



Dissertation

By

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B.SC (Hons) GEOGRAPHY

BAYERO UNIVERSITY, KANO

1987

**POST DISPLACEMENT STUDY OF VICTIMS OF LAND
EXPROPRIATION AROUND SOKOTO METROPOLIS:
A CASE STUDY OF USMANU DANFODIO UNIVERSITY
PERJVIANENT SITE, SOKOTO, NIGERIA.**

1987

6 JUN 1994

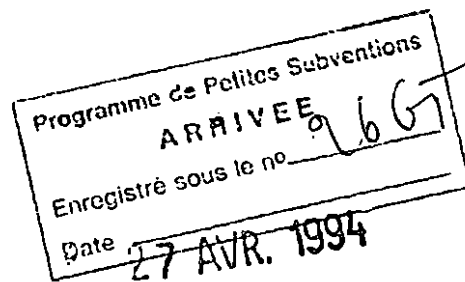
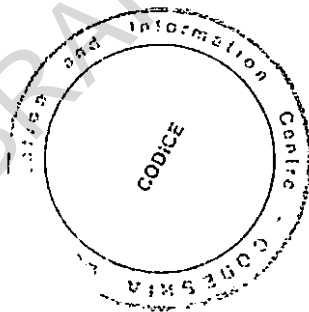
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ABD
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THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
(M.SC) IN LAND RESOURCES(LAND AMINISTRATION).

ABSTRACT

i.

This research examines the conditions of living and modes of adjustment initiated by the victims of land expropriation, to the stresses of distablization and deprivation of rural communities around Sokoto metropolis. The study, in other words, is an attempt to see whether peoples' way of living had been worsen or improved compared to what obtained before the expropriation.

Primary data collection was conducted by the use of questionnaire and interviews. In total, a sample size of 85 respondents were selected from a sample frame of 376 heads of household by simple random sampling technique. The family (household) was used as sampling units. The respondents were categorised into two namely: 'resettled' and 'paid and not resettled' (paid'). Secondary data was obtained through library research which relates to the review of related literature on the subject. The data collected from fieldwork was analysed with the aid of the SYSTAT computer programme. The sub programmes sorted were frequencies, percentages and statistical summaries of distributions.

The findings of the research showed that the expropriation of peasants' farmlands and displacement from their age-old settlements, had subjected such peasants to serious problems. The problems identified were categorised into social and economic well being after the period of expropriation. The seriousness of each category of problem differs, but economic

problems are the most serious confronting the victims. Further analysis revealed that the worst affected were the resettled category, in comparison to the paid category. Inadequate access to land constitutes the most serious problem after the displacement, as respondents now have to depend on much smaller landholdings than before. Infact, there was considerable rise of a landless class in the area. About 17 percent of all the respondents reported being rendered landless after the expropriation.

The modes of adjustment mechanisms initiated by the victims of land expropriation include land management practice, occupational change, migration/commuting, acquisition of new farmlands through different methods and selection of neighbours in the resettlement site.

Finally, after establishing the problems of the victims in the study area, it is recommended that the concerned authorities should design a scheme of rehabilitating the victims. And a committee should be set-up, to successfully bring about a peaceful and orderly resettlement of the remaining peasants in the university site.

I would like to express my profound gratitude to all those who helped in one way or the other in the completion of this thesis.

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to the Almighty Allah who gave me the energy, courage and good health, not only to undertake this study but also to attain this level of my education.

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Bawa Abdullahi.

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area.

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DEDICATION

To my mother

Hafsatu (Nee A'ya)

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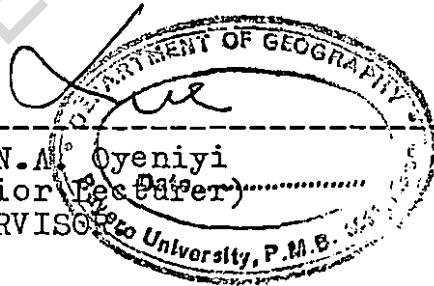
CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this work has been undertaken by BAWA ABDULLAHI, in the Department of Geography, Bayero University Kano.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title page
Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	iii
Dedication	vii
Certification .....	.....	.....	viii
Table of contents .....	.....	.....	ix
List of Tables .....	.....	.....	xii
List of Figures .....	.....	.....	xv
Definitions of terms .....	.....	.....	xvi
 <u>CHAPTER ONE</u>			
1.0 Introduction .....	.....	.....	1-11
1.1 Background to the study .....	.....	.....	1
1.2 Objectives of the study .....	.....	.....	8
1.3 Justification for the study .....	.....	.....	10
 <u>CHAPTER TWO</u>			
2.0 Literature Review .....	.....	.....	⁴⁶ 12-43
2.1 Land population relationship in the Sokoto area .....	.....	.....	12
2.2 The spatial growth of Sokoto .....	.....	.....	15
2.3 Land expropriation in Northern Nigeria.....	.....	.....	22
2.3.1 Caliphate Era .....	.....	.....	24
2.3.2 Colonial period .....	.....	.....	27
2.3.3 Post independence .....	.....	.....	31
2.4 Consequences of land expropriation and displacement of peasants .....	.....	.....	35
 <u>CHAPTER THREE</u>			
3.0 The study Area			46-59

3.1	The UDUS permanent Site: Brief description	54
3.1.1	Brief description	54
3.1.2	Payment of compensation to the dispossessed....	55
3.1.3	Resettlement of the affected people	55
3.1.4	Historical development and major administrative centres in the area	56
3.2	Physiography	57
3.3	Climate	58
3.4	Soils of the study area	59
3.5	Drainage	60
3.6	Socio-economic structures	60

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0	Methodology	70-82
4.1	Research Design	70
4.2	Reconnaissance Survey	70
4.3	Data base	71
4.4	Sampling procedure and sample size	72
4.5	Data Collection	70
4.6	Data Analysis	77
4.7	Problems and limitations of data	77

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0	Socio-Economic problems of the victims of land expropriation after the displacement.....	83-129
5.1	Social characteristics of the respondents.....	83
5.1.1	Age Distribution of the respondents	84
5.1.2	Marital Status of the displaced people	85
5.1.3	Level of education among the displaced people.....	85

5.2 Social problems of the displaced people90

5.2.1 Grieving for the lost settlements90

5.2.2 Absence of Basic facilities96

5.2.3 Loss of farming facilities98

5.2.4 Compensation money in lieu of resettlement.....102

5.3 Economic problems of the Displaced people.....104

5.3.1 Income change of the respondents107

5.3.2 Worsening conditions of living.....110

5.3.3 Decline in number of livestock112

5.3.4 Reduction in the size of land holdings117

5.3.5 Soaring Land prices.....118

5.3.6 Land shortage in the area122

5.3.7 Landlessness among the respondents125

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 Adjustment modalities of the victims 130-146
 after displacement

6.1 Land Management practice130

6.2 Methods of Acquisition of new farmlands.....133

6.3 Occupational change135

6.4 Migration/Commuting141

6.5 Selection of neighbours143

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations147-154

7.1 A summary of the study147

7.2 Findings and Conclusion148

7.3 Recommendations154

Bibliography155

Appendixes174

LIST OF TABLES

1. 4.1 Enumerated population and sample size
2. 5.1 Age percentage distribution of the heads of household.
3. 5.2 Percentage distribution of wives before and after the expropriation
4. 5.3 Percentage distribution of children before and after the displacement.
5. 5.4 Distribution of level of education on the respondents
6. 5.5 Sources of water supply prior to displacement
7. 5.6 Preference of the old settlement to the new among the resettled respondents
8. 5.7 Sources of water at the resettlement site
9. 5.8ⁱ Distribution on animal shed before and after the resettlement in the study area
10. 5.9 Distribution of responses on number of granaries (storage barns) owned before and after the resettlement
11. 5.10 Distribution on granaries (storage barns) before and after the resettlement in the study area.
12. 5.11 The use of money paid by respondents
13. 5.12 Percentage distribution of respondents who owned Goats and sheep before and after the displacement
14. 5.13 Percentage distribution of respondents who owned cattle before and after the displacement.

15. 5.14 Distribution on livestock categories before and after the displacement among the resettled respondents
16. 5.15 Distribution on livestock categories before and after the displacement among the paid respondents
17. 5.16 Distribution on land holdings size before and after the displacement among the respondents
18. 5.17 Description of the rate of increase in land prices in the area
19. 5.18 Reasons given by the respondents against University leasing plan to the dispossessed
20. 5.19 Classification of respondents based on land holdings size before the expropriation
21. 5.20 Classification of respondents based on Land holdings size after the expropriation
22. 6.1 Distribution of users of fertilizer and manure after the displacement in the study area.
23. 6.2 Distribution on quantities of bags of fertilizer used among the respondents
24. 6.3 Methods of land acquisition after the displacement
25. 6.4 Distribution by occupation of the respondents after the displacement
26. 6.5 Reasons for changing of occupation by the respondents
27. 6.6 Numerical distribution of the victims who got absorbed into urban economy by types

LIST OF FIGURES

xv.

1. 1A. Sokoto City - Historical Development
2. B. Sokoto Urban growth from 1959-1982
3. 2A. Location of Nigerian Universities
established in the 1970s.
4. B. Sokoto in relation to Nigeria
5. 3A. The U.D.U.S. permanent site
6. B. University site in relation to Sokoto
7. 4. Locations of proposed sites for the University
8. 5. Land Acquisition divided into series
9. 6. Cross section of the site geology
10. 7. Relief map of former Sokoto State
11. 8. University Development Plan.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

1. Displacement - The eviction of people from their settlements and land against their wish.
2. Eminent Domain- This is natural law concept conferring on the state the power over all private property within its territory.
3. Escheat - The automatic reversion to the State of land of a deceased person in the absence of an heir, a will or other legal claimants. This meant to keep land under continuous use.
4. Family - A group of people usually of common descent who live, work and possibly eat together.
5. Fee Simple - A type in interest in land whereby the owner enjoys a complete and absolute power of use, management and control subject to certain limitations imposed by the government.
6. Gift (Kyauta)- This is the granting of land on a permanent basis by a land surplus family or person to a land deficit relative or friend.
7. Household -Use as synonymous with family.
8. Land expropriation- The Compulsory acquisition of land against the consent of the owner by public authorities for a good cause.

9. Lease (Haya) - This is an arrangement whereby use right in land is granted to a land - deficit person for a fixed period of time for a fixed amount.
10. Loan (Aro) - Land given to a landless or land deficit relation or friend for a specific period of time usually without a fee.
11. Pledge (Jingina) - This is the granting of use right in land as security for a loan taken from the pledge. No interest is paid and the land is redeemable on the amortization of the loan by pledger or his heirs.
12. Share Cropping (Kasa mu raba) - This is an arrangement where by land and in some cases seeds are made available to a tenant by the land owner and the tenant provides labour and in some cases other inputs so that the produce are shared on a defined ratio based on individual contributions.
13. Trust (Riko) - Land of a migrant or small children of a deceased person the use of which is given to a relative or friend pending the return of the migrant or the growth of the heirs. Usually some payment is made in kind.
14. Urban Centre - Town as defined for the 1963 Census as

a compact settlement of 20,000 persons
and over.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0

INTRODUCTION

1.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Land expropriation as conceived here refers to the compulsory acquisition of private properties by governmental and quasi-governmental bodies. This could be done on the payment of compensation or without compensation at all, in order to provide sites for public projects. Usually, land expropriation is done through the exercise of the power of eminent domain, under which public authorities enjoy natural immunity from liability in the course of acquiring private property in the public interest, even against consent of the owners. Displacement on the other hand, refers to the sudden and forceful eviction of people from their settlements and land, by public authorities due to acquisition of the site for public projects.

It is an acceptable norm world wide, that private interest in land is inferior to that of the state. Even under fee-simple absolute estates, which supposedly represent the highest interest individuals could hold in land, in that such lands to the holder, are heritable and disposable by the owner's will. Even in this case,

the interests of the state in such land still supersede those of the individual owners. This is because state's

"regulations over land are intended primarily to protect individual property or public welfare and safety. The rights that have been attributed to private land holders have never been absolute and the public body has long circumscribed the rights of private land holders "(Bryant et al, 1982).

In addition, the logic behind maintenance of superior interest in private property for the state, vis-a-vis the inferior interest of private owners, derives from the nature of land itself. Land is the most basic of all resources crucial to the economic, social and political development of all societies without which human civilization would grind to a halt. This means, therefore, that land is too fundamental and very crucial to the entire society to be left to the whims and caprices of individual users, as doing so, might jeopardise the societal interest, because individual property owners could block the will of the majority simply by refusing to surrender the land needed for desired public projects (Barlowe, 1978). Hence the state as the bonafide trustee of the society, is best qualified to retain superior interests in all

properties. Thus through the exercise of the power of eminent domain, escheat, taxation and police power, the state controls and regulates the use of land in its territory. In Nigeria, the powers of land expropriation are in the hands of Federal and State governments as well as local authorities and statutory bodies (Famoriyo, 1984).

However, as a rational institution, the state does not make a haphazard use of the absolute powers vested in it, for while utilising such powers when situation warrants doing so, in principle, the state does not want to leave the people concerned worse-off than before. The state is therefore faced with the problem of making an inevitable choice between shelving most of its projects, on the ground of excessive cost of compensation and so avoids inconveniencing others in compliance with the 'Pareto-optimum', or in the alternative try to appease the minority as provided for by the 'Hicks-Kaldo criterion.'¹ The state often takes reconciliatory course hence the provision for the payment of adequate compensation to those whose property might be compulsorily acquired by the state in the public interest. This is entrenched in the Nigerian constitution; and case law, provides for adequate compensation.

Regretably, however, because of the colossal sums of money required in paying.

¹ In cost-benefit analysis the Pareto optimum provides that a project is worth while if some people gain from it and nobody loses while the Hicks-Kaldo a criterion provides that a project is worth while if those gaining from it are more than those losing from it.

adequate compensation to dispossessed properly owners, coupled with the financial predicaments of most governments, especially in the developing countries, governments usually take over private property against the consent of the owners on the payment of inadequate compensation and then leave the people concerned with the problems of findings alternative settlements and alternative properties (Umeh, 1973). This is illegal! Thus, the construction of large dams such as Volta, Kainji, Aswan, the new Federal Capital Construction at Abuja, the construction of airports, Universities, urban renewal etc. have resulted in the displacement of many people and the expropriation of their land by public

authorities on the payment of compensation or resettlement.

As a result of a high population growth rate estimated at about 2.5 per cent per annum, coupled with a high incidence of rural-urban migration which is the consequence of concentration of development policies and material comfort in urban centres over the years, the rate of urbanization in Nigeria is probably one of the highest in the world (Sada, 1973) urban growth is estimated at an average rate of 5 percent per annum (ibid). At that rate, urban population is capable of doubling every 10 years. The implications of this rapid rate of urbanization can be observed in the spatial expansion of large towns beyond their official metropolitan boundaries at the expense of rural populations and rural land uses. The most vulnerable group in this rapid and uncontrolled growth of large towns, are the populations living in the peripheries of these towns, whose land was expropriated to make room for the expansion of the towns. This successive invasion of rural land uses by urban expansion around the perimeter of large urban centres is a phenomenon

associated in Nigeria with the 20th century when peace, stability and increasing commercial prosperity made the extension of urban settlement outside the mud walls possible (Mabogunje, 1968).

It is important to note that history is full of records of man's settling and resettling in different places, either on his own volition or because of disasters like famine, flooding, earthquakes and war. When the movement is at his own instance, man naturally takes care to choose for himself an alternative place which suits his convenience and interests. Where the movement is forced by natural disasters, people usually take the disruption philosophically and resettle through group efforts and sacrifice to provide for themselves. However, when people are forced to move, forsaking their land and landed properties, as a result of a deliberate government policy to provide place to the **siting** of public projects, for instance, Gezira scheme in Sudan, Volta Dam Resettlement in Ghana, and Tiga, Bakolori, Kainji and Kiri schemes in Nigeria and in the study area of this work, the siting of university permanent site in such circumstances; the displaced and dispossessed people expect and demand

adequate arrangements to rehabilitate them as entrenched in the 1979 constitution (Section 40).²

For the arrangements made by the state to be acceptable, one would expect the state to regulate through fair play and equity of justice to the displaced people. Where the hopes for a brighter future on the part of the displaced people are dashed by lack of adequate compensation or no compensation at all and lack alternative resettlement and farmlands, misery and poverty inevitably become the lot of the people.

The creation of state in 1967 bestowed Sokoto with a new function of a state capital. This, coupled with the post independence emphasis on road development, which linked the town with other major centres in the country, the town has in recent years emerged from its oblivion position of exclusion in the network of railway system, to experience rapid growth. A number of

2. See Umeh, J.A.(1973) pp 30 (n.11); 40-48; 56-59 and particularly, the case suit No M/2/2966 of June 20, 1969, High Court of Warri (unreported) "Esi V. the Warri Division Town Planning Authority.

villages in the region, many of which were as old as the city itself, have now been engulfed by the expansion of Sokoto town. One of such cases, is to the north of the city, for the construction of permanent site of Usmanu DanFodio University, Sokoto (U.D.U.S). The whereabouts of the indigenous inhabitants, their problems since the displacement and adjustment mechanisms adopted are some of the issues this study has investigated.

1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The accelerating rate of urbanization in Nigeria manifested in the rapid growth in the size of existing towns, which was conservatively estimated at an average rate of 5 percent per annum (Sada, 1973) has resulted in the systematic invasion of rural land uses by urban land uses displacing peri-urban communities from their settlements and annexing their farmlands through 'government fiat' (Frishman, 1977).

To the poor rural communities, to whom land is source of security since subsistence and incomes are all derived from it, such forceful uprootment from age-old settlements, and expropriation of farming

lands without the provision of viable alternative nor adequate compensation in an area with a long history of high population density and acute land shortages, generate some tense and impulsive conditions in the lives of the affected people. The determination of the forms and magnitudes of these conditions to which the people found themselves as an aftermath of land expropriation and displacement from settlements and the range of adjustments initiated by them are the general objectives of this study.

Specifically, however, the objectives of the study are:

- a. To examine the social problems facing the victims of land expropriation.
- b. To examine the economic problems confronting the victims of land expropriation
- c. To identify the various modes of adjustment employed by the displaced peasants.
- d. To advance recommendations for ameliorating the problems identified and measures on how to improve the situation of future resettlement

of the dispossessed in the study area.

1.3 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY

Although there is a plethora of literature, on the subject of land expropriation, compensation and resettlement, most of the studies were limited to certain areas. Some focused on massive engineering projects, such as dams construction, new capital cities, irrigation projects or urban renewal. Yet, others examine problems of displacement and resettlement prior to and during the course of the exercises. Only few studies touched on the displacement of peri-urban communities and their resettlement due to rapid expansion of towns. Virtually, there has been fewer or even no follow up studies to examine the living conditions of such displaced communities after their forceful ejection from their hitherto age-old peaceful settlements.

The present study is intended to provide this missing link in the contemporary literature on land expropriation, compensation and resettlement, by attempting to examine the conditions of living and modes of adjustment to the stresses of distablisation and deprivation of rural communities in the periphery

of Sokoto town. The people, who have been displaced from their lands expropriated on the payment of derisory compensation constitute the focus of this study.

To worsen the situation, the people are left in penury, with the burden of acquiring alternative property in a region long noted for its high population density and acute land shortages.

All of the above, constitutes a formidable but challenging problem for academic investigation and the fact that this study attempts to venture into this fertile but hitherto untapped area of research in Nigeria. To this extent the study is considered worthwhile, overdue and therefore justified.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0

LITERATURE REVIEW

There is a general paucity of documentary works on Sokoto town particularly pertaining to the issue of land expropriation, compensation and resettlement of peri-urban communities displaced from their lands as a result of the spread of urban land uses to the surrounding rural areas. Because of this major constraint, the type of literature that would be reviewed here will include the few studies concerning the various aspects of the study area, having some bearings on the topic, and those pertaining to the consequences of land expropriation, displacement of populations and resettlement exercises as a result of public projects. It is hoped that a harmonious synthesis of relevant experiences from varying sources would be beneficial to the study, since it would provide a useful frame of reference.

2.1 LAND - POPULATION RELATIONSHIP IN THE SOKOTO AREA.

An aspect of Sokoto area, which has received the attention of writers is the issue of population

1. The Sokoto close settled zone extends some 120 kilometres north-south and 50 kilometres east-west.

land relationship. The areas around Sokoto have been noted as areas of high population density and excessive land shortages. Goddard (1972), the Sokoto close settled zone¹ noted that the high pioneer of the concept of central population density (100-230 persons per square kilometres) had resulted in acute land shortages and the break down of communal ownership of land and its replacement by individual ownership of land and the alienation of land by sale (Saye or Sayarwa), pledge (jingina), lease (haya) etc. Lunning (1965), Goddard (1974) and Swindell (1982) made similar observations in separate studies of the area.

Acquisition of land through the community was found to have virtually disappeared as a result of increasing population and resulted in the depletion of community lands. Interests in land by purchase, pledge, lease, loan borrowing, share cropping, hitherto, unknown in the area were found to have replaced the communal system of acquisition (Goddard, op. cit).

Land has for long time assumed market value in the area as far back as 1860. For instance, during his reign, sales of farms were reported to have been

banned by the then, Sultan Ahmadu Zaruku 1859-1866.² On the other hand, Goddard et al (1971) in their survey of three villages around Sokoto have shown that between 19 and 29 percent of farmland had been acquired by purchase. Their findings was similar to observations made in the areas around Zaria, Katsina and Kano (Mortimore, 1970). Furthermore, the research of Mamman (1986), quoted in Swindell and Mamman (1990); found that, out of the 150 household heads surveyed in six villages at the edge of Sokoto, 102 of them had on one or more occasions sold plots of farmland between the period 1947-86. These studies highlighted the fact that land market was well developed and land was freely sold in the area.

In recent years, the study area has witnessed the development of what is called 'land-grab' and emergence of capitalist farmers (Labaran, 1987; Swindell and Mamman, 1990). These developments according to Labaran, op.cit:55, are "exacerbating the problems of land shortage in the area."

2. Goddard (1972) citing P.G. Haris the Sokoto provincial Gazetteer wrote that as far back as the caliphate days, high population density had resulted in land shortages and the break down of communal tenure as attested by the order prohibiting the sale of farms.

Long distance and short distance labour migration from this region to other parts of Nigeria and West Africa, partly as a result of high population density and land shortages have been adequately studied by Prothero, 1957, 1972; Goddard et al, 1971; Goddard, 1972, 1974; Abdu, 1982; Swindell, 1982. All the authors recognise that the population movements are characteristically short term, repetitive or cyclical in nature and adjusted to the annual agricultural cycle.

The implications of the high population densities, acute land shortages, break down of communal tenure system, 'land-grab' and emergence of capitalist farmers in this area, are that people displaced from their settlements and deprived of their farmlands would find it difficult to acquire alternative lands for agricultural purposes.

2.2 THE SPATIAL GROWTH OF SOKOTO

This section attempts to outline the main features of urban Sokoto development from the caliphate period

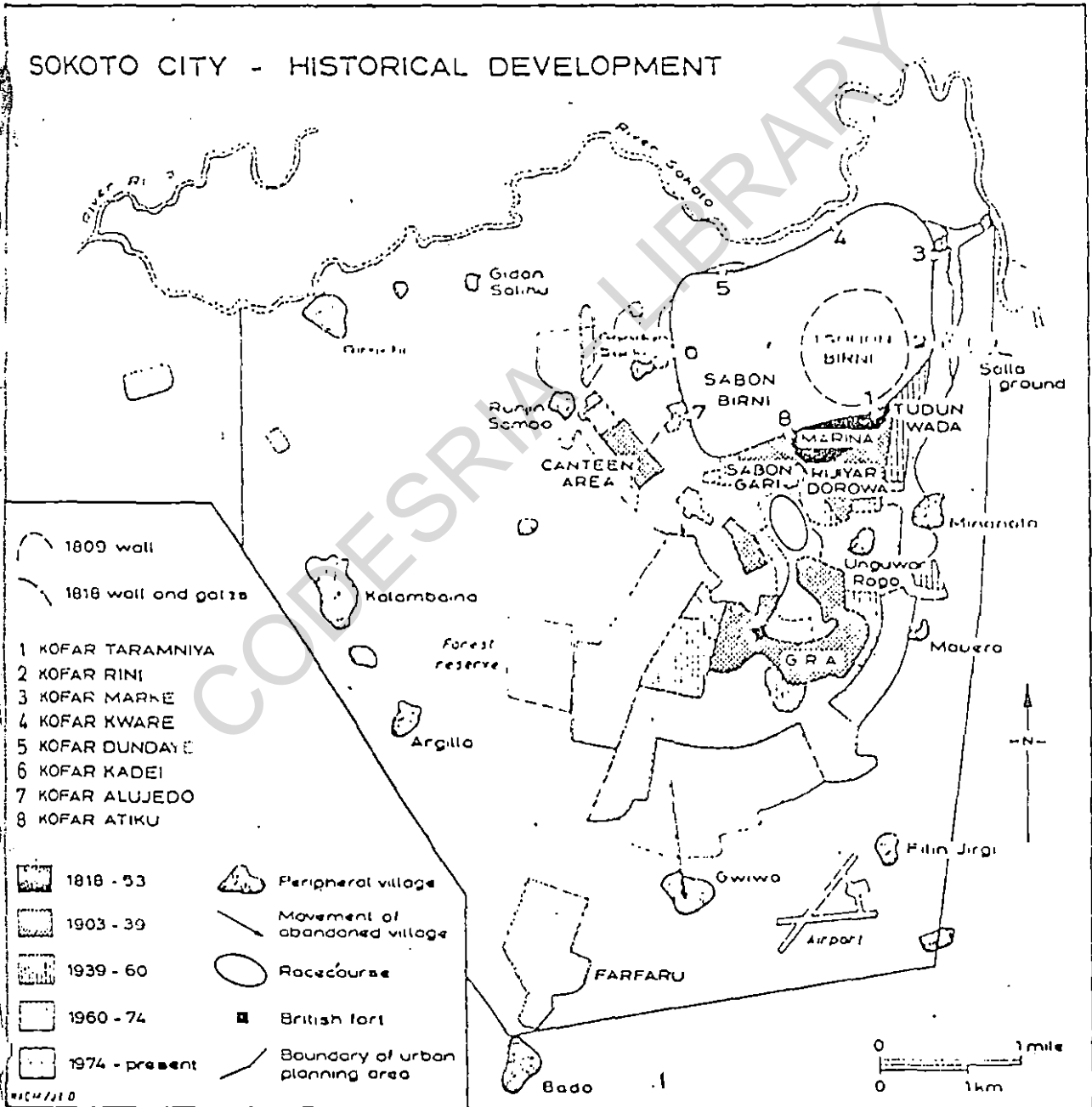
to date (figure 1A and B).

Sokoto city was built by Muhammadu Bello, the eldest son of Shehu Ūsmanu Dan Fodio in 1809. Prior to that date what existed in its present location was a small settlement inhabited by a few dyers which was occasionally used as a war camp (Boyd, 1982). The town experienced a cyclical process of development characterised by alternating periods of prosperity and affluence followed by those of decline and decay.

From 1809 to 1903, the town reached the Zenith of its growth and prosperity as the headquarters of Sokoto caliphate. Within a decade of its original founding it had grown to such an extent that a new encircling wall had to be constructed to include numerous houses that had sprung on the outskirts of the old city (Tsohon Birni)/ city (Sabon Birni) was completed in 1818.

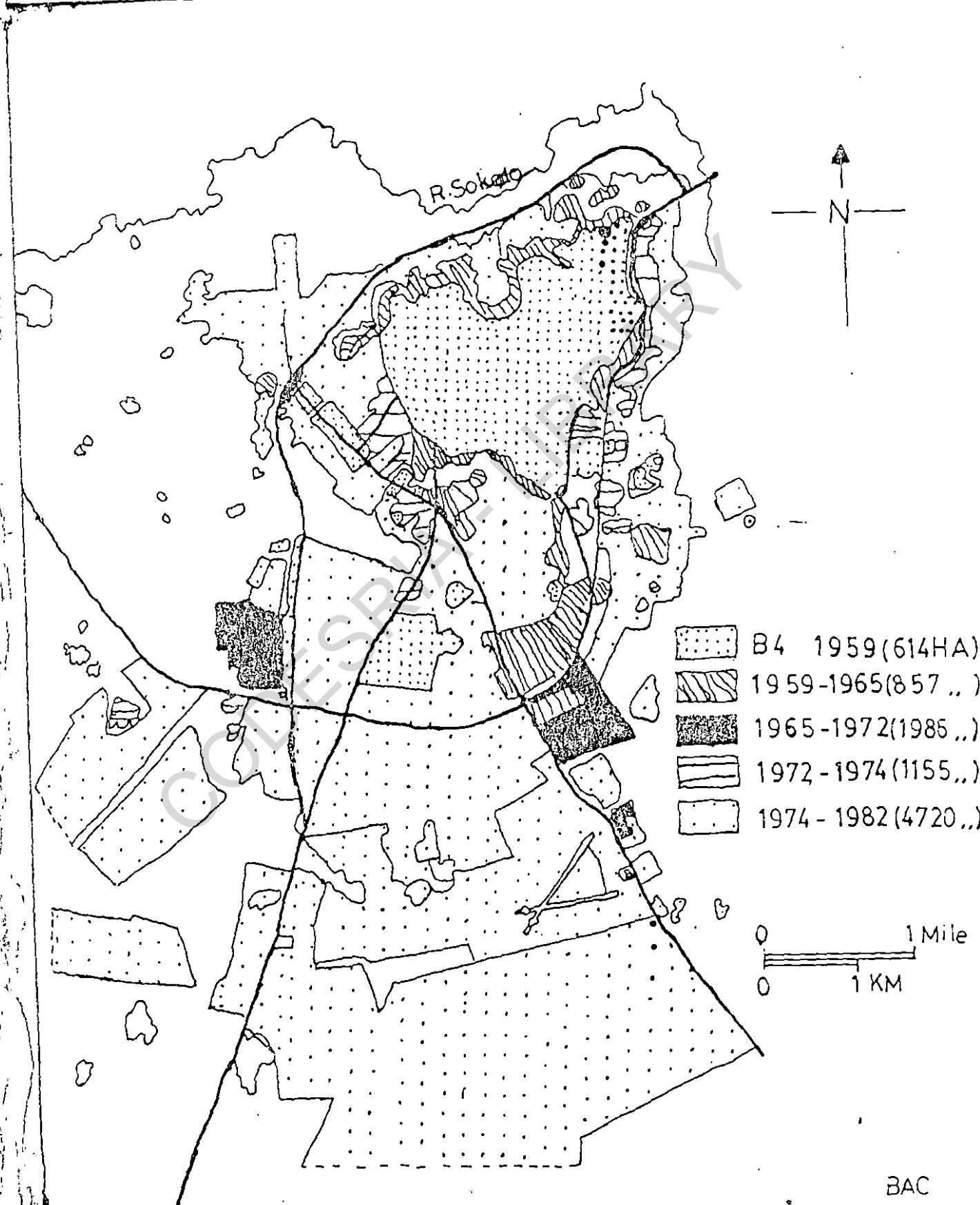
FIGURE 1A

SOKOTO CITY - HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT



AFTER MAIN, 1982.

FIG. 18. SOKOTO URBAN GROWTH FROM 1959-1982.



BAC

After; Swindell and Mamman, 1990.

In 1823, Clapperton, an English explorer, visited the town and described it as follows:

"the most populous town I had visited in the interior of Africa; for unlike most other towns in Houssa where houses are thinly scattered, it is laid out in regular well built streets.....(the city) wall is between 20 and 30 feet high, has twelve (12) gates...."

In 1827, a British explorer, Lander, estimated the population of Sokoto town at about 120,000 as against Kano's 40,000 (Main, 1982).

However, the conquest of Sokoto by the British in 1903 coupled with the isolation of the town from the railway which was the core of the colonial development policy heralded a period of decline and stagnation for the town as a third class town vis-a-vis town like Zaria and Kano with second class status attest to the declining importance of the town.

With the advent of colonialism, certain colonial aspects of town development begin to appear, before then, most of the developments were mainly within the walled city (Birni). Development associated with "colonial typology" like discrete neighbourhood were established, that is, Sabon Gari and Tudun Wada, South of Birni, mainly to contain the influx of non-muslim southerners and Muslim northerners respectively. The colonialist

established a fort south of the traditional city which was to become the Government Reservation Area (G.R.A.), housing the British administrators and a few European traders. The spatial layout was further modified by canteen, educational, health and other institutions during this period. Typical of such institutions was the school for Chieftains sons established in 1905 and the Industrial Arts School opened in 1919. Later came to General Hospital, the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation offices and the textile Development centre South of Tudun Wada. Nearby the General post office and central police station occupy sites just south of the city wall.

The achievement of independence 1960 and the consequent pursuit of road development as alternate to railway coupled with the creation of states in 1967 as a result of which Sokoto emerged as the capital of the then North Western State, Once again provided a new impetus for the rapid growth and development of Sokoto town. One immediate consequence of the rejuvenation of the prosperity and importance of Sokoto town was the rapid growth in the population

of the town and the concentration of various Federal, and state ministries, parastatals and other private sector establishments in the town. Consequently, all the colonial nodes, namely G.P.A. (mainly residential), Canteen (Commercial) and complex residential/Commercial governmental zone around Sabon Gari and Rijiyar Doruwa, were expanded and the development generated a demand for housing that is being met, through planned housing development especially in the southward growth towards Farfaru, Gwiwa, Runjir Sambo and unplanned development, as the case of sub-urb that grew between the Bye-pass and Kofar Kade (Main, 1982). The two most noteworthy of the recent developments, according to Main (op.cit) are market and University. The university is anticipated to have effect on the future physical development of Sokoto city or to form the nucleus of a sizeable suburb.

According to Swindell and Mamman (1990) between 1974 and 1983, the urban area of Sokoto increased by a factor of three, from 1155 to 4720 hectares; most of development occurred to the south and west of the city.

Of this area, 41;14; 12 and 11 percents were taken for

housing, government use, education, industrial and commercial use respectively while 22 percent has been designated for urban uses and $\frac{1}{2}$ is in various stages of development.

The implications of these new developments in the status of the town was the increasing expansion of the town boundary on the surrounding peri-urban lands and settlements. This successive invasion of rural land uses by urban land uses around Sokoto metropolis has over the years resulted in the displacement of such age-old settlements as Arkilla, Farfaru, Gwiwa, Manira, Minanata, Runjin Sambo, Bado and unguwar Rogo among others. Consequently, lost of farm incomes and agricultural production among the dispossessed peasant communities are apparent.

2.3 LAND EXPROPRIATION IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

For a very long time, land had been seen as the common heritage of the whole community, whose leader acted as its man trustee (Elias, 1951; James, 1982; Yakubu, 1985). Every member of the society has a right to land. The right of access to land is based on the privilege of being a member

of the family or community. As mentioned above the leader acting as the sole trustee, had the indisputed role of granting the right to occupy the land. Rights over land allocated to an individual member were heritable by his heirs. Retention of usufructory rights depended upon continued cultivation of such lands. If any person abandoned the land, it could be reallocated to another individual.

An early European administrator observed that since time immemorial, and certainly long before the coming of Islam to Northern Nigeria, all land belonged to the community, whose leader administered it in accordance with custom and tradition. "Ownership" of land and the right to alienate it rested with the whole community and

"no individual could alienate the piece of land he might be farming, nor could the chief take a farm away from a man and give it to another except for certain defined reasons". (Palmer quoted in Ingawa, 1984:138).

During this period land was abundant but labour retained high value relative to land and thus there was little desire by individuals to accumulate land because excess land without improved technology "was useless and of little economic value" (Frishman,

1977). However, land in urban areas, was allocated (rabawa) by the state when need arose such as expansion in the size of the city, free of charge, so that citizens could live in the city and produce a product which could be taxed (ibid). Those whose land were acquired, were reallocated with alternative land (Umeh, 1973). As observed by Umeh, 1973, there was the virtual absence of disputes or disagreements between the acquiring authority and the land users.

The implication of this pre-Jihad period in Northern Nigeria, was that land expropriation did not occur, not just because land was the property of the community, but primarily because it was neither scarce nor had it any intrinsic economic value to command an exchange value, so it was not a sensitive issue.

2.3.1 CALIPHATE ERA

Following the conquest of Hausa rulers and establishment of Fulani empire in 1804, Land tenure became influenced by Islamic law (Sharia) and it greatly influenced the land tenure, as the major instrument for the administration of justice in the caliphate. At that time five broad Islamic Land Classes were recognised

in the Caliphate. These were Mamluka (freeland); Amiriyya (state land); Matruka (Communal land); Mawat (unoccupied land) and Waqf (territories land) (See Ega, 1984).

The Islamisation does not seem to have significantly altered the basis of land tenure, although there were many large estate owners with extensive control over specific lands.

"...land within rural communities was loosely communal, distributed upon demand through the agency of village heads on behalf, ultimately of the Caliph" (Watts, 1983:63).

Thus after the Jihad, the grant or revocation of land holding largely continued to be vested on the Emirs. In other words, land during this period belonged to the muslim community under the trusteeship of the Caliph or his Wakil (representative) while the farmer enjoyed the use of it, subject to his fulfilment of certain obligations towards the community and its leaders. Moreover, the users of land could not transfer their rights of occupancy to another person without the sanction of the community leader. On moving out of the community, the building erected on the land reverted to the community which head took charge of them for redistribution as the need

arose.

The state which retained ownership and allocation privileges in order to ensure allegiance, utilised its control overland to raise revenue as well. For instance, apart from tax on farm produce ("Zakkat"), there was a land tax as well ("Kudin Kasa" or "Kudin gona" in Hausa and "Kharaj" in Islamic law) which was based on the size and value of a holding (Main, 1988a).

Around the major cities in Hausaland, urban expansion used to take place according to the principle of "gida ya kore gona" ("the house drives away the farm"), indicating the precedence of the use of land for housing over farming. This permitted the Emir to confiscate (Kwacewa) farmland for urban use, the displaced occupier receive an equivalent piece of land not required for urban purposes (Frishman, 1977). The public purposes were such as a road, a mosque, a market, a burial ground etc.

As a whole, property relation in land were governed by a blend of native custom and the Maliki law (Ega, 1984). The latter conferring the status of state property on land to which right to possession

could be obtained through the payment of land tax. The Islamic law also permitted land inheritance (gado) as means of land transfer, as a device for rationalising land distribution, regulated according to Maliki's Code. In addition the native custom permitted and gifts (Kyauta). Vis-a-vis allowing the farmer to raise money on land without outright sale through leasing (haya) or ladan gona), pledging (Jingina) and aro or loaning (Meek, 1945; Low 1967; Frishman, 1977; Watts, 1982; Main, 1988a). Thus,

"subject to the payment of, rental on a year -by- year basis, the average peasant had considerable security of tenure within the bounds of local custom and bounded by the capacity of the Emir (and his representatives) to dispose" (Watts, 1982:65).

2.3.2 COLONIAL PERIOD

Another intervention in the land tenure system in Northern Nigeria came with the advent of colonialism in the 20th century, where the interest in land was vested in the British Administrators. As each emirate was subdued by the British; the Emir, whether newly appointed by them or simply reinstated, was confronted with a letter of appointment which said that the British through the High Commissioner had assumed administrative control and the right to levy taxes and control of land.

just like the Fulani before them. Addressing the **Waziri** and elders of Sokoto in 1903, Lugard explained that the Fulani had lost their control in the same manner they had achieved it, by conquest. Specifically, he outlined the conditions of the new British rule in which among other things he stated that:

"the government will, in future, hold rights in land which they (the Fulani) took by conquest from the people, and if government requires land it will take for any purpose (MacDowell, 1966:29).

Thenceforth, with the proclamation of protectorate of Northern Nigeria, the right to the disposal of land was taken from the caliph and vested on the High Commissioner or the Governor as the case may be.

Following the findings and recommendations of the Northern Nigeria Lands Committee set-up in 1908, the Land and Native Rights proclamation was amended and re-enacted as the Land and Native Rights Ordinance, which declared that:

"... the whole lands of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria whether occupied or unoccupied on the date of the commencement of this proclamation, are hereby declared to be native land" (Elias, 1951:35).

The land was vested under the control of the Governor of the protectorate, who was to hold and administer, the land for the common use and benefit of the 'natives'. The power of the Governor, however, was to be exercised in accordance with native law and custom. In practical terms, however, land still remained under the management of the Emirs and their representatives with colonial administration retaining ultimate control (Elias, 1951; Yakubu, 1985). To all intents and purposes, therefore, land continued to be under the control of the traditional chiefs.

The proclamations basically have the same aim, that is,

"to facilitate the easy dispossession of the natives from their lands if and when the land was needed for other purposes." (Oluwoye, 1982: 17).

Another feature of the colonial laws formulated, were more concern and applicable only to lands in urban areas and that the ordinary rural land user continued to use land in much the same way as before. Hence to the rural farmer, the crucial factor was not the colonial land legislations, but maintaining good relations with his obligations

properly and promptly (Anderson, 1970). Indéed Anderson remarked,

"Most Nigerian ordinances seem to have (had) little impact on the day to day life of the muslims of the north outside urban areas...." (page 177).

Government's control overland tended to be asserted whenever a project was to be sited. In the rural areas, for example, it was in the form of acquisition of massive areas of bush converted in the Forest Conservation Areas (Gadun Daji or Dajin Gwamna) (Forest reserves). While in the urban areas where it was more profound, extensive portions of land were expropriated for colonial low density residential and military areas and canteen (commercial areas).

This colonial urban expansion through government power of expropriation, entailed the displacements of large number of people from their dispersed settlements and farmland and the affected were paid a "disturbance fee" (as well as compensation (diyya) for any improvements), the fee was considered by those dispossessed as amounting to a payment for the land since by custom no peasant thinks of receiving a payment because he was disturbed by the ruler and/or

government (Frishman, 1977). In another way the dispossessed were resettled in peripheral high density resettlement village layouts (Frishman, 1977; Mohammed, 1980; Main, 1988 a and b).

During this period it was recognised that:

".....in the vicinity of Sokoto town... it is obvious that large tracts of rural land...have been taken over from the natives for urban uses under the provisions of these legislations through the exercises of the power of eminent domain "(Labaran, 1987: 53).

2.3.3 POST-INDEPENDENCE

After independence (1960), the land and Native Rights Ordinance of 1916 ^{was} / modified into the Land Tenure Law of Northern Nigeria, 1962. Just like the ordinance of 1916, the law declared all lands in the area of jurisdiction as native lands placed under the control and subject to the dispossession of the minister in charge of land matters, who was to hold and administer such lands for the common good and benefits of the natives. The interest which an individual could hold is a right of occupancy, that is, it could be statutory or customary. The right of occupancy is statutory when granted to a native or non-native for the use and occupation of land for a specified period of years

or customary derived by force of customary law. It was defined in law as the right of a native or a native community lawfully occupying land under law and custom (Olowoye, 1982:17). Unlike statutory right, a customary right could only be granted to a native.

Both the customary and statutory rights of occupancy may be revoked by the minister for a 'good cause' which among others include, the need for land for public purposes (see section 34 (2) and (3)). On revocation of a statutory right of occupancy other than breach of covenant or the provision of the law, the holder and the occupier of the right of occupancy are entitled to compensation for:

- i. the value at the date of revocation of their unexhausted improvement, and
- ii. for the inconvenience caused by their disturbance.

It was concluded that the implication of this piece of legislation on land in the Northern Nigeria, further entrenched the state power of expropriation to transfer peri-urban farming land to urban use (Frishman, 1977; Main, 1987 and 1988b). Specifically, thus to Frishman., (1977: 308) in detail argues.

"the government power of declaring an area a 'settlement area' and paying compensation therefore. is a method of transferring expensive land from farmers to 'respected' urban residents at a devalued rate. In effect, the government is taxing the poorer farmer and subsidizing the richer urban resident - an interesting inequity, in order allow urban areas to expand."

This was achieved by 'government fiat' by declaring an area as a 'settlement area', the inhabitants are compensated for improvements on the land and crops, and paid a 'disturbance fee' which did not reflect the real value of the expropriated land and then the land reallocated to urban residents. The official compensation rates paid for such lands and their market price paid for such lands and their market price was to the ratio of 1.7:5 times respectively (op.cit).

Another legislation which affects land tenure system and government's right to expropriate land in the Northern Nigeria was Public Land Acquisition (Miscellaneous Provision Decree, Number 33, 1976.

The land so to be expropriated by instrument was to be assessed in accordance with this decree. It recognised whether land was developed or undeveloped, hence attracted different compensation computation. While compensation for any building or structure on the land was limited to its current replacement cost.

A provision was made, which provided option to the dispossessed to accept resettlement elsewhere in lieu of compensation.

The most recent enactment with respect to land expropriation in Nigeria is the Land Use Decree, Number 6, 1978 (later became an Act in 1979 with the advent of civilian rule). The reasons which justified the enactment of the Act, apart from the growth of population, industrialization and urbanization, included among others, the difficulties which the government ^{experience} in acquiring land, astronomical rise in land values especially in urban areas and endless litigations on land matters.

The purpose of the Act was summed up in the words of the former Head of State, Obasanjo thus,

" the main purpose of this decree is to make land for development available to all including individuals, corporate bodies, institutions and governments" (Francies, 1984).

The first section of the Act vests control of all land in the territory of each state on the Governor of the state; to be administered for the use and common benefit of all Nigerians. Furthermore, the Governor were empowered to revoke rights of occupancy for reasons of 'overriding public interest' (section 28). Such reason among others includes the requirement of the land ^{by} Federal, State or local government for public purposes. It is only in this case would any compensation be due to the holder and then only for the value of

'unexhausted improvements' on the land and not for the land itself (section 29).

The implementation of the Land Use Act have shown that, among others it has served as means of continuing accumulation through speeding up the legal consolidation of private land holding and represents an instrument of expropriation by State (Francis, 1984; Main and Cline-Cole, 1987; Main, 1988a). It is during this period that expropriation assumed a greater magnitude than ever (Famoriyo, 1987). Consequently, large number of people are dispossessed of their lands and settlements.

This section has attempted to trace, though briefly, the history of land expropriation in Northern Nigeria with emphasis on legal instruments, their contents and implementations. It has also shown the supremacy of the state over land even before the colonial era in the Northern Nigeria. Thus it can be said that it is the state that dominates and exercises the right of expropriation.

2.4 . CONSEQUENCES OF LAND EXPROPRIATION AND DISPLACEMENT OF PEASANTS.

This justification of state in expropriating Land and displacement of the original owners, is that, it is carried out in the in the interest of the public. Though expropriation is described as prerogative of the state executed for public purposes, most scholars agreed that this right of the state raises a number of questions (Barlowe, 1978; Famoriyo 1980; 1987;

Samuels and Schmid, 1981. Michaelin, 1981). Michaelin, 1981 quoted in Wala, 1986:8 for instance, stated thus:

"expropriation usually raises a number of issues both economic as well as social."

Undoubtedly, whatever the magnitude of expropriation, it raises a number of questions. Such questions in relation to peri-urban areas could be: how much land is really taken by such development? How incompatible is it with development of the agricultural base? How much of the land for such development is really permanently lost from agricultural production? Whose rights are at stake? Who benefits most and who pays the loss? Others include occupational shift and social disequilibrium (Famoriyo, 1987). These 'issues' really arose citizen concern and even studies, to assess the problems of the dispossessed. Such studies become justified in a situation where expropriation are awkwardly carried out (Oluwatudimu, 1977).

Land expropriation has been described as a 'delicate' issue and explosive which should be handled with utmost care (West, 1972). But practical experience in many parts of the world tends to show that expropriations are in many cases improperly handled (Umeh, 1973) and resulted in political difficulties and source of embarrassment to the government. An example can be cited of Bakolori, where farmers' blockade of the irrigated area, finally led to violent confrontation (Bird, 1983).

Most of the available studies on expropriation and displacement are restricted to the consequences of agricultural

projects and man-made lakes. For instance, Brokensha and Scudder (1968) indicated that the construction of the Aswan High Dam necessitated the displacement of about 100,000 people in Egypt and the Sudan; that of the Volta affected about 70,000 people and the Kariba some 50,000 people were displaced. Furthermore, Negedu (1973) estimated that about 50,000 people in 120 villages and two towns were displaced from their settlements, while about 14,500 hectares of arable land were inundated as a result of the construction of Kainji Dam. The construction of Shiroro Gorge Dam in Niger State has also resulted in the displacement of about 13,000 people in 200 villages. In Kano State, where 22 dams were constructed, it resulted in the displacement of between 30,000-40,000 people (WRECA, 1978). In addition, the number displaced from irrigable land in Kano River project, around Kadawa, was estimated at 40,000 (Falola and Oregun, 1988). Similarly the construction of the Bakolori Dam at Maradun under the Sokoto - Rima River Basin and Rural Development Authority resulted in the displacement and resettlement of 15,000 local farmers. Others include Dadin Kowa Dam 30,000, Kiri Dam 19,000 (Adams, 1985).

Most of the land expropriation exercises were followed by payment of compensation and the resettlement of the affected population in new environments. The modes of compensation and resettlement adopted varied from one place to another and the problems of compensation payments and resettlement exercises as well as the

consequences of the land expropriation, uprootment from age-old settlements and implanatation in new environments are apparent in those areas. A review of such problems would provide us with an insight in to the implications of rapid urban expansion on the surrounding rural populations in the study area.

Durowaye (1975) on the impact of displacement and subsequent resettlement on Bussa community observed that the people affected faced the problem of lack of land for agricultural expansion, and their removal to subsequent resettlement area resulted in most of the unskilled peasant farmers abandoning their homes and becoming government labourers, truck pushers and in doing other menial jobs in towns.

Similarly, Oyedipe (1973;1983), writing about adjustment of the resettlement peoples in the Kainji Lake Basin, reported that the people have been successfully resettled even though they have few problems. The success of the scheme was due to the officer's painstaking attention on the planning and execution of the resettlement. On the negative impact of resettlement on the people, Oyedipe (op.cit.) found the major problem were that of shortage of farmlands due to over population along the banks, on the north-eastern side and poorer farmlands at the resettlement sites. Since farmlands constitute major items for these farmers, the inundation of the area means a loss of about 14,175 hectares of fertile alluvial fadama farmlands.

The farmers were left with upland farmlands which are rocky with soils of shallow depth and therefore infertile. The fulani nomadic herds men also lost their traditional dry season grazing lands along the River Niger Valley which previously catered for about 100,000 heads of cattle.

Another problem faced by the affected people after resettlement was constant water shortage especially in the dry seasons. This situation appears more difficult to the people because they were originally too close to the river to have experienced any water problem. Also because of the amalgamation of some villages, some people lost their political status or rank and were therefore displeased with the exercise.

Voh (1980) and Vohand Atala (1987), examined the Tiga Dam Resettlement problems. It was found that the major problems faced were in land clearing, building houses, individual and community welfare, and farming, including shortage of farmlands. Specifically of the individual problems facing those relocated poverty was the most frequently mentioned, while farm-related problems, food shortage in adequate water supply, lack of school facilities for children, unemployment, housing problems and health-related problems followed in that order. Other problems were poor relationships with neighbours, and inadequate government assistance. On the other hand, the authors found that the problems facing the community as a whole

were somewhat similar to those affecting individuals.

The experience of Volta Dam displacement and the subsequent resettlement was a success as reported by Chambers (1970). The success of the exercise was strongly influenced by the permissiveness and understanding of a social welfare approach to development. Adequate plans were made before and in the course of evacuation of the affected population.

Despite all the plans, the scheme was not without some problems. Chambers (1970), for instance, pointed out that the problems of secured livelihood and insufficient farm land and emigration of settlers in search of new farming opportunities were prominent. For example, in New Mpanu, one of the resettlement villages, little attention was given to agricultural lands. This resulted in making the people idle, so the men spent most of their time drinking, arguing and fighting.

Colson (1971) writing on social consequences of Kariba resettlement upon the Gwembe Tonga, observed that diverse social changes took place when the people were displaced and then resettled. These changes affect the socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-political institutions of the people. On socio-economic changes, Colson found that occupational change was prominent. Since most of the people, were farmers, land shortage and the alteration of other occupations led to many occupational changes. In particular, this was prominent at Chezia (Kariba, Zambia) where

many young men changed to fishing at the early stages. Local inflation also sets in with serious negative effects on the purchasing power of the resettled people.

The early effects of large compensation money and the introduction of new purchasable commodities set new patterns in living standards. At Chezia, for instance, the resettled people experienced higher costs of living than they were used to.

Reviewing the conditions of resettled farmers at Challawa and Maradun, Wallace (1979; 1980) found that the environmental conditions in the resettlement areas were very unfavourable to the occupations and ways of living of the resettlers. Furthermore, induced changes in land tenure in the form of individual ownership of land and commercial production of crops were replacing the age-old communal ownership of land and subsistence production which the settlers were used to in the former settlements. The consequences of these changes were found to include the high incidence of landlessness, rural poverty, misery and migration of the settlers to other places. Acquisition of land by purchase, lease, loan and share cropping were also found to have virtually replaced the traditional methods of acquisition by inheritance and communal allocation.

The construction of these dams and the subsequent development of irrigation schemes, have done much to encourage out-movements not only from the severely affected downstream communities like those in Hadejia Emirate,

but also from communities adjacent to reservoirs and irrigated lands. In the Bakolori irrigation scheme, for example, peasants who rarely went on seasonal labour circulation before the project did so frequently afterwards. This was particularly true of those who ended up in resettlement villages, located away from useful land and with limited economic opportunities (Jega, 1985; 1987). Recent investigations in several of the dam and irrigation project areas in Northern Nigeria show that increases in temporary and/or permanent out-movements have been common after dam construction (Bird; 1984; Saidu, 1991). Probably a majority of those migrating away from such areas have sought alternative farmland elsewhere in Northern Nigeria; but it appears likely that a sizeable minority have ended up in large cities (Main, 1988c).

In general terms, the studies conducted by researchers on the government Agricultural Development Schemes, through River Basin and Rural Development projects conclude that, peasant farmers in these project areas were being pauperized and separated from their means of production and condemned perpetually the status of proletarians (Wallace, op.cit; Beckman, 1985; Jega, op.cit; Abba et al, 1985; Main, 1988c; Olofin, 1991). The peasants land were expropriated directly for reservoirs, demonstration farms and other physical developments. The other less direct methods include the introduction of cropping complex and the capital intensive nature of the new farming

technology. In the case of Kano State, for instance, Olofin, (op.cit) concluded that:

"large scale irrigation and the modernization of small scale fadama cultivation has succeeded only in increasing marginally, the production of market-oriented crops, in the process these activities have resulted in inequity, displacement of both the cultivator and the pastoralist, land dispossession, disruption of family organizations and rural-urban migration ..." (P.76).

It is worth noting that these findings are replicated in developed countries such as U.S.A. For instance, according to Johnson and Burdie (1974) in studying watershed and river development projects in Kentucky, U.S.A; found that after the displacement, the land newly acquired by the relocatees were qualitatively inferior in soil fertility. And land purchases were recorded to be less. There was also dissatisfaction with their new residence centring on such aspects as convenience to friends; the presence of garden and amounts of privacy in relation to the housing quality itself.

On urban renewal, studies in Kano and Jimeta by Kurawa (1989) and Hamid (1986) have shown that the displacement have altered the socio-economic patterns of the displaced people. Specifically, occupation, job description and location, mode of transport to work, income distribution and housing type. Similarly, neighbourhood shopping, distance to church/mosque and sources of water supply became much less convenient after the displacement to new sites. Kurawa (ibid)

further adds that:

44

"... the majority of the relocatees, their condition of living after the relocation was... worse compared to their previous condition, that is before relocation."

Swindell and Mamman (1990) have shown that between 1974 and 1983, 20,000 -30,000 peasants had been dispossessed of their permanent field cultivable land to urban growth of Sokoto town. Between this period Sokoto town had increased by a factor of three (from 1155 ha to 4720 ha) (ibid). The impact of such developments include among others, shortage of land in the area. The dispossessed options were either to buy land, migrate or join the urban labour force while continuing to live in the rural periphery.

Similarly, the encroachment of Kano city into the densely populated rural fringe and their displacement have been studied (Frishman, 1977; Lubeck, 1977; Mohammed, 1980; Nuhu; 1983; Main and Cline-cole, 1987; Ringim, 1988; Aliyu, 1989; Mohammed, 1991). The studies were unanimous in reporting the role of state as the factor of the expropriation. As compensation paid by the government was inadequate, the people were not able to obtain alternative land in place of the ones they lost (Nuhu, 1983; Main and Cline-Cole, 1987; Ringim, 1988). And they eventually become labourers in the established industries or in urban Kano (Lubeck, 1977; Nuhu, 1983; Main and Cline-Cole, 1987).

A recent finding however by Aliyu (1989) has partially debunked the above findings. In her study of compensation and resettlement in Challawa Industrial

area, she found that compensation for structures was adequate because the relocatees were able to build better houses with the money given than they had before. But when farm holdings were compared between the old and new sites, it was discovered that the compensation was inadequate. Land shortages led to high land prices and the money paid as compensation could not buy

comparable size of land. The resettlement did not result in considerable change of occupation of the relocatees since only nine (9) out of 58 had changed their occupations.

The issues arising from the various studies on land expropriation, compensation and resettlement cited above are that land expropriation, compensation and resettlement are not welcomed by the people affected since they almost always result in misery and destabilization of communities. The studies were also unanimous in reporting the problems of adjustment associated with displacement and inter-communal resentments and rivalries between the settlers and the local communities. Furthermore, payment of compensation in cash is less effective than in kind since inflation apart, cash compensation is mostly used on frivolous things rather than on resettlement. It remains to be seen whether these general observations would be replicated in the study area of this work.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 THE STUDY AREA

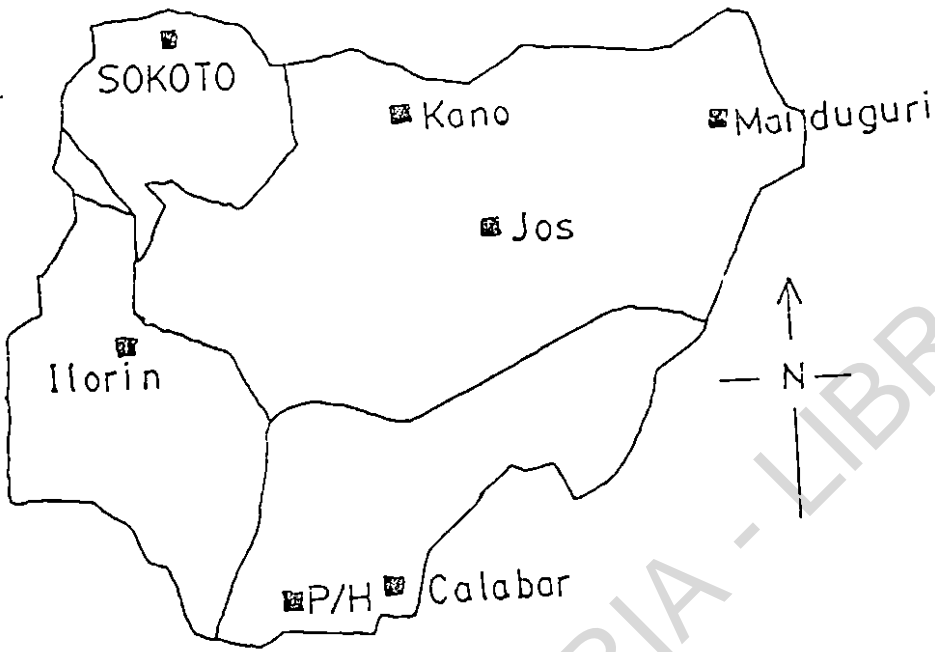
This chapter outlines the major features of the physical and human settings which the displaced communities operate. The ones outlined, are those having some bearing to the topic of this write-up. The focus, therefore, is on the physical and human aspects of the area and emphasis on how they relate to the agricultural system, which is the most dominant activity of the people. In addition, a section of the chapter, provide background information on compensation payment and relocation of the displaced communities in the study area.

Sokoto is the main centre of political, cultural and economic activity in the north western part of Nigeria (Figure 2b). It lies geographically on longitude $15^{\circ}16'$ East and latitude 13° North. Historically, it was the caliphate headquarter of Islamic Jihad in Hausaland. Culturally, it is the seat of Sultan of Sokoto and politically, is the capital of Sokoto State. In addition, a centre of learning.

The area for the study, comprise the Usmanu Dan Fadio University, Sokoto (UDUS) permanent site which falls in Dundaye District, formerly in Sokoto and Kware and now is Wammakko Local Governments, which is located at the fringe of Sokoto metropolis (Figure 3A and B).

FIGURE 2.

LOCATION OF NIGERIAN UNIVERSITIES ESTABLISHED IN THE 1970'S.



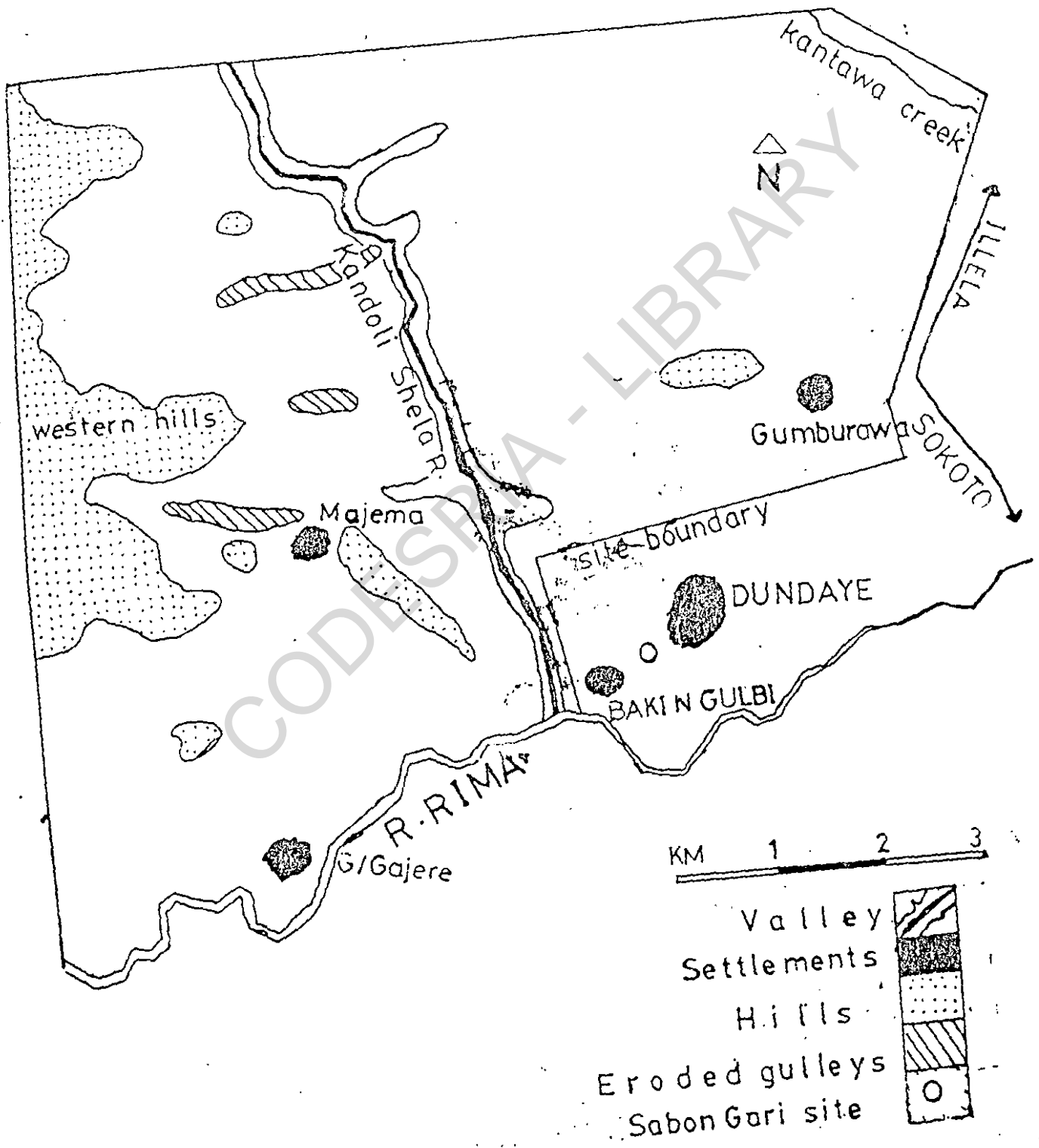
B. SOKOTO IN RELATION TO NIGERIA.



NOT SCALED.

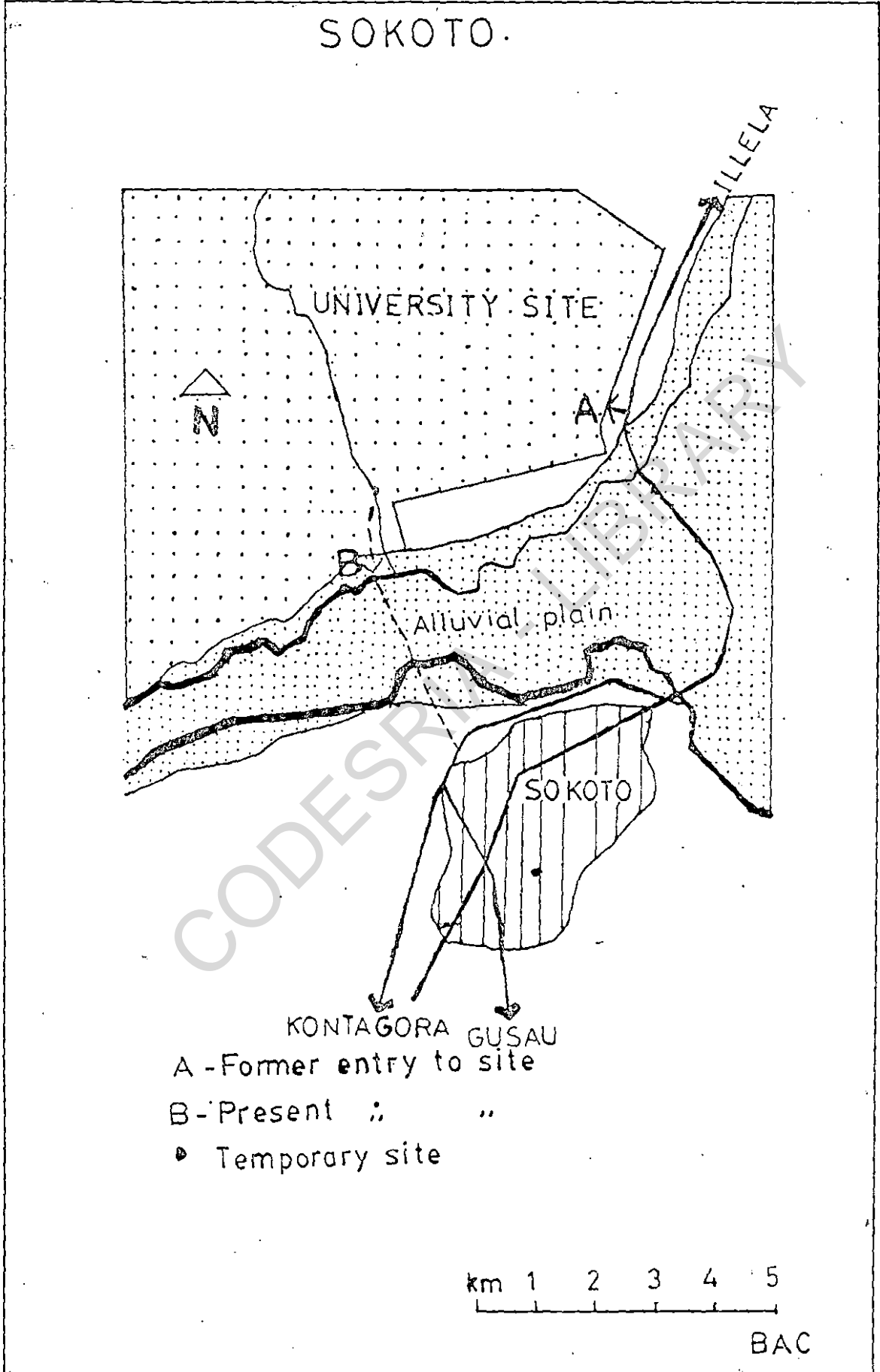
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3A. THE U.D.U.S. PERMANENT SITE.



SOURCE: University of Sokoto Master Plan.

FIG. 3B.
UNIVERSITY SITE IN RELATION TO
SOKOTO.



SOURCE :Univ. of Sokoto Master plan.

3.1 THE UDUS PERMANENT SITE: BRIEF DESCRIPTION

3.1.1 BRIEF DESCRIPTION

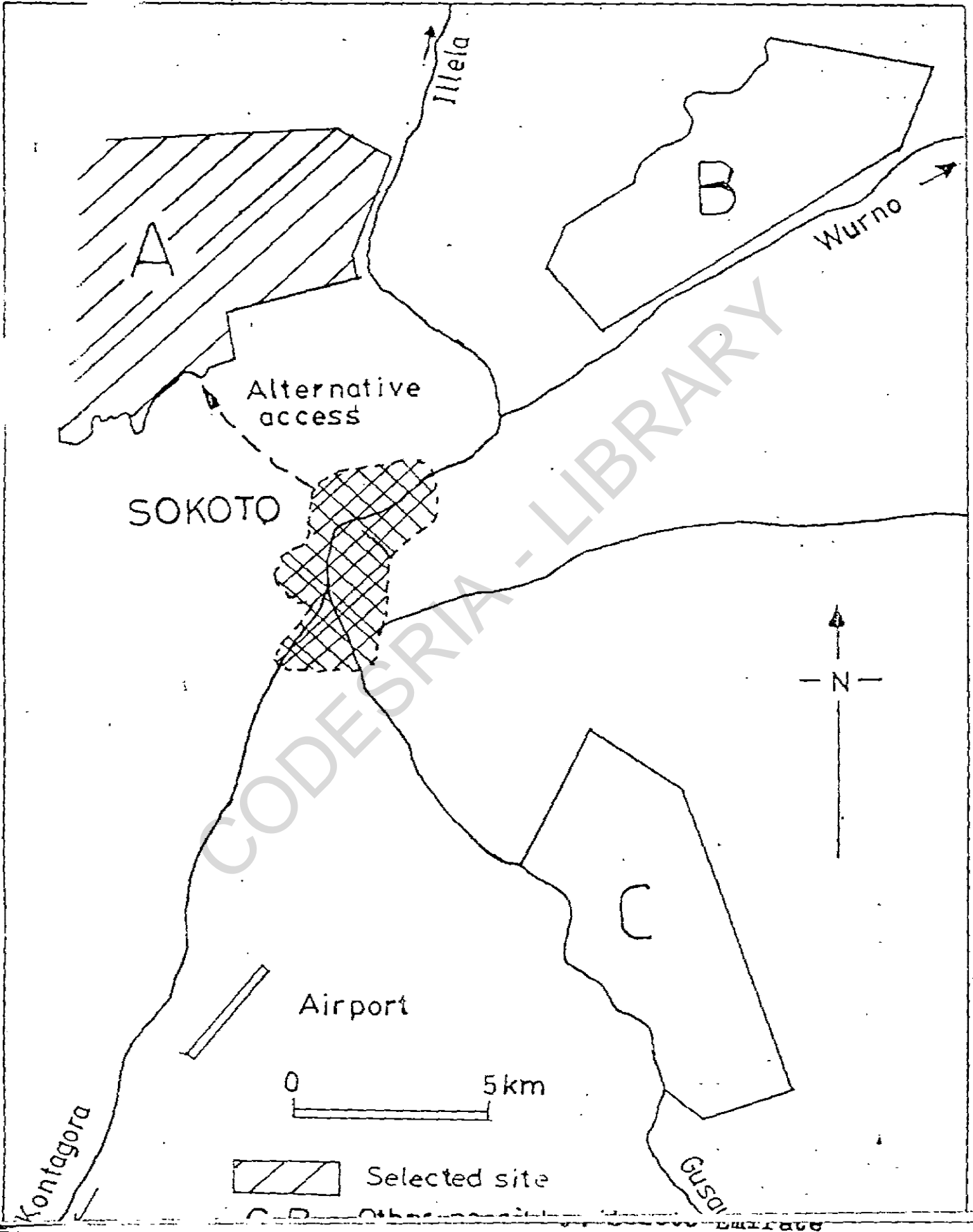
In 1975, the Federal Military Government decided to establish a number of new university institutions as an important part of the Third National Development plan. Among the many objectives set out was the desire to equalize the opportunities for individual access to higher education throughout the country and to create a massive capacity for training the much needed high level manpower for all sectors of the economy. Sokoto was designated as the site for one of seven new universities and university colleges (Figure 2B).

The present site was one of the three sites proposed for the University (Figure 4). Archcon/Norman and Drawbarn consultants were employed to conduct an examination of all the three sites, based on the following factors: its proximity or easy access to the city and airports, whether there was sufficient acreage, the availability of water and electricity; the topography of the site and soil conditions; its distance from military and police establishments; distance from industrial areas; the relation of the site to other educational institutions; historical factors and whether there could be minimal displacement of existing buildings, villages and farms (Arch con, 1977:22).

After their thorough investigations, the consultants arrived at the same site approved by the National University Commission (NUC) prior to the commissioning of the Consultants. The consultants recommended the site on the ground

FIG. 24

Locations of proposed sites for the university.



52

"the site A is ... more convenient to Sokoto, it has a better shape and usable land, its visual qualities are good and its soil conditions are possibly marginally better."

Also in comparison to the other sites

"the alternatives offer no particular outstanding advantages and that there are no apparent impediments which threaten development of the preferred site."

and thus finally concluded that:
"it is our opinion that site A is the most suitable for the development of the university" (ibid; 18).

The selected site lies to the North West of Sokoto and is separated from the town by the flood plain of the Rima and Sokoto Rivers (Figure 2B). Before the construction of the direct route, acrossing the valleys of the major rivers, the site was only accessible from the Illela road, a major high leading to Niger Republic. The site is located to the west of Illela road. The distance from the centre of Sokoto town, from the University temporary site was 12 kilometres, but with the construction of the direct route into the site the distance is now reduced to 8 kilometres.

The site is 5630 hectares in size (approximately nine times of size of Birnin Sokoto!), roughly square in shape, and divided into two by the Kandoli Shela, a small perennial stream derived from a wide catchment area which runs from north to south into the Rima river.

3.1.2 PAYMENT OF COMPENSATION TO THE DISPOSSESSED

The UDUS permanent site application was granted by the state government through the former Ministry of

Housing and Environment (MHE), subject to the payment of compensation for land, buildings and economic trees to the dispossessed.

The compensation money was borne out by the University for payment to the dispossessed farmers. The University employed the service of licenced surveyors - Nigerian Mapping Company Limited (NMC), to survey the farms and establish the owners of each plot in the site. The state and local governments were represented in the survey exercise. The submissions made by the contracting surveyors, compensation entitlements were then calculated by the ministry based on compensation rates approved by the state government (Appendix 1 and 2).

The payment of all compensation entitlements to the dispossessed farmers were handled by Sokoto Local Government (SOLG) at the inception of the payment in 1978. The SOLG set up a committee charged with responsibility of handling the payment with representative of the Ministry, University, Sokoto Emirate Council (SEC) and District Head. Later payment was transferred to Kware Local Government (KLG), which was created in 1981 out of the former SOLG.

Out of the 5630 hectares designated for acquisition only the owners of 1392.5 hectares were paid (ppc, 52/2). The University so far paid about six million Naira

(N6 million) as compensation for and improvements on the land (ppc, 52/2). To this end there are still areas that are assessed but awaiting payment and those not even assessed at all. In general, the acquisition was divided into series (Figure, 5) to tally with immediate requirement of the construction work. And the failure to complete the payment exercise was attributed to reduction in amount received from the Federal Government as subvention.

The form of compensation payment, shows that, the dispossessed farmers' received cash as compensation for their lands and economic trees. In addition to cash compensation, a plot was allocated to each head of household in place of house lost in the new settlements.

The authorities that were assigned the assessment of land and improvements were accused of so many irregularities. Infact, due to the irregularities identified, contract of the firm of surveyors was suspended by the university authorities (NWG/186). The Public Complaints Commission (PCC) acknowledged to have received complaints from the people of the area on various types of malpractices in the compensation payments.

On the part of the dispossessed, they alleged that assessment of farmlands and improvements were not properly carried out. Consequently, cases of under payment, over payment, omissions of plots, wrong

FIG. 4 LAND ACQUISITION DIVIDED INTO SERIES



SOURCE: P.P.O.

BAC

measurement of farmland were rampant.

3.1.3 RESETTLEMENT OF THE AFFECTED PEOPLE

The resettlement in general was described as "very unsuccessful" (PPC 52/2) by the university authorities. The University relies on the state government to acquire land and resettle the farmers. Because of the failure of both sides to decisively handle the issue, the farmers are still occupying the land, side by side with the university buildings and continued cultivating the land which had not been used for buildings.

The major problems confronting the authorities on the resettlement were of finding land for resettlement, in the absence of unoccupied land in the area and an additional burden of paying compensation to other people, whose farmlands would be acquired as resettlement sites. These problems are further complicated by the people's preference for resettling within their home district, that is, Dundaye, which is noted for its land shortage.

Yusuf and Alubo (1979:29) estimated that 55-65 villages and hamlets with a total population of about 15-20,000 inhabitants will be displaced. Out of this number, only 98 householders from four hamlets were resettled at Majema resettlement layout (Sabon Gari); while another group of 200 householders rejected the plots given to them at Giniga layout and thus refused to move out of the university site.

Considering the magnitude of the number of people to be resettled, the SOLG was assigned to carry out the resettlement; inspite of the existence of resettlement section in the former MHE, at the time of expropriation. Later Ministry of Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MRR) was created in 1981 and took over the resettlement duties of the MHE. The MRR drew two layouts plans for the resettlement exercise to be executed in two phases, with equal participation of state government; University and KLG (Appendix 3). However, that was where the activities of MRR ceased the plans were not executed and later the ministry was scrapped.

The nature of resettlement adopted in the study area, is that the authorities only settled with the dispossessed farmers monetarily of their previous houses and in addition to a plot. The people were left to develop the plots on their own with virtually no any other assistance from neither the government nor the university. The houses constructed, were of people's preference and were largely determined by the resources at their disposal.

3.1.4 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND MAJOR ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRES IN THE AREA.

From the ethnographic data collected, Yusuf and Alubo (1979), concluded that the historical background of some of the settlements, have shown that the area served as 'carre four' for migrants from west and north of the region

58

the founding members were Koranic Scholars, cattle rearers in search of pasture and farmers attracted by flood plains of Sokoto-Rima rivers. Also the settlements were established at the same time as Sokoto or just immediately after the Jihad. The settlements had their origins from the disciples of the Jihad leaders who after wards continued to combine farming with scholarship (ibid, 22). With the exception of Yaurawa, all hamlets or villages within the site derived their names of eldest founders or leaders of their immigrant groups (ibid:27).

The Dundaye district is sub-divided into six administrative units, each headed by mai unguwa or sarki, directly responsible to the Sarkin Adar at the district's headquarters at Dundaye. These administrative units are:

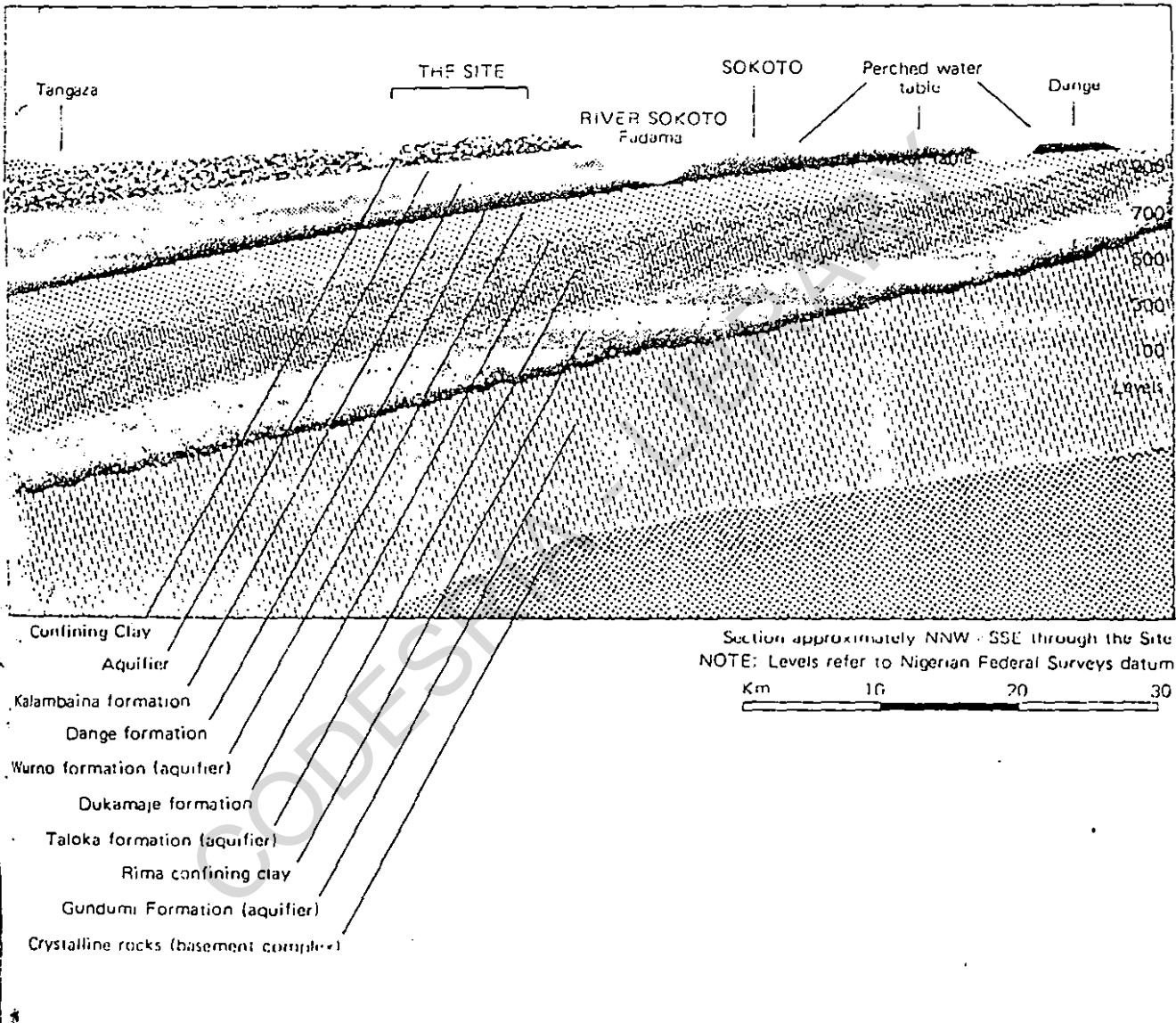
- a. Dundayen Dan Galadima
- b. Gumburawa
- c. Gidan Yaro
- d. Gidan Kaya
- e. Gidan Buba
- f. Gidan Hamidu

3.2 PHYSIOGRAPHY

The geology of the university site lies in the south-eastern part of a large synclinal structure running principally northwest-south east with centre north of Niamey in the republic of Niger (Master plan). Figure 6 shows the cross section of the site geology. In this basin, sedimentary rocks of cretaceous to Recent age rest

FIGURE 6.

CROSS SECTION OF THE SITE GEOLOGY.



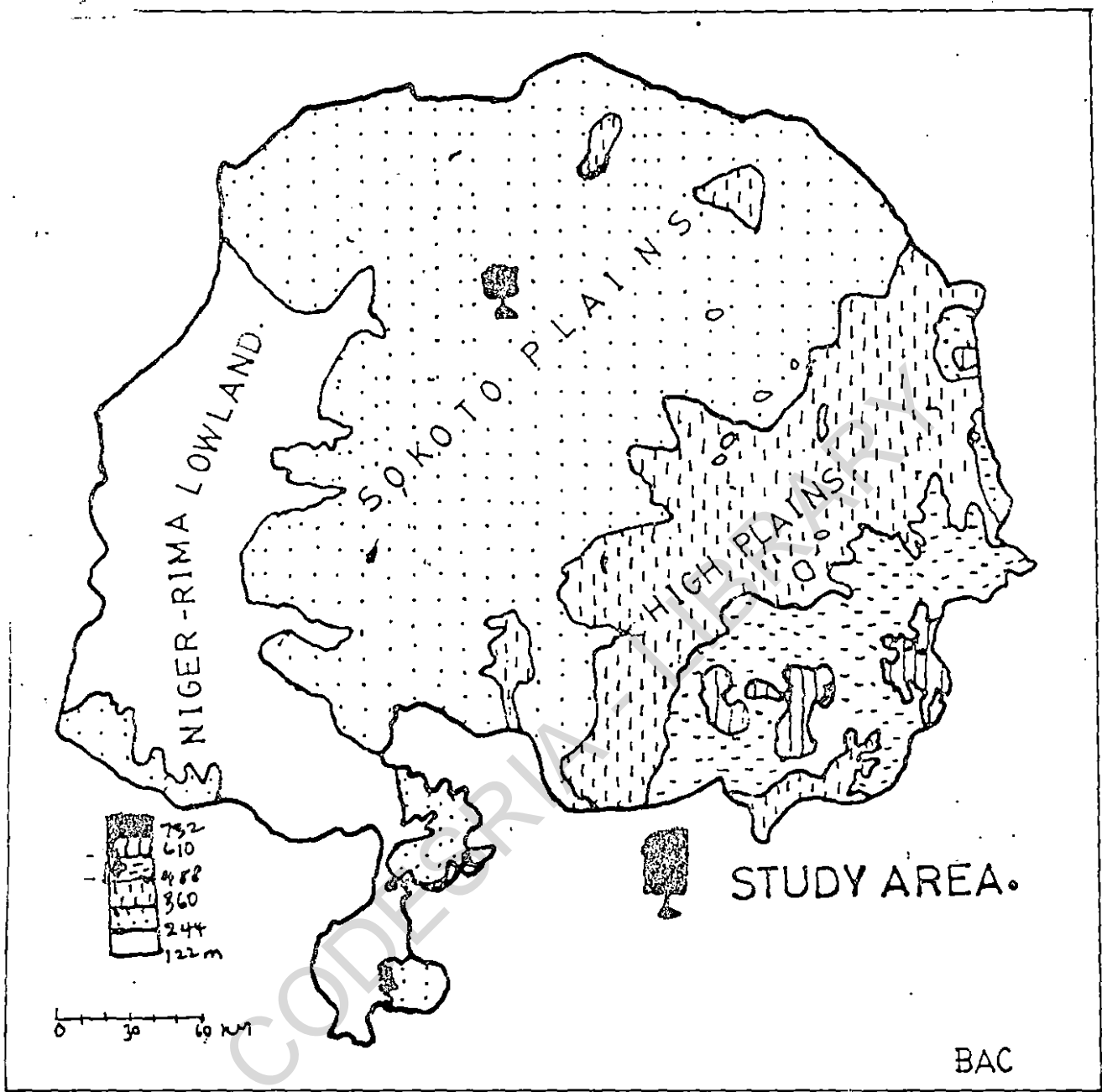
SOURCE: UNIV. OF SOKOTO MASTER PLAN.

on a precretaceous basement complex of crystalline rocks. The sedimentary formations in the area yield water in varying amounts from perched aquifers near the surface and from the permanent water table which generally lies at depths of less than 30 metres (Prothero, 1972).

In general the former Sokoto State relief is divided into three physiographic regions (Figure 7). These are: the uplands or High plains of the east and south east, the Sokoto plains of the north and centre, and the riverine lowlands of the Niger and lower Rima valley (part of the Benue-Niger trough (Davis, 1982). The Sokoto plains, within which the study area falls, is described a monotonous lowland with an average height of 300 metres, compared with 700 metres for the uplands (ibid). The monotony of the plains is interrupted by isolated, flat topped hills (mesas) and escarpments especially near Sokoto.

3.3 CLIMATE

Sokoto has a semi-arid climate type, by virtue of its latitudinal and continental location. It has two clearly distinct seasons, wet and dry. The wet season is between 3 to 5 months, begins in late May or June, maximum value occur in July and August, and the total declines gradually to a halt in September or October. While the dry season occur



SOURCE: Abdu et. al. 1982.

between 7 to 9 months, set in October up to March or May (Prothero, 1972). Just like the rest of the country, the climate of the area is as a result of two distinct airmasses, namely, the moisture laden Tropical maritime airmass and the dry and dusty continental airmass from the Sahara in the north.

The rainfall pattern in the area is the most critical climatic element, annual rainfall total is generally low, usually under 750mm. The average annual rainfall from the records of 20 years shows an average of 740mm (Davis, 1982). The distribution as shown above is seasonal, the incidence highly erratic and the dates for the onset and end of the rains very uncertain.

Due to the variabilities and uncertainties of rains in the study area, what is important is the incidence rather than the annual total that is significant from the point of view of agriculture. According to Prothero (op.cit) annual totals of rainfall in the area may deviate from the average figure by upto 50 percent from one year to another.

The implications of the above on agricultural system of the area and the most convenient period for resettlement are obvious. The rainfall regime, to a large extent determine crop types to be grown and patterns of human activities in the area. The agricultural calendar, the timing of seasonal labour migrations amongst others revolve around the rainfall regime in the area.

3.4 SOIL OF THE STUDY AREA

The soils in Sokoto are derived more from the conditions under which they were formed rather than from the nature of the parent rock (Davis, 1982). The factors of geological structure, relief and location are the three important factors which have a strong impacts on the soils of the area is covered with weakly developed soils and acidic sands which can be classified as follows among others: Fadama; upland on blown sands and iron-rich upland soils.

The Sokoto and Rima valleys and a number of their tributaries, for-example Kandoli Shela, contain young alluvial soils. These Fadama are gnerally fertile and are extremely heterogenous with considerable soil variation, not only from place to place, but within an individual profile. As the soils are lowlying, seasonally flooded and poorly drained, these soils are typically high in organic content. Thus as a group, the Fadama soils has the highest agricultural potential and intensively cultivated through out the year in the area (ibid).

Upland soils are typical soils in the site, a high proportion of the area is covered by soils formed on the wind-blown sands. Usually, occuring on flat to gently undulating terrain. These soils are dominated by acid sands often in association with iron-rich soils, deep and vary in colour from reddish brown to yellow.

Inspite of their comparatively low fertility, these soils have been used for widespread farming of millet and sorghum and are seriously susceptible to erosion, especially in places where the natural vegetation cover is removed.

The iron-rich red upland soils occur in a number of places within the study area. It shows a marked differentiation of horizons, often with a surface layer leached of plant nutrients and a sub-surface layer in which clay material has accumulated. The soils are considered susceptible to drought and readily eroded when exposed. Inspite of all these, contributing to their infertility are being cultivated under wet season agriculture.

The type of soils in the area has far reaching effects on the perception and use of land. For instance, the difference in soil types between the dry plains and flood plains determine not only land quality but also crop types, size of farms, price of land and farm management practices. Furthermore, the difference in soil types, which is manifested in differential land quality also determine the demand for the various classes of land for agricultural uses.

3.5 DRAINAGE

Generally, the area is drained by Rima river together with its numerous tributaries such as Sokoto river. The area falls within the lower catchment of the Sokoto-Rima Basin. These main rivers that is, Rima and Sokoto, and small tributaries like Kandoli Shela have extensive flood plains as their major characteristics (Figure 3B). The sediments carried from their upper catchments are deposited as alluvium materials adjacent to the channels of the rivers. In the area, stream flow is largely concentrated in the short wet season, when widespread flooding is common. However, the exception include the main channels of Rima and Sokoto and small tributaries like kware and Kandoli shela, which are perennial, that is, their flows are throughout the year, while others cease to flow during the dry season. The changing flow characteristics of Sokoto and Rima rivers in particular, are not only the result of the rainfall pattern in their catchments, but also increasingly that of events taking place in their upper segments such as the large dams on the Sokoto and Rima at Talata Mafara and Goronyo respectively under the Sokoto - Rima River Basin Development Authority (S.R.R.B.D.A).

These rivers are of immense importance to the people on land resources utilization in the area. Apart from providing water for human and animal consumption, they are important sources of water for

dry season farming using local methods of irrigation. Similarly, the alluvium soils in plant nutrients and deposited in the flood plains of these rivers as well as the favourable moisture conditions of the flood plains greatly enhance the value of Fadama land in the agricultural economy, of the area. The displacement of people within this environment have devastating effect on the people.

3.5 SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURES

The population of the area comprised two major ethnic groups -Hausa and Fulani, recognised as having similar social structure and Islam is the religion of the people.

The basic household unit is gida, which is the basic domestic unit of production and consumption. To a large extent, the gida is, as Watts (1983:66) has observed:

"a corporate body for economic and social functions. Which defined the dominant labour process, the abode as it were of production itself."

Smith (1954:22) noted for example that these "domestic groupings fall into two main types, extended and single families and that extended families jointly held and exploit economic resources such as land." The prevalence of this later case of extended families owning a common land (sometimes for generations) and cultivating as a co-operative venture, has been celebrated as the unique characteristic of the savanna zone of Africa South of the Sahara, in contrast to other social formations. The rights and obligations of the members of a gandu

comprising six iyalai and containing 18 people. The great majority of gandaye composed of two iyalai and the most common arrangement existed between father and son. Fraternal gandaye were found to be less common (Goddard, 1973), while Yusuf and Alubo, said the extended family structure has a numerical strength of 12 people.

The most dominant economic features of the state, in general, are agriculture, livestock and fisheries. In particular, because of the scanty and seasonal distribution of rains, there is highly seasonal pattern of agriculture. During the rainy season, farming is restricted to the uplands as the Fadamas are normally waterlogged. But, unlike other parts of Hausaland, where cash crops are grown, here food crops, like millet; beans guinea corn and Maiwa dominate. As in the rainy season, farming is the dominant activity during the dry season. The only difference is that attention is directed from the uplands to the marshy land (Fadama). The Fadamas crops grown include sugarcane, Tobacco, rice, vegetables, pepper and tomatoes.

Unlike Kano, for example, which provides wide opportunities to its surrounding inhabitants, especially in market of traditional off-farm crafts, services and employment in the modern sector of the economy, most of the inhabitants around Sokoto here little such opportunities and consequently few engage in secondary/off-farm occupations. The alternative to supplementing their incomes, is for people to migrate to more favourable localities during dry season.

The area has an average population density of about 130 persons per square kilometres (ppsq Km). The area falls typical in the Sokoto-Close settled zone (SCSZ) with an average population density of about 80 pp sq km rising to some 200-240 pp sq Km and and over in the vicinities of Sokoto town (Goddard, 1973). The Sokoto Metropolis has an average of 460 pp sq. Km.

A combination of favourable physical historical and economic factors account for these sorts of socio-economic structure. Specifically, the Sokoto-Rima rivers and their numerous tributaries which provides reliable sources of water for domestic and agricultural uses in a semi-arid region with endemic water problems. Secondly, the Islamic empire with its headquarters at Sokoto, both as the capital and centre of Islamic Scholarship in the whole of West African Sudan. And the political and economic status of Sokoto as a state capital in the system of political economy, are all favourable factors that partly account for the dense concentration of people, town and its environs (Prothero, 1972; Labaran, 1987).

These socio-economic structures, especially high dense concentration of population and agriculture as the only means of subsistence, have implication. Such as the serious pressure on land, absence of unoccupied land, disappearance of bush fallowing and thus each farmers is permanently fixed to the land they occupy and at this stage, the communal tenure is replaced by

individual ownership of land. The increase in rural population coupled with the operation of the Islamic Law (ie Sharia Law) principle of inheritance, result in the diminishing size of farms and land holdings through increasing incidence of land fragmentation and land sub-division. In addition, with the advent of land expropriation: in a region with this sort of structure has erious implication on the execution of relocation and how the people would go about adjusting to the dispossession.

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CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The study was conceived and designed after a thorough search and critical review of the existing literature on land expropriation, compensation and resettlement. It is based on the premise that the execution of land expropriation by the state creates problems on the part of the displaced people, most especially in a situation of inadequate compensation or no compensation, poorly resettled and lack of alternative farmlands. And to further compound the problems, the displacement is carried out in an area of high population density. It is against this background that U.D.U.S. permanent site was selected for close study, with the aim of giving an objective account of some of the problems after the displacement and of the adjustment mechanisms adopted by the respondents around an urban area.

4.2 RECONNAISSANCE SURVEY

The researcher first tried to familiarise himself with the area so as to establish contacts, to facilitate data collection in general and prepare ground for field work.

The researcher undertook tours to virtually all the works and corners of the site, during which, the researcher established and cemented contacts and rapport with some people as well as the District Head (Hakimi) and village Head (pl. Masu Unguwani or

mai unguwa) in the study area. The chiefs constitute an aristocratic class commanding the respect and allegiance of the peasantry, whose permission has to invariably be solicited for any research involving questioning of the peasants.

From the tour a relatively comprehensive list of the villages in the permanent site was compiled (appendix 4). On the basis of this list as well as from experiences gained from travelling around, records obtained and talking to Senior Land Surveyor (SLS) and persons with a wealth of knowledge about the area, a list of communities who were paid and resettled or paid but not resettled, partly paid, and those assessed but not paid, was made. The list differs from the one obtained from the university authority (appendix 5). But because of lots of ambiguities involved, the researcher decided to use the list obtained from the university, because it is the most authoritative.

4.3 DATA BASE

The target population for the purpose of this study consists of persons displaced from their settlements and deprived of their land as a result of the construction of the permanent site of UDUS. However, from the field work as noted above, the target population recognised are four categories.

These are:

- a. villages paid and resettled
- b. villages paid and resettled
- c. villages assessed, not paid and not dispossessed
- d. villages yet to be assessed.

Thus, it was decided for the sake of precision, and for the sake purpose of data collection to define the victims as individuals who are displaced from their settlements, but are either resettled or not. Therefore, the study population was made of the first two categories as respondents, because they are the ones the objective of the study intends to address.

4.4 SAMPLING PROCEDURE AND SAMPLE SIZE

The criteria used in the sampling procedure and sample was enriched by the numerous experiences of a number of scholars who had previously conducted research in peasant communities, especially in Northern Nigeria (Wallace, 1979; Voh, 1980.; Lararan, 1987). The sample procedure and sample size would have been easily determined using the list of those affected, but however, no comprehensive record of all those affected exist in all the records of the institutions (i.e the University, Ministry and Local Governments) concerned.

In the absence of the above, it means one has to be created. There is disparity between the field findings and what is obtained in the official sources. However, the villages reported officially paid and resettled, and paid but not resettled were considered.

as the sample frame. This was adopted for the sake of charity. Using Masu Unguwani and elders, the names of household heads in their domains, who fit the study data base explained earlier, excluding the one's reported dead, was compiled. A total number of 61 heads of household's were enumerated for the first category, while the second category has 325 (Table 4.1).

According to official figures, 98 households were resettled (NWG/186). But, field work survey showed that only 61 households could be traced at the new settlement, Sabon Gari. This rather very small number of households enumerated was due to the fact that a substantial number of the people were said to be dead and thus becomes acceptable when put against the back ground that these few villages fall under the domain of Sarkin Rafi Gumburawa, From the tax records of the 1977/78, Sarkin Rafi had 1179 tax payers, out of the total population (Yusuf and Alebo, 1979).

Actual sampling proceeded in the following way. The names of the affected persons were compiled and each name was allocated a number. A random table was then, used to draw the sample. Simple random sampling was employed in preference to other probability selection procedures, because the list of the affected people was compiled and served as the sampling frame. The method is described as a method that gives each unit a calculable non-zero chance of entering the sample and it

involves selection without replacement of a set of population elements (Clark and Hosking, 1986).

A sample of 85 respondents was selected for the purpose of questionnaire administration. A sample of 65 spread over the villages paid but not resettled was selected out of the total of 325 enumerated population. Forty two (42) respondents were selected from Gumburawa village because it has the largest number of affected population in the sample villages. Others include, twenty one (21) and two (2) respondents were selected from each of the remaining villages which each have 106 and 5 affected persons respectively.

From paid and resettled, twenty (20) were selected as respondents out of the sixty one (61) identified on the resettlement site (Sabon Gari). This represent 24 percent of the total sample. This is justified because they are the people affected most and will give us a closer picture of the issues of resettlement.

Table 4.1: Enumerated Population and Sample Size

Village	Number Enumerated		Sample size	Sample %
	Resettled	Paid		
Sabon Gari	61		20	24
Gumburawa		214	42	49
Danjawa		106	21	25
Kwakkwanawa		05	02	02
Total	61	325	85	100

Source: Fieldwork, 1992.

It is worth mentioning that, the family (household) was used as sampling units and a family or household is defined here as a group of people who work and live together and possibly eat from the same pot. The selection of a family as the sampling unit is justified because the family is the basic social unit and properties are usually owned on a family basis. (Hill, 1972).

4.5 DATA COLLECTION

After the decision was made on the data base and sample size to be studied, a structured questionnaire (appendix 6) was administered on those selected respondents in each of the five communities. This was accomplished through personal interviews with the help of research assistants. The period for the conduct of the structured personal interviews - covered the months of January to March, 1992. This is the slack period of the year, being the dry season when most of the farmers had finished most of their farmwork, except fadama work.

One set of questionnaire was administered for the two (2) categories. Those resettled answered a section seeking to gather data on resettlement. The second category were not asked - such questions but however questions were asked in where they would like to be resettled in the near future, among others.

The questionnaires were administered in Hausa, the language spoken by all in the study area. The responses

however, were recorded in English. In general the questionnaires were designed to elicit information on compensation resettlement problems and adjustment mechanisms brought about as a result of their land being expropriated by government.

The questionnaire in appendix 6 shows the range of questions asked and the variables covered. Apart from the demographic questions, other questions include: selection of resettlement site, land holdings before and now, number of years since displaced, relatives in the resettlement villages, mode of land acquisition now, amount of land and economic trees lost in the former settlement number of livestock before and now, nature of dwelling units before and now, amounts of money paid as compensation mode of dispensing compensation money.

Others, include occupation before and now, income before and now, - reasons for change, occurrence of - migration, effect of expropriation as well being, commuting to Sokoto, among others.

Secondary data were also collected from books, official documents, maps, records and social survey reports. The information among others include - compensation rates of properties, total area of land acquired, amount paid, amount outstanding, government's role in the affair etc.

A special mention has to be made of social survey conducted by Yusuf and Alebo, 1979; the survey aimed to

serve as a guide for resettling the population as well as a yardstick for future development plans requiring mass movements and adjustments of people elsewhere. The survey covered what is called "equilibrium phase" i.e before the displacement. The survey covers the socio-cultural description of the community an analysis of silent features like socio-political organisations, housing and settlement patterns, working relationships, age categories, sex ratio, literacy rate, ethnic and religious affiliations. Attitudes and response to change were addressed in advance. In a word, the general mode of life of the population, immediately before or just on the threshold of disturbance. However, the survey lacked vital - information on land related issues like average size of holdings distribution of land in the area, mode of land acquisition, among others.

To substantiate facts collected from the sources mentioned above, informal interviews were conducted officially and unofficially, with staff of the Land Survey section, Works and Service unit UDUS; staff of Ministry of land and survey; staff or Local Governments concerned, and with many of the inhabitants, local leaders and elders. In particular, the conversation with the leaders and elders provided a wealth of incidental data and invaluable means of clarifying numerous subjects pertaining to payment of compensation and resettlement.

4.6 DATA ANALYSIS

Data gathered from the questionnaire survey were analysed with the aid of the SYSTAT Computer programme.

The input format was first created for all the variables in the questionnaire. The approach followed in this study and the nature of the problem have determined, to a large extent the level of statistical analyses pursued. Consequently percentages and statistical description summaries of distributions. The details of these techniques can be found in Gregory (1963), Hammond and McCullagh (1974), Walpole (1974), Silk (1979), Clark and Hosking (1986), among others. Specifically, Clark and Hosking (1986) emphasize the use of statistical routines through the aid of Computers and the application of statistical techniques to geographic problems.

The study intends to explain before and after" situations of the victims of the land expropriation, that is a comparison of the variables on the effect of displacement. Thus it is believed that the above techniques employed in the analysis of some variables are adequate for the purpose of the present study.

However, it is worth mention at this point that, the researcher is forced to drop the amount collected as compensation in the data analysis, to avoid misleading result. This is because there is absence of documented source from the concerned institutions to obtain the amount of compensation paid to each dispossessed peasant. From the fieldwork conducted more than half of the respondents could not remember the amount collected as compensation for their farmlands, houses and economic trees. This stand is justified in the words of Aliyu (1989:90) that:

"in the analysis of compensation one cannot fully trust the memory of the (victims) especially when there is a considerable time lag between the date of payment of compensation and the time of study".

The statistical results have been expressed in tables and figures and are contained in relevant chapters. The results of the observation and analyses shall be presented in the next two chapters.

4.7 PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS OF DATA

On first approach to these people one gets a somewhat poor impression that they are not as reclusive inwardly looking hostile. On the contrary they seemed fascinated that anyone, would be interested in spending sometimes asking them questions. They seemed as curious to know about the researcher and his subject of research (how it will benefit or hurt them).

Problems encountered at various stages of the research, among others include: Besides the peoples friendliness, there was often an obvious hope that news of the respondents problems, like their displacement would be carried to government, this creates what Jones (1963) call ' courtesy bias' and causing respondents to exaggerate or distort some of the information they provide. This was particularly evident among most respondents, despite researcher's disclaims, he was often believed to be working for the government, for the purpose of providing assistance to them.

Other problems were those associated with sample selection. There was the dearth of records or improper record keeping, without this the researcher could not established his sampling frame. Records of number of people affected; number paid and number not paid; field measurements of farmlands conducted by the university consultant (Nigerian Mapping Company, NPC); Type and number of economic trees; were either unavailable, scanty or unreliable. All other sources proved futile. The last place of hope was Sokoto local Government office, but it was razed down by fire during the November 7th, 1988, rampage. The list used as a basis for sampling were therefore compiled based on the memories of elders and local leaders in the study area. The reliability of these sources could not be established or verified.

There is the public service regulation that prevents the release of ' official' information, consequently, some official files/records were not released because they were considered 'confidential'. To further compound the problem officials of land survey section', Ministry of land and Housing

and Local Government were not quite forthcoming in giving out information, for the fact that the authorities have undergone various changes. As such a lot of the people that were involved in the payment of compensation and resettlement exercises were either not there or those around knew next to nothing.

Lots of problems were encountered during the administration of the questionnaire. The major one, which set back the progress of research, was the absence of respondents at the times of calls, most of them had either gone to Sokoto or to their farms. To solve this problem, the interviews were sometimes conducted in the night and 'catching' them on their fadama farms. In addition problems of memory recall were encountered, considering that the displacement occurred about twelve years ago. Most of them could not remember amount of compensation received, farm sizes lost, date of displacement and others, this is surely fraught with danger, like some of them may have under estimated or over estimated their holdings in particular. However, the respondents were aided for the accurate estimate of their holdings. Ideally, the researcher should have physically conducted the measurements in the fields but because of resources and time factors, the researcher relied on what they supplied.

Another problem relates to the fact of establishing the landless among the respondents. Some of the respondent lost all their landholdings, but the undeveloped tiny portions are put into use. So when asked, whether they

have farmlands now; they emphatically answered 'yes'. What the researcher did was to record their responses and further asked reasons why the land was still in their possession after it has been paid.

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5.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE VICTIMS
OF LAND EXPROPRIATION AFTER THE DISPLACEMENT

This chapter principally addresses one of the core objectives of the study, that is: the socio-economic problems of the displaced people. It focusses on determining whether or not and to what extent their conditions have changed, for better or for worse, after the displacement. The chapter is divided into three sections: social characteristics of the respondents, social and economic problems. It is hoped that the analyses below will highlight the major impacts or consequences of the land expropriation in the study area.

5.1 SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

In this subsection, the interest would be on the social characteristics of the dispossessed peasants in the study area. The social characteristics of interest are, age distribution; marital status, number of wives and children and literacy rate of the respondents. These social characteristics have tremendous significance on the socio-economic problems of the respondents. For instance, family size has implication on extent of land required for resettlement, land holding, income and social organisation of production and mechanisms to be employed in the course of adjustment. Therefore, it is necessary to outline the social characteristics of the respondents.

respondents.

All the respondent interviewed are male heads of household and they indicated that they are muslims by religion. Accordingly, the area is inhabited by two major ethnic groups, that is Hausa (86 percent) and Fulani (14 percent) (Yusuf and Alubo, 1979:31). The study area, thus portrayed certain uniformity in characteristics.

5.1.1 AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONDENTS

From Table 5.1, the distribution among the resettled respondents shows that 50 percent falls within the age range of 30-39; 25 percent within 40-49 and 50-59. Similarly, of the 65 heads of household interviewed that were paid and not resettled (referred to here as paid respondents), 20 percent falls within the age group of 30-39; about 25 percent within 40-49; 26 percent within 50-59; while 29 percent falls within the age group of over 60 years.

Table 5.1 Age Percentage Distribution of the Heads of Household

Age Group (in years)	Heads of Household		All (N=85)
	Resettled (N=20)	Paid (N=65)	
30 - 39	50	20	27
40 - 49	25	25	25
50 - 59	25	26	26
over 60	-	29	22
% Total	100	100	100

Source: Field work, 1992.

The pattern described above, emerged due to the fact that the expropriation took place about one and half decade ago and so the surviving elders constitute the bulk of the respondents. On the other hand, the 27 percent assumed the role of the head of household after the death of their fathers or were represented by others in the absence of the head of household at the time of interview.

In most African societies, it is recognised that the elderly groups constitute the culture custodians, trustees and guardians of the young generation and the generation yet unborn. Land as property is seen not only belonging to the present generation, but also to the dead and generation unborn (Elias, 1951). The implication of expropriating land of this group, tantamount to creation of social friction among the custodians and the heirs in the near future and putting a halt to a social system rightly developed in the area for over a century. To worsen the situation, the expropriation occurred at a time when problem of population-resource ratio truly manifested itself.

5.1.2. MARITAL STATUS OF THE DISPLACED PEOPLE

The survey data on marital status shows that with out exception all the 85 respondents are married for both group of sub-samples.

On the number of wives table 5.2 shows that majority of the respondents had one to two wives with about 85 and 94 percent before and after the displacement respectively.

We should note an increase of about 10 per cent from what they had previously. A comparison between the sub-samples indicates that, the resettled respondents, their was none with 3-4 wives before and after the displacement.

In comparison between the sub-samples indicates that, the resettled respondents, their was none with 3-4 wives before and after displacement. In comparison, the paid respondents had about 11 percent and the percentage is now reduced to about 8 percent. The difference is gained by those with 1-2 wives. Another feature noticeable is that all the respondents now have between 1-4 wives, against 7 percent with none before the expropriation.

Table 5.2 Percentage Distribution of Wives Before and After the Expropriation

No. of wives	Resettled (N=20)		Paid (N=65)		All (N=65)	
	Before	After	Before	After	Before and	After
1	60	70	61	66	61	67
2	25	30	23	26	24	27
3	0	0	8	6	6	5
4	0	0	3	2	2	1
None	15	0	5	0	7	0
% Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Fieldwork, 1992.

Related to the number of wives, is the number of children. Furthermore, the survey data summarised in Table 5.3, highlighted the number of children. The table shows that 68 percent of all the respondents had

between 0 - 5 children and about 32 percent with over six children before the expropriation. However, the present distribution is different, in that, respondents with over six children increased from about 32 percent to 47, percent. Similarly, respondents with 0-5 children decreased from 68 percent to 52 percent. A further analysis within each segment reveals the same pattern, that is, the number of children has increased over the years relative to period before the expropriation.

Table 5.3 Percentage Distribution of Children Before and After the Displacement

No. of children	Resettled (N=20)		Paid (N=65)		All (N=85)	
	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After
0-2	60	25	23	12	32	15
3-5	25	50	40	34	37	38
6-8	15	15	23	35	21	30
9-11	0	5	8	8	6	7
over 12	0	5	6	11	4	9
% total	100	100	100	100	100	100

The implication of the above pattern, is such that the respondents are married with family to take care of. The respondents, therefore, need more farmland to grow food to feed the family, since majority of them whose lands have been expropriated are farmers and and if their children are to take after the dispossessed farmers occupationally.

In most cases, farm holdings are proportional to the size of families, that is, the larger the family, the larger the farm size. In other words, the size of family determines the labour force to work in the farm, income, number of rooms to provide shelter and size of farmholdings to provide food for the family. Before the displacement, relatively, the size of most of the respondents family was proportional to the size of their farm holding. But now the farmholdings of many of them are too small to support them and their family (See Table 5.3.4). Some of the respondents explained that, they now buy foodstuffs from the market to feed their families, something very unusual, that was not common to them. Consequently, the respondents now think that they were being subjected to more serious problems.

5.1.3 LEVEL OF EDUCATION AMONG THE DISPLAYED PEOPLE

The data collected shows that literacy rate in the study area, in terms of western education, is in generally very low. Only about 4 percent of all respondents have any formal western education (including the products of the Adult literacy campaign). However, about 77 percent of the respondents indicate that they have some level of Islamic/Quranic education (Table 5.4). Also about 30 percent have unspecified level of education. As can be seen from the table in general, literacy does not vary very much between the resettled and paid subsamples respondents.

Table 5.4 Distribution of level of education on the Respondents

Level of Education	Resettled (N=20)%	Paid(N=65) %	All(N=85) %
Quranic Education	75	77	77
Primary Education	0	0	0
Secondary Education	0	0	0
Adult Education	0	0	0
Quranic and Secondary Educ	5	2	2
Quranic and Adult Education	0	2	1
No Response	25	20	29

Source: Field work, 1982

The low literacy rate in the area in terms of western education as indicated in Table 5.4, might be explained by the fact that Sokoto state, has one of the lowest literacy rates in Nigeria as a whole. Infact, until the introduction of the compulsory Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1973, many rural dwellers in the State did not care to enrol their children in modern schools. Looking at the age distribution of the respondents showed that they are composed of elderly people. Thus, this is an indication as to why they could not pursue formal western education as they were too old to enrol as at the time they became aware of its usefulness.

The importance of western education cannot be over emphasised particularly in this modern state era. It is generally believed that exposure to education, to a large

extent, determines the possible acceptance and adaptation to change that might come about. In the absence of western education (boko) majority of the respondents are ignorant of existing laws which enable modern state rights of land expropriation and of their own rights too. And, in addition many of them complained of cheating in the course of being paid their compensation.

5.2 SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE DISPLACED PEOPLE

It is necessary to summarize the social circumstance of the people before the displacement, drawn mostly from the study of Yusuf and Alubo, (1979). Prior to displacement the area lacked pipe-borne water, electricity and good roads. Besides there was a total absence of any health facility such as clinics or dispensary, thus, compelling the inhabitants to travel often distance of 50 kilometres, to get treated in Sokoto town (ibid, 69). Just like Batagarawa and Dorayi inhabitants studied by Hill (1977:79), very few of the inhabitants of the study area attend hospitals or clinic in the Sokoto town.

The sources of water for domestic purposes consists of well/wind mill (the latter located at Dundaye). Much use was also made of water from streams and rivers (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5 SOURCES OF WATER SUPPLY PRIOR TO
DISPLACEMENT.

Sources of Water	Dry season %	Rainy season %
Pipe borne water	1	0
Well/mind mill	48	50
Borehole	14	14
Stream/River	34	36
Pits	2	-
Others	1	-
% Total	100	100

Source: Yusuf and Alubo, (1979:56).

The study area manifests two settlement characteristics, that is, dispersal of homesteads and some of clustering. And estimated 70 percent of the population live in the nucleated settlements, ranging from hamlets of a few dozen people to small towns with several hundreds of inhabitants while the remaining are scattered far and wide in clustered compounds and villages (ibid: 36).

On the type of dwellings, more than 80 percent of the people reside within thatched walls and thatched huts. And most of the makeshift homes (70 percent) requires constant repairs. Large proportion of the compounds (87 percent) consist of 3-4 dwelling huts/rooms (ibid:60).

The inhabitants are literate, as virtually every respondents could read/ write (90 percent) Hausa in Arabic

capacity in terms of personnel, resources and experience to facilitate its successful execution.

Consequently, although the resettlement site (Sabon Gari) had a planned layout, it was seldom adhered to and basic infrastructures were not put on the ground. The resettled people were only allocated marked plots, and they were expected to clear the stony and dry area, to make their dwellings. The description of New Maradun by Wallace (1980:61) vividly resembles the present picture of the resettlement at Sabon Gari. That is:

"underneath the roofs, square mud houses stand ... under the glare of the sun. No trees shade the houses, no bushes grace the area. The light is harsh; the land stands open, unprotected. Few animals are to be seen ... the walls are crumbling."

All these culminated in problems, affecting not only those resettled, but also those paid but not resettled and those not paid, who are still on the land acquired for the university permanent site. The social problems especially those associated with the adjustment of relocation are discussed below. Other problems discussed include payment of compensation in lieu of resettlement.

5.2.1 GRIEVING FOR THE LOST SETTLEMENTS

The study by At selefun (1989:21-31) writing on the impact of the university on selected settlements of Dundaye district, noted that there was remarkable change in the settlement pattern from the disperse to clustered pattern and that there was tremendous improvement

on the physical structure of dwellings. He therefore conclude that:

"One of the impacts of (relocation)... is the gradual change in the structure of the dwellings from what used to be predominantly mud houses (?) to an improved structure that is made of mud cement and (Zinc) roofed houses. About 40 percent of dwellings can be described as relatively modern dwellings compared to just about 5 percent that was the case ..." (ibid: 30).

Considering all the above improvement usually associated with resettlement, one would have expected the preference of new settlement to the old. Contrary, the resettled people indicate preference for their previous settlement. Many of the respondents when asked about their preference, displayed mourning mood.

In addition, the respondents were asked to express the reasons for their preferences. The result summarized in Table 5.6. From the table, 80 percent of the respondents cried for the lost of the former settlement because, it was their ancestral home. Other reasons given include, lands were available than now and closer to farmlands in addition to being an ancestral home.

Table 5.6 Preference of the old settlement to the new among the resettled respondents.

Reasons	Responses (N=20) %
An Ancestral home	80
Ancestral home and closer to farmlands	5
Land more available than now	10
No response	5
% Total	100

Source: Fieldwork, 1992

The majority of respondents are in favour of lost ancestral home, which is recognised to be universal human characteristics; no matter the in hospitality of the former settlement (Brokensha and Scudder, 1968). The preference for the old settlements to the new, furthermore is largely due to both acquiescence and satisfaction they had enjoyed. From the former settlements, they had access to both upland and fadama lands, and were much closer to these facilities, source of water inclusive.

In this situation, where the resettled people are being wrenched from their place, for what has no benefit to them directly (i.e the university) and as they are now forgotten and neglected, they really have a cause to condemn and express their preference to the former settlement, where they had derived their livelihood since time immemorial. Thus, their sudden

uprooting from their age-old settlements and transplantation in a new environment, despite changes in the spatial pattern and physical structure of their houses, are unwelcomed and rejected by the resettled people. This is because, they are separated from their ancestral home and source of livelihood.

5.2.2 ABSENCE OF BASIC FACILITIES

The survey by Yusuf and Alubo (1979), revealed a severe shortage of infrastructure, essential services and facilities prior to the displacement in the area. However, to forestall the disruptive effects and problems of adjustment on the resettled people it was suggested that adequate infra-structural arrangements, essential services like good access roads, electricity, pipe borne water should be provided at the resettlement sites.

After the resettlement, the relocation site is still lacking these recommended facilities. The basic facilities of interest and considered below are lack of good source of water and school. The authorities constructed one borehole and well after the resettlement. These two sources of water provided, at the time of this research, are now abandoned, because the well ceased yielding water not long after its construction and water from the borehole tastes salty.

1. The river referred to here is the Rima River which is of walking distance from the new settlement.

The response of the respondents on source of water after the displacement summarized in Table 5.7, shows that well and, well and river¹ categories, account for 55 percent of the responses. Further more, the table shows that the most occurring sources after their resettlement are well and river.

Table 5.7: Sources of Water Atthe Resettlement site

Sources	Responses (N=20) %
1. Spring, well, borehole	5
2. Spring, well, river	5
3. Well, borehole, river	20
4. Spring, river	10
5. Well, borehole	5
6. Well, river	35
7. Well only	20
% Total	100

Source: Fieldwork, 1992.

In addition, the respondents expressed satisfaction that the mentioned sources assure them supply all year round.

As mentioned above, school was not specially constructed to serve the resettled people, probably, may be because of a school which is very close to the resettlement site. But the school's roof is now blown-

off; walls crumbled and looks abandoned for quite a long time. Consequently, the absence of school is reflected in the responses of the respondents. The data shows that with the exception of 5 percent, the remaining 95 claim their children do not go to school. This suggests that the resettlement has effect on school attendance of the resettled people children since almost all of them accept that their children of school age do not attend school, in the absence of one provided in the resettlement site. The said 5 percent are attending the school at Gidan Yaro, which is about 15 kilometres from the resettlement site.

5.2.3 LOSS OF FARMING FACILITIES

The resettlement of the displaced people from their age-old settlements, among others, has deprived the settlers of vital farm facilities, like granaries (rumbu) and animal sheds. In particular granaries are recognised as peculiar features of Hausa society (Hill, 1972:254-256). Clapperton, 1829; long ago recognised the existence of granaries, when travelling in the neighbourhood of Sokoto which:

"are made in from of a large urn or pitcher, raised from the ground about three feet by stones. They made of clay and chopped straw and are raised to the height of eleven or twelve feet."

It is important to acknowledge that his description is still accurate. The granaries are essentially used to store farm produce. The animal sheds on the other hand, housed the domesticated animals in the compounds. As a

result of displacement and subsequent resettlement, the dispossessed were compensated for the loss of these items in cash, according to officially approved rates (appendix 2). But after the resettlement some proportion of the dispossessed lost these vital rural housing facilities. The findings are presented below.

In respect of animal shed, the findings of survey shows that 60 percent of the respondents had this facility in their compounds against 40 percent with none, before the resettlement. However, after the resettlement, only 10 percent now have animal sheds in their new compounds against 90 percent of the respondents with none. The coefficient of variation for the two periods is found to decrease from about 36 percent to 16 percent. The values of variance and standard deviation shows the same pattern (Table 5.8).

Table 5.8 Distribution on Animal Shed Before and After the Resettlement in the study Area.

Distribution	Before (N=20)	After (N=20)
Mean	1.4	1.9
Variance	0.25	0.095
Standard Deviation	0.503	0.308
Coefficient Variation	35.9%	16.2%

Source: Fieldwork, 1992.

Also, the distribution of granaries (storage barns) obtained from the survey shows that the percentage of

dispossessed with none was 10 percent before the resettlement and the period after the resettlement shows that the percentage with none has increased to 70 percent of the respondents.

The distribution of number of granaries owned by each respondent, shows that the respondents owned between one to three. Also the distribution of responses and statistical tests are presented in Table 5.9 and 5.10 respectively. The maximum decreases from 3.0 to 1.0 and variance stands at 0.618 before the resettlement to 0.221 after the displacement. Consequently, the mean also decrease from 2.25 to 1.3 for the two periods under consideration.

Table 5.9 Distribution of Responses on number of granaries (storage Barns) owned Before and After the Resettlement.

Number	Before % (N = 20)	After % (N=20)
None	10	70
One	65	30
Two	15	0
Three	10	0
% Total	100	100

Source: Fieldwork, 1992.

Table 5.10 Distribution on Granaries (Storage Barns) Before and After the Resettlement in the Study Area.

Distribution	Before (N=20)	After (N=20)
Minimum	1.0	1.0
Maximum	3.0	1.0
Range	3.0	1.0
Mean	2.25	1.3
Variance	0.618	0.221
Standard deviation	0.786	0.47
C.V	35%	36.2%

Source: Fieldwork, 1992.

The loss of these farm facilities are attributed to land expropriation and the subsequent resettlement. And this can be inferred from the statements made by some of the respondents:

"I don't have farmland. What I produce hardly sees me through the year. The granary, I have has outlined its usefulness".
While another argued:

"In our previous settlement we had three cows, fourteen sheep and over twenty-five goats. We sold all these livestock to finance the construction of our new house and for subsistence at the initial stage. When we were resettled, I was left with virtually none of these livestock, so we abandoned the idea of constructing an animal shed".

5.2.4 COMPESNATION MONEY IN LIEU OF RESETTLEMENT

The survey indicates that the paid sub-sample respondents have all collected compensation in respect of their houses in cash and some payments were also made for their farmlands. All these payments were made in lieu of resettlement and greater proportion of the money collected were expended on consumable items. For example, the use of money paid to the respondents as compensation, presented in Table 5.17, shows that instead of acquiring alternative property, 72 percent used the money on purchase of foodstuffs. The remaining percentage of 28, used the money as capital for their trading activities, acquisition of houses and livestock and renovation of houses. Similarly, studies by Negedu (1973), Oyedipe (1973), Yahya (1987) confirmed that beneficiaries of compensation money in most cases end up using the money on things not meant for, instead of re-establishing themselves.

Table 5.11 The use of money paid by Respondents.

Use	(N=65) %
Buy foodstuff	72
Buy livestock	8
Use as capital for trading	5
Buy livestock and spent on unaccountable things	3
Spent on unaccountable things	4
Buy house	1
Use as capital and buy foodstuff	1

Buy foodstuff and house	1
Carry renovation of house	1
No response	2
% Total	100*

Source: Fieldwork, 1992: Percentage May not add up to 100 due to roundings.

The findings above show that the dispossessed utilised the compensation money towards immediate needs. Again we should bear in mind that the resettlement policy so far adopted in the study area is such that the government make plot of land available to the displaced people and then left them to develop the plots on their own, without any form of assistance from the government.

The Land Use Act of 1978; section 33 (1) provides that the occupier of land may be offered resettlement in lieu of monetary compensation. But in this situation, the government made compensation in lieu of resettlement and the same government wants to eject the people out of the acquired site at any time. This dimension, further exposed the volatile nature of land expropriation in the area.

In view of all the above, the payment of compensation money in lieu of resettlement have serious implications not only on the dispossessed but also on the government. The dispossessed, who are now virtually left with nothing out of the compensation money paid to them, when it comes to time of relocation, will the government chase the people

out of the acquired site without any assistance or alternatives? How do we expect the people to resettle somewhere with no money at hand? How will they cope with high cost of building materials which are beyond the reach of common man?

About one and half decades after the payment of the compensation entitlements, it is now required of the government to seriously reconsider its policy of resettlement, with a view to achieving amicable relocation. The government should make adequate arrangement to handle the whole fragile issue with care. The people seem charged and ready for show down, should the government attempt to relocate them without making an acceptable alternative. The government should remember that at one time, the people have made the expression of their readiness to die, if the government attempts acquiring the area without viable alternative.

5.3 ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE DISPLACED PEOPLE

It is also necessary to summarize the economic conditions of the people before the displacement in that almost every active adult male in the area was a farmer. Infact, farming was described as the esteemed occupation and by far the main stay of the economy. The position of farming was describe as:

"more than a mere economic activity it is a way of life as well as a centre-piece of the people's economic activity (Yusuf and Alubo, 1979:51).

A part from farming, only a small proportion engaged in secondary occupations. Infact only 4 percent

were reported as engaged in secondary occupations (ibid). The 4 percent was shared between such occupations as petty-trading; crafts (weaving, pottery, carving etc); Koranic Teaching; Artisanship (tailoring, black-smithing etc). and a handful of wage earners. Despite this limited economic activities, the people were contented with their ways of living. Furthermore, about the entire sample (97 percent) of the respondents want their children to take farming as their occupation.

Typical of Hausa rural society (see Hill, 1977) agriculture was carried out with the use of rudimentary traditional farming implements. Modern methods of farming were reported to be absent.

On land holdings and farm size prior to displacement, studies in the area have shown in 14 out of 17 settled communities studied, the range of farm size was between 0.6 and 1.4 hectares (1.5 and 3.5 acres (Hills, 1972:232). While estimates of the average size of holding suggest about 1.6 hectares (4 acres) per adult male, independent^d farming unit and about

3.2 hectares (8 acres) per family farming unit (ibid, 239; Goddard, 1973a: 207; Selvana Yagam, 1981:23). On the other hand, Fadama farms were usually a fraction of an hectare and they were owned by only a few notable households (Goddard, 1973b).

Furthermore, studies carried out about two decades ago established that in the close-settled zone of Sokoto, over 80 percent of the land area was under cultivation, while only between 1 and 7 percent was fallow. This was due to sickness than to deliberate fallow (Goddard, 1973b:7). The nucleated settlement pattern and high population density in the area implied that all available arable land had to be divided into numerous proprietary units under the peasant production system. Also, the farm plots per holding were numerous and the size distribution of farm plots very small plots. These farm plots are permanently cultivated. The description of State of land during the twentieth century in Kano region is replicated in Sokoto region that is;

"pressures exerted by population growth, muslim inheritance practices ... placed additional strains on already over burdened farm holdings" (Watts 1983: 202).

From the above, we can see that Sokoto region has attained a stage of greater intensity of land utilization in an attempt to rationalize land use, so as to meet the needs of too many people from too little land. In other words, there is land shortage in relation to ;

population (Goddard, 1974; Labaran, 1986). Also the region is witnessing the emergence of "land-grab" by a new class of farmers - medium and large scale, appropriating large expanses from poor peasants, essentially due to transformation of land as an economic commodity (Labaran, *ibid*, Swindell and Mamman, 1990). Furthermore with the advent of land expropriation in the area most have aggravated the problems of land holdings, particularly among the displaced communities. The questions worth asking are: What happened after the expropriation? What are the current land holdings and problems of land acquisition confronting this agricultural community? Have the expropriation produced what Wallace (1980:62) called "agricultural community with no land"? And what are the consequences of loss of this basis of man's economic activity?

5.3.1 INCOME CHANGE OF THE RESPONDENTS

Prior to the displacement Yusuf and Alubo (1979) estimated that the people of the area had range of income of ₦500 to ₦1000 per annum.

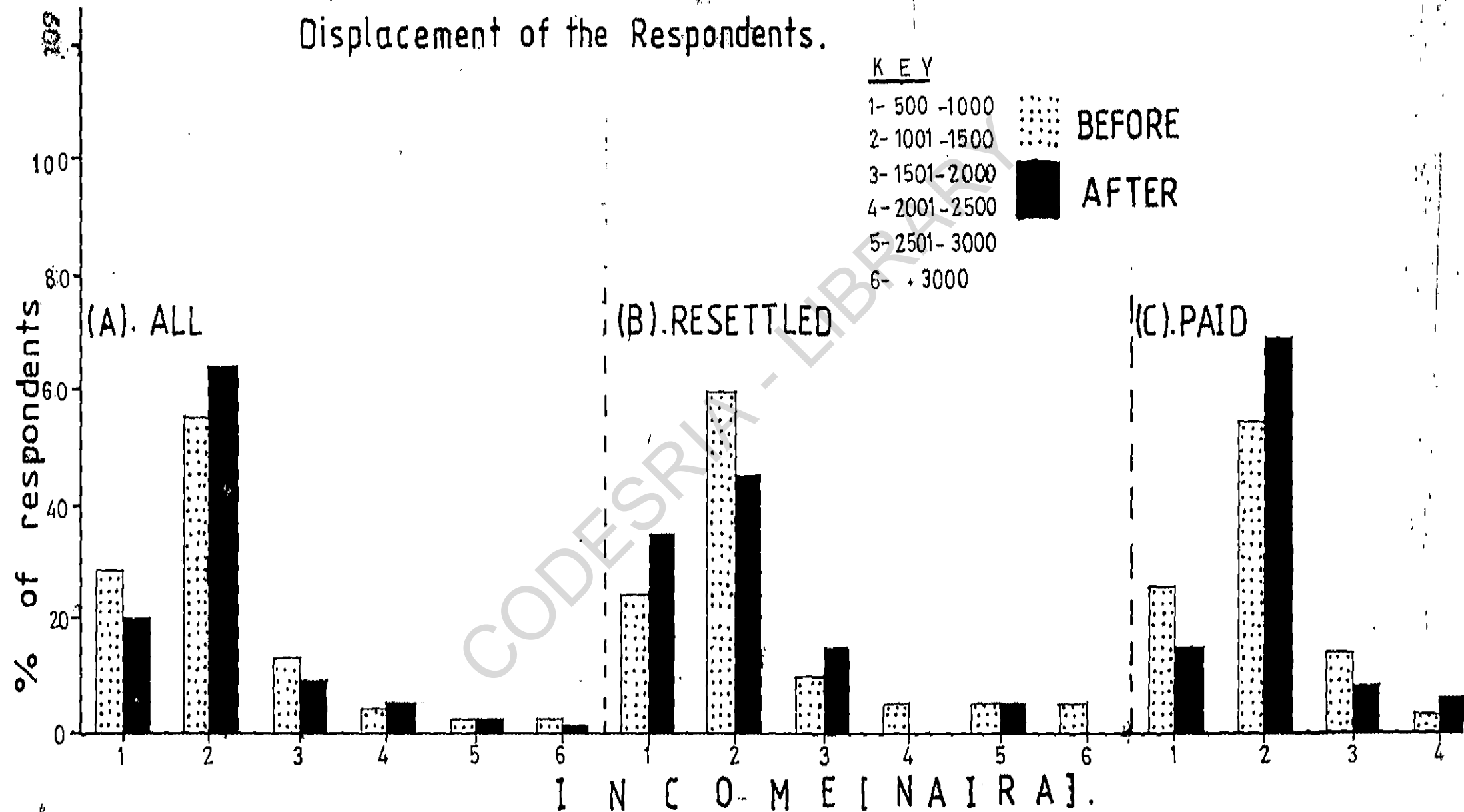
The respondents were asked to state their incomes before and after the displacement. In other words, the dispossessed were asked to state the total annual earnings of the household from surplus farm produce and other sources. The reasons for the changes in income, if any, were solicited. The findings are presented below.

The result of the survey and presented in figure 8 revealed that majority of the displaced people had income or total earnings of between ₦1001 - ₦1500 annually before the expropriation contrary to the finding reported above. This applied to 55 percent of all the respondents. Followed by those with income within the range of ₦500-₦1000 which make up about 26 percent and those who earn more than ₦3000 were very few, 1.2 percent of the respondents.

However, in the period after the expropriation, there were changes in income, with regards to the total earning of the respondents per annum. The distribution shows that despite the current down turn in the economy, manifested in high inflation rate and devaluation of the Naira, majority of the respondents maintained that they were earning ₦1001-₦1500 per annum. Instead of decreasing, the percentage increased when compared to the period before the expropriation. The percentage obtained for this category is 62. The category earning ₦500-₦1000 decreased to 20 percent. And categories earning ₦3000 remained unchanged.

The pattern reveal that the worst affected are the resettled respondents in comparison to the paid sub-sample respondents. As to the changes in the level of income, all the respondents attributed it to land expropriation and the subsequent resettlement, which resulted in the reduction of farm holdings.

FIGURE 8 A,B & C - Distribution of Income Before and After the Displacement of the Respondents.



Source: Fieldwork, 1992.

It is imperative to stress the fact that the incomes of the respondents whose lands are expropriated, cannot be said to be accurate, because most of the people interviewed did not know how much they earn in cash or otherwise annually, apart from the few wage earners who could easily remember their gross earnings.

5.3.2 WORSENING CONDITIONS OF LIVING

According to Cowling (1962) quoted in Atala (1982:189), the concept of condition of living (or scale of living) refers to the actual conditions of a population. It differs from the concept of standard of living which relates to the living condition aspired to and which are regarded as proper or desirable. While Allardt (1978:205) wrote:

"the level of living concept refers to material and impersonal resources with which individuals can master and command their living conditions."

Therefore, the condition of living is considered to refer to the variety, quality and quantity of the goods used to meet the physical and psychic needs of an individual or a family.

The different perceptions of condition of living was sought on how the land expropriation and the subsequent resettlement has affected their condition of living. The perception is defined as the capacity of interpret and create meaning to an event or object based on the dictates of prior experience or expectation (Sabo, 1984:62). In the survey questionnaire, the respondents were asked to make comparison between the period before the expropriation and after the exercise, whether their condition of living has improved or deteriorate.

The result of the survey shows that, in general, only about 6 percent of all the respondents claimed that their condition of living has improved, while 94 percent hold the view that their condition of living has seriously deteriorated in comparison to the period before the displacement. A further analysis of the responses according to the resettled and paid sub-samples, however, reveal a clear picture of show condition of living has improved or deteriorated. The "paid sub-sample" response show that 92 percent of the respondents claimed that their conditions of living has actually deteriorated, and only about 8 percent answered the contrary, that is, it has improved. On the other hand, without exception, all the resettled sub-sample respondents claim that their condition of living deteriorated after the displacement.

In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to give reasons and or causes of deteriorating conditions of living. All the responses obtained shows that the reasons and or causes of the deteriorating condition of living have a bearing to land expropriation. The displaced people were left with smaller holdings and consequently, the output declined and with the disruption of their main source of livelihood, basic things were becoming unaffordable.

5.3.3 DECLINE IN NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK

In developing economics, like ours, livestock occupy an important position as an indicator of wealth and status. The study of Castro et al (1981) included livestock into the general stratification of rural communities into economic and status groups. To us here, livestock is equally important as an indicator of worsening (or improvement) as the case may be, of economic viability of the respondents at the moment.

Before the presentation of the findings of the study, it is important to mention that livestock keeping is an important sector of agricultural economy of the area. The Sokoto region as a whole, within which the study area falls, accounts for a significant proportion of the total livestock population in the state estimated at about 2 million cattle, 2.5 million sheep, 2.7 million goats and 20,000 camels (Swindell, 1982: 3a).

The Table 5.12 and 5.13 presented below compare livestock ownership before and after the displacement. The figure show that among the resettled sub-sample, the respondents owning goats, sheep and cattle decreased from 65, 55 and 45 percents to 20,5 and 5 percents respectively after the resettlement. Significantly, also, the number with none category increased remarkably in respect of goats, sheep and cattle from 35, 45 and 45 percents to 80, 95 and 95 percents respectively after the resettlement.

Similarly, among the paid sub-sample respondents in possession of goats, sheep and cattle, decreased from abouts 68, 59 and 51 percents to 23, 20 and about 5 percents respectively after the displacement. Subsequently, the number with none category, in the same order above increased from 32, about 42 and 49 percents to about 77, 80 and 95 percents respectively.

Table 5.12 Percentage Distribution of Respondents
who owned Goats and Sheep Before and After
Displacement

Number	Resettled (N=20)				Paid (N=65)			
	Goats % Before	After	Sheep % Before	After	Goats % Before	After	Sheep % Before	After
5	25	15	20	5	27.7	18.5	29.3	20
5-10	40	5	25	0	40	4.6	24.6	0
11-15	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
16-20	0	0	5	0	0	0	4.6	0
NONE	35	80	45	95	32.3	76.9	41.5	80
% Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Fieldwork, 1992.

Table 5.13 Percentage Distribution of Respondents who owned
Cattle Before and After the Displacement

Number	Resettled (N = 20)		Paid (N=65)	
	% Before	After	% Before	After
1 - 3	20	5	16.9	4.6
4 - 6	25	0	24.7	0
7 - 9	5	0	4.6	0
10 - 12	5	0	4.6	0
None	45	95	49.2	0

Source: Fieldwork, 1992.

The astonishing decrease in the absolute number of respondents in possession of these livestock is attributed to the displacement and the subsequent resettlement, in that many of the displaced people had disposed the livestock to re-establish themselves after the trauma of land expropriation. In particular the resettled respondents argued that they used the money generated from the proceeds of the livestock to supplement the paltry compensation money paid, to finance the construction of their new dwellings. In addition, most of the respondents argued that the money generated was also used to buy foodstuff to feed their families, since their current land holdings are no longer proportional to the size of families.

Furthermore, to highlight the decrease in the number of livestock in the study area, tables 5.14 and 5.15 present distribution of descriptive statistical tests of livestock categories, in respect of resettled and paid subsamples, before and after the displacement. In all the sub-samples the categories of livestock, their variance; standard deviation and co-efficient of variation highlighted the decline. In particular, the co-efficient of variation shows that, in respect of cattle, sheep and goats, the values obtained are 52, 60 and about 61 percents respectively before the displacement which now reduced to 19, 39 and 36.5 among the resettled respondent. While the values of paid respondents obtained are, in the same order as above, 48, 58 and about 62 percents before to about 18, 38 and 39 percents after the displacement respectively.

Table 5.14 Distribution on livestock categories
Before and After the Displacement among
the resettled Respondents

Distribution	Before Values			After Values		
	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Cattle	Sheep	Goats
Mean	4.800	4.200	4.250	3.300	3.00	2.800
Variance	2.958	3.263	2.905	0.800	2.695	2.408
Standard Deviation	1.720	1.806	1.704	0.894	1.642	1.552
C.v	52.1%	60.2%	60.9%	18.6%	39.1%	36.5%

Source: Fieldwork, 1992.

Table 5.15 Distribution on livestock categories
Before and After the Displacement among
the paid Respondents

Distribution	Before Values			After Values		
	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Cattle	Sheep	Goats
Mean	4.815	4.200	4.123	3.446	3.046	2.692
Variance	2.782	3.170	2.748	0.715	2.600	2.641
Standard Deviation	1.688	1.780	1.658	0.846	1.612	1.625
C.v	48.4%	58.4%	61.6%	17.6%	38.4%	39.4%

Source: Fieldwork, 1992.

5.3.4 REDUCTION IN THE SIZE OF LAND HOLDINGS

Based on respondents estimates of land holdings size before the displacement and after, the findings of the survey are presented in Figure 10. The figure shows a remarkable reduction in percentage of each category of reported land holdings in comparing the period before and after the displacement. For instance, all the respondents values show that those with less than 0.25 and 0.26 - 3.50 hectares categories, have an increase of 16.5 and 15.3 percent respectively. Those with 3.51-11.0 and 11.01-30 hectares categories recorded a loss of 20 and 11.8 respectively after the displacement. Specifically, however, the worst affected are the resettled sub-sampled while the changes among the paid sub-sample is minimal.

The mean size of land holdings in the area are recognised to be small on the average (see section 5.3). This size further decrease due to land expropriation, among the displaced people. From the survey findings the average land holding was estimated to be 2.6 hectares with standard deviation of 4.6; variance, 21.39 and C.V., 71.82 percent before the displacement. However, after the displacement, the average is found to be 1.4 hectares with standard deviation 23.44; variance, 11.87 and C.V, 96.3 percent. (Table 5.16).

From the same table, the reduction in the size of farm land holdings is noticeable among the resettled respondents than the paid sub-sample respondents. Among

the resettled respondents, the average farm holding size reduced from 5.95 to 1.03 hectares in relation to periods before and after the displacement. While the paid sub-sample average of both before and after the displacement shows that it reduced from 6.6 to 4.4 hectares. Therefore, from all of the above, we can rightly conclude that the greater number of the displaced people have extremely smaller holdings and the holdings are becoming unproportional to their increasing family size.

Table 5.16 Distribution on Land Holdings size Before and After the Displacement Among the Respondents.

Distribution	Resettled	Values	Values	All values		
	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After
Minimum	0.5	0	0.75	0	0.5	0
Maximum	2.0	3	20	20	20	20
Mean	5.95	1.03	6.6	4.4	6.4	3.58
Standard Deviation	4.67	0.75	4.6	3.7	4.6	3.44
Variance	20.72	0.56	21.12	13.53	21.53	11.87
C.V	78.5%	72.8%	69.6%	83.6%	71.82%	96.3%

Source: Fieldwork, 1992.

5.3.5 SOARING LAND PRICES

Transaction and assumption of market value in land around Sokoto have a very long history.

times with 32 percent. These two categories accounts for more than two-thirds of the respondents that indicated the prices of land increased from four times to more than five times. Consequently, all the respondents explained that the inhibiting factor of finding replacement of their land was the unaffordable cost of land.

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Table 5.17 Description of the Rate of increase in land prices in the area.

Rates	All Respondents (N=85) %
2 times	5
2-3 times	15
4-5 times	32
5 times	45
No Response	4
% total	100*

Source: Fieldwork, 1992

Percentage adds more than 100 due to roundings.

The implication of sky rocketing prices of land to the displaced people, is that, the people deprived of their main source of income, virtually with no alternative coupled with paltry compensation money would definitely be unable to afford the cost/money to replace the lands expropriated. It has been recognised that land prices alone inhibit people from land acquisition, particularly the poor families. In the words of Castro et al, 1981:402:

"land prices inhibit poor families from obtaining additional land to satisfy their needs. Only the wealthy can purchase land ..."

The predominant factor responsible for this lack of immediate replacement of their lands, which invariably relates to the prices of land, is the fact that they are

relatively poor (see section 5.3.1). Consequently, the land market in the area, is cornered by the emerging medium and large scale farmers, who are described as prosperous urban and rural merchants contractors, past and present bureaucrats, politicians and soldiers (Labaran, 1986; Swindell and Mamman, 1990).

The soaring land prices prevents many of the displaced people from replacing the land lost to the government. This is because only 6 and 5 percents of the paid and resettled sub-samples respectively are able to acquire land after the displacement. While the majority of 94 and 95 percents of the same order of respondents, could not find replacement of their holdings.

5.3.6 LAND SHORTAGE IN THE APEA

A part from soaring land prices, another problem confronting the displaced people in the study area is land shortage. In the Sokoto region it has for long been established that land shortage is manifested because of its high population - land ratio.

Consequently, the people displaced from their lands are expected to make arrangements on their own to re-establish themselves after receiving paltry compensation money. They go about looking for surplus land or uncleared area to obtain the replacement of their land lost to the government. This is popularly known as "pioneer clearing". The respondents were

asked whether they have made such acquisition. The survey shows that none of the respondents made acquisition of land through bush land clearing and converting it to farmland. Bearing in mind the land shortage in the area, the respondents were asked to advance reasons for not **doing** such. Their response reaffirmed the total absence of virgin or unoccupied land, not under cultivation in the area.

The problem of land shortage in the area has further compounded the problems of the dispossessed, in that the people are now cultivating much smaller holdings and the land holdings are not proportional to the size of their families and no room for expansion of such land holdings, because there is absence of virgin land to make such adjustment.

In view of the above the UDUS authorities are currently making preparation to lease the undeveloped land within the site on a yearly basis to the displaced people (NWG/86). The university authority's aim here is to establish legitimacy over the land, due to the continued occupation of the land by people who had received compensation on the land. This appears to be a welcome development. Before the take-off of the plan, the researcher thought that it was necessary to find out the views of the displaced people. The findings of the survey indicates that contrary to expectation, the displaced are not in support of the move with 60 and 15

percents of the resettled and paid respondents respectively. The majority of respondents, opposing this move are the resettled respondents. On the other hand, 35 and 20 percents of resettled and paid respondents respectively are in support of the plan. Just like 5 percent of the resettled respondents, 60 percent (majority) of the paid sub-sample reserve their comments in respect of the authority's plan to lease them undeveloped land within the acquired site.

The respondents were further asked to express reasons, why not in support of the university plan. The findings are tabulated in Table 5.18. The respondents argued that if they accept the university offer then, they are finished, as one respondents put it "peasants have no rights" (Talakawa basu da 'yanci"). Also queried, why should their ancestral land be lease to them, after all they were forcefully evicted from their land. Because of this reason, they want the former Governor's (Kangiwa) directive be continued, that they should be allowed to continue using the land, until it is required by the university. While others felt that they are yet to receive compensation for their land or were inadequately compensated, they wondered why the university authorities wanted to introduce the leasing plan. Others argued that it is a useless plan and not the right step towards solving their problems.

Table 5.18 Reasons Given by the Respondents against University leasing plan to the Dispossessed.

Reasons	Resettled (N=12) %	Paid (N=15) %	All (N=27) %
Breach of earlier agreement	25	0	11
It is illegal to acquire our land in the first place	17	0	7
It is useless	8	0	4
The earlier agreement should continue	25	73	53
If we accept it, then we are finished	17	7	4
We are in adequately/not compensated	8	20	11
% Total	100	100	100

Source: Fieldwork, 1992

5.3.7 LANDLESSNESS AMONG THE RESPONDENTS

The concept of landlessness is defined as an absence of adequate land or no land to provide the basic needs of the people (Sinha, 1984:12). In other words, it is a situation where holdings are too small or there is total absence of land, to provide a reasonable livelihood for the household. Just like environmental degradation, the problem of landlessness is becoming a global concern, particularly in many of the developing countries, where the problem of in adequate access to production resources is becoming glaring. The FAO estimate shows that, almost one

quarter of the world's population falls in the category of landless and near landless (ibid:15). This author recognised ^{the} / problem manifest itself in different ways, for example, the problem is more in southern Asia countries, particularly in India, while in Africa South of the Sahara, the problem has been concealed by the generally held contention of land abundance.

Similarly, the causes differ from one country to another. But in general, the causes are as a result of complex interaction of geographical, socio-economic, demographic and political forces (ibid: 18-32). The researcher investigated the manifestation of landlessness or near landlessness in the area, which arose out of political decision, apart from the established demographic and socio-economic factors in the area.

To define the magnitude of landlessness, Sinha suggested four alternatives these are access to land; income; employment in agriculture and the "poverty line" and the estimate of their numbers. The limitations of each approach were highlighted. Based on the limitations discovered, he conclude that, firm estimates of the magnitude of the problem are difficult to obtain (P.14). The approach adopted in this study is the estimate of number of respondents that are landless or near landlessness by comparing their land-holdings before and after the displacement.

To establish the landless in the study area the criteria employed by Dear and de January (1974: 604) in their framework for empirical analysis of peasants is used. They categorise peasants on a scale of land less to big farmers as follows:

Less than 0.25 Ha	- Land less peasants
0.26-3.50 Ha	- Poor peasants
3.51-11.0 Ha	- Middle peasants
11.01-30.0 Ha	- Rich peasants
Over 30 Ha	- Big farmers.

The findings of the survey are presented in Table 5.19 and 5.20. The finding shows that in general, none of the respondents was landless before the expropriation was made for the university purpose. In contrast, the expropriation has now made 17 percent of the respondents landless. The percentage is much higher among the resettled sub-sample respondents with 25 percent. In addition, on the part of the resettled sub-sample respondents, the poor category increased from 45 to 75 percents. Furthermore, the respondents in the sub-sample now all lost the middle and rich categories.

Similarly, the paid sub-sample respondents show an increase of poor category, but retained some proportions of its middle and rich categories after the expropriation with 48 and 5 percents respectively.

Table 5.19 Classification of Respondents based on Land Holdings size Before the Expropriation

Land Holding in Ha	Class	Resettled (N=20) %	Paid(N=65) %	All (N=85) %
0.25	landless	0	0	0
0.26-3.50	poor	45	25	28
3.51-11.0	Middle	45	60	56
11.01-30.0	Rich	15	15	16
30	Big farmer	0	0	0
% Total		100	100	100

Source: Fieldwork, 1992.

Table 5.20 Classification of Respondents based on Land Holdings size After the Expropriation

Land Holding Size (in Ha)	Class	Resettled (N=20) %	Paid(N=65) %	All (N=85) %
0.25	Landless	25	14	17
0.26-3.50	Poor	75	34	43
3.51-11.0	Middle	0	48	37
11.01-30.0	Rich	0	4	3
30	Big farmer	0	0	0
% Total		100	100	100

Source: Fieldwork, 1992.

The major consequences of landlessness are under employment and ultimately an increase in the number of poor and malnourished and increasing migration to urban areas, further aggravating the already serious problems of urban areas some of these consequences have been established in the study area and presented above.

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6.0 ADJUSTMENT MODALITIES OF THE VICTIMS AFTER DISPLACEMENT

In the previous chapter, analyses of the main problems confronting the respondents were carried out. It was high lighted that the displaced people are now faced with serious problems thereby resulting in complete disruption of their stable and simple ways of living. All these developments occurred in a region for long recognised with high population- land ratio, the land expropriation of this magnitude has further aggravated the situation. Based on this situation, attention is focused in this chapter on how the displaced adjusted (or are adjusting) to displacement. In our analysis, the following aspects are examined.

6.1 LAND MANAGEMENT PRACTICE

It could be seen that an overwhelming majority of displaced people suffer land reduction while others were rendered landless. Still, others cultivate undeveloped portions of their land holding in the acquired university site, as a result of land expropriation. As Mortimore (1991:20) observed:

"the removal of increasing amounts of land ... from the stock available to the growing population of small holders (farmers)... may be expected to accelerate ... the use of what remains."

Therefore, the most immediate reaction to land expropriation in the study area took the form of intensification of the remaining plots of land which

they are now cultivating in the acquired site, out of what the university authorities called "humanitarian and peaceful coexistence" between them.

By land management (intensification) it meant the respondents use of land saving inputs namely, fertilizer, side by side with age - old input (manure), in order to increase the total out put of the land and maintain fertility.

Already the use of manure in puts from domestic animals and compound sweepings is in vogue in the area to maintain fertility (Goddard, 1974:262). In the period before the displacement the use of chemical fertilizer, which was introduced in the whole of Northern Nigeria in 1950 (Hill, 1972:246) was found to be minimal (Yusuf and Alubo, 1979:47). To be specific, they found that only 28 percent of their sample have used fertilizer at all.

The respondents were asked whether they are using chemical fertilizer and/or manure and particularly the qualities utilised last cropping season. The findings of the survey are presented in Table 6.1. It is evident that fertilizer has gained wide acceptance among the displaced community. On the whole, the finding shows that 26 and 31 percent of all the respondents use manure and fertilizer respectively, about 44 percent combined the use of manure and

fertilizer.

Table 6.1 Distribution of users of fertilizer and manure After the Displacement in the study Area.

Input	Resettled (N=20) %	Paid(N=65) %	All (N=85) %
Manure only	20	28	26
Fertilizer only	25	32	31
Combination of manure and fertilizer	55	40	44
% Total	100	100	100

Source: Fieldwork, 1992.

On the second part, quantities utilized in the last farming season varies from one respondent to another. The summary on quantities utilized in the last cropping season is presented in table 6.2. The table reveals that the bulk of the respondents representing 62 percent used between 1 to 5 bags of different brands of fertilizer; 29 percent used between 6 to 10 bags; while only 2 percent used more than fifteen bags.

The different brands of fertilizer utilised for the different crops grown in the study area include, Nitrogen phosphorous potassium (NPK), Urea and super phostate potassium (SPP). What is further constraining the use of fertilizer are the factors of its non-availability, inadequancy and cost.

Table 6.2 Distribution on Quantities of Bags of Fertilizer used among the Respondents

Quantities (Bags)	Resettled (N=20) %	Paid (N=65) %	All (N=85) %
1-5	70	60	63
6-10	25	31	29
11-15	5	6	6
+ 15	0	3	2
% Total	100	100	100

Source: Fieldwork, 1992.

The findings above reveals that the adoption of land management practice by the use of land saving inputs, because of dwindle land holdings at the possession of the dispossessed. The use of these land saving inputs, is a means of enriching the fertility of the soil, to allow a sustainable management ^{and} increase in the total out put.

6.2 METHODS OF ACQUISITION OF NEW FARM LANDS

In this subsection, an ^{analysis} is made on the methods of acquisition of new farmlands as a form of mechanism adopted by the victims towards adjusting to the subsequent displacement. The respondents were asked to indicate the various methods employed to increase their farm units. The various responses recorded are presented in table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Methods of land acquisition After the Displacement

Methods	Resettled (N=7) Number (%)	Paid(N=5) Number (%)	All (N=12) Number(%)
Purchase	1 (14)	4 (80)	5 (42)
Loan	2 (29)	1 (20)	3 (25)
Share cropping	2 (29)	0 (0)	2 (17)
Leasing	1 (14)	0 (0)	1 (8)
Share cropping/ leasing	1 (14)	0 (0)	1 (8)
% Total	100	100	100

Source: Fieldwork, 1992.

From the table, highlighted that out of the 12 respondents that made acquisition through different methods, 5 respondents (representing 42 percent) claimed to have acquired the land through the open land market, that is, purchase. While others made the acquisition on temporary basis loan, with 3 (25 percent), followed by share cropping and leasing with 16.7 and 8.3 percents of all the respondents respectively. All the acquisition were made within the study area between the range of one to three kilometres.

However, apart from the acquisition within study area, reported four members of different households were 4 to have moved farther to outlying areas and engaged in farming and cattle rearing. The areas reported include Gande and

Dan Sadau, and Kebbi in respect of farming and cattle rearing respectively. This low incidence of the households opting for looking for land in the farther outlying rural areas where land is relatively plentiful (particularly the southern part of the state) as a mechanisms of adjustment to land acquisition problem could be attributed to the mental perception which the bulk of the respondents have for the outlying areas. The movement of the households into the farther outlying areas will certainly require adequate knowledge of the condition in the areas and if possible the presence of a blood relation, to induce the movement. Furthermore, in the study area, the bulk of the head of households are quite unwilling to undertake any farther migration to the farther outlying rural areas.

The above are some of the factors responsible for the low number of the respondents opting for a condition of moving into farther outlying rural areas to compensate for their land holdings expropriated.

6.3 OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE

The people dispossessed of their land for the construction of the university permanent site, have been subjected to alot of hardship. Many of them had to lose their economic base as shown in the previous chapter, while others lose some land and are thus forced to farm on smaller acreages. This has resulted

in a drop in their living standard. These people are keen to compensate for their losses by seeking other occupations.

The survey of respondents occupation before the land expropriation, which is also in conformity with the findings of Yusuf and Alubo (1979) shows that about 98 percent engaged in age-old occupation farming as their main occupation and secondary occupations were very minimal, and include "Koranic Mallamship", barbing, weaving, butchering and trading.

However, after the displacement and the subsequent resettlement of some of the respondents, as part of mechanisms to adjust to their predicaments, the survey data indicates that 36 percent of all the respondents changed occupation. The changes in occupation could be attributed to the land expropriation. The details of current occupation of the respondents is presented in Table 6.4.

Apart from farming and combination with other occupations like tailoring, barbing, driving and University labourers which accounts for about 64 percent of the respondents, other important occupations adopted include wage labour, services such as butchering, barbing carpentry, Koranic teaching and various forms of trading.

Table 6.4 Distribution by occupation of the Respondents After and Displacement

Occupation	Resettled (N=20) %	Paid (N=65) %	All (N=85) %
Farming	30	57	51
Farming combined with other activity	30	8	13
Carpentary	5	2	2
Trading	15	6	8
Koranic Teaching	5	2	2
Trading and Schooling	5	-	1
Petty-trading and labouring	5	-	1
Village head	-	2	1
Petty-trading	-	2	1
Civil service	-	2	1
Butchering	-	2	1
Barbing	-	3	2
None	5	-	1
Dependent	-	14	11
Retired	-	4	2
% Total	100	104*	100*

Source: Fieldwork, 1992

May not add upto 100 due to roundings.

It can be seen that almost every household drives some income from non-farm occupations after the displacement.

The absence of factory workers and less government wage earners is attributable to the fact that Sokoto lack opportunities for off-farm activities in the modern sector of the economy, when compared to such places like Kano. Also it should be noted that since the early 1980's government sector employment has declined.

The respondents that changed their occupation from farming to other occupations explained that they have changed to supplement income from their farms, to increase income out of agriculture, their farmlands are too small to support their families or because they were land less. All these reasons have bearings to land expropriation. The reasons obtained for the changes are tabulated in table 6.5 below.

Table 6.5 Reasons for Changing of Occupation by the Respondents

Reasons	All (N=31)%
Minimize holding	32
To supplement farm income	26
To find something to feed myself	37
Landless	6
To increase income out of agriculture	3
% Total	100*

Sources: Fieldwork, 1992.

* May not add upto 100 due to roundings.

To find out the distribution of the victims that have taken-up urban employment in various non-farm occupation, each of the head of house hold was asked whether any member of his household had migrated to another place within the years. They were also asked to specify the type of non-farm occupations done by the migrant at the destination region. It is important to mention that it was assumed that our migration of any member of the household work force into the urban centre for urban employment, has been regarded as a situation in which the affected member had already given up farming.

The nature of the farm job pursued by the members of household that have actually moved is presented in Table 6.6. The table indicates where the farmers are pursuing the non-farm occupations. The table also attempts the numerical distribution of the members by types of secondary occupation.

Table 6.6. Numerical Distribution of the victims who Got Absorbed into urban Economy By types of occupations

Type of secondary Occupation	Where performed	As % of Respondent who got absorbed into urban centres.
Trading	Sokoto, Lagos Sapele	5 (63)
Barbing	Ibadan, Lagos	2 (25)
Civil Servant	Kaduna	1 (12)
% Total No. of Respondents		8 (100)

Source: Fieldwork, 1992.

From table 6.6, it is seen that the occupation embarked upon by the farmers ranges from trading with 63 percent involved. Another 25 percent of victims have engaged in barbing in the two urban centres of Lagos and Ibadan. Other non-farm occupations which the victims got absorbed into include Civil service with 12 percent.

From table 6.6, it is seen only eight (8) members of household have been engaged in different sort of non-farm occupations and absorbed into urban centres. This figure is low admittedly when compared with the result or findings of a study in the study area conducted a decade ago. Main (1982) noted that over half of the farmers gave non-farm jobs as their primary occupation in the case study of peri-urban Sokoto. This difference could be attributed to the growth of job opportunities with the oil boom in the 1970's, but with economic restructuring and down turn in the economy in the 1980's led to massive losses of jobs and decline in absolute number of job opportunities in these urban centres. These development have precipitated retreat of migrants back to their rural domicile areas.

In all, the major factor that give rise to the adoption of non-farm occupations could be attributed to land expropriation manifested in the form of land shortage which the displaced people encountered. Consequently, the respondents create mixed strategies, which combine farming and non-farm work to forstall

the effects of expropriation.

6.4 MIGRATION/COMMUTING

Migration according to Bogue (1969:753) may occur as a "flight from undesired social or economic situations", while he termed an expulsive 'push' by the community or that migration may occur as a "search for an opportunity to improve one's lot in life". The migration that occur here was an all 'push' and no 'pull' situation. The decision to move arose because of people's dissatisfactions and difficulties of living well there.

The migration adoption is recognised as a form of adjustment in the process of man-land interaction. In this sub-section, migration with the view of highlighting the effect of land expropriation on the displaced people of the study area is considered. The problems confronting the respondents has been confirmed that all of these problems might be factors giving rise to such movements in the study area.

In order to probe into the timing and duration of migration/commuting to Sokoto in the study area, use was made of an item in the questionnaire. Each head of household was asked whether he had experienced migration since the expropriation or engages in commuting to Sokoto. The table 5.7 attempts to present the movement patterns of the displaced people in the study area. In this analysis, three categories of movements have been presented.

Table 6.7 Movements of Respondents After the Displacement in the Study Area.

Nature of Movement	Number of Respondents	As % of the Sample Total
1. Movement from the study area to the further outlying rural areas	4	5
2. Movement from the study area to urban centre	8	9
3. Commuting from the study area to Sokoto town.	83	98

Source: Fieldwork, 1992.

From the table it is revealing that 5 percent of the sample total had migrated to further outlying rural areas and engaged in farming and cattle rearing. The rural areas recorded are Gande, Dansadau and Kebbi. It must be admitted that the migration of 5 percent of the displaced people did not involved all the members of the household concerned, and that the migration was prompted by the land expropriation incurred in the family land holdings. This figure recorded is low, when compared with result of studies elsewhere. For example, the study of Ajayi (1986:162) in the Zaria rural-urban fringe, found that 70 percent of his total sample, adjusted to the problem of land shortage by embarking on movements for farm land acquisition within the study area and outlying rural areas.

Another eight of the displaced people (representing 9 percent of the sample total) have moved out or migrated into urban centres. The people had moved to urban centres like Kaduna, Lagos, Ibadan, Sapele and Sokoto (See table 6.6).

These findings appear inconsistent with studies conducted in the study area (cf prothero, 1957; Goddard, 1974; Swindell, 1982; Abu, 1982; Jega, 1985).

The findings of prothero (1957), for instance, indicates that 60 percent of migrants recorded taken-off to over long distances, to places outside the northern and western Nigeria and Ghana been the popular destinations. Similarly the findings of Main (1988) on dam projects in Kano State, shows that over three quarters of the total population in his study area had evidently migrated to the state capital and other northern Nigeria towns because:

"their land had been flooded ...
relocated unsatisfactorily, or for
a subsequent lack of farm plots"
(ibid:11).

However, the above notwithstanding, the finding is significant when put against the background of the conclusion of Yusuf and Alubo (1979:40) that there was very little migratory tendency among the people of the area.

The las category of movements of the displaced people shows that 83 respondents (representing 98 percent of the sample total) have have not moved out of the area or migrated. In this category however, the movement is not away from the study area, rather,

it involves movement ranging from daily to once in a month commuting between the study area and Sokoto town. The distribution on frequency of commuting show that about 63 percent of the respondents commute twice and more, weekly to Sokoto. Specifically, the distribution shows that daily commuting has about 33 percent of respondents, the second category of more than twice a week but not daily has about 29 percent, once a week category also has about 33 percent of such commuters and the remaining 5 percent is shared between once a month and no response.

Furthermore, the findings of the survey show that about 46 percent of such commuting are made for economic reasons like trading, work and selling (market gardening products). Other reasons given for commuting include schooling (Islamic) prayers (fridays), buying and visiting.

Therefore, the displaced people adopts commuting for socio-economic reasons instead of moving completely into such urban centres. This is because the people are living very close to an urban area and so are very much abreast to the problems of urban localities and problems of adjustment in such urban centres, as mentioned above, they prefer to be commuters. Another reasons is put forward by Goddard (1974:273) that Nigerian cities.

"internal conditions have ... changed. The growth of the urban sector has provided increased markets for rural produce and labour ... (people) have shown themselves to be response to these developments by a substantial alteration in the pattern of movements."

This findings above on commuting between peri-urban settlements with the urban centre, have being found to be peculiar with peri-urban dwellers inflicted with land shortage, in part due to land expropriation (cf Ameréna, 1982; Nuhu, 1983; Lubeck, 1979 quoted in Swindell and Mamman, op.cit).

Finally, an analysis is made with regards to the proportion of the household in the study area that have experienced migration from the study area to other places or commuting to Sokoto as sort of adjustment mechanism adopted to the land expropriation. Thus, from table 6.7, of the 85 respondents in the study area 14 percent have experienced migration of members of their household, while 98 percent engaged in commuting to Sokoto town and about 45 percent of such movement were established to be due to economic reasons.

6.5 SELECTION OF NEIGHBOURS

As mentioned in the previous chapter, that the resettlement site, has a layout plan and based on the plan, each householder, was allocated a plot. But the observation made on the resettlement site a decade ago shows that the resettled people did not comply with the marked plots allocated to each household. Instead, the resettled people constructed their houses according to their former neighbours. In other words, the

resettled people, grouped themselves according to their former settlements, namely, Gidan Ababa; Gidan Nufawa; Kaura-liman and Burtalawa. In addition, instead of each household developing their allocated plots, the households of a family grouped themselves and form one large compound. The households are still staying with members of their family as before. In the resettlement site, compounds containing more than two households are common.

The discussion held with the resettled respondents, informed the researcher that, instead of separating and each household developing the allocated plots, the people prefer to continue with the former arrangement, that is, before the displacement, as a form of social security and more so in a situation of land shortage. While the undeveloped plots of other households are reverted as farmlands and are being cultivated during the rainy season.

Another adjustment observed is that the resettled people, through joint community efforts constructed a mosque and a well to replace the abandoned well and borehole constructed by the government in the resettlement site, Sabon Gari.

7.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS7.1 A SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

The research problem of the study was identified as, the problems confronting victims of expropriation and the adjustments initiated by them after their displacement. Consequently, four objectives were derived from the research problem, namely: to examine the socio-economic problems facing the victims and various adjustment mechanisms adopted by the dispossessed.

Specifically, the UDUS permanent site was described and in relation to the site, issues of compensation and resettlement were discussed. It was shown that the compensation and resettlement were characterised with so many irregularities. The irregularities accounts for the failure of the whole exercise. So far little is achieved in this respect.

After the data analysis, the analysis of victims socio-economic problems were carried out under two sections, namely social and economic. The social problems identified and discussed are the following, the grieving for the lost settlements; absence of basic facilities in the resettlement site; loss of vital housing facilities and the paid and not resettled respondents were paid compensation in lieu of resettlement. On the other hand, the economic problems examined include income change of the respondents, worsening conditions of living; decline in number of livestock; reduction

in the size of land holdings; soaring land prices; land shortage in the area and landlessness among the respondents.

After looking at how the expropriation has affected the people's livelihood, well-being and socially, the next issue examined was how they were coping with the problems by initiating a number of adjustment mechanisms. The adjustment mechanisms identified include Land Management practice; occupational change; migration/commuting; methods of acquisition of new farmlands and selection of neighbours in the resettlement site, Sabon Gari.

Finally, the study offers suggestions on how to ameliorate their problems and how to improve the lot of the people.

7.2 FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

The land expropriation carried out by the government to construct the UDUS permanent site, has affected most of its victims adversely in terms of social and economic well-being. The people are dislocated and deprived of their livelihood and sustenance. The findings of the research show that the socio-economic problems the victims of the expropriation are encountering has resulted into suffering, misery and hardship, to many of the dispossessed farmers.

The magnitude of these impacts on social and economic well being of the affected population varies, with whether or not resettled. For example, all the resettled respondents claim that, their conditions of living has deteriorated

since the time of displacement. While 8 percent of the paid respondents claim the contrary, that their conditions of living has improved, against the remaining 92 percent of the same sub-sample who argued that their conditions of living has deteriorated.

The period after the displacement show that many of the victims of the expropriation had had the size of their land holdings reduced since the occurrence of the expropriation. From the findings of scholars reviewed (section 5.2) put the mean land holding of the area as 3.2 hectares per family farming unit and 1.6 hectares per adult male. However, the present study obtained the mean size landholding of all the dispossessed households reduced from 6.4 hectares before the expropriation to 3.58 hectares. Among the resettled sub-sample, the mean size was found to be 5.95, hectares after the displacement against 1.03, hectares before the expropriation. While the paid sub-sample mean was 6.6, hectares before the expropriation and the figure after stood at 4.4 hectares.

Another significant finding of the research, is the rise of landless class among the dispossessed in the area, principally due to the land expropriation. The findings of the survey show that there was no case of landless among the households before the expropriation. But after the expropriation about 17 percent of the households were land less, their lands been expropriated. The figures obtained differ between the sub-samples. Among the resettled, it was found to be 25 percent and the paid sub-sample stood at 14 percent of the households

interviewed. Therefore, due to land expropriation many farming households became land less, a feature not so common in the area.

All these explained the changing conditions of living and income of the dispossessed in the area. Before the expropriation, the majority of the respondents had annual income (based on their estimate) between ₦1001 to ₦1500 per annum, but this category was maintained and then the percentage increased after the post displacement period. In general, this is a significant decline in annual income of the victims. The decline in annual income and the worsening conditions of living mentioned above have great repercussion on the entire household of the victims, and detrimental to their welfare as members of the society.

It is a well known fact that whenever resettlement is carried out in an area, it always attempts to improve the welfare of the relocatees. But this is not the case of UDUS resettlement as it failed to improve on what the people had before. There was no provision of electricity, roads, health services, school etc to the relocatees. Also after being resettled many of the relocatees have lost some vital housing facilities. The housing facilities include granaries (storage barns) and animal sheds. Although the relocatees grouped themselves according to their former settlements and now living with their former neighbours and relatives, many of them are now grieving and yearning for the previous settlement.

They were living in those settlements peacefully and derived all their livelihood since time immemorial. This is contrary to the findings of Aliyu (1989), who found that four-fifths of the respondents prefer the new settlement to the old.

Another significant finding of the research is that, in the resettlement exercises. The victims of land expropriation were paid their compensation entitlements in lieu of resettlement, but up now the people are not resettled. The people are now in dilemma on how the government would want them to move out of the site, when it comes to the time of their resettlement. The compensation paid was established to have been spent on frivolous things. This will undoubtedly alter the resettlement policy of the government in the area.

The findings suggest that among the respondents of this study, displacement adjustment problems of resettlement, as well as poor planning and losses of source of livelihood (land) resulted in their considerable dissatisfaction and criticism of the expropriation as it affects them, in comparison to Aliyu (1989) respondents.

The dispossessed and resettled farmers were able to build houses on plots allocated to them at the resettlement site, but it is clearly difficult indeed to make replacement of land lost to the government. The reasons being its high cost and shortage in the area. At the moment, the size of the university development is limited, hence not many of the victims are thus far affected (only five (5) out of about 60 hamlets/villages

are relocated). But once the university occupies the 5630 hectares acquired for its purpose, the number of people totally cut-off from the right to occupy and use land as their own will be significant.

It is an open question whether they will all be able to secure land to farm even on a temporary basis.

To worsen their situation, in Sokoto region, unlike Kano, there is no much development of rural industries or urban industrial development, a question mark hangs over the future of these dispossessed farmers. Will they be able to continue farming or will they be forced out of agriculture into wage labour or a marginal rural or urban existence? The dispossessed peasants options are either to seek for farmland elsewhere or make alternative living probably in urban centres, that is, to join urban labour force. All the same, it is observe that

"a man in the rural area with out land on which to grow his food is left to the mercy of an unpredictable market" (Wallace, 1979:48).

In conclusion, one can rightly observe that process of producing "agricultural community with no land" and proletarianisation of peasants are set in motion around Sokoto metropolis.

So far the population affected mostly employed wide range of adjustment mechanisms. The research findings show that the people are now employing the use of land saving devices as land management practice, especially chemical fertilizer which was found to be

minimal, before the expropriation. The use of these land saving devices allows intensive use of the remaining dwindling land holdings in the possession of the respondents.

Similarly, although the number is insignificant, the people made acquisition of land through purchase, loan, share cropping and leasing. None of the respondents made land acquisition, through pioneer clearing. Alternatively, some few members of the households moved to farther outlying areas to make such acquisition.

Another adjustment mostly accompanying land expropriation and the subsequent relocation is occupational change. The findings show that 36 percent of all the respondents changed their occupation. The statistical tests conducted further strengthened the conclusion that there is statistical difference between former and present occupation of the victims. Most of the people are now combining farming with other occupations like tailoring, barbing, driving and labouring which account for 64 percent of the respondents. Other occupations solely engaged include butchering, wage labour, carpentry, Koranic teaching ('Mallams') and various forms of trading. The reasons for such changes include, to supplement income from their farms, for lands are no longer proportional to family size.

And finally, considering the predicaments of the victims, one would have expected to find that many

have migrated to other places. On the contrary, there was small number of people that migrated. Specifically, only about 5 and 9 percents of the total number of the respondents have reported the case of migration in their households to further outlying rural areas and urban centres respectively. This is contrary to the findings of many researches associated with land deprivation and the subsequent resettlement. In the Bakolori area, for example, peasants who rarely went on seasonal labour circulation before the project, did so frequently afterwards (Jega, 1987). However, over 90 percent of the respondents were established to be engaged in commuting to Sokoto town ranging from daily once in a month. The finding further reveal that about 46 percent of such commuting are made for economic reasons. Therefore, instead of the dispossessed migrating, they adopted commuting for socio-economic reasons.

7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The expropriation of this magnitude carried out in the study area has created untold hardship on the part of the dispossessed. Although, the victims of the expropriation employed some adjustment mechanisms, to ameliorate their conditions and improve on what obtained in the execution of land expropriation that the following are recommended.

First and foremost, the university should plan to absorb a substantial number of the active members of the population as farmers or share croppers on the 400 hectares University farm under the operation of its Faculty of Agriculture. Undoubtedly, this would relieve their problems of land, particularly the landless and poor categories identified.

Another proportion of the displaced communities could equally be absorbed within the University system as non-skilled labourers. Indeed, the University should as a matter of urgency restrict recruitment of non-skilled labour force to members of the site.

The provision of basic social amenities for the affected and resettled is necessary. The study revealed that no adequate arrangement was made to provide school, health centre, electricity, water etc. in the resettlement site even after the move, about one and half decade ago. The well and borehole provided were abandoned for long. It is in the continued desire to reduce the sufferings of the people that suggestion for basic social amenities to be provided is necessary and timely. This could be achieved in conjunction with the local and state governments and the University.

The compensation rates for land, improvements and economic trees approved by the state government for payment to people displaced for the University purpose was inadequate, based on simple replacement

106

cost computation. The price of a hectare of land in the open market is about four to six times or higher than the government approved rate of ₦2000 per hectare. As the area is already heavily populated, farmers cannot find suitable land nearby in the area. This explain why after land owners have been paid compensation it becomes very difficult to obtain alternative land in the open market. Therefore, people should be paid what Famoriyo (1981) called "economic rates of compensation". This may assuage the feelings of bitterness aroused by land expropriation. Equally important, compensation rates for all types of improvements and land all over the country should be reviewed periodically, to bring the rates of compensation in tune with the prevailing economic situation.

Many of the respondent claimed their compensation for land and economic trees were not paid. The university should ascertain and as a matter of urgency settle, not only the sub-samples categories, but all other people affected in the area once and for all. The people should be paid their rightful entitlements without any further delay.

Similarly, delays in the implementation of a programme such as this should be avoided at all cost and the welfare of the affected people who are making sacrifices for others should be paramount. So long as resettlement forms a significant part of land expropriation public agencies involved in it should find means of

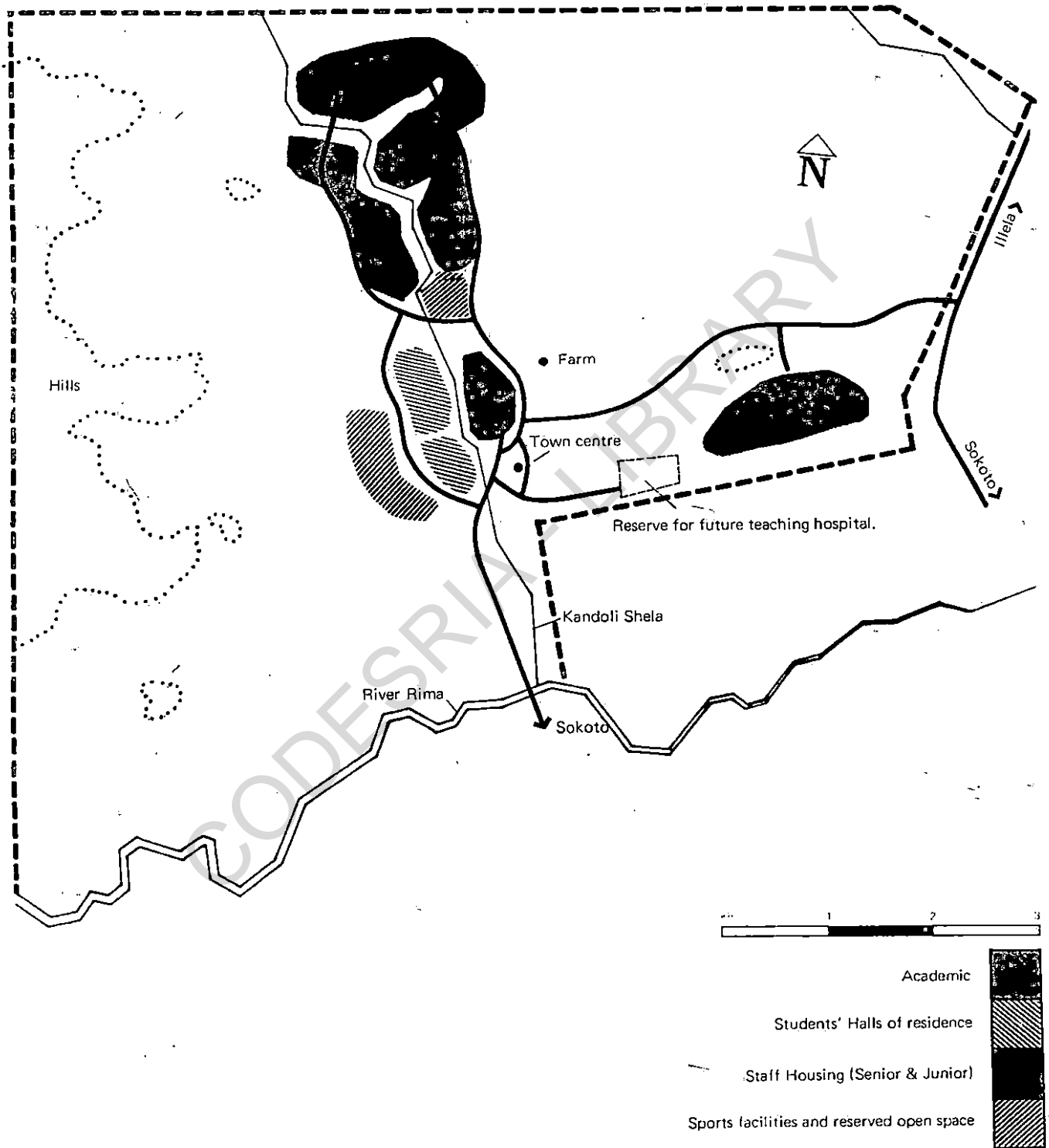
overcoming the delays incidental to its implementation and to confront the problem squarely. Since delays in this kind of programme increase hardship later when it comes to be implemented. This is more in our situation, where the affected people are paid compensation but awaiting resettlement over a long period of time.

The over 5600 hectares of land allocated for the University purpose was made on the ground that the University authority would make improvements worth #175 million within 15 years from the date of allocation. But so far only 20 percent of the site was put into use (including 400 hectares University farm), which represent about 1000 hectares of the area designated for the University purpose. This non-development of the land calls for a clause to be inserted in the Land Use Act, that all future land allocation must satisfy the Land Use and Allocation Committee, the body vested with the powers of tackling land matters, that sufficient funds are or will be available to implement the project. This proposal if implemented will certainly ensure that government developments do not acquire land for imaginary projects that have no chance of being implemented. While the former land owners after such acquisition, are perpetually divorced from their means of production or livelihood.

Another worthwhile recommendation, is that, in a way to alleviate the sufferings of the affected population, also to make room for resettlement sites, the university should reconsider its existing size. The existing size should be scaled down, considering the total area required for the university development (Figure 11). More so, considering the relocation of its teaching hospital, which was planned to be part of the existing site but now constructed along Birin Kebbi road in the metropolis. It is now time to reconsider the extravagant use of land from unquestioning acceptance of colonial standards of low density for this institution. This is totally "in appropriate in a time of increasing land scarcity" (Mortimore, 1987:19). The experience of land expropriation for UDUS in Sokoto has highlighted the need for land issues to be taken much more seriously by project planners, who have hitherto taken land availability for granted, in the belief that the government is armed with adequate land expropriation powers under land legislations in the country.

The policy proposed by the University authorities, to lease out the undeveloped land within the university site on a yearly basis, to ease their land problems was totally rejected by a considerable proportion of the respondents. What the people affected want is to be allowed to continue cultivating the land until such lands

U.D.U.S. DEVELOPMENT PLAN.



SOURCE: Univ. of Sokoto Master Plan.

are required by the University authorities. This is a unfair bargain, the idea of the proposed plan should therefore be stopped.

However, if the university authorities insist on its proposed plan, the length of leasing should be increased to five years. The farmers should be allowed to remain on the same plot of land for the life-time of the leasing and no fee should be charged. Instead the interested farmers should be made to sign a bond form, that is, of releasing the land whenever required for the University developments. The people should have assurance of renewal, until the land is finally needed for its developments.

On how to bring about a peaceful and orderly resettlement of the remaining peasants in the study area, the following are recommended.

To execute the resettlement exercise successfully, a committee need to be set-up. Just like many resettlement exercises, the committee should consist of representatives of departments of health, education, community development, economic planning and the ubiquitous finance of both the state and local governments as well as the University. The committee should be charged with the responsibility of planning and execution of the resettlement of the people displaced. In addition, there should be adequate staff, who are well trained and who have good working conditions. They should also have clear roles, and

adequate financial support. There should be continuity of staff, as a constant change over is detrimental to morale and efficiency of the whole exercise. This committee rather than a temporary crash programme, should be seen as a continuous process after successful evacuation. The broad aim of this committee is to create conditions for the rapid establishment of viable and prosperous local communities, capable of directing their own further growth within a relatively short time.

The people should be consulted on their preferences for new sites which might be considered by the committee, both to give them a sense of participation and to make use of their local knowledge. As elsewhere, people intensely resent being 'treated like chicken's, just picked up and moved. A patient consultation, particularly in the selection of a new site for their home, should be developed.

On how to go about grouping the people, the committee should make contacts with individual villages first and then convene a meeting at a centre most convenient to the people concerned or their representatives. The villagers should be encouraged to hold preliminary meetings and by the time of the big meeting they have agreed on one or two sites and how they want to be grouped. If at the big meeting more than one site was chosen, efforts should seriously be made to reach some form of consensus on a particular site.

The site chosen should then be investigated to confirm to the following criteria as suggested by Yahya, (1987) among others.

- a. The site to be acquired should be well situated in relation to other parts of the area, so that access is facilitated and transport minimised.
- b. Land to be acquired ought to have suitable soils such that construction will not be carried out.
- c. The land ought to possess wherever possible desirable qualities in environmental terms. For example existing vegetation and trees will enhance the quality of a site.
- d. The land ought to be well drained so that it does not become flooded or waterlogged during the wet season.
- e. In order to reduce acquisition costs in capital and recurrent terms, as well as time wise, it is important that the land to be acquired should cost as little as possible to pay compensation, bearing in mind that the compensation will have to be paid for by the tax payer. The aim should be to economise in the use of public funds and if alternative lands are available, the least expensive should be chosen.

The chosen resettlement sites should be adequately serviced with access roads, water supply, market, health centres, schools etc before the relocation of the people

affected.

Timing is very crucial to the success of resettlement execution. Unfortunately, planning for resettlement is seldom initiated at an early stage. For example, in the study area, all preparation to resettlement of the first set of people to be resettled, started after the commencement of building construction. There was insufficient time then to plan and execute the resettlement properly. It is argued that a crash - programme to move the people into new environment is hardly capable of sustaining them on even a subsistence level, especially during the transition period before people get fully established. (Tambawel, 1980). It is therefore very desirable that the committee start planning very early, in fact prior to resettlement.

As with most resettlement schemes, good land for farming is scarce as all available land might have been taken up by people living in the area already. The bad lands left for the relocatees should be fully developed before the people are finally moved. All these preparations should be worked out by the committee. The relocatees are often seen as what Brokensha and Soudder (1968) called "expensive nuisance" should be changed. The people should be seen as a resource whose development could benefit themselves and their country. Therefore, all aspects of resettlement by the committee should be directed with development in mind, to reintegrate and rehabilitate the affected people after

been chased from their age old settlements. The creation of viable economic environment should be the main focus of the planners and executors of the programme.

With the catalogue of economic changes taking place over the years, particularly, the devaluation of the local currency and the rising cost of building materials, the chances of the affected, population to be resettled, developing the plots to be allocated, are very remote and in some cases are non-existent. This suggest a change of policy on the part of the government. The government should assist the people acting as guarantor, to procure loans from private banks. The community and people banks should help in this direction. In addition, apart from provision of basic amenities in the resettlement sites, the government should supply plywoods, mud for the construction of houses and corrugated sinc sheets on subsidised rates.

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FROM CONCLUSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF
SOKOTO STATE

The following extract from the Council Conclusion No. C. 15 Dated 27/5/77.

5. COMPENSATION FOR LAND COMPULSORILY ACQUIRED
BY THE GOVERNMENT IN SOKOTO STATE,

SOS (77) by the Commissioner for Housing and Environment and Acting Commissioner for Finance, Economic Development, Establishments and Service Matters.

(b) The Council carefully examine the recommendations and:-

A. APPROVED:- (1) The Urban Areas Consist of Sokoto, Gusau and T/Mafara (₦2,000).

ii) That Semi Urban consist of

(a) All the 16 Local Government Headquarters.

(b) Other towns of:-

Shinkafi, Chafe, Kamba, Koko, ₦1,000
Illela, Wara, Tambuwal, Mada, Wasagu,
Dakin Gari, Kangiwa, Gwandu, Aliero,

Dogon Daji, Maru, Bungudu, Moriki,

Zurmi, Maradun, Sabon Birni, Goronyo and
Birnin Magaji.

iii) That Rural Areas consists of all other (650) areas not covered in

(i) and (ii) above.

(iv) Fadama all Fadama areas as defined

by Ministry of Agric. as follows:-

Any Piece of Productive land which is flooded with water for a certain part of the year it is usually covered with alluvial soil.

v) That

(i) Urban to be 16.093 K/metres 10 miles

(ii) S/Urban to be 8.4 K/Metres 5 miles

B. DIRECTED:- The Hon. Athorney General and Hon. Commissioner for Justice to prepare an appropriate Edict for the New Rate of Land Compensation in Sokoto State.

Baano	"	"	"	3 bags	@ ₦30 each	= ₦90.00
Banbara Nuta	"	"	"	5 bags	@ ₦30 "	= ₦150.00
Konofa (Rama)	"	"	"	400 bags	@ 25k "	= ₦100.00
Serels (Sure)	"	"	"		@ ₦40 "	₦040.00

(d) Fadama Crops:

Rice yield per acre	20 bags	@ ₦20 each	= ₦400.00				
Wheat	"	"	"	10 bags	₦ 30	"	= ₦300.00
Onions yield per acre	50 bags	@ ₦10"	= ₦500.00				
Cassava"	"	"	"	30	"	@ ₦10"	= ₦300.00
Sweet potatoes	"	"	"	30	"	@ ₦10"	= ₦300.00
Tomatoes	"	"	"	40 Basket	@ ₦05"	= ₦200.00	
Yams	"	"	"	30 bags	@ ₦10"	= ₦300.00	
Coco yams	"	"	"	30	"	@ ₦10"	= ₦300.00
Sugar Cane	"	"	"	100 donkey epads	@ ₦8 each	= ₦800.00	

RATE OF COMPENSATION FOR SEMI-PERMANENT/
TEMPORARY BUILDING SEMI PERMANENT

1. Shigifa (Room) made of the following materials

- a. Mud + stone + cement plastered + corrugated iron sheet roofing and ceiling.
- b. Mud + mud + cement + plastered + corrugated iron sheet roofing and ceiling or none.
- c. Mud + Mud + cement plastered + corrugated iron sheet roofing and ceiling or none.
- d. Mud + stone + cement plastered + corrugated iron sheet roofing and ceiling or none.

1.	16 x 14' x 10'	2.	13 x 13' x 10'
	16 x 13' x 10'		13 x 12' x 10'
	15 x 14' x 10' ₦835		13 x 11' x 10' ₦640
	14 x 14' x 10'		12 x 12' x 10'
	14 x 13' x 10'		12 x 11' x 10'
			12 x 10' x 10'
3.	12 x 9' x 10'	4.	10 x 9' x 10'
	12 x 8' x 10'		10 x 8' x 10'
	12 x 7' x 10' ₦540		10 x 7' x 10' ₦460
	11 x 11' x 10'		9 x 9' x 10'
	11 x 9' x 10'		
	10 x 10' x 10'		
5.	9 x 8' x 10'	6.	8 x 5' x 10'
	9 x 7' x 10'		7 x 7' x 10' ₦400
	9 x 6' x 10' not specified		7 x 6' x 10'
	9 x 5' x 10'		6 x 6' x 10'

8 x 10' x 10'

8 x 8' x 10'

8 x 7' x 10'

8 x 6' x 10'

2. Temporary Buildings Room

Materials

Mud + Stone + Mud roofing

Mud + Mud + Mud roofing

a. 16' 15' x 10'

TO

₦480.00

12 x 10' x 10'

b. 12' x 9' x 10'

TO

₦300.00

6' x 6' x 10'

Principal Estate Officer
Ministry of Housing and
Environment Sokoto.

RATE OF COMPENSATION FOR LANDED PROPERTY

TYPE OF PROPERTY	SIZE	RATE
1. Rumbu/Kudandan	4' - 8 feet	₦150.00
	9' - 13 "	₦180.00
	14' - 20 "	₦240.00
2. Round hut/Zaure	4' - 8 feet	₦120.00
	9' - 12 feet	₦160.00
	13' - 20 "	₦220.00
3. Bukka	4' - 8 feet	₦ 36.00
	9' - 12 "	₦ 48.00
	13' - 20 "	₦ 66.00

Principal Estate Officer
 Ministry of Housing and
 Environment Sokoto
 21/2/78.

The Vice Chancellor
University of Sokoto
P.M.B 2346
Sokoto

Dear Sir,

PROPOSED RESETTLEMENT PLAN FOR
PEOPLE DISPLACED FROM THE UNIVERSITY

I am directed to forward herewith two layout plans of the two sites selected for the resettlement of people displaced from the University of Sokoto Permanent Site. The Phase I layout is situated near Giniga Village, Opposite the University Site, on the Eastern side of Sokoto to Illela Road. It consists of 310 Plots and other public amenities, it could be increased when the need arises.

Phase II Resettlement Layout is situated near Bindigawa village opposite the University Junior Staff quarters and Maintenance Base on the Southern boundary of the University Site. It consists of 819 Plots and could be increased when the need arises.

When fully developed, the layouts would provide adequate accommodation for some University Community, Commercial Concerns, and residential accommodation for the general public. The Resettlements might in the future grow to become important model villages like Samaru Zaria village near A.B.U. Zaria.

In view of the universal financial constraint my Ministry had drawn up areas of participation by Government, University and Kware Local Government in order to provide a reasonable resettlement infrastructure, and amenities to the affected families. The areas of participations are:

SOKOTO STATE GOVERNMENT

1.	Perimeter Survey Phase I	-	₦16,725.00
2.	Perimeter " " II	-	₦15,925.00
3.	Individuals Farms Valuation Ph I	-	₦36,000.00
4.	Individuals Farms valuation Phase II	-	₦39,000.00
5.	Layout Demarcation	" I-	₦52,000.00
6.	" "	" II-	₦84,500.00

7. Water supply 2 Bore holes Phase I	-	₦194,000.00
8. " " 2 " " " II	-	₦194,000.00
		<u>₦599,500.00</u>

UNIVERSITY OF SOKOTO

1. Civil Works (Roads & Culverts) Phase I	-	₦372,909.00
2. " " (Roads & Culverts) " II	-	₦244,412.00
3. Farmland Compensation	"	I-₦195,030.00
4. " " "	"	II-₦169,891.00
		<u>₦982,242.00</u>

KWARE LOCAL GOVERNMENT:

1. Primary School 6 Classes Phase I	-	₦42,000,000
2. " " " 6 " " II	-	₦42,000.00
3. Clinic	"	I - ₦30,000.00
4. Clinic "	"	II - ₦30,000.00
5. T.V. Centre "	"	I - ₦35,000.00
6. T.V Centre "	"	II - ₦35,000.00
7. Adult Class Room	"	I - ₦ 7,000.00
8. Adult Class Room	"	II - ₦ 7,000.00
		<u>₦228,000.00</u>

VILLAGE COMMUNITIES

1. Mosque Phase I	-	₦85,000.00
2. " " II	-	₦85,000.00
		<u>₦170,000.00</u>

The Ministry for Resettlement and Rehabilitation has almost completed its area of participation. The Ministry for Rural Development will any time from now starts drilling bore holes for water supply in the demarcated layouts Phase I and II. As soon as the University of Sokoto contribution is provided for the constuction of access roads culverts and payment of Farmland compensation the resettle-

ment will take off. Enclosed herewith are the access roads estimate and Farmlands assessment for your scrutiny and sending cheque for the relevant amount to this Ministry for early execution of the works.

Musa Umar
for: Permanent Secretary

- Copy to: The Permanent Secretary
Ministry of Rural Development
Sokoto
1. Ministry of Rural Development
Sokoto
 2. The Director of Physical Development
University of Sokoto, Nigeria,
P.M.B. 2346
Sokoto.
 3. The Secretary
Kware Local Government
Sokoto State,
Kware.

Overleaf for your information and necessary action,
please.

Musa Umar
for: Permanent Secretary.

LIST OF SETTLEMENTS IN THE UNIVERSITY -SITE

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Danjawa | 31. Gidan Mairuga |
| 2. Gawon Tomo | 32. Rimawa |
| 3. Gumburawa | 33. Gidan Koka |
| 4. Kaurar Bello | 34. Gwanfar Azama |
| 5. Kwakkwanawa | 35. Rigiza Dutse |
| 6. Yarkanta | 36. Rige Dutse |
| 7. Gidan Ahe | 37. Rige Zamarmaro |
| 8. Kaurar Moyi | 38. Gidan Alkali |
| 9. Gidan Sule | 39. Gidan Yunfa |
| 10. Gidan Dinki | 40. Gidan Gazan |
| 11. Yillabe | 41. Gidan Hausawa |
| 12. Tambaranga | 42. Gidan Bizo |
| 13. Runjin Yamma | 43. Runjin Gazau |
| 14. Gwanfa | 44. Gidan Maishela |
| 15. Gidan Dikko | 45. Yaurawa |
| 16. Gidan Yaro | 46. Gidan Kaya |
| 17. Gidan Tudu | 47. Gidan Hamidu |
| 18. Gidan Gada | 48. Ja'Oji |
| 19. Tangwale | 49. Unguwar Lalle |
| 20. Kwalkwalawa | 50. Rugar Kalgo |
| 21. Tunga | 51. Gidan Nuhu |
| 22. Gidan Tilli | 52. Gidan Buba |
| 23. Gidan Asarki | 53. Dama |
| 24. Gidan Gajere | 54. Gidan Fati Yamma |
| 25. Shama | 55. Gidan Fati Gabas |
| 26. Gidan Aku | 56. Makera Saba |
| 27. Sule Dinki | 57. Gidan Wato |
| 28. Gidan Burtali | 58. Takalmawa |

16. Gidan Yunfa
17. Gidan Hantsi

VILLAGES YET TO BE ASSESSED REQUIRED BY THE UNIVERSITY

1. Rinji Yama
2. Gidan Saya
3. Gidan Majema
4. Gidan Gwamina
5. Gidan Tahin
6. Gidan Tudu
7. Gidan Kwalkwalawa
8. Gidan Yaro
9. Gidan Barakka
10. Gidan Sana (da) yan Kauyuka nakusa.

source: PPC52/2.

COMPENSATION AND RESETTLEMENT PROGRESS

VILLAGES PAID AND RESETTLED

1. Gidan Abba
2. Gidan Nyawa
3. Kauraliwa
4. Gidan Burtalawa

VILLAGES PAID AND NOT RESETTLED

1. Kokonowa
2. Danjawa
3. Gumburawa
4. Gidan Idi

VILLAGES ASSESSED, NOT PAID AND NOT RESETTLED

1. Villages West to Gidan Nakawa
2. Gidan Na Kawu
3. Gidan Fati (Yamma)
4. Gidan Fati (Gabas)
5. Gidan Takalamawa
6. Gidan Tukur Maiyaga
7. Gidan wato
8. Gidan Makera (Gabas)
9. Gidan Toro
10. Gidan Dele
11. Gidan Asariki
12. Gidan Meshela
13. Tudun Wada
14. Gidan Alimo
15. Gidan Liman Isa

29. Gidan Manu
30. Runjin Gabas
59. Gidan Tukur
60. Gidan Tanbai
61. Gidan Doki
62. Malamawa
63. Gidan Jingo
64. Gidan Yamma
65. Makera (Gabas)
66. Makera (Yamma)
67. Gidan Zubairu
68. Zango
69. Gidan Turyo.

CODESRIA - LIBRARY

- a. Farmland N -----
- b. Farmland N -----
- c. Others (specify) N -----
3. State the type, number and the amount for the economic trees that you have lost when your farmland was taken from you.

- | TYPE | NUMBER | AMOUNT |
|------|--------|--------|
|------|--------|--------|
4. Is compensation **adequate**? Yes/No
5. If No, why? (a) Amount less than the market value
(b) Amount cannot replace the property lost? (c) others (specify).
6. What did you do with the compensation entitlements?
(a) Bought new house (b) Bought a plot
(c) Built another house (d) Bought food Stuff
(e) Others (specify).
7. If compensation was not spent on acquiring more farmland, why (a) None to buy (b) Inadequate maney
(c) others (specify).
8. Were you paid all your compensation entitlements?
Yes/No
9. If no, why

SECTION C - RESETTLEMENT

1. Are you resettled? Yes/No
2. In which year where you resettled? -----
3. From which village were you displaced? -----
4. Do your children attended primary school in your old settlement? Yes/No
5. Do they attend school now? Yes/No

- a. Where? -----
 b. How many -----
 c. Why not -----

6. Where did you get water before the resettlement

 7. Where do you get water now -----
 8. Is the supply adequate now? Yes/No
 9. Are there more medical facilities in this settlement
 compared to before resettlement? Yes/No
 10. Do you go to hospital/Clinic more often, when compared
 to period before the resettlement? Yes/No
 11. Description of structures in their present homes
 compared at the time of displacement?

	DESCRIPTION	BEFORE NOW
a.	<u>Type of house</u>	
	i. Round hut	
	ii. Rectangular building	
b.	<u>Type of wall</u>	
	i. Thatch	
	ii. Mud block	
	iii. Cement block	
	iv. Partly cement partly mud	
	v. Stone	
	vi. Brick.	
c.	<u>Type of roof</u>	
	i. Thatch	
	ii. Corrugated iron	
	iii. Mud	

- your conditions of living better off? Yes/No
5. If yes, what are the factors responsible?
 6. If No, What are the factors responsible?
 7. What was the size of your farmholding before the displacement? -----
 8. Did you cultivate all the farms then? Yes/No
 9. If No, how much did you cultivate?
 10. DO you have farmland(s) now? Yes/No
 11. If yes, what is the size of your farmholding now? -----
 12. If you don't have any farmland(s) now explain why
 - (a) Acquired by the government
 - (b) None to buy
 - (c) Inadequate compensation
 - (d) Very costly
 - (e) No money to buy
 - (f) Others (specify)
 13. Was all your land acquired by the government then? Yes/No
 14. If not, what happened to the remaining piece of land
 - (a) sold
 - (b) retained
 - (c) pledge
 - (d) others (specify).
 15. Are you able to acquire additional piece of land? Yes/No
 16. If yes, how did you obtained the land after displacement?
 - (a) purchase
 - (b) share cropping
 - (e) Leasing
 - (d) pledge
 - (e) Loan
 - (f) Others (specify).
 17. How close is the land to your present place of residence?

- d. Number of rooms
- e. Storage barns
- i. none
 - ii. Round barns constructed
with mud
 - iii. Mud barns without roofs

- f. Animal Sheds
- i. None
 - ii. Animal sheds

- g. Kitchen Type
- i. None
 - ii. Shared
 - iii. Exclusive

12. Do you prefer your old settlement to the new? Yes/No

13. If yes, what are the reasons for any above?

SECTION D

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ISSUES OF POST-DISPLACEMENT

1. State the annual income of the household before and after the displacement Before ₦-----
After ₦ -----

2. Give reasons for the difference above?

3. State how many of each of these animals you had before the displacement and what you have now

BEFORE

Now

a. Cattle

b. Sheep

c. Goats

Others (specify)

4. Compared to period of displacement to date can you say

- your conditions of living better off? Yes/No
5. If yes, what are the factors responsible?
 6. If No, What are the factors responsible?
 7. What was the size of your farmholding before the displacement? -----
 8. Did you cultivate all the farms then? Yes/No
 9. If No, how much did you cultivate?
 10. DO you have farmland(s) now? Yes/No
 11. If yes, what is the size of your farmholding now? -----
 12. If you don't have any farmland(s) now explain why
 - (a) Acquired by the government (b) None to buy
 - (c) Inadequate compensation (d) Very costly
 - (e) No money to buy (f) Others (specify)
 13. Was all your land acquired by the government then? Yes/No
 14. If not, what happened to the remaining piece of land
 - (a) sold (b) retained (c) pledge (d) others (specify).
 15. Are you able to acquire additional piece of land? Yes/No
 16. If yes, how did you obtained the land after displacement?
 - (a) purchase (b) share cropping (e) Leasing
 - (d) pledge (e) Loan
 - (f) Others (specify).
 17. How close is the land to your present place of residence?

- (a) 0- 1Km (b) 2-3 Km (c) 3 - 4 Km
(d) 3-4 km (e) Over 5 Km.
18. Which of the following inputs are you using now?
(a) Manure exclusively
(b) Fertilizer exclusively
(c) Both manure and fertilizer
19. State the quantities of fertilizer utilised last cropping season. -----
20. Do you think there has been an increase in price of land since the siting of the University? Yes/No.
21. Describe the rate of increase of land prices?
a. Less than twice b. Between 2 - 3 times
c. Between 3 - 4 times d. More than 5 times
e. Not sure f. No response.
22. Have you disposed land within the past years?
Yes/No
23. If yes, of what size? and why?
24. Would you support the University leasing land to you on yearly basis? Yes/No. If No, why?
25. If No, Why?
26. At the time of displacement, what was your main occupation?
27. What other secondary occupation did you have?
28. What is your occupation now?
29. If occupation is different at the time of displacement and now, why?

30. Has any member of your family migrated as result of the displacement? Yes/No
- To where?
 - To do what?
 - For how long?
31. How often do you commute to Sokoto town?
- Daily
 - Once a week
 - More than twice a week
 - Once a month
32. What do you normally do in town?
- Visiting
 - Selling
 - Buying
 - work (specify e.g - clerk, labouring, public servant etc.)
 - prayers
- * Prove further on selling and buying of what?
33. Would you prefer to be resettled outside your district i.e Dundaye? Yes/No
34. If yes, why do you prefer Dundaye?
35. If you are to be resettled, would prefer to be settled with
- Neighbours and relatives
 - Who ever is available
36. Would you be in support of any policy to resettle you in large, closely settled community? Yes/No
37. If No, Why not?

38. What is your general comment(s) if any on land expropriation by the government?

39. In what ways do you think your problems can be solve?

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LAND PRICE INDEX FOR AREAS 10 KILOMETRES FROM SOKOTO
TOWN 1960 - 1985

(prices Computed/hectare)

UPLAND	FADAMA LAND
1. 1960 - N100	1960 - N100
2. 1963 - N80	1965 - N1495.90
3. 1964 - N120	1968 - N1354.20
4. 1970 - N380	1975 - N3214.80
5. 1972 - N400	1979 - N3083.30
6. 1973 - N1497.7	1980 - N5740.50
7. 1974 - N - 500	1981 - N6018.50
8. 1975 - N487.60	1982 - N8333.30
9. 1978 - N2500	1984 - N1833.30
10. 1978 - N1333.30	1985 - N7678.50
11. 1980 - N1671.9	
12. 1981 - N1000.00	
13. 1983 - N2333.30	
14. 1985 - N2017.6	

Source: Labaran, 1986:209

LAND PRICE INDEX FOR AREAS 20 KILOMETRES FROM SOKOTO
TOWN 1960 - 1985

UPLAND	FADAMALAND
1. 1960 - ₦100.00	1960 - ₦100.00
2. 1965 - ₦453.30	1965 - ₦112.8
3. 1969 - ₦800.00	1967 - ₦200.00
4. 1970 - ₦342.40	1968 - ₦240.00
5. 1972 - ₦666.70	1969 - ₦197.50
6. 1975 - ₦200.50	1970 - ₦270.60
7. 1976 - ₦400.00	1971 - ₦180.00
8. 1977 - ₦613.30	1977 - ₦524.30
9. 1978 - ₦435.50	1978 - ₦630.00
10. 1979 - ₦1011.10	1981 - ₦630.00
11. 1980 - ₦611.10	1983 - ₦17.40
12. 1981 - ₦833.30	1985 - ₦666.60
13. 1982 - ₦717.80	
14. 1983 - ₦426.70	
15. 1984 - ₦1345.50	
16. 1985 - ₦2221.10	

source : Labaran, 1986: 211