THE IMPACT OF THE COLONIAL RACIAL AND CULTURAL SEGREGATION IN NIGERIA ON PLANNING KANO URBAN AREA

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ETHNICITY, TRIBALISM, AND RACISM AND ITS MAJOR DOCTRINES IN NIGERIA

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CONSEQUENCES OF THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN COTE D’IVOIRE 2017

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Abstract

This paper pertains to the conceptual rules of British colonial town planning policy in Kano, which were built upon racial and cultural segregation between the Europeans and all other nationalities on one hand, and between each ethnic group and the others on the other hand. Therefore, the new colonial township which the colonial administration established alongside the walled Kano city has become a collection of segments divided according to function and ethnic, economic, social, cultural, and administrative context. However, Kano city as a Muslim, and an indigenous city retained its old layout, traditional town-plan and socio-cultural characteristics. This concomitant urban contrast between old and new cities in urban areas, in African, Arab and Muslim countries, has become a barrier on the road to urban unification and modern and sound urban planning projects.

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The Impact of the Colonial Racial and cultural Segregation in Nigeria.

المستخلص

تتعلق هذه الدراسة بالفهمايم التي جعلها الاستعمار البريطاني أساساً لمبادئ تخطيط المدينة في مكان، وهي المبادئ التي بنيت على سياسات الفصل العرقي والثقافي في بناء المدينة الحديثة هناك. بدأ ذلك الفصل المكاني بين الأوروبيين وثقافات الجنسيات والثقافات الأخرى من جانب، ثم الفصل بين كلّ من المجموعات العرقية والثقافية من جانب آخر. وهكذا تحوّلت مدينة مكان المدينة التي أنشئها الاستعمار بجوار مدينة التراثية التقليدية العريقة؛ من قطاعات مفصلة عن بعضها وفق مكونات كل قطاع، العرقية والاجتماعية والاقتصادية والثقافية والإدارية، لمواطني مكان أولاً ثم المهاجرين للمدينة من مناطق شمال نيجيريا الأخرى ثانياً، ثم مجموعات جنوب نيجيريا والأفارقة الآخرين ثالثاً، ثم اللبنانيين أو العرب القادمين من بلاد المغرب رابعاً. غير أن مدينة مكان التراثية العريقة احتفظت بشخصيتها وخصائصها المحلية والإسلامية ومخطط المدينة ومبادئها التقليدية. بيد أن هذا التناقض الحضري، التقليدي والحديث، الملزم لحكم مدينة كبيرة مزدوجة بين الدول الإفريقية والعربية والإسلامية، قد يفتقد معيقاً للوحدة العضوية للمدينة والتي تعد القاعدة التي ينبغي أن تقوم عليها مشروعات التخطيط الحضري الحديث والسلام.
Introduction:

The primary aim of this article is to examine the colonial motives behind racial and cultural segregation in the policy of urban planning and town building in Kano. Kano urban area in northern Nigeria, comprising Kano city, as one of the greatest historical and traditional urban centers in Bilad al- Sudan (West Africa), and the new township which was established by the colonial administration outside the wall of the indigenous city, is the best example of urban and disintegration among Muslim cities in West Africa and the Middle East that face the problem of urban duality. Urban planning as a system consists of goals and cyclic processes which aim at the good of the entire society in terms of housing and provision of basic social services. But for the colonial administration, urban planning policies and regulations were legislated for the benefit of the colonial administrative purposes, and also, for the convenience of the European officials. Therefore, for medical reasons and safety of the European officials, and administration of various racial and cultural groups, the policy of segregation was introduced in the laws of town building in Kano and other northern Nigerian towns.

The compiled data for this study, which was collected by the author from the National Archives, Kaduna, Nigeria, has been examined through conceptual, spatial and political approach within a framework that would look after refusal of all segregation policies in general, and in town building and housing in particular. Segregation in urban planning is against urban unification, and consequently, it is against sound planning for the future expansion of the metropolitan .

Urbanization as a process whereby people congregate in relatively large numbers in nucleated settlements is characterized by a diversification of occupational structure, different from rural primary occupations of agriculture, forestry or fishing. In spite of the variation in the origin and growth of urban centers in different ages and different regions of the world according to population density and functions of urban centers, the limiting conditions for the rise of urban centers are similar in different circumstances. These limiting conditions can be
traced in the origin of the first cities in the history of mankind in the Middle East, Far East and Central America. Then, in European Greek and Roman towns. After that, emerged medieval towns in the Islamic World and Europe. In modern times, the rise and growth of industrial towns in the West, and traditional and modern towns in the developing countries, was so tremendous.

Limiting conditions for the rise of urban centers as essentials for urban life include in the first place, the agricultural surplus to allow different urban classes of specialists to divorce themselves from food production, secondly, the existence of a class of traders and merchants to facilitate the collection and distribution of raw materials and food, thirdly, the existence of a group or class responsible for the stability and administration in the settlement in any form of political power. (1)

Urban centers flourish when these conditions are satisfied, and the city as a single unit becomes a complex organization in its function and physical, occupational and demographic structure. But this single unit cannot live in isolation and it closely connected with its region and countryside. Pre-industrial cities depended upon their growth in rural urban relations because the movement of agricultural produce and taxes into the city was essential to its economic development. The country side also receives manufactured articles and city – based service. (2)

**Emergence and Growth of Kano City:**

Beside agricultural activity, a vital role was played by the religious heritage in the growth of Hausa cities. Early traditional religion of spirits (iskoki) attracted people to settle around large inselberges as homes of spirits. Then Islam came with many social and cultural changes. These changes were reflected in the landscape of Hausa cities. The mosque became a focal point in the walled city beside the palace and the market. Cemeteries and large open grounds for religious festivals were also added to the features of the city. Qur'anic schools within the teacher's compounds and the emergence of those teachers as a special occupational class became a characteristic of Hausa cities. The segregation of women affected the architecture of the residential compound in order to keep women in the inner rooms for privacy. Islam
also brought North Africa migrants as scholars and traders who settled in Hausa cities and assimilated to the society. (3)

The above mentioned factors of growth in Hausa cities, are best demonstrated and expressed in Kano, the greatest of Hausa cities, where sedentary culture based on agriculture provided for the survival of dispersed settlements and the growth of Kano city, politically and commercially. (4)

The early settlement of Kano emerged around Dalla hill. This was based on the spirit of Dalla as a home of traditional religion which was led by the Barbushe dynasty. The religious influence of Barbushe was reflected in the political authority. There was an administrative system under eleven chiefs for the occupational and communal affairs of people. The end of the tenth century witnessed the arrival of great number of Hausa immigrants from the north east of Kano region to fertile land of Kano led by Bagauda who took over and established his dynasty and founded the old state of Kano (5), until the Fulani took over at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The Fulani rule was a turning point in the growth of nineteenth century Kano. Katsina which was the famous educational center of the Hausa states and southern terminus of the Saharan caravan route, resisted the Fulani jihad, and the pre-Fulani rules, the Habe, continued their war against the Fulani from the hinterland of Katsina in Muradi. Because of war circumstances the Ghadames – Air caravan route was transferred through Zinder to Kano, and Katsina was by-passed. In fact the decline of Katsina was not immediate cause of nineteenth century rise of Kano; rather, the political and economic stability regained after the weaknesses of the Hausa state of Kano was responsible for that rise. In spite of the rebellion against the Sokoto caliphate by Zamfara, Gobir, Kobbe and Maradi, peaceful administration covering the greater parts of northern Nigeria was established and run successfully by the Fulani emirs and their official administration. (6) Barth, one of the European travelers who visited Kano, have written living description about Kano City, said " ...
The physical structure and townscape of nineteenth century Kano reflected its homogeneity that derived from a dominate socio-cultural system based on religion, social integration, specialization of crafts and occupations and centralization of power. Therefore, the layout of the city, which was brought about by natural growth was characterized by uniformity of building and the absence of systematic forms, similar to other Muslim cities in the later middle ages. (8)

Fig: (1) Kano City: An African – traditional Muslim city – type (at the time of independence (1960).
The pre-industrial characteristics of the spatial arrangements in Kano city are obvious. First, the function of the wall was defensive and also served in regulating the activities of merchants and visitors to the city; therefore, Fagge quarter was founded outside the city wall to serve as an animal park and to house the Tuareg and other North African traders. Second, the central area of the city, the palace, the mosque and the market represents the political, religious and economic.

Importance of the city. Third, various quarters were recognized for ethnic and occupational division. Fourth, buildings were uniform in the shape and building materials. Fifth, spatial differences were based only on ethnic and occupational groups. Thus, there was no marked functional differentiation in the uses of land. (9)

Colonial urban development policy towards tropical lands.

Morphological differences, and particularly in town plan, between indigenous towns and colonial towns were recognized since ancient times. This is because the growth of old indigenous towns was natural with a gradual process of accretion, while colonial towns are associated with an occupation of new areas where buildings have to be commenced from scratch, and tend to possess an overall plan to accommodate a new political and socioeconomic situation. (10)

Ancient Greek colonial towns in the eighth century B.C. were built on the grid-plan with straight streets set at right angles. The Romans in turn spread the use of the grid pattern into north-western Europe. Although many towns in the medieval ages in Europe were built in irregular plans, which resulted from slow growth, a great number of towns was established on the square grid pattern around the central market. (11) In the early nineteenth century the tradition of regular plan layout was well-established in western culture. This was associated with the growth of industrialization and the expansion of industrial towns. The grid plan was adopted because it was an easy layout; its shape can serve various functions and makes the expansion of the town easy. (12)

When the British occupied vast lands in tropical Africa and Asia
between the early nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they introduced new forms of colonial urban settlement different from the indigenous towns of those colonies, in their functions and plans. In Nigeria, the colonial policy towards town planning was greatly affected by two influences: the colonial experience in town planning in India, and the contemporary ideas of planning in Britain at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The British colonial experience in India during the nineteenth century reflected the colonial policy towards urban development in a different physical and cultural environment. The British introduced new forms of urban settlement to satisfy their military, economic, political and medical needs. The spatial expression of these functions took three urban forms which were transferred from India to other pre-industrial societies in colonized countries. Those urban forms were: the cantonment or military camp, the civil station where the bungalow – compound appeared as the residential unit in urban development and the hill station which was characterized by temporary patronage of its occupants. (13)

The cantonment or permanent military station was the form of settlement for the military representatives of British colonial power. The layout of the cantonment depended on norms of social organization in the European urban industrial society, as well as norms governing military organization in the field. The tents of cavalry and infantry were laid out in rows with intervals as straight streets. Accommodation in the cantonment was divided into three categories. Indigenous troops in native self-constructed huts of bamboo and matting arranged in rough order without drainage, ventilations or sanitary supervision. The British troops were accommodated some distance away from native troops in brick-built or wooden barracks, then, European officers lived in detached bungalows. Other specific requirements for this community, such as churches, burial grounds, sport fields, gardens, library, shops, workshops and separate hospitals for European and native troops, were laid out in other areas. (14)
The rules formulated in the cantonments acts and regulations to define the spatial area of the cantonment and to establish control over its adjacent region, were related in the main to sanitation practices. Health conditions and medical protection were necessary because the mortality rate among the European troops was above 18 per 1000, higher than among native troops. Therefore, health ordinances and medical care became the first objective in town planning throughout the colonies in the tropical lands.

Colonial civil stations in India as residential areas with the bungalows as residential units were carefully sited to suit the climatic conditions of the tropics and to meet the socio cultural living conditions of the Europeans. High ground was preferable, with facilitations for drainage and healthiness of soil and access to water. The site was also far from native dwellings and servants’ houses were built at a safe distance for the same purpose of medical protection. The civil station was characterized by low density, horizontal single storey development, laid out in large rectangles formed by wide tree-lined roads. The church, the club, sports field and the shops were laid out in the same area. (15)

It has been mentioned that colonial policy on urban planning in Africa was influenced not only by British experience in India but also by contemporary ideas of planning in Britain. Towns in Europe were greatly affected by the growth of industrialization and rapid urbanization that created bad housing conditions, insanitary conditions and ill-organized use of land. The Idea of New Towns was a response to these urban conditions, to design new plans that reflect contemporary ideas like the desire to live at lower densities in detached or semi-detached houses. (16) Although the idea of new towns was not confined to Britain, and developed also in U.S.A. Germany and Holland, the idea was best developed in Britain by Ebenezer Howard who argues that a new type of settlement-town-country or garden city- could combine all the advantages of the town through accessibility and the advantages of the countryside by way of environment. (17)

Howard was the most influential thinker in town planning at the beginning of the twentieth century, but before him there were many
experiments in the western world to solve the urbanization problem by new town plans. Those utopian ideas were not effective in town planning because they concentrated only on sanitary reform and architecture. But Howard gathered in his well-known book, Garden City of Tomorrow, various arguments which included urban economics, estate government, theories of urban growth, organizing the migration of population and the municipalization of land tenure. These arguments were summarized in five major features. First, the town would be built on agricultural land acquired at low cost. Second, the encouragement of private enterprise where money would be raised by mortgage. Third, to limit the population of the town to 32,000. Fourth, variety of employment would include agricultural activities. Finally, when the town reaches a certain size it should stop growing and a new town should grow close by. (18)

When the British occupied northern Nigeria at the beginning of the twentieth century, they established new towns alongside the old cities. Consequently, the functional requirement and morphological structure of these colonial towns were different from the old traditional and indigenous cities, because the colonial administration passed many memoranda, laws and circulars in planning these colonial towns.

This colonial planning policy towards towns building was made to accommodate the Europeans and other African and alien immigrants with their different cultures and social and economic systems beside northern Nigerian characteristics of the indigenous society.

**Colonial town-planning rules and spatial segregation of Kano urban area:**

The first town planning principle in Nigeria after the colonial advent was stated in the first annual report of northern Nigeria (1900), in which Lugard, the Governor – General of Nigeria explained that the public health and safety of the colonial officials would determine the siting and planning of towns. Lugard said in that report:

... “the policy shall be gradually to move the native town six or seven miles downstream and so do away with the pollution of the water and with other evils such as the proximity of haven for thieves and
prostitutes, the infection of mosquitoes with malaria germs, and the sanitary condition inevitable around a large native town. (19)

Kano was occupied in 1903 and the new government station was situated at Nassarawa three-quarters of a mile east from Kano city, and two years later the cantonment at Bombay was situated two miles north from the government station. In 1904, the establishment of these two colonial units of settlement became legal when the cantonment proclamation number 28 was passed. The proclamation declared the right of the high commissioner to proclaim certain areas to be cantonments under the charge of Cantonment Magistrates, or government stations under the of provincial Residents. These areas...

“Partake of the nature of Crown colonies within the protectorate, in that there is no intermediate chief…. While British law can be fully enforced, and is presumed to be well-known to all the inhabitants. (20) The duties of Cantonment Magistrate included improving roads and supervising sanitary conditions, and making public gardens. (21)

In 1906, Lugard explained specific rules for the layout of provincial headquarter, cantonments and townships where each of these urban settlements had at least two sections: the Government Station and the native quarter. More explanation was given in the memorandum “Government Stations” which stated that.... “All British officials should live near each other, viz, that dwelling houses be from 40 to 80 yards from each other, and not as formerly at distances often as far as a mile apart. Thus if bungalows are placed at a distance of thirty yards from the public road and 80 yards apart, with a depth of 60 yards to the rear for servants quarter, stable, etc...., an area of about 100 yards square per bungalow is enclosed ... to keep clean and sanitary, while privacy can be secured by planting of trees between houses. (22)

The layout of the government station in detached houses with space needed for privacy is a reflection of the ideal of the British officials who were recruited from rural areas. (23) Moreover, Lugard was influenced by the contemporary ideas in Britain of the town-country planning of the New Towns. Also, the reflection of the social class of the British officials, the upper-middle class, and the Indian experience, are
apparent in allocating the club and the vast land for sports and recreation. Lugard wrote in the Dual Mandate: “... the government to encourage the formation of recreation clubs at every center, by providing ground, and even financial support at their inception ... polo, tennis (etc.) as in India” (24) Lugard did not elaborate his views on the layout of the European quarter only, but also the native quarter, as a part of the new colonial town outside the walled and old city.

As a part of the cantonment, the native quarter was “a matter of great importance ... with a view to appearance and prevention of fire .... With this object effect will be given the flowing points:

a. No houses with grass walls will be permitted.
b. Square built houses of burnt brick should be encouraged.
c. Non-inflammable roofing should be similarly encouraged,
d. Each house will be built in a plot of its own, separated by some little distance from its neighbors. (25)

The physical separation between the Government Station and the native quarter was made formal by the establishment of a strip, 350 yards, free of building. In 1914 the strip became 440 yards and was called a building free zone. Lugard justified the European segregation and said: “The first object of the non-residential area is to separate Europeans, so that they shall not be exposed to the attacks of mosquitoes which have become infected with the germs of malaria or yellow fever, by preying on native and especially on native children, whose blood so often contains those germs. It is also valuable as a safeguard against bush fires and those which are so common in the native quarters especially in the dry season in the Northern provinces. Finally it removes the inconvenience felt by Europeans, whose rest is disturbed by drumming and other noises dear to the natives. (26)

Thus, Lugard founded the major elements of colonial town planning in northern Nigeria, through the first laws of the annual reports, Cantonment Proclamation of (1904) and his Instructions to political and Other Officers (1906). Those major elements were segregated European and Native Reservation separated by building free zone and many
specific functional units sited in separate areas, like soldiers line, hospital, church, court, cemetery and rest house. Between 1903 and 1917 Kano cantonment continued to conform in the main to Lugard’s plan, until 1917 when Lugard introduced the Township Ordinance in which the previous plans were modified, and Kano became a second class township. But before that, and in 1912, the arrival of the railway to Kano modified the earlier plan, which comprised the European Reservation at Nassarawa and Bombay, the building free zone, the native quarter, SabonGari (the new town) and the functional units of township control and services, such as the army and police barracks, hospital, court and cemetery.

SabonGari was established because of the growth of the natives quarter which was assigned for the use of non-natives of African descent and for natives in the employ of government and the non-natives resident in the township. No person who was directly subject to the native authority shall be allowed to reside therein. But SabonGari Kano was given over to the native authority to insure that the natives of northern Nigeria were administrated under the policy of indirect rule. This decision conflicted with the policy of direct rule which governed the non-native of African descent. This conflict was resolved in 1914 when a new settlement was established outside the township to accommodate the northern Nigerian migrants. This new settlement was situated in the northern-eastern corner of Kano Township and became known as Tudun Wada.
Fig. (2) Ethnic Residential Groups within Land Uses in Kano Urban Area

Legend:
1. Kano old city.
2. Fagge: Muslims from Northern Nigeria and North Africa.
3. Lebanese Quarter.
5. Gwagwarwa and Tudum Wada: Muslims of Northern Nigeria.
6. Nassarwa and Bompai: high class residence from colonial officers, and high class residence for citizens after independence.
9. Industrial Area.
10. Railway Station.
11. Urban Sprawl.

Source: Google Earth, Air Photo 1970
Thus, the new plans devised for railway station, trading plots, the new native town of SabonGari, Tudun Wada and the small Syrian quarter situated west from the railway station and south-east from Fagge old town, all were amendments to Lugard’s Cantonment Proclamation of 1904. These amendments were made to provide for the growth of commercial activities and the expansion of residential areas.

The most effective decision on the regulation of the town plans was introduced by Lugard in 1917 when the Township Ordinance and the Public Health Ordinance were passed. When Lugard returned to Nigeria in 1914 he decided to create one body of laws to govern public health, sanitation, municipal control and finances and layout of buildings and streets. The Township and Public Health Ordinances, 1917, were created for this purpose and Lugard said:

“The writing of these ordinances and their regulations was a matter of much labor and thought, lasting over a period of three years, and it was not till July 1917, that they were placed on the statute book with their subsidiary laws”. (27)

The Township Ordinance abandoned the use of the terms: Government Station and Cantonment and replaced them by Township and Urban District. Three categories of townships were created each with different municipal responsibilities. Lagos was the only first class township, and in northern Nigeria there were four second Class Township: Kano, Kaduna, Zaria and Jos.

According to the Township Ordinance, the former plans of Lugard for government stations and Bell’s for native towns were incorporated in the new plan with some modifications, the most important of these modifications was the inclusion of the commercial area into the European Reservation.

In consequence, Kano Township general plan comprised three units: The European Reservation, which included the government station and European residential area at Nassarawa and Bompai, the commercial area and the railway area. Second, the Non-European reservation where the native town of SabonGari accommodated the clerks, traders, artisans, labourers and the market. Third, the special area which included the
building free zone, police station, prison, barracks, hospital and schools. This plan for Kano Township was mapped and signed by Lugard according to the first official boundaries in 1917. (28)

The Township Ordinance also treated the divided units of the town according to race and culture as stated in Lugard’s first plans of cantonments. Therefore, Kano Township was characterized throughout the colonial era by distinctive ethnic residential areas. The Europeans lived in Nassarwa and Bompai, the Nigerian southerners and British West Africans in SabonGari, and the northerners who became assimilated with Hausa group, occupied Fagge which was established east from the walled city before the European advent, then Tudun Wada, and after 1954, Gwagwarwa. The Lebanese community was included in the Township boundary as non-African aliens and they were also segregated from the Europeans. Thus the creation of divided units in Kano Township was brought by two dimensions of segregation. The first was the European segregation which was based on racial distinction for medical protection and European convenience. The second segregation between indigenous northerners and other non-native migrants was based on cultural, legislative and administrative arrangements.

The impact of the segregation of races on town planning was further stressed when the Secretary of State for Colonies sent the Governor General of Nigeria, in 1921, a memorandum on “Segregation of Races and Town Planning in Nigeria.” (29) The ideal planning for townships as indicated in that memorandum was to separate not only the Europeans from the natives but also to separate the Europeans from the Trading Area. In the same year the meeting of the Advisory Medical and Sanitary committee decided to secure the system of European segregation in northern Nigeria to ensure the protection against deceases. In the meeting Kano was taken as an example of typical physical segregation. (30)

The system of European segregation in Kano Township and other northern Nigeria townships was characterized by:

a. Buildings were not permitted in the non-residential area,
b. Buildings of native resort were not permitted in European reservation.
c. Any non-European, except servants, was allowed to reside or occupy land within the European reservation. Similarly, any European, except missionaries, was allowed to reside or occupy land within the non-European reservation. (31)

Moreover, the mechanics of spatial development were still explained in terms of socio-cultural and legislative differences between various groups and areas in the Township, rather than industrial growth or economic competition for land or housing policy. (32) Therefore, the layout of Kano Township during the 1930s was an expansion of the same units laid out in Lugard’s plan of Cantonment Proclamation (1904) and the Township Ordinance (1917). This fact can be seen in the disintegration of urban land use which reflected the early colonial policy of segregation of peoples and institutions, in spite of the evolving nature of town plans.

Between the 1930s and the 1940s there was no change in the general-plan of Kano Township and there was no great physical expansion. But after the Second World War there was a rapid expansion associated with the growth of industrial and commercial activities. The solution to the problems of urban growth was based on dealing with each town in northern Nigeria separately rather than passing general rules and principles on planning all towns in the same manner. Therefore, town planning was taken out of the hands of general administrators and became the responsibility of full-time professional town planners in the town planning office, Kaduna.

The Town Planning Office prepared specific suggestions for planning problems of each town in northern Nigeria, and the office issued a pamphlet called “Procedures for the Siting of Towns, Government Residential Areas, Business Areas and Government Buildings, Nigeria, 1953”. (33) The style of town planning was still authoritarian in town planning office and the practice became largely advisory. The office expressed clearly the principle of urban land zonation and stressed that “each zone should
be separated if possible from its neighbors by some natural feature of physical barrier and only building of a particular zone will normally be permitted. (34) The purpose was to define the functional segregation of urban land. Seven zones were recognized for the location of all urban activities in Kano Township which included the Government Residential Area surrounded by green belt, administrative, commercial, industrial, cemeteries and sanitary areas and noxious trades. This specific zonation of land was not realized or practiced in the proposed plan, because the town was established in different layout according to the previous policies, and therefore, the policy of separating urban zones became clear in the general pattern of Kano Township land use. In contrast to the previous ideal of the railway as the town core, in the plan of the Town Planning Office the civic centre was to be the hub of the town. Of course this was the ideal of professional town-planner rather than commercially mined colonial Governor or the administratively oriented High Commissioner. (35)

Colonial town plans for the layout of Kano Township were going hand in hand with the major physical stages of growth in the town. There were three major stages of physical growth in Kano Township associated with the economic and population growth. The first stage between 1903 and 1917 was associated with the establishment of the Government Station, the arrival of the railroad and the growth of the groundnut trade. In this stage Lugard’s, Cantonment Proclamation (1904) and Township Ordinance (1917) set the basic elements of planning which created separate self-contained units in Kano Township. In the second stage (1917-1945) the expansion of the established units was controlled by the Town Planning Memoranda (1926-1927). In the third stage (1945-1960), in which Kano Township witnessed great expansion as a result of commercial and industrial growth, town planning came into the hands of professional planners in the Town Planning Office at Kaduna. In spite of this evolving nature of colonial town planning, the policy of segregation, with its various dimensions as mentioned earlier, was dominant throughout the colonial area, therefore the layout of Kano Township by the end of the colonial period comprised of different sectors, each was
made to accommodate one segment of the immigrants or governmental and trading units. These segments were divided into two major sections: Waje and the Township. Waje was under the native authority and included SabonGari (for southern Nigerians and other non-Muslim African), Fagge (for North African Arab), Tudun Wada and Gwagwarwa (for northern Nigerian Muslims). The Township which was under the direct administration of the local authority comprised the Government Residential Area at Nassarwa and Bompai, the Syrian quarter and the commercial and industrial areas. The collection of these segregated segments conformed to the general plans of the Township, and hence, there was no specific comprehensive proposal for urban development plan throughout the colonial area, for Kano urban area. This pernicious colonial legacy of urban disunification, has affected greatly the urban sprawl of Kano urban area in the post-independence period, as stated in the development plans and projects of Greater Kano. (36)
Conclusion:
Morphological structure of towns- their plans, street pattern layouts, building rules and house type- is usually a reflection of their social, economic and cultural functions. In Kano, as in other towns of Hausaland in northern Nigeria, the morphology of the city was traditional and indigenous in mode, modified into the Muslim town – plan of the medieval North Africa and the Middle East. After the British colonial advent in Nigeria, the British administration established new towns alongside the old cities. Although new town-plans were introduced in these new towns, the rules of such plans were built upon socio-cultural and racial segregation between the Europeans and all other races and cultures on one side, and between each of the other native and alien races and cultures, namely in ethnicity and religion, on the other side. Therefore, Kano urban area became a collection of disintegrated new segments beside the old traditional city. However, lack of urban unification, after the independence of the country, became an obstacle on the way of the application of modern urban planning principles, based on a comprehensive master- plan prepared by all disciplines concerned with urbanization and urban planning (geography, sociology, engineering, architecture, public administration, law and environmental sciences). Such comprehensive master plan could deal with re-planning the old city within its socio-cultural context, and renewal of the township for effective urban unification to assist in formulating a metropolitan development scheme for the whole urban area.
End Notes:

15. Ibid. p.58.
21. Ibid. p.271
22. Ibid. p. 258.
26. Ibid. p. 420.
30. Ibid. 1923 / 143.
31. Ibid. 1923/ 144.
34. Ibid, “Native Authority Works Department, 1569s (N.A.K).