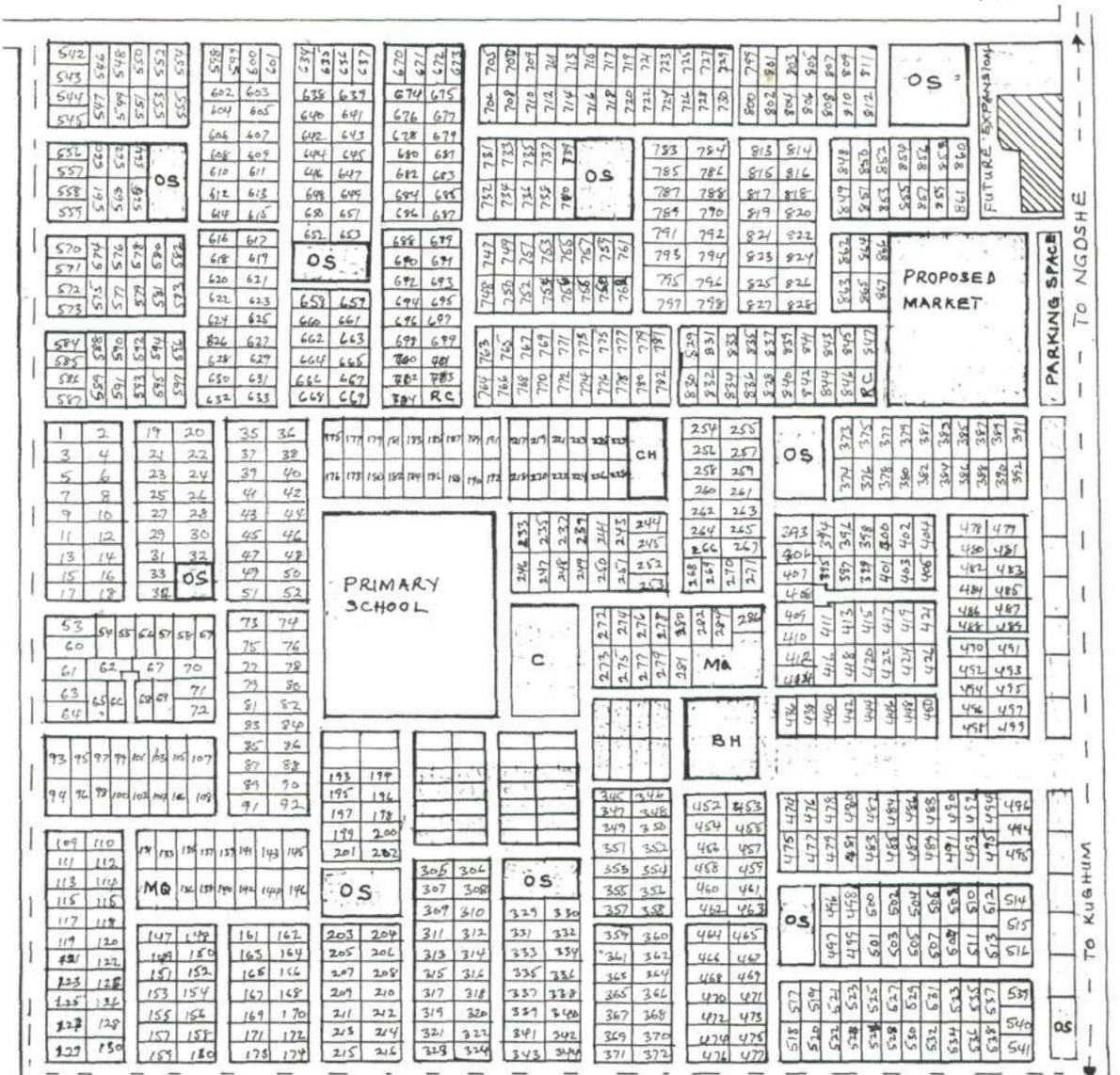


FIG. 24 : PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO CHIKIDE RESETTLEMENT LAYOUT.

LEGEND

BH	BULAMA'S HOUSE
MQ	MOSQUE
CH	CHURCH
C	CLINIC
OS	OPEN SPACE
	EXISTING SETTLEMENT

SCALE 1:5,000

market, church and open spaces. It is recommended therefore, that a market be incorporated and located within plots 868 to 895 of the layout, close to the Ngoshe - Kughum road. The church however, should be located within plots 229 to 232. The Bulama's house is proposed to be adjusted to plots 427 to 433 with the 'dandal' oriented towards the main road to take advantage of it. Similarly, the location of the Mosque should also be adjusted to cover plots 283, 285, 287 and 288. The former 'dandal' areas for the Mosque and Bulama's house can be made into plots. More open spaces have been proposed as per the amended layout (Figure 24).

Kughum Layout

It is proposed that the 'dandal' be oriented to link the Ngosha-Cameroon road to take advantage of it instead of its poor orientation towards the hill. These therefore, require adjustments. The clinic can maintain its present location as it has been constructed already. Plots 84 to 87 are proposed for a Church. The area earmarked for open space is poorly located. It is proposed to be sub-divided into plots. Some few open spaces have been created to serve some of the block of plots (Figure 25).

Ngoshi Sama 'A' and 'B' Layouts

A market is proposed for these layouts, to be located in layout 'A' within plots 1 to 12, while the area earmarked for motor park be used for a parking space. The primary school

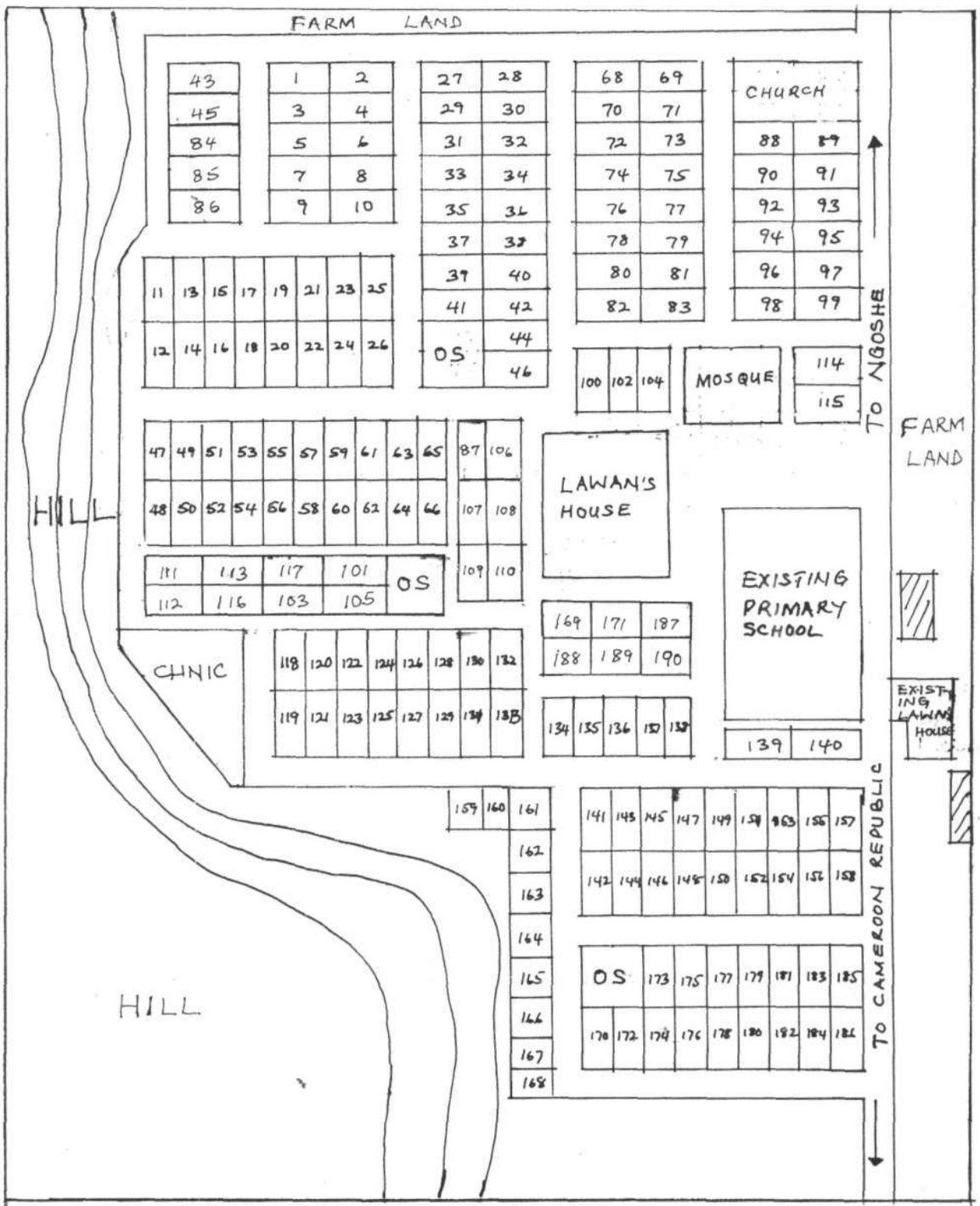


FIG. 25: PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO KUGHUM RESETTLEMENT LAYOUT

LEGEND

EXISTING HOUSES

OS OPEN SPACE

N

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SCALE 1:3000

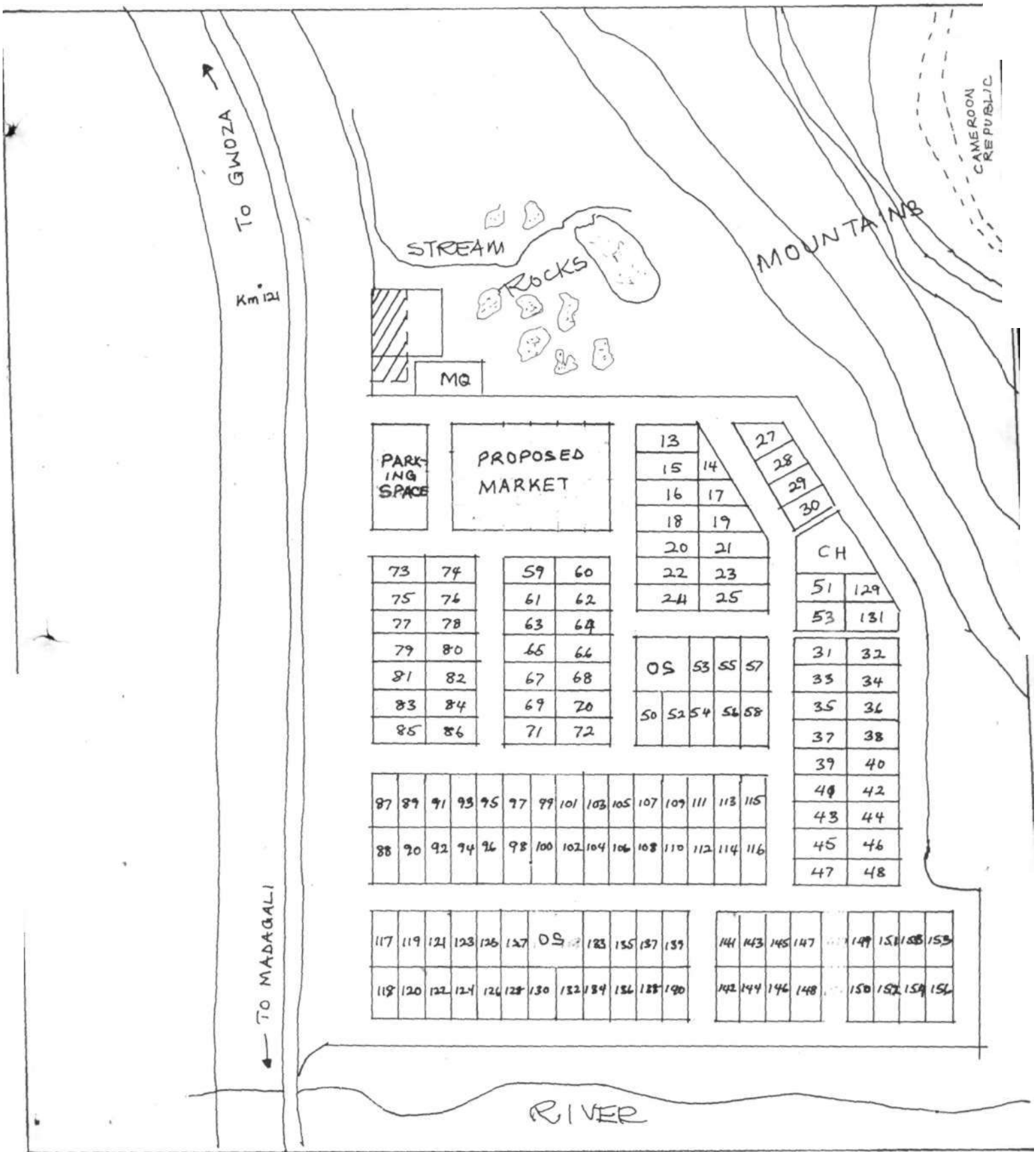


FIG. 26 : PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO NGOSHI SAMA'A RESETTLEMENT LAYOUT 'A'.

LEGEND

- CH — CHURCH
- MQ — MOSQUE
- OS — OPEN SPACE
- EXISTING HOUSES

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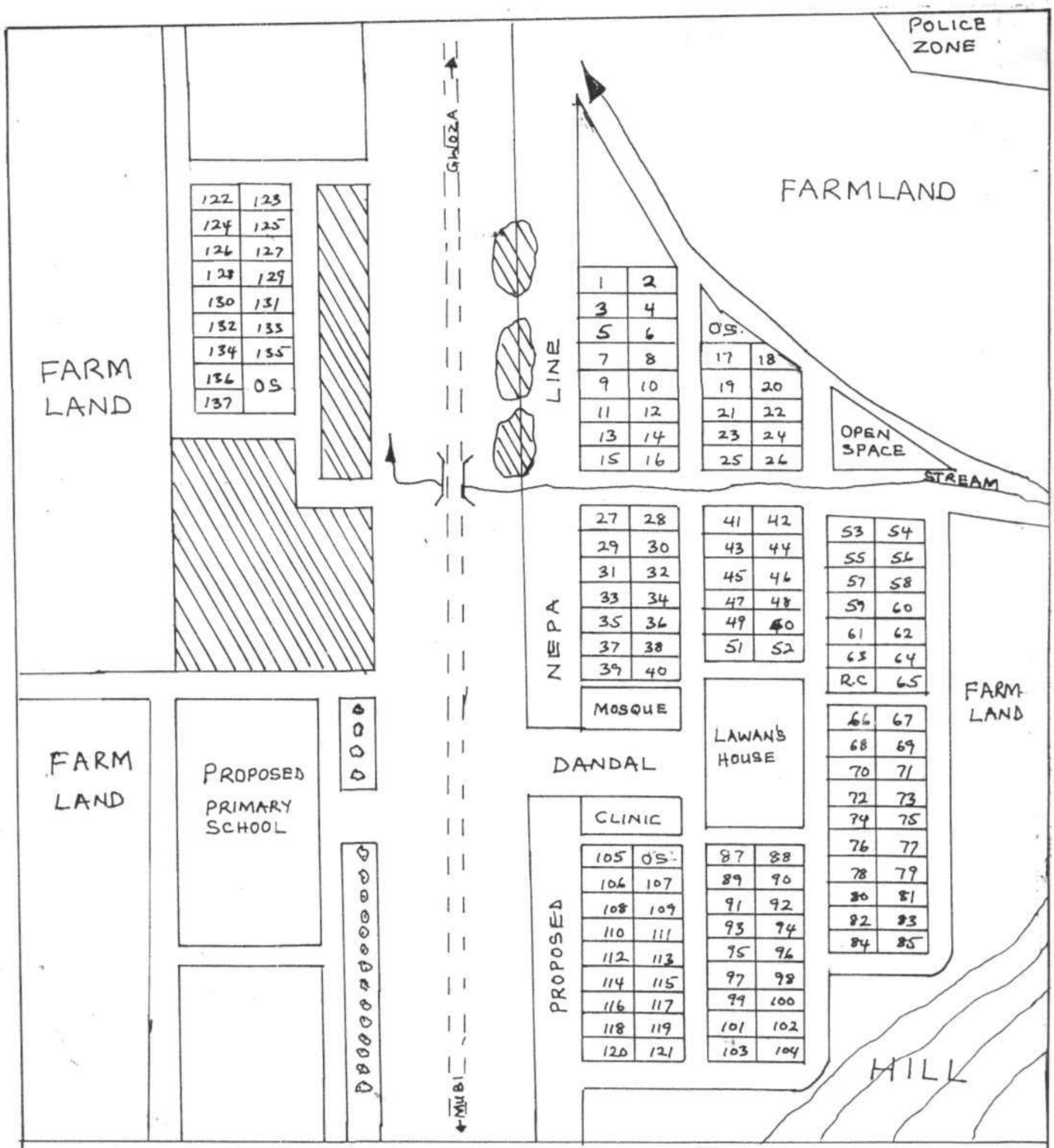


FIG. 27: PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO NGOSHI SAMA RESETTLEMENT LAYOUT 'B'.

LEGEND

- EXISTING HOUSES
- OS OPEN SPACE
- TREES

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proposed in layout 'A' should be maintained since space for future expansion of the settlement is more on that side of the area (Figures 26 and 27).

Gavva Layout

Nothing was proposed in this layout with 320 plots. The proposed amendment to it is to incorporate a primary school since there is no primary school within reasonable walking distance (500 metre) for pupils. This should therefore, be located centrally. There is already an existing market close to the site. The area proposed for a Church should preferably be within plots 259 to 262. Also there is already a General Hospital at Ngoshe which is close to it, therefore, there is no need to propose a Clinic (Figure 28).

Jahode Layout

The proposed amendments to this layout are reorientation of the 'dandal' towards the main Kughum-Ngoshe road. The Mosque should also be relocated to cover plots 160, 162 and 164. The primary school should be centrally located within plots 357 to 388. The existing area earmarked for primary school is proposed for a market (Figure 29).

Guduf Layouts

All the layouts are close to Gwoza town which has all the necessary amenities within easy reach. The existing primary

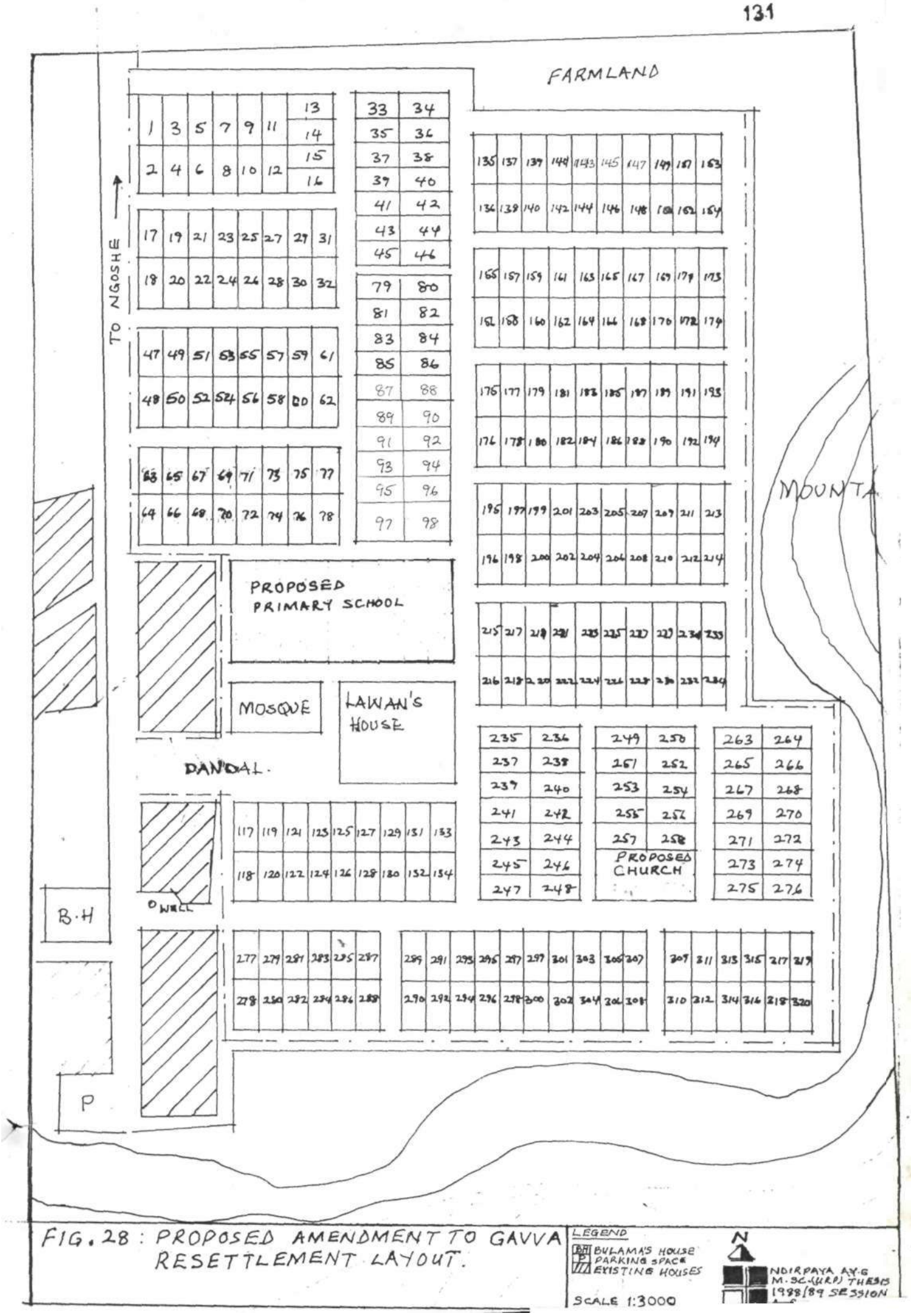


FIG. 28 : PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO GAVVA RESETTLEMENT LAYOUT.

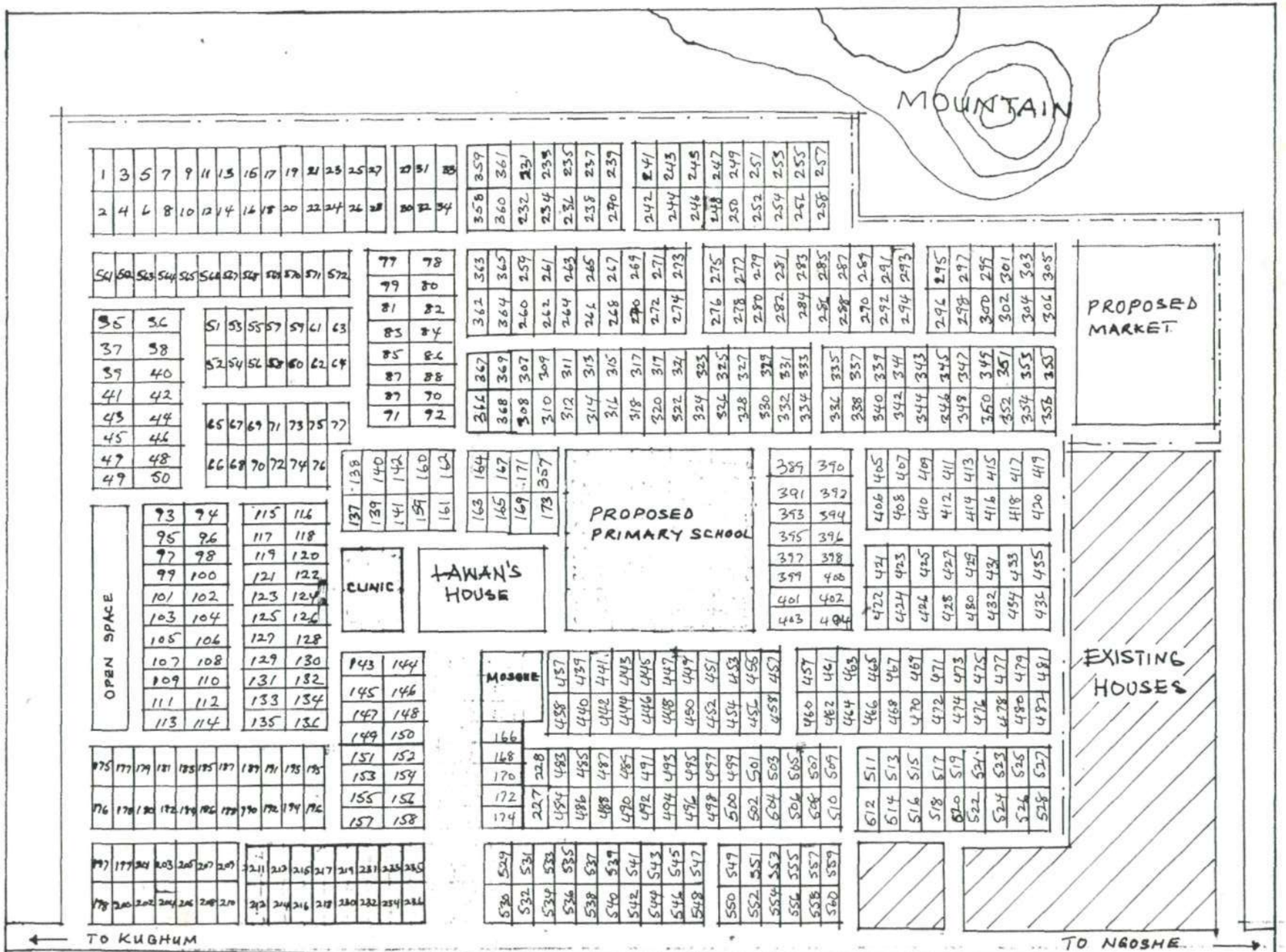


FIG. 29: PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO JOHODE RESETTLEMENT LAYOUT.

schools in both Guduf Nagadiyo and Guduf Bubayagwa needs to be expanded and made double stream to adequately cater for the additional expected population from the Gudufs hill settlements.

It is partinent to point out that the proposed amendments are made to improve upon the layouts and in order to make the new resettlement areas better than the hill top situation. For the ultimate expectation of resettlers is an improved standard of living.

5.3 PROPOSED ALTERNATIVE WATER SOLUTION

The essence of the water proposal is based on the seriousness of the problem as it affects the success of the scheme. A comprehensive plan proposal for the water development is beyond the competency of this study. However, to solve the perenial water problem to ensure the construction of the resettler's houses, it is proposed that earth dams be constructed, since all other efforts (drilling bore-holes and digging wells) have proved unsatisfactory. Wells in the area generally dry up during the dry season, a time when construction on the sites are expected to be intensive.

The study found that there are numerous water courses on both the Western and Eastern parts of the hills within which the resettlement areas are located. These offer a good possibilities for the development of earth dams along their courses. The water engineers of the State Water Board can

determine the actual feasible location of the dam sites. And it is recommended that when such dam sites are established, the Government can mobilise the Ministry of Works, Water Board, State Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure, Gwoza Local Government, Works Department and the Communities to effect the construction of the dam. With the acute water problem in the area, the people (both resettling communities and those on the plains) will be more than eager to participate in the earth dam construction.

The proposal of this alternative solution as the most feasible, is borne out of the experiences of some other places (the author's locality) where the construction of earth dam has ultimately solved the acute water problem in the areas.

5.4 PROPOSAL FOR FARM LAND

The study found a very serious farm land problem on the hill top because of the hilly terrain and the resultant limited cultivable land. It was also found that those that have so far resettled face little or no farm land problem. But with the anticipated population to be resettled, it might create a bit of a problem in terms of farm land. While it was found that even when the people eventually resettle they would still go up the hill top to farm in addition to their farms on the plains, this will only be for some time.

It is therefore, proposed that the land area West of Gwoza town - along Gwoza-Damboa road (See Figure 18) which was earlier identified and found suitable for farming and also uninhabited can be acquired and allocated to those resettlers with the most serious and immediate difficulty of getting farm land within their resettlement areas. Such as those from Guduf Bubayagwa, Guduf Nagadiyo, Kurana Bassa and Ngoshi Same. This is based on the understanding that when the hill dwellers eventually descend, the farm land problem may be much as against the existing situation.

The area being proposed covers about 2,000 hectares and the total expected house-holds from the hill people with more serious land problem as mentioned above is about 1,929. The area proposed will be adequate. The allocation of the farm land should be guided by the real needs of the individual house-holds. This is why a standard farm size is not being suggested. The distance of the proposed farm land matters little as some of the hill dwellers come down and travel more than five kilometres to farm as confirmed during the field study.

It is suggested also that the Ministry of Agriculture in collaboration with the Department of Agriculture of the Local Government survey further the actual feasibility of the area proposed.

This proposal on farm land therefore, is expected to solve the problem of those seriously pressed such as mentioned above. It is partinent to point out however, that the study admits inability to propose any farm land in the Eastern part of the hills where land is more serious. The only option is if the people agree to be resettled on the Western part of the hill where there is vast open land, then the Government can acquire suitable areas for both their resettlement and farm land. The acquisition of land should be done after investigation and thorough consultation with those on the plains that might lay claims of the area. This is to avoid any possible dispute that might arise, since land is always a sensitive issue.

5.5 GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

The review of the previous attempts and current effort have led to major findings which have been observed to have led to the constant failures of the several attempts and lately threatening the success of the current effort. In view of these and in order to realise the objectives of the scheme, the following measures are therefore, recommended to ensure a successful resettlement of the Gwoza Hill people:

i. Following the persistent failures of the previous attempts and the current effort which is apparently tending towards a failure, it is recommended that the Government over-haul

the existing Resettlement Committee and adopt the proposed resettlement unit to ensure more effective planning and implementation of the scheme. It is only when the planning and implementation machinery is effective, the problems which have led to the failures of the scheme cannot be solved and hence this current effort will be another failure, something the government would not want to happen. The need therefore, is to ensure that all development agents for the resettlement perform their duties effectively. The Resetlement Officer should ensure to submit a monthly report to the Commissioner of the Ministry of Land and Survey through the Director of Planning on the progress of the scheme. This will enable the government to know how far the goals of the scheme is being achieved.

ii. The experiences from the previous attempts and the current effort have shown that layout deaigns are done without adequately taking into account the physical set up, socio-cultural and economic conditions and indeed the felt needs of the people. These have led to design of layouts which are at complete variance with the people's traditional form of settlements as noted in the nucleated village as a unit of settlement in the first attempt and secondly, the grid-iron urban type of layouts currently being implemented. The former constituted one of the

reasons for the previous failures, while it has not been possible to ascertain the level of acceptability of the current one since less than 10 percent of each of the layouts are developed, however, the basic concept that guided the design is 'foreign' and hence does not conform to the traditional pattern of Gwoza settlement. It is recommended therefore, that in the future, planners of resettlements take into account the cultural traits of the people and their local circumstances in designing layouts which will be more functional instead of those that suit the designer's convinience which probably is for easy design and survey.

iii. Resettlement scheme of the Gwoza Hills type is not a compulsory one with no immediate danger to their lives as to warrant speed or rush in their evacuation and subsequent resettlement. It is recommended therefore, that a comprehensive resettlement procedure as proposed above be followed closely to ensure a smooth exercise. By so doing it will not only ensure a progressive and effective implementation of the scheme, but also the achievement of the objectives of the scheme.

iv. The other major problem hampering the success of the implementation of the scheme is the lack of demarcation of access roads in all the layouts. The result of this

is difficulty faced by the resettlers to identify plots from the access roads. There is therefore, the urgent need to demarcate the access roads to enable the resettlers identify their plots to enhance their construction work. It is not envisaged that the access roads within the layouts will be metalled or even laterited. What is required is just grading of the roads.

v. It is also recommended that when eventually the hill people are resettled, some of the hill settlement sites should be preserved as an historical monuments for tourist centres. Already lots of activities such as Mobile Police Force Training and Leadership (Man O' War) Training for Youth Organisations, with fully developed camps at the foot of the hill at Gavva are already taking place. The prospects of some of these hill settlements as tourist centres is therefore very positive. It could also serve as a centre for cultural studies.

vi. There is also the urgent need to solve the water problem of the resettlers through the suggested earth dam constructions as the only possible solution to the water problem. The importance of the solution to the water problem vis-a-vis the successful resettlement of the hill people is quite obvious and therefore, needs not be over-emphasized.

vii. There is the need for the State and Local Governments to look into the issue of farm land problem more seriously to find a possibility of providing sufficient farm land to those who have immediate and more serious difficulty in getting farm land. Also adequate assistance be given to the resettlers in terms of agricultural extension services and other in puts to help them adopt to modern farming practices, so as to boost their agricultural out put and productivity.

viii. As the authorities promised to provide some building materials to the resettlers, it is important that the distribution of such materials be done fairly and early enough. This is to forestall first, discouraging those still on the hill top from descending and second, to avoid loses through damage of already erected structures by rain as a result of delayed distribution of the roofing materials.

5.6 IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGY

The process of developing an area involves two over-lapping and continuous stages, i.e., plan preparation and implementation. Any development may begin with the plan preparation as a guide to the implementation. However, at a later stage of the implementations, it becomes a guide to the revision of the original plan. The whole process is continuous till the plan

is ultimately implemented. However, failure of one influences the other in a particular way.

The contention of this study therefore, is that several factors have negatively affected the timely and successful implementation of the Gwoza hills resettlements scheme. These among others, include poor planning leading to failure to produce good physical development plans, organisational weakness, staff ineffectiveness due to inappropriateness and under-utilisation.

It is important to point out here that the success of any plan is achieving its objectives, is dependent upon the effectiveness of machinery for implementation.

The study found that, the authorities of the present scheme have not sufficiently learnt lessons from the previous attempts and other resettlement schemes to the effect that the planning was not done as realistic as it ought to have been. The role of the physical planners was infact not properly understood in the resettlement planning and implementation, hence their role was relegated to merely the design of the layouts, while the important co-ordinative function which the planners are supposed to handle is being done by Community Development Officers. The inevitable consequences are as noted earlier in the study. Implementation therefore, is a

a fundamental aspect of the planning process that the machinery must be appropriate to enhance effectiveness.

It is recognised in this study that roles or functions of different bodies in resettlement planning and execution and indeed any other development project are important. However, the sufficient understanding of individual roles by all actors in the resettlement scheme is important if the objectives of the scheme is to be realized. In this respect, the co-ordination of planning and implementation of the resettlement should appropriately be the responsibility of the physical planning department with all other relevant departments playing their defined and vital roles with the overall aim of ensuring the successful resettlement of not only the Gwoza Hill people, but any other resettlement that may arise. The departure from the existing arrangement has been necessitated by the unsatisfactory performance of the present co-ordinating authority.

To ensure an effective planning and implementation of the Gwoza Hills resettlement scheme and indeed future resettlements in the State, it is proposed that a resettlement unit be created within the Town Planning Division of the Ministry of Land and Survey to be headed by a Senior Officer not lower than the rank of Senior Town Planning Officer. By the creation of this unit, effective co-ordination of planning and implementation of all resettlement activities in the State will be ensured. It will also ensure accountability continuity and proper keeping of

records of resettlement activities from which lessons or experiences can always be drawn whenever there is any resettlement scheme to be undertaken. This is to avoid the mistakes often made in planning resettlements where experiences of the past are not drawn upon.

The main functions of the unit shall be conducting physical surveys, preparation of detailed physical development plans of the resettlement, monitoring, co-ordinating of all other resettlement activities and evaluation of same to ensure that the objectives of the scheme are being achieved.

The unit should also have a field office in the Local Government area and should work in close co-operation with the Local Government staff attached to the scheme. Other actors in the resettlement implementation are the Ministries of Agriculture, Co-operative and Community Development, Works and Housing, Finance and Economic Planning, the Local Government, Traditional Council, Water Board, Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (D.F.R.R.I), MAMSER and the leaders or elected representatives of the people (resettlers). The proposed organisational frame work for the resettlement implementation and the functions of the actors are as shown in Figure 30.

5.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study has tried to critically review the previous attempts by the various governments at resettling the Hill

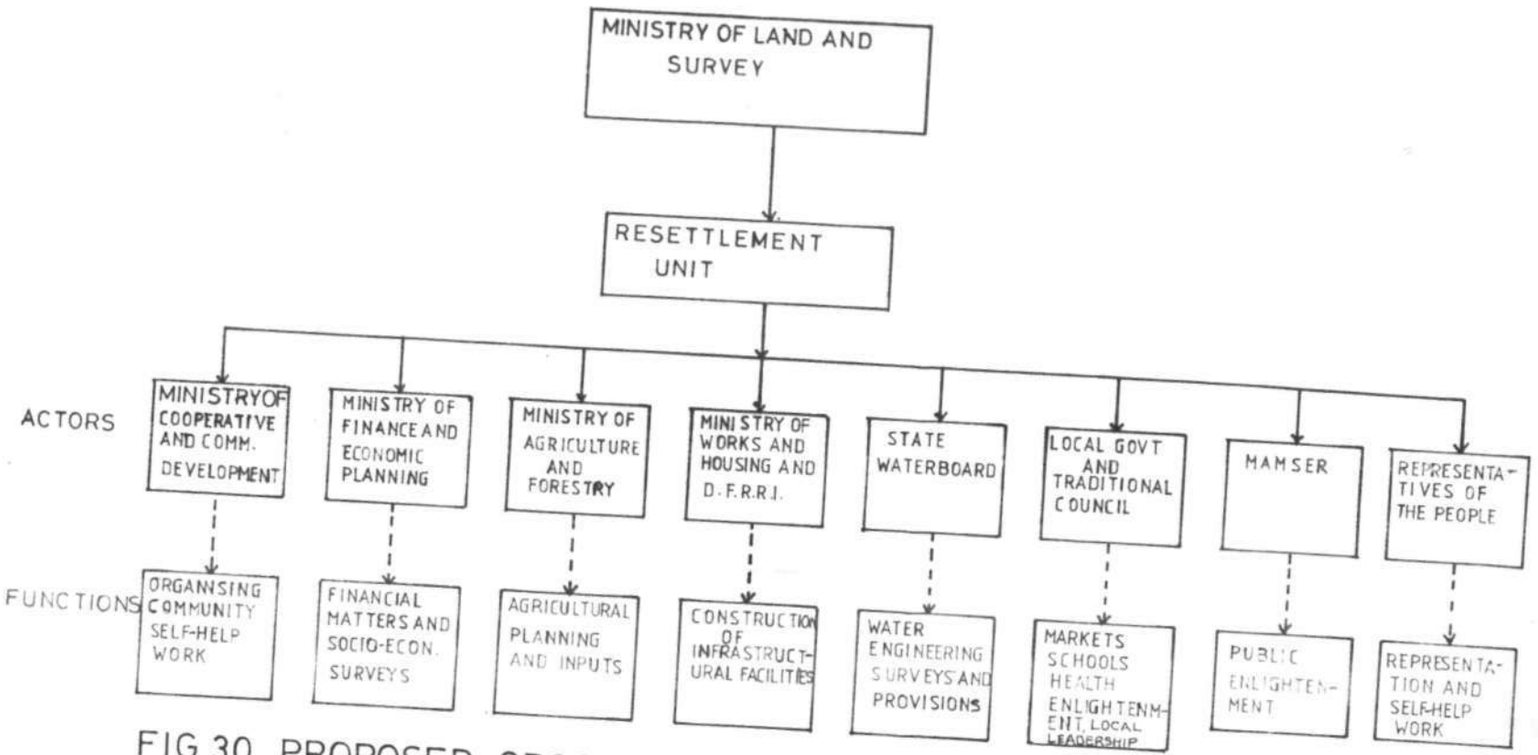


FIG. 30 PROPOSED ORGANISATIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR RESETTLEMENT IMPLEMENTATION

dwellers of the Gwoza sub-region which have persistently failed. It also undertood to review the current effort by the State Government to resettle the Hill people as they showed sufficient desire to be resettled.

The study therefore, found that resettlement have over the years been used as one of the strategies used in developing the rural areas based on certain identified problems such as scattered nature of the settlements which would cost the government much to provide welfare amenities for them; or areas with serious population pressure, areas that are inaccessible due to their locations such as the case studied, etc. It has been found therefore, that the success of these resettlements depends first on the willingness of those affected and a more concerted planning and effective implementation machinery. It is only when these are achieved and done can the purpose of the scheme, which is to improve the people's living standard be realized.

The study also found that in the first year of the previous attempts, the Gwoza Hill resettlement scheme failed not entirely because of the lack of planning per se but the approach to it. The development plans prepared seemed good but were done without the people's slighted participation and the insufficient understanding of the people's felt needs and the prevailing situation on the plains.

The use of force, as noted during the second year of operation, is the worst form of strategy to use in a resettlement scheme where there is no obvious danger to the people's lives. Even if there is eminent danger, persuations, intensive campaigns and enlightenment are far better approaches than to use force. The latter in fact is what led to the failure in the second year and which subsequently discouraged the hill people from descending and this finally crippled the scheme.

In the current effort, the study found government's commitment and the willingness of the people to be very appreciable. The major draw back however, is the rush to get quick result. The rush characterizing the execution as observed, did not allow for a more comprehensive survey, proper planning schedule and efficient co-ordination and monitoring of the scheme. As a result many problems such as the inability of the Committee to address fundamental issues of farm land, adequate solution to water for construction at the sites. Also layouts prepared without incorporating the cultural traits, understanding the physical conditions and the felt needs of the people such as markets, schools, health services, etc.

The study also observed that, layouts whether urban or rural if not fully serviced with access roads is not

likely to be developed. The authorities therefore, without thinking of the implication of these lapse started resettling people on layouts where the resettlers found difficult to identify plots and even if these were possible, no adequate water to undertake the constructions.

The lack of first costing of the entire project to determine the magnitude of the problems, the authorities would be dealing with, has led to the inability to execute the scheme successfully as intended. In fact, pilot scheme should have been tried first especially with those with the most serious land and water problems. The success of the pilot scheme could then determine the viability of the entire scheme. This will not only save wasting of scarce resources, but will ascertain the authenticity of the peoples eagerness to be resettled. It would even be easier correcting problems with the model scheme if any, than this mass or large scale scheme being undertaken.

The Gwoza scheme is different from most resettlement schemes undertaken in the country. Though their willingness to resettle was established before the scheme was embarked upon, the planning aspect like most other resettlements have been faulty. For one there was the ignorance of physical planning in the resettlement and the recognition of the physical planners role. The planning of Gwoza resettlement

scheme and in fact any future resettlments should therefore, involve the people from the inception to the ultimate end so that both their felt and real needs can be taken care of and to avoid the experiences of the past.

It was found that the distribution of the building materials has been found to have a detrimental effect on the people for the over 4,000 house-holds expected to be resettled, both the State and Local Governments provided only 150 bundles of roofing sheets, 120 packets of roofing nails and 47 bags of assorted nails. If all the people are to descend in-bulk, these are grossly inadequate. The study therefore, found the distribution of these to be uneven which has already created a feeling that government is favouring some more than others. Considering the large expected population, it would be best for governments to purchase these materials and sell to the people at a highly subsidized rate.

Finally, the proposals and recommendations put forward in this study, while not exhaustive or an end in themselves, but their ability to ensure an appropriate and successful resettlement of the Gwoza Hill dwellers and future resettlement schemes depend considerably on how the planners follow the planning procedure, organisation and effectively implement them. It is only then that the aim of resettlement, which is to improve the general living conditions of the people, can be achieved.

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APPENDIX - I

GWOZA HILLS RESETTLEMENT SCHEME
HOUSEHOLD SURVEY OF THOSE ON THE HILLS

House-hold Number:.....

1. Name of Village:.....
2. Name of Head of House-hold (optional):.....
3. Age (approximated):..... Occupation:.....
5. Marital Status:
   (a) Married ( ) (b) Single ( )
   (c) Widower ( )
6. How many wives do you have?.....
7. How many children do you have?.....
   (a) Male:..... (b) Female:.....
8. How many of them are staying with you?.....
9. Where are the others?.....
10. Do you have any relative staying with you?
    (a) Yes ( ) (b) No ( )
    If Yes, how many?.....
11. How many of your children are:
    i. In School:.....
    ii. Finished school and working:.....
    iii. Finished school but not working:.....
12. How long have you lived on the hill? (approximated):.....
13. Have you ever lived down hills?
    (a) Yes (b) No ( )
    If Yes, for how long?.....
14. What made you come back to the hill top?
    i. Down hills not safe ( )
    ii. Scarcity of Farm-land ( )
    iii. The climate is not comfortable ( )
    iv. Other reason(s):.....

15. Why do you want to go down again?.....

16. Do you usually go down to villages down hills?

(a) Yes ( ) (b) No ( )

17. If Yes, for what reason(s):

i. To markets ( )
ii. To farm ( )
iii. For festivals ( )
iv. For health reasons ( )
v. Others (specify):.....

18. How many times do you go down?

i. Daily ( )
ii. Once a Week ( )
iii. Twice a week ( )
iv. Once a Month ( )

19. What type of activity/ies do you do during wet season?

i. Farming ( )
ii. Farming and Hunting ( )
iii. Looking after Animals ( )
iv. Others (specify):.....

20. What do you do during dry seasons?

i. Hunding ( )
ii. Looking after Animals ( )
iii. Do nothing ( )
iv. Others (specify):.....

21. Have you ever heard of Governments plans to resettle you down hills?

(a) Yes ( ) (b) No ( )

If Yes, how did you feel about it?

i. Welcomed it ( )
ii. Did not like it ( ))
iii. Indifferent ( )

22. If No, would you want to resettle down on the plains?

(a) Yes ( ) (b) No ( )

Give reasons for whichever answer:.....

.....

23. In the past there were attempts to resettle you down hills, why did it fail?

    i. Force was used instead of persuation ( )

    ii. The organisation of the resettlement was not properly done ( )

    iii. Not in our interest ( )

    iv. Other reasons (specify):.....

24. If you are to be resettled down hills, would you accept it?

    (a) Yes ( ) (b) No ( )

    Give reasons for whichever answer:.....

    .....

25. If you are to be resettled, which village(s) would you prefer your village to be located near (Names)

    i. .....

    ii. .....

    iii. .....

26. Why did you choose this village(s):.....

    .....

27. How do you communicate with people from other places in view of the physical barrier?.....

    .....

Thank you very much for your co-operation.

Please, be assure that all the informations you gave will be treated in confidence.

--- NDIRPARA, A. Y. G.

March, 1989.

APPENDIX - II

GWOZA HILLS RESETTLEMENT SCHEME
HOUSE-HOLD SURVEY OF RESETTLED PEOPLE

House-hold Number:.....

1. Name of Village:.....
2. Name of House-hold Head (optional):.....
3. Age:..... Occupation:.....
5. Marital Status
   (a) Married ( )
   (b) Single ( )
   (c) Widower ( )
6. Number of Wives:.....
7. Number of Children:
   (a) Males:..... (b) Females:.....
8. Occupation of Head of House-hold:.....
9. How many of your children are in school?.....
   Where:.....
   .....
9. How long have you lived in this village?.....
10. Which is better, your former village or present village?
    i. Former ( ) ii. Present ( )
11. What is/are the main problem(s) with your:
    i. Former village:.....
    ii. Present village:.....
12. Was it your own decision to settle here?
    (a) Yes ( ) (b) No ( )
13. If No, whose decision:.....
14. Was force used on you to move?
    (a) Yes ( ) (b) No ( )
    If Yes, what type of force?.....

15. If it was your own decision to move, what made you decide to come down?.....

16. In the selection of the new village site, were you involved?
(a) Yes ( ) (b) No ( )

17. If No, are you satisfied with the site?
(a) Yes ( ) (b) No ( )

18. If No, where would you have like to settle? (Name of Place(s) like village(s)
i. .....
ii. .....
iii. .....

19. If you are satisfied with the site, are you satisfied with your house (plot) size?
(a) Yes ( ) (b) No ( )

20. If No, why:.....

21. Do you have problem with getting farm-land here?
(a) Yes ( ) (b) No ( )

22. Do you still climb the hill-top?
(a) Yes ( ) (b) No ( )
If Yes, how often (frequency):.....
For what reason(s):.....

23. Which size of your farm-lands is bigger?
i. Former ( )
ii. Present ( )
iii. No differences ( )

24. How is your relationship with your neighbours?
i. Cordial (good) ( )
ii. Hostile (bad) ( )
iii. Others (specify):.....

25. What do you think was/were the reason(s) for failures of past attempts to resettle you?
i. Force was used ( )
ii. We were not consulted ( )
iii. The planns were not safe ( )
iv. Others reasons (specify):.....

26. Why do you think some people refused to come down?.....
.....

27. Were you fully prepared for the resettlement before you come down from the hill top?
(a) Yes ( ) (b) No ( )

28. If No, why?.....

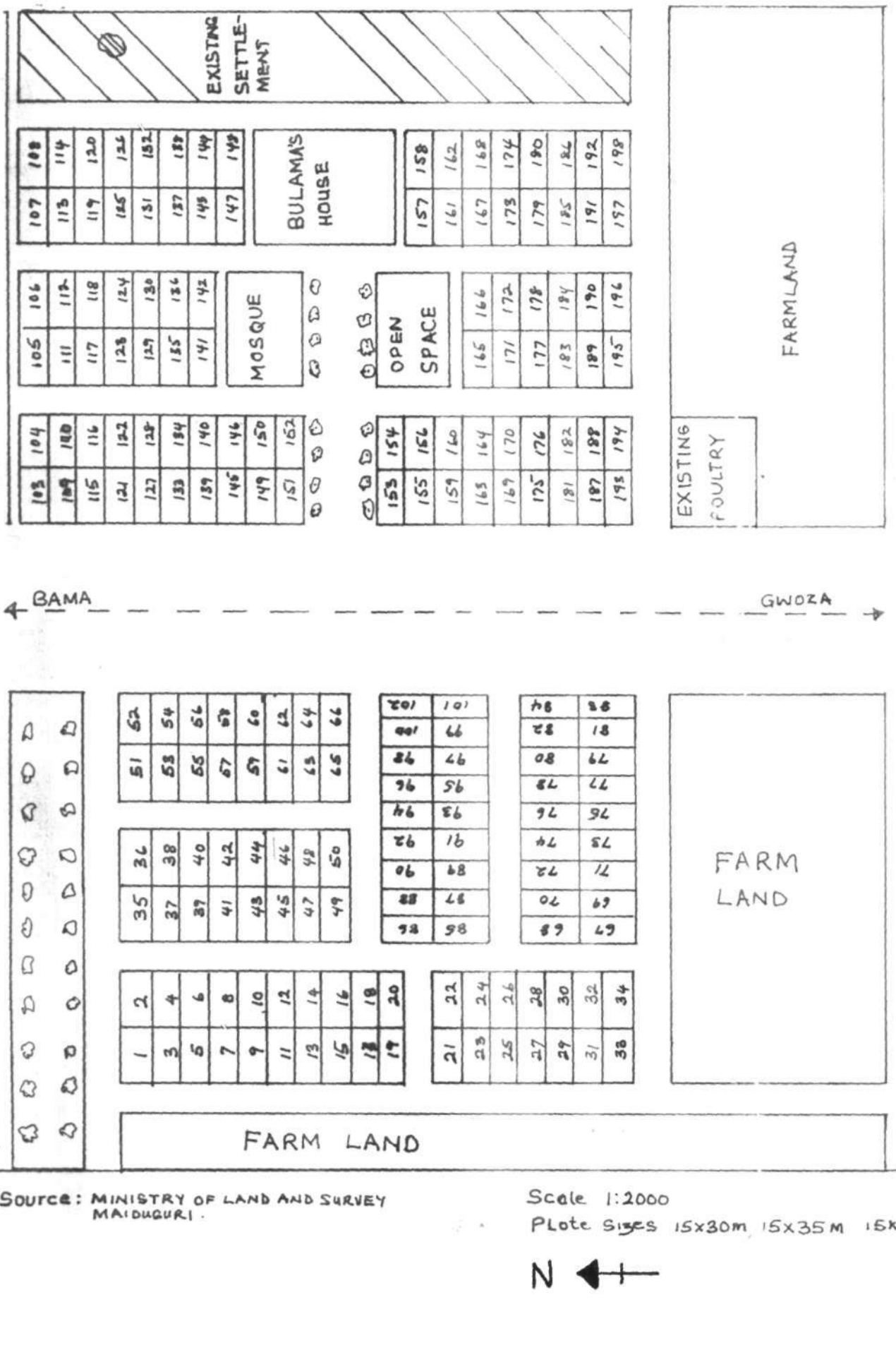
29. Can you make a general assessment of the resettlement scheme so far?.....

Thank you very much for your co-operation.

Please, be assured all the information you gave will be treated in confidence and shall be used purely for academic exercise.

--- NDIRPAYA, A. Y. G.
March, 1989.

APPENDIX III - WALA 'A' EXISTING RESETTLEMENT LAYOUT



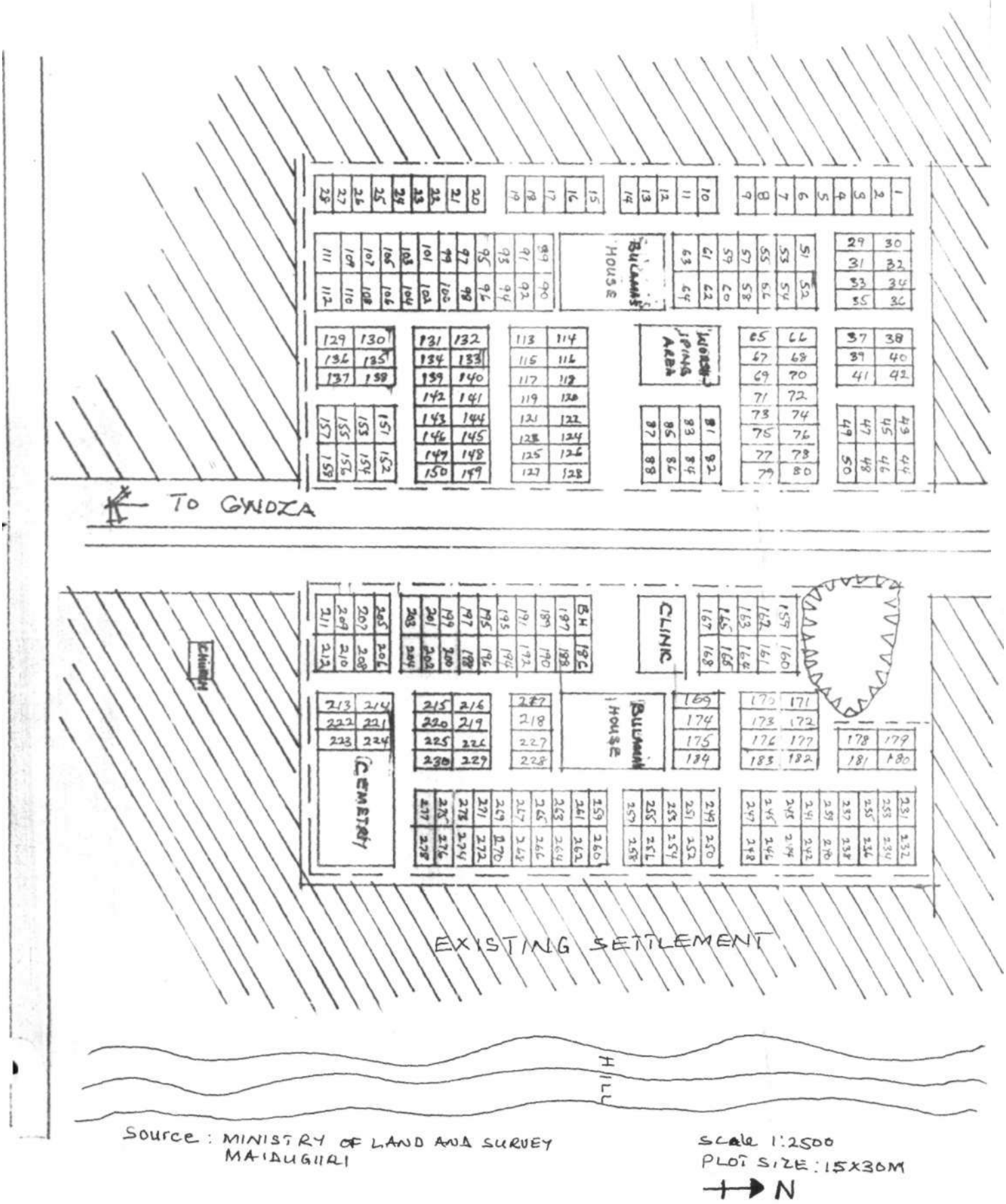
Source: MINISTRY OF LAND AND SURVEY MAIDUGURI.

Scale 1:2000

Plote Sizes 15x30m 15x35m 15x45m

N

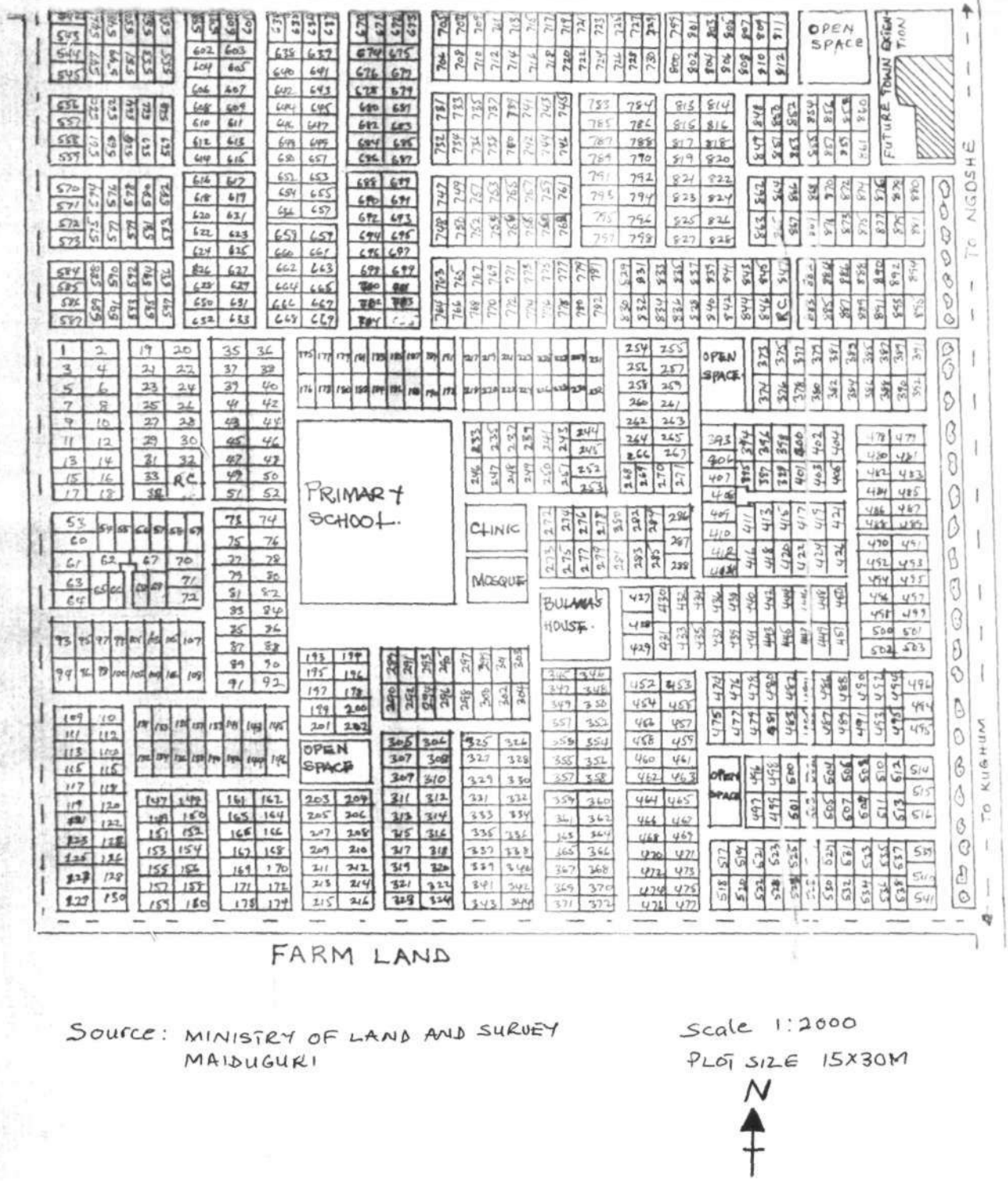
APPENDIX-IV WALA-'B' EXISTING RESETTLEMENT LAYOUT



Source : MINISTRY OF LAND AND SURVEY
MAIDUGURI

Scale 1:2500
PLOT SIZE : 15X30M
N

APPENDIX V - CHIKIDE EXISTING RESETTLEMENT LAYOUT

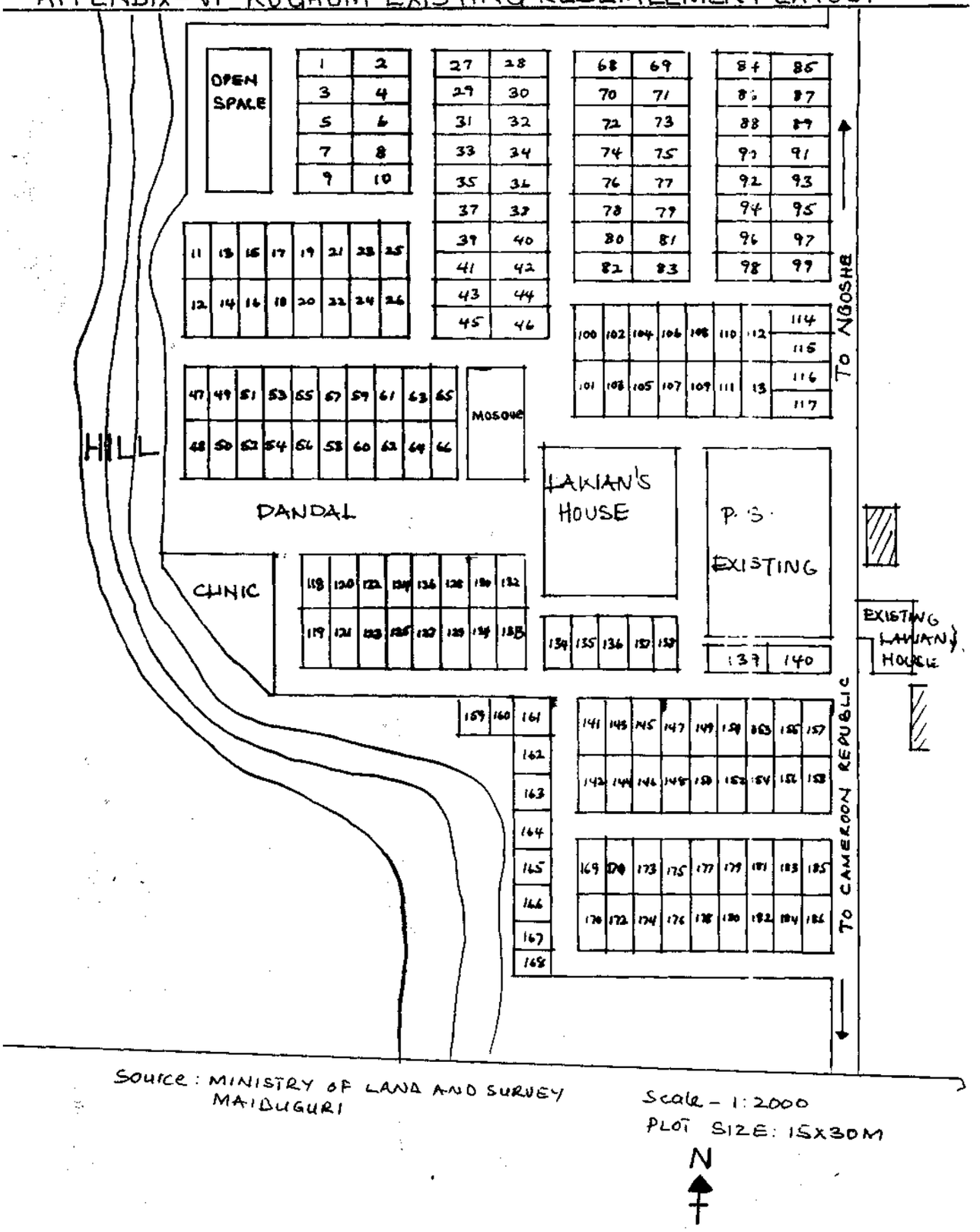


Source: MINISTRY OF LAND AND SURVEY
MAIDUGURI

Scale 1:2000
PLOT SIZE 15X30M

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APPENDIX-VI KUGHUM EXISTING RESETTLEMENT LAYOUT

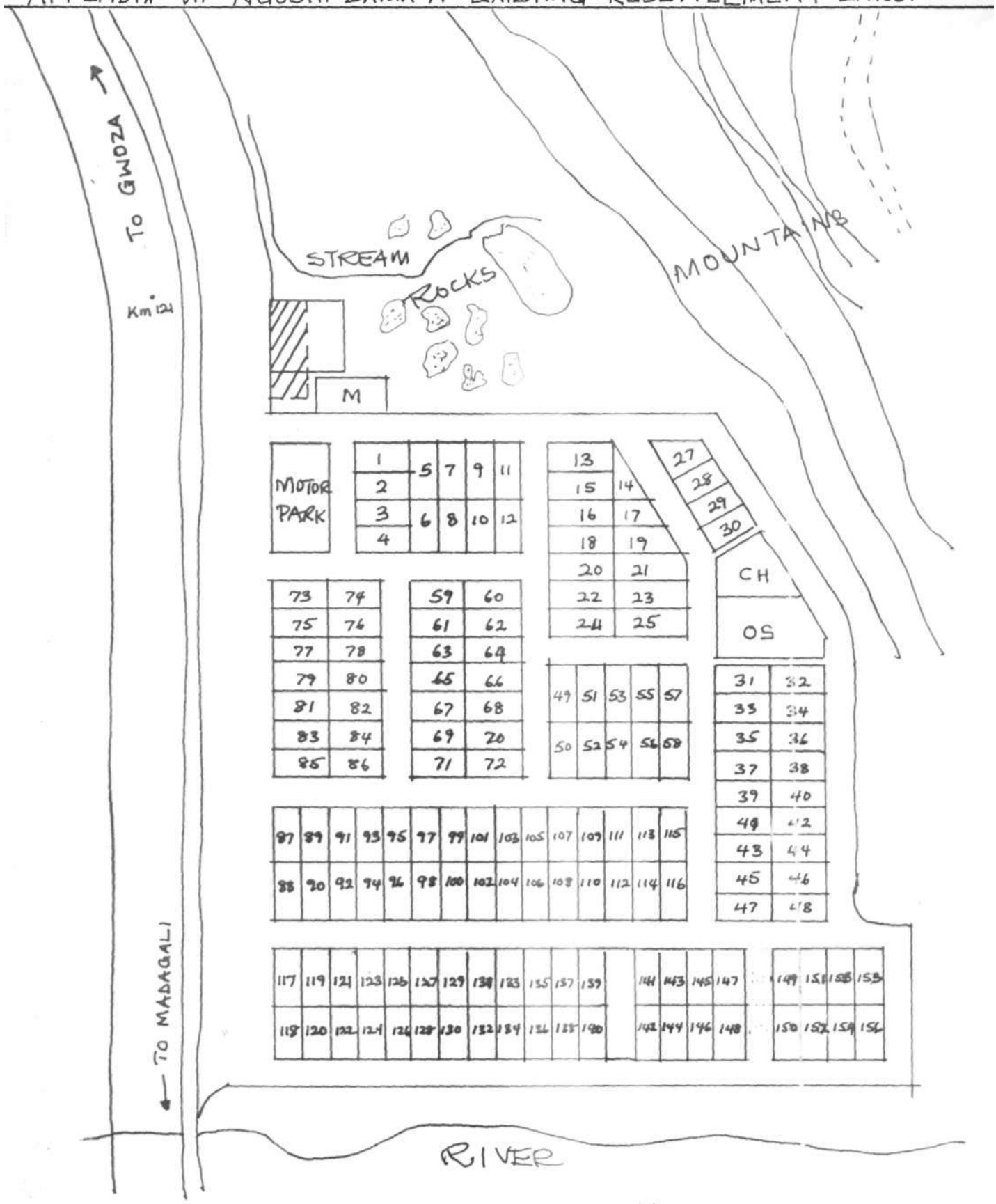


Source: MINISTRY OF LAND AND SURVEY MAIDUGURI

Scale – 1:2000

PLOT SIZE: 15X30M

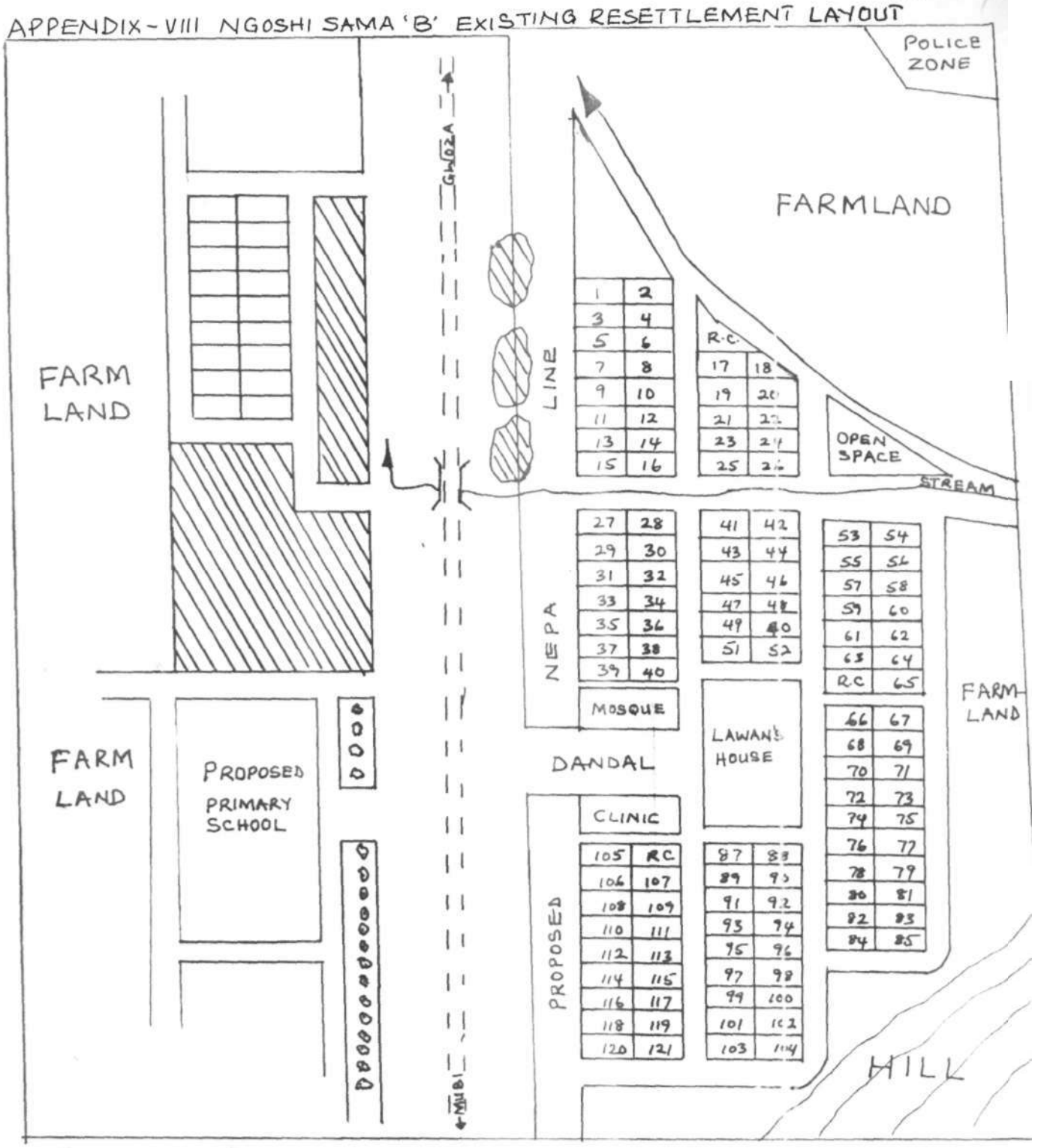
APPENDIX– VII NGOSHI SAMA 'A' EXISTING RESETTLEMENT LAYOUT



Source: MINISTRY OF LAND AND SURVEY
MAIDUGURI

SCALE 1:2000
PLOT SIZE 15X30M

APPENDIX - VIII NGOSHI SAMA 'B' EXISTING RESETTLEMENT LAYOUT

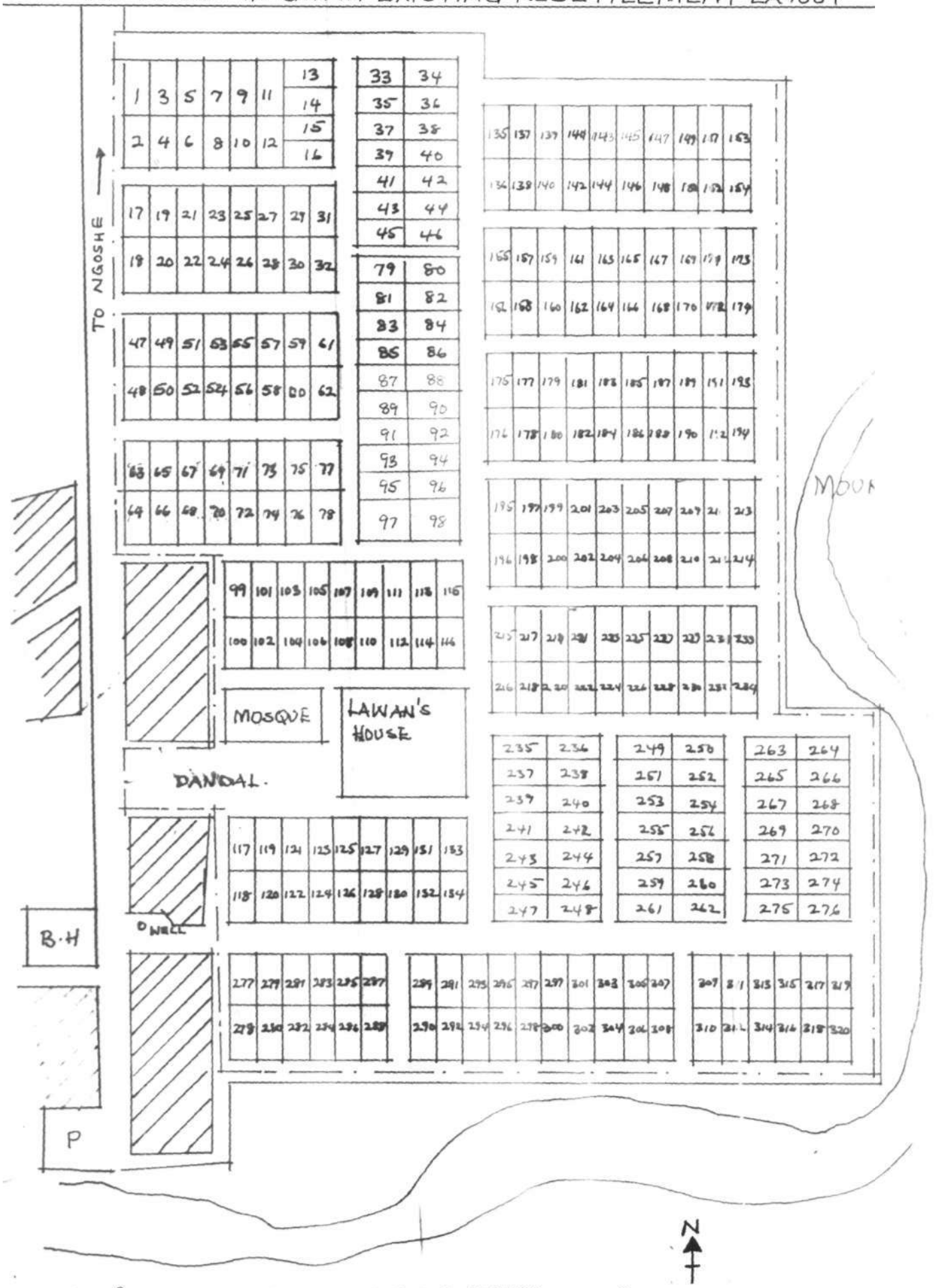


Source: MINISTRY OF LAND AND SURVEY MAIDUGURI

SCALE 1:2000
PLOT SIZE : 15x30M

N

APPENDIX- IX GAVVA EXISTING RESETTLEMENT LAYOUT



Source : MINISTRY OF LAND AND SURVEY MAIDUGURI

N

SCALE 1:2000

PLOT SIZE: 15X30M

APPENDIX-X JOHODE EXISTING RESETTLEMENT LAYOUT



Source: MINISTRY OF LAND AND SURVEY MAIDUGURI

SCALE = 1:2000
PLOT SIZE: 15X30M

N

APPENDIX - XI GUDUF NAGADIYO EXISTING RESETTLEMENT LAYOUT 'B'

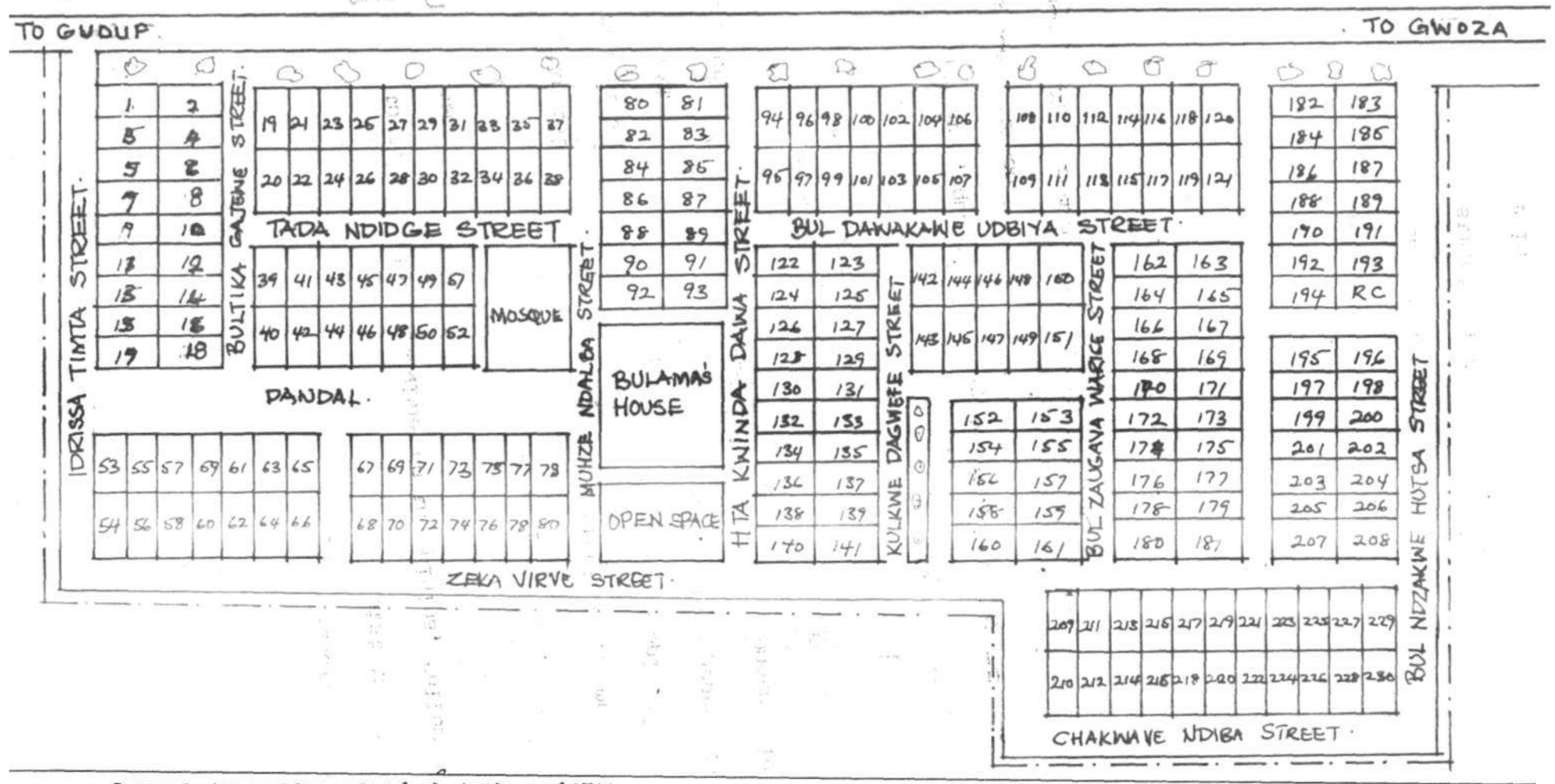


Source: MINISTRY OF LAND AND SURVEY MAIDUGURI

SCALE 1:2000
PLOT SIZE : 15X30M

N

APPENDIX - XII GUDUF NAGADIYO EXISTING RESETTLEMENT LAYOUT 'C'



Source: MINISTRY OF LAND AND SURVEY
MAIDUGURI

SCALE. 1: 2000
PLOT SIZE : 15x30M
N