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SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

Werner Fricke

The geographical analysis of the Savannah Zones of north-eastern Nigeria revealed a basic insight on the differentiated development at the meso-regional level: The northern districts had a much lower population increase than the average. It was already arid land before the dramatic reduction of precipitation since the late 1960s. The quality of the soil for farming is rather poor despite specific minerals which give grass during the very short growing season a higher nutritional value than further south. Through studies at the local level, it became evident that on one side this is an area of out-migration of the local population but on the other side we have to register the influx of migrants from the even more dryer northern districts including Niger Republic.

The population increase was concentrated on the already more densely populated areas adjacent to the central Hausa areas. The facts on how such surplus of population has been maintained has not been analysed yet. However, going by the report of KIMMAGE & ADAMS (1992) we know about the importance of irrigated farming, especially the production of vegetables by the successfully innovated use of motor-pumps, which might have contributed to the sustenance of such increased carrying capacity. Beside of such intensification of land use, part time agriculture and labour migration as well as additional income from home crafts are important because of the diminishing size of farm holdings per household.

On the micro-regional level another type of a strong population development, the example of the Gombe State, has been historically traced to a very successful innovation of a new variety of cotton for the world market and an appropriate technology: the ox-plough with which a heavy soil, not suitable for hoe-cultivation, was taken into production. The colonial settlement structure founded by the Fulani conquerors gave the chance for ample land reclamation and the funding of new farm enterprises. The change from cotton to food stuff production in the 1970s has already been observed.

The study of MALCHAU revealed the flow of the commodities at the meso-regional and macro-regional level and documented the market orientation of the local farmers. His findings show clearly that the peasants in the north-eastern part of Nigeria are able to take their chances and to react successfully to the demands of the national market. Further, according to his unpublished report, a number of households invest some of their income in machinery and fertiliser. Between 40 and 50% buy supplementing foodstuff like yams, rice, vegetable, and meat. The analysis of the development of the structure of the farm- enterprises and the process of social stratification from 1961 till today is underway.

Under the aspects of the suitability of the different Savannah Zones for farming one gets the impression that the southern, more moisture part of the Sudan Zone, especially the Sub-Sudanic Zone shows less risk for the farmers concerning drought in the average of the years in contrast to the more northern fringes of the region. As the bush-land and the Forest Reserves have been used for the clearing of farmland the situation is far away from being sustainable.

Not less striking will be such an analysis among farmers in areas of the former acephalous societies in the southern Gombe State after their characteristic settle-down process from their former hill-fortresses after World War II. Reports are given by FRICKE, HEINRICH & KAUFHOLD (1993) and BERGDOLD & DEMIRAG (1996). There the traditional agricultural techniques are well adapted to the specific climate of the Sub-Sudanic Zone. In the meantime the settling down process gave each second household the chance of starting ploughing with ox-ploughs. Parallel to this development in villages closed to Muslim settlers the people converted to Islam, and women are less engaged in farm work (BERGDOLD & DEMIRAG 1996, 134).

Our historically orientated interdisciplinary research-program has not considered why so many agricultural projects in this region of Nigeria, as in other parts of the country have totally failed. That question has to be dealt on the national level and has been mentioned in the paper by my colleague Anameti NTUKIDEM.

Looking back I guess that the ideology of social welfare and the euphoria concerning economic planning (which was brought by the colonial masters since British Labour Government started in 1946 a Ten-Year-Plan of Welfare and Development for Nigeria) were important and are still vivid in the political mind. Remarkable is the judgement of OKIGBO (1985) "The planning adopted had some socialist-welfareist overtones but it was not democratic in terms of the participation of the people ... There was, however more and deeper participation of the grass-roots level than in any subsequent plans after independence". The military administration unified and streamlined the existing planning system but issued numerous regulations which were difficult to enforce. "Smuggling ... became a routine of business" and "the will to work was greatly eroded as the system of rewards was becoming increasingly difficult to justify" (OKIGBO 1985, 70).

The second point has already been mentioned in the paper of A. NTUKIDEM: The establishment of an economic oil-enclave only fiscally linked to the Nigerian economy did not induce any trigger effects for industrialisation. At least, the petro-dollars were mainly used for keeping the different tiers of administration and an accelerated individual automobilisation on a basic road-net running. The political strategy of the first Government after the civil war was very much consumer orientated, especially towards the appeasement of the urban middle classes. A great part of the oil money therefore went into the steady growing number of state capitals, their administration buildings and empty boulevards (some times ending blind into

the savannah). Will they turn into growth poles for a modern economic development?

The rate of urbanisation in Nigeria increased rapidly from 15 to 36 %. Northern capitals like Kano and Maiduguri multiplied their number of inhabitants seven times but were overtaken by Gombe's growth. In any case they are centres of social and cultural change as the preliminary findings of H. BALZEREK concerning the boom-town Gombe revealed. But social tensions seem to be inevitable as religious movements not only in big towns like Kano but even in Gombe were already analysed by WATTS (1993, 61). The bearer/carriers of this movement are landless people who did not migrate to new land in the country side, they are hoping for new jobs in an urban environment. The social structure has changed since the time of the old Hausa towns, but their reliance on surplus of labour force appears to have continued.

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