ARCHITECTURE AND THE EXISTING URBANISMS: THE BRITISH COLONIAL LEGACIES IN KANO, NIGERIA, 1909-2000

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Abstract

Hausaland to which Kano belongs had its unique age-long architectural designs rendered in a radial settlement pattern. However, with the British colonial conquest and the enactment of new town planning policies in 1903, a grid pattern of settlement was introduced, especially in the Government Reserved Areas (GRAs). This development further led to the promulgation of the British Township and Public Health Ordinances of 1917, the Housing and Town Planning Acts of 1909, as well as the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1946 to enforce not only western architectural housing planning but also to segregate the natives along land-uses, population density and status. Hinging on both primary and secondary sources, this article examines issues revolving around the transformation of architecture and town-planning development in Kano due to British colonial policies, which left lasting legacies in the peoples' choice of building materials, architectural designs and urbanisation. Emphasis is given to monumental buildings within the 'traditional' city and the emergence of British colonial buildings and settlements. Contrary to the notion that the British colonial government had not done anything positive in Africa, this article finds out that it had contributed immensely, especially in developing Kano's 'traditional' city and creating modern and rhythmic cities in the continent amidst its existing urbanisms. The article concludes that urban development and planning contributed immensely to the supremacy of the British colonial government over the Emirate, a struggle inherited by the Kano State government.

Keywords: Architecture, Urbanisation, Colonial Legacies, Kano, Policy.

Introduction

Although the Kano 'traditional' architecture flourished from time immemorial, the city experienced many changes, especially in architectural design and town planning development. These changes came because of Kano's relations with the outside world, especially the Arabs and much later, the British colonial government. Using the Mazrunian theory of Africa's triple heritage, Barau argues that the contemporary architecture of Kano is a true reflection of the city's triple heritage; the indigenous Hausa architecture on one hand and the Arab/Islamic, and European one on the other.¹ He observes that such external influences transcend the architectural designs of the city, which are evident in the names given to some places and roads.

It should be noted that colonialism had impacted the socio-economic and political life of the colonised people, and Kano is no exception. Since the British colonial conquest in 1903, the city has experienced permanent changes in its land use and town-planning

development despite efforts made by the people to decolonise in the post-colonial period. While commenting on these changes in the ancient city of Kano, Barau posits that the city's encounter with the forces of colonialism in this regard is a perfect example of the good, the bad and the ugly.²

Many scholars believe that although colonialism 'started, altered and accelerated' cities in Sub-Saharan Africa, it gave such cities three major distinctive features; pluralism, stratification, and politico-economic power.³ The British colonial legacy has generated longlasting discussions about African cities because of its impact on the architecture, town planning and development of such cities. These impacts came in the form of colonial policies and edicts mainly to serve the administrative and economic conveniences of the British government. For instance, British colonial policies such as the 1907 Public Lands Ordinance invariably stripped many people of their lands.⁴ A classic example of these policies is the 1923 Segregation and Town-Planning Memorandum, which enabled the colonial government to embark on its formal layout for Kano. According to this memorandum, areas such as Nassarawa, Sabon Gari and Fagge would be separated from the ancient city of Kano, especially by building free zones.⁵ This effort ensured the duality of the landscaping of Kano along the 'traditional' African urbanism and the Western model. Despite the challenges raised by the colonial town-planning policies that promoted racial discrimination, loss of lands and the relegation of the 'traditional' Hausa architecture, historians and architects made little or no effort to document these changes and continuities.6

Though earlier researchers had documented the historical development of the Hausa 'traditional' architecture to which Kano belongs, focusing mainly on its technology, structures, building materials, designs and aesthetics, there is little or no sufficiently independent research on the impact of the British colonial administration and its legacies on the architecture and existing urbanisms in Kano. This paper, therefore, traces the historical development of 'traditional' architecture in Kano giving currency to the British colonial legacies and their impact on both the architecture of Kano and its urbanisation. Contrary to the common notion mostly held by the African Dependency theorists that the British colonial government had not done anything positive in Africa,⁷ this paper intends to bring out the major contributions of the British not only in the development of Kano 'traditional' architecture but also to the creation of an 'ideal' modern city amidst its existing urbanisms. It is equally argued that the impact of the British colonial legacy on the architecture and town-planning development in Kano is in three folds; (1) Materiality (2) design and (3) form.

Method

This paper hinged on two important sources: primary and secondary. The primary data included archival documents, while the secondary sources comprised both published and unpublished materials such as books, journal articles, theses and dissertations. This study, however, adopted a qualitative methodology and a historical approach to analyse the data obtained. The data collected is also corroborated, juxtaposed, selected and interpreted.

The researcher also conducted fieldwork, where relevant images of colonial buildings, public places and clubs were taken. This has complimented the textual analysis and descriptions

of buildings, and their aesthetics within the Kano metropolis, especially the Government Reserved Areas established by the British government.

A Historiographical Overview of the British Architectural and Town-Planning Development in Nigeria

Many scholars have written though not extensively on the historical development and transformation of architecture and British colonial town-planning policies in Nigeria. Most of these studies begin with the pre-colonial setting through the colonial and post-colonial periods characterised by architectural transformation, urbanisation and the use, or abuse of open spaces in many Nigerian cities. Salami, for instance, explores the contributions of the British Public Works Department (PWD) in Nigeria towards architectural development and town planning, especially in the early to mid-twentieth century.⁸ The author emphasises the importance of the PWD's surviving buildings and architecture. In this regard, the author focuses more on building operations, building typology and designs, and the composition of its architectural personnel to contribute to the existing literature on the recurrent debates revolving around tropical imperial architecture and Nigeria's colonial legacies.

Similarly, Adamu argues that with the rapid urbanisation of many Nigerian cities, especially in this 21st century, the very features that form the peoples' cultural heritages; precolonial, colonial and post-colonial are either decaying or facing extinction.⁹ Adamu observes that due to the cultural importance of pre-colonial and colonial edifices, there is a strong need to conserve and restore them. Adamu's work is quite significant as it particularly examines the conditions of the British colonial architecture in Kano. Though the author limits his scope to only the colonial buildings, Kano and its associated sites such as the historic city walls and the Emir's palace, which form an integral aspect of this paper, he attempts to connect the nexus between ancient Hausa architecture and the development of the British model within the same city.

While comparing the British colonial school buildings in old Calabar, Nigeria with the Famagusta of Northern Cyprus, Ukabi argues that British colonial administration had impacted positively on Nigeria, which became evident in the physical layout modifications, socio-economic and institutional structures in terms of infrastructural development of towns and settlements.¹⁰ Though the author's submission on the positive dimension of British colonial legacies is largely contestable, especially with the resurgence of the decolonisation debates in African academic circles, his work remains an important source of information on the role of the British in erecting beautiful architectural masterpieces. This also included the role it played in developing a tripartite (Hausa, Arab and European) outlook of the architecture in Kano and its urbanisation.

Bichi explores access to land under the British colonial government but emphasises the implications of housing development in the Kano metropolis, which traced its origin to the colonial period, especially with the promulgation of town-planning policies in the 1920s.¹¹ He discusses briefly, the origin and centrality of the Nassarawa (GRA) as an important residential area established by the British colonial government. According to him, this settlement that emerged from the British policy of racial segregation is still in existence as it houses the elites and other top government functionaries. Although his study largely gives currency to access to land under the British in Nigeria, especially in the post-colonial period, his work shows continuities and changes in land policies and town planning, which this present study prioritises.

Baruah, Henderson and Peng argue that the different institutions imposed on Nigerian cities by colonial rule have no doubt continued to affect the spatial structure and urban interactions in most African cities, including Nigeria.¹² They argue that based on a sample of 318 cities in 28 countries, Anglophone cities have less intense land use, but have a more irregular layout, especially across the older colonial areas of the cities. They also observe that the British colonial policy of Indirect Rule made it possible the development of 'dual' urbanisation; one African and the other European. They maintain that the physical outlook of most Nigerian cities in this regard have the elements of the two civilisations, which further define the nature and dynamics of British architectural and town-planning legacies in Nigeria and across the African continent where they obtained colonies. The writers conclude that British colonial cities in Nigeria have about 70% more leapfrog patches, which is so robust to a border experiment with definitions and relevant cuts on the data in terms of samples and therefore, such areas hardly receive connections to public utilities such as electricity, piped water, as well as city sewage.

Study Area

Kano State is located between latitude 10-30 N and longitude 740 E and 10-35 E with a total land mass of 20,760 sq kilometres. Kano and its environs, including its eight Local Government Areas, are known as metropolitan Kano. The city is strategically placed at a mean height of 472-45 feet above sea level.¹³ It is also one of the largest cities in Nigeria demographically and economically. Kano has Savanna vegetation and a hot, semi-arid climate. The level of precipitation is about 690mm (27.2in) per year, which becomes heavier from June to September. Kano is typically hot throughout the year, though from December through February, the city is a bit cooler, while nighttime temperatures are cool with average low temperatures ranging from 11^{0} - $14^{0}c$.¹⁴

According to Yahya, for a long period, Kano was widely known for its strong economy, which did not only attract buyers from the Middle East through the famous Trans-Saharan trade route but also from all parts of the African continent.¹⁵ According to the author, locally made goods such as dyed cloths, leather, feathers, pepper, and ginger, among other products, were transported as far as North Africa and Spain.

Bello reveals that the people of Kano are predominantly Hausa and Fulani, apart from other ethnic groups like the Tuaregs, Nupe, Kanuri, Yoruba, and Igbo, to mention but a few, who migrated from different geographical locations and settled in Kano, predominantly in search of greener pasture.¹⁶ This population comprised skilled and unskilled persons, whose knowledge is used for industrial and economic purposes, such as sword and rope making, weaving and building.

According to Bello, Kano State was created on the 1st of April, 1967 following the creation of 12 States by the Federal Government. In 1991, Jigawa State was carved out of Kano

State and presently, Kano State has a total number of 44 Local Government Areas, out of which 8 are referred to as the metropolitan Kano (See Fig. 1).¹⁷





Source: A Map of Kano State Showing Kano Metropolis www.wikipedia.com

The British Colonial Policies in Kano, 1909-1946

Though the British colonial conquest of present-day Nigeria began in 1851, Kano was conquered by the colonial forces in 1903.¹⁸ Unlike in most areas where the British used diplomacy and the signing of treaties to conquer the people, Kano was conquered through force due to its serious resistance that led to a battle with the loss of lives on both sides.¹⁹ Because of the lack of unity amongst the people, especially after suffering a series of espionage of their people who clandestinely became British agents, as well as the superiority of the Western weaponry, they were defeated. This defeat paved the way for the imposition of British colonial policies on all spheres of life. This included the introduction of the colonial economy, education, law and justice system, as well as infrastructure and town-planning policies.

In its first town-planning programmes as shown by the first Annual Report of what was to become Northern Nigeria in 1906, the British colonial government through Lugard, Nigeria's first Governor General, it was clear that it would plan towns in Kano based on the health and safety of its colonial officers. While commenting on the intended town-planning policies Lugard states that: "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 conditions inevitable around a large native town."²⁰

Lugard's promulgation has proven beyond reasonable doubt that the British colonial town-planning policies are more or less, one-sided. This is because they preferred their colonial officers rather than their subjects. To justify the emergence of racially segregated European quarters, he accused the 'natives' of some social vices and unhealthy lifestyles. According to Muhammed, Lugard explains right from the inception of the British occupation of Kano that there were specific rules set aside for the layout of provincial headquarters, cantonments and townships.²¹ He maintains that the expectation was that each of these urban settlements had at least, two sections; the government station, and the 'native' quarters.

In his Instruction to Political Officers, Lugard also argues that:

"All British officials should live near each other viz, that dwelling houses be from 40-80 yards apart 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 servant's 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 the planting of trees between houses."²²

When a closer view is taken at Lugard's statement, it would be evident that he wanted to introduce and institutionalise the British agenda of creating racially segregated settlements not only to divide the colonial residences from the 'natives', but to also draw a socio-political and economic line between those who own the means of production/distribution of resources and those who serve the system. This decision was not far from the British colonial project, especially in the administration of the indigenous 'black' 'races. The statement has also pointed to the fact that Lugard was romanticising the British notion of an 'ideal' city with all its rhythmic socio-economic and political renditions. This includes, for instance, his mention of important open spaces and places of peaceful contemplation such as clubs, gardens, and game reserves, as well as vast lands for both sports and recreational centres (Fig. 1 a and b). In his *Dual Mandate*, Lugard also comments on the preponderance of sport and recreational activities arguing that the British colonial government wanted to '...encourage the formation of recreation clubs at every centre, by providing ground, and even financial supports at their inception...polo, tennis, etc. as in India'.²³

In fostering the British notion of architecture and the idea of its dream city in Kano, however, it clearly stated some guidelines concerning buildings and town planning. In this case, the government itemised four important issues making it mandatory that (1) No houses with grass walls will be permitted (2) square-built houses of burnt bricks should be encouraged (3)

non-inflammable roofing should be similarly encouraged and (4) each house would be built on a plot of its own that would be separated with little distance from its neighbours.



Figure 2(a): The Entrance of Kano Gulf Club Field

Figure 2(b): The Field

Source: Nadir A. Nasidi, 2022

From 1903-1917, the British did not only lay the foundation of many towns, especially through its cantonment proclamation of 1904 but also built some dispersed social amenities such as hospitals, courts, cemeteries, rest houses and churches.²⁴ This was concretised when the British Works Department was established at Kano in 1904. Under this Department, colonial engineers were responsible for designing and constructing roads, bridges, drainages, and public buildings.²⁵ This development, therefore, made it easy for the British to implement their environmental, town-planning developmental policies. This according to Salami, contributed immeasurably to the development of 'unassuming' architecture under the British colonial government.²⁶ Barau states that a few years after the conquest of Kano and the consolidation of British colonial rule, Nassarawa GRA was established about three kilometres from the ancient city.²⁷

It should be noted that from the beginning of the colonial period, Lugard prioritised the continued development of cantonments in Kano until the introduction of the Township Ordinance in 1917. It was implemented to classify three settlement patterns into first, second and third categories. Apart from Lagos, considered a first-class settlement, Kano, Jos, Kaduna and Zaria were part of the second-class category.²⁸

According to Lugard, 'writing these ordinance(s) and their regulations was a matter of much labour and thought, lasting over three years, and it was not until July 1917 that they were placed on the statute book with their subsidiary laws'.²⁹ These ordinances gradually outfashioned government stations and cantonments, replaced with Township and Urban districts. The colonial township units included; (1) The European Reserved Areas (GRAs), which encompassed the government station, commercial and railway areas (2) the non-native settlements such as Sabon Gari, which is mostly populated by non-Muslim workers, especially of western Nigerian extraction among whom were; clerks, traders, artisans, as well as labourers and (3) free zones with institutions such as police stations, prisons, barracks, schools, hospitals, etc.³⁰ Besides, the government Township Ordinance in Kano was characterised by the fact that (a) Buildings were not legalised in non-residential areas (b) non-Europeans except servants were allowed to reside, or occupy land within the European reservation and (c) buildings of the native resort were not permitted in the European reserved areas.

Barau observes that following the 1923 segregation and town-planning memorandum, the colonial administration also introduced its first official spatial layout for Kano, which was fully developed in 1927.³¹ Based on this provision, he argues that the CBD Nassarawa GRA, Sabon Gari and Fagge ta Kudu were separated from each other, especially by building free zones (Fig. 3).³² In an attempt to develop an experimental settlement in 1932, particularly for migrants in Kano, Gwammaja came to the limelight. This idea was also followed by the development of Gwagwarwa in the 1940s to provide a special settlement for veterans of the First World War and migrant labourers coming to Kano in search of greener pastures.

Figure 3: One of the British colonial buildings in Ahmadu Bello Way, Nassarawa GRA



Source: Nadir A. Nasidi, 2022

The town planning legislations applicable in Nigeria are based on that of the United Kingdom for the period 1909-1946. In 1946, the British colonial administration established the Local Planning Authority (LPA), which was responsible for approving town-planning schemes and enacting laws dealing with the development and management of both the built and the natural environment. The Nigerian Town and Country Planning Ordinance No. 4 of 1946 was promulgated on 28th March, of the same year. This Ordinance categorically states that the LPA had the power to enact land policies and control the development of new areas in cities based on existing approved plans of the colonial government.³³ Based on the powers invested in it, the

LPA was expected to (1) Regulate the construction and development of new areas in the town (2) make general development orders, which include the prohibition and restriction of building operations in new areas (3) mark certain areas of the town for urban planning (4) acquire land by agreement, compensation, or through force (5) determine the redistribution of holding and crown land (6) develop infrastructure, which included; housing, transportation, as well as water supply and (7) authorise the conservation of natural resources such as forests, wildlife, rivers, ports, etc.

It is also believed that the Town-Planning Acts of 1946 were enacted to ensure the well-being of British colonial officers.³⁴ This was also what informed its racial stands towards the indigenous people. It also made it an integral aspect of its provisions to plan, create and develop a healthy recreational environment.

It should also be noted that the town and country planning law specifically adapted for use in Nigeria was that of the 1946 enacted law, which came into operation in 1948. The law was applied and used till 1992 when the Nigerian Urban and Regional Planning Law (NURPL) decree no. 88 was introduced. The review of the purpose and legal basis for planning legislation in Nigeria are similar to those of the UK. This was implemented in Kano by the then-colonial Governor of the state.

Architecture in Kano and the British Colonial Legacies, 1909-2000

The pre-colonial town-planning system in Kano was a unique one. Though not racially segregated as the colonial settlements that later emerged, towns were arranged in a heterogeneous manner (Fig. 4). Some quarters, however, were arranged based on either ethnic grounds or in terms of specialised guilds the people were identified with and in some cases, the places they came from. This was the reason why areas such as Zangon Bare-Bari (Kanuri), Dandalin Turawa (for Arabs and Jewish settlers), Unguwar Nupawa (Nupe settlment), Ayagi (for Yoruba settlers who were originally from the South-Western part of present-day Nigeria), and Agadasawa (for Tuaregs that migrated from Agadez in the present-day Niger Republic) emerged in the ancient city of Kano. Examples of quarters that evolved based on their guild system included; Dukawa (for those engaged in leather-works), Adakawa (for tanners), to mention, but a few.

According to Tapela (1988), quarters in the ancient city of Kano normally consisted of clusters of adobe buildings largely located along narrow lanes or *cul-de-sacs*.³⁵ He maintains that the effects of these architectural structures and town planning typically symbolise what would be construed as 'unplanned' settlements. The author takes this stand because of the labyrinths of valleys and upstairs mud structures.On the contrary, however, the author forgets that beyond the aesthetics, cities are normally designed to serve some purposes, which the Hausa traditional settlements seem to represent. For instance, because of the spirit of togetherness that permeated most Hausa/Fulani communities of the time and for security reasons, houses were built close to each other, which is wrongly perceived by modern town planners as archaic and unplanned.



Figure 4: Hausa Traditional Architecture in Kano

Source: Nadir A. Nasidi, 2022

Often, such experts use foreign/European parameters to judge the Hausa 'traditional' architecture. Even the word 'traditional' is racial in both meaning and application. This is because Western writers mainly used the word 'classical' to refer to their ancient architecture and 'traditional' for the ancient and monumental architecture of non-Europeans, especially the 'black' race. This argument, however, does not negate the fact that modern cities emerge and develop not only because of improvements in the knowledge of design and materiality but also because of external influences.³⁶

While commenting on the town-planning strategy of the ancient city of Kano, Anderson argues that:

"Inside these Hausa towns, the discovered arrangement of the houses seems to have been a definite defense ploy: a visitor would soon lose his way and unwelcomed ones could easily be trapped...Tortuous planning seems to have deliberate... and ...although the main streets were broad, all others were studiously arranged to admit only cow/camel, or horse/ in a single file in between stockades surrounding each household, in order to foil any enemies who managed to enter the town. In Kano, the twisting narrow streets have been interpreted as ensuring Muslim privacy, but they could equally well have served to confuse any unwelcomed aliens."³⁷

Anderson's submissions concerning the designs of the architecture in Kano and the peoples' town-planning strategy, further dispels the wrong European notion of the peoples' town-planning as 'wrong' and 'unplanned', an argument that was mainly propagated to belittle the African civilisation and to justify the Western colonial project. Rodney observes that the concept of development is relative.³⁸ It is normally determined by peoples' social, economic and geographical conditions. For this reason, he argues that development and underdevelopment are sides of a coin.

Before the advent of the British colonial rule in Kano, its socio-economic and political life was influenced by the Muslim Arab culture. The Arabian civilisation influenced the Hausa architecture and other states of the then Central Sudan. This included the use of curvilinear conical and mud dome roofs, and the partitioning to separate genders in homes in line with the Islamic concept of seclusion and privacy, especially for women.

The impact of British colonial policies has unilaterally affected all its colonies in the African continent. While citing the case of Zimbabwe for instance, Saidi observes that much of the colonial arrangements have directly continued to haunt the African landscape, of which is Zimbabwe through 'the standing buildings constructed during, or years after colonialism'.³⁹ He equally maintains that this British colonial legacy is imbued in the African aesthetics and character of buildings apart from those still standing and used by the Zimbabweans for socioeconomic purposes. He also admits that the colonial buildings through their unique designs, continue to speak to the Zimbabwean citizens and visitors of their colonial legacy. He argues that prominent buildings in the country have no doubt been influenced by colonial designs, and their structural engineering, which has concretised its space, culture and tenacity of a rhythmic city.

The British model of architecture was purposely introduced to develop their colonies. Even though this claim is contestable, especially based on the arguments put forward by Pan-Africanist historians using the dependency theory as a yard-stick, one cannot completely disregard the role played by the British in the development of modern settlements and cities in terms of physical town-planning and architectural transformation. It is for this reason that Oladiti et al argue that the social and political uses of urban town planning during the British colonial rule were vital to the distribution of infrastructure, as well as social services for the government and its personnel within the colony.⁴⁰

The impact of the British colonial legacy on the architecture and town-planning development in Kano is in three folds; (1) Materiality (2) design and (3) form. With the introduction of modern building materials from Europe, there were serious physical changes in the aesthetics, appearance and technology of the Hausa architecture in Kano. The use of thatched roofs, for example, was abandoned for corrugated iron sheets resulting in the emergence of curve-linear forms as opposed to rectilinear ones.⁴¹ This development also includes the use of burnt bricks, cement and steel.

The major features of the British colonial architecture in Kano and in most of its colonies consisted the (1) the Introduction of row housing in a housing development (2) the building of two, or three storeys (3) the use of gable roofs (4) single entrance door with slide windows (5) the development of terraces around structures with wooden, or iron Corinthian order columns (6) large veranda for shade (7) the building of fire-place and chimneys, as well as (8) the use of rectangular, or square form structures (See Fig. 5).⁴² Presently, one hardly distinguishes between what was originally British/European and what is indigenous as the two collapsed into one another.

In the post-colonial period, especially from the 1970s to the early 2000s, the impact of British colonial architecture and town-planning policies continue to influence Kano and its urbanisation. For instance, in terms of land use, residential areas of low and high densities such as Sharada GRA, Na'ibawa and Nassarawa are classic examples. In terms of western-oriented storey buildings are areas such as Zoo Road, Murtala Muhammad Way, Ibrahim Taiwo Road, and Airport Road, to mention, but just a few. In addition to this transformation is the evolution and development of opened spaces by building gardens and parking grounds, for aesthetic and utilitarian purposes. These areas are mostly located outside the ancient walled city of Kano. Similarly, during the Oil Boom era, Kano experienced urban transformation in a British-fashioned manner. Classic examples were the establishment of the Kano secretariat, Gidan Murtala, and estates such as the Sharada and Bompai industrial areas.⁴³



Figure 5: A British Colonial Building located at Lodge Road, Nassarawa GRA

Source: Nadir A. Nasidi, 2022

The British colonial legacies in Kano can be seen in two aspects; the legacies within the existing settlement of the traditional city and legacies in the Government Reserved Area (GRA), which allows the existence of two separate and technologically distinct buildings and town planning development policies. This duality attracted tourists but always reminded the people of Kano of their colonial heritage.

It should also be noted that the architecture and urban development, as well as planning, has helped enforce the supremacy of the colonial government over the Emirate type of government in Kano, which is a theocratic political system that emerged because of the Jihad of Sheikh Uthman bn Fudi (1754-1817) in 1804. Today, the State Government is a direct legacy of

the British over the Emirate Council and by extension, the Governor over the Emir. What is interesting is part of the popular Durbar traditional horse procession, which has been an international tourist attraction, is a procession by the Emir and his Chiefs, from the Emir's palace, which is the Hausa architectural hub of the 'traditional' city, to the State Government House in the G.R.A, which is the vicinity of the colonial architectural masterpieces.

Conclusion

This paper traced the history and development of the Hausa 'traditional' architecture and townplanning development in Kano. Emphasis is, however, given to the impact of the British colonial government on not only the Kano architecture and its town-planning development but also on their civilisation against what was considered a 'traditional', 'old-fashioned' and 'unplanned' city. It is equally observed that the major impact of the British colonial government on Kano's town planning and urbanisation, which manifested through its numerous policies, edicts and ordinances, are (1) materiality (2) designs and (3) forms. This development paved the way for two cities with distinct structures, plans and tales to evolve.

The paper also argued that beyond the physical contributions of the British colonial government to the urbanisation of Kano, its policies, especially the ones promoting the emergence of separate quarters; one for its officials and the other for the 'savaged' Africans was no doubt racial. It is, therefore, believed that that effort was also extended to the relegation of the peoples' culture through the subjugation of the Kano Emir's palace, its ancient buildings and existing urbanisms, which were deliberately placed under what the colonial government considered 'superior' western architectural masterpieces. To date, during annual durbar celebrations, the Emir's flamboyant procession must move out of the ancient city, which embodies its ancient architecture to pay homage to the state governor residing in the modern Government Reserved Areas (G.R.A.s) established by the British. This has remained one of the psychological and political legacies of the British in Kano.

Contrary to the common notion held by Pan-Africanist scholars that the British colonial government has done nothing to improve the standard of living of its subjects, this paper brought out in clear terms, the contributions of the British to the development of Kano and its urbanisation. This included the enactment of town-planning policies that paved the way for the emergence of modern quarters and cities. It also included the introduction of new building materials and technology, as well as the construction of roads, bridges, schools and the development of Kano's open spaces by creating gardens and public parks.

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Biodata

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