

LAND ACQUISITION STATUS ON THE PERMANENT SITE OF USMANU DANFODIYO UNIVERSITY, SOKOTO

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Abstract

This paper examined the status of land acquisition by Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto (UDUS), and the possibility of effective livelihood reconstruction by the indigenous population on its permanent site. The research is premised on the fact that most land acquisitions in Nigeria negate certain requirements of the Land Use Act (2019) which is the land law in Nigeria. Land acquisition for UDUS formed the basis for this paper. The paper used the Sustainable Rural Livelihoods model to study the livelihoods of the indigenous population. Key Informant Interviews (KII) and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and observations were used. Data collected were transcribed and interpreted. Findings indicate that land was acquired from the indigenous population who became displaced when UDUS was established. Only those who were affected by the first phase of development were compensated and resettled. Compensation paid covered only land for a house without consideration for size and agricultural land. This led to displacement of persons into a life of impoverishment in that they cannot reconstruct their livelihoods appropriately. The paper, therefore, recommended that adequate compensation and resettlement of the indigenous population in line with the provisions of the Land Use Act, 1979 which requires an alternative piece of land is equal value to the one acquired should be adhered to instead of the present model used by the Sokoto State and UDUS.

Keywords: Land Tenure System, Compulsory Land Acquisition, Compensation, and Resettlement.

Background of the Study:

In Nigeria and elsewhere, people have close ties to their land and use it as a source of livelihood. Almost all forms of human activities especially in the rural areas are tied to the land. Activities such as crop farming, livestock rearing, hunting, wood carving, basket weaving, sand mining, and fishing among others are tied to available resources on the land. Ownership of land and its resources, therefore, ensures individual survival, especially in agrarian societies. Land in most traditional tenure systems is bequeathed to inhabitants of society through different means. It is often inherited from one's parents but can also be gifted, leased, shared or rented. Ownership of land is a measure of wealth and a symbol of prosperity especially in agrarian societies as well as a factor of production for which rent is paid to the landlord (Udoekanem *et al.*, 2014; Onya *et al.*, 2019; Emele *et al.*, 2019). Landowners owe their existence to their landholdings. Anything therefore that threatens an individual's ownership of land is seen as a direct threat to their livelihoods. This paper, therefore, seeks to examine the status of land acquisition for Usmanu

Danfodiyo University Sokoto and how it has affected the livelihoods of the people especially those who were dislodged from their homes and have to reconstruct their livelihoods.

With the establishment of Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto (UDUS) (then the University of Sokoto in 1975) and the subsequent relocation to its present Permanent Site in 1982, a 5600-hectare land was acquired from the indigenous people of Dundaye District. As it is expected by law, the land automatically became Federal Government's and the people living on it automatically displaced (displacement here is seen as a process and not just physical eviction). However, it is not clear if compensation was paid to all the landowners at that time for their improvements and developments on the land. Similarly, the indigenous people were not resettled at an appropriate place where they could continue to eke out a living as the law requires. Due to the inability to resettle the indigenous communities, UDUS has coexisted with its host communities for over 40 years contrary to what obtains in other institutions and new development projects across the country that require large scale land acquisition.

One of the requirements for the ideal site selection given to the consultants (Archon/Norman and Dawbarn) was the need for a minimal displacement of existing buildings, villages, and farms (NUC 1975 in Gwandu and Mamman (2000)). This criterion among others favoured the choice of Dundaye as the ideal site for the Permanent Site of the University. The people whose displacement was deemed 'minimal' because of their numbers and settlements more than forty years ago have grown and expanded on their settlements without being 'displaced' as was envisaged and as the law requires.

Conceptual Framework:

Sustainable rural livelihoods model (SRL)

The conceptual framework for the study is the Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Approach (Figure 1). According to Krantz, (2001), the concept of Sustainable Livelihoods is an attempt to go beyond the conventional definitions and approaches to poverty reductions which are too narrow in their approach.

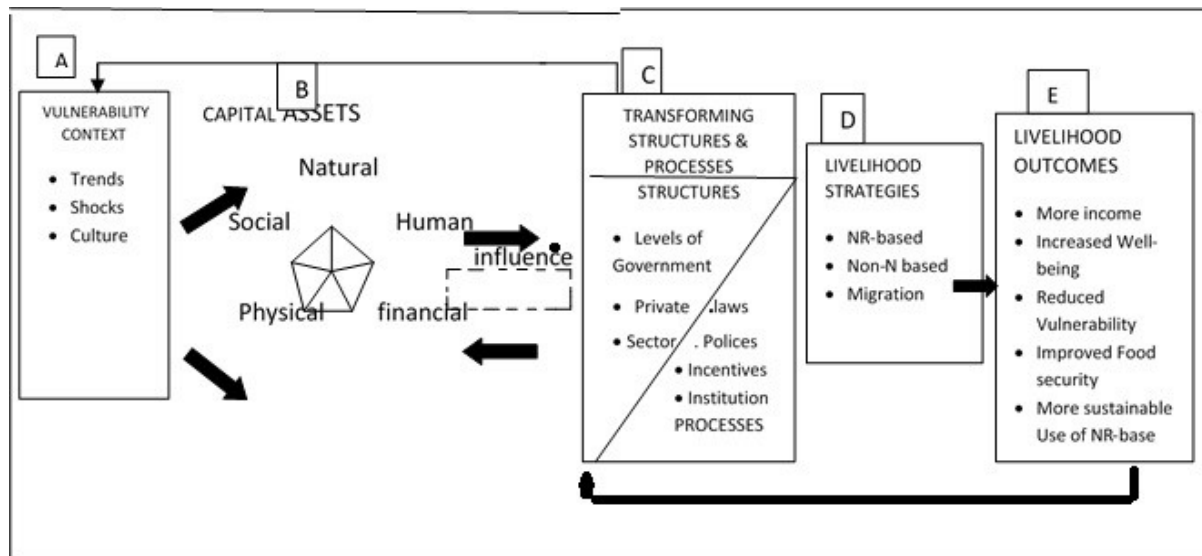


Figure 1: Sustainable Rural Livelihood (SRL) Framework (After Scoones, 1998)

The vulnerability context (Box A) covers trends, shocks, and culture. Trends encompasses natural resources stock, population density technology, politics, and economics. Shocks (climate, conflict) and culture (Scoones 1980). Carney (1998) and Kratz (2001) maintains that Capital Assets (Box B) form the core of the SRL framework. Capital Assets refer to all the resources from which rural residents can and do build new and sustainable livelihoods. According to the framework, five Capital Assets: Natural, Human, Financial, Physical, Social, are identifiable in all rural communities.

The SRL framework states that there are some transforming structures and processes which especially refer to governmental agencies at the local, state, and federal levels, private sector participation, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community and civil society groups (CBDs). Processes include; laws, policies, incentives, and institutions (Box C) which must exist in the rural area to facilitate the taking off of any sustainable development. Laws and policies can influence positively or negatively the livelihood outcomes of people.

The framework also asserts that sustainable rural development is achievable through three strategies (Box D): by utilizing natural resources, through trading and other non-natural resources-based activities, and migration (Khatiwada *et al.*, 2017). These strategies are important for individuals and communities in the pursuit of sustainable livelihood outcomes. When livelihood assets are adequately utilised in pursuing sustainable strategies, it leads to an increase in the income of rural people that adds value to rural lives and prosperity. Diversified livelihoods also offer more sustainable outcomes since there is no overdependence on one income stream (Majekodunmi *et al.*, 2017).

There is an assumption in SRL framework that the capital assets of rural areas become vulnerable over time due to trends, shocks, and cultural factors that impinge on them (Box A). Shocks on capital assets derive from climatic variability (such as drought, flooding, land degradation, and climate change) that decrease their quality or decrease their quantity. Trends deal with the physical stocks (magnitude) of the capital assets i.e. whether they are decreasing or deteriorating in quality. Culture affects the capital assets of a rural area through the varied meanings residents attach to capital assets which may or may not promote development.

This model has been chosen because, despite the proximity of the study area to Sokoto metropolis and the presence of the University, the indigenous population on the Permanent Site is mainly homogenous, engaged in predominantly primary activities, lacks social services, characterised by a high level of illiteracy in western education, and a majority of the buildings are made of local materials. Their ruralness and the peculiar situation they have found themselves in as a result of the establishment of the University on their ancestral land make it relevant to study their livelihoods using this time-tested model.

Literature Review

Before the advent of colonisation and formal law, Nigeria was organized into kingdoms, caliphates, communities, and towns. Each of these entities had its land tenure systems and the laws governing ownership of land. In the Sokoto caliphate, the land tenure system and administration according to Kwaire, (2010) were anchored on the *Maliki* school of Jurisprudence. In this policy, an individual was required to seek the permission of a ruler if he wanted to cultivate a piece of land that was located near population density areas, while distant lands could be used without permission. Also, a person who left his land unused for a long time could have his

ownership revoked. Pasturelands located on private lands belonged to the private owners while those that were located on no-man's lands were for general use (Zahradeen, 1990). Muhammad, (2000) added that, for land ownership, the land is divided into two classes; *ma'mur* (fertile and cultivable lands) lands which are cultivable and readily cultivable, and the *mawat* (wilderness, dead land bush or no man's land) lands which refer to lands with little or no cultivable value and requiring substantial investment to develop. Muhammad (2000) states further that in the Sokoto caliphate, the Imam can grant permanent or temporary ownership of land regardless of the location except *ma'mur* lands designated as *waqf* (Public land). Another way of obtaining ownership of land is developing a *mawat* land. In summary, every member of the community in the caliphate had a right to access land, and nobody is allowed to hoard land for himself.

However, with colonisation and the creation of countries, there has been a system of laws all over the world, especially laws governing the ownership of land and its administration for common good. These laws also facilitate the acquisition of land by the government for public use (Dankani and Halidu, 2017). In most of Asia as in Africa and Nigeria, ownership of land is vested with the state and local governments as well as traditional institutions and can be acquired and used for development purposes with the payment of compensations and possibly resettlement. Most colonial-based projects for agricultural, resettlement, schools, and industries required thousands of hectares of land to actualise them. Acquiring these lands puts traditional livelihoods at risk especially when those lands have agricultural value (Nguyen and Westen, 2017). To prevent and ameliorate such negative impacts, there are always guidelines to be observed in all aspects of land acquisition, compensation, and relocation.

In Nigeria, the first of such laws was the Public Land Ordinance of 1876 which was re-enacted as the Public Lands Acquisition Act of 1917 with a few amendments (Olawoye, 1982 in Famuyiwa and Omirim, 2011). This Act reflected the already existing British laws. This was followed by the State Lands (compensation) Decree of 1968, the Public Lands Acquisition (miscellaneous provision) Decree of 1976, and finally the Land Use Decree (now Act) of 1979. The Land Use Act places all land in the hands of State Governors prescribes what needs to be done in moments of such acquisition for the public good. The Nigerian Land Use Act as amended in 1990 and 2004 (Part VI, section 6, subsection 5 & 6 stipulates compensation to be paid for land acquired and if the land was used for agricultural purposes, an alternative piece of land suitable for agriculture should be provided (Federal Government of Nigeria {FGN}, 1979). Similar laws are found in other parts of the world but unfortunately, they are often not followed.

According to Ty *et al.*, (2013), there are increasing concerns all over the world about compulsorily acquiring people's land for the public interest which leads to many adverse effects on the people whose land has been acquired. Such impacts could be in the forms of loss of jobs, loss of livelihoods as well as lack of access to public services, and a breakdown in socio-cultural networks on which people depend for support. Supporting the view above, Ty *et al.*, (2013); Ghatak and Mookherje (2014); Dankani, (2012); Dankani and Halidu, (2017); Shamaki and Dankani, (2012) noted that land acquisition may lead to negative impacts on the people affected like job loss, loss of livelihoods assets and displacement from their lands.

Developments on large scale require land which leads to dislocating people living in such areas and even when they are not physically displaced, such projects still impact their livelihoods (Vanclay, 2017). Land acquisition automatically leads to displacement of the affected persons. It must be noted that here that displacement is a process and not just physical eviction, dislodgement, or dislocation (See Carnea, 1990; Gizachew, 2017). The impacts of displacement are often neglected especially in countries where the enabling law is not put in place to protect

vulnerable groups' especially rural dwellers whose livelihoods depend entirely on their land. Similarly, Adepoju *et al.*, (2018) noted that rural households are displaced without any concrete plan to resettle, compensate or improve their living conditions leading to a decline in living conditions and loss of land as well as their source of livelihoods leading to impoverishment. Agreeing to the above assertion, Maldonado, (2012) maintained that displaced persons experience impoverishment and marginalisation.

Even when compensation is attempted, Vanclay, (2017) observed that in most cases where resettlement is attempted, the emphasis is based more on providing them with cash and housing without paying attention to other dimensions of life affected by resettlement. Sometimes compensations are not paid or delayed or inadequate thereby causing untold hardship and impoverishment (Nuhu, 2008; Ghatak and Mookheerjee, 2014; Dankani and Halidu, 2017; and Tangliarino *et al.*, 2018). By and large, land acquisition and displacement have a great impact on the livelihoods of rural people. While the market mechanism is a sufficient argument for distributive justice in land acquisition, Dinda, (2016) argues that it ignores income security for the displaced persons. To strike a balance and ensure justice and fairness, Pierera (2014) 'advocates the payment of replacement cost as compensation for acquired land and structures, assisting the physically displaced persons to relocate and implementing a well-planned and financed program to restore and improve incomes and livelihoods. Stating further, that compensation should be flexible and based on a scientifically conducted social impact database for all land acquisitions and resettlements. Saidu, (2008) who studied the socio-economic impact of Kainji Dam on Yauri Emirate as well as Dankani and Halidu, (2017) who looked at the consequences of compulsory land acquisition on livelihoods of the urban poor in Sokoto metropolis have all called for a review of the land acquisition and compensation laws and practices in Nigeria. Unfortunately, this has not been the case as Otubu (2012) argues that compensation fails to assuage loss occasioned by expropriation as even the Land Use Act favours compulsory acquisition against private property rights.

Researchers are, however, unanimous in agreeing that compensation, when paid on time and adequately after compulsory land acquisition can positively better household livelihoods. In Nigeria, there are very few large-scale successful land acquisition, compensation, and resettlement such as the Kainji Dam Project, Abuja resettlement, Itakpe, and Ajaokuta Steel industrial complexes, and few others, therefore there is a dearth of research on the impact of compensations and resettlements. Studies in Asia such as Zhou (2012), Gautam and Anderson (2016) and Ngyuyen *et al.*, (2017) have variously documented a positive change in living conditions and sometimes an indulgence into a luxurious life immediately compensation is paid. Few people use their compensation funds sustainably, leading to long-term impoverishment. The argument here is that if positive steps are taken to compensate adequately and mitigate, it will forestall any form of impoverishment as rural people do not have the flexibility to switch jobs because of their skill sets as well as the loss of social networks (Ngyuyen *et al.*, 2017)

Large investments like the establishment of a University require large parcels of land to make them function effectively. Enough space is required for structures, such as administrative buildings, student hostels, lecture halls, experimental farms, playfields, and staff quarters among others. Furthermore, adequate space is required given the fact that a University is continuously growing in terms of increased student admissions, physical structures, staff, and ancillary services provided by private investors and businesses. The way the required land is acquired should be in a way that takes into cognisance those who own the land. According to Adam (2019), since land is a fundamental resource in any society with far-reaching socio-cultural, and economic

implications, its acquisition and delivery process are vital to achieving efficient and sustainable societies.

Materials and Methods:

Location of the study area

The Permanent Site of UDUS is located in the Wamakko Local Government Area of Sokoto State. It lies between Latitudes $13^{\circ} 1' .N$ and $13^{\circ}.09'$ and Longitude $5^{\circ}.13'$ E and $5^{\circ}.18'$ E (Momoh et al., 2017) and covers a landmass of 5,630 hectares with more than one hundred indigenous settlements. UDUS is bordered by the Rima River and its extensive flood plain to the south, Sokoto -Ilela road to the East, a sequence of flat-topped hills made up of laterite, gently sloping on either side with sparse vegetation to the North. To the West, the University shares borders with a network of hills known as Dangoroji Hills (Alhoussein, 2004). The University is separated from Sokoto city by an expansive floodplain of the Rima and Sokoto rivers which is intensively cultivated for its rich fadama soil (Figure 2). There is a three-kilometer road linking the town to the University across the flood plain (Gwandu and Mamman, 2000).

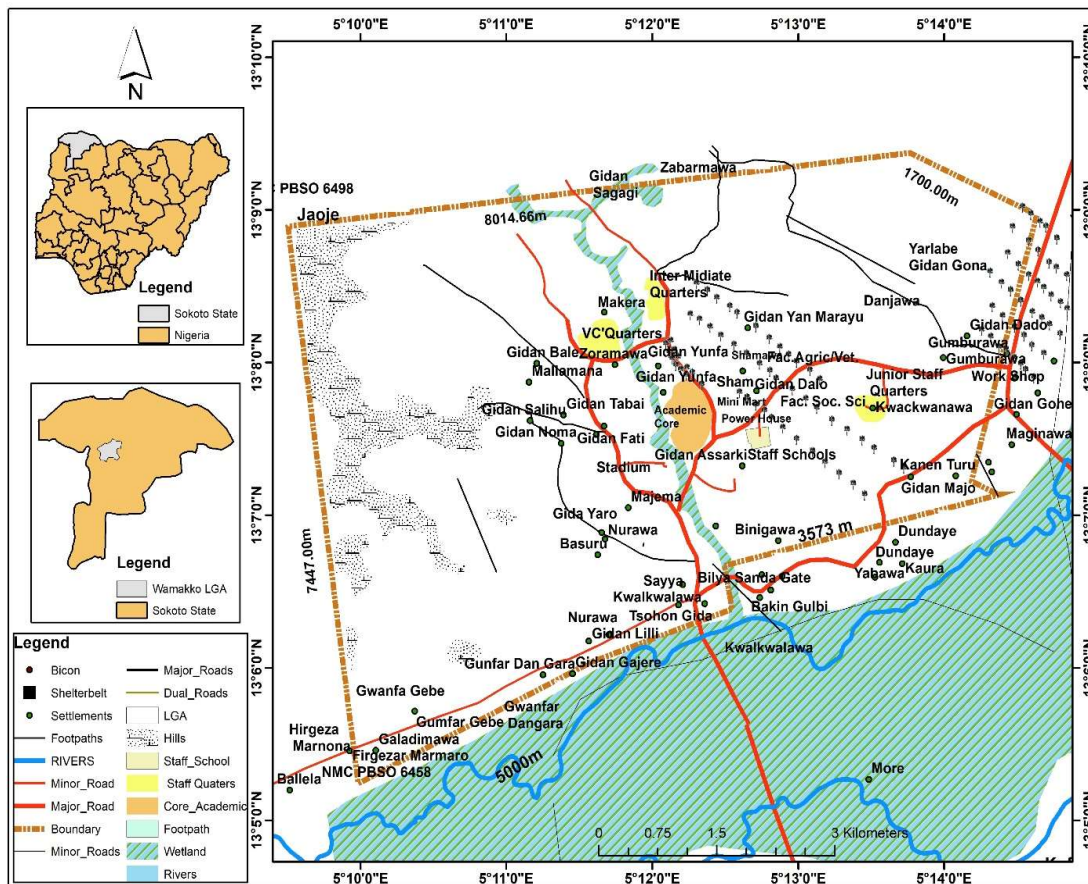


Figure 2: UDUS Showing the Study Area

Source: Adapted and Modified from UNISOK Master Plan (1975)

Methods

Qualitative data for this study were obtained from the following sources; Key Informant Interview (KII), Focus Group Discussions (FGD), and observations. The Key Informant Interviews were conducted with the following people; former Vice-Chancellors, Directors of Physical Planning, the District Heads of major settlements within the Permanent Site, and some of the longest-serving academic and non-academic staff. The KII filled the gap created by a dearth of data about many issues surrounding what existed before the University relocated to the Permanent Site and what happened from the earlier days of the University. This helped in explaining current happenings and changes that were observed.

Two FGDs were organised in the study area comprising of between 6– 8 members. One for the elderly 60 years and above who were around when the University was established and another for the youth between 40 to 50 years.

Observation was done to augment and validate whatever information was obtained using the other methods of data collection.

Results and Discussions

Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto (formerly the University of Sokoto) was established in 1975. The choice of the present location was reached after two other similar sites were considered but dropped for the Dundaye which the University is currently occupying. One of the reasons for the choice of the Dundaye site was the few numbers of people which will make it easy for compensation and resettlement of the indigenous population (UNISOK, 1975). Land acquisition and construction work started on the permanent site in 1978. It must be noted that at that time, there was not a unified national law guiding land acquisition in Northern Nigeria. Whereas there was the 1962 Land tenure law of Northern Nigeria which vested all land in the Governor and two rights of occupancy were recognized customarily and statutorily, it was generally believed by many people that land was in the hands of the Sultan and could be used by the government for the public good. However, the military administration of General Olusegun Obasanjo enacted a Land Use Decree in 1978 which became an Act in 1979. This means that even though the University was established before the Land Use Act, land acquisition, compensation, and resettlement took place within the era of unified land law. However, land acquisition for UDUS suffered some setbacks and lapses arising from the non-implementation of the Land Use Act of 1979 as evidenced in the cohabitation of the indigenous population with the University for more than 40 years after the University was established.

A total of 5,630 hectares of land was acquired from the indigenous people of Sokoto South Local Government Area which falls in the present-day Wamakko Local Government Area. The land was acquired by the Sokoto State government in 1978 on behalf of the Federal Government. This is because land in any part of Nigeria is vested in the hands of the state governor to be administered for the people. Despite the overriding influence of the governor, the affected communities are always contacted and negotiations were made as regards compensation and relocation. This was done in the case of UDUS as reported by a Key informant as follows:

When they came to talk to us about the issue of land for the University, there were six (6) of us that were present during the negotiation. This comprised of two persons each from Gidan Hamidu, Gobirawa, and Gidan Yaro. Those were the places that the University was interested in and all the pictures and mapping of the land were done in our

presence. However, what we were told then was that we should be patient, a University will be built in our area and 90% of the things done in the University will also be done to us but there was no written agreement to put everything together. We believe that once a promise is made, surely it will be fulfilled and that was how we all departed. They soon began to carve out land for the University and if they get to your house, you had to leave and find somewhere else. There was no payment made for our farms and houses (KII, Village Head of Gidan Hamidu 27th October 2019).

As a prelude to any land acquisition, the people whose lands are to be acquired must be first compensated so that they can resettle elsewhere and continue with their livelihoods to avoid sliding into poverty and impoverishment. In most cases, compensation for expropriated lands is inadequate, non-existent, or delayed, and causes dissatisfaction to landowners (Famuyiwa and Omirin, 2011) and (Nuhu, 2008). However, it must be noted that it is not the land acquired that is paid for but the structures including economic trees that are on the land.

Under the law, it was expected that those whose land fell within the 5630 hectares acquired by the University in 1978 will be compensated and resettled but that was not the case. There are two schools of thought as to whether everybody was compensated from the beginning or only those who were affected by the first phase of construction received compensation. The latter school of thought holds that only those who were affected by the first phase of building construction were compensated for their houses, farms, economic trees, and other structures instead of all the people whose land were acquired. The Director of Works had to say as a key informant when asked if the University compensated everybody before now;

No. The university only compensated those affected by current developments. If your land is required for development, the university compensates you and relocate you to pave way for development on the particular area, insisting that it has always been like that and there was no day everybody on the entire University land was paid their compensation, concluding that compensation on the permanent site of UDUS was not completed but an ongoing process (KII with Director of Works, UDUS, 2019)

The submission above is valid because it is coming from an authority charged with matters of land, planning, and building on the University. This is consistent with UDUS (2014), which states that land acquisition and resettlement on the permanent site is incomplete and ongoing. Adding that the university regularly embarks on relocation and compensation on lands that it wishes to develop, giving a figure of over 35 million Naira paid over five years from 2009 to 2014. Similarly, another key informant had this to say when asked whether everybody was paid compensation by the University from inception;

Most of the indigenous population were compensated when the University acquired the land for the initial take-off but not all of them especially those who were not affected by construction work at that time (KII with Deputy Registrar, UDUS 13th October 2019)

Evidence abounds that not all the people whose land were acquired were compensated as was reported by different KIIs and FGDs. However, the views of the indigenous population who are directly affected also collaborated with the claims above. A KII who is the District Head of Dundaye revealed that:

Not all of them were paid and some people received part payment but all those who were moved out of their houses were paid. Some people's land was measured but nothing was paid to them. While they were carving out the land, any house or village that was required to leave was registered. All household heads were registered followed by a census of the number of people living in the household. There was cross-checking of information provided, to see the kind of house they had built, assets in the house, and economic trees among others. All these were listed and compensation paid in monetary terms and an alternative land provided in Sabon Gidan Dole. In providing the land, people were arranged according to how they lived in their previous residence thus maintaining their neighbourliness (KII, District Head of Dundaye, 14th August 2019)

This has certainly put paid to the assumption that everybody was compensated as at the time land acquisition was done and construction started. There is however the second school of thought held by many especially those within the University community that everybody was compensated and possibly relocated right from the beginning. Yahaya *et al.*, (2015) think that compensation was paid but the villagers refused to relocate. Again, it is worthy to consider a KII submission by a senior bursary staff who was involved with the payment of compensation for a greater part of his 40 years' service to the University until recently;

Everybody was paid compensation before construction work started at the University. The law however requires that if people have not been relocated after 20 years, they should be re-compensated and I think that is what is happening here right now. The people that were paid compensation have died and their children are refusing to accept that they were compensated. So we are into another round of compensating them so that there will be peace (KII with Deputy Bursar, 13th October 2019)

This argument is quite unpopular as the 20 years non-compensation window though sounds genuine is not found in the 1979 Land Use Act. The fact that superior authorities have attested that compensation is ongoing and incomplete, it will be good to end this argument and accept the fact that compensation was not paid to everybody as it is widely speculated especially by those who argue that the real people who received the payment died and their children are asking for re-compensation for peace to prevail.

Another issue worth considering from the available data is the nature of compensation paid against what the law requires. Compensation entails payment for houses, improvements, and economic tress as noted earlier. Similarly, when agricultural lands are acquired, a similar parcel of land with the same quality and use is expected to be given to the affected people especially in rural areas to continue with their agricultural production. However, a KII revealed the contrary;

We pay money and also give people land to build their houses. How much money we pay is relative, depending on our evaluation of their property especially economic trees and structures we see on the land. This evaluation is based on the Federal Government template for evaluation and it is done professionally so that nobody will be cheated. As for the land, we give everybody 20m X 20m of land to build their house. We do not give them farmland but only a place for them to build their houses and the money required because there is no provision for farmland compensation following the template used by the state and federal government (KII with Director of Works, 27th October 2019)

This argument was supported by the Director of Lands, Sokoto State who averred that there is no such provision in the 1979 Land Use Act. There is also no provision for the replacement of farmlands in the evaluation manual of the state which the Department of Works in UDUS uses in compensating affected persons. It is clearly stated in section 6(6) of the Act which states that 'where land in respect of which a customary right of occupancy is revoked under this Act was used for agricultural purposes by the holder, the Local Government shall allocate to such holder alternative land for use for the same purpose' (FGN, 1979).

The template used by UDUS and the Sokoto State government was obtained by the researcher (Appendix I) and it was confirmed that no such provision has been made. This means that when the indigenous population were dislocated from their farmlands there were no palliatives given which is most likely to slide them into impoverishment. They either will have to go and rent farmland or beg from their kinsmen. This also affects the land available to their kinsmen subsequently and by extension their production output. The size of land given to the displaced to build a house in most cases is smaller than what they used to own. In agreement with this, Kleemann and Thiele, (2015) concluded that displaced farmers in Sub-Saharan Africa are unlikely to be adequately compensated for the loss of their land. Secondly, not all the amount due was paid. It is widely agreed that compensations, when paid adequately, have the capacity of improving livelihoods more than they previously were before dislocation. Many large scale land acquisitions in Nigeria are done without timely and adequate compensation which leaves those affected worse than they were before land loss with little or nothing to do about it even though the land is used by the government (Tagliarino *et al.*, 2018). Similarly, Famuyiwa and Omirin, (2011) had earlier observed that development projects especially by governments ought to make the lives of citizens better and not the other way round. An FGD with adults in Gidan Hamidu on the issue of compensation revealed that:

I was paid N2300 for my farmland. Others were paid N2600, N400, and N200 for their houses. As of then, a Peugeot car was going for 5,000 but there are some places where land was been taken but payment was never made (FGD with Adults in Gidan Hamidu, 13th October 2019)

Again, several groups and elders through KIIs and FGDs shared the same view as noted above and it is worth concluding that apart from the fact that certain requirements guiding compensation such as providing a piece of land suitable for the livelihood activities pursued in the former of

residence and the provision of houses and infrastructure were not met, even the money given was not in full as mentioned in KIIs and FGDs. Verifying this claim was not possible as exchange rates and inflation have drastically affected the value of money. The effect of this can be summarised as put forward by Van der Ploeg and Vanclay, (2017) that when compensation is not enough or poorly implemented, a people's ability to reconstruct their livelihoods is adversely affected. This, therefore, means compensation for land acquired by and for UDUS is incomplete and continuous.

The University did provide a resettlement scheme for the first batch of displaced persons after land acquisition but did not build houses for them and provide infrastructure such as water and electricity and sanitary facilities as provided by the law. The resettlement is called Sabon Gari Dole (Meaning in Hausa- a forced new resettlement), south of the Kwakwalawa University school gate. The affected persons were also not given alternative farmland with which to continue with their livelihoods, contravening a requirement of the Land Use Act that stipulates that displaced persons should be provided with an alternative land equivalent in value and quality to the one they left behind for agrarian and rural communities on the Permanent Site of UDUS. They were given only land for their houses which proved less beneficial to them thus, they sold and joined their kinsmen elsewhere in order to maintain social ties and networks. Observations by the researcher shows that the proposed resettlement has no positive inputs from the UDUS. People who are currently been displaced who are given land to build their houses however, prefer to move to other adjacent areas within the permanent site close to their kinsmen and sell the land to those who want to develop and use it as student's off-campus accommodation.

The continuous cohabitation or coexistence of UDUS with the indigenous population after land acquisition and subsequent displacement also has great implications for livelihoods. It is difficult to say why the indigenous population is still living within UDUS. However, there was and there is still low enforcement or negligence towards resettlement by the authorities even when compensation is paid as noted below;

The University did not pay attention to resettlement like it is been done now in several new institutions. I have been seconded to work in establishing the registry department of one of these new institutions where immediately land is acquired, the next thing is how to relocate them. In a particular case, the institution had to lease the land again to the villagers to farm after resettling them. This fetched the institutions a lot of money instead of living them within the perimeter (KII with Deputy Registrar, 13th October 2019)

Another informant noted that:

I will say it is negligence on the part of successive administrations. If prompt action had been taken, these issues would not have arisen. (KII with Deputy Bursar, 13th October 2019).

While all the above are informed opinions of the informants, the Director of works under whose jurisdiction the issue of land and relocation is domiciled averred that;

The Sokoto State government agreed with the University that all unused land should be left with the claimant (the villagers) pending when the land will be required for use by the UDUS so that they can farm and rear their animals. (KII with the Director of Works, 27th October 2019)

The agreement and the source of this information cannot be questioned but it brings about another contentious issue as the indigenous population within the permanent site of UDUS especially those who have not been compensated are laying claims to the land and even selling it out to private land developers. Again, there are two schools of thought, the first school of thought believes that since compensation was not paid, the land belongs to the indigenous population. This is basically the idea of the indigenous population. The other school of thought believes that the land belongs to the Federal Government, with or without compensation. This school of thought is championed by the University authority and is uncontested as noted below;

No. It is not their land, the Sokoto State government acquired it for the Federal government more than four decades ago. It is just that the right thing was not done properly. When we saw the structures springing up on UDUS land, we moved to demolish them but the University administration at that time told us to stay action on the issue as they are looking into it. So I will say the negligence on the part of the past administration is the cause of the erection illegal structures and the claim of ownership of the land by the indigenous population (KII with Director of Works, UDUS 27th October 2019).

Private developers have built massive structures on UDUS land for over five years now, taking advantage of the lack of hostel accommodation for students. While this had ameliorated the plight of the students, it gives room for worry as the land upon which they were built belongs to UDUS. More worrisome is the fact that this is taking place in the Academic Core of the permanent site of the University and nothing is been done to stop it. A KII has this to say;

We knew what was happening but you see that was during the election time and any drastic measure will likely snowball into a violent crisis so we had to manage the situation. There is no doubt that those structures are illegal and will soon be demolished. The University is working with the State government to find a lasting solution to the issue (KII, former Vice-Chancellor UDUS 8th November 2019).

The security concerns, while valid, will still be a challenge when government decides to demolish those illegal structures. As of then, more structures would have sprung up and it will be difficult to resolve the issue without creating a more serious security challenge for the government and UDUS. This concern has been highlighted by Iliya and Zuwal (2000).

Based on the responses so far, it is obvious that the livelihood of the indigenous population on the permanent site of UDUS became vulnerable over time due to the acquisition of their lands for the establishment of the University in 1975. This is consistent with the vulnerability context of the

SRL model. The acquisition of their land took away in part or wholly, the landholding capacity of most families and rendered them vulnerable to poverty and impoverishment. It must be noted that rural people have very high cultural attachments to their lands and the resources they derive from them. It is from land that they get their food, graze their animals as well as undertake other economic activities relevant to their livelihoods. Therefore, the indigenous population on the Permanent Site of UDUS who were primarily farmers, livestock rearers, hunters, fishermen became very vulnerable as a result of the acquisition of their land. As earlier stated in the SRL, when communities are vulnerable, they turn to their resources to enable them to reconstruct their livelihoods.

The resources present to rural people as captured by the SRI are called capital assets. They include human, financial, natural, and social assets. Though found in every rural community, the quantity and quality, as well as the utilisation of these capital assets, vary from community to community. Like with every resource, the need and technical know-how of a community will determine how they will utilise their resources. Apart from their sheer number, the quality of human resources on the Permanent Site of UDUS is marred by the low level of western literacy. The natural resource endowments of the indigenous population are also low and limited to landholding capacity which the establishment of the University has drastically reduced. Although with few livestock numbers, the indigenous population cannot be described as financially rich as most of the animals are kept mostly as status symbols than as sources of income. The fact that most of them were not compensated has added to their financial dilemma. Social capital amongst the indigenous population is organised mainly along with kinship ties without functional social and cultural organisations that can influence government policies and laws in their favour.

As a consequence of the land acquisition, government laws and policies require that compensation be paid and resettlement carried out. This has not been the case as the indigenous population on the Permanent Site of UDUS have coexisted with the University for over 40 decades except for a few who have been directly affected by the physical development of the University. The few that were compensated received less in terms of providing them with land suitable for agricultural production as it is required by law. This has no doubt affected the livelihoods of the people who have been resettled. The failure of government laws and policies and the absence of viable community-based and civil society organisations to champion the cause of the indigenous population has further impoverished them. The lack of direct University intervention in the livelihoods of the indigenous population has further worsened their situation.

The interplay of the key components of the SRL in the context of this study has led to various livelihood strategies like migration, diversification of income sources, the cultivation of multiple crops, child labour and hawking as well as the illegal sale of land and renting of houses to students for off-campus accommodation. Although the livelihood outcomes derived from these strategies cannot be said to be adequate and self-sustaining, they represent the resilience of the people in the face of vulnerability and deprivation.

Conclusion

It is clear from the findings so far that land acquisition on the permanent site of UDUS appears to be ongoing as noted above. Although every member of the indigenous population living on the permanent site of UDUS is considered technically displaced as a result of the 1975 land acquisition, very few are physically dislodged from their lands. Only those who were affected by

the first phase and subsequent development projects have been dislodged. The few compensation and resettlement attempts so far are not done following the requirements of the 1979 Land Use Act. For instance, providing a 20mX20m piece of land for building houses is not adequate and no provision is made for agricultural land which is a core requirement for land acquisition in the rural areas. Only individuals or households affected by development projects were compensated. Compensation is inadequate and does not take into consideration the livelihoods of the people. This by extension means that the indigenous population are impoverished. It is therefore, necessary to return to the drawing board towards charting a more humane and just approach to compensation that is adequate and realistic to the challenges faced by the indigenous population

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