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LOCAL GOVERNMENT AT HADEJIA
1977

By
M. G. SMITH

LOCAL GOVERNMENT RESEARCH
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LOCAL GOVERNMENT AT HADEJIA: 1977

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## CONTENTS

1. Introduction ........................................ 1
2. The Federal Directive ................................. 6
3. The Reforms in Kano State ......................... 16
4. Hadejia Emirate:  
   (a) Habitate and Ecology .......................... 24  
   (b) Economy ......................................... 28  
   (c) History and Government ....................... 30  
   (d) Ethnicity ........................................ 35  
   (a) 1948–1966 ....................................... 38  
   (b) 1966–1976 ....................................... 41  
6. The HLGA and Economic Development ............... 52  
8. The Hadejia Local Government Council and Emirate Council, 1977 ........ 67  
9. The HLGC and Local Development — some problems .... 83  
10. HLG Departments, 1977 ............................ 92  
11. Kano State Agencies at Hadejia ................. 98  
12. The HLG Capital Programme, 1977–78 ........... 103  
13. Conclusion and Recommendations ................ 106  
References ............................................. 108
In 1976, after much deliberation, the Federal Government published a *Suggested Framework for a National System of Local Government* to replace that which then obtained. Following further discussion of this document with Traditional Rulers at a national conference in Lagos in July 1976, the Federal Government issued a second document, *Guidelines for Local Government Reform*, which set out a definitive framework for a nationwide reform of Local Government. Under this reform, new structures of local government having substantial majorities of elected representatives were to be set up throughout the country to replace existing local administrations for areas with populations that could range from 150,000 to 800,000, but preferably averaged 400,000. An early date for these elections was indicated, and in due course the Federal Government committed itself to provide N250 million to the 19 States of Nigeria for distribution among the new Local Governments in 1977, as against a total of N100 million allocated for this purpose in 1976.

In August, 1976, the Military Governor of Kano State, in a speech that was widely publicised, set out the plans of his Government to implement the Federal reform policies in that State. *Inter alia*, this required suspension of the existing Local Government Authorities and their Councils, registration of people eligible to vote, who did not have tax receipts, demarcation of primary and secondary constituencies, since the Government of Kano had decided to organise the elections of councillors at two levels, the second consisting of colleges of ten successful candidates in the primary elections, which were scheduled for the 30th November 1976, to be followed by secondary elections 28 days later, and the first meeting of the new councils in Kano State on January 10, 1977. In place of the eight Administrative Areas which had formerly served as the local government units, two of the four emirates in the state were divided into 18 Local Governments—namely, Kano emirate, into 16 and Hadejia into 2—while the two Others, Kazaure and Gumel, continued as separate Local Governments.

Given the scope and nature of these reforms, and their significance and implications, not only for the local level of government in Nigeria, but also for government at State and Federal levels, once the promised civilian rule is restored the Department of Research and Consultancy of the Institute of Administration at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, decided to undertake a systematic comparative programme of study of selected Local Governments in the ten Northern States in order to gather (the necessary) information about the local implementation of these reforms and its effects in various parts of Northern Nigeria characterised by differences in ecology, economy, religion on political history and tradition and in ethnic composition and culture. To initiate this programme the Department received permission from the Military Government of Kano State to study the Local Government of Hadejia, and when this was granted the data summarized below were collected at Kano and at Hadejia by a team from the Department consisting of malams Ahmed Abubakar,
Hussaini Ahmed, Ibrahim Joga, Mukhtar Abubakar, Musa A. Hassan, M. G. Smith and Mrs. Mary Smith, between November 28 and December 28, 1977.

Although the Local Government at Hadejia has been in existence for less than a year at the time of study, with the result that it would be grossly premature to attempt a definitive assessment of the developmental capacity of the new institution, in view of the salience of these reforms for the forthcoming civilian rule and the short period before this is expected to take place, the study was both necessary and opportune, and has in fact enabled us to identify certain conditions that presently seem important for the success of the new experiment in local government. However, two cautions are necessary. First, any sound evaluation of the recent reforms in terms of their requisites and implications or their developmental potentials must be based on careful comparative studies of their implementations in a number of diverse milieus selected to represent the major varieties of situations to which these reforms apply. Ideally this should be done for all regions of the Nigerian Federation; but with its limited resources the Department is obliged to confine its enquiries on this matter, as on others, to the ten Northern States. In consequence, the following report deals only with the reform as implemented in one local government, namely Hadejia. We should not assume that our findings here hold for other local governments in Kano or other states, generally or in their particulars, without further detailed research at the local level. Secondly, as the first of several projected studies, it is expected that conclusions derived from the Hadejia enquiry will probably be modified and certainly supplemented by subsequent researches. Nonetheless, comparative studies must have a starting point somewhere and sometime, and for various reasons Hadejia provided a very suitable springboard for the research programme.

In the following pages we shall therefore present a summary report on the Local Government reforms as implemented at Hadejia. In the strict sense, this report is simply a case study. No attempt will be made beyond the briefest summary to deal with the general problems addressed or raised by the recent Federal reforms of local government; neither shall we try to treat these for Kano State. We shall simply take these reforms as given, summarise their stated purposes and components, and proceed to report their application and operation at Hadejia, following a brief sketch of that area, its history, economy and population. Detailed data available from official sources in Kano or elsewhere will be omitted unless directly relevant to our analysis, since interested readers can find these readily.

Such success as our research may have had at Hadejia or at Kano is very largely due to the generous assistance we received from Dr. Isa Hashim, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Local Government and Community Development at Kano, Alhaji M. Adamu, under secretary and several members of his staff, and at Hadejia from M. Ahmed Zakari, Chairman of the Hadejia Local Government Council, Alhaji Kaila Umar, Acting Secretary, Hadejia Local Government Area, M. Tukur Usman, Alhassan Kassim and Abdullahi Zakar of the Secretary’s Office at Hadejia; Alhaji Sa’idu Kanti and his staff at the Treasury; Alhaji Zakar Ayuba, Wakilin Gona and his staff; Alhaji Sambo Aliyu of the Works Department and his staff M. Kaila Abubakar and the staff of the Community Development Department, HLG; M. Aliyu Abubakar of the Public Enlightenment Department, HLG, M. Mohammed Zirkai and the staff of the Veterinary Department; Alhaji Muhammadu Yaro and other staff of the Forestry Department, Hadejia; Dr. C. D. Carandang of the Medical and Health Department; HLG; Alhaji Aliyu Yusufu of the Information Department, HLG; M. Adamu Haruna, Social Welfare Officer, HLG, and M. Muhammed I. Omar of the Co-operative Department, HLG. We are also indebted for information and assistance to Alhaji Baba Shehu and the staff of the Secretariat to the Emirate Council, Hadejia; to M. Tamimu, District Scribe in the office of the Galadimanc Hadejia, and to a number of Kano State officials working in the HLG Area, such as M. Ibrahim Zakari and M. Mohammed Dahiru, Area Education Officer; M. Idris Amam, Co-operatives Officer; Alhaji Yunusa Muhammad, Agricultural Area Officer, M. Zakari N. Abdullahi and Ibrahimu Shehu of the State Sub-Treasury at Hadejia; Alhaji Ahmmedu Danjari, Senior Works Superintendent at Hadejia M. Tijani Mohammed Koki, Works Superintendent, Semi-urban Water Supply at Hadejia; and several others. In addition, we are very grateful to the Dokajin Hadejia, Alhaji Sale Kuliya, District Head of Malammaduri; M. Ibrahim, Sarkin Dawakin Hadejia, District Head of Kirikasamma; Alhaji Usman Abubakar, Sarkin Arewan Hadejia, District Head of Birniwa and several members of their respective staffs, for the hospitality, information and assistance which they so generously provided despite their pressing schedules of work. Most of our information on the history of the Hadejia Emirate derives from an excellent unpublished document written by Alhaji Abdulkadir Maigari, the Tafidan Hadejia, which was kindly loaned to us, with other historical documents, by M. Abdulkadir Maidugu, the Dan Iyan Hadejia, to whom we are also indebted for hospitality and interest in the study. Finally, we owe a special debt to all the Councillors of the Hadejia Local Government who so willingly allowed us to interview them on their campaigns and experiences of the Council.
2. THE FEDERAL DIRECTIVES

The ‘aims and functions of Local Government’ as given by the Federal Government in the ‘National Guidelines’ that underlay the 1976 reforms, are as follows:

(a) To make appropriate services and development activities responsive to local wishes and initiatives by devolving or delegating them to local representative bodies.

(b) To facilitate the exercise of democratic self-government close to the local levels of our society, and to encourage initiative and leadership potential.

(c) To mobilise human and material resources through the involvement of members of the public in their local development.

(d) To provide a two-way channel of communication between local communities and government (both State and Federal).

The Guidelines then define Local Government as follows:

2. (a) Local Government bodies are created by and derive their powers from State Governments (i.e. they are derivative and not sovereign), but they spring from the local communities of which they should be representative ...

3. The following is suggested as a definition of Local Government in Nigeria:

Government at local level exercised through representative councils established by law to exercise specific powers within defined areas. These powers should give the council substantial control over local affairs as well as the staff and institutional and financial powers to initiate and direct the provision of services and to determine and implement projects so as to complement the activities of the State and Federal Governments in their areas, and to ensure, through devolution of functions to these councils and through the active participation of the people and their traditional institutions, that local initiative and response to local needs and conditions are maximised. (6)

To implement these definitions and objectives, the National Guidelines reserved for the new Local Governments the following responsibilities:

Markets and Motor parks;
Sanitary inspection, refuse and nightsoil disposal;
Control of vermin;
Slaughter houses, slaughter slabs;
Public conveniences;
Burial grounds;
Registration of births, deaths, and marriages;
Provision of community and local recreation centres;
Parks, gardens, and public open spaces;
Grazing grounds, fuel plantations;
Licensing, supervision and regulation of bake houses and laundries;
Licensing, regulation and control of the sale of liquor.

Licensing and regulation of bicycles, hand carts and other types of vehicles except those mechanically propelled, and canoes;
Control or keeping of animals;
Control of boardings, advertisements, use of loud-speakers in or near public places, drumming;
Naming of roads and streets and numbering of plots/buildings;
Control and collection of revenue from forestry outside the ‘Forest Estate’ of gazetted Forest Reserves;
Collection of vehicle parking charges;
Collection of property and other rates, community tax and other designated revenue sources. (7)

The Guidelines then identified the following “Items which should be regarded as Local Government responsibilities although State Governments and other organisations may also perform part or whole of these functions if Local Governments are not equipped to perform them initially.”

Health Centres, Maternity Centres, Dispensaries and Health Clinics Ambulance Services, Leprosy clinics and preventive health services;
Abattoirs, meat inspection;
Nursery and primary and adult education;
Information and public enlightenment;
Provision of scholarships and bursaries;
Provision of public libraries and reading rooms;
Agricultural extension animal health extension services and veterinary clinics;
Rural and Semi-Urban water supply;
Fire Services;
Provision of roads and streets (other than trunk roads) their lighting, drainage;
Control of water and atmospheric pollution;
Control of beggars, of prostitution and repatriation of destitutes;
Provision of homes for destitutes, the infirm and orphans;
Provision of public utilities except where restricted by other legislation, specifically including provision of road and inland water transport;
Public housing programmes. Operation of commercial undertakings; control of traffic and parking;
Regulation and control of buildings. Town and Country Planning;
Piped sewerage systems. (8)

To regulate and discharge these functions for rural or semi-urban areas with populations ranging between 150,000, and 800,000, the Federal Government stipulated that “membership of Local Government Councils should be predominantly elected, either by direct or indirect elections, from local communities under Regulations by State Governments. Up to 25% of the membership of each Council may, however, be reserved for members nominated by the State Governor. Such nomination may be by name, or office or traditional title. As far as possible their participation in Councils should be non-partisan.” (9)
Under the Guidelines, Councils will hold office for three years unless previously dissolved by State Governors for incompetence or incapability. At their first meetings Councils are expected to select their Chairmen in either of two alternative ways, namely, (a) The Council will elect three candidates from its own membership listed in order of preference. From the State Governor will nominate the Chairman. Once chosen, the Chairman shall normally hold office for the life of the Council. (b) The Council will elect a Chairman from its own membership but such election will be subject to ratification by the State Governor. In either case, the State Governor may refer such nominations to the Emirate or Traditional Council, where appropriate, for their comments.10

To administer these responsibilities, Local Governments require certain Standing Committees and other ad hoc committees. The Federal Guidelines advise against ‘numerous or large committees’ but stipulates that "There should, in all cases, be two main Standing Committees: (a) a Finance and General Purposes Committee. (b) An Education Committee, the membership of which, in most States will be determined by an existing Education Law. The Local Government will be the Local Education Authority where such are required by Education legislation."11

The Guidelines require that ‘members of all committees, including their Chairmen, should be elected by the Council except for representatives of bodies other than the Council (e.g., in the case of Education Committee), but appointmen’ts to the General Purposes Committee, or as Political Heads of Departments, or of chairmen of any other Standing Committees should, for an initial period be subject, where appropriate, to the approval of The State Governor who may stipulate specific qualification requirements or issue general guidelines for determining suitability for such offices. The methods of election of Chairman of Committees should be as that for the Chairman of the Local Government Council described above.’12

In addition the Guidelines recommended that Councils should exercise ‘political control’ of the Departments of their Local Government either through individual Councillors selected by the Council to supervise groupings of Departments, or through small committees of Councillors chosen for this purpose. Considerable attention is given to definition of appropriate and permitted relationships between such Supervisory Councillors and Heads and staff of the Local Government Departments.

Political control of Local Government Departments by Councils should be exercised through a small number of Councillors (not normally exceeding four) each of whom will be Chairman of a small committee concerned with the political direction of a group of departments or of a single department such as in the case of education. These Chairmen will be political heads of the department or group of departments and will automatically be members of the Finance and General Purposes Committees which will in effect be the “Cabinet” of the Local Government Council. Thus Committee Chairmen as envisaged in this Reform will be responsible for policy issues and will not individually have executive functions. They will undertake political responsibilities for the day to day functioning of departments and will represent the Council in these departments and be its eyes and ears. They will give orders to executive heads of local government departments on policy issues only, but not on the internal management of the departments. Executive heads in this matter shall be responsible to the Secretary to the Local Government who will be responsible for the internal organisation and management throughout the Local Government and will be accountable to the Council and to the Finance and General Purposes Committee. Members of departmental committees will not give directives to executive heads of departments directly, but if it concerns policy matters, such directives should come from the committee Chairmen as political heads of departments. The functions of committee chairmen thus envisaged are a departure from those of the familiar portfolio councillor with executive functions.”13

The Federal Guidelines require that “each State, through its Local Government Service Board, should set up a combined Local Government Service for the more highly trained cadres . . .

“The Local Government Service Boards should be responsible for all employment, postings, discipline, etc. of all members of the combined Local Government Service, but should delegate internal postings within Local Governments and minor disciplinary matters to Establishment Committees of Local Governments subject to the right of appeal to the Local Government Service Board, which should also serve in an appellate capacity in respect of disciplinary matters concerning staff employed by Local Governments directly.”14

To secure sufficient supplies of qualified staff from the limited national pool of such personnel, the Federal Government ruled that “all posts in Local Government should be graded using the same criteria as used in Udoji to ensure that equivalent posts (in terms of responsibility and of qualifications required) in the State Civil Service and Local Government are similarly graded.

38. All pensions, gratuities and other retirement benefits should be paid by State Governments at rates and under conditions identical with those applying to State Civil Servants.”15

The Guidelines required each State to set up a Ministry for Local Government with responsibility for Community Development, support facilities for the Local Government Service Boards, “ensuring that the quantity and quality of staff available for Local Government is such that they are able to discharge the functions and provide the services for which they have been given responsibility”;16

(d) Seeing that the financial resources, including taxes, Government grants, and other revenues at the disposal of Local Governments are sufficient to enable them to provide adequate standards of services;17
An appendix to the Guidelines distinguishes two methods for the administration of 'a unified Local Government service' by each State, the first of which gives the State authorities independent control over the Local Government staff, while the second gives Local Governments a more decisive role in these matters. By a unified Local Government service, the Guidelines indicate a cadre of staff deployed and administered by LGSB and Ministry of Local Government in each State, who enjoy status, conditions of employment, and rewards identical with those of the State Civil Service, are recruited on identical criteria, regulated in a similar manner, and transferable freely as the LGSB decides, from one Local Government to another within a State.

The Federal Guidelines recognises "that if meaningful local government is to be expected in Nigeria, much larger financial resources are needed." It goes on to say that "In respect of local resources, the only one which can be made to yield really large sums is Property Rating, the use of which should be extended to all Local Governments progressively, beginning with the urban areas ....

The whole yield of property rates, including subventions in lieu of rates on local government property, should accrue to Local Governments.

Undeveloped plots used for commercial purposes should attract appropriate levies whether by rating or by licensing of their use.

All 'development' capititation or other forms of general rates should be entirely the revenues of Local Government.

Community Tax or equivalent (Community Rate, Flat Rate Rate Tax etc.) which is collected by Local Government should be their exclusive revenues,"(18) together with all 'Miscellaneous Fees' and revenues from licences etc. issued by the Local Government.

To supplement these funds, the Federal Government promised to provide allocations to States as from 1st April 1977 for distribution to their respective Local Governments on the basis of new formulas to be 'worked out later' (19) States were also required to fund Local Governments from their own revenues on a new formula . . . (to) be worked out later.'(20)

"These State and Federal allocations are to cover both recurrent and capital requirements of Local Governments. They do not include Federal Grants in respect of Primary Education under the Universal Primary Education Scheme or any comparable schemes in the field of Health etc."(21)

"Revolving Loan Funds for Local Governments already exist in most States, and these should be made universal and expanded as necessary . . . . The maximum period for any loan should be ten years."(22)

Whereas for the 1976—77 financial year the Federal Government allocated N100 million to State Governments for disbursement by them to Local Governments, it was subsequently announced that for the fiscal year 1977-78 this would be raised to N250 million, thus ensuring ample funds for their needs, particularly since these moneys were allocated as block grants to Local Governments and thus freed from State direction for particular projects and purposes. Thus, by its various proposals on staffing and finance, the Federal Government sought to remedy what were regarded as the two outstanding weaknesses of the antecedent Local Governments across the country. Likewise, by stipulating a minimum of 75% elected membership, the Federal Government sought to ensure popular participation and representation in the new Councils and popular control and interest in local government.

However, these new local governments would not exist in vacuo; they would all be replacing antecedent structures, many or most of which were effectively directed by traditional rulers and their councils. Inevitably the new local governments would have to relate in some way or other to these traditional authorities unless the latter were abolished. The Federal Government sought to define their relationships clearly while allowing State Governments to select those patterns they found most appropriate for differing milieux under their care from a limited number of alternatives.

"It is not the intention of Government to destroy the organic unity of the Traditional Chiefdoms, Emirates or similar institutions. Where a large traditional Emirate or Chieftdom is to be subdivided into several Local Governments, the latter will not become "Emirates" or acquire new traditional heads. The Local Governments will be modern functional institutions. The traditional Emirates and Chiefdoms will remain, although their functions will be changed to accord with the present day circumstances. By definition, the traditional institutions are those which have been accepted and derive their strength over a history of many generations. It would be ludicrous to try to invent new institutions, with traditional labels but lacking this sanction of history and legitimacy, as rivals to the established ones."(23)

In the Muslim regions of Northern Nigeria which have been historically administered through Emirates, besides the Local Government Council of each demarcated area, the Guidelines provided for a "Traditional or Emirate Council presided over by an Emir or Paramount Chief.

The Emirate or Traditional Council, in addition to the Emir or Chief as President, shall consist of traditional titleholders, one or two representatives of each Local Government Council if this is deemed appropriate, and any other persons who may be desired to make the Council broadly representative of the major facets of life in the area. The precise composition of each Council shall be determined by State Governments after appropriate consultation within the area."(24)

These Emirate or Traditional Councils were ascribed the following responsibilities:

(a) To formulate general proposals as advice to Local Governments.

(b) To harmonise the activities of Local Government Councils through discussion of problems affecting them generally, and giving advice and guidance to them.

(c) Co-ordination of development plans of Local Government by joint discussion and advice.
(d) Community Tax Assessment within the area as a whole in consultation with Local Government Councils, and announcement of tax. Also to aid, as is the usual practice in collection of tax.

(e) Determination of religious matters were appropriate.

(f) Support for Arts and Culture.

(g) Chieftaincy matters and control of traditional titles and offices, except where these are traditionally the exclusive prerogative of the Emir or Chief in which case the Council's function shall be advisory to the Emir or Chief.

(h) Determination of customary law and practice on all matters including that relating to Land;

(i) Making representations or expressing opinions to Government or any other organisation on the collective behalf of the Local Governments in the area.

(j) Deliberating on or making representations or expressing opinions to Government or any other organisation on, any matters which it deems to be of importance to the Emirate or Chieftdom as a whole, or which may be referred to it by Government or other organisations.” (25)

Since these councils would need some staff and legal identity, to discharge these functions, the Federal Government directed States to assure this by providing funds as necessary. In addition, as directed by State Governments, financial contributions to the Emirate or Traditional Councils for their expenses would be mandatory on the Local Governments.

22. In all cases Emirs and Paramount Chiefs as Presidents of Traditional Councils should receive automatically copies of all Agenda, Memora nanda and Supporting documents, Notes and Minutes of all Local Government Councils, and should have right to bring these to the attention of their Councils.

23. Emirs and Chiefs should be responsible, as hitherto, in assisting Government in the maintenance of Peace. In furtherance of this, they should continue to appoint District and Village Heads where this is the present custom, but in consultation with Local Government Councils, and subject to any other legislative controls as may exist or be introduced. They should also continue to tour any part of their Emirate or Chieftdom, to visit any Local Government institution, and to make such observations on these as they may deem fit, to the Local Government concerned or to State Government.

24. It may be necessary in some areas to designate appropriate members of such Councils as overall Co-ordinators of the various functions of the Local Government such as education, natural resources, etc. These designated Councillors of the Emirate or the Traditional Council would, from time to time, tour and inspect these services and to report formally to the Emirate or Traditional Council. Such a measure will have the advantage of affording the Local Governments a valuable source of second opinion.” (26)

The preceding distribution of ‘functions’ laid down by the Guidelines between Emirate and Local Government Councils says very little about the maintenance of law and order except that Emirs and Chiefs should continue to assist Government in this, especially through the District and Village Heads and consultation with the Local Government Councils. Thus implicitly, since these District and Village Heads are specifically required to exercise their ‘functional roles’ as staff of the Emir and his Council, they are responsible to both Councils for their actions to maintain the peace and law, since this is both ‘traditional’ and functional.

However, since 1970 the Federal Government has taken control of Police, Prisons and Judiciary and thus assume direct responsibility for justice, law and order throughout the country. Formally, State Governments have no direct role and responsibility here, though, being under Military Governors, in practice each has substantive authority and resources for these tasks. Local complaints against local courts and police in Kano State could be submitted through the District Officer and the Administrative Area Council to the Secretary to the Military Governor (Security Division) between 1970 and the end of 1976, when the new reforms took effect. The SMG Kano might then pass the complaints to the Commissioner for Area Courts and/or the Commissioner of Police for investigation and action, as happened with certain complaints from Hadejia against local courts and police in October and November 1973 which led to the transfer of the Area Court Judge at Malamaduri.27 Apparently most complaints against police as well as local courts at Hadejia during these years produced little recorded action to improve the situation, with the result that there was a progressive deterioration in the maintenance of law and order at Hadejia during this period as people lost faith in the police and the courts and started to seek redress for grievances perceived by direct action, particularly in matters of theft, and damage to farms by pastoral Fulani.

To correct this situation, the Federal Government declared in the Guidelines that “The Nigeria Police will be reorganised to such an extent that there is a Unit covering exclusively each Local Government area. Most of the Police working in a Local Government area shall be conversant with its language(s) and social background. In each Local Government area, there shall be a senior police officer specifically designated to liaise with the Local Government and to be immediately accessible to it. In some cases this officer will be the officer in charge of the police unit, but where this is impracticable, another officer will be designated for the purpose. Such Officers must be fully conversant with the language(s) and background of the Local Government area and their other duties must not be such that they are not readily available to the Local Governments and have time to deal with police matters raised by them. 62. In each Local Government area there shall be a Police Committee consisting of:

(a) The Senior Officer in charge of police in the area.

(b) The designated liaison officer if different from (a) above.

(c) The officer commanding the Military Unit in the area, if any, or his second-in-command if the Unit is a large one.
into which the emirate was divided. Presumably this is one of those ‘minor details yet to be finalised’ to which the Governor referred in his speech; and presumably such adjustment followed protests, bargaining, and further consideration of the situation in Malammaduri and Kaugama. There certainly were a number of protests from this region urging the separation of Kaugama from Malammaduri and the separation of Malammaduri including Kaugama from Hadejia Local Government and in some cases from Hadejia Emirate as well.32

Besides adopting the Federal Government’s recommended distribution of exclusive and concurrent functions to Local Government, the Military Governor announced that “Local Government will be responsible for primary education, but the present Local Education Authorities will continue functioning pending the final preparation of the decentralization.”33 He also declared that “each Local Government is directly responsible for matters under its jurisdiction, subject to necessary controls by the State Government. All Local revenues will be those of the Local Governments, all subventions from them being expenditure items in their budget.”34 As regards District Heads and Village Heads, the Governor emphasised that

“District Heads will serve the Local Governments in their respective areas. They will continue to be appointed by the Emir after consultation with the respective Local Governments and subject to the approval of the Military Governor. They will be responsible to the Emir for their traditional roles and to their respective Local Governments for their functional roles.”35

As regards Secretaries to the new Local Governments who were to replace the Divisional Officers who had served on the preceding Administrative Area Councils and Local Government Authorities as official heads of the local Administrative Staff, the Governor announced that:

“Initially State Government staff will be posted as Acting Secretaries to Local Governments but Local Governments will be free to appoint their own Secretaries as soon as they settle down. All other staff, such as Treasurers, and Heads of Departments will be from the existing Local Government Authorities’ employees to be deployed.”36

In addition the Governor announced the appointment of Caretaker Councils “to start functioning when the existing Local Government Authorities are dissolved”,37 before or on October 1, 1976, when the former Local Government Authorities would be replaced by ‘new Emirate Councils’.38 Kano State having decided to adopt a two-stage system of indirect elections, the Governor set the 30th November 1976 as the date for primary elections, 28th December 1976 as the date for secondary or final elections of Councillors, and 6th January 1977 as the date for the first sitting of the new councils throughout Kano State.39

Presumably, given the limited time interval between the Governor’s speech and the dates of the primary and secondary elections, the boundaries of these primary and secondary constituencies had already been determined for all Local government elections in the State except perhaps for ‘a few minor details’ yet to be finalised. We

(d) A representative of the Judiciary.
(e) A representative of the Prison Department.
(f) The Chairman of the Local Government.
(g) A traditional leader.
(h) Two or three dignitaries from the Area.

63. This Committee shall hold regular meetings to consider and make recommendations on all matters concerning the police and preservation of peace in the area and will, in particular, maintain a review of enforcement of legislation made by the Local Government.(28)

3. The Reforms in Kano State.

On August 26, 1976 the Acting Military Governor of Kano State launched the State programme of Local Government reform in a widely publicised speech which substantially applied the Guidelines laid down by the Federal Government to the local administrations throughout the State. In passing, the Governor reported the findings of a Committee the State had appointed “to study the existing structure of Local Government in the State and make recommendations on reforms”.39

Apparently that Committee had “pointed out anomalies in the present system of Local Government, particularly as it relates to the relationship of Administrative Area Councils and Local Government Authorities on the one hand, and the role of Divisional Officers in the affairs of Administrative Area Councils on the other.” The Committee observed that There was increasing expectation on the part of the public for participation in local government affairs.40 Having considered the Committee’s recommendations and the views of the Emirs in Kano State, the Governor announced the division of the State into 20 distinct Local Governments, the boundaries of whose areas had already been determined and were simultaneously presented on a map. As the Governor said, there remained “a few minor details yet to be finalised, but the framework is more or less complete.”41 This announcement divided the hitherto unitary local government area and emirate of Hadejia into two parallel and separate Local Governments, one of which, the northerly, included the ‘districts’ of Hadejia, Birniwa, Guri, Kirikasamma, and Malammaduri, while the other Keffin Hausa, Local Government, consisted of the districts of Kaugama, Auyo, Keffin Hausa and Bulangulu. While these ‘district’ allocations hold true today, there are certain notable differences between the present and announced boundaries and composition of the districts and Local Governments at Hadejia. These are made immediately obvious by comparing the map presented by the Governor of Kano State to accompany his speech with the current map which indicates the prevailing boundaries. Firstly, there is no ‘district of Hadejia as such the town forms a separate administrative unit under the Galadima and includes none of the immediately outlying hamlets. The ‘district’ labelled Hadejia in the Governor’s map is really Mallammaduri, and the district labelled Mallammaduri in the Governor’s map is the northern part of the resuscitated district of Kaugama which had been abolished in 1940 and incorporated in Mallammaduri district. These adjustments involved a substantial change in the proposed boundaries for the two Local Governments, Hadejia and Keffin Hausa,
were able to obtain, for the elections at Hadeija Local Government area, a printed list of all primary constituencies grouped by districts; but we were unable, despite persistent enquiry, to obtain information on the boundaries of these primary constituencies, and neither beyond some general remarks about rough equivalencies of population, could we learn much about their numerical bases, particularly whether primary constituencies were units having equivalent numbers of taxpayers, or of registered residents.

Although the Local Government Edict of Kano State (No. 5 of 1977) was only gazetted on June 23 1977, it seems probable that the Edict in draft, with or without subsequent amendments, regulated the elections and resulting Local Governments throughout the period between the Governor’s speech and its publication, as it has done since. Besides two Schedules, this document has 17 parts the third of which, on the composition of Councils and elections, stipulates elections to the Council by secret ballot, the ceremonial presidency by Emirs of all Council in their emirates; right of the Military Government to nominate certain members; “that District Heads of the Local Government area . . . shall be ex officio members . . . (but shall not be entitled to vote on any question)” 44 that Councillors absent from four consecutive meetings without the permission of the Commissioner or the Council Chairman would forfeit their seats, which, if elected, would be filled by new elections as quickly as possible; that an electoral committee would, inter alia, subdivide Local Government areas into electoral districts; and that until new regulations governing elections were promulgated, these would be held under the Kano State Local Government Councils (Electional Regulations) Edict No. 20 of 1976.44

Part 4, on Council proceedings, requires the councils, inter alia, to submit to the Military Governor through the Emirate Council, which will add its comments, the names of three members in order of preference elected by the council at its first sitting, to serve as Chairman, the Military Governor being authorised to choose and appoint the Chairman from this list. In addition, “every Council shall elect not more than four of its members, who shall be approved by the Military Governor, to be the supervisory councillors. . . .” 17

A supervisory councillor shall, subject to the overall authority of the council, exercise general political but not executive direction over such department or group of departments of the council as may be assigned to him by the council.” 45

The section stipulates that all council meetings should be open to the public, together with council minutes, and directly forbids councillors with “any pecuniary interest, direct or indirect, in any contract or proposed contract or other matter”, 46 from participating in any discussion or meeting on such issues.

Part 5, on Committees requires every Local Government to establish Committees for Finance and General Purposes and for Education; the Finance and General Purposes Committee (F. & G.P.C.) is required to have as Chairman the Council Chairman and as members, all supervisory councillors and two others elected by the council from its members. This committee is assigned responsibility for (a) regulation and control of the finances of the local government; (b) the consideration and award of contracts; (c) the implementation of the decisions of the Local Government; with which no other committee or body is charged, and for the general running of the affairs of the Local Government; and (d) such other functions as the Local Government may from time to time delegate to it.” 44

The Education Committee is required to have the supervisory councillor responsible for education as its chairman; four council members elected to it, and such other persons “as may be appointed by the Commissioner” 45 of Local Government who heads the Ministry of Local Government and Community Development (MLGCD) set up by the Kano State Government following the Governor’s speech of August 1976 to organise and administer local governments and their affairs throughout the state.

This section authorises local governments to appoint other standing or ad hoc committees as required; to make bye-laws. To levy taxes or rates, and borrow money, or to establish, with prior approval of the Military Government “such subordinate area authorities within the area of its authority as it may deem necessary or expedient, and . . . (to) delegate to the authorities so appointed, with or without restrictions or conditions, any functions exercisable by it, except its power to make bye-laws, approve estimates, assess community tax or a rate, or borrow money.” 46

The Edict also stipulates that “for every Local Government there shall be established by the Military Government, a Police Committee which shall consist of the Chairman of the Council as Chairman” 47 and include the senior Police Officer of the area or his designated representative, the senior Prison Officer of the area or his representative, one traditional titleholder from the area, “one representative of the Armed Forces in the area; and not more than three other persons to be nominated by the Council.” 44 It will be noticed that this section modifies the parallel proposal in the Federal Government’s Guidelines by appointing Council Chairman as chairman of Police Committees in their areas instead of the senior Police Officer proposed by the Federal Government.

The Police Committee was specifically given ‘powers to regulate its own procedure’ 48 and assigned responsibility ‘subject to any other enactment’ for

(a) maintaining under constant review questions relating to the enforcement of bye-laws and other legislation made by the Local Government;
(b) investigating and commenting upon complaints lodged about the activities of the Police in the Local Government area;
(c) giving to the Military Governor advice relating to the general maintenance of law and order in the Local Government area.” 49

The Secretary to the Local Government is designated as Secretary to the Police Committee and required to inform the Military Governor of the State, the Commissioner of State Police, and another unidentified Commissioner, presumably the Commissioner for Local Government, of the Committee’s decisions as soon as possible after each meeting. 50
It will be noticed that this composite Police Committee has no responsibility as such for the local maintenance of law and order which, following the Federal Government's action of 1968, had been reserved to the Federal Police force, but merely for the review of complaints against the police in the area. It should also be noticed that no similar committee has been established by the Edict or subsequently to review the local administration of Justice by the courts. As regards law and order, the Edict, following the Guidelines, holds, the Emirate Council responsible for assisting in its maintenance, presumably through the District Heads, who, though appointed by the Emir and on his recommendation, following a later Memo, sent out by the MLGCD of Kano on 17th November 1977, were to be selected and ranked in order of preference by the Local Government Council, the list being submitted to the Military Governor for consideration by the Cabinet Office. However, as District Heads are executive staff of the LG and responsible to it for their 'functional roles', it is difficult to see how the Council can be strictly disassociated from the responsibility for maintaining law and order locally, as the Edict requires.

While part 6 of the Edict authorises and regulates the formation and operations of joint boards and committees of local governments, and part 7 stipulates their functions and powers, part 8 outlines the scope, composition, functions, staff and funding of Emirate Councils, following the Guidelines closely.

Part 9, which deals with Council administration, defines the position and role of the Secretary at length, and lays down, following the Federal Guidelines, that 'the Secretary shall be appointed by the Local Government Service Commission upon the recommendation of the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the Local Government concerned.' However, by December 1977 Secretaries were being posted to local governments by the MLGCD following a directive from the Cabinet Office through the SMG. The Kano State LGSC had already written the SMG requesting Cabinet authority to enable it to do likewise with heads of departments and deputy secretaries. As the Edict merely says that every department of the Local Government must have an officer designated as its head, but says nothing about the manner of source of his appointment, this requires resolution. Following discussions in Kano at the MLGCD, the LGSC and elsewhere on the nature and implications of a unified local government service in Kano, it seems to have been decided that no local government secretary should work in his home area; and there are signs that similar policies may be applied to LG departmental heads, thus imposing transferability as a condition of continuing employment.

Part 9, following the Guidelines, lays down principles equalizing the terms of recruitment, employment and reward for LG staff and State civil servants in broad outline.

Part 10, sets out the supervisory powers to be exercised by the State Government over the Local Governments. These include, inter alia, powers to suspend or dissolve Local Government Councils to appoint Committees of Management in their place, and where necessary to discharge their functions directly.

Over one-third of the Edict, parts 11 to 13, deals with L.G. finances, rating powers, regulation, collection, offences and audit. L.G. revenues listed in part 11 repeat the Federal Guidelines, and include among eleven sources of authorised revenues unspecified 'statutory allocations,' presumably from the State and Federal governments. Much attention is given to the proposed property taxation and its assessment; but it remains obscure whether the local government in any area as the sole rating authority for the area is obliged to accept directives from the State to institute the proposed scheme of property appraisal and taxation.

Part 14 treats of Bye-laws the L.G. are authorised to enact; and part 15 deals with legal proceedings involving local governments. The remainder deals with general and miscellaneous items, while the second Schedule imposes an oath of secrecy on all members of the Council and its committees except when specifically waived by the Chairman.

4. Hadejia Emirate

(a) Habitats and Ecology.

With an estimated area of approximately 2,700 square miles, the population of Hadejia emirate was estimated in 1974 at 725,000. In 1977 the population of the capital and districts incorporated under the Hadejia Local Government Council was reported as follows:

TABLE 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>District</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadejia Town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirikasamma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malamudduri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birniwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unfortunately without better information than we possess, the 1977 population reported above for Hadejia town cannot be accepted. In 1974, its population was estimated 49,636, rising by 2,000 per year since 1972. Thus, by 1977, without any boundary changes, the population of Hadejia may have numbered c. 55,000 instead of the 83,000 reported above. This would reduce the population of the HLG area to c. 5,000,000, of whom 45,000 pay the annual tax, that is, about one-third of the adult males. Even so, comparison of the population total in Table 1 with those for 1972-74 set out in Table 6, p. 47 below, suggests that these population figures should be treated with caution.
Lying between latitudes 12 and 13 degrees North and longitudes 9° 30 and 10° 30 East, the territory of Hadejia is set squarely in the southern sahel, and arid zone with an average rainfall of 24.12 inches per year from 1953-1975 concentrated between May and September. Aridity is greater in the northern half of the emirate, which is also the widest part and contains most of the land, people and livestock. Until recently this intensely dry environment has been partially relieved by the regular annual floods of the two major rivers that cross the territory, flowing from the southeast to Lake Chad in the northwest. “Normally the river (flood) reaches 2.3 metres in mid-July and remains above that level until October, peaking about 4.0 metres, usually in mid-September.” However, in 1976, when only 18.1 inches of rain fell, “gauge readings at the Hadejia ferry site reached 2.3 metres on 18:8:76, and remained at that level for ten days, starting to fall on 28:8:76.” Consequently, those farmers who cultivated the post-flood fadama floodplain will remain seriously at risk if it is not ruined. Already considerable numbers of farmers and fishermen have been obliged to move against their wish, by the unpredictabilities of water supplies that have frustrated their cultivation and fishing activities.

In the opinion of J. W. Davies, Agricultural Officer, Hadejia, 1976, “The hardship caused by the failure of the flood should be given due attention by both this Ministry and by the Government generally. This year the cause is natural, but in future years the proposed Challawa Gorge Dam and other developments on both the Hadejia and Katagum River systems will permanently prevent flooding in fadama areas of Hadejia, and presumably in Jahun and Bedde as well. This will destroy the economic basis of the vast majority of people living in Kirikasamna and Guri Districts, and significant minorities in Bulangu, Kafin Hausa, Kaugama, Malam Madori and Auyo Districts. It is important that this is realised in advance, and some provision made for them.”

Stock estimates that within Hadejia Emirate the livelihood of between 250,000 and 300,000 people has been affected damagingly by these recent developments, and asks whether, on the most favourable assumptions, benefits derivable from intensive and efficient cultivation of wheat, rice and other selected crops in the 100,000 acres. i.e. 156.25 sq. miles, is an adequate reason or compensation, especially considering unknown number of similarly affected people located in North-eastern Kano and Bornu.

In 1976 the Hadejia—Jama’are River Basin Development Authority was set up by the Government of Nigeria to implement the programme of damming and irrigation already well underway for these river basins. Therefore this Authority should not be held responsible for the policy decisions it is required to implement.

Recent flood failures in and north of Hadejia are especially serious for human occupation and ecology in this region of the shil because of the evident annual encroachment of the Sahara desert. The livestock and human population are equally threatened by the rapid progressive desiccation of the terrain, and by the irregularities of rainfall which annually ruin the farmers' crops and reduce a formerly self-sustaining, healthy and prosperous economy to continuous dependence on relief food supplies from outside. Movements of grain prices in the area between October and December 1977 foretell the grave food shortages of 1978 which again can only be relieved by massive and well organised distributions of supplies from outside. In October and early November, dawu, the preferred cereal at Hadejia, fetched N8 per bag. Anticipating food shortage ahead, the HLGC decided to purchase grain locally with the total of N5,000,000 approved for this purpose by the MLGCD Kano in the Estimates for 1977—78. At the same time the Council decided to request approval from MLGCD for use of another N20,000 to purchase grain as a matter of grave urgency. It also requested the State to assess the local situation and formulate plans for relief, including appeals to the Federal Military Government Lagos for funds and assistance. As of December 29, when our survey concluded, the HLGC had received no reply, and the price per bag of dawa was well...
as gero was rising above N25 at Hadejia, Birniwa and Mallammaduri. Clearly a local government faced with severe and widespread needs which must be met by large-scale operations that require efficient and early advance planning, substantial resources of manpower, money, transport and organisation, realising the urgency born of a real understanding of the desperate situation, and the catastrophic implications if it gets out of hand, is doomed to general discredit if it is unable to act effectively and in time to head off the disaster, by its statutory dependence for the necessary authority and support on a remote and unresponsive bureaucracy located 140 miles away in a major city, and preoccupied with other interests and problems. Indeed, when this situation was reported at the Ministry to senior staff on December 29, 1977, it seemed unexpected, though the Chairman HLGC had at least on two occasions gone personally to the Ministry to press the urgency of their decisions on the Council’s requests.

b. ECONOMY

Besides cultivation of the staple northern crops, including cotton and groundnuts as cash crops and fishing in the flood plain, the rearing of livestock is especially important for the Hadejia economy. In 1974-5 the area subsequently incorporated under the HLGC had a recorded population of 33,907 cattle, 9,431 sheep, 120,000 goats, 8,900 horses, 16,500 donkeys, and 405 camels. Unfortunately, with the suspension or abolition of cattle tax in 1975-6, we are unable to find estimates of cattle population for 1977. Cattle, sheep, and goats are predominantly reared by Fulani settled in the emirate who migrate for longer or shorter distances in the dry season to seek water and grass for their herds. Drought, desiccation and food shortage threaten these and other livestock as well as their owners. There is evidence of the rapid recent increases in the price of cattle for local slaughter and for transport to southern markets that the abolition of jangali one or two years ago has reduced the pressure on Fulani herdsmen to sell cattle to meet their needs for cash, with the result that over-stocking cannot be anticipated together with an increase in the frequency, severity and scale of the already prominent seasonal clashes between the pastoralists and the farmers over cattle damage to farm crops. There is a considerable traffic through the control post at Mallammaduri of trade cattle from Bornu as well as Hadejia to markets at Kano, Kaduna, Abeokuta, Enugu, etc. The four local cattle markets are at Hadejia, Mallammaduri, Kupsa, and Marina; but as indicated above, the current price of cattle has effectively reduced demand in the local market.

The territory has been crossed by the railway line which runs from the southeast through Mallammaduri to Nguru, which is two miles across the northwestern border of Hadejia, since 1940, with the result that Mallammaduri has developed as the major commercial centre in the emirate, though three other district capitals, Kaungama, Birniwa and Kirikassamma lie along or close by the railway. More recently the old dry-season road from Hadejia town via Mallammaduri, Gumel, Garki and Gezawa to Kano city has been surfaced for all-season traffic; and though its condition is deplorable from Gumel to Hadejia, leading to unnecessary accidents, there is a heavy daily flow of commercial traffic along it through Mallammaduri. In consequence transport by rail of trade goods from Kano has decreased, and to a lesser extent from Nguru as well. Further, Mallammaduri has grown in wealth, population and heterogeneity due to the in-movements of trading elements from other parts of the North and beyond. By contrast, Hadejia town seems predominantly committed to religious and political interests.

There is a very strong local tradition there of Muslim learning and devotion to Islam; but this is not restricted to the capital; and throughout the emirate, in consequence, there is a significant body of opinion and sentiment which is profoundly opposed both to universal primary education (UPE) and to the registration of women as voters in the forthcoming national election. There are also, give these contrasting orientations and other factors touched on below, marked oppositions and tensions between the people of Mallammaduri town and district and those of Hadejia town. To some degree these differences were expressed by frequent petitions from Mallammaduri before the 1976 LG election that this district, with perhaps one other, should be established as a separate Local Government area or excised from Hadejia emirate entirely and incorporated into Gumel, the former vassal-state of 19th century Bornu.

(c) History and Government

According to local accounts, before the jihad the territory of Hadejia was divided between seven small chieftdoms, three of which Tashena, Auyo and Garun Gabas, are traditionally associated with the early emergence of the Hausa peoples as a district ethnic stock. Shortly after the jihad began in 1804 a Fulani settled at Hadejia, Umaru the son of Hardo Abdure, assumed the title of Sarkin Filani and established a minor chieftdom at Hadejia. Umaru died in 1808, as did his son and successor, Muhammad Kankiya; but before then his younger brother Muhammad Sambo had visited the Shehu Usman and received a flag and commission to wage the jihad throughout the territory since known as Hadejia. Chosen to succeed Muhammad Kankiya in 1808, by the local Fulani, Sambo assumed the title of Sarkin Hadejia or Emir in place of Sarkin Filani, and proceeded to execute the Shehu’s commission. From all accounts there seems to have been very little fighting in the territory between Fulani and the local chieftdoms which submitted one by one without contest to Sambo’s demands when suddenly confronted by large numbers of threatening Fulani. It appears that Sambo was content to retain most of these subject chiefs in office as vassals loosely incorporated in the new Muslim emirate which took its name from the capital, Hadejia, to which Sambo moved from Digimsa in the north following his assumption of office.

Sambo was succeeded in 1845 by his eldest son Garko, and Garko by his eldest brother Abdullahi two years later. On the latter’s death in 1848 Ahmadu succeeded despite violent opposition from Buhari, a younger son of Sambo. Restored by Sokoto after Buhari’s initial eviction, Ahmadu met his death in 1851 at the hands of Buhari’s supporters, following which the Caliphi Aliyu Babba excommunicated Buhari as a kaharu and directed the imperial forces from Bauchi, Kano, Katagum, Zaria and adjacent states against him under the leadership of the Galadimanc Kano Abdullahi. Buhari defended his throne successfully and inflicted disastrous defeat on the Sokoto army, following which he raided extensively and ruled ruthlessly and replaced several old
chieflly dynasties, such as Auyo, by ruling Fulani or senior throne slaves. Buhari himself relied heavily for military and political support on his two senior slaves, the Sarkin Arewa Tatagana, who administered the northern districts, including most of contemporary Birniwa, and the Galadima Jaji who controlled the capital and certain other fiefs. At and since this date, the senior titles of Hadejia have been distributed among the following lineages: the ruling lineage (Zuriyar Sambo): Ciroma, Sarkin Bai, Dokaji, Dan Buram, Dan Lawan. Zuriyar Tagata: Sarkin Arewa. Zuriyar Jaji: Galadima, Sarkin Dawaki. Other Bayin Sarki: Tafida. Fulani lineage in charge of Auyo Sarkin Auyo, Dan Iya. The Emir's clients: Madaki, Turaki. Recently, the Tafida title has been conferred on a jihun Sarki, as also the title of Dan Iya, while the titles of Dan Lawan and Dokaji are presently held by non-royals. However, as before, the Galadima, Sarkin Arewa and Sarkin Dawaki are recruited from lineal issue of Tagata and Jaji, with whose lineages the ruling family and other hereditary noble lines are closely connected through marriages at each generation. Accordingly, in and since Buhari's day, if not before, the government of Hadejia emirate rested in the hands of a small group of powerful family lines located at the capital and bound together by ties of lineage, marriage, throne slavery and clientage into a solidary executive group which controlled all the means of violence and a substantial portion of the means of wealth in the territory.

Buhari was killed in 1863, attacking the Bedde stronghold of Gorgoram, southeast of Nguru, following a plot instigated by his younger brother Haru and organised by the slave on whom he relied most for support, Tatagana. Following Buhari's death Tatagana, then the dominant power in the state, used his influence to secure the succession of Buhari's son Umara instead of Haru, thus switching the rule implicit since Sambo's death from collateral to lineal succession. Tatagana died not long after, violently but in obscure circumstances, following which Haru and his supporters were able to have the town gates of Hadejia closed against Umara, who thus lost his throne and retired to his farm. Sokoto seemed powerless or disinclined to intervene further in the Hadejia succession following its disastrous experience with Buhari; but Haru's successor, Muhammadu Maishahada (1885—1906) for his part was quite willing to intervene in the Kano succession war between the Sokoto nominee Tukur and the supporters of Yusufu and Aliyu, and to do so on the side of the rebels. This was forestalled by the arguments and influence of the then Wazirin Sokoto Buhari, who visited Muhammadu at his war camp at Gundawawa in Kano emirate. Muhammadu already held the title of Sarkin Yakin Sarkin Musulmi when these incidents occurred.

Following the basasa in Kano, at some time in the closing years of the caliphate, Muhammadu welcomed an immigrant group of Fulani from Massina of the Tijaniya sect who settled at and around Dankanyawa, where their descendants remain. These Tijaniya were unreservedly hostile to the European advance throughout the Western Sudan at this time, and had fled from Massina eastwards rather than remain therein under French rule, following the French occupation. Many, perhaps most, proceeded further eastwards from Hadejia on the route to Mecca before settling in territories ruled at that time exclusively by Muslims. Those who remained in Hadejia probably influenced Muhammadu to have no dealings with the British under Lugard, despite several personal appeals by the Emir of Kano Abbas. In 1906, following the Mahdist uprising at Satiru in Sokoto emirate, and several unsuccessful appeals to Muhammadu to cease slave-raiding and slave-dealing at Hadejia, Lugard sent a force to Hadejia to remove the Emir by one means or another. As the Emir's family, his throne slaves, the senior nobility and their followings were determined to resist, there was a violent clash inside the city in which most were killed. Muhammadu Maishahada was succeeded by his son Haruna in 1906, Haruna by Abdulkadir three years later, and Abdulkadir by Usman, the thirteenth emir, who reigned from 1925 to 1950. Since 1950 Hadejia has been ruled by the present Emir, Alhaji Haruna, whose appointment as Ciroma and District Head of Guri at the age of 12 in 1921, when he was sent to school at Kano, illustrates the severe reduction in the number of eligible princes even fifteen years after Maishahada's death. Alhaji Haruna, who is nearly 70, has experienced poor health for some years, during which time the Emirate Council has been chaired by successive Galadimos, the descendants of Jaji, on his behalf. Like his predecessors, the present Galadima has charge of the administration of Hadejia town, just as the Sarkin Arewa is District Head of Birniwa and the Sarkin Dawaki administers Kirikasamma district. But while previously, during the colonial period, the Tafida administered Keffin Hausa as District Head, more recently the present Emir has given this to his son, the Ciroma. However, following the Ciroma's appointment as Chairman of the Kano State Local Government Service Commission he has unfortunately been obliged to reside in Kaduna whilst he carries out his duties. It seems reasonable to expect that Alhaji Haruna will in due course be succeeded by the Ciroma, who is presently the outstanding candidate for the throne on various grounds.

While the old Emirate Council, from October 1971 until its suspension in October 1976, more frequently met under the chairmanship of the Galadima Yusufu and Adamu, who succeeded in January 1975, the major executive responsibilities of that administration were assumed firmly with the Dan Iya, M. Abdulkadir Maidugu, himself a grandson of the Emir Abdulkadir and formerly Sarkin Auyo and District Head of Auyo. From 1954 until its suspension, the Dan Iya represented Hadejia in the Federal House of Assembly. On his return to Hadejia after the abolition of civilian rule, he was appointed Senior Executive Councillor of the Emirate Council in charge of Finance, the Native Administration, Works, Rural Water Supply, and Community Development. The Tafida, Alhaji Abdulkadir Maigari, another grandson of the Emir Abdulkadir, was Portfolio Councillor in charge of Agriculture and Natural Resources.

The Dan Buram, Muhammadu Hurdhi, who holds another princely office, was in charge of Education, Information and Public Enlightenment, while the Dan Lawan, Muhamadu Dawaki, had responsibility for the Medical and Health department, and the Magaji Gori for Social Welfare, Co-operatives and Staff Training. It will be apparent that until the reforms of 1976 the administration of Hadejia Emirate remained firmly and exclusively in the hands of the same small tightly-knit group of families interlocked by descent, intermarriage, interests andascriptive loyalties of historic owner-slave relationships and family clientage as had been the case since Buhari's day and before.
(d) Ethnicity

Despite the expectations of most outsiders, Hadejia/Emirate is by no means homogeneous in its ethnic composition, culture and language. Besides the settled and pastoral Fulani and Hausa, the area includes Beriberi or Kanuri, Gizimawa, Mangawa, Badawa, Auyakawa, and Koyumawa, the latter mainly settled along the Katagum border in the southeast. Each of these groups except the Auyakawa apparently have differing domestic languages; and despite common belief, Mangawa and Kanuri are now mutually unintelligible, following long separation.

Failing more up-to-date and direct information on the numbers and distribution of these ethnic groups within the emirate, we are obliged to depend on ‘Proposals worked with their Governments next is the of Conver~ely,1;>y adeJ1~ latter in two units to correspond as 

Table 2. Ethnic Representation on Hadejia District Councils, 1954-1968

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Units</th>
<th>*MM B K C Total</th>
<th>Hadejia LGA</th>
<th>Kojumawa LGA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hausa</td>
<td>3 2 3 2 10</td>
<td>1 2 3 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulani</td>
<td>2 3 1 1 7</td>
<td>5 2 3 10 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beriberi</td>
<td>4 2 1 2 9</td>
<td>1 1 2 4 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auyakawa</td>
<td>4 1 2 1 6</td>
<td>7 7 4 18 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gizinawa</td>
<td>1 1 4 6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koyumawa</td>
<td>- 1 1 - 1</td>
<td>2 1 3 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badawa</td>
<td>- 1 2 4</td>
<td>- 1 - 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangawa</td>
<td>4 7 3 1 15</td>
<td>- - - 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southerners</td>
<td>- 1 - - 2</td>
<td>- 1 - 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, if the District Council representations of 1955 were statistically sound, Auyakawa approximated one-fourth of the rural population and formed the largest group, followed by Fulani, presumably mostly Borroro and Mangawa. Beriberi and Hausa are the next largest, roughly equivalent in number. Then follow small tribes or local fragments of larger tribes centred elsewhere, namely the Gizimawa, Badawa and Koyumawa. Southerners located at the Mallammaduri and Birniwa railway stations were significant but few.

Of equal interest is the local distribution and relative strengths of these ethnic groups. North of Hadejia town, Auyakawa were only found in Mallammaduri and Koyumawa districts; to the south they constituted nearly half of the represented population. Conversely, no Gizimawa and Badawa were located in the present area of Keffin Hausa Local Government, south of Hadejia town. Neither, apparently, were Southerners in 1955, and the Mangawa, who could form one-quarter of the rural population north of Hadejia town, were notably absent south of it. Conversely, Koyumawa who are marginally present at Koyumawa in the north are mainly found in the Keffin Hausa Local Government area on the Katagum border.

Undoubtedly these crude ethnic proportions would change with the inclusion of the population in Hadejia town; but where Council representation is restricted to taxpayers, this would and does have little influence, given the remarkably small number of taxpayers resident at the capital by comparison with the proportions of rural district populations. Clearly this ethnic distribution could have some bearing on the 1976 Local Government elections, which were organised by primary and secondary constituencies located within districts, except that Hadejia town was a separate secondary constituency with only one representative, given its small number of taxpayers.

5. LOCAL GOVERNMENT AT HADEJIA, 1948—1976

A. 1948—1966

As indicated above, District and Village Councils were reconstituted at Hadejia on ethnic lines by the Native Authority and Regional Governments in 1955 as representative popular agencies of local government, together with an Outer Council for the emirate. This followed the new Native Authority Law of 1954 which abrogated the status of Emirs and Paramount Chiefs as ‘Sole Native Authority’, a status assigned to them by the Native Authority Law of 1933. Under the 1954 N.A. Law, Emirs and Paramount Chiefs were assigned one of two alternative statuses, as executive heads of their Native Administrations. They could either be identified as Chiefs-in-Council, a term which authorised the Chief to void or ignore Council decisions, where he differed, or as Chief-and-Council, in which case Chiefs were expected to follow and implement the majority views of their Inner N.A. Councils of senior executives with portfolio responsibilities for the various branches of the Native Administration.

These reforms of 1954 and 1955 stimulated by the forth-right denunciation of the prevailing N.A. system under Indirect Rule by the late Prime Minister of Nigeria, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa in his widely publicised speech of August 1950 to the Northern House of Assembly at Kaduna. With hardly any exception all unofficial members in that House, though nominated by the colonial government at Kaduna, supported by their votes Abubakar’s demand for an independent and impartial investigation of the Native Authorities, the colonial officials and their supporters who
found the majority of the house, voted solidly against the resolution and defeated it. Thereafter two District officers, Port and Maddox, toured extensively to survey the Region’s Native Administrations and report their findings to the Lieutenant Governor of the Northern Province.

The Provincial Government in reply to Abubakar Tafawa Balewa asserted that District and Village Councils had already begun operating in various emirates and chiefdoms of the North, and circular, No. 246/1948/42718/30 from the Secretary, Northern Provinces (SNP) to Provincial Residents on—*District and Village Councils: Responsibility for Development Scheme*64 recommends provision of funds by NAs. to these councils for their development on the following purposes:

(a) Construction and maintenance of rural markets;
(b) Construction and maintenance of village halls;
(c) Construction to house holders dispossessed in street widening scheme (fire breaks)
(d) Construction of foot bridges;
(e) Purchase of canoes for passenger ferries;
(f) Minor anti-erosion measures in villages;
(g) Maintenance of mosques;
(h) Provision and maintenance of parks and playgrounds.65

To this effect it was suggested that the NA should set a small sums aside from the general tax of each district for use by the council of that district, except where districts were able to finance such expenditures from additional rates themselves. In Hadejia Emirate the N.A. accepted on allocation at the rate of 64 per taxpayer as District Council Funds (DCF) and projected a total of £1,1539 to be allocated among seven districts and Hadejia town in 1949-50 for these purposes. By 1949—50 all of the Hadejia districts had councils which had allocated their funds to construct or repair the District Council chambers, market stalls, or at Hadejia itself, to build two guest houses. We cannot determine how these Village and District Councils were constituted on the available data; but each met quarterly and Village Councils had some representation on the District Council.

By 1952 each village had a council which met under the chairmanship of the village head and consisted of one representative per ward or hamlet irrespective of size; but we do not know how these representatives were chosen. District Councils had the District Head as Chairman, and constituted of the chairman of all village councils, that is to say, all village heads, together with one representative of each village area selected by the commoners, presumably the village council, from among themselves. The District Alkali, if present, and N.A. officials concerned with agriculture, forestry veterinary matters, education and sanitation were expected to attend meetings of the district council to answer questions, explain orders, and pass on information, but were not makers of such councils. Commoners to represent village councils at the district council were selected annually by such councils on a "simple majority vote" in the presence of the District Head or his representative.

With the proposal to replace the 1933 Native Authority Law by that of 1954, the problems of selection of members for emirate 'outer councils' and standardisation of the methods of selection of representatives to district councils so as to ensure a higher degree of genuinely popular participation arose, with the results in Hadejia already cited, namely ethnic quotas for district council representation in rural areas, while territorial and occupational quotas prevailed in Hadejia town council. Village councils were reconstituted under the village head (Bulama, a Kanuri term), to contain one member elected by farmers, one member elected by traders, one member elected by each ethnic group in the area provided that there were not less than five nor more than ten on the council. They were required to make representations to the district council on matters referred to them by that council or on matters of concern to and initiated by them.

At Hadejia the Outer Council of the Emirate established in 1954—met under the chairmanship of the Emir himself. Its official members included 5 councillors from the N.A. Town Council, 3 District Heads nominated by the District Heads from among themselves, 5 Village Heads chosen by the latter from among themselves, and 11 others nominated by the Hadejia N.A., most of whom were normally N.A. staff. Excluding the Emir, this accounts for 23 official members. Following exchanges with the Native Authority 32 district in Hadejia emirate. With a quorum of 19, the Outer Council met at Hadejia twice per annum but had only advisory powers. It could consider matters laid before it by the N.A. or express views on regulations the Native Authority proposed to enact; but it could also advise the N.A. on matters concerning the development and welfare of the emirate and its people.

With various adjustments reflecting the penetration of party politics into local elections to village, district and out councils on the one hand, and the gradual increase of district council funds and their confidence in discharging their new roles, this officially regulated structure of semi-popular councils supplemented the traditionally authoritarian and unresponsive N.A. until January 1, 1969, nearly three years after the first military coup had abolished civilian government and proscribed party politics, even though in the last 1964 council elections in Hadejia emirate all successful candidates were directly affiliated with the Northern People’s Congress (NPC).66

B. 1966-76

From its inception, the Military Government of 1966 declared its intention to reform the prevailing system of local government; but this was delayed until November 1968 by the upheavals of 1966 and the civil war that followed shortly after. In November 1968 the promised reform programme was launched in Kano State, and by April 1970 the Federal Military Government’s proposals were implemented. As the rationale for the 1968 reform, the Military Governor of Kano State, citing a memorandum of December 196767 characterised the prevailing N.A. system by the following virtues: (1) N.A.s. provided organisations suitable for maintaining contact with the general populace; (2) they maintained law and order successfully; (3) they provided such social services as education and dispensaries, among others; (4) they preserved long standing traditions of the people from collapse and decay. At the same time
the N.A.s. were said to exhibit the following demerits: (1) their procedures were often irreconcilable with democratic norms; (2) they were frequently hostile to progressive measures and essential reforms, as for example illustrated by the unwritten rules requiring removal of shoes in council chambers and the chiefs presence; (3) several Native Authorities had not shown total responsibility in the management of public funds; (4) with few exceptions they had failed to attract the qualified staff required for efficient operations, and many were financially dependent on Government to balance their budgets; (5) while some were thus handicapped by shortage of funds and staff, other N.A.s. were sufficiently strong to defy the directives of Government. It is not absolutely clear to the writer how the detailed reform measures derive from this analysis of the N.A. system up to 1967, except in such obvious cases as the fragmentation of Kano emirate into five separate Administrative Areas and Local Government Authorities and the Federal Government's appropriation of exclusive control over justice, prisons and police which involved simultaneous abolition of the N.A. Police and Prison Departments, the Emirs' Judicial Councils and Judicial Authority, and the conversion of N.A. Alkali Courts into Area Courts of the Federal Judiciary. Even the latter measures cannot readily be derived from the preceding critique.

With the declared objectives of enhancing popular participation in local government, and distributing amenities equally in rural areas, following Federal directives, the Military Government of Kano State replaced the extent Native Administration N.A.s. by Local Government Authorities LGAs and reorganised the 'N.A. system' in Kano emirate by abolishing there five Administrative Area which were mutually independent but identical in relation to the Kano LGA and to the State Government. The three remaining emirates in Kano State, Hadejia, Gumel and Dazuk, continued undivided as before and were designated 'Emirate-Administrative Areas' and expected to function as integrated units. Each Administrative Area was administered through an A.A. Council consisting of the local heads of departments as ex-officio members with the Divisional Officer as acting chairman, pending appointments of other persons who were members. District and Village Councils were required to continue as before, the former being chaired by District Heads, the latter by Village Heads, and at Hadejia each unit having the composition reported above.

Local Government Authorities (LGAs) existed only at the emirate level and were regulated by councils known alternatively as LGAs, as LGA Councill. and also as Emirate Councils, thus marking another stage in the progressive transformation of the Emirs from their 1933 status of Sole Native Authority through the 1954 transformation to "Emirs-in-Council" or Emirs-and-Councils70 to the present 1977 Emirate Councils. At Hadejia even in December 1970 in his Reading-Notes the D.C. described the Hadejia Council as an 'Emir-in-Council'71. If the most senior State officials in the Administrative Areas remained so confused about the nature and implications of the 1968 LG reforms, we should not be surprised if the traditional authorities and the people were also unclear, as indeed was patently the case at Hadejia.

The Kano State reforms proclaimed that LGA Councils throughout the State should consist of the traditional Electors ('kingmakers') the D.C. in charge of the Emirate, elected and nominated members with the elected element forming two-thirds of the councils, while the Military Governor nominated one-third. However, as elections and public politics were both proscribed under the Military regime, the Governor of Kano State, like his colleagues elsewhere, nominated the emirs 'popular representative' members of these LGA Councils.71

As temporary chairman of his Administrative Area Council, the D.C. was also chief co-ordinator and supervisor of local government activities throughout the area, and required to inspect and report on all local houses and developments to the Division of Local Government in the Military Governor's Office.72 To supplement LGA resources and establishments and accelerate development in rural areas, the Kano State Government simultaneously directed its Ministers of Education, Natural Resources, Health and Social Welfare, Works and Finance, to establish branch offices at all the new Administrative Areas, and to undertake concrete development projects such as the construction of roads, hospitals, schools and offices in these areas. At Hadejia, this directive was gradually and partially executed. An appropriate building to house most of the locally representative State Ministry sections was constructed, as were some schools, staff houses, roads, water suppliers, and other minor projects. In 1973-4 a generating station was set up to provide Hadejia town and its suburbs with electricity, but in our experience of December 1977, the supply was more often unavailable than otherwise. In 1975 a similar plant was built at Mallammaduri and has been operating efficiently ever since.

The division of functions laid down throughout Kano State by its Military Governor ascribed responsibilities to the LGA Councils for the following:

(1) Primary Education

(2) Agriculture:
   (i) Extension services
   (ii) Amenity planting
   (iii) Seed multiplication
   (iv) Mixed farming

(3) Livestock:
   (i) Clinics
   (ii) Pasture
   (iii) Dams
   (iv) Poultry

(4) Health services:
   (i) Sanitary inspection
   (ii) Health education
   (iii) Refuse collection and disposal
   (iv) Conservancy

28

29
3 1

we have not been able to trace evidence of a separate A.A. Council which functioned under the DO’s chairmanship at Hadejia. Clearly the situation of the newly constituted Administrative Areas in Kano emirate would be very different. At Hadejia, however, the LGA Council seems to have been the only policy-forming and executive unit of that type in the emirate, while the A.A. Council had at best a shadowy existence.

It is therefore useful for us to look briefly at the HLQA Council during this period. From October 1967 until 1st January 1969, when it was abolished by the Kano State LG Reforms and replaced for six months by an interim body and committees, the Hadejia N.A. Council had the following composition:

The Emir, Alhaji Haruna — Chairman
The Galadiman Hadejia, Alhaji Yusufu
The Dan Iyan Hadejia, M. Abdulkadir Maidugu
The Turakin Hadejia, M. Adamu Sadau
The Dan Buram Hadejia, M. Muhammadu Hurdi
The Dan Lawan Hadejia, M. Garba
The Madawakin Hadejia, Alhaji Muhammadu Gauyama
Alhaji Baban Ma’aji, of Hadejia town
Wakili Baffa of Fateka
Alhaji Auta of Birniwa
Maiua Kakuof Marma
M. Liman of Saban Gida
D.O., Northern Division, Alhaji Garba Ali Diwar
Secretary, Alhaji Baba Shehu

The last recorded meeting of this council was on 27th December 1968, immediately before its suspension. It had met twice between June and December that year.

The new LGA Council assembled at Hadejia on 25th June 1969 with the following membership:

The Emir of Hadejia Alhaji Haruna, Chairman
The Galadiman Hadejia, Alhaji Yusufu
The Dan Iyan Hadejia, M. Abdulkadir Maidugu,
The Turakin Hadejia, M. Adamu Sadau
The Dan Buram Hadejia, Alhaji Muhammadu Hurdi
The Dan Lawan Hadejia, M. Garba
The Madawakin Hadejia, Alhaji Muhammadu Gauyama
Alhaji Baban Ma’aji, of Hadejia town
The Ciroman Hadejia, M. Abbas Haruna
M. Muhammadu Lakwaji of Hadejia town
Wakili Baffa of Fateka
Galadiman Keffin Hausa
Alhaji Auta of Birniwa
Maina Kaku of Marma
M. Liman of Saban Gida
D.O., Northern Division, Alhaji Garba Ali Diwar
Secretary, Alhaji Baba Shehu

To finance these activities, District Councils were allocated 10% of the local community and cattle tax revenue for their use. Another 15% of these local revenue were to be transferred to the State Government and the balance presumably to the LGA. Thus no provision was made either at this time or subsequently to fund the new A.A. Councils separately, with the result that there were and remained financially dependent on allocations approved by the LGA Council, and also on services performed for them by LGA staff responsible through their departmental heads to the LGA and not directly to the Divisional Officer or the A.A. Council. In effect this meant that the LGA retained predominant control of the funds, staff an other resources available for local administration and development at Hadejia. The District Officer (DO) sat on the LGA Council as a most experienced and influential adviser but...
were drawn from the capital, and at least one-third and probably over one-half were Fulani linked to the throne by powerful ties of descent, marriage, kinship, ethnic and class solidarity, clientage and the traditional amana bond that had provided so strong and persisting an element over the past 120 years in harnessing the families and descendants of senior throne as slaves to the dynasty as the regulating group within the emirate. However fine the declared intentions of the Military Government in its promulgations of local government reforms throughout Kano State to increase popular participation and representation, there can be no doubt that these intents were not implemented at Hadejia in 1969. Neither did the composition of the council change significantly until its dissolution in October 1976, following announcement by the Military Governor, Kano State of the most recent reforms. By then Alhaji Abdu Maigari was confirmed as Tafrica, as already noted, and had portfolio responsibilities for Natural Resources. The Galadiman Gari, Hadejia, Alhaji Muhammadu Mainahadu, had replaced the Madawaki so that, including the Emir, ten of the 25 LGA councillors held senior titles. Excluding these, five other members represented Hadejia town, and none of the unofficial members who attended the first LGA Council meeting in June 1969 had been reconstituted in the 1970 HLGA Council that replaced it. The Galadiman Keffin Hausa and VH of Sabon Gida. (Absent from meeting was the Madawaki, Alhaji Muhammadu Gauyama who was probably ill, as he died shortly afterwards.) Also absent was the Ciroma Hadejia, M. Abu Haruna, who may already have transferred to Kano city.

It will be noticed that excluding the Emir as Chairman, and the DO, both the LGA Council and the NA Council it replaced contain seven senior titleholders, most of whom resided in Hadejia town. However, while the NA Council of 1967 had only fourteen members, seven of whom were not titleholders, the HLGA Council of 1969 had seventeen ‘commoners,’ at least two of whom held titles in their local communities, namely the Galadiman Keffin Hausa and M. Liman, the Bulama (VH of Sabon Gida.)

Of special interest is the local provenience of these untitled unofficial members in both councils; in the NA Council of 1967 — 9, two untitled members lived in Hadejia town and one each at Fateka, Keffin Hausa, Birniwa, Marma and Sabon Gida. There were no representatives from Mallammaduri, Kirikasamma, Kaugama, Guri, Auyo, Garun Gabas and other rural areas.

In the HLGA Council nominated and approved by the Military Governor that assembled in June 1969, of the 17 ‘unofficial’ members, including the Galadiman Keffin Hausa and VH Sabon Gida, 7 were drawn from Hadejia town, which has by far the lowest proportion of taxpayers to population of any community in the area and a far smaller aggregate population than any of the rural Districts. Of the remainder, two represented Birniwa, two Keffin Hausa and one each Mallammaduri, then by far the largest and most populous and prosperous district in the emirate, Guri, Marma, Auyo and Sabon Gida, Kirikasamma, Kaugama and Bulangul were as before without ‘unofficial’ representation.

It will be noticed, also, that except for the Ciroma’s absence, and the departure of the Wakili Baffa of Fateka, all other members of the NA Council retained their seats in the HLGA Council that replaced it. The Ciroma was replaced by the Liman as an Elector. Of the ten new ‘unofficial’ members recruited to the HLGA Council, five, namely Bilyaminu Usman, the former Education Officer, Muhammadu Dawaki, Alhaji Nabayi, Alhaji Garba Dan Kundi and M. Yusufu, were drawn from Hadejia town, while the remainder were re-ruled from Mallammaduri, Birniwa, Marma, Auyo and Keffin Hausa. As the future Tafrica, Alhaji Abdu Maigari, the grandson of the Emir Abdulkaadir, also lived in Hadejia, more than two-thirds of the council members

### Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proposed Composition of Hadejia District Councils, 1970</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Elected</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Guri</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Auyo</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. K/Kasamma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. K/Hausa</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. M/Maduri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Bulangul</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Birniwa</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Hadejia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VH = Village Head; DH = District Head.
Clearly the desire to establish District Councils of uniform size took precedence over the proposed equality of popular representation by elections from constituencies of identical number. Thus Hadejia town, with an estimated population of 27,000 at that time, would have had a higher representation ratio than Kirikasamma with 46,000; Birninwa with 77,000 and Mallammaduri with 98,000 on a strictly numerical basis. Perhaps for this reason:

"Wani mashawarci ya ce, 'Tun da shi ke kasar nan kasa mai kabilu daban daban yana ganin ya kamata a zabi mutannen da za su taimaki kasa baki daya, watau a zabe mutene daga kabilu daban daban, misali a sani wakilin Fulani, da na Barebare, da sauransu ..." 

Nothing further was heard of either of these proposals, and those district and town councils which had already ceased to exist in 1966 following the coup and the military suspension of 'politics' were never replaced, while other that continued to meet despite this proscription until January 1969, have never reassembled. Nonetheless under its local government Authority Law, (cp 77) the Kano Military Government promulgated new District Council Instruments, 1970 specifying the functions, powers, resources and composition of these bodies, and requiring LGAs to establish and maintain them. Whether the Kano State Government subsequently decided to revoke these proposals, or whether in some other parts of the state some District Councils were set up as directed, neither have any District Councils met or functioned in the Hadejia Emirate since January 1969, when the Kirikasamma D.C. held its last meeting, nor did several if not most districts in this emirate have any council meetings after 1967. Whether this failure to establish new councils at Hadejia indicates some defiance by the HLGA of State directives, or the withdrawal of such directives, we cannot say on the basis of the information available; it could be that the local Divisional Officer had failed to follow up the matter. Nonetheless, in November 1975 the HLGA, with approval by the Permanent Secretary, Local Government Division, Kano State, levied a District Council Rate of 50 kobo per taxpayer throughout the emirate and as late as September 1976 the HLGA listed and paid staff for non-existent District Councils who worked under direction of the District Heads as follows:

27 messengers, 42 night watchmen, 10 drivers and motor mates, 7 reading room attendants, 7 guest house caretakers, 7 forest labourers, 6 health labourers, 24 market heads and 2 market scribes. 

Presumably Districts Heads also controlled the funds produced by the District Council Rates independently.

All this seems remarkably different from the declared intentions of the Military Government concerning the revival and strengthening of District Councils through the state, and certainly when the 'reforms' of 1969 are compared with the structures and provisions of 1954—5, there can be no doubt, in Hadejia at least, that these reforms were an unrelieved regression with neither adequate Administrative nor political justification, and of no obvious benefit to the population they were supposed to serve.

6 THE HLGA AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:

Since 1954 the Northern Nigerian Government had emphasised the roles and responsibilities of Native Authorities and their subordinate district and village councils to promote development in their communities. This objective was re-emphasised by the Military Government that assumed power in 1966 and was reiterated and elaborated from time to time. It is therefore appropriate to review such materials as we possess in order to evaluate how the HLGA discharged these developmental responsibilities from 1968 until the present reform. This review will provide a background for some assessment of the developmental performance of the current local government council.

In 1968 the Hadejia A.A. Council (N.A.A.) recommended capital expenditure by the HLGA of £38,757 distributed as follows: £7,076 1. extensions, repairs and equipment. £266,321 that year. 80

Of this, £6,073 was recommended for development and £20,367 for the social sector—i.e. well digging, medical and health, town and village improvement and local education; £21,435, of which education should receive £13,840.

For 1969—70 fiscal year, the HAA recommended a 'capital' programme of £36,942 distributed as follows:

1. Administrative sector £4,883
2. Development sector £44,187

Unfortunately we have been unable to trace details of the actual expenditure of HLGA expenditures of these or other 'capital' programmes for 1968—70 as well as most subsequent years, though there is much incidental information, as shown below. It will also be apparent that such of these proposed expenditure, whether implemented or not, are recurrent charges rather than capital projects; and that the grouping of the proposals into three sectors—administrative, development and social—can only mislead.

In 1970—71 HAA recommended expenditures of £27,240 on 'capital' projects. Of this, £6,073 was recommended for development and £20,367 for the social sector. However, at its meeting on 25/8/71 the HLGA cancelled projects amounting to £19,107 for 'capital' projects out of a total revenue of £532,642 or £286,327 that year. 

Perhaps in anticipation, the HAA had resolved to collect money from the public through communal effort so that HLGA could undertake such development projects as the construction of roads, schools and market stalls. A Sub-committee was appointed with responsibility for the collections but no further record can be traced of its activities.
Hadejia Local Government Authority contributions to 'community development projects' over the period 1968 - 9/1971 were as follows:

1968 — 9 — £2372 for 4. Islamic schools, 3 adult education 'classes,' 2 culverts, 2 leprosy clinics, 2 mosques, 3 market stalls and 2 wells, all constructed by communal labour.

1969 — 70 — £771 for 8 mosques, 2 agricultural offices, 2 leprosy clinics 2 adult education 'classes,' fuel plantation, all established by communal labour.

1970 — 71 — £2,228 for 5 mosques, 6 leprosy clinics, 1 Islamic school, 1 cotton store, 4 adult education 'classes,' 1 guest houses and 1 teacher's house, again based on communal labour. 41

For 1970 — 74, the actual recurrent revenues of HLGA are as set out below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 4</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hadejia Local Government Revenues, 1970/1 to 1973/4 in Naira by source.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Revenue from all sources</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal Community Tax and Local Rates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle Tax</td>
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<tr>
<td>Local Licences, Fees, Rents</td>
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<tr>
<td>Investment Revenue</td>
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<tr>
<td>Government Guests</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contribution of Local Authorities on Specific Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Specific Services</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We should perhaps not put too much faith in these or any other official figures of Hadejia revenues throughout this period, since they often contradict one another. Nonetheless, they are the best data we have, and their gross distribution and changes are useful indicators of the changing fortunes of the HLGA during the period under review.

There can be few more vivid indicators of the severe local effects of the droughts in 1972/3 and 1973/4 than the marked and progressive fall in local revenue during and immediately after that period. Because of the effects of this natural calamity, it is particularly useful to concentrate on the economy and budget of the HLGA during the preceding years 1970/71 and 1971/2. Gross details of expenditure are set out below:

<table>
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<th>TABLE 5</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hadejia Local Government Expenditure 1970/1 to 1973/4 in Naira classified</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>All Sectors</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
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<tr>
<td>Forestry</td>
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<tr>
<td>Livestock</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maintenance work &amp; Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>Commercial undertakings</td>
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<tr>
<td>Government share of taxes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Special Service</td>
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<td>Social Service</td>
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<td>Education</td>
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<td>Welfare Service</td>
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<td>Contribution to other authorities</td>
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<td>Pension &amp; gratuities</td>
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<td>Administrative sector:</td>
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<td>Central Administration</td>
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<td>Treasury</td>
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<td>District Administration</td>
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<td>Village Administration</td>
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<td>Police</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The peculiar grouping of these expenditures under development, social and administrative sectors will be obvious. Government's share of taxes comes under Development, while contributions to District Councils comes under social service rather than with administration; pensions and gratuities for N.A. staff as classified as social service when they clearly belong under administration.

Notably, in and after 1972 — 3 the HLGA ceased payments of tax to Government of contributions to the non-existent District councils and other authorities, and to the police. Together, in 1971/2 these four payments amounted to N200,966 or 34.7% of HLGA expenditures. Nonetheless, in the following year when HLGA expenditure had fallen by N9,894 outlays on the Development and Social service sectors fell steeply by amounts corresponding to the payments that had ceased while outlays on Administration increased sharply despite the lack of any further transfers for Police. Of approximately N30.6 thousand increase in Administrative sector outlays, N28 thousand was on account of the central administrative, and this was increased again by c. N14,000 in 1973 — 4 in the middle of the drought, when administrative sector outlays represented 46.9% of all HLGA expenditure. Little comment is necessary.

As regards revenue, the sharp and continuing decline in HLGA receipts from 'Personal Community Tax' (haraji) and local rates, and from cattle tax during the fiscal years 1971/2 to 1973/4 dramatically illustrates the effects of the drought. In 1972/3 the
HLGA levied Community Tax at a flat rate of N5.60 per taxpayer and collected other levies for education etc., averaging N1.10 per taxpayer. Cattle were then taxed at 75k per head. As we have not been able to trace any reduction of these tax rates during the critical drought years, the fall in revenues from these sources probably illustrates the inability of the people to pay and the creditable response by the HLGA and its tax-collecting officials to their plight.

The HLGA annual accounts for these years that are on file in the MLGCD, Kano, disagree with information tabled above on the actual accounts transferred annually to HLGA by Kano State in its Government grants, for example, of £8,860 requested by HLGA as Government grant in 1971/2 only £1,000 and not £1,612 as listed above was approved by MLGCD, of which £860 was actually transferred for public Enlightenment. Evidently such transfers, however small, were also subject to delays. On the other hand, in 1971/2 the State Government did relieve HLGA of the heavy annual obligation to transfer shares of the local taxes to it. However, the main point is that until 1974 and indeed till 1976, HLGA received little assistance from the State Government and none from the Federal Government as direct grants, despite the progressive collapse of its finances. In and after 1972, HLGA ceased to receive revenue from its investments, whether because these had ceased to pay dividends or because the Local Government had been obliged to dispose of them in preceding years remains obscure.

Of £28,380 approved by the State Government as capital expenditure by HLGA in 1971/2, £19,770 was spent on unidentified projects. Of an undeterminable amount appropriated to that end in the following year, £12,949 was spent on roads, £14,230 on tax schemes for the year 1977/8 reflects the size of the cross section of candidates, registration of voters for the elections as listed above was of £1,000 with other years, £18,218 current LGAs estimates as approved by the State government.

7. The 1976 Elections in the HLG area

The 1976 local government elections in Hadejia Emirate were held under the Kano state Local Government Council (Electoral Regulations) Edict No. 20 of 1976, which inter alia set dates for nomination of candidates, registration of voters for the primary elections throughout Kano State, and established electoral committees and authorities to administer the election. Inter alia this Edict identified as voters at
primary elections all resident taxpayers over 18 years of age who were citizens of Nigeria and not disqualified by current imprisonment, unsound mind, or employment by the Federal, State or Local Government, Government grant-aided schools, the Armed Forces, or otherwise by court indictment for corruption. At secondary elections, the Edict stipulated that only those successful candidates who were nominated by two other members of that college and had paid a non-refundable deposit of N50 could contest the final election. Registration officers were appointed under the Edict to list all eligible voters who lacked tax receipts for the current year and were otherwise entitled to vote. Returning officers presiding over the election and nomination of candidates counted the votes, at secondary elections collected the deposits, and declared the successful candidates. Appeals committees were established for such Local Government area to consider and adjudicate complaints, and an instructive list of possible types of election offence was provided for public information. The elections were themselves to be conducted by secret ballot.

The Edict concludes with two schedules which respectively list the numbers of members of all electoral colleges for secondary elections throughout the State, and the 1976 population estimates and total membership for each of the 20 councils to be elected, distinguishing by numbers the elected and nominated councillors in each. By dividing these population estimates for the local government area by the number of elected members for each, we derive informally and in the absence of any published statement defining the basis of secondary constituencies that there should be one councillor per constituency of approximately 35,000 people. Thus in Kano city representations average 1:34, 773; in Kazaure, 1:36, 719; in the Keffin Hausa LG area of Hadejia emirate, 1:34, 738; and in Hadejia LG area, 1:35, 243. However, this rule has significant exceptions. This in adjacent Gumel representation is 1:56, 659. 88

Schedule II of the Electoral Regulations (Edict 20 of 1976) lists the authorised sizes of electoral colleges for secondary elections in each of the 20 LG area in Kano State. These vary within as well as between LG areas in their number. To illustrate, in Bici LG area, the Bici Division is required to have 60 members in the electoral colleges of its secondary constituencies; while Tsanyawa and Kuci divisions had 30 and 40 respectively. As the Bici LG Council has 13 elected members, the representation of electoral colleges at the secondary constituency level is 1:10, which means that electoral colleges of 10 candidates successful at the primary elections will each return one councillor from among themselves.

For Hadejia LG area, the divisions scheduled and their electoral college memberships are as follows:

(a) Hadejia Town — 10
(b) Birniwa — 50
(c) Guri — 20
(d) Kirikasamma — 30
(e) Malammaduri — 30

For the Keffin Hausa LG area, the corresponding breakdown is:

(a) Keffin Hausa — 30
(b) Kaugama — 20
(c) Auyo — 10
(d) Bulangu — 20

Set beside the number of registered taxpayers in each of these division of the LG area for 1976—7, the significant inequalities in the distribution of council seats within the electorate is patently clear. These data are set out below. 89

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>1976 taxpayers</th>
<th>No. of councillors</th>
<th>Representation ratios</th>
<th>Av. number of taxpayers per primary constituency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hadejia town</td>
<td>2753</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1:2753</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallammaduri</td>
<td>7600</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1:2563</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birniwa</td>
<td>10814</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1:2163</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirikasamma</td>
<td>10024</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1:3345</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guri</td>
<td>6986</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1:3493</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>38277</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>1:2734</strong></td>
<td><strong>277</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noted that the average population of these secondary constituencies is 12.7 times the average number of taxpayers. It is true that during the registration period women, who do not pay tax, were encouraged to register between 8 and 10 p.m. in pursuance of or 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. if not. An indeterminate number did, and many did vote in primary elections, normally, accounting to information, on ethnic lines; but however influential in particular primary constituencies, they were a relatively small fraction of those who cast their votes; and in any case, as shown below, most of the electorate were not called on to vote, since most primary elections were uncontested.

The preceding table shows that Kirikasamma and Guri were disfavoured in council representation by the demarcation of primary and secondary constituencies exclusively within district boundaries. They seem to be no obvious justification for defining constituencies so that their boundaries coincide with village or district areas, if this involves significant inequalities in representation. By contrast Birniwa, with five seats, was excessively fortunate. Only at Mallammaduri and Hadejia town did the secondary constituencies approximate closely the Local Government average; and this followed the excision of Kaugama district from Mallammaduri and its transfer to Keffin Hausa.
It will be noticed that the average numbers of votes cast at these primaries, and the range of variation in the electoral turnouts. However, looking information on the numbers of voters registered in any area, we cannot estimate the percentage turnout directly. For that we must draw further information by comparing the average turnout at these primaries against the average number of registered taxpayers per primary constituency in the area derived above. Our data on these election, both primary and secondary, are summarised above.

Though we cannot dwell at length on this fascinating distribution, some comments are appropriate. First only 36% of the 138 primary constituencies were contested, thus implicitly relieving roughly 64% of the electorate of the need to make a decision. At the secondary level this pattern is exactly reversed, and only 36% of the 14 secondary elections went uncontested. Notably, only in three secondary constituencies, namely Birniwa C, D and E, were no elections at either level contested. In Birniwa B there was one contest in the primary elections and none at the primary elections and none at the secondary, and in the five major Birniwa constituencies, only primaries and one secondary election was contested. By comparison, all primary elections were contested in Hadejia town, and so too the secondary; 7 of the 30 primaries in Mallammaduri district were contested, and all three secondaries; 19 of the 30 primaries in Kirikasamma were contested, and 2 of the 3 secondaries; 9 of the 18 primaries at Guri were contested, but only one secondary. On these data, it appears that in the HLG area at any rate, secondary elections are unlikely to be contested. In all cases where 4 or more primaries were contested, the secondaries were contested. However, the converse does not always apply; and in two secondary constituencies at Mallammaduri each of which had only one contest at the primary level, the secondary election was contested.

It will be noticed that the average numbers of votes thrown for all 50 contested primary elections corresponds exactly with the average number of taxpayer per primary constituency, which suggests that the unknown female vote merely balanced the number of registered taxpayers who failed to vote. Since most women are married and most married women are unlikely to vote except with their husband’s permissions, this female vote was probably both small and dependent.

Votes thrown at contested primary elections in the HLG area ranged in number from 66 to 513, which is quite extreme. Presumably the losing candidate abandoned the contest early in that primary constituencies, Mallammaduri II and III and Birniwa, B, all the votes thrown and reported above are reported for only one of the two contestants. Even allowing for these particulars, the range of differences in the apparent numbers of electors per primary constituency indicated above are so gross as to suggest that the principle of equality in representation was replaced by the administrative convenience of grouping adjacent village areas to make the primary

As mentioned above, neither in Kano nor at Hadejia have we been able to find any information on the boundaries and numerical bases of the primary constituencies. The preceding information is thus inferential. We cannot therefore group the primary constituencies, whether by numbers of population or by numbers of taxpayers. However, we can compare the returns reported from contested primary elections in each constituency to indicate the average numbers of votes cast at these primaries, and the range of variation in the electoral turnouts. However, looking information on the numbers of voters registered in any area, we cannot estimate the percentage turnout directly. For that we must draw further information by comparing the average turnout at these primaries against the average number of registered taxpayers per primary constituency in the area derived above. Our data on these election, both primary and secondary, are summarised above.

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divisions of secondary constituencies. Notably, only in four cases, two in Guri North and two in Kirikasamma B, were primary elections contested by three or more candidates, and in no case did this happen at the secondary level. Only one elected at the secondary level obtained from voting, and only in one case, Mallammaduri I, where the results were 6/4, could the contest be said to be close. Most strikingly, the Birniwa results indicate virtual unanimity of primary and secondary electors in that district on the selection of the representative at both levels. By contrast, Mallammaduri, Kirikasamma, Guri and above all Hadejia town exhibit quite strong deviations over the choice of primary candidates and councillors. These patterns might reflect ethnic and close divisions within the constituencies. Notably, all four appeals against the declared election results came from Hadejia town, where the councillor returned is connected with the royal lineage, practised politics under the last civilian regime, lives in Lagos, and, according to the complaints, wittingly or otherwise, had the support of the two officials who together administer the town.

As mentioned above, before the elections there were several petitions from Mallammaduri to the DO Hadejia urging that Mallammaduri, with or without adjacent districts but including the Kaugama population, should be designated a distinct Local Government, or even that Mallammaduri should be removed from Hadejia emirate and attached to Gumi. There were also several request from the Kaugama area for separation from Mallammaduri district. The MLGCD at Kano likewise received complaints and petitions before the elections. Of a total of 20 in the files we have seen, one came from Kiyawa in Kano emirate and 19 from districts in the HLG. Of the latter, one each came from Mallammaduri, Guri and Kirikasamma and 16 from Birniwa district. Most of these Birniwa petitions requested a separate Local Government for the grouped districts of Birniwa, Guri and Kirikasamma, and most bluntly accused the preceding administrations of Hadejia of withholding the available resources and development programmes from Birniwa and other rural districts for their own benefit. Evidently some articulate residents of Birniwa were highly dissatisfied with the old HLG authority which, as shown above, was dominated by residents of the capital and high-ranking sarakuna; residents of the Kaugama area for separation from Mallammaduri district. This totally reverses the antecedent pattern of domination by Birniwa results from Birniwa district. This totally reverses the antecedent pattern of domination by Hadejia town and by the ruling class centred there which, as we have seen, prevailed up to and under the former HLG. Clearly, this virtual takeover of the present HLG by the elected representatives of Birniwa was facilitated by a fortunate combination of factors. These include the solidarity of Birniwa people which is well expressed in the preceding table of primary and secondary election results, they also includes the relatively sharp divisions which are found in other districts and secondary constituencies throughout the HLG area; and they also include the simple fact that the Birniwa representation is more than one-third of the elected councillors, slightly less than one-third of the total councillors, including four nominated members.

8. The Hadejia LG Council and Emirate Council, 1977

The new council convened for its first meeting on January 10, 1977, as directed by the State Government, following the Governor's approval of five nominated members, which gave the council a total of 19 members in which the nominated member exceeded the legal limit of 25%, set by the Edict. Of the five councillors probably nominated by the Emir and his advisers and approved by the Governor, two the Dan Iya, N. Abdulkadir Maidaugwu and the Tafida, Alhaji Abdulkadir Mogaari, had served as portfolio councillors in the preceding HLG and belonged to the ruling council; the other three were united Alhassan who had not served on the HLG and represented commercial and other interests.

As directed, the ex-DO Hadejia, now converted into Secretary of the HLG, presided over the council's first meeting and presented draft Standing Orders from the MLGCD Kano which were adopted with minor modifications. A circular from the PS, MLGCD to all LG Council Secretaries, regulating the conduct and tenure of Chairmen and Supervisory Councillors in their offices was also available at this meeting. The primary business of the Council at its first meeting besides the adoption of standing orders was to elect a Chairman and to submit the names of three candidates for that office in order of preference to the Emirate Council for transmission to the Military Governor with that Council's comments. Three names were put forward in Council for selection by secret ballot. M. Ahmed Zakari of the Karanga constituency, Birniwa; the Dan Iya, M. Abdulkadir Maidaugwu of Hadejia, a nominated member; and Aliyu Usman of Hadejia, an elected member. When the votes were counted, Ahmed Zakari received 12, the Dan Iya four, M. Aliyu Usman two, and three was the absentee. Both unsuccessful candidates belonged to the royal family and the capital.
The new Hadejia Emirate Council met for the first time four days later under the chairmanship of the Emir Alhaji Haruna. Others present were the Galadiman Hadejia, Alhaji Adamu Sadau, the Turakin Hadejia, M. Muhammadu Naishahade, the Sarkin Arewan Hadejia, (DH Birniwa), Alhaji Usman Abubakar, the Madakin Hadejia, Alhaji Muhammadu Guyama, and the Liman, Alhaji Abdurrahman, with the Secretary, Alhaji Baba Shehu, present. The Secretary reported the results of the two LG Council elections for Chairman in the Emirate, namely at Hadejia and at Keffin Hausa, which had also submitted three names, in the following order of preference: (1) M. Muhammadu Toro, (2) Alhaji Suleimanu Bulangu, and (3) Alhaji Malik Zabo. Of these three, M. Muhammadu Toro, aged 33 and a farmer with Primary school grade 4 education spoke Hausa and Fulani and was a commoner Alhaji Suleimanu Bulangu by contrast was closely associated with the District Head of Bulangu, his father being the Assistant District Head. Following discussion of these two lists, the Emirate Council instructed its Secretary to recommend on its behalf that the Military Governor of Kano should appoint Abdullahi Maiduguno, the Dan Iya, as Chairman of the Hadejia Local Government Council and Alhaji Suleiman Bulangu as Chairman of Keffin Hausa LGC.

By or before then, apparently, the results of the HLGC elections for the chairmanship, giving the details of votes cast for candidates, had been broadcast on the Kano Government radio network. Knowledge of this drew a sharp protest from the Chairman of the caretaker committee, HLG, Alhaji Bashari M. Bello, the Area Education Officer, Hadejia to the Secretary, HLG, with copies to the Secretary, Emirate Council, Hadejia and the Permanent Secretary, MLGCD, to whom the HLGC Secretary had already reported these results in a letter of 11th January 1977. However, we have not been able to trace any subsequent correspondence on this matter, which might very well be the last act of the Caretaker Committee. It seems unlikely that the information broadcast would have been supplied by the HLGC Council Secretary, though the retiring Chairman of the Caretaker Committee seemed to hold him responsible. "Don't you think that it would really embarrass the Government of Kano State by sending the release to the Press even before the Emirate Council could forward the matter to the Governor? In any capacity as the Chairman of the Caretaker Committee, I would like to have the reason why you sent the release before everything had been formalised."

At its second meeting the HLG Council chose three Supervisory Councillors as required by the Ministry, even before the final divisions of their portfolios had been laid down by Kano. All three Supervisory Councillors whose names were finally put forward were elected members, two from the Birniwa district and one from Malamaduri. However, this outcome was not the council's first choice; its Minutes recorded that:


This was the last Council meeting the Dan Iya attended. Some time in March or April, following the necessary communications, he rejoined the Emirate Council and recovered there by the position and emoluments he had forfeited when nominated to the HLGC. When the Emirate Council convened for its second meeting on 20th October 1977, besides the six members who attended the first meeting, its membership had increased with the Governor's approval to include the Bulama of Sabon Gida M. Liman, the Dan Iya M. Abdulkadir Maiduguno, the Dan Buram, Alhaji Muhammadu Burdi and the two Chairmen of the HLG and KELG Councils, N. M. Ahmed Zakari and Muhammadu Toro. At that meeting the KELG adopted a proposal by the Secretary to seek draft Standing Orders from the MLGCD Kano and to meet more frequently. It also appointed its own General Purposes Committee which had as chairman the Galadima and as members the Dan Iya, the Dan Buram and the Chairman, HLGC.

As the 1976—77 fiscal year was nearing its end, the HLGC Council on 11:2:77 examined its projected expenditures for the fiscal quarter Jan. 1 — March 31, as requested by the MLGCD Kano and the Council Secretary, and approved the following outlays for that quarter.

| TABLE 10 |
| Hadejia Local Government Council: Expenditures Approved 1977 |
| Jan — March |
| N |
| 1. Administration | 79,393 |
| 2. Finance | 36,890 |
| 3. Natural Resources | 31,976 |
| 4. Health | 31,602 |
| 5. Soc. Devpt., Trade, Industry | 6,325 |
| 6. Works | 15,839 |
| 7. Education | 6,846 |
| N 208,871 |

The total allocated for recurrent expenditure during the quarter was covered by the Federal transfer of N256,820 to the Council in January by the MLGCD Kano to cover its running expenses. 93

We were unable to interview all members of the Council as planned, despite their willingness and our desire; but probably the thirteen councillors interviewed, of whom two were nominated, illustrate the characteristics of the councillors as a group reasonably well. Of these thirteen, ten are known to be literate in Hausa, the language in which the Council carries on its business, four of them in English also, and some in Kanuri and Arabic. We are not sure about the literacy of the remaining three. Of the twelve, are between 30 and 40 years old, six between 40 and 50, and two are between
50 and 60 years old. As clues to ethnic identity, given the sensitivities of the situation, we acquired about fluency in languages other than the Hausa. Though an imperfect index, the results are revealing. Of the thirteen councillors interviewed, one, the Emir’s younger brother, Alh. Aliyu Usman from Hadejia town, is clearly Fulani by descent. Four are Hausa and six are Barebale and/or Mangawa, coming from the northern districts, and we lack information on two. Thus the council is modally literate and young with the average and modal ages in the low forties. Probably one-half of its members identify with the Kanuri-Mangawa and other non-Hausa/Fulani elements in the population of the area. As regards occupation, elected councillors include several traders and business men as well as substantial farmers and one or two contractors. The Council operates easily, without any clear division between its nominated and elected members. All Councillors interviewed, both nominated and elected, agree on this point; and the Minute cited above which records the nomination by the Chairman and Council of two nominated members for supervisory office illustrates the goodwill and good sense of the elected majority. However, the composition, provenience and orientations of the present Council radically reverse the preceding pattern and distribution of authority within Hadejia, as we witnessed on 30th November when the Emir addressed a public meeting at which his sarakuma assembled outside the palace on the forthcoming national registration of voters for the 1979 elections. While all or virtually all of the assembled sarakuma were elderly men, primarily Fulani of the ruling class or resident in Hadejia town, the new councillors are younger men, commoners from rural areas without previous experience in government and local administration for the most part. They were therefore, despite their high intelligence and relevant experience in other fields, ill-equipped at the start to deal effectively with the Council Secretary, departmental heads and their staff, and with the experienced sarakuma both in the capital and the districts, to whom several departmental heads and senior departmental staff are closely linked by the usual ties of kinship, marriage, clientage, and historic relations of solidarity.

At the Council’s third meeting on 9th March, the following portfolio responsibilities as grouped by the MLGCD Kano were allocated, following discussion:

Alh. Bura Birniwa — (1) Medical and Health
(2) Natural Resources (e.g. Agriculture, Livestock, Forestry)

M. Ibrahim Karidu of — Birniwa

Alh. Muhammadu Tafida — (1) Finance
of Mallamaduri (2) Works.

The Chairman retained responsibility for the central administration, communications with Kano and with the Emirate Council, and much committee business. At this meeting the Council also agreed to appoint the committee required by the Edict.

Thus far, although ex-officio members of Council without votes, District Heads had not attended any Council meetings, presumably because these major business of these meetings had been to approve Standing Orders, select a Chairman and Supervisory Councillors, and distribute portfolios among the latter. When the Council next met on 4th April, the five District Heads in the area were present, namely, the Galadima, the Sarkin Arewa, the Dokaji, the Sarkin Dawaki and the Sarkin Bai. As required by the second schedule of the local Government, Edict, the District Heads and other members of Council were then asked to take the oath of secrecy as set out in the Edict. All the District Heads declined to do so, apparently on the grounds that they had no vote and were not councillors, there was no reason for them to do so, but also on the argument that, having already taken oaths of loyalty to the Emir on appointment and in some cases as members of the Emir’s Council, they could not take a second oath to an independent body such as the HLDC since this could lead to a conflict of loyalties. Following this declaration, the District Heads withdraw in a body from the Council and have not returned since.99

Following the withdrawal of the Daa Iya without replacement in February, this abstention by the District Heads reduced the Council’s numbers from the proposed 23 or 24 to 18 members, all eligible to vote in council. It also indicated the reservations and orientations of the traditional authorities at Hadejia to the new Local Government institutions and its directorate, the Council. With these withdrawals, only four nominated members and Alh. Aliyu Usman remained to represent traditional experience, interests and orientations at council meetings and in committees. However, of these, the two most experienced and influential persons have the highest record of absence from meetings of any councillors. Alhaji Aliyu Usman, elected to represent Hadejia town, had been absent from 7 of the first 12 Council meetings in 1977, while the Tafida, Alhaji Abdulkadir Maiqani, had been absent from 5 of 12 meetings. These indicators used careful interpretation; but cumulatively they illustrate the disinclination of the traditional authorities to compromise their status and prestige by too close an involvement in the new local government which is formally directed by commoners. Their preference seems rather to disassociate themselves and their institutional structures from the new LG organisation, without any direct attempts to subvert it. All three District Heads interviewed at their rural headquarters spoke very positively about their roles and relations as rural executives of the new Council; and councillors also confirmed that after an initial period of uncertainty and reserve, the elected representatives and their local District Heads co-operate increasingly and in a variety of ways in an effort to improve conditions in their districts. This involves frequent informal consultation in which information and advice are exchanged reciprocally to promote district interests, so that by the end of 1977 most rural councillors interviewed and all the rural District Heads had good working relations with one another on district matters, even though the District Heads no longer attended the Council. On programmes of national interests and priority such as voter registration and universal primary education, the Council Chairman and/or the Chairman of the Council’s Education Committee has easy direct access to District Heads as required, and enjoys the assurance of their support. The District Heads interviewed all agreed that the present Council,
Despite delays in its delivery of projects and facilities to their districts, is far more responsive and concerned about district development and welfare than was the preceding HLGA or the Hadejia N.A. before that. Such developments indicate how necessary it is to study carefully the current situation, and to exercise caution in reaching conclusions and passing judgements about it as a totality or about its particular components such as the district administration or the sarakuna reaction.

At its fourth meeting on April 4, following the withdrawal of the District Heads, the Council established the following committees with the memberships set out below.  

Finance & General Purposes: Chairman Ahmed Zakari — Chairman.  
3 Supervisory Councillors  
(Alh. MT Husaini)  
elected  
(Alh. Sabo, Garun Gabas)  
Education:  
Chairman — Ibrahimm Karidu  
(Councillor i/c Education)  
Alh. Abdu Maigari  
Alh. Lawan Bawanta  
Alh. Salisu Auta  
Alh. Aliyu Usman  
and such others as the Committee may co-opt.

Police:  
Chairman — Chairman Ahmed Zakari  
Senior Police Officer or his deputy  
Senior Prison Officer or his deputy  
Selected by Council  
(Dan Dalman Hadejia)  
(Alh. Muh. Dan Jani)  
(M. Muh. Shamaki Guri)  
(Mains Saleh Kirikasamma)  

Thus far there is no record that the council had considered specific requests for improved facilities from constituencies and districts, nor could these have come before the F & GP since this did not yet exist. Standing Orders required councillors to submit these and any other items for the agenda at least ten days before a meeting, and between the 11th and 22nd of March, the following requests had been submitted:

Table 11.  
Requests for facilities received by Secretary M.L.G.C.D., March, 11—22, 1977.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Councillor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 11</td>
<td>Improved drainage collection of market &amp; lorry park fees</td>
<td>Hadejia</td>
<td>E (SC)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 11</td>
<td>Wells and piped water (unspecified)</td>
<td>Kirikasamma</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>22 wells for 13 villages (specified)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Provision of plots for houses and shops</td>
<td>Mallammaduri</td>
<td>DH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clearly, councillors had to learn by experience at this time the need for specificity in their requests; but from its fifth meeting on 8th June, 1977 to its tenth meeting on the 16th November, the Council was preoccupied with such requests. To summarise briefly, on 8th June Council agreed to construct a dispensary at Turabu in Kirikasamma and at Batu in Birniwa; noted the need for byelaws to regulate motorists’ use of the roads in Hadejia town; the need of pastoralists for designated cattle tracks (buratalai) to reduce farm damage and tension; the effects of the poor river flood on marsh farming at Kirikasamma; the need to re-site market places at Hadejia and other towns; the need to enclose the Idi prayer grounds at Hadejia, Mallammaduri, Birniwa, Kirikasamma and Guri; and the need for a pump to lift water from a well in Mallammaduri town.

Council approved all these requests, but found that it had to refer most of them to other bodies for advice or action. The police were asked to enforce the appropriate bye—laws to regulate motor traffic; District Heads were asked to see that Fulani pastoralists used the designated cattle tracks, calling in the police and dogara as necessary. To improve the flood, Council agreed to ask the Kano State Government to direct that water should be released from the Tiga dam that month; to re-site market places, a committee was set up under the chairmanship of the Supervisory Councillor, Works and Finance, the local councillor of each designated market town; the District and Village Head of the area and the sanitary officer. As regards the enclosure of Idi prayer grounds, the Council agreed this should be referred to the Emirate Council as it properly came under them, and this was done when next that Council met on 20th October. As regards the pump, requested for Mallammaduri, the Council agreed to ask Water Resources Engineering Construction Agency (WRECA), a statutory body of Kano State, to supply the pump. In short, of the eight requests submitted to it, Council could only deal independently with the two petitions for dispensaries. In all the other cases, the responsible authority lay elsewhere.

At the sixth meeting, Council discussed two requests, for engines to animate three well-pumps which had been set up and never commissioned, in some cases for more than twenty years. Such requests were routed to WRECA. Council approved requests for three dispensaries in the rural areas and also undertook to increase its establishment of female sanitary inspectors and sanitation labourers at Mallammaduri. A request for action to protect the houses at Mallammaduri from damage by rain due to poor drainage...
was referred to the Urban Development Board, another State Agency. Council agreed, on request, to construct a new guest house at Kirikasamma if and when funds were available. The councillor seeking a labourer to clean up the Birniwa market was directed to the Supervisory Councillor in charge of Medical and Health.

The seventh meeting on 10th August 1977 began with a report to Council by the Chairman on action to follow up its earlier decisions. The Supervisory Councillor in charge of Natural Resources also reported purchase of two of six tractors ordered by Council for hire to farmers at the prevailing Government rates. Thereafter Council approved requests for two dispensaries, and one motor station in different districts pending funds. Two requests, one for pumps at two wells and another for an artesian well at Shaya were agreed for submission to WRECDA. Council approved expenditures to repair the compounds of the five district heads in their area.

At its eighth meeting on 21st September, Council decided to extend the space for the mosque at Mallammaduri by demolishing the office of the District Head and transferring that office to the former courtroom of the local Alkali, as requested by the DH. A Committee was appointed to inspect State and local Government works for Council, with the following composition: Supervisory Councillors in charge of Finance and Works, and in charge of Health; the local District Head and village Head or Councillor from the area; the head of the LG Works Department; the Local Government Surveyor; and Councillor M.T. Hussaini, a nominated member.

On 19th October at its ninth meeting, Council agreed that a dispensary should be built at Agin in Mallammaduri District when funds allowed. It also agreed to build a small well in a certain village when funds allowed. It decided to seek model draft byelaws to regulate and license local grain-grinders from the MLGCD Kano. It likewise agreed to refer requests for irrigation of farmlands along the river banks in Guri to the HJRBDA for possible inclusion in Phase 2 of that body’s programme, since the HJRBDA by statute now controls the local rivers. Council decided to fund and initiate levelling, widening and grading of four local roads in proportion to their importance, and directed that its Works Department should examine the road from Mallammaduri to Birniwa to reduce hazards and improve safety.

At the tenth meeting on 16th November, Council received a progress report of action to follow up its decisions and agreed to include the costs of construction for a motor station at Birniwa in its budget estimates for 1978-79. To ensure food supplies for areas in which crops had failed through lack of rain in 1977, Council agreed to purchase grain with the ₦5,000 earmarked for this purpose in the current budget and to seek approval from Kano State MLGCD for its transfer of another ₦20,000 from different heads of expenditure for the same purpose. It also requested the Chairman to ask the Kano State Government to solicit aid from the FMG for relief food and seed supplies.

At its eleventh meeting on 28th December, following the Minutes, the Chairman reported that tenders would shortly be taken for the motor park at Birniwa, and while waiting on the tendered approval and replies from the MLGCD Kano to vire ₦20,000 to purchase grain against the coming shortage, ₦5,000 had been spent for this purpose agreed. It was also reported that the Secretary and former D.O. Hadejia had been transferred to the Municipal Council at Kano and replaced by his assistant as Acting Secretary. Council then amended the standing orders which had not yet received action by MLGCD Kano to set meetings for the last instead of the first Wednesday of each month. A Committee was appointed to handle open spaces (filayyan) with one councillor from each of the five major units, including the nominated member from Hadejia who consented to act as M. Aliyu Usman is often away at Lagos. This committee, meeting under the Council Chairman as chairman, and supported by the Supervisory Councillor in charge of Works, was authorised and expected to co-opt District Heads of the districts concerned, sanitary inspectors and the surveyor whenever investigating an open space. The LG Secretary would serve as secretary.

Some weeks before the Emir and Council Chairman of the HLGC and Kaffin Hausa Local Government Council had launched the programme for national registration of voters at a public meeting at the palace gate. The chairman, following this, had visited fifty villages accessible by motor vehicle to motivate registration. As the Local Government is now responsible for voter registration and as this is stressed at Federal and State levels, discussion centred on the methods appropriate to ensure a high enrolment, especially of women. It was agreed that in future elected members should tour their areas with and independently of the Council Chairman for this purpose, and should particularly seek all help they could from the District Heads, village Heads, Ward Heads and leaders of the pastoral Fulani. Special attention was devoted to the local ‘ulama (malam) whose opposition to the registration of women was assumed, with reason. It was urged that these scholars must be persuaded to support female registration as consistent with the obligation of jihadi laid down in the Koran. Council also urged that much travelled malam of modern orientation and his own motor bike should be encouraged to spread this doctrine among his colleagues and to persuade the latter of the orthodoxy of female enfranchisement by touring extensively with the appropriate travel and subsistence allowances.

The Councillor for Education and Public Enlightenment who hails from Birniwa then observed that many Badawa, Mangawa and Fulani do not understand much Hausa and suggested that councillors addressing different ethnic groups on voter registration should make sure that they had reliable interpreters. The Chairman undertook to inform all councillors of the details and schedule of the planned publicity campaign, including itineraries.

M. Aliyu Usman then proposed that the Council should provide councillors with loans to purchase motor bikes to tour their areas. Pressed by the Chairman for a precedent, he cited a nearby LG but was overruled on the grounds that whether or not his example was correct, such allowances breached the rules laid down in Edict No. 5 of 1977.

In reply to a question concerning the prolonged delay since their standing orders were initially approved, the Chairman reported that the delays were apparently due to holdups in translating the MLGCD draft, as amended into Hausa by the overworked linguists of a local university.
There was further discussion of the urgency of buying and stocking grain against the coming food shortage, and the Chairman pointed out that he could not use the N20,000 without approval from MLGCD. Finally, when pressed on the delays in providing Kirikasamma with its promised water supplies, the Chairman reported his visit to the Managing Director of WRECA seventeen days before, and assured members that the water projects approved for Kirikasamma, Garin and Garin Gabas would receive WRECA’s attention within the next three months.

Council was also informed that tenders would be taken by the Secretary from contractors for a significant number of approved constructions over the next two weeks. The works listed consisted mainly of projects approved by the Council, and/or its standing committees, especially the F&P committee over the previous six months but not yet implemented due to lack of funds.

During these months, the Emirate Council (EC) had not been idle. At its second meeting on 20th October, the HLG Chairman reported his Council’s request that the Emirate Council should consider enclosing the Idi prayer ground of the major towns with fences or trees, and the willingness of his Council to contribute finance. In response the EC directed the HLG to measure the prayer grounds and estimate the costs involved.

Asked about the delays that were by then noticeable in HLG’s implementation of approved projects such as building dispensaries etc., its Chairman explained that this was largely due to the requirements laid down by the State Government regarding the conditions, procedures and regulations to be followed.

The EC then approved N4,960 as advances to its staff to purchase six motor bikes, 16 horses and four bicycles allocated according to grade. It then decided to recommend that the State Government should remunerate certain senior staff of the Emirate Council with salaries of specified grades, following which it established its own General Purposes Committee and decided to requests draft standing orders from the MLGCD Kano as already reported.

The need to adopt some positive policy on universal primary education (UPE) was then mooted on the grounds that many parents refused to allow their children to go to school. This matter was immediately referred to the new General Purposes Committee for consideration and report.

Council then noted that although the State Government has declared its intention of providing appropriate salary adjustments for DHs and VHs in the near future, no mention had been made of the Ward Heads who currently receive only 5k per taxpayer, per annum but have to do exactly the same kind of work as village heads and were thus entitled similar salary adjustments. Council agreed that this request should be forwarded to Kano.

At its third meeting on 30th November the Dan Iya, M. Abdulkadir Maidugu, pointed out that while formerly staff of the EC (HLGA) received horse allowances, they now did not, though allowances were paid to those with motor bikes. Council agreed to recommend equivalent treatment for all its staff in future. The HLG proposal to enclose the Idi prayer grounds was then discussed in some detail. Having decided to survey and cost it, Council directed the Chairman of HLG and KHLG to include these items in their advance proposals for 1978—79 estimates.

The Chairman HLG then reported his Council’s decision to purchase relief food for the people in his area with N25,000, if approved by Kano; following which the Chairman KHLG answered questions on the activities of his council.


Thus, while the Emirate Council, divested by the Edict and reforms of executive responsibilities, authority, and the necessary resources, restricted itself to receiving reports and proposals from its two LG Councils and to reviewing the conditions of appointment of its staff, the Local Governments at Hadejia and Kaffin Hausa were preoccupied with sifting demands from their districts for such necessities as water, dispensaries, food supplies, roads, etc. and arranging the appropriate action to provide them. However, as we have seen, HLG was normally unable to act independently and promptly to deal with those requests it approved, even where it had authority to approve such requests without prior reference to the MLGCD Kano. There were two basic reasons for this. Firstly, in many relevant cases such provisions required action by State agencies, most of whom, such as the HJRBDA, the UDB, the Rural Development Agency (RDA), Rural Water Supplies (RWS), Semi-Urban Water Supplies (SUWS) and its parent, WRECA, were statutory bodies to whom the State Government had allocated responsibility, authority and resources required for action in these critical fields.

As late as 1976 the former HLGA had available to it the authority and some resources of equipment, staff and finance, to sink wells and provide minor water supplies in rural areas; but following the general trend since 1968, this activity was also appropriated by the State Government for its statutory bodies. Now besides WRECA and its subsidiary SUWS, whose scope and responsibilities seem ill-defined, the RWS and the RDA are both concerned with the provision of water supplies in the HLG area, while the HJRBDA regulates the river and provides irrigation, but apparently does not have autonomy or full responsibilities for water control at the Tigawa dam. In like fashion proposals such as those from Mallazimmuduri for the provision of plots for houses and shops if approved following investigation by the HLG committee and staff concerned with the assistance of the local section of the Kano State Ministry of Works, require further approval by one or other of the relevant State agencies (either the UDB or the RDA, and perhaps the Ministry) before plans can be finalised, firm estimate procured, and finance sought to fund such schemes. There may of course be delays due to jurisdictional disputes in Kano concerning the responsibilities of overlapping agencies; but even without such procedures guarantee inordinate delays, uncertainties, frustrations and expense, together with frequently inappropriate results.

In similar fashion, many other requests for action by HLG must be routed, if approved by Council as simultaneously within its authority and resources, to its departmental or administrative staff for action. But here again, under the Edict, the Local Government Council having referred the project through the Secretary
and departmental head, has no further power to implement, but depends entirely on the goodwill, interest and efficiency of the staff, and particularly on the attitudes of the relevant departmental heads and District Heads, almost all of whom received their offices from the former HLGA and many of whom are closely connected with the central nobility by the usual ties of kinship, descent, marriage, clientage and inter-familial solidarities. Further, as laid down in the Edict, senior LG staff hold their present appointments at the discretion of and under the administration of the LGSC, the MLGCD and, in the case of the Secretary, the Military Governor’s office at Kano. Only staff of grades 06 or less are subject to discipline and control by the F & GP committee of yet even here the relevant departmental head as well as the Secretary must be consulted and must attend the F & GP sessions to which such staff are called. The Secretary is also required automatically to forward a report on the matter to Kano. Effectively, this procedure removes the capacity to discipline even its junior staff from the Councils F & GP committee to the departmental head concerned, who may wish to do so for reasons which have little to do with job performance, or who may not wish to do so despite notable failures of job performance. In consequence the Council is heavily dependent on the interests and attitudes of its senior staff for delivery of the services and projects which are needed by the people. In so far as such programmes fall within the resources and scope of the District Heads, the Council can expect prompt efficient and sympathetic action. With departmental heads centred at the capital, which is more remote from the countryside than simple distances suggest, due to the difficulties of access and lack of roads, the response is often otherwise. Departmental heads can justifiably point to various demands both routine and occasional, which delay departmental action on council requests; but besides this, and certain unresponsive attitudes which may be intrinsic to bureaucracies removed from the people they are set up to serve, there are in some cases political disinclinations and in most, procedures which positively encourage delay.

One way to by-pass this dependence on departments is for the Council to contract for such construction as it approves with private parties. The list of constructions to be contracted in January, 1978 illustrates nicely the size of the problem. This includes:

- Office extensions at LG Dept. of Works,
- Houses for senior and junior LG staff at Hadejia town, numbers unspecified,
- Cement storehouses at Hadejia town, Digisma, Madaci and Birniwa,
- 4 slaughter slabs at Madaci, Kirikasamma, Guri, Marma,
- 3 dispensaries at Kadira, Turabu and Batu,
- 4 dispensers’ houses at Kadira, Turabu, Batu and Musari,
- 3 infirmaries at Kadira, Batu and Turabu,
- 3 classrooms for Literacy Classes at Jajikura, Goriba and Jarmari,
- A new office at the Veterinary Clinic at Hadejia,
- Preparation of 3 drinking ponds for cattle at Kashin dila, Gatar, and Gulun,
- 2 cattle corrals at Hadejia and Mallammaduri,
- Market stalls at the new Birniwa market, A motor part at Birniwa, New office at the motor park at Madaci.

As indicated above, the overwhelming majority of these projects had been approved several months ago but had been delayed by procedural requirements and by shortage of funds until the end of 1977. Whether when tenders were taken, shifted and decided, the Council would be financially able to contract the listed projects for completion and payment in the near future remains uncertain; and whether there is a sufficient number of locally registered contractors possession the capacity and resources to undertake these constructions efficiently and on time, we do not know. Presumably many of these contracts would go directly or otherwise to contractors based at Kano.

Notably, the preceding list includes no item dealing with water supplies which is probably the most urgent and widespread need throughout the area. Neither does it deal with roads, which the LG repairs and will construct itself, nor does it include schools, teachers’ houses, etc., which then fell under the Local Education Authority (LEA). It also excludes any construction that the HLG can deal with itself. This by comparison with the list of popular requests submitted through councillors, District Heads, departments and directly from the people, the preceding list is rather short.

The second, and most fundamental reason for the Council’s failure to act on capital projects which it approved, is lack of funds throughout 1977. As noted above, the Council’s budget for 1977-8 included a total of N$28,000 for capital expenditure out of a total expenditure of N$1,821,175, approved by the MLGCD Kano. Of this total, the Kano State Government had promised N$50,000 and had paid this quarterly as agreed; but of the N$1 million promised by and expected from the Federal Military Government at Lagos, only N$356,802 had been received, and that in January, 1977 in a national handout by FMG to get the new LG Councils started. By December, 1977 FMG was N$493,148 in arrears in its promised transfers to Hadejia LG. Accordingly, the Council had been unable to implement most of its approved capital projects, not only because of the known shortage of funds, but because of uncertainty about their receipt in the future. As indicated above, just under one million was budgeted by the Council for recurrent expenditure in 1977-78 — that is, approximately N$250,000 per quarter: The Council was therefore obliged, given this crippling uncertainty about the transfer of Federal funds, to keep a reserve of N$250,000 in hand to meet its unavoidable overheads and recurrent expenditures for the coming quarter. In consequences, money available through savings and the Kano State grant remained unused for capital development due directly to the failure of FMG to fulfil its commitment.

We understand that this situation is by no means peculiar to Hadejia, but rather that in 1977, Local Governments throughout the country have been greatly embarrased by the frustrating paralysis imposed on their actions to fulfil widespread and pressing local demands by this extraordinary breach of faith by the Federal Government, which initiated these reforms, instituted the new elected councils with new powers and responsibilities following a national publicity campaign, undertook freely to endow them with the necessary finance to meet the expectation excited across the country, and then quite irresponsibly and without any public announcement or
explanation welshed on their only outstanding commitment and have thus thrown the whole experiment into jeopardy. This behaviour seems quite unacceptable, whatever the explanation; for either the Federal Government severely over-budgeted its 1977—78 revenues before making this promise, which is a serious error, or it has subsequently exceeded projected expenditures by close to 200 million naira and sought to meet this by switching funds from a programme to which it had accorded the highest national priority in the preceding year; or it has erroneously done the latter to bridge a combination of the two possibilities.

Enquiries revealed that by mid-year this failure or refusal of FMG to transfer the promised funds to the 19 States for their LGs had aroused sufficient concern in the Northern states for a large seminar on the LG reforms to be convened at the Kaduna Polytechnic in August, 1977. Chairmen and senior staff of many LGs attended this seminar, as did senior members of various state Ministries of Local Government, and other persons concerned with the new reforms. The central issue raised by the LG representatives at that conference concerned the delayed transfer by FMG of the promised funds, and the consequences thereof to LGs. In concluding the Kaduna Seminar adopted a resolution requesting FMG to establish Federal Ministry for Local Government in the hope that this would expedite and regularise these financial transfers. However, nothing has been header of this proposal since nor did the funds appear. Hence a national conference at the University of Ife later in 1977 returned to this burning issue under pressure from the LG and Ministry representatives present. Following that conference enquiries were made at Lagos concerning the promised funds. We understand that the FMG spokesman then indicated that FMG hoped to do better next year, which indirectly suggests the funds may not be forthcoming fully in this fiscal year, and thus that the new local governments throughout the country will lack the financial resources required to implement the capital projects and other programmes so urgently and pressing demanded by their people. For this reason, if for no other, the entire experiment in popular democracy and local administration may fall into such widespread discredit though its simple inability to fulfil the expectations excited by delivering a sufficient portion of the urgently needed facilities and services, that large sections of the Nigerian public may well lose faith in the entire concept of popular democratic government.

However, this is only one side of the story. Several of the councillors interviewed at Hadejia had already found their situations sufficiently intolerable to state that they did not intend standing for election a second time. Most of these were embarrassed by the protracted failure of HLG to initiate any visible and concrete action in their local communities on projects urgently expected and long since approved by the Council. Such councillors felt themselves to be unacceptably compromised by association with a body apparently either incapable of action or indifferent to public needs, in the eyes of their people. One or two councillors of this persuasion, having learnt by experience the inevitable procedural delays in securing approval and finance to implement even such modest projects as wells and piped water supplies for their communities, also felt themselves in an untenable position, given the general lack of knowledge about those government procedures that caused the delays.

At the same time, as already reported, the Federal Government had committed the Emirate and Local Government Councils to implement on its behalf two difficult, and unpopular, national programmes. These are, respectively, the UPE programme, and the national registration of voters, particularly women. The latter is an ad hoc short-term exercise in which, at Hadejia, both the EC and the HLG are interested for political reasons, since both councils are concerned that the Northern electorate in the forthcoming national elections should not be unduly dismembered by abstentions, and particularly by a general refusal to register women. However, both Councils are fully aware of the profound local resistance to such registration of women, and we may assume that some members of both councils support the conservative objections to female participation in politics on deep religious grounds. Nonetheless both councils are obliged by State directives which themselves derive from the Federal Government, to promote full registration; it is sufficient for and, while, the Emirate Council to give this programme its blessing, execution devolves directly on the local Government, and particularly on its elected councillors as popular representatives. We have already shown how thoughtfully the Council addressed this problem and decided to put their full resources into the search for a successful solution; but inevitably in the process the councillors, already at risk of public discredit for their collective failure to deliver promised benefits to the people, will provoke further resentment and disenchantment by campaigning on behalf of policies which are anathema to many of their constituents.

The situation of UPE at Hadejia is identical in its essence with the proposed registration of female voters; but this is a disturbing and significant difference. While the registration will shortly be over, UPE is intended to continue indefinitely as a national programme initiated by the Federal Government with heavy sanctions to secure compliance. Furthermore, as of April, 1978, responsibility for this programme will be transferred directly and solely to the Local Governments in each area of Kano by State decision. Already at Hadejia the LG committee on education has been at work for several months under State directive to prepare its take-over of all primary education in the area by that date. But as indicated above, many, perhaps most parents at Hadejia are disinclined to send their children to these schools, some on religious grounds undoubtably; many on the experience of other parents whose children, on completing their primary education, though hardly literate, are inclined to farm or undertake other routine activities and occupations in their households and communities, and who thus disoriented, are at risk of going to waste and becoming vagabonds, manual labourers and members of the rapidly expanding lumpenproletariat of nearby cities in this case, Kano city. While boys are in this kind of danger, girls are believed to be under equally severe risk of rejecting the traditional role of young women as wives for prostitution and emigration. Unfortunately at Hadiija as elsewhere in the North, such parental fears are quite well grounded, since most graduates of primary schools do return disoriented to their homes and communities when boys are entering adolescence and girls approaching marriage; moreover, the present primary school curriculum, with its urban design and orientations, is hopelessly inappropriate for the majority of the Northern population who live in rural areas and whose only general prospects of satisfactory adult life depend on their
ability to maintain and improve the viable and traditional rural economy by mastering in their youth all the necessary crafts, skills and knowledge that it requires; but of course should UPE succeed, they will be incarcerated in school at precisely those years when they normally learn the basic skills and orientations for such activities in their adult lives.

Here again, the local government is obliged, willingly or otherwise, to carry an unnecessary, inappropriate and burdensome programme by directives from above. At Hadejia, moreover, it can only do so in the face of widespread popular objections on one hand, and continuous pressure from Kano and Lagos for improved performance on the other. In attempting to increase the enrolment and attendence of children in the primary schools, from April, 1976 onwards, the HLG and its new Department of Education which will be easily the largest of its departments and perhaps, who knows the best funded, will face the following major ecological problems.

During famine or periods of grave food shortage, children already enrolled are not usually able to attend school unless the school undertakes to feed them, which would be a major operation. For example, an HLEA survey conducted in January and February, 1974, when food grains were in short supply and were being distributed as relief, reported the following attendence at the schools surveyed:

| Table 12 |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| ENROLMENTS AND ATTENDANCE AT 12 HADEJIA PRIMARY SCHOOLS |
| 15/1/1974 TO 22ND FEBRUARY, 1979 |
| Name of School | Enrolment | Present |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| Karangasa P.S. | 79 | 43 |
| Digumusa P.S. | 199 | 52 |
| Burselli P.S. | 164 | 60 |
| Munkawo P.S. | 118 | 26 |
| Madugunsi P.S. | 107 | 45 |
| Kachallari P.S. | 174 | 35 |
| Kirikasamma | 257 | 169 |
| Madaci | 225 | 154 |
| Marma | 225 | 155 |
| Yalo | 227 | 58 |
| Marke | 184 | 96 |
| Airbus | 240 | 9 |

Needless to say, this survey was preceded by bland reports of full attendence at Local schools despite the drought. In fact these attendence rations illustrate the varying severity of food shortages at that time in the communities listed. As indicated above, comparable absentee rates can be safely predicted for much of the HLG area this year, and for the same reason; moreover thanks to the HJRBDA programme, the Challawa and Tiga dams and the ordinary irregularities of rainfall in this region, we can safely predict that such absenteeism will prevail for years to come.

In addition, as regards UPE, the local ecology obliges many families to move some distance seasonally, especially at the season of *cin rani*. Such movement is normal for but by no means restricted to, the pastoralists, who have no real alternative if they are to feed their herds. Should UPE seek to sedentarize them by forcibly requiring their children's attendence at particular schools, the pastoralists must either migrate or out back their herds drastically. Further, as mentioned above, fishermen and their families are now obliged to move seasonally as far as Chad in search of fish, and they also cannot maintain their house-holds if obliged to remain in one place while their children attend the local school. Finally, Hadejia has always cultivated traditions of Islamic learning, both at the primary and advanced levels koranic schools are a most common and important feature of this tradition, and many local mallams are seasonally obliged to move with their schools from community to community in search of food for themselves and their pupils. During the wet season such schools likewise depend to some extent on the pupils for assistance in farming and other gainful pursuits. Yet even without these ecological factors, collective orientations ascribe priority to Koranic learning for children, and some parents voluntarily place their offspring in such schools while opposing their enrolment in the Government's primary schools. The two educational programmes and traditions are often, in this area, mutually exclusive, and the older has a deep religious and traditional root which should not be cut.

Furthermore, as indicated initially, in its Guidelines the Federal Government stressed the urgency of improved financial self-reliance by the new Local Governments it proposed to constitute. As an important element of this programme, FMG recommended property tax on buildings to be levied by Local Governments following appraisals and valuations according to an approved method. However, shortly before this, the traditional cattle tax (jangali) had either been suspended or abolished, thus materially reducing local revenues for local governments. In 1977 when the new Local Governments were set up, the major alternative direct tax (now called the personal and community tax: formerly *Haraji*) was increased at Hadejia from 7.00 to 7.00 in 1977; presumably to compensate for the missing jangali. As regards the proposed property tax (rates upon tenement), while the Edict of Kano State declares that “Every Local Government shall for the purpose of this part be the rating authority for its area”, it also says that “subject to the provisions of this part, the commissioner may by order make provision for the assessment of tenements”.

This remains uncertain whether the State government under the Edict can order local governments in Kano to impose these property rates. Should that be attempted, the Local Governments are very likely to incur further unpopularity as oppressive innovators.

Altogether, the future of the new Local Governments is bleak unless the Federal Government improves its financial performance, and unless the necessary changes indicated above are made with regard to UPE, procedural delays, and reallocations of authority and resource between the State and Local Governments, to enable the latter to implement such urgent local programmes as food relief and water supply, for the delivery of which they are, wrongly or rightly, held to be responsible by their people.

When its executive functions were removed from it and the HLGA was split and replaced by the Emirate Council, the HLG and the KHLG, its resources of staff, funds, buildings and equipment had to be appropriately divided between the two new Local Governments. Presumably the caretaker committee that replaced the HLGA in August, 1976, was partly involved in preparing this division. Certain items were easily listed, evaluated and allocated between the two new Local Governments. These include territory and population, despite the shifts, of boundaries at Kaugama District, personnel, most equipment, funds, documents, and those facilities such as buildings, wells etc. which were already located in either area. Installations at Hadejia formerly the property of the HLGA required more careful valuation before allocation. This task was still proceeding in December, 1977 but by January 1977 the personnel and necessary working equipment for the former HLGA departments had been allocated to the two new LGS. With certain exceptions, the Hadejia Local Government inherited its departments from the HLGA; it likewise inherited most of the present personnel of these departments, the offices, working equipment, procedures, documents, etc. But there were certain exceptions. For example, under the HLGA the Department of Natural Resources supervised by the Tafida had three major divisions for agriculture, livestock and forestry. Under the current HLG these units are three separate departments, and the KHLG has an identical structure. Evidently most departmental staff of the current HLG were formerly employed by the HLGA in similar activities. Thus while the Agricultural Division of the HLGA's Department of Natural Resources had 26 established posts in 1976, its successor in the HLG had twelve and this proportion is paralleled in all cases. In short, allowing for some administrative reorganisation that took place with the subdivision of the HLGA and its resources, most of the departmental personnel and resources of the successor units were inherited from the HLGA, together with their working habits, procedures, and relevant relationships.

In 1977 the HLG conducted its activities through the following 14 departments: Adult Education, Agriculture, Community Development, Co-operatives, Forestry, Information, Land and Surveys, Local Education Authority, Medical and Health, Office of the Secretary, Treasury, Social Welfare, Veterinary and Works. Three of these units were only nominally departments as they consisted of one individual each, namely Lands and Surveys, Social Welfare and Co-operatives. Another, the Local Education Authority, was in 1977 only nominally a department of the HLG since it had not yet been formally handed over to it by the Kano State. Furthermore the interim Education Committee appointed to work out the details of the proposed transition has also to subdivide the resources and personnel of the LEA which formerly served the emirate as a unit, between the Kaffin Hausa and Hadejia Local Governments. For this reason, among others the interim committee contains councillors and staff from both LG areas. Finally, the LEA and its various programmes depended primarily on finance from Kano State Government in 1977—8, as in previous years. The HLG departments concerned with education in its area are those of Adult Education and Information, both dependent on the HLG for finance.

It is interesting to note the absence from the preceding list of the District and village administration as well as the Police, Courts and prisons which figured so prominently in Native Administration budgets ten years ago. In 1976 the HLG had budgeted ₦136,564 or 15% of its total expenditure on District administration, under the new arrangements, while District Heads, Village Heads and their subordinates are appointed by the Emirate Council in consultation with the LG Council, they are paid by the Local Government and the HLG 1977—8 budget includes an allocation of ₦112,499 for these staff, and presumably, though unidentifiable, funds for the 132 rural staff of non-existent District Councils. Through this district administration and its ancillaries lacks departmental status at HLG, being ambiguously placed between that body and the Emirate Council, its appropriations and personnel are placed under the Secretary's Office.

A brief table setting out the staff complements, personal emoluments and other recurrent expenditures for the HLG in 1977—8, as presented in its current budget, is given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Posts</th>
<th>Permanent</th>
<th>Temp.</th>
<th>Personal</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Costs</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Administration Sec's Office</td>
<td>District and Village Admin.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>43,848</td>
<td>2,840</td>
<td>2,170</td>
<td>70,384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Finance</td>
<td>Accounting</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>31,948</td>
<td>14,310</td>
<td>11,100</td>
<td>51,348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Nat. Resources</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>44,334</td>
<td>14,210</td>
<td>7,300</td>
<td>45,840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Med &amp; Health</td>
<td>Veterinary</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38,646</td>
<td>16,600</td>
<td>53,336</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Soc. Dev.</td>
<td>Medical</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44,668</td>
<td>7,610</td>
<td>62,288</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Maintenance</td>
<td>Leprosy con.</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10,734</td>
<td>5,110</td>
<td>15,844</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Adult</td>
<td>Soc. Welfare*</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6,036</td>
<td>18,626</td>
<td>24,662</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Trade &amp; Industry</td>
<td>Co-operative</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6,556</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>9,256</td>
<td>18,510</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Maintenance</td>
<td>Industry Comm. Dev.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15,184</td>
<td>14,400</td>
<td>29,584</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Maintenance</td>
<td>Services administration</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>63,288</td>
<td>65,420</td>
<td>128,708</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Adult</td>
<td>Educ./Public Enlightenment</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25,322</td>
<td>12,600</td>
<td>30,522</td>
<td>104,987</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13. HLG Estimates of Recurrent Expenditure 1977-78 by Dept.
The major point to note about the numbers of permanent posts listed above by departments is that few have remained vacant throughout 1977 for lack of qualified applicants, despite some tardiness in the processing of acceptable applications locally at Kano and of the 345 established posts listed above, 147 or 42% are locally recruited by the Treasury.

On our information, the remaining LG departments have their full complements of permanent staff. Thus the staff shortages which are so frequently cited by departmental heads as one of their major problems are due rather to inadequate establishments than to vacant posts; but this inadequacy of establishment may be only temporary, partly produced by the subdivision of the old HLGA departments, and partly by the prolonged inadequacy in the HLGA's establishment. However, any significant increases in the numbers of these departmental staff are likely to involve corresponding increases in the annual recurrent expenditure of HLG and corresponding reductions in the amounts available to it for capital expenditure. Probably some appropriate reorganisation of departmental activities and procedures could improve output without significant increases in the permanent establishment; but there will be a need for more qualified and experienced staff with job-specific orientations in the coming years.

As mentioned above, the Kano State Local Government edict, following the Federal guidelines, reserves 24 esplicated functions for local governments. In the HLG as perhaps elsewhere in Kano, these were distributed departmentally as follows:

(a) Markets and Motor parks — LG Treasury collects fees, LG Health Department fees to sanitation.
(b) Sanitary inspection, sewerage, refuse, nightsoil disposal — LG Health Department.
(c) Control of vermin — LG Health Department.
(d) Slaughter houses and slabs — LG Health Dept., Treasury collects slaughter fees.
(f) Cemeteries and burial grounds — Dept. Health.
(g) Registration of births, deaths and Marriages — District admin.
(h) Community and recreation centres — Social Welfare Dept.
(i) Parks, gardens and open spaces — Forestry Dept.
(j) Grazing grounds — Veterinary Dept.
(k) Fuel plantations — Forestry Dept.
(l) Licensing, supervision, regulation of bakehouses, eating houses, laundries — Health inspects, Treasury and District admin. collects fees.
(m) Licensing, regulation of bicycles, hand carts, vehicles ... and canoes District admin.

| Accounts — 3, |
| Agriculture — 4 |
| Social welfare — 3 |
| Co-operatives — 3 |

In short, the Treasury, the District administration and the Departments of Health, Social Welfare, Veterinary and Forestry together discharge these mandatory functions, and the allocations listed above nicely illustrate the central role of the District administration in Local Government.

The Edict also lists another 20 functions which local governments, the state or its agencies, and other bodies are encouraged to perform. At Hadejia the State and Local Government's contributions to that concurrent list were as set out below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State does</th>
<th>L.G. does</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Health centres, maternity centres</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dispensaries, Health clinics, Ambulances, Leprosy clinics, preventive Health services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Abattoirs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat inspection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Nursery education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None in HLG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Information, Public enlightenment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In 1977</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Scholarships and Bursaries</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) Public libraries and reading rooms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ (Dept. Information)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(will be Dept. Edn. in '78)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) Agricultural, animal health, extension services, veterinary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larger projects.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agric. exten. services.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h) Rural &amp; semi-urban water supply</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ (WRECA, SUWS, RWS, RDA)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(n) Control of hoardings, advertisements, loudspeakers, drumming — District admin.
(o) Control of keeping of animals — Veterinary Dept.
(p) Control and allocation of land held under customary occupancies — District admin.
(q) Naming of roads and streets, numbering of plots, building — District admin.
(r) Control and collection of revenue from private forest estates — None, but District admin. would undertake.
(s) Collection of vehicle parking charges — Treasury
(u) Control of pollution — Health
(v) Control of beggers and destitutes — Social welfare
(w) Control and regulation of movements of children and young females from or within the territory — Social welfare.

In 1977 the Treasury, the District administration and the Departments of Health, Social Welfare, Veterinary and Forestry together discharge these mandatory functions, and the allocations listed above nicely illustrate the central role of the District administration in Local Government.
Poultry

REB Housing for own staff

FMG and dispensaries, and drainage. The Hadejia people in

of prostitution

see above (h)

~o.sques,

community development department

training for

- lighting
to

Control
guest houses, Islamic schools, small bridges, culverts, villages halls,

lighting for

State + Private

- successfully organises youth and women's

and recreation and stimulates and co-ordinates community efforts

- the maintenance of the structures erected, apparently because

this way contribute positively to the development of their communities. However, the

departmental programme suffers from two allied weaknesses: Insufficient effort and

resources are devoted to building structures such as roads, schools, hospitals,

infirms, orphanages, etc. The most active programmes involve the provision of

public utilities, such as electricity, water, and transport, which are mainly

run by the government. However, the Department places priority on an over-ambitious construction programme. To

illustrate: for the 1977-8 financial year the Department submitted a list of 42 projects

located in 30 villages, estimated to have a total cost of N28,680.00. Of that total, the

Department requested contributions of N60,000 and N77,000 from the Local Government

and the State, respectively, while the villages involved contributed less than N6,000

from the 30 villages. 109

While most of the villagers' contribution here probably be in labour, it is worth noting that the total input expected from the 30 villages is only N6,000 less

than the 1977-8 HLG revenues expected from personal and community tax from over

600 settlements in its area. In short, this programme is ill designed for its purpose

because it imposes excessive demands on the people at the expense of maintenance of

works already completed. Presumably the officers concerned are hoping to expand their

departments by such submissions.

II. Kano State Agencies at Hadejia.

To discharge its local functions, including assistance and advice to LG departments,

the State Government has sections of the following Ministries at Hadejia: Agriculture,

Education, Co-operative, Finance, and Works. There are also local branches of the

HJRDA, the SUWS, a subsidiary of WRECA, Rural Electrification Board (REB),

Hadejia/Hospital and a Health Centre at Mallammaduri. Of these units, Agriculture,

while the largest, is the most active. The Field Service unit consists of 18 established staff and a seasonally

varying number of casual staff under a Higher Agricultural Superintendent resident

at Hadejia. Its major objectives is to improve cultivation practices inputs, yields and

returns of local farmers and to effect similar improvements in livestock, poultry

rearing and similar activities. Of its five Agricultural Assistants, two work around

the capital and one each in the districts of Mallammaduri, Guri, and Birniwa.

Field overseers are likewise posted in all districts. The unit runs an experimental

farm centre of about 100 acres at Mallammaduri for experimentation with seeds to

improve strains of cultigens and multiply for distribution to farmers. Attached to this centre:

is a farm institute which seeks to upgrade farms skills by enrolling classes of 20 graduates

from local schools for training in short courses on the land at the farm centre, and

by holding Field Days etc. for farmers. The Field Service Unit also manages a rice

production project of about 37 acres and various wheat schemes situated in six different

areas along the river. On behalf of the Ministry, and through local committees, it

organises and administers two recent schemes for providing low cost loans to medium-

sized and larger farmers to purchase the bulls and ploughs required for mixed farming,

or tractors for acreages above 200. The unit is responsible for investigating and pro-

cessing applications on behalf of the committee and for training and supervising

successful applicants, and for encouraging repayment. By December, 1977 four farmers

had received loans for tractors while 67 applications to finance mixed farming had been

approved, 10 from Kirikasamma, 13 from Birniwa, 14 each from Guri and Mallammad-

duri and 16 from Hadejia town. 109

II. Kano State Agencies at Hadejia.

To discharge its local functions, including assistance and advice to LG departments,
The livestock Section of the State Ministry of Agriculture at Hadejia has six permanent staff and some casual workers. They are principally concerned to inoculate and vaccinate animals and prevent outbreaks or spread of disease among them, to advise livestock owners, secure and manage clinical equipment, and to keep the head-quarters in Kano informed by regular reports on the local livestock situation. The annual vaccination campaign in October-November seeks to protect cattle against contagious bovine pleural pneumonia, rinderpest, anthrax and backwater quarter. A cattle clinic is maintained at Hadejia for sick animals and services an average of 15 — 20 per day. Secondary clinics are also maintained at Mallammaduri, Birniwa and Kirikasamma by resident staff.

Such services as castration, and advice to poultry rearers are also provided.

The major work of the Animal Husbandry section of the Livestock Division is to promote and manage pastures for dry-season grazing. Water points are now commonly set by pipes and wells.

The Animal Industry section services and regulates the local cattle trade at the Mallammaduri control post by inspecting and registering disease-free beasts for onward movement, while treating or sending back those that are sick. Formerly another branch of this unit, likewise under a Livestock Superintendent, administered the four cattle markets in the area at Hadejia, Kupsa, Marma and Mallammaduri. However, since the reforms the HLG collects the fees at these markets and has charge of them. State staff are there now concerned only with the health of the beasts brought for sale.

Another section of this division which came into existence in 1975 supervises slaughter cattle markets in the area at Hadejia, Kupsa, Marma and Mallammaduri. However, the State Ministry of Agriculture at Hadejia deals with hides and skins by advising butchers on dressing techniques and by inspecting the thirteen drying sheds scattered across the area. It is apparent that the Livestock Sections of the KMA at Hadejia are presently overstretched as a function of their diverse duties and of the number, spread and variety of the livestock populations in the area. They also complain of staff shortage and are requesting seven more permanent posts to handle their present commitments. In addition, they report a shortage of equipment and supplies, a shortage of vehicles needed for the inoculation and vaccination campaigns, and a messenger to run errands from Hadejia to Kano in order that senior staff might remain at Hadejia on the job.

The State Ministry of Education (KME) is represented locally by nine permanent staff under an area Education Officer. Its primary functions are to inspect and maintain teaching standards at primary and post primary institutions within the Emirate, including the Kaffin Hausa LG area, to inspect and report on primary school buildings, to inspect and report on the Government Secondary School and Teacher Training College at Hadejia town and the UPE Teacher's College at Mallammaduri, and to advise, inform and liaise with the Local Education Authority (LEA), reporting to the Chief Education Officers (CEO's) in the Ministry routinely on these matters. Most of the work of this unit is concerned with building, construction and maintenance of
a Federal Government unit at Mallammaduri, as well as repairs to KME schools. In 1977-8 the local KMW unit received ₦115,000 from Kano for the maintenance and repairs of local state buildings, having requested ₦195,000. Like most other state units, at Hadejia, the local KMW complained of staff shortage to handle their current workloads and have accordingly requested six additional permanent posts and some casual posts in 1978. They also complain of transport shortage and have submitted parallel requests. It should be noted that the KMW unit at Hadejia services all State buildings throughout the emirate, including the KHLG area and apparently will continue to do so.

This review of Ministry branches located at Hadejia excludes the statutory bodies such as REB, SUWS and HJREDA which together provide local irrigation, electricity and water supplies for Hadejia, Mallammaduri and other 'semi-urban' towns. However, it is sufficient to make two points clear. First, without these state agencies and the services they provide, as presently established and staffed, the HLG could not handle many of its most elementary obligations to its people and area; in livestock services especially, its dependence on the state agency is abundantly clear; less so in the co-operative field, and with regard to agriculture, works and finance, since the two latter units are primarily concerned with State agencies, although the local KMW from time to time does advise the LG Works Department on technical problems. It is therefore worth serious consideration whether current state staff, resources, and local programmers in Agriculture including Livestock Co-operatives and the SUNS would not be better transferred to the Local Governments concerned as is currently being done with the primary schools and establishments of the KME. This could involve some rationalisation of functions, resources and personnel between the LG and State agencies involved in agriculture, livestock and co-operatives, and might simplify the prevailing confusion at Kano with regard to field responsibilities for provision of water supplies. Such transfers would simultaneously reduce the current need for increased staff in the State Sub-Treasury located at Hadejia but would require additional staff at the LG Treasury. As the State Ministry of Agriculture already handles its own construction and works, the transfers proposed would not affect interfere with the current responsibilities of the local KMW unit but would require state funding for the transferred agricultural section.

Secondly, the prevailing complaint of staff shortages in these local state agencies refers almost exclusively to shortage of established posts rather than vacancies. This itself reflects the failure of the Ministries concerned to staff adequately their recently established field units, and to some extent the increased developmental programmes in the area. The decentralisation recommended, and already under way in the coming transfer of primary education to HLG would greatly facilitate and expedite the work of these units by removing their individual obligations to refer and report to Kano and to seek approval from their headquarters whenever new contingencies arise. It is difficult to estimate the wastage of senior staff time and resources due to this requirement of incessant referral back to headquarters for clearance, authority and report. However, as the telephones do not work and the mail and telegrams are hopeless, there is a daily stream to Kano of senior State personnel stationed at Hadejia who are thus seriously handicapped in the pursuit of their local work.

Thirdly, though we unfortunately omitted to learn from the State Sub-Treasury at Hadejia the total input of State and Federal funds in the emirate or the HLG areas for 1977-8, given the data reviewed above, it seems quite likely that this probably exceeds the State grant of ₦550,000 to HLG in 1977-8. However, all the State agencies listed above, including the statutory bodies, operate throughout the Hadejia emirate and not within the HLG area only. Even so, State inputs of money, manpower, materials and services in the HLG area formed an important and indispensable supplement to those formally listed in the HLG budget for 1977-8. Without such inputs the area would be deplorably serviced, in several respects.

Finally, LG and local State staff collaborate more easily and continuously in certain fields than in others; and in certain activities they operate quite independently. Despite, or perhaps because of the recent equalization of work conditions, remuneration etc., in some cases there are noticeable tensions and friction that impede good work relations. These may be partly personal and partly structural at base and though not yet common in relations between LG and local State departments, where present they are prominent, and indicate the need for some systematic programme to prevent the spread of such disharmonies.

12. The HLG Capital Programme, 1977—78

For the present fiscal year, the approved capital budget of the HLG is set out below by sector, as classified locally, noting whether each project has been started, completed, or not begun in 1977.

| TABLE 14. |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| **HLG Approved Capital Budget, 1977—78** |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Sector I.</strong></th>
<th><strong>Administration: Public Buildings</strong></th>
<th><strong>₦</strong></th>
<th><strong>Comments</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Improvement of District Head residences</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Started</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement of District Head offices</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land compensation for town expansion</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reconstruction of LG workshop</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement of District &amp; Village guest-houses</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>Completed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land compensation &amp; outstanding balance on Information building</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Completed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement of libraries and reading rooms</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>Completed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 senior LG staff quarters</td>
<td>160,000</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Junior LG staff quarters</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>307,000</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Together with the N842,000 budgeted for recurrent expenses and discussed above, this capital programme brings to a total of N1,670,000 the capital and recurrent expenditures approved for the HLG in 1977-8, thus leaving a sum of N151,000 for contingencies and as savings from the total budget of N1,821,175. In brief, the programmed expenditure for 1977-8 divides almost equally between recurrent and capital.

Of the capital programme listed above, 37.1% is slated for public buildings and 6.8% for vehicles and equipment. ‘Social and economic overheads’ receive 26.6% and 20.6% respectively, while the ‘Productive sector’ receives 8.9%. However, we must not treat this distribution more seriously than it serves. One has merely to examine the inconsistencies of classification in the list to realise this. Thus both social and economic overheads are credited with new public buildings, and the latter category also contains N66,000 for the purchase of six tractors which properly should fall in the second sector. Likewise the cash and cash tanks credited to the productive sector seem rather to belong to sector II.

With these transfers, outlays on installation and equipment could represent one-half of the proposed capital programme. Of the remainder, rural water supplies, road improvement and the construction of new motor parks are the major items.

Of particular interest is the information on project performance that accompanies the allocations for each item. Of the N97,000 budgeted formally in sector I, under 9 headings, less than N35,000 under 4 headings had been spent by 1st January 1978. Of N56,000 allocated for equipment and vehicles as listed in sector II, N39,000 had been spent by that date; but of c. N220,000 for sector III, social overheads only N3,200 had been spent by that date. Likewise of N171,000 allocated for ‘economic overheads’ in sector IV only N41,500 had been spent, all but N5,000 of this to purchase three of the six tractors listed. Similarly, of the N74,000 approved for the productive sector (V) less than N5,820 had been spent by that date. Thus, less than 10% of the capital expenditures approved for the social, economic and productive sectors in 1977-8 had been effected in the first three quarters of that year. Altogether, the HLG had only been able to spend less than N125,500 or 15% of the N828,000 budgeted for capital programmes in 1977-8 during the first three quarters of that year due directly as already shown, to failure of the Federal Government to transfer the promised funds, or even to inform the Local Government as to the nature of the promised expenditure. In conclusion, our data show that, at least in the Hadejia LG area, the new experiment in local government got off to an excellent start, largely through the efficient arrangements of the Kano State Government, the support of the local people, and the intelligent responses of elected and nominated councillors to their novel responsibi-

### Sector II. Vehicle & Equipment
- Purchase of 4 Landrovers for Districts: N25,000, Completed
- Furniture & equipment for Chairman's office: N5,000, Completed
- Purchase of Landrover (cinema band): N12,000, Not started
- Purchase of equipment for Adult Edn.: N1,000, Completed
- Purchase of 3 TV sets, photographic and publicity equipment: N4,500, Completed
- Purchase of typewriter & refrigerator for Information office: N1,500, Completed
- Purchase of office furniture LG workshop: N5,000, Not started
- Community Dev. equipment & furniture: N2,000, Completed
- **Total:** N36,000

### Sector III. Social Overheads
- Public latrine: N4,260, Not started
- 4 slaughter slabs at N600 each: N2,400, Not started
- 20 dustbin at N160 each: N3,200, Completed
- 3 Health Dispensaries at N7,000 each: N21,000, Not started
- 4 Dispensary Assistants' quarters: N30,000, Not started
- 3 patients' accommodation: N6,000, Not started
- Adult Ed. classes & compensation: N3,000, Not started
- Provision for rural water supply: N150,000, Not started
- **Total:** N219,860

### Sector IV. Economic Overheads
- Improvement of dry season roads: N50,000, Started
- Bridges, culverts, drainage, rural/urban: N12,000, Not started
- Purchase of 6 tractors (Agric. Dept.): N66,000, 3 purchased
- Establishment costs of plantation: N7,540, Completed
- Compensation for 40 acres plantation: N16,000, Not started
- Silviculture: N1,000, Completed
- New Vet. Clinic (office): N7,500, Not started
- 3 animal grazing ponds at N2,700 each: N8,100, Not started
- 4 animal grazing ponds at N1,000 each: N4,000, Not started
- **Total:** N172,140

### Sector V. Productive Sector
- Erection of new markets: N13,120, Not Started
- Erection of new motor parks: N50,060, Not Started
- Improvement of motor parks: N3,820, Started
- Purchase of safes and cash tanks: N5,000, Not Started
- **Total:** N74,000

**Total:** N828,000

13. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In conclusion, our data show that, at least in the Hadejia LG area, the new experiment in local government got off to an excellent start, largely through the efficient arrangements of the Kano State Government, the support of the local people, and the intelligent responses of elected and nominated councillors to their novel responsibi-
lities and situations. After a brief period of predictable mutual uncertainty and hesitation, the councillors and District Heads have developed a new co-operative accommodation in the interests of the people and communities they both desire to serve. The central sarakuna at Hadejia preferred initially to remain aloof from this experiment, having been evicted by the reforms from the executive and politically decisive positions they had held until 1976. But instead of actively seeking to subvert the new local government, they have adopted a neutral position and correctly focus their attention in the Emirate Council on the co-ordinative and supervisory role which the State Edict assigns to them. Undoubtedly the Emir's influence must have had a decisive bearing on the adoption of this conciliatory but correctly neutral stand by the traditional sarakuna. Thus at the socio-political level the current reforms have fared well at Hadejia, and seem likely to achieve a smooth institutionalisation, provided only that the new Council is able to demonstrate its capacity to deliver a significant proportion of the widely-needed and expected facilities, services and benefits efficiently and fairly without undue delay, and without imposing new or extraordinary burdens on a population which now annually faces famine and which has to cultivate its farms and preserve its livestock with inadequate rain and little alternative water supply. As shown above, the success or failure of this very promising experiment in democratic local government at Hadejia depends directly on fulfilment by the Federal Military Government of its commitment to transfer the promised funds to the Local Governments regularly and at quarterly intervals. Without this, the reforms launched so boldly by FMG last year will fall even before the restoration of civilian rule, and the responsibility and consequences will rest directly on the Federal Military Government that initiated and imposed these reforms.

Our enquiry accordingly leads to the following recommendations:

(1) That appropriate arrangements should be made to ensure that the Federal Military Government transfers the funds it has promised the new Local Governments throughout the country at quarterly intervals via the State Governments hereafter.

(2) That at Hadejia, and as necessary in other Local Governments, the necessary measures should be taken as a matter of urgency to equip Local Government Departments with such numbers of qualified staff and other resources as are required to discharge their departmental functions efficiently, economically, and promptly.

(3) That in the specific case of the Hadejia Local Government, the Military Government of Kano State should undertake the necessary enquiries as an urgent priority to determine whether, and under what conditions, the establishment, resources and responsibilities of State Ministries located and working at Hadejia could be most efficiently used; and specifically, how this could be done by their transfer to the two Local Governments of that area, together with such annual allocations as these local sections receive from the budgets of their Ministries after the necessary monitoring period, should this experiment prove successful, the State Government should implement similar transfers to other Local Governments of Kano State in a carefully phased programme.

(4) That the Military Government of Kano State and its Ministry of Local Government and Community Development should undertake the necessary studies of present bureaucratic procedures and practices in Kano and its Local Governments to rationalise and modernise these, so as to ensure much higher levels of efficiency in the use of staff and other departmental resources available to the HLGRC, together with effective supervision by the State to maintain standards and see that its policies are locally executed.

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Glossary

Dawa — Guinea corn
Gero — Millet
Jikan Sarki — next of kin to the titleholder
Majalisar — Legislative assembly
Sarakuna (sing. Sarki) — title-holder, or king
aman — trust
fadama — rich, marshy farmland
 DH — District Head
   VH — Village Head
   HLGC — Hadejia Local Government Council
   MLGCD — Ministry of Local Government and Community Development
   EC — Emirate Council
   WRECA — Water Resources Engineering Construction Agency
   HJRBA — Hadejia-Jama'are River Basin Development Authority
   Cin rani — Itinerant local gypsies
   KHLG — Kaffin Hausa Local Government
   LEA — Local Education Authority.