Working Paper 24

PROFILE OF DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN THE KANO-MARADI REGION, 1960–2000

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Preface

Drylands Research Working Papers present, in preliminary form, research results of studies carried out in association with collaborating researchers and institutions.

This working paper is part of a study which aims to relate long-term environmental change, population growth and technological change, and to identify the policies and institutions which are conducive to sustainable development. The study builds upon an earlier project carried out by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) in Machakos District, Kenya, whose preliminary results were published in a series of *ODI Working Papers* in 1990–91. This led to a book (Mary Tiffen, Michael Mortimore and Francis Gichuki, *More people, less erosion: environmental recovery in Kenya*, John Wiley, 1994), which was a synthesis and interpretation of the physical and social development path in Machakos. The book generated a set of hypotheses and policy recommendations which required testing in other African dryland environments. Using compatible methodologies, four linked studies have been carried out in:

Kenya	Makueni District	
Senegal	Diourbel Region	
Niger	Maradi Department	*(in association with ODI)*
Nigeria	Kano Region	*(in association with ODI)*

For each of these study areas, there is a series of working papers and a synthesis, which have been reviewed at country workshops. An overall synthesis was discussed at an international workshop at London on 17 January, 2001.

Due to the limited number of working papers on Nigeria, they are included in a combined Niger-Nigeria series. The Nigeria study is limited to one in-country study on food marketing in the Kano Region (leader Dr J. Ayodele Ariyo). The remaining studies explore other aspects of long-term change in natural resource management, livelihoods and policy, and are based on published and unpublished material. The Research Leader for these studies is Michael Mortimore. He, Mary Tiffen or J. Ayodele Ariyo may be contacted at the following addresses.

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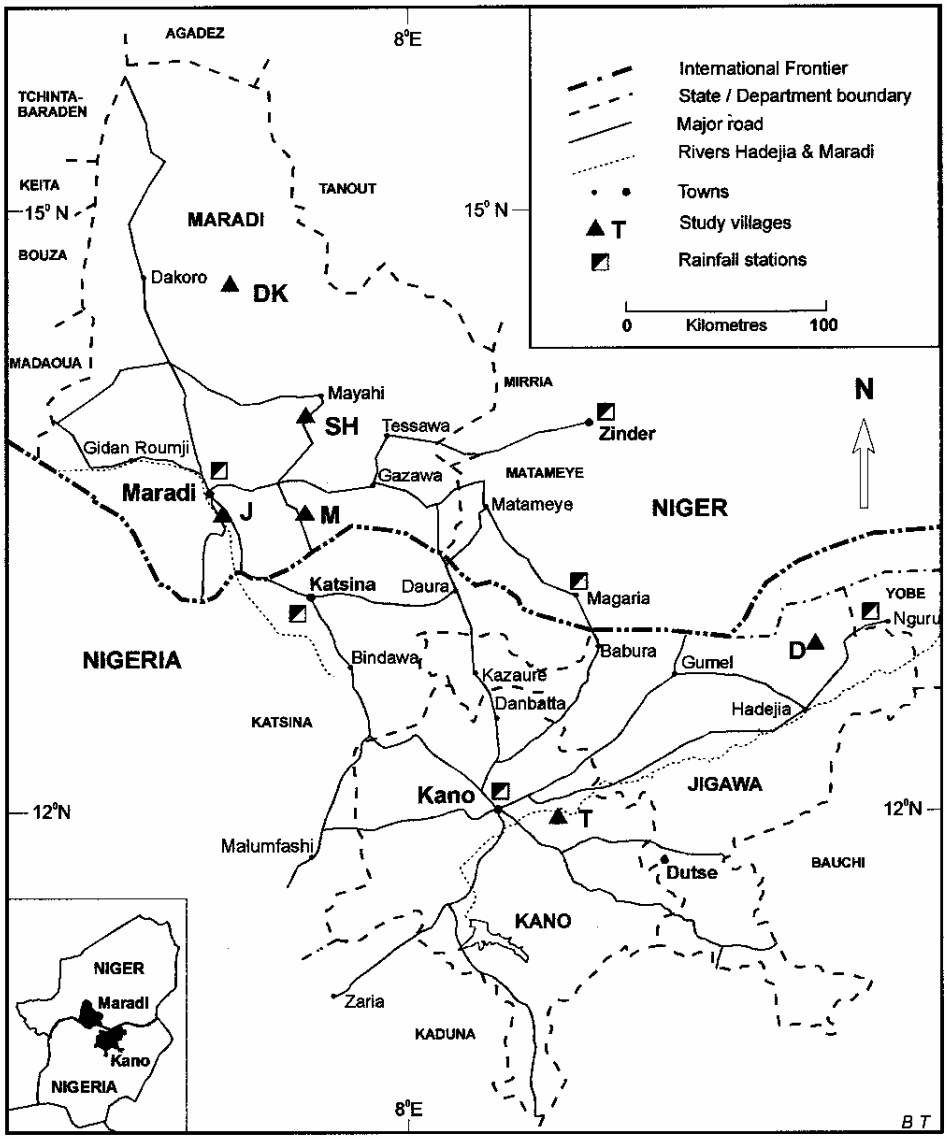
Preface map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Abstract

This paper examines rural and urban population growth in the Kano hinterland of northern Nigeria (Kano, Jigawa and Katsina States) and in the adjacent Maradi Department of Niger. Census quality in Nigeria and Niger is examined. The main data utilised are the 1952 and 1991 censuses for Nigeria and the 1977 and 1988 censuses for Niger. It also makes use of some 1962 figures for Kano.

Population density in the area surrounding Kano City has always been high, but the zone with more than 150/km^2 has expanded outwards from a few adjacent districts in 1931 to most of former Kano Province and into parts of Katsina by 1991. However, in Katsina State average densities fall from 140/km^2 to 98/km^2 when towns over 20,000 are excluded. Densities in Maradi have always been much lower. In 1988 the three southern *arrondissements* had a density of 48/km^2, compared to 111/km^2 in the immediately adjacent Daura area of northern Katsina in 1991.

Dry season migration has a long history in Hausa areas, often to seek temporary, urban-based work. It can lead to permanent settlement, either in a town, or in a peripheral rural area where land is more readily available. In the last 50 years the proportion of people living in towns of over 20,000 inhabitants has greatly expanded. The Kano municipal area had nearly 1,400,000 people by 1991. It is calculated that urban grain needs rose from around 62,000 tons in 1952 to 585,000 tons in 1991. Details of urban occupations and educational characteristics are given. The reasons for the uneven growth of towns and the concentration in low paid occupations are discussed.

Résumé

Ce document examine la croissance de la population urbaine et rurale dans la zone entourant Kano au nord du Nigeria (les Etats de Kano, Jigawa et Katsina) et dans le département voisin de Maradi au Niger. La fiabilité des recensements menés au Nigeria et au Niger est examinée. Des données concernant la population nigériane sont disponibles depuis 1931 (elles sont probablement une sous-estimation des chiffres réels). Le recensement de 1952 est relativement fiable, et (là où ils sont disponibles) les résultats du recensement de 1962 paraissent plausibles. Selon certains observateurs, les chiffres obtenus lors du recensement de 1963 semblent avoir été grossies pour des raisons politiques. Il faut attendre 1991 pour avoir un autre recensement efficient. Au Niger les seuls recensements entrepris ont eu lieu en 1977 et en 1988. Le chiffre de la population totale du département obtenu en 1960 est une estimation de l'administration locale. L'évolution des différentes unités administratives au cours du temps est également passée en revue car celle-ci fournit non seulement une base pour déterminer les unités lors des recensements, mais est aussi en partie la cause de la croissance de certains centres urbains.

La densité de population dans la région entourant la ville de Kano a toujours été élevée, mais la zone ayant une densité supérieure à 150 hab./km^2 s'est agrandie et alors qu'elle n'occupait que quelques districts adjacents en 1931, en 1991 elle occupait la majorité de la superficie de l'ancienne province de Kano et certaines parties de la région de Katsina. Les densités démographiques ont de tout temps été considérablement plus faibles à Maradi. En 1988 les trois arrondissements situés au sud avaient une densité de 48

hab./km^2, et ceux situés au nord 23 hab./km^2, comparées à 111 hab./km^2 dans la région voisine de Daura au nord de Katsina, selon le recensement de 1991.

La migration saisonnière pendant la saison sèche est pratiquée depuis longtemps dans les régions Hausa, souvent dans le but de rechercher du travail temporaire en ville. Elle mène parfois à une installation permanente, soit dans une zone urbaine, soit dans une autre zone rurale considérée comme offrant plus d'opportunités que la région d'origine. L'installation permanente s'effectue tout particulièrement dans une vaste zone où les populations parlant le Hausa se sentent acceptés sur un plan culturel. Elle se traduit souvent par une migration sur une courte distance en direction de la périphérie des zones fortement peuplées, mais elle peut également se faire sur de plus longues distances. Ceci explique l'expansion des zones densément peuplées.

Le changement le plus marquant de 50 dernières années a été la croissance de la population des villes de plus de 20 000 habitants. La commune de Kano comptait près de 1 400 000 habitants en 1991. Les villes plus petites ne sont pas réparties de manière régulière: dans l'Etat de Kano il n'y a que quatre autres villes de plus de 20 000 habitants, et toutes comptent moins de 40 000 habitants. En revanche dans l'Etat de Katsina il y en a 19, et leur population varie entre 20 000 et 250 000 habitants. Dans le département de Maradi uniquement la ville de Maradi peut être considérée comme une cité si on applique les mêmes critères qu'au Nigeria, car elle compte 110 000 habitants. Les emplois urbains se situent principalement dans le secteur commercial informel et dans le secteur artisanal, car une grosse partie des villes n'a pas l'électricité, l'eau courante etc. et ne peut ainsi donc pas favoriser la mise en place d'une industrie moderne. On a calculé que les besoins en céréales dans les cités se sont accrus et sont passés d'environ 62 000 tonnes en 1952 à 585 000 tonnes en 1991. En plus de ce marché urbain local qui s'est beaucoup développé (et qui concerne également la production animale, les légumes etc) il y a aussi une demande croissante de la part des villes du sud du Nigeria.

Une autre conséquence de la croissance de la population urbaine est que les densités dans les zones rurales sont plus faibles qu'elles apparaissent en utilisant la population totale du district. En raison du manque d'informations précises en ce qui concerne la location exacte des villes, la densité rurale n'est pas toujours facile à calculer, mais dans les nombreux districts de l'Etat de Kano ne comptant pas de villes importantes les densités sont de l'ordre de 150–200 hab./km^2 (figure 1). Dans l'Etat de Katsina, la densité rurale est de 98 hab./km^2 en excluant les populations des villes alors que ce chiffre passe à 140 hab./km^2 si on les inclue (tableau 5). A Jigawa cette différence est moins marquée car la population urbaine est moins importante (chiffre total 127 hab./km^2, population rurale 118 hab./km^2).

Des informations sont également fournies en ce qui concerne les emplois en ville, et les caractéristiques des systèmes éducatifs. En outre on a examiné quelles étaient les causes des variations de la croissance de la population selon les différentes villes considérées et pourquoi la majorité des habitants exerce des emplois faiblement rémunérés.

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Acknowledgements

Figure 2 (maps of changing population density) was constructed by Beryl Turner from boundary data supplied by Michael Mortimore. I am also grateful to Michael Mortimore for providing data from the unpublished 1962 census and for sharing his personal knowledge of the Kano area.

About the author

Mary Tiffen is a historian and socio-economist. Consultancy in the Middle East on irrigated agriculture led to her appointment at the Overseas Development Institute, 1983–94, first as a Research Fellow in charge of its Irrigation Management Network, then as chairman of the Agricultural Administration Unit. From 1990–94 Dr Tiffen was mainly engaged in the multi-disciplinary study of Machakos District. In 1998 she and Michael Mortimore set up the Drylands Research Partnership. Dr Tiffen is the author of various books and articles including, along with Francis Gichuki and Michael Mortimore, *More people, less erosion: environmental recovery in Kenya* (Wiley, 1994).

Acronyms and abbreviations

CARE:	Co-operation for Assistance and Relief Everywhere
KCSZ:	Kano Close-settled Zone
LGA:	Local government authorities
NA:	Native authority

1 BACKGROUND

1.1 Nineteenth century Kano, Maradi and the Hausa states

This study is concerned with that segment of the hinterland of Kano in Nigeria which extends north westwards into neighbouring Katsina State and across the border into the Maradi Department of Niger.

Kano City was for many centuries an important terminal of trans-Saharan trade routes. It was also an industrial centre for cotton weaving and dyeing, tanning and leather work (Baffa, 1975; Anabogu, 1986). The city was surrounded by an area of permanently cultivated fields of food crops and cotton. Its indigenous population has always been mainly Hausa with some Fulani settlement and intermixture. In the early nineteenth century the ruling Hausa dynasty was overthrown by a flag-bearer of the Fulani *Shehu* Usman dan Fodio, who had launched a *jihad* against the Hausa states for their failure to follow Islamic law. This flag bearer became the Emir of Kano, with Kano as the biggest state within the Caliphate of Sokoto. After successful campaigns, other flag-bearers became emirs of other Hausa states, including Katsina and Daura, which border what are now Zinder and Maradi Departments of Niger. The former Hausa leaders took refuge in Zinder and Maradi, and fighting continued between them and the new Fulani emirs of Katsina and Kano up to the arrival of the British and French. Border areas in consequence became depopulated (Hogben and Kirk-Greene, 1966, Grégoire, 1986).

The Hausa states had a sophisticated state and military organisation, and made use of the Arabic alphabet for written communications in Hausa. Hausa was used by the incoming Fulani rulers. Thus a large area of the present northern Nigeria and Niger share a common culture, religion, language and ethnic background.

1.2 Colonial administrative units and their post-colonial successors

Census results relate to administrative units. Being the headquarters of an important administrative unit confers advantages on a settlement, helping to promote it to urban status. Hence, we have to note changes in administrative units to understand demographic change as recorded in census data.

Kano

After the British conquest in 1900–01 Kano became the capital of Kano Province, and the commercial centre of Northern Region, Nigeria. The British, unlike the French, did not displace the emirs, who were the recognised heads of the ‘native authorities’ (NA). The NAs were the basic local government unit, each with its own revenues. Above these was a British superstructure of provinces and divisions. Kano Province was formed from two divisions. The largest, Kano Division, was the territory of the Emir of Kano. The need of the British to propitiate him was shown in that his salary equalled that of the Sultan of Sokoto, at £4,800 in the 1920s, a huge sum in today’s terms (Yakubu, 1991). The second, Northern Division, was a collection of two to four smaller emirates – Hadejia, Gumel, Kazaure and Daura, each with their own revenues and headquarters town. A division was normally the lowest unit at which expatriate officers operated, as ‘advisers’ to the native authorities.

The larger emirates like Kano were in turn divided into districts, under a District Head responsible to the Emir, each of which contained several village areas (*gari)* under a traditional chief. The districts had been mapped and measured by 1933, in the case of Kano down to village areas. The major change made by the British was to make the district heads responsible for a distinct geographic area, where they had to reside. Formerly they had supervised from Kano City a collection of client villages, not necessarily contiguous (see Mustapha and Meagher, 2000). Kano Emirate was divided into 30 districts in 1931, but amalgamations led to 25 in 1952. These NA districts remained the basic census unit from 1931 to 1991, and can be traced through to the present local government authorities (LGAs).

Internal emirate organisation differed according to previous history: there were strong centralised states like Sokoto and Kano where district heads were in effect civil servants or relatives of the emir, and weaker states, where the district heads came from traditional families in alliance with the emir. In a weak emirate like Katsina, the emir "was no more than a *primus inter pares*" (Hogben and Kirke-Greene, 1966: 170). This tended to have repercussions in the colonial period on how NA revenue was divided between the central city and the rural districts – in the weaker emirates, the district heads could secure more amenities, while in a stronger one, the capital got the lion's share.[1] Kano was a very centralised emirate, and the focalising of amenities and infrastructure in the Kano municipal area was increased by its position as capital of a province and the residence of colonial administrators and expatriate traders. The amenities then attracted further growth.

After independence the three colonial Regions of Nigeria (Northern, Western and Eastern) became a growing number of states under new constitutions of a federal type. The number of states increased from four in 1963 to 30 in 1991. The colonial Kano Province of Northern Region became Kano State at an early stage, in 1967 (Frishman, 1977). In 1991 it was divided into Kano State and Jigawa State (the latter comprising the smaller emirates and some outlying Kano LGAs). Its weaker neighbour, Katsina, lost importance as a provincial capital when it became part of Kaduna and Zaria States successively, only becoming a state itself in 1991.

The politicians of independent Nigeria soon reduced the powers of the former ruling families. The deposition of the Emir of Kano in 1963 was an early mark of the primacy of new political allegiances (Ola, 1974). After Kano State was created its governors reduced the functions of the emir and district heads. In 1976 the native authorities were formally abolished and the state was divided into 20 LGAs. The cattle tax was abolished in 1975 and the community tax in 1979, leaving local governments dependent mainly on allocations from the State, which in turn depended on allocations of oil revenues from the Federal Government[2] (see also Mustapha and Meagher, 2000). As the size of these

[1] Tiffen (1976: 32) discusses this in relation to Gombe (weak) and Bornu (strong).

[2] The main NA taxes were the community tax paid by family heads and the cattle tax. Initially, 50 percent of these were paid over to the Regional Government, the remainder being NA revenue. The regional share was lowered as central revenues from import and export duties increased, leaving NAs with more funds for services and development. However, in the 1950s new taxes increased the regional revenues. In 1952-3 the combined revenues of the northern NAs (£5.3 million) were nearly double the revenue of the Northern Region Government. By

allocations depended partly on population, census results had important political implications.

By 1991 the reduced Kano State had 29 LGAs, as some older districts had been divided. Jigawa State had 17 LGAs. The relationship of the former NA districts to the 1991 LGAs is shown in the Annex.

Maradi

The French had also arrived in Maradi around 1900, establishing a military regime which only became civilianised in 1920 (Grégoire, 1986). The territory of Niger was a distant outpost of the Federation of French West Africa, centred on Dakar. The French established a direct administration, taking over the political, judicial and administrative functions of the (Hausa) Sarkin Katsina (Grégoire, 1990). The former emirs and village heads retained only social/religious influence. The departments were headed by a prefect, with sub-prefects responsible to him at the level of the *cercle*, later known as the *arrondissement* (Horowitz, 1983). In 1926 Maradi became headquarters of a *cercle.* It was far from the territory's capital, first established at Zinder and later at Niamey. The French tried to orientate it commercially towards their western or southern colonies, but the natural inclination was to trade with nearby Katsina and Kano. After independence, in 1964, Maradi became a new department with its own prefect and accompanying civil servants for health, education, agriculture etc. It was divided into six *arrondissements.* A *commune* was established for Maradi ville.

Many Maradi settlements are ancient, and Barth noticed good cultivation practices, the presence of *Acacia albida* and other trees, and well managed cattle routes when he passed through in the 1850s, though he also noted the insecurity due to strife. The combination of French pacification and taxation practices led the population to spread out from their fortified towns into new hamlets between 1900 and 1929. New settlements spread towards the desert edges and the swampy areas in the period after 1929, according to investigations made by Global Resource Information Database (GRID) researchers at the village level circa 1983 (Raynaut *et al.*: 1988: 49).

2 CENSUS UNITS AND CENSUS QUALITY

2.1 Changes in boundaries of the administrative units

At the time of the first partial census in 1931 Kano Province had two divisions, Kano and Kano Northern. Kano Township was a new area where Europeans and southern Nigerians lived, and was counted separately. The old emirate capital, Kano City, was included in Kano Division, which at that time consisted of Kano Emirate only. Kano City was calculated at 36 km^2 in 1931, with an additional 13 km^2 for Kano Township. By 1991 Kano municipal (the term used in the Kano State Statistical Handbook of 1979) covered 550 km^2. However, its boundaries and relationship to neighbouring districts are unclear, leading to anomalies in their size (see Annex).

1966-7 the combined NA revenues were only half that of the region, though they had grown to £37.5 million (Tiffen, 1976: 33).

Daura Emirate was in Kano Northern Division in 1931, but was transferred to Katsina Province when this was separated from the former Zaria Province in 1934. At the same time the small Emirate of Kazaure was moved from Kano Northern to Kano Division (Hogben and Kirke-Greene, 1966: 153, 473). It became part of Jigawa State in 1991. Due to these changes, it is sometimes more convenient to report growth over time in terms of the old emirates, rather than the divisions between which they shifted.

We can trace most NA districts through to their successor LGAs of 1991 although there have been a few untraceable boundary changes. We have calculated 1931 densities on the basis of 1931 areas, and all other densities on the area reported in the Kano State Statistical Year Book 1979. The 1952 and 1962 censuses apparently used areas as topographically surveyed in the 1930s (McDonnell 1964), footnote 25). The full report of the 1991 census (Nigeria, NPC, 1998) only gives areas and population densities at the level of the state. The Annex compares 1931 and assumed 1991 areas.

2.2 Census quality in Nigeria and Niger

Nigeria

Unfortunately, there are few sound population censuses for Nigeria and Niger. In Nigeria, the first census was in 1931, but in the northern provinces this was mainly a collation of normal administrative counts for tax purposes, supplemented by some special counts in commercial centres including Kano City, and in a sample of smaller rural centres. The administrative counts were fairly thorough at the time, but nevertheless tended to miss new hamlets, children, etc. In six districts of Katsina emirate a proper count was held, and there, the proportion of those counted as non-adult was 45.6 percent. In Hadejia the proportion in the administrative count was only 40 percent (Nigeria, Brooke, 1933). This implies an undercount of children.

Due to the 1939–45 war, the next census, a full one, was postponed to 1952 (Nigeria, 1955). The results of the 1962 census were not published since they were disputed for political reasons. It nevertheless seems that in the north, the 1962 findings, where they survive, provide a better basis than the 1963 census.[3] A knowledgeable observer felt the 1962 results were 'as accurate as may reasonably be expected in the conditions obtaining' (McDonnell, 1964: footnote 10). The general view is that many of the figures in the published 1963 census had been deliberately inflated[4]. A reported total for the Northern Region of Nigeria in 1962 was 21,336,000 (Helleiner, 1966: 429), giving an annual growth rate since the 1952 census of 2.4 percent. This seems more likely than the purported total of 29,808,000 in 1963, which would mean an annual growth rate of 5.2 percent. A panel of distinguished Nigerian experts accepted after debate the untrustworthiness of the 1963 result, and that the growth rates calculated from 1952 data were more realistic than those based on the 1963 figure (Nigeria, NPC, 1992). There are

[3] Occasionally, researchers were given copies of the provisional 1962 figures for the areas where they were working. Michael Mortimore was given the 1962 Kano figures.

[4] For example, when Mary Tiffen compared 1963 figures and NA taxpayer records in Gombe Emirate she found that the 1963 figure was credible or just acceptable in relation to five of its districts, and impossibly inflated in relation to the sixth (Tiffen, 1976: 208-9).

small differences between the provisional results, as published in *Census News* (Nigeria, NPC, 1992) and Nigeria, NPC (1998) perhaps as a result of mapping problems referred to in the debate.

In this paper, the 1931, 1952, 1962 and the 1991 figures as reported in 1992 (for LGA totals) and 1998 (for analytic data at the state level) will be used[5]. We consider the 1963 figures insufficiently reliable for use. For Katsina we have no 1962 figure, and no information on the relationship of 1952 districts and 1991 LGAs, which limits the analysis. Katsina provides a geographic bridge to Maradi Department in Niger.

Niger

In Niger, there were only two full censuses, in 1977 and 1988. Both give the *de jure* figure, that is, residents entitled to be present, including those currently absent for less than six months. The *de facto* figure is occasionally also reported. Thus, Niger (1992a) reports the *de facto* population of the country as 7,083,456 persons, and the *de jure* population as 7,220,089. The *de jure* figure gives some danger of over-counting.

There was a large sampling exercise in 1960, but this was analysed at a national level and by agro-ecological region, not by administrative units. The 1960 departmental figure we have used is that given in Niger (1991). This *series longues* gives available historical statistical data, but not its source. There were annual counts for taxation purposes. These were not archived but are sometimes survive if they were quoted in contemporary research reports. If the 1960 figure is based on an administrative count, experience in other francophone countries show that a 20 percent underestimate is common, as children under five were rarely counted. Poncet (1973) estimates a 10–15 percent undercount on the basis of sampling, and refers to the strong motivation to avoid being counted to escape liability for taxation and military service.

Even in 1988 the census encountered problems from the lack of sufficiently educated and committed enumerators (Niger, 1989). There were also mapping problems due to the somewhat loose association of local administration and customary authorities. With its much lower population densities, village boundaries did not need to be defined until the cultivated area of an expanding village came up against a neighbouring territory. In contrast to Kano with its established village boundaries by 1933, the establishment of village boundaries was still in progress in the 1970s:

> Aujourd'hui à l'exception de Dan Koulou, on assiste à la fin de cette progression centrifuge des surfaces cultivées. Dorénavant, cette progression ne pourra plus se faire qu'au sein d'un terroir parfaitement délimité par rapport aux villages voisins. (De Miranda, 1980: 190)

These problems can only have been more severe for the first census of 1977. The 1988 figure is probably the most accurate. The recorded total for 1960 is likely to be an under-estimate, since the supposed growth rate of 3.5 percent 1960–77 (Table 3) looks to be on the high side.

[5] The 1998 figures do not have a breakdown by LGA.

3 GROWTH RATES AND POPULATION DENSITIES

3.1 Growth rates

The present Kano, Jigawa and Katsina States

Table 1 gives population figures based on the 1931, 1952, and 1991 censuses. It shows that slow average annual growth rates of 1.5 to 2 percent 1931–52 (which may have been even less if 1931 was an undercount) had increased in the period 1952–91 to 2.0 to 2.5 percent in predominantly rural areas. This probably reflects some improvements in nutrition and health and perhaps a decline in outmigration to other states[6]. There is a remarkably rapid growth of Kano municipality after 1952. It increased at an annual rate of 6.2 percent. This will be discussed in the section on urbanisation.

Table 1: Total population and average annual growth rate (AGR) in Kano, Jigawa and Katsina States, 1991, using the constituent previous emirates and Kano Province

	1931	1952	AGR, 1931–52	1991	AGR, 1952–91
Kano Province	2,436,844	3,396,350	1.9	8,685,995	2.5
Kano Emirate, except Kano City	1,903,636	2,969,238	1.9	5,747,419	1.9
Kano northern emirates	336,961	424,008	2.0	1,349,684	2.5
Kano municipal	96,805	130,173	1.4	1,364,300	6.2
Katsina Emirate	925,848	1,339,998	1.8	3,458,285	2.5
Daura Emirate	99,442	143,127	1.7	294,848	1.9

Source: Census data and author's calculations.

The extant 1962 figures show that in the period 1952–62 the northern emirates expanding fastest, at an average of 3.7 percent per annum. This growth rate was partly due to a very high rate in Kazaure, possibly because of an undocumented boundary change connected to its change of division. The average growth rate of the other two northern emirates was 3.0 percent. This is still significantly higher than Kano Emirate where average annual growth was 2.2 percent. The northern emirates had sandy soils well suited to the cultivation of groundnuts. Real groundnut producer incomes in the 1950s were at least treble those of the 1940s, (Helleiner 1966, Table II-B-4), and it is quite likely this was attracting rural immigrants.

After 1962 the other outer areas grew faster than the northern emirates. Table 2 gives data for the old Kano Province area. As we have data for 1962 in this case, we can look at the different growth rates 1952–62 and 1962–91, dividing the districts into groups to

[6] From 1900 to 1930 there was considerable outmigration from the large slave estates belonging to title holders to areas a safe distance away from the former overlord (Mustapha & Meagher 2000: 3-4). Some from Kano went as far as Gombe (Tiffen, 1976: 156-9).

suit the discussion of densities in the section below. The far south has heavy soils more suited to sorghum[7]. It does not seem that soils were a primary concern for the immigrant farmers though they may have been influenced by the marketability of particular crops at particular times. Growth rates over two percent p.a. probably show a degree of in-migration, most marked in 1962–91 in Kano *inner*, which was becoming partly suburban, and Kano *outer*, still receiving rural settlers.

Table 2: Annual growth rates, old Kano Province

Zone*	1931–52	1952–62	1962–91
Kano municipal	1.8	6.7	6.00
Kano *inner* districts	2.2	1.8	3.13
Kano *central* districts	2.1	2.0	1.65
Kano *outer* except north	2.2	1.8	2.25
Kano northern emirates	2.1	3.3	1.57

Source: Census data. * See section 3.2 for discussion of zoning.

Maradi

We have noted the paucity of data before 1977. Several authors including Grégoire (1986: 25) refer to considerable outmigration from Maradi town either to bush villages, or to Nigeria, in the colonial period, to avoid the higher taxation, military service and forced labour then current in French territories. According to Grégoire's data from surviving records of administrative counts, the town grew slowly from 4,500 inhabitants in 1911 to 8,661 inhabitants in 1950, at between one and two percent per year. It then grew more rapidly and had 12,500 inhabitants by 1959. We have used this figure in Table 3 to estimate that 13,500 of the Department's 561,000 inhabitants in 1960 were in Maradi town.

The high rates of growth after 1960 seem unrealistic by comparison with northern Nigeria. Movement into Nigeria for farming purposes may have reduced in the 1950s, compared to the earlier colonial period, as groundnut farming in Maradi was becoming profitable. There is no reason to think that there was substantial in-migration after 1960 by indigenes of Nigeria, but there might have been some return migration by those who had gone south in the colonial period. In the 1977 census 9,980 and in the 1988 census 15,330 Maradi inhabitants were born outside Niger, mostly in Nigeria – about one percent (Niger, 1992a, Tables 10; Niger, 1985, Table 10). The high reported rates of growth may be due to a severe underestimate in 1960, and some underestimation in 1977.

[7] There is a soil map in Mortimore, 1974.

Table 3: Population and annual growth rates, Maradi Department, 1960–1988

	1960	1977	Annual growth	1988	Annual growth
Maradi Dept.	561,000	949,747	3.15	1,389,433	3.52
Dakoro arrt.		178,107		258,098	3.43
Mayahi arrt.		167,567		227,812	2.83
Tessaou arrt.		144,482		213,737	3.62
Guidan R. arrt.		138,905		210,610	3.86
Aguie arrt.		125,097		172,960	2.99
Madarounfa arrt.		141,846		195,477	2.96
Maradi Ville	13,500	44,459	7.26	110,739	8.65
Maradi Rural	547,500	905,288	3.00	1,278,694	3.19

Source: Censuses for 1977 and 1988; Grégoire, 1986 for Maradi ville in 1960.

3.2 Population density

Kano

Table 4 gives census data on densities for four groups of local authority, as shown in Figure 1. The *inner* areas are immediately adjacent to the city. The *central* districts surround this core. The *outer* districts are those to the west, south and east of the central districts. These have a slightly different pattern to the *northern* outer areas. The changes over time are mapped in Figure 2, using the 1962 data as this provides a midpoint between the 1931 and 1991 censuses.

The very high rural densities and intensive agricultural systems surrounding Kano City have long been a subject of interest since they were until recently unusual in other parts of Sahelian Africa. They were already striking to the mid nineteenth century traveller, Heinrich Barth. Mortimore and Wilson (1965: 6) noted a fairly abrupt transition from rural to urban in Kano the 1960s. The urban core was surrounded by a densely populated, but essentially rural area benefiting from its interaction with the city, corresponding to the inner and central districts in Figure 1. This area is clearly visible in the map in Figure 2B, with densities exceeding 150/km^2 (1962). Donkeys carried manure and rubbish from the city to the farms, most of it being applied within 7.5 km from the edge of the built-up area. They carried in fuel and other farm products. Families in this zone had a secondary income producing hand woven cloth and other craft products for the urban consumers. (Mortimore, 1972). This densely settled rural area had been called the Kano Close-settled Zone (KCSZ) and was defined by Mortimore (1968) as the area with a rural density in excess of 350/sq. mile (equivalent to 142/km^2).

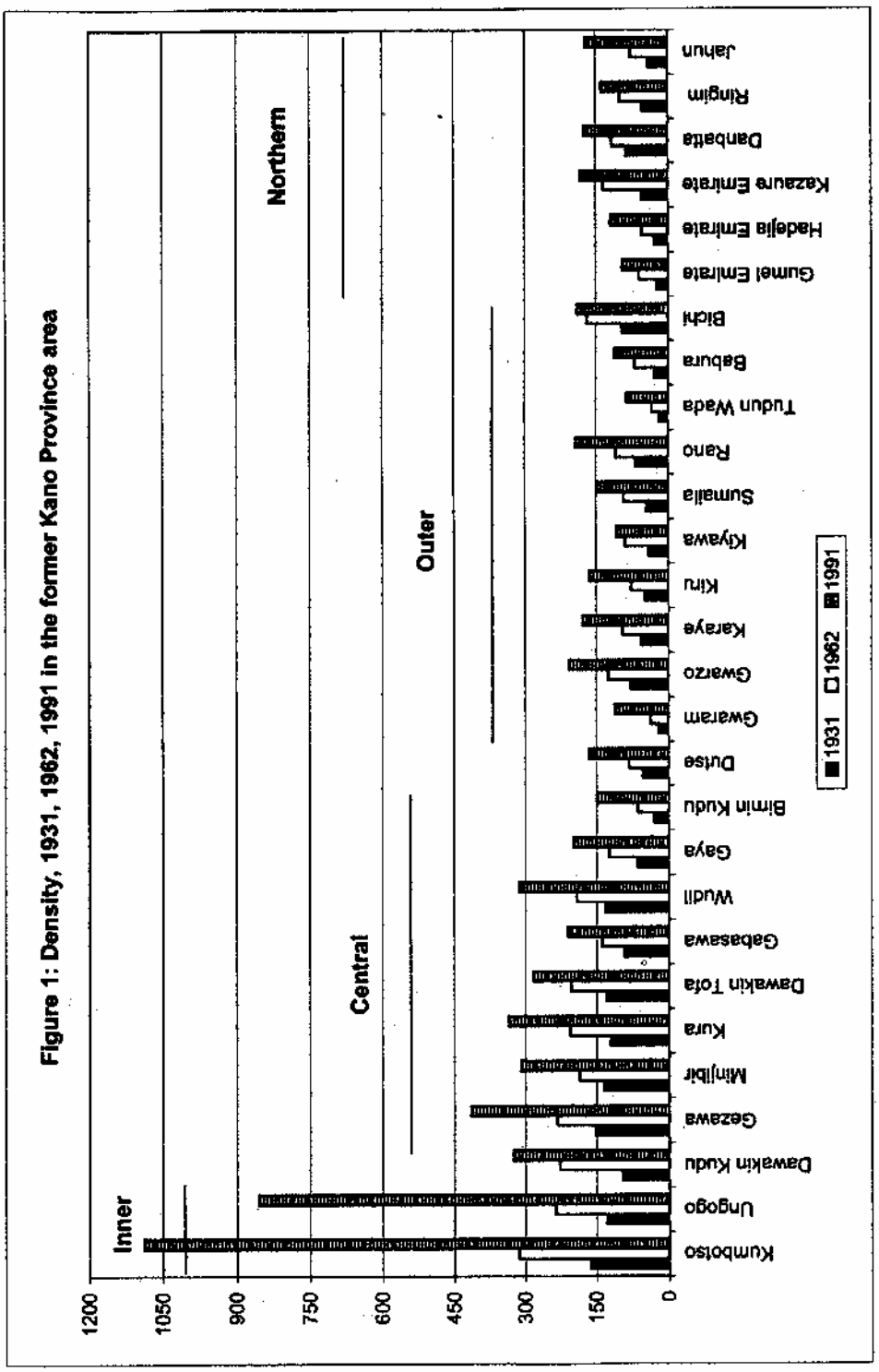
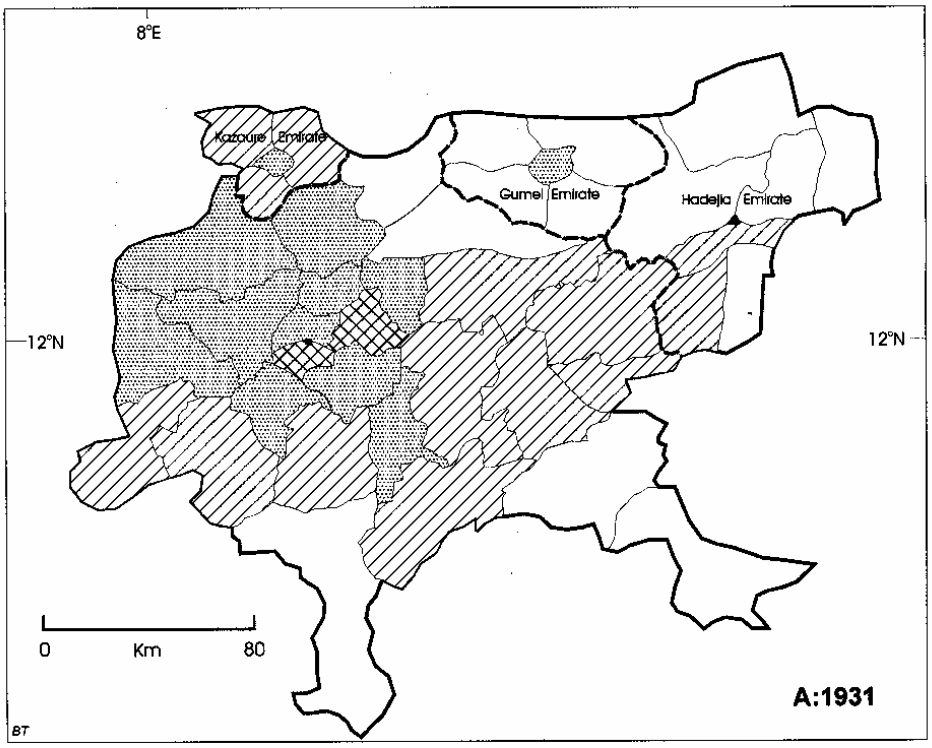
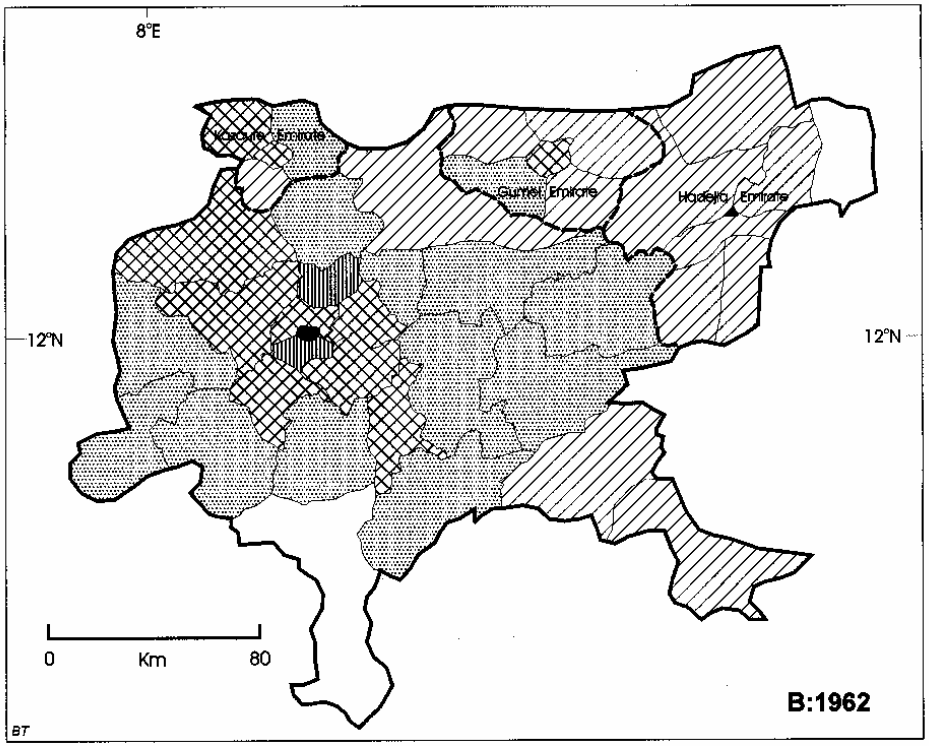
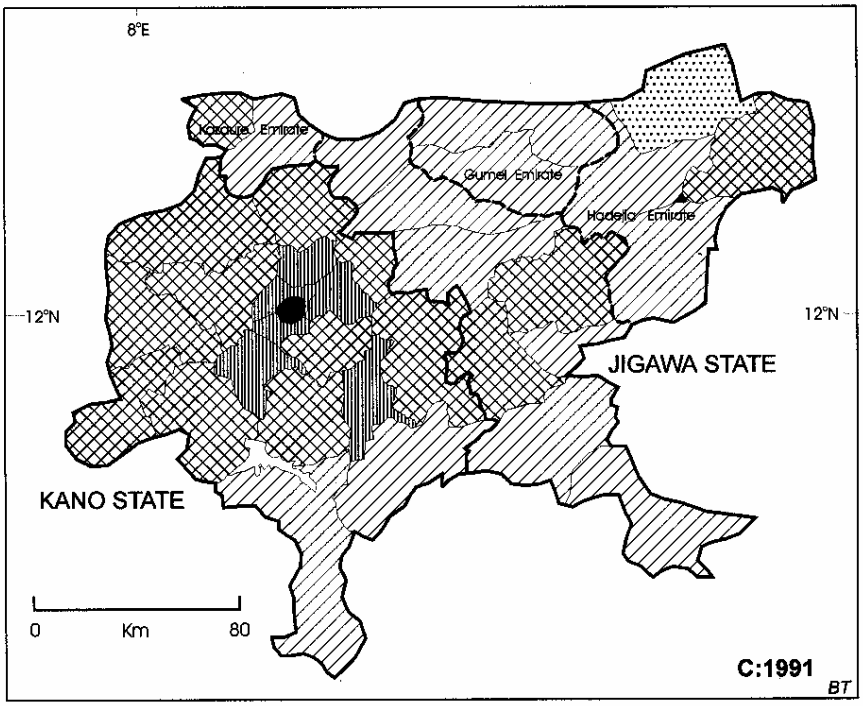


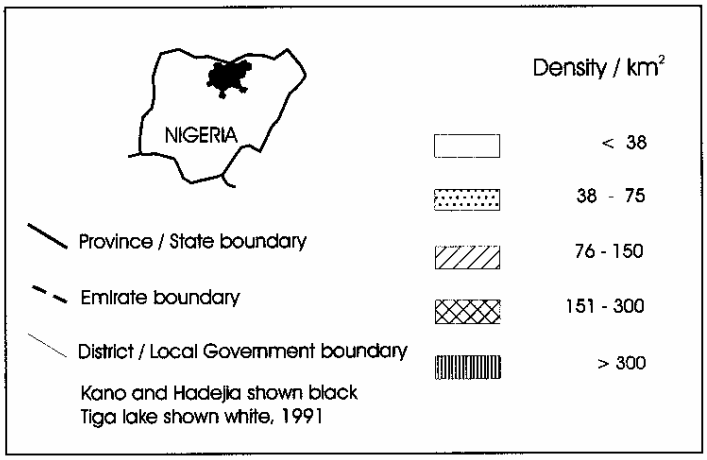
Figure 1: Density, 1931, 1962, 1991 in the former Kano Province area
Inner
Northern
Central
Outer
1200
1050
900
750
600
450
300
150
0
1931
1962
1991
Kumbotso
Ungogo
Dawakin Kudu
Gezawa
Minjibir
Kura
Dawakin Tofa
Gabasawa
Wudil
Gaya
Bimin Kudu
Dutse
Gwaram
Gwarzo
Karaye
Kiru
Kiyawa
Sumaila
Rano
Tudun Wada
Baburа
Bichi
Gumel Emirate
Hadejia Emirate
Kazaure Emirate
Danbatta
Rimgim
Jahun

Figure 2A–C: Population density in the former Kano Province area






8°E
Kazaure Emirate
Gumel Emirate
Hadejia Emirate
12°N
12°N
JIGAWA STATE
KANO STATE
0
Km
80
C:1991
BT


NIGERIA
Density / km²
< 38
38 - 75
76 - 150
151 - 300
> 300
Province / State boundary
Emirate boundary
District / Local Government boundary
Kano and Hadejia shown black
Tiga lake shown white, 1991

Figures 1 and 2 show that while the inner zone was near 150/km2 in 1931, the high density area had expanded to cover most of what we have termed the central zone by 1962. Beyond 32 miles (50 km^2), 1962 densities fell away quite steeply, irrespective of the direction from Kano City (Mortimore, 1975). This is somewhat in accordance with Von Thünen's theory of rings of production intensity around central places of consumption, though Figure 2 shows an outlying district to the south west (Wudil) also with high density. By 1991 the KCSZ defined as areas with a population density exceeding 150/km2 extended over many of the *outer* and some of the *northern* areas. Indeed, it extended into Katsina Emirate, as Table 4 shows.

Table 4: Densities over time, old Kano Province and old Katsina Province

	1931	1952	1962	1991
Kano municipal	2459			2481
Inner districts	146	230	275	972
Central districts	123	205	245	313
Outer districts	47	72	84	156
Northern districts	51	83	107	148
Katsina Emirate	42	61	n.a.	157

Source: Censuses.
*Kano municipal relates to City and Township in 1931, 39 km^2, and to Kano, Dala and Nassarawa, 550 km^2, in 1991.

Densities in Table 4 and Figure 1 relate to overall density. Densities for the districts/LGAs include the population of small towns within them (except for Kano municipal, which has long been a separate census area. The same is the case with Hadejia town). The size taken as urban was 2,000 in 1931, 5,000 in 1952 and 20,000 in 1991. Unfortunately, while Nigeria, NPC (1998) gives the number of towns per state over 20,000, it does not name them, so that they cannot be located by LGA. We can calculate rural population densities by state, using the 1991 urban definition. By contrasting Table 4 with Table 5 (even though they relate to slightly different administrative units, we can see that rural densities are substantially lower than the overall density in Katsina and Kano States.

Table 5: Rural densities by state, Nigeria, 1991

	Urban population	Rural population	Overall density	Rural density
Katsina State	1,137,911	2,615,222	140	98
Jigawa State	199,478	2,676,047	127	118
Kano State	2,317,208	3,493,262	281	169

Source: Calculated from Nigeria, NPC (1998).

Table 6: Populations, areas, and densities, Maradi Department, 1988

Communes ruraux and *arrondissements* (arrdt.)	Area, km^2	Population	Densities per km^2
Madarounfa	1,230	67,371	54.8
Jiratawa	548	29,889	54.5
Gabi	786	38,520	49.0
Sarkin Yamma	218	37,983	174.2
Madarounfa-ville		6,303	
MADAROUNFA (arrdt.)	3,540	194,710	55.0
Aguie	1,840	94,653	51.4
Gangara	988	72,420	73.3
Aguie-ville		5,984	
AGUIÉ (arrdt.)	2,828	173,057	61.2
Birnin Lalk	2,826	38,057	13.5
Bader Goula	1,690	25,067	14.8
Kornaka	5,370	145,636	27.1
Taguiris Soli	1,285	21,271	16.6
Dakoro (ZR)	5,427	12,651	2.3
Dakoro-ville		14,564	
DAKORO (arrdt.)	16,598	257,246	15.5
Guidan Roumji	1,009	31,056	30.8
Chadakori	1,229	41,477	33.7
Sae Saboua	692	38,935	56.3
Guidan Sori	749	41,345	55.2
Tibiri	943	51,426	54.5
Guidan Roumji-ville		7,039	
G. ROUMJI (arrdt.)	4,622	211,278	45.7
Mayahi	3,377	126,377	37.4
Kanan Bakache	3,140	95,500	30.4
Mayahi - ville		5,724	
MAYAHI (arrdt.)	6,517	227,601	34.9
Tessaoua	1,822	78,754	43.2
Korgom	936	61,334	65.5
Ourafane	2,356	30,217	12.8
Tessaou - ville		19,645	
TESSAOUA (arrdt.)	5,114	189,950	37.1
MARADI (dpt.)	39,219	1,363,228	34.8

Source: Niger, 1992a.

Maradi

Average densities of the *arrondissements* (sub-divisions of the *département*) in 1988 were far lower in Maradi than in the adjacent districts of northern Nigeria (see Table 6). These averages are rural densities, as the small town which forms the headquarters of the *arrondissement* was counted separately. However, because most of these towns are small, the rural density is not very different from the overall density. In the department

as a whole, including Maradi commune, densities averaged only 35/km^2. Even in Madarounfa Arrondissement, which touches the border with Katsina, they only averaged 55/km$^{2.}$ Only one *commune rurale*, Sarkin Yamma, had the high density common in Nigeria. The most useful Nigerian state to compare with Maradi Department is Jigawa, since most of it is at a similar latitude to the southern *arrondissements* of Maradi (Guidan-Roumdji, Madarounfa and Aguié) and it has only a small urban population. It had rural densities in 1991 of 118/km^2. Daura Emirate, in Katsina State, had 111/km^2. It is adjacent to Aguié Arrondissement of Maradi, which had densities of 50 to 70/ km^2 The reasons for the continuing lower densities in Maradi are not clear.

4 MIGRATION

4.1 Types of migration

Migration can be either temporary or permanent. Temporary migration during the dry season (*cin rani*, or eating the dry season*)* has a long tradition in Hausa country, where the agricultural season may be only five months in the north, or seven in the more southern areas. We have already seen how the population of Kano in 1931 at the end of the dry season could be classified as permanent and temporary. The numbers on dry season migration swell in years of drought – in 1913/14 the Resident of Kano noted that the roads were crowded with refugees from the drought in Niger and northern districts. This also occurred in 1974, and in the 1980s (Doka, 2001). With the improvement of communications, dry season migrants could reach further south, to southern Nigeria, again, for trade (cattle, kola nuts, cloth etc), work on the farms or in the cities, or, especially in the case of young men and boys, to study in a Quranic school led by some respected malam. Quranic study may lead them to perceive opportunities for permanent stays. It was a common first step to an urban life for many Kano residents (Lubeck, 1986) or to life in a new rural area. Tiffen (1976) noted that many new settlers to Gombe Emirate, who included men from Katsina, Kano and Niger, had initially come to study with the malams associated with Bima Hill, a place of pilgrimage.

Thus, temporary migration can merge into permanent migration, if a man finds he can do better as a permanent urban trader, artisan or worker, or if he found land available in a rural area that gave a better return than the land he was likely to inherit. In the latter case, a consideration was also the level of tax that had to be paid. Niger men, particularly in the early years of the century, moved to escape the higher French taxes or forced labour. Within northern Nigeria, some emirs and district heads extorted higher than legal taxes, while others, who wished to build their power by attracting immigrants, gave (illegal) tax holidays (Tiffen, 1976). In the first half of this century there were many areas within northern Nigeria where families would feel culturally at home, and where land once too dangerous to settle because of warfare had become available to newcomers. In the second half of this century there were fewer such areas left, but some movement was still possible, particularly for those with money to buy land. This is shown by the increasing densities of the Kano peripheral districts. Most rural > rural movements for permanent settlement is to nearby areas and districts (as shown by both the Niger 1998 and Nigeria 1991 census analyses), but in some cases a man will go further afield, or make two or three successive moves.

The 1952 census does not have information on ethnicity or home state. The 1991 census inquired about *home place, duration of last residence, place of last residence,* and *nationality*, either in the census itself or in the post enumeration survey. It can be imagined that given past history, people would be reluctant to give the home state of their fathers and grandfathers if they could avoid it. In Kano, 96 percent gave Kano as their home state, and in Jigawa, 99 percent. On the place of previous residence question, (Table 12.9A) it appeared also that 99 percent of Jigawa people had always resided where enumerated, and that the one percent who had not, had moved within the state. In Kano just over four percent acknowledged a previous different residence, almost all within the state – partly the movement to periphery districts that we have already noted.

However, Table 12.7A showed that both Kano and Jigawa had experienced net negative migration – that more people previously resident in these states were found in other states than vice versa. The negative balance was 4.36 percent in the case of Jigawa, and 2.49 percent in the case of Kano. The negative balance was greater in the case of two other states abutting on to Niger, being 6.4 percent for Katsina and 5.65 percent for Sokoto. Lagos and Kaduna were attracting some of these out-migrants, Borno (possibly for farming) others. It should be noted that the census was taken at the end of November 1991, (Nigeria, NPC, 1992) when dry season migration would have begun, but was not necessarily at its peak.

4.2 Urban migration

From early times, much migration, both temporary and permanent, has been from rural areas to the towns. The 1931 census found that in northern region townships, 16 percent were born in Kano, five percent in neighbouring French colonies, and 35 percent in the southern provinces of Nigeria. Jos, in a tin-mining area, had a particularly high proportion of southerners, but it was noted that the Niger immigrants could be understated since many of these "who used, before the Kano waterworks, to visit Kano City each year from French territory and make a living … by carrying water, are now seeking employment [in Jos] and identify themselves with the Kagawa". The general impression was that at that time, immigrants from the French colonies formed a relatively small part of the permanent population of the region, but a larger proportion of the dry season temporary workers. A 1928 road count in Sokoto Province saw an average of 3,500 a month passing through on their way to the southern provinces, coming mostly from French territory, but also from Sokoto (Nigeria, Brooke, 1933: 27). By contrast, in the six specially enumerated rural Katsina districts bordering Niger, 94 percent of males had been born in the emirate and only two percent in neighbouring French territories. In the other 16 areas specially enumerated within Katsina, 12 percent were born in Kano and seven percent in French territories. This higher proportion was said to be due to the inclusion of trading centres such as Malumfashi in the latter 16 (Nigeria, Brooke, 193: 26). In the Northern Region as a whole, excluding townships, the proportion of those born outside Nigeria was only one percent.

Southern Nigerians came to northern towns as traders artisans and government clerks and technicians, usually as long-term settlers. The 1952 census gives the population of Waje, including Sabon Gari, the part of Kano municipal where most of them would have lived, as 34,188. The traditional leaders of the north had only very reluctantly submitted to British pressure to send at least one son to primary school. Hence, by 1952 provincial capitals such as Kano had fairly substantial immigrant communities of

Yorubas and Ibos from the south, working not only in administration, but also in any European, Indian or Lebanese commercial or industrial establishment that required literacy, as well as being independent entrepreneurs. The Ibos tended to be particularly successful and aroused resentment and jealousy. This exploded in two 1966 riots and massacres across several northern towns, fanned by politicians in the contemporaneous political upheaval that was followed by civil war between the north and the east. Some 35,000 Ibos and other southerners who escaped the initial massacres fled (Mortimore, 1972), but Yorubas and some other southerners remained. The places of the Ibos were eventually taken by incoming northerners, who began to realise the usefulness of literacy in the Roman script in urban life (see below).

A sample survey of urban residents in 1973/4 showed that 49 percent of the males and 44 percent of the females had not always lived in the city, with 14 percent of the males and seven percent of the females being returnees. This means that more than 30 percent were new incomers. The peak age of arrival was 15–24. Lacey identified three main streams into the city. Amongst the male immigrants, 28 percent came from rural areas of Kano State, 21 percent came from towns elsewhere in the north, and 33 percent came from towns in the western region. The first group were the least educated. The southern urban immigrants were the most likely to have some level of formal education (Lacey, 1985: 694). The northern urban to urban migrants possessed fewer occupational skills than the southerners, due, she thought, to the dominance of Quranic education in the north (Lacey, 1985: 698).

4.3 Migration in Maradi

Within Maradi patterns of migration are largely similar. We have already noted the references to large scale movements into Nigeria in the early colonial period. Most later movement may have been of the more temporary type. A spurt in temporary migration to seek work is often occasioned by droughts. Raynaut (1980) found that most villages they examined had experienced a rural exodus, averaging about 6.5 percent of their total population, but affecting mainly young men. He was told this was a recent increase over the last ten years, stimulated by the 1970s droughts. However, as he remarks, migration continued after the rains became more normal, probably due to the opportunities presented by the Nigerian labour market. Doka in 1999 found people remembering the 1980s droughts as creating another surge in out-migration activity, which then remained at the new higher level and that some young men remained absent for 2–3 years, often aiming to save money for marriage (see Doka, 2001). Rain (1998), interviewing in a Maradi village, found that migrants were grouped into five classes:

- *Digga* – men going for few weeks or months to border cities or Nigeria, because they are short of money, food, or seed.
- *Cin rani* – men and women going for 3–6 months. This is not necessarily a distress movement.
- *Barema* – men doing one to several weeks labouring in nearby villages
- *Kasuwa* – people going for 1–7 days for trade to local markets
- *Karatu* – young men and boys going to cities for education, usually Quranic.

The immigrants he interviewed in Maradi town were mostly men in their late 20s or 30s, since the younger men tended to go to Nigeria. Some 60 percent of the Maradi town immigrants returned home in the wet season for farming. Migrant earnings were

not used for investment in farming; but catered for the migrant's own support, with remittances to the family at home for their consumption needs. Remittances were usually taken personally on visits to the wife, or when the wife visited town.

The extent of the interchange with Nigeria is shown by the 1988 Niger census, taken in the rainy season, which shows that 13,000 people born in Nigeria resided in Maradi, a few of whom would have been Nigerians who moved over for trade, and some of whom would have been the children of temporary Niger migrants to Nigeria. Nearly 24,000 reported Nigeria as their last place of residence, and many of these would have been people who had been working temporarily in Nigeria, but had returned (Niger, 1992a: 38–39). 39,162 legal residents, or 2.8 percent of the total population, were reported as absent, against 14,959 recorded as visitors (Niger, 1992a, Table 3.1a). Conflicting evidence on the importance of dry season migration comes from CARE (1998: 53) which found that the "exode rural" only affected 1.1 percent of the population. They did not define this term, but it appears to include temporary migration, as they specifically mention that Nigeria was an important destination for Quranic studies as well as for work.

The population of Maradi, as of Niger as a whole, appears to move quite frequently. In 1988 only 45 percent reported they had lived in their place of enumeration for more than 15 years and 45 percent had lived there less than ten years (Niger, 1992a). However, according to the 1977 census, many of these moves are quite short. Of the 44 percent then declaring another previous residence, 34 percent came from another village in the same sub-district, 4.5 percent from elsewhere in the same department, 2.2 percent from another department and one percent from a foreign country. Many of these moves represent families moving to establish a new farm in the centrifugal movement described by De Miranda. In the first part of the twentieth century they were taking advantage of the establishment of peace to leave crowded areas near fortified places, (and/or to escape colonial exactions). As the southern area filled up, later movements were to the dryer areas to the north, (Grégoire and Raynaut, 1980) or to join a man who had permanently established himself in Maradi town (Niger, 1985). In 1988 most people enumerated who had moved more than ten years previous to the census were married (Niger, 1992a).

We can therefore distinguish, in both Niger and Nigeria, between short-term, dry season migrations, mainly by young men seeking work, and more permanent migration by married men moving either to a new rural home, or, more often, to an urban area. There is also some intermediate migration, for periods of one to three years, particularly by young men, who often return home to marry, but who may also decide to become permanent settlers elsewhere.

5 URBANISATION

5.1 Factors in urban growth

The most spectacular change of the last forty years has been the increase in the proportion of people living in towns of over 20,000 inhabitants. We can distinguish three main factors in urban growth:

- political status;
- commerce and position at a transport node;
- industry, which to goes beyond the handicraft stage, requires power and water supplies adequate for factory production.

The three are interlinked. As we have seen, Kano has for many centuries been the primate city of an important political entity, a large walled town (*birni* in Hausa) whose administrators and military personnel attracted craftsmen and traders to supply their needs, and whose rulers collected the rural taxes that would support urban building and infrastructure (Mortimore, 1973). The political headquarters town has often been described as parasitic, but a town that is the centre of commerce has a fructifying influence on its surroundings, if it makes it profitable for farmers to produce a surplus for sale.

Transportation modes are important for commerce. Carriage by porter or pack animal is far more expensive per ton kilometre than transport by water, wheeled transport and rail and limits the area that can economically supply food to the town. It restricts trade to high value items in relation to their bulk. Wheeled transport did not exist in Nigeria prior to the colonial period, and although lorries were introduced in the 1920s, they only became commonplace after 1950, when war-induced shortages had eased.[8] However, railways, and for some places (but not Kano) river transport had provided cheap bulk transport capacity from an earlier date. Cheaper transport means the town can draw its food supply from much more distant areas, and relieves a constraint on its growth (Ariyo *et al.*, 2001).

The British added to the political importance of Kano by making it the capital of a province which included some smaller emirates. They appreciated its role as a collecting centre for northern produce, and linked it in 1912 by rail to Lagos (expecting it to evacuate the cotton for which Kano was famous, rather than the groundnuts for which its farmers and traders rapidly saw opportunity) (Hogendorn, 1970). The railway later extended across north-east Kano to Nguru. During the 1920s and 1930s the provincial capitals were linked by road to the Northern Regional capital at Kaduna, and to their subsidiary divisional headquarters. Hence, political importance enhanced the trading environment. The political capitals became also the centres for local roads, such as the groundnut and cotton evacuation roads built by the Marketing Boards during the 1950s and the rural roads under various state Agricultural Development Programmes in the 1980s. By the 1980s the main trunk routes had also been improved with federal funds.

The road network in 1979 in Kano as depicted in Nigeria, NPC (1998) remained very focalised on the city. There was neither state nor federal road linkage between the northern emirate capitals of Kazaure, Gumel and Hadejia, though all had links to Kano. By contrast, the road network in Katsina appears more complex and dense, with several nodal points, on something approaching a grid pattern rather than that of a central hub. This gave several places the possibility of acquiring their own commercial hinterland, and an intimate relationship with relatively nearby rural suppliers. We hypothesise that this may be related to the more dispersed power structure in Katsina, although Katsina also had the advantage that the southern part of the emirate was crossed by the

[8] See discussion in Tiffen, 1976, Chapter V.

important Kaduna–Zaria–Sokoto trunk route. Funtua, a district headquarters situated on this west–east route, was an important node since it was also linked northwards to its emirate capital.

Administrators' wishes to have electricity, water services, hospitals and other modern amenities meant that these were first granted to the capitals, where the first two also made possible the beginnings of modern industry, attracting in workers. The strong urban bias in provision of health facilities remained in place after independence (Stock, 1985), though there was improvement in schools as shown by the 1960 and 1979/80 data in Table 7. After 1980 there was an increase in provision of water, roads, and other infrastructure to rural Kano (personal communication, Michael Mortimore). Many of roads and water supply improvements were made under the Kano State Agricultural Development Programme. They were a much appreciated part of its programme, but in the case of the roads, lacked institutional support for maintenance (World Bank, 1993).

Table 7: Rural and metropolitan development, Kano Province/State, 1963 and 1979/80

Item	Metropolitan Kano		Rural Kano	
	1962	*1979/1980*	*1962*	*1979/80*
Population	250,000	780,000 (est.)	4,000,000+	8,000,000+
Hospitals	4 plus various private or mission clinics	Per capita expenditure of 7.29 naira	2 small rural hospitals and some mission clinics	Per capita expenditure of less than 1 naira
Secondary schools	6	8	1	21
Electrification	Throughout	NEPA supply	None	2 NEPA, 2 national grid, 10 diesel
Treated water	2,300,000 gallons per day		100,000+ gallons per day	
Modern industrial concerns	+40		None	
Large modern commercial enterprises and branches	+50	Two thirds of enterprises employing 5 or more people	1	One third of enterprises with 5 or more people
Banks	10		1	
Telephones	n.a.	5,300	n.a.	100

Sources: 1962 – McDonnell, 1964; 1979/80 – Nigeria, NPC, 1998, Kano, 1981.

There is a large literature on central place systems and periodic market systems, on the role of metropolitan towns, whether parasitic or not, and on metropolitan versus small

town development, which cannot be reviewed in a working paper (see Baker, 1990 for a summary). Harder and Satterthwaite (1986) stress the diversity of towns and their impact. Here, we would signal the differential impact of a seaport metropolis, like Dakar, which can import food easily and cheaply, and an inland metropolis, like Kano, which must derive its supplies over land, giving an advantage to farmers on its supply routes. The northern towns draw their food supplies mainly from within Nigeria, though there are have also been some imports of rice and wheat.

5.2 Growth of Kano municipality

A 1911 census counted 39,000 inhabitants in old Kano City and allied new settlements; that of 1921 just under 50,000 (Nigeria, Brooke, 1933). The new settlements outside the old city walls included the area where the expatriate civil servants and businessmen lived, and other settlements for immigrants from more distant parts of Nigeria. We have called this agglomeration, old and new, Kano municipal, though in colonial times it remained two units. The arrival of the railway in 1912 led to a re-orientation of its trade towards the south and an inflow of southern Nigerians into the new town. The most important new element in its early trade was groundnuts (Hogendorn, 1970) but it was also an important entrepot for hides and skins (the red Kano goat providing Moroccan leather) and a centre for the distribution of imported goods. Table 1 shows that by 1931 it had grown to 96,000. The 1931 census was particularly thorough in Kano (Nigeria, Brooke, 1931: 23). It was taken at the end of the dry season and distinguished between a core permanent population in the old city of 75,000 and a floating population of 13,000, defined as those who did not spend the tax season there. The growth of Kano municipal seems to have slowed during the economic depression of the 1930s and the war years, taking off again in the 1950s and subsequently, expanding at an annual growth rate exceeding six percent p.a., despite the check in 1966 caused by the Ibo exodus. By 1991 there were 1,364,000 people within the enlarged municipal boundaries.

The colonial administrative system was not geared to urban development. Old Kano City remained within the native authority (NA), being its political and religious headquarters. Outside the NA was the Township, under a separate legal administration, mainly inhabited by colonial civil servants, senior expatriate businessmen and high status Nigerians. Other southern Nigerians lived in partially planned settlements outside the city, with more modern amenities than the city, but fewer than the Township. These settlements were handed over to the NA as new subordinate units. Within the Township, amenities were provided by a combination of local rates and central government subsidies (Baffa, 1975). The water and electricity works were financed by the NA, out of peasant taxes, but sold most of their product to the Township (Frishman, 1977). It was not till 1968 that a Metropolitan Area Council was created for the City, Waje, Ungogo and Kumbotso, with the Township still separate. In 1969 a Metropolitan Planning and Development Board was created, with an ill-defined relationship to other administrative entities (Baffa, 1975). Water and sewage systems were inadequate, (Lubeck, 1986). Planning tended to be always overtaken by events. The best scenario was when land zoned as industrial was actually used for industrial purposes, even if in unplanned form. Nearby villages expanded in unplanned fashion (Director, Town Planning, personal communication, 1995). Transfer of land to urban use was by government fiat. Inhabitants would be compensated and moved, in 1973 at below market values (Frishman, 1977, Chapter 14). By 1995 the Land Use Decree on which

this was based was falling into disuse, and farmers were simply selling land to developers (Director, Town Planning, personal communication, 1995).

5.3 Other northern towns and Maradi

In the 1991 census (and also that of 1963) an urban centre was defined as a settlement with 20,000 or more inhabitants (the 1952 census used 5,000). By 1991 the proportion of people living in settlements of more than 20,000 had increased enormously in the whole of Nigeria. In 1952 the country had 56 towns with over 20,000 people, totalling 3.24 million, or 11 percent of the population. By 1991 there were 359 towns with a population of 31,807,000, making up 36 percent of the population (Nigeria, NPC, 1998: 305).

Table 8 shows that the distribution of medium sized towns was very uneven. Kano State had one metropolis, Kano municipality, and only five other towns over 20,000, mostly in the 20–30,000 class. Jigawa had five towns, mostly small. Katsina had 19 towns, with a full range of sizes (Nigeria, NPC, 1998: 36). While Kano State's population was 40 percent urban, Katsina had 30 percent and Jigawa only seven percent. Kano's urban pattern was definitely that of a metropolitan central place, while Katsina and Jigawa had a network of smaller towns.

Table 6 has shown there was no large town in Maradi Department other than Maradi Ville, the headquarters of the other *arrondissements* being in the 6–19,000 range (the largest of them Tessaoua). Maradi Ville was 109,368 in 1988. By Nigerian standards the department was only eight percent urban, similar to Jigawa.

Table 8: Distribution of settlements by size class (size in thousands) in 1991 in northern Nigeria and 1988 in Maradi and percentage population urban (defined as 20,000+)

Size	20–30	30–40	40–50	50–60	60–70	70–80	100–250	2000–3000	Total towns	Urban population	% urban pop.
Jigawa	2	2			1				5	199,478	6.9
Kano	4	1						1	6	2,317,208	39.9
Katsina	4	3	3	3		3	3		19	1,137,911	30.3
Maradi							1		1	110,739	8.0

Source: Nigeria, 1998, Table 13.2 and 13.6, and Niger, 1992a.

The position in 1952 was very different. Kano Province had then only one town of over 20,000 people – Kano municipal at 130,173. There were only three towns with 10–13,000 people each – Gaya, Gumel, and Hadejia – two of which were small emirate capitals. Danbatta and Ringim were nearly at the 10,000 mark. In Katsina, the capital was the only town above the 20,000 mark, with 52,672 people. Funtua and Malum Fashi nearly reached 10,000.

The 1991 census, unlike those of 1931 and 1952, has not yet given the names of the larger settlements. The 1982 estimate of urban places in the Kano State Statistical

Handbook, 1981, identifies Dambatta, Gaya, and Hadejia as having over 20,000. It is likely that the five towns in Jigawa are the old emirate capitals of Hadejia, Gumel and Kazaure, and Malum Maduri (near Hadejia but on the railway to Nguru) and Babura. The towns in Kano are probably Dambatta, Gaya, Kura, Ringim and Bichi (Mortimore, personal communication). We have insufficient information to guess the 19 towns in Katsina, but Katsina, Funtua and Malum Fashi were probably the three in the 100–250,000 category.

5.4 Employment in the towns

Census data on occupations is notoriously difficult to collect, since many people have more than one occupation. They may be mainly farming in the wet season, and have some other occupation in the dry. However the census gives a guide to what people regard as their main occupation. In Jigawa, 76 percent of the economically active population declared their main occupation as farming, but as only seven percent lived in towns over 20,000, this indicates that some of the non-farm occupations take place in rural areas and small towns. In Kano, we have 60 percent of the population rural, and 52 percent farmers. Katsina is different, with 70 percent rural and 74 percent farmers, indicating some of the farming population lived in its towns. This is feasible where, as in Katsina, there are many towns and therefore more adjacent farmland. On the whole, however, we can assume that most of those living in towns of over 20,000 have non-farm occupations. This tends to be confirmed by some detailed data from Maradi, quoted below.

Industry

One source of urban employment is industry. Table 9 shows that by 1991 production was quite important in Kano but much less important in Katsina and Jigawa. Kano State (1981) reported that Kano Municipal had two thirds of the state's registered industrial and commercial establishments employing five or more people. While their list is probably incomplete, it shows the dominance of Kano Municipal, with 1615 establishments. Hadejia followed with 248, then Kafin Hausa with 92 and Gaya with 79. About half of the establishments were in the manufacturing category, with trade, restaurants and hotels forming the next biggest group. Industrial manufacture is linked to power, and most towns lacked adequate electricity. The National Electric Power Authority supplied only Kano Municipal, Bichi and Dawakin Tofa, while Hadejia and Kazaure were also attached to the National Grid. Another 14 places had a rural electricity supply through diesel engines, often erratic in operation (Nigeria, NPC, 1998, quoting 1979/80 information). Hence, the number of towns that could support industries relying on electricity was very limited. Kiyawa (1981) carried out a study of the baking industry in Kano State in the 1970s, dividing it into modern, electricity-based and large scale, and labour-intensive using local fuels. He found 467 bakeries in the state, 226 of them in the Kano metropolitan area or nearby suburbs. All the modern bakers were in Kano. Both large and small firms made efficient use of their respective resources. The payroll of both in 1976/7 was 5,697 persons, exceeding the government payroll of 5,495 (Kiyawa, 1981: 101). By comparison, the five largest industrial employers of the time together had 3,075 employees (Lubeck, 1981). At this stage small-scale industry was a more important employer than large-scale. Frishman (1977) estimated that the small-scale industrial sector employed 33 percent of the labour force, in what he called

modernised traditional activities: butchers, construction artisans and tailoring, as well as new trades such as bicycle/car hire and repair, hand cart manufacture.

Table 9: Distribution of gainfully employed population by occupation, both sexes in 1991

State	Prof/tech	Admin	Clerical	Sales	Service	Agri	Prod	ON
Jigawa	3.5	0.1	0.2	7.1	1.0	75.7	5.0	7.4
Kano	4.8	0.3	0.7	15.9	2.1	51.8	11.3	13.1
Katsina	2.7	0.1	0.2	8.6	1.1	73.6	5.0	8.7
Nigeria	6.8	2.5	3.1	22.3	3.2	45.0	13.9	3.3

Source: Nigeria, 1998, Table 8.9A.

Key:
Prof/tech = Professional/technical and related workers;
Admin = Administrative/managerial and related workers;
Clerical = Clerical and related workers;
Sales = Sales workers;
Service = Service workers;
Agri = Agricultural and related workers;
Prod = Production and related workers;
ON = Occupation not stated

The oil boom beginning in 1973 financed an increase in state-supported industries, which, however, developed a mixed record (Yahaya, 1989). Before the petrol boom, with the exception of leather, most private industrial capital had come from Asian, Lebanese or other foreign entrepreneurs. Most local merchant capitalists preferred to invest in trade, construction and transport, which they regarded as more profitable (Lubeck, 1978). Afterwards, there was more investment by multinationals, in both industry (vehicles, shoes, etc) and services (Lubeck, 1986). This additional investment, coupled with its advantages in power and water, probably account for the greater share of industrial employment in Kano than in Katsina and Jigawa (Table 9). The crisis in Nigerian revenues in the early 1980s brought to an end such direct state intervention and promoted more activities by trade associations (Lucas, 1994). The petroleum boom had also led to a construction boom in Kano in the 1970s, which drew workers in from the nearby rural districts, as either commuters or permanent immigrants (Lubeck, 1978, from survey data). Many had to redeploy themselves by 1991. A list compiled from published and unpublished lists of the Kano State Ministry of Industry and Commerce of the number of industries in Kano tracks some of the changes. The number of establishments rose from 26 in 1960 to 51 in 1966. After statehood, it had doubled to 102 in 1971, and remained between 100 and 126 in the period 1971–1978. It had doubled again by 1985 to 232, peaked at 327 in 1989 and fell back to 243 by 1993 (Frishman, personal communication).

Commerce

Commerce is a major employer in the urban centres, although there are also persons mainly engaged in commerce in small towns and villages. An indicator of the importance of commercial centres is their market-derived revenue. The 1980 data quoted by Nigeria, 1998 (1998) shows Kano Municipal with a revenue of Naira 700,000, Wudil next with Naira 210,000 and Dambatta with Naira 170,000. Wudil has a famed cattle market, which is not dependent on modern infrastructure.

Urban employment in Maradi

Maradi had only one urban area, by the 20,000 standard adopted in Nigeria. Maradi ville had 110,000 people in 1988 (see Table 3). The headquarters of Tessaoua *Arrondissement* had nearly reached 20,000. Taking these two towns together, the urban percentage was ten percent,

Industrialisation played a very limited role in the growth of Maradi ville. As in Kano, part of its growth is due to its political status, particularly since it became the headquarters of a department, and this led to an increase in educational institutions as well as in civil servants generally. Some 'mixed' (state and private) companies were set up in the late colonial period to process groundnut oil, tan skins and gin cotton. These were increased in number during the 1970s uranium boom, with new ventures to produce some consumer goods and tools. By 1986 most of these businesses had closed, or were functioning at a very reduced level. Grégoire (1990: 12) attributes this to a combination of competition from Nigerian producers and financial mismanagement. Consequently, his graph of employment (Grégoire 1990: 30) shows that the largest groups were artisans and service suppliers (20–25 percent each), unemployed (nearly 20 percent), Quranic school teachers and students, labourers, and salaried workers, all about ten percent each. Salaried workers were mainly in government services. The seasonal migrants interviewed by Rain worked in the informal sector, mainly in crafts, sales and services that did not demand literacy, obtaining work through kin and acquaintances (Rain, 1997).

5.5 Local factors in the growth of urbanisation

Reverting to the causes of urban growth, and the relationship of the urban and rural population, we can see that political factors have been important. Nigeria, NPC (1998) attributes the growth of the number of large and medium cities to the increase in the number of state capitals. As state capitals usually also sought to have an institute of higher education, the number of civil servants and professional workers increased. While this may have started a growth process, these types of workers remain a small minority, although their spending power has multiplier effects. The minority of professional and managerial workers (in both public and private sectors) was significantly smaller in the three northern states we are examining than in Nigeria as a whole (Table 9), reflecting the low educational status of their inhabitants compared with Nigeria as a whole (see discussion of Table 14 below).

The infrastructure that politicians and civil servants can attract to their capital is important. Kano was a state from 1967. Kano's first governor, Audu Bako, 1967–75, is remembered as a positive force, for his encouragement to industrial investment and his infrastructural improvements to roads (Lubeck, 1986).

Table 9 shows that amongst the three states we are examining, Kano had the highest proportion of production workers, but jobs related to sales were a larger sector. The towns are mainly centres of commerce and artisan production, except for the few that have the infrastructure to support factories. Kano has grown because it has been perceived as a good distribution centre for a variety of goods and services, and this led to it also being selected as an industrial centre for industries wanting to supply a wide hinterland.

The lack of physical infrastructure was not the only brake on modern industry. An investigation in an urban area just outside old Kano City in 1976 found that by comparison with non-Hausa, Hausa men were poorly represented in formal and well-paid occupations, and over-represented in informal ones, especially petty trade. Amongst women, factory work was regarded as contrary to the social ideal of seclusion (Benson and Duffield, 1979). Hence, cultural influences, and the late acceptance of western-style education (see next section) meant modern industries have some difficulties in recruiting and training workers, compared with the situation in southern Nigeria.

A more important brake, particularly in recent years, has been corruption, with regulations seemingly being brought in specifically to enable extortion, and creating an element of uncertainty that was totally unfavourable to business investment. [9]

Nevertheless, one way or another the new urban agglomerations provided employment to thousands, mainly in the informal sector. The incoming migrants had to be fed, clothed, housed etc, and most of the necessary investments in commerce, manufacture and processing, construction were provided out of the small savings of the poor. Cour (1994) points out the considerable extent of these investments, unrecorded in official statistics, but clearly apparent if we take account of the growth of an urban population which survives, works, houses and feeds itself – but at a low level. Lubeck (1986) quotes a World Bank estimate that 52 to 67 percent of Kano's urban population had incomes per capita of less than the absolute poverty standard of the time. Intense competition for poorly paid work, crowded housing and poor facilities in new and old settlements have remained a characteristic of life in Kano, and other large Moslem cities of northern Nigeria. This has fuelled the propensity of poor youth to follow fanatical religious leaders, leading from time to time to religious riots, often directed against southern and Christian Nigerians.

Because so much employment is informal, in small-scale establishments, urban growth in the north has not yet led to urban wealth, even though urban incomes are higher than rural incomes. To quote the World Bank's Poverty Assessment:

> Although the urban population in the northern zone had higher per capita expenditures than the rural, the average expenditure was 45 percent below that of the urban population in the south. As a result, around 42 percent of the urban

[9] For example, introduction of new regulations at the Federal level to promote export of more finished leather led to the necessity of increased levels of bribes to secure exemption (as reported by an entrepreneur to Michael Mortimore). The number of tanneries fell from 20 to nine between 1989 and 1993 (Kano State Ministry of Commerce data – Frishman, personal communication).

> population in the northern region was poor in 1992, compared with 37 percent in the middle zone and only 22 percent of the urban population in the south. (World Bank, 1996: 40).

The situation is the same in Maradi. In 1989–90 40 percent of the urban population was classified as extremely poor by the standard of an income of less than FCFA 50,000 per capita per year[10], compared with 20 percent in the capital, Niamey (Niger, 1992b).

5.6 Impact of urban growth on food markets

Cour (1993) thinks that urban demand has a growing effect on agriculture when the urban population passes the 20 percent mark, since subsistence farmers generally aim for a 20 percent surplus over need to cater for environmental variations. As the urban population rises it becomes a strong incentive for productivity-raising innovations in agriculture and changes in the mix of marketed output. In both Nigeria and Niger the 1970s saw a massive decline in groundnuts destined for export markets. In Nigeria this was partly due to the incidence of rosette disease, but it is also likely to be due to the greater profitability of supplying urban demand for the main staple grains, pulses, meat and vegetables (see also discussion in Mustapha and Meagher, 2000: 36–37). While Maradi had only a ten percent urban population, its farmers could respond also to Nigerian demands.

The supply of food to Maradi town in 1981–84 was studied by Grégoire. He estimated that 20 to 30 percent (depending on seasonal rains) of urban grain needs were met by farms belonging to urban inhabitants. These farms were either in the immediate locality, or more distant farms in the care of relatives or hired labour. Some 82 percent of family heads produced less than 25 percent of their own needs. Some meat needs were provided by goats kept in the town, but most came from outside.

The degree to which citizens can self-provide from their own farms is likely to be less in Nigeria than in Maradi. There is greater competition for farm land, and farms near towns are often very small. The greater part of the supply is likely to be obtained from the market. A leading food trader in Kano told us that few farmers within 50–60 km of Kano had surpluses for sale, because of small farms, so most supplies came from further afield (personal communication, 1995).

The growth of towns in Nigeria, as we have seen, has been rapid. Lagos, Kano and Ibadan are the three largest cities, housing ten percent of the total population. With modern transport cities in the north draw supplies from middle and southern as well as northern states, while food produced in the north flows to cities all over the country, and is also exported northwards. Table 10 shows that the growth in urban demand solely from towns in the area making up Kano, Jigawa and Katsina States can be calculated to have risen by a factor of at least nine between 1952 and 1991.

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[10] FCFA = Franc de Communauté Financière Africaine.

Table 10: Growth in urban grain market, 1952–1991

	Urban population		Urban grain need, tons	
	1991	1952*	1991	1952*
Jigawa	199,498		31,920	
Kano	2,317,208	335,707	370,753	46,999
Katsina	1,137,911	106,508	182,066	14,911
Total	3,654,617	442,215	584,739	61,910

Source: Calculated from data in relevant censuses. Grain need assumed as 200 kg per head per year.
*1952 population includes all settlements over 5,000. Market provision estimated at 70 percent, at 200kg/per capita per annum. 1991 urban population is towns over 20,000, and market provision is estimated at 80 percent.

6 EDUCATION AND OTHER SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

A distinguishing characteristic of northern Islamic areas of Nigeria as compared with southern Nigeria has long been a much lower enrolment in Western type schools. This low enrolment is also seen in Maradi. It is linked to some other family and social characteristics that can be discerned in the census, particularly as regards the role of women. However, as hostility is based partly on religion, it also affects males.

6.1 Household size

The early Nigerian censuses do not have information on household size and structure. In 1991, average household size was 5.0 in Jigawa, and 5.4 in both Katsina and Kano, compared with a Nigerian average of 4.9. The Maradi 1988 figure was 6.8. However, this was based on the population *de jure*. About two percent were absent. This reduces resident household size slightly to 6.7 but it is still apparently larger than in Hausa areas of Nigeria. In all three of the Nigerian areas the household head was said to constitute between 70–80 percent of the economically active family members, with children accounting for nine 9–11 percent. The small contribution attributed to wives does not reflect reality; wives work, both domestically and at their own crafts and trade. However, their income from remunerative work is their own, not the households, so the household head may well count them as economically inactive. The ideal is that women should work within the compound, not in public, as both farming and factory work require.

In Maradi in 1988 63 percent of households were headed by a monogamous husband, and 33 percent by a polygamous husband. The proportion of polygamous husbands was high relative to other areas of Niger (24 percent) (Niger, 1992a, Charactéristiques socio-culturelles, Table 16). Doka (2001) attributes this to the earnings young men make in Nigeria, enabling them to take another wife. In Maradi women are more likely to farm, although in urban areas work within the compound only is becoming more common (Cooper, 1997).

6.2 Sex and age distribution

Table 11 sets out data on sex distribution. Normally areas with more males have experienced men migrating in without their families. This could explain the excess of males in Kano Emirate, which included Kano City, in 1931, when the census was taken at a time of peak dry season migration (see below). Low male numbers usually indicate male outmigration in search of work. The male:female ratio therefore tends to vary according to the time of year the census was taken. The variations in the male:female ratio in different parts of Nigeria provided one ground for criticism of the 1991 figures in the initial debate already reported, but those of the three northern states in which we were interested do not differ much from the national average of 100:100.2. The higher number in Kano State is due to a high male:female ratio in Kano municipal, where we would expect an excess of male immigrants. Similarly, in Jigawa, we find a concentration of excess males in Hadejia and Mallam Maduri, both towns.

Table 11: Males per 100 females

	1931	1952	1977	1988	1991
Kano Emirate/Kano State	105.2	94.8			103.8
Kano Northern /Jigawa	86.8	104.5			102.5
Katsina	94.9	94.5			98.3
Maradi Department	n.a.		98.8	104.5	

Source: Census data.

Table 12: Percentage of the population aged 0–14

	% under 15				
	1931	1952	1977	1988	1991
Kano Emirate /Kano State	30.1	41.6			43.9
Kano Northern /Jigawa	38.7	44.3			41.7
Katsina	45.6	42.7			46.8
Maradi Department	n.a.	n.a.	44.0	50.1	n.a.

Source: Census data.

The 1931 census confined itself to the categories adult and non adult, which have been assumed to be over and under 15, to conform to later census groupings. As girls marry as young as 12 in Hausa custom, some young females may have been counted as married and adult. The possible undercount of children has already been noted.

In 1991 over 40 percent of the population were under 15, little different from 1952, and guaranteeing continuing high population growth rates.

6.3 Education

Although *ilimi (*knowledge) is highly valued in Hausa culture (Cooper 1997), it is not necessarily associated with the type of learning provided in formal, Western-style

schooling. It has religious and ethical connotations as well as knowledge of the world, and parents for a long time thought this was best acquired through Quranic schooling, social networks, travel and practical experience. In order to make their system of indirect rule function, British administrators were expected to learn Hausa, but they needed clerks and technicians who could read Hausa in the Roman script which they introduced. In southern Nigeria the educational system was expanded rapidly with the help of missions, but in the north missionary activity was considered inadvisable. It took a considerable time for graduates from the first few schools to create the teacher trainers and teachers to staff a government primary school system throughout the north. Despite the avoidance of mission activity, these schools were regarded with disfavour by most Moslems, who did not feel they inculcated the right cultural norms. The 1952 census shows less than one percent of the population had attained literacy in the Roman script, with literacy in Arabic more widespread (Nigeria, 1955).

Table 13: Literacy of the population aged seven years and over in 1952 (percentages)

	Literate in Roman script		
	Elementary IV or higher	*Others*	*Literate in Arabic script*
Kano Emirate	0.5	0.4	8.2
Kano Northern	0.3	0.3	7.2
Katsina	0.5	0.4	4.8

Source: 1952 census, Table 7.

In 1974 President Gowon announced that universal primary education was to be launched the following year, stimulating a flurry of school building. Village and district heads were to be judged in their success in enrolling children, and enrolments did increase substantially in 1976 (Bray, 1981). This continued in the immediately following years. By 1979/80 Kano State (then including Jigawa), had 3040 primary schools, attended by 854,639 pupils, and 18,051 pupils in secondary schools. For most, therefore, primary education was all children received, and to sustain parental interest it had to be seen as useful in itself, not as the gateway to secondary education and professional work. There was also a drive for adult education, and in the same year, 58,055 persons were enrolled in adult classes. Surveys made five and nineteen years after independence in Kano City found that there was increased attendance in both primary and Quranic schools during this period (Morgan and Armer, 1988).

By 1991, the situation was considerably better than the 1953 position, as is shown by census data on primary school attendees amongst the younger population of the north eastern group of states including Kano and Jigawa[11]. In the age group 12–14, where primary attendance peaks, 43 percent of boys and 38 percent of girls were in primary school, according to the census (Table 14). (The category "other" was not defined). Secondary education had also expanded. Other data shows the gross primary enrolment in the north-east and north-west as 59.3 and 67.4 percent respectively, and gross

[11] This data is from the post-enumeration survey, which was mainly analysed by six groups of states, and not at the individual state level.

secondary enrolment at 11.9 and 16.7. In the south east and south-west, the primary enrolment was over 90 percent, and the north had by far the greatest number of unqualified teachers (World Bank, 1996: 69). Like the rest of the country schools were suffering from reduced funding, dilapidated buildings, lack of equipment, poor teacher motivation and reduced attainments (World Bank, 1996; Francis, 1998). By the 1990s a previous enthusiasm for education was giving way to increasing doubts about its usefulness and quality, since ill-paid teachers were often absent (World Bank, 1996).

In addition northern schools suffered from conflicting policies on the language of education, and the nature of the curriculum (practical and useful in itself, or preparatory for the secondary stage). In the early 1960s many areas decided to go 'straight for English' as the national lingua franca that opened the way to secondary and university education (Tiffen, B., 1969). However, others felt strongly that in order to make schools acceptable to parents they must start with literacy in Hausa, and include Arabic and the opportunity to study the Quran as well as English. This is not the place to survey the various educational experiments. Federal policy on education changed, and in 1979 it was decreed that the language of the immediate community should be used in the first three years, with English becoming a medium in year 4. Arabic remained an attraction to parents, so the primary schools faced heavy curricular demands at a time when they had to recruit new untrained teachers (Bray 1981). Experimentation on the language mix and the incorporation of religious education was still continuing in the 1990s, often with the help of Islamic charitable agencies and with the enthusiasm of parents (Francis, 1998).

Although the situation in 1991 was better than in 1952, the northern states were still far behind southern Nigeria. Girls were increasingly under-represented at the higher levels, as they were still expected to marry young. Educated women could find it difficult to get a marriage partner (Musa, 1981). Children's work was still important in Kano City in the 1970s, especially to secluded women, who use their sons and daughters to buy raw materials and sell their products, run errands, etc. (Schildkrout, 1980).

Table 14: Highest level of education attained for population aged six and above, in north-eastern states, 1991 (percentages)

		6–11	12–14	15–17	18–25	26–35	36–45	46–55	56+
None	M	50.89	30.81	30.86	33.86	43.30	51.69	56.23	62.95
	F	57.45	41.74	51.57	63.09	72.95	78.67	80.75	81.43
Primary	M	32.31	42.82	21.30	14.94	13.23	11.04	9.52	6.59
	F	28.14	37.67	15.72	10.63	7.04	4.40	3.12	2.35
Secondary	M	0.00	7.08	29.63	31.83	18.22	9.61	5.88	3.47
	F	0.00	6.02	15.70	10.60	5.38	2.78	1.69	1.1
University	M	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.08	2.23	1.73	1.25	0.75
	F	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.33	0.40	0.31	0.21	0.53
Others	M	16.57	18.92	17.92	18.01	22.21	25.19	26.54	25.85
	F	14.22	14.26	13.28	14.2	14.00	13.64	14.02	14.56

Source: Nigeria, NPC, 1998: Table 7.8A.

The same reluctance to enrol in primary school was shown in Maradi, where there was the additional barrier that education always started in French. The 1977 census gives only the education of heads of household. This data reflects attendance at school some 30 years earlier, thus being in some ways comparable with the 1952 situation in Kano. For Maradi, 76.7 percent had had no education, 18.9 percent had attended Quranic school, 2.7 percent primary school, and 1.6 percent had had some secondary or higher. This appears to indicate a fairly high ratio of secondary to primary schools. Parents in Niger have always seen the main point of primary schooling to be qualification for government service, via secondary schooling.

The most recent figures for Maradi come from CARE (1998). The department had 494 schools. Table 15 shows the educational attainments of adults.

Table 15: Educational characteristics of adults, Maradi, 1998 (percentages)

Education type	Males	Females
None	54.6	87.5
Incomplete primary	6.7	1.8
Complete primary	4.0	0.5
Secondary	3.6	0.8
Quranic	26.4	9.0
Literacy classes	4.7	0.4

Source: CARE, 1998, Table 4.3b.

The Inspectorate of Primary Education estimated the primary school enrolment in Maradi ville at 52 percent in 1983, and at 9–19 percent in the rural areas (Grégoire, 1990: 58). This seems an exaggeration, given the CARE data, but it does illustrate that educational uptake was much higher in the town.

7 CONCLUSION

Despite the deficiencies in the census data, we can conclude the following.

1. Rural population densities have grown steadily in the Kano hinterland. Even taking into account the expansion of the urban, non-farm population, the number of rural districts with population densities in excess of 150/km^2 has greatly expanded. Such densities indicate intensified farming, utilising all cultivable land without fallow but with careful nutrient management (Harris, 2000). The increase in the area under intensified agricultural management has come about from population growth and the movement of people who have sought new farm land in the areas where land is cheaper. By 1991 this densely settled area covered most of Kano State, and parts of Jigawa and Katsina States. Population densities were slightly less in the northern peripheral areas with less rainfall.

2. Southern Maradi had high densities in 1988 by Niger standards, but at around 50/km2 they are very low compared with Nigeria. We have not identified the reason for this sharp difference.
3. Since 1952 there has been a dramatic increase in urbanisation, defined as the growth of urban agglomerations exceeding 20,000 people, in both Nigeria and Maradi. However, in Maradi and Jigawa urbanisation is still below ten percent. In Kano it is 40 percent and in Katsina 30 percent. The increase in urbanisation equates to an increase in local urban demand by a factor of nine since 1952, and has made food production more attractive in comparison with the production of export crops or industrial raw material such as cotton. Urbanisation is at levels where food demand can be expected to induce agricultural intensification and investment, but this is likely to be taking place mainly in the areas some 50–60 km from Kano municipality. Small farms and the opportunities of off-farm earnings limit food production for the market on farms nearer the city. In small towns, a proportion, possibly 20–30 percent, of food needs is provided by farms to which their citizens have access.
4. Dry season migration to supplement farm incomes has been a constant in northern Nigeria and in Maradi, but it tends to increase in droughts. In the case of Maradi, each drought seems to have caused a stepped rise to a higher level of dry season migration to Nigeria, which has exerted a strong pull on young men particularly.
5. Varying patterns of urban growth (as shown in Kano and Katsina) have been conditioned by political, infrastructural and transport factors.
6. The State has invested in urban infrastructure, but these investments have been supplemented to an unmeasured degree by the investments of the poor in their housing and work facilities.
7. Urban incomes are higher than rural incomes even in the northern states of Nigeria, but northern urban incomes are far below the average of southern Nigerian urban incomes. Most of the urban inhabitants of northern cities are engaged in informal commerce and industry, earning poor incomes. The formal sector, particularly as concerns industry, is limited by poor infrastructure, particularly power, and the poor educational basis amongst potential employees. Hence, the effects of urban incomes must have a more limited effect on local agriculture than in the south, as higher incomes provide for higher per capita purchases of meat, milk, vegetables, fruit, etc. Nevertheless, farming has benefited from the demand for grains, pulses and meat.
8. While northern states have made impressive educational gains since 1952, they are still far behind the south, and this is a factor in their relative poverty and the small size of the modern urban sector. In Maradi, educational attainment is still lower.

ANNEX

1963 districts	1991 state	1991 district	Sq km 1979	Sq km 1931
Kumbotso	Kano	Kumbotso	150	210
Ungogo	Kano	Ungogo	190	285
Dawakin Kudu	Kano	Dawakin Kuda	730	963
Gezawa	Kano	Gezawa	360	350
Minjibir	Kano	Minjibir	420	153
Kura	Kano	Kura	680	653
Dawakin Tofa	Kano	Dawakin Tofa, Bagwai, Rimin Gado	1300	1347
Gabasawa	Kano	Gabasawa	700	575
Wudil	Kano	Wudil	730	743
Gaya	Kano	Gaya & Albasu	1700	1585
Birnin Kudu	Jigawa	Birnin Kudu	1960	2251
Dutse	Jigawa	Dutse	890	984
Gwaram	Jigawa	Gwaram	1760	2002
Gwarzo	Kano	Gwarzo, Shanono & Kabo	1400	1562
Karaye	Kano	Karaye	1290	1194
Kiru	Kano	Bebeji, including Kiru	1600	1528
Kiyawa	Jigawa	Kiyawa	1000	938
Sumaila	Kano	Sumaila & Takai	2000	1875
Rano	Kano	Rano & Bunkure	1420	1352
Tudun Wada	Kano	Tundun Wada	2650	2585
Babura	Jigawa	Babura & Garki	2150	2191
Bichi	Kano	Bichi & Tsanyawa	1720	1515
Gumel Emirate	Jigawa	Gumel & Maigatari	3180	3121
Hadejia Emirate	Jigawa	5 Hadejia LGAs	6850	7045
Kazaure Emirate	Jigawa	Kazaure & Roni	1270	1254
Danbatta	Kano	Dambatta	1170	1238
Ringim	Jigawa	Ringim	1790	1018
Jahun	Jigawa	Jahun	1460	1676
		TOTAL	42520	42191
Kano		Kano, Dala, Nassarawa	550	36

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