TRANSPORTATION AND THE ECONOMY OF KANO METROPOLIS, 1967-2014: A HISTORICAL STUDY OF INTRA-CITY COMMERCIAL TRANSPORT SERVICES

BY

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DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this thesis entitled TRANSPORTATION AND THE ECONOMY OF KANO METROPOLIS, 1967-2014: A HISTORICAL STUDY OF INTRA-CITY COMMERCIAL TRANSPORT SERVICES has been carried out by me in the Department of HISTORY, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA. The information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of references provided. No part of this thesis was previously presented for another degree at this or any other institution.

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CERTIFICATION PAGE

This thesis entitled TRANSPORTATION AND THE ECONOMY OF KANO METROPOLIS, 1967-2014: A HISTORICAL STUDY OF INTRA-CITY COMMERCIAL TRANSPORT SERVICES by YUSUF UMAR MADUGU meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), in Economic History of the Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my lovely wife Mal. Safiyya Abdullahi Jibrin Badari (Ummita) for her patience, understanding and cooperation during the period of this study.

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It is customary in academic work of this nature to acknowledge the contributions of various people that helped towards its realization. However, it will not be possible to name all those that aided in the production and the success of this work. Nevertheless, this should not appear as falling short of the custom or exhibiting unwillingness to give everyone his dues.

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Finally, I fully assume responsibility for any defects and errors in this thesis judging from the enormous contributions received from all my informants. Thanks to everyone who rendered his assistance in one way or the other towards the accomplishment of this great task. Praise and glory be to God.

ABSTRACT

This study examined the historical processes that led to the evolution and subsequent development of intra-city commercial transport services and their overall impact on the economy of Kano metropolis from 1967-2014. The study therefore, centers on the role of commercial road transportation in molding the economy of Kano. Its main focus is post- colonial Kano (i.e. 1967-2014), a period that witnessed rapid demand increase of commercial vehicles mainly due to the expansion of commercial and industrial activities in Kano metropolis and ever increasing urbanization which goes along with population explosion. The commuters' patronage to such motorists sustained and made the business lucrative. More so, the traders who had come from within and outside Kano relied heavily on commercial vehicles to transport their merchandise to their various destinations. Commercial road transport system therefore, had become well organized in Kano with significant number of people earning their means of livelihood from it. It also serves as a source of revenue to governments at different levels. The Metropolitan area has expanded over the years and has become the third largest conurbation in Nigeria with a population of about 4 million. Thus, the organization of road transport system in Kano ensures easy mobility of factors of production as well as raw materials and finished goods to and from Kano. These had facilitated the economic growth of Kano in the spheres of trade expansion and manufacturing industries. However, the study of transport and development as an academic discipline is inter-disciplinary in nature. This study therefore employs the services and the methodologies of other disciplines such as Geography, History, Urban and Regional Planning, Engineering, Computer Science, Economics etc to provide a comprehensive picture of the issues under investigation. The source materials for this study included extensive use of written literature and oral information. In view of the crucial importance of intra-city commercial transport services, this study demonstrates its role in the overall economic transformation of the study area. It generally also, contributed in opening up a new ground and looked into the history of commercial transport system. And at same time, set in motion grounds for further research into the history of the study area. Finally, a number of ways have been identified on how to properly manage, improve and effectively control the road traffic system.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACOMORAN	-	Amalgamated Commercial Motorcycle Riders Association of Nigeria
ANACOWA	-	Motorcycle Riders and Owners Association
ABU	-	Ahmadu Bello University (Zaria)
AD	-	Anon Domino (Latin)
AHAK	-	Arewa House Archives, Kaduna
BOAC	-	British Overseas Airways Corporation
B.A	-	Bachelor of Arts
B.Sc	-	Bachelor of Science
BUK	-	Bayero University, Kano
BCGA	-	British Cotton Growers Association
EPZ	-	Export Processing Zone
FRSCN	-	Federal Road Safety Commission of Nigeria
FEAP	-	Family Economic Advancement Programs
GSM	-	Global Service of Mobile-Communications
HCB	-	History and Culture Bureau (Kano State)
ITD	-	Iintertropical discontivity
IBB	-	Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida
JAH	-	Journal of Africa History
JAS	-	Journal of African Studies
JHSN	-	Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria
KSTDA	-	Kano State Taxi Drivers Association
KAROTA	-	Kano State Road Traffic Agency
KMPDB	-	Kano Metropolitan Planning and Development Board
KATA	-	Kano Amalgamated Tricycle Association
MLA	-	Motor Licensing Authority
MOALS	-	Motorcycle Operators Association of Lagos State
M.A	-	Master of Arts
M.Sc	-	Masters of Science
NAK	-	National Archives Kaduna
NA	-	Native Authority

NRG	-	Northern Regional Government
NPC	-	Northern People Congress
NEPU	-	Northern Element Progressive Union
NNPC	-	Northern Nigeria Publishing Company
NAPEP	-	National Poverty Eradication Program
NURTW	-	National Union of Road Transport Workers
NARTO	-	National Association of Road Transport Owners
NA	-	Nigerian Airways
NLC	-	National Labour Congress
PhD	-	Doctor of Philosophy
PWD	-	Public Works Department
RTEAN	-	Road Transport Employers Association of Nigeria
RTD	-	Road Traffic Department
RAF	-	Royal Air force
RHIS	-	Road Accident Health Insurance Scheme
SAP	-	Structural Adjustment Program
TOKAN	-	Tricycle Operators Association Kano
TORAN	-	Tricycle Owners and Riders Association
U.D.T	-	Underdevelopment and the Dependency School of Thought
UDB	-	Urban Development Bank
UAC	-	United Africa Company
VIO	-	Vehicle Inspection Officer
WAPA	-	West African Pilgrimage Agency
WAAC	-	West African Airways Corporation
WHO	-	World Health Organization

GLOSSARY

Non English Words		English Meaning (Translation)
Achaba	-	Motorcycle Hire
Alaro	-	Human portage
Allon rubutu	-	Wooden slate
Aikin Sarki/Tilas	-	Forced Labor
Aikin gayya	-	Voluntary Labour
A dai dai ta Sahu	-	A societal re-orientation program introduced by the government in connection with Islamic Law (*Shari'ah*)
Boko Haram	-	*Western* Education is a Sin
Babur Mai Kafa Uku	-	Three Wheels Motorcycles
Baital Mali	-	Treasury Office
Bazara	-	Cool and Dry Season
Birni	-	Urban city
Damina	-	Warm and Wet Season
Fatake	-	Caravan Traders
Gida	-	House
Karnukan Mota	-	Motor-mates
Kwandostoci	-	Conductors
Keke	-	Bicycle
Kaka	-	Warm and dry season
Kasa	-	Land
Kauye	-	village
Maigida	-	Family Head
Mai *Unguwa*	-	Ward Head
Maigari	-	Village Head
Rani	-	Hot and Dry season
Rance	-	Loan
Sarki	-	Emir
Shari'ah	-	Islamic Legal System
Turkudi	-	A popular Hausa Kano made cloth known as *Dan Kura*

Tokumbo	-	Fairly Used Cars
Unguwa	-	ward
Wakilin Tasha	-	Motor park representative
Yankwamasho	-	Commission agents
'Yar Kurkura	-	Mini Pick-up Vans
Yan Hiace	-	Mini bus drivers

'*Yan Cuwa-cuwa* or '*Yan Bunburutu* - Informal roadside petrol dealers/sellers or black marketers

Yan Fashi	-	Armed Robbers
Yan Tasha	-	Motor Station Folk/touts
Yan Haraji	-	Tax Collectors
Yan Rabano	-	Revenue Collectors
'Yan Jagaliya	-	Errand boys
'Yan Kura	-	The hand truck pushers

CHAPTER ONE
GENERAL INTRODUNTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AREA

1.1 **Introduction**

Kano was and still is one of the important commercial and industrial ancient cities in the Western Central Sudan. The large domestic industries, which made Kano famous, included cloth weaving, ornament working, leatherworks and dyeing industries. However, there are doubtless many reasons why Kano was so productive. The soils and the water table are among them.[1] The largest and the most important town was Kano, which was the capital of Kano Emirate.[2] Transportation was crucial to the development of the industries and the overall establishment and growth of Kano. The importance of transportation derives from a number of factors. For example, it increases the geographical and occupational specialization as well as interdependence between countries or states. The improvement in transportation provides more opportunities for urbanization and specialization. In urban areas, transportation invariably contributes to the development of commerce and industry, since it lies at the root of the whole process of distribution and exchange. Furthermore, it leads to an increase in the volume of trade, making it possible for increase and concentration of population. In addition, transportation facilitates the quick delivery of goods and services. As a result, capital need not be tied up in large stock of goods since quick delivery will be made, and certainly make large-scale production possible. Thus, the role of transportation in every modern economy cannot be over-emphasized.[3]

The history of transportation in Kano dates back to the pre-colonial era, the period when modern transportation facilities such as roads, railways, air transport facilities and so on, were virtually non-existent. Emphasis then was on bush paths for

[1] P.J Shea (1983) "Approaching the Study of Production in Rural Kano" in B.M Barkindo ed *Studies in the History of Kano*, Heinemann Books, Ibadan, p. 97

[2] J.C Anyawu etal (1960-1997), *The Structure of the Nigerian Economy 1960-1997*, Joanne educational Publication Ltd Onitsha, p.333

[3] J.C Anyawu (1960-1997)…p.338

man and pack animals as well as waterways. From the pre-colonial period through the colonial and the post-colonial periods, giant strides have been made in the development of transportation facilities in Kano. At present, the systems of transport in Kano include roads, rail and air. These modes largely satisfy the four principal factors, which determine the effectiveness of any transport system viz: safety, convenience, speed and cost.[4]

The study of transport as an academic discipline therefore, is inter-disciplinary in nature. It brings together the Geographer, the Historian, the Urban and Regional Planner, the Engineer, the Computer Scientist and the Economist. Thus, the scope of studying transportation is very extensive. Since transportation refers to the process of conveying goods and people from one place to another, it occupies an important position in the commercial life, industry and in the overall economic development of all countries.[5]

Improved transportation has helped towards better living. Transportation is an integral part of the economy of every society. Production and distribution of goods at all levels rely heavily on transport. Therefore, transportation is indispensable to any economy. Transportation facilitated the development of towns and cities, as centers of civilization.[6]

Before the advent of modern means of transport, narrow footpaths, porters, pack animals and canoes were the general methods of moving valuable items. These pre-colonial means of transport were slow, expensive and difficult.[7] The Industrial Revolution which

[4] N.A.K /KAN Prof. file 6092, Kano the guide to page 1

[5] A Mahdi (1982), "The State and the Economy The Sarauta System and its Role in Shaping the Society and Economy of Kano With Particular Reference to 18th and 19th Centuries", PhD thesis ABU Zaria, p.56

[6] H.I Said (1978), "Revolution and Reaction: the Fulani Jihad in Kano and its Aftermath1807-1919", university Michigan, PhD thesis p. 32

[7] A. Mahadi (2006), "Aspects of Economic and Social Development in the Sokoto Caliphate in the 19th Century" in E.D.H Babboyi & A.M Yakubu *(eds) The Sokoto Caliphate: History & Legacies, 1804-2004 volume 1* Baraka prints Kaduna pp. 83-94

started in Europe transformed transport and communication.[8] Colonialism helped to expand the use of new transformed transportation in Africa. In order to facilitate the colonial policy on economic exploitation, the British introduced a more efficient system of transport in Nigeria.[9]

Under the auspices of road transport system featured the study of Transportation and the Economy of Kano Metropolis: A Study of Intra-city Commercial Transport Services 1967-2014. This study centers on the role of commercial road transportation in molding the economy of Kano. Its main focus is post-colonial Kano (i.e. 1967-2014), a period that witnessed rapid emergence of commercial vehicles mainly due to commercial activities in Kano metropolis and ever increasing urbanization which goes along with it population explosion. The commuters patronized the commercial transport, a situation that made the business lucrative. More so, the traders who had come from within and outside Kano relied heavily on commercial vehicles to transport their merchandise to their various destinations.

Commercial road transport system therefore, had become well organized in Kano with significant number of people earning their means of livelihood from it. It also serves as a source of revenue to governments at different levels.[10] By definition, intra-city transportation simply refers to the movement of goods and people within the city. A city in this sense is a metropolitan area or town inhabited with high population such as Kano, Ibadan, Lagos and Kaduna. Thus, intra-city transport is an important element necessary for development in any rapidly urbanizing city.[11]

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[8] I.K Lawrence, (2000), *Grolier Family Encyclopedia vol.18* U.S.A Grolier Incorporation, p.325

[9] G.O Ogunremi, (1992), "Transportation in Pre-Colonial Africa in Atanda, J.A and Agiri B.A (eds.) *An Introduction to the Economic History of Pre-Colonial Africa, Tarikh vol. 1- 10*Ikeja Longman Nigeria plc, p.21

[10] D.O. Iweze, (2004), "A History of Transport System between Asaba in Delta State and Onitsha in Anambra State From 1954-1996", Unpublished M.A thesis BUK p .2

[11] O.O Olubomehin (2012) "The Emergence of Motorcycles as a Means of Commercial Transportation and its Impact on the Economy and Society", *Reserch in Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 2 No. 6, www.iiste.org (Online), p, 1

1.2 Significance of the Study

The fact that there are several scholarly works on the history of Kano particularly in the areas of politics, culture and religion, explains why this work examines how the history of intra-city commercial road transportation system has influences the cultural integration and socio-economic development in Kano Metropolis. Transportation was itself, without doubt, a major infrastructure of colonial subjugation, consolidation and exploitation. Focus on transportation will therefore help to provide a better analysis towards understanding the relationship between transport and economic history of Kano, especially during the colonial and post-colonial periods. This will allow the work to contribute some additional perspectives on issues concerning the overall development and transformation of Kano state.

Thus, data generated in the course of this research could form the basis of improving the commercial road transport system by future policy makers in their aspiration for sustainable transport development. Importantly too, the commercial transport sector can live up to expectations and be capable of supporting the growth and development of agriculture, commerce and industry. The study, therefore, will be of economic significance to government, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) as well as the general public by providing them with important information regarding how to improve on the efficiency of commercial activities, using commercial road transport and thus the growth of the economy.

1.3 Statement of Research Problem

In spite of the growing interest on the studies on Transportation, most of the studies were focused on Railway transport system and there was relatively no such detailed work

on the intra-city commercial transport services especially in Kano. And since the public urban transport system is the crux of this study, thus, the foundation in which the system evolves and transformed the activities of trade, commerce and industry, the city transport system was suffering from neglect and thereby creating a gap that need to be consciously filled historically. This research work therefore focused on the Intra-city commercial Road transport services as against the preoccupation and concentration of many other works on Railway transport system. Also, the scope of most of the earlier works on the study area was mostly centered on the colonial period to 1960. As a contribution to filling the gaps left, this thesis primarily focuses on the post-colonial transport history (i.e. 1967-2014).

1.4 Aim and Justification for the Study

This research examines the impact of intra-city commercial road transport on the economy of Kano metropolis 1967-2014. This becomes necessary as this vital sector of economic history has been given disproportionate attention by scholars of history, and therefore has not been studied by any historian in the area. This study has therefore collected and documented the socio-economic and political role played by commercial transport in the development of Kano metropolis. The study is justified in that; historically, it examines how people shaped their lives using the commercial road transport.

1.5 Scope of the Research

The study of transportation in this research work is limited to intra-city commercial road transport services. The area of study is specifically Kano metropolis. These consist of eight local governments, which include Kano Municipal, Gwale, Fagge, Dala, Nassarawa, Tarauni, Ungogo and Kumbotso. The date 1967 was chosen to reflect a point in history when Kano State was created by the military regime of General Yakubu Gowon on 27th May, 1967, under a Promulgated Decree No. 14 States- (Creation and Transitional Provisions). The state creation facilitated the creation of eight new

administrative areas with five in Kano emirate, which comprised of Kano Metropolitan (the study area), Kano central, Kano west, Kano south and Kano east. The other three are now in Jigawa state, namely Gumel, Kazaure and Hadejia. The creation of Kano State in 1967, boosted road transport networks, which in turn led to increased commercial activities, as well as migration and settlement of people. The terminal date 2014 is justified because by this time the government has responded to some of the outcry on the sorry state of traffic in Kano, characterized by gridlock of vehicles which sometimes last for hours on major roads around the city. Thus, the government constructed overhead bridges/flyovers in high traffic areas. Other road projects, at that period, include Kofar Kabuga and Kofar Gadon Kaya underground tunnels and putting the historic Jakara River beneath a lengthy road network. The government has also dualized and expanded many roads in Kano metropolis. Moreover, in order to reduce accident and allow for free and quicker movement of vehicles, a number of pedestrian bridges and pedestrian ways have been constructed on major roads. This is in addition to rehabilitating street lights across over 40 metropolitan roads including fuel supply and installation of generators to serve as power source. In order to bring sanity and curtail road accident, the Kano Road and Traffic Agency (KAROTA) was established in 2012 (see appendix 15). Over 700 personnel were trained on how to regulate, control and manage traffic problems. Hence, this study examines the economic processes in relation to intra-city commercial road transport services which had constituted to the economic growth between 1967 - 2015.

1.6 Literature Review

It is expedient to briefly give some remarks on some of the major literatures consulted in this study. These literatures were both published and unpublished, and were

found sufficiently relevant (directly or indirectly) to this study. The review enabled this study to uncover the aspects of the history of Kano city which is yet to be satisfactorily covered in previous literature. The review will also help in the articulation of the objectives of the study, the scope and the justification of the approach adopted.

(a) Published Sources:

Bello (2011), *State and Economy in Kano C. 1894-1960: a Study of Colonial Domination.*[12] Although the work is not on transport, however, efforts were made in the content to show some of the steps taken by the British in redressing transportation problems in their Nigerian colony. He posited that "in an attempt to alleviate the transportation sufferings of the colonial companies, in 1904 the colonial government set up a separate transport department, which continued to function for eight years until the official opening of the railway – Kano in 1912. At this point it became a sub-department within the Department of Public Works. This department exploited to the full, and improved upon, all existing forms of transport (e.g. the use of pack animals), and to introduced new ones where necessary, for the expansion of the colonial enterprise, (e.g. the clearing of roads for charts)". He added that in 1912, the transport sub-department hired 613 donkeys for transporting convoys of stores. During the period, a campaign was carried out for clearing cart-tracks as well as building bridges between certain areas of agricultural produce and Kano. Within few years, a number of chart-tracks had been completed i.e. Zaria – Kano (completed in 1906), Katsina – Kano, Katagun – Kano, Bauchi – Kano and Sokoto – Kano (all completed by 1909). Lastly, he explained that, all the above activities had their point of convergence at the railroad headquarter in Kano. However, Bello's work dwelt so much on the economy of transportation with particular reference to colonial period, and how the existing pre-colonial means of transportation such as pack animals

[12]Sule Bello, (2011), *State and Economy in Kano C. 1894-1960: A Study of Colonial Domination*, Ahmadu Bello University Press Zaria

were discovered by the British became a tool in the exploitation of agricultural productivity.

Usman's (1989), "Transport and Communication", examined the motive behind the establishment of modern transport and communication systems by the British colonialists. He posited that "it is clear that the colonial transport and communication systems in Nigeria, were built and maintained for the primary purpose of exporting cash crops and other raw materials produced in Nigeria to Europe, and importing manufactured goods from there; and for the deployment of the police and military forces of the British, to ensure effective control of the population, resources and territory of Nigeria".[13] He also discussed the role played by the colonial firms in achieving their objectives especially by raising tax and other forms of revenue which were used for building transport and communication infrastructure that enable the trading companies to buy and sell, import and export, and make profits for their British and other owners. Thus, Bello's work provides this study with a background reading and valuable insight on the history of transport system and the economic development in Kano during the colonial period.

Usman also discussed the factors responsible for the decline of the Nigerian railway. Firstly, was the result of the shift in the transport system in favor of road transport, which goes back to the late 1940s and early 1950s. He added that the road transport sub-sector was expanding much more rapidly than any other. Secondly, was the Tiv uprising of 1964 and the Western Regional Election Crisis of 1965, and the subsequent coup of January 1966 and the Nigerian Civil War that followed, all disrupted the activities of the Nigerian Railway. Thirdly, was the problem of corruption. According to him, the single most important factor which led to decline in the performance and significance of the railways was the way the members of its board and management used their position to

[13]Y.B Usman (1989), "Transport and Communication", in M.O Kayode & Y.B Usman (eds) *Nigeria Since Independence: The First 25 Years* vol. II, Heinmann Educational Books Ltd. Ibadan, p, 132-150

accumulate wealth for themselves and their business partners, subordinating the interest of the corporation to their private, selfish interest. Lastly, Usman discussed the expansion of the road transport system and how it became dominance after the Nigerian Civil War. He pointed out that after the civil war ended in 1970, road transport came to be the most dominant, and the decisive sub-sector of transportation in Nigeria. There was massive public sector investment into road construction which was accompanied by the rapid expansion of the importation of road vehicles and vehicle spare parts. There was also the establishment of road vehicle assembly plants, by Peugeot of France in Kaduna; Volkswagen of West Germany in Lagos, Leyland of Britain in Ibadan and Daimler Benz of West Germany in Enugu. With the establishment of these assembly plants, road transport became an important element in the manufacturing sector. It is important to note that this work is resourceful and relevant as far as the history of commercial road transport system is concern.

Jaekel's (1997) *The History of the Nigerian Railway Network and Infrastructure*,[14] examined the historical origin and development of the Nigerian Railway, which started in 1896 from Iddo in Lagos and extended to Abeokuta and Ibadan in 1901, Osogbo and Ilorin in 1907 and to Jebba in 1909. Also, Jaekel argued that because of the importance of Kano as an ancient commercial centre in Northern Nigeria as well as its role as the centre of collection for the major raw materials of the surrounding areas, the railway line was extended from Baro to Kano and completed in 1911.

The Nigerian Railway system has the potential to provide an efficient and cost effective means of transport, particularly on long distance routes serving high density traffic flows. Railways can provide the most cost-effective, affordable, energy saving and environmentally friendly form of transport, when traffic densities are high. When properly

[14] F. Jaekel *(1997) The History of the Nigerian Railway Network and Infrastructure,* Spectrum books ltd Ibadan

integrated with other modes of transport, economic levels of traffic can be consolidated to enable the railway to provide efficient services for high density flows of homogenous traffic carried over relatively long distances on a regular basis. The railways are also well suited for the movement by large number of inter-city passengers and high volumes of containerized cargo or bulk freight such as oil, coal, steel or agricultural produce. Unfortunately, due to past neglect, the Nigerian railway system has not been able to meet this need. It has deteriorated in all areas, and caught up in a vicious circle of declining traffic, endemic deficits, decreasing capacity to serve its customers resulting in further loss of revenue. In short the railways have ceased to be economically viable. If the present imbalance of the transport sector is to be corrected and the goals arising from increasing industrialization be actualized, the Nigerian railway must be resuscitated.

However, the Nigerian railway system has suffered a long term decline as a result of factors such as competition from road transport which, due to its flexibility, has significantly eroded the rail traffic base. Traffic volumes have been declining due to the disappearance of intermodal nodes aggravated by the declining quality of railway assets and train services. The deterioration of the system has increased to such an extent that the railways are now barely operational, despite a number of rehabilitation attempts. The state of the railway has been worsened by management weaknesses and the institutional arrangements in the railway system. The railways are therefore a serious drain on government resources, while currently failing to provide a useful economic function.[15]

Ekundare's (1973), *An Economic History of Nigeria 1860-1960*,[16] examined the various modes of transport system that existed in Nigeria viz: water, road, rail and air transport. He argued that, before 1914, Northern Nigeria was linked with the south only by water ways, mainly by way of River Niger, and before the advent of the railway, the Rivers

[15]See also Federal Government of Nigeria Draft National Transport Policy, August 2011, pp. 22-23
[16] R.O. Ekundare (1973), *An Economic History of Nigeria 1860-1960* London, Methuen p.127-147

Niger and Benue provided the channels by which goods and passengers could be transported to and from North.

He opined that for proper and effective economic exploitation of the resources of the interior, the British Government deemed it necessary to extend the railway line from the southern part of the country to the North. Ekundare argued that Lugard has affirmed to this statement and thus he posited that, he was anxious to see the Railway extended to Northern Nigeria. Therefore, he stressed its economic and military importance in view of the French policy on her territories around Nigeria. Thus by 1st January, 1912, the through route from Lagos to Kano was officially opened. According to Ekundare, it was the need to build feeder roads for newly constructed railways which began the transformation of roads and road transport in Nigeria. The feeder roads were meant to provide enough passenger and cargo traffic for new railways. Ekundare's work provided an important insight to this study especially on how road transport system developed and its role on the economic development of an area.

Ali's (2012) *Trade and Transport in the Lower Niger 1830-2011*,[17] examined how the impact of the introduction of motor engine boat on the Lower Niger River in the 1870, facilitated movement of goods and passengers as well as boosting trade in the Lower Niger. He further argued that when the rails and roads were constructed, transportation on the lower Niger River declined. Consequently, many of those who were involved in the colonial export trade on the Lower Niger River diverted their capital to other businesses. According to Ali, even in the post-colonial period the federal government has failed to provide the necessary support by way of finance and infrastructure. Rather, the emphasis on the development of transportation in Nigeria has been on roads. The central argument in

[17] A.D Ali (2012) *Trade and Transport in the Lower Niger 1830-2011*Adenuga Concept Publishers, Lagos

Ali's work is how water transport aided in the development of trade in the Lower Niger during the early years of colonial domination of the area.

Walker's (1959) *Traffic and Transport in Nigeria: The example of An Underdeveloped Tropical Territory*[18] examined the historical development of various modes of transport system either introduced or developed by the British in their Nigeria. The newly introduced modes include the Railway, roads and ferry services. The British also developed and expanded the use of existing pre-colonial indigenous transport system such as pack animals predominantly used in the North. Walker is of the view that in places like Kano, Zaria, Katsina and other Northern cities, the most widely used mode of transport system up to 1930s were pack animals. Thus, the donkey, horses, camels and pack oxen played an important role in the provision of the transportation needs of the colonialist. These include the evacuation of agricultural produce and other raw material intended for export to the railway collection centers as well as distribution of imported European products. Cart routes were developed along the line of the old path and the improvement was undertaken by unskilled village labour working with local materials under the directives of an administrative officer or African headman. He further argued that unlike in the south where lorry services started in 1906, in the North it was in the late 30s and early 40s that lorry services were started by the railway department to serve its feeder purposes. Though focused on colonial transport development, the work will provide the needed background information for this study.

Mcphee's (1971) book titled *Economic Revolution in British West Africa*,[19] examined the historical development of modern forms of transportation system introduced by the British in their West African colonies. He argued that colonialism brings about

[18] G Walker, (1959), "Traffic and Transport in Nigeria: The example of An Underdeveloped Tropical Territory" Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London

[19] A Mcphee (1971) *Economic Revolution in British West Africa*, Francass and Co Ltd, London

revolution in the transport sector economy of the colonized territories. The introduction of the railway, roads and ocean steamers marked a paradigm shift in the existing social, economic and political set up of the people in the area. Mcphee further argued that with the introduction of railway, the wasteful method of head portage is ended and slave carriage died a natural death and thus, the carriers added to the labour supply. This assertion is not true with reference to Northern Nigeria. It is a known fact that throughout the period of colonial rule and even after, the head portage continued to feature prominently as an important means of transportation. It was the use of human portage (which Mcphee described as wasteful) and pack animals that transformed both local and the trans-Saharan trade among and between West and North Africa before the British colonization. Even when he argued that it is strange enough to him that although in the North, there are over 3,000,000 cattle, 176,000 donkeys, 113,000 horses, and 4,000 camels, yet, such a thing as cart may be said to be unknown. The question he ought to have asked should be in relation to the economic importance of this mode of transport especially in boosting trade and commercial activities in Northern Nigeria before the Europeans set in.

Ogunremi's (1982), *Counting the Camels, Economy of Transportation in Pre-Industrial Nigeria*,[20] focused on the activities and nature of transportation in pre-colonial Northern Nigeria. He analyzed the various transport facilities in relation to pre-industrial economy of Nigeria. According to him, the traditional modes of transportation such as human portage and pack animals are still relevant to the modern economy. However, the main focus of this work is on traditional modes of transport.

Adeyemo's article (1996), entitled "Government Policies and Mass Transit in Nigeria",[21] examined how the urban transportation problem arises principally because of

[20] G.O Ogunremi, (1982), *Counting the Camels: Economics of Transportation in Preindustrial Nigeria,* New York Publishers International, USA

[21]O.A Adeyemo, (1996), "Government Policies and Mass Transit in Nigeria" in T Bolade & E.O Adeyemi (Eds) *Enhancing the Efficiency of Mass Transit Operations in Nigeria*, Rex Charles publication Ibadan pp 3-7

high concentration of population, economic activities, educational and social facilities in relatively small areas particularly with poor land use planning. These activities generated the demand for transport services far in excess of supply of such services. He further posited that urban transportation in Nigeria before 1988 was 95% by road and 5% by rail and ferry services. Of the total transportation by road, 95% was by paratransit, mini-buses, '*Danfos*' and the locally adopted vehicles called '*Molues*' and taxis. The study also elaborated the aims and objective for the establishment of the Federal Urban Mass Transit Program (FUMTP) in 1998. It also discussed the achievements of the FUMTP as well as the problems associated with the program. However, the major flaw in this study is that it centered on mass transit. In an attempt to fill in the gap, this study will explore the socio-economic advantages attached to all modes of commercial road transportation systems both public and private.

Okoro's article (1996), "Rail Mass Transit in Nigeria: What Future",[22] focused on metropolitan area rail mass transit operations and technology of the Nigerian Railway Corporation. The purpose of the study was to understand the extent to which the transit corridors and links were sensitive and adequately responsive to any future socio-economic and technological changes. Okoro define future as the time range between 1996 and 2015 (20 years planning horizon). The future scenario is discussed in the context of any changes in the levels of rail passenger traffic demand and rail transit technology during the period. He further stressed that growth in demand for transport services is likely to be placed on a railway system in its worst condition-physically and operationally. Lastly, the motivation for the study is to obtain planning and feasibility study inputs that would aid investment decisions that may be directed to avert transport crisis of major proportions in the future. Though, the focus of Okoro's study is a direct response that is associated to the rail mass

[22] N.C.U Okoro, (1996), "Rail Mass Transit in Nigeria: What Future" in T Bolade & E.O Adeyemi (eds) *Enhancing the Efficiency of Mass Transit Operations in Nigeria*, Rex Charles publication Ibadan pp110-118

transit system problem in Nigeria, while the ongoing research focus on commercial road transport and economic growth in Kano metropolis.

Farris and Harding,[23] in their co-authored book titled, *Passenger Transportation*, examined the importance of transport to humanity. According to them, civilization is partially based on transport. The book examined how transportation has became an avenue for spreading of ideas, interchange of cultures, and knowledge of new and previous unknown people, customs and tribes. The authors also discussed how passenger transportation played a major role in the location of settlement and enhanced people ideas about life. However, Faris and Harding work focused on Europe, nonetheless, the work will provide the basic idea about this research.

Mukhtar's (2014) *British Colonial Labour Policies and the Changing Roles of Labour in Kano Emirate, C.1903-1960*[24] examined the processes involved in the mobilization and utilization of force labour by the British colonialist for the construction of colonial infrastructures such as roads, railways, offices, residential houses, prisons etc. The mobilization and utilization process according to Mukhtar were best described as *aikin tilas* (i.e. forced labour) or *aikin gayya* (i.e. voluntary labour). The colonial state did not intend, and might not have sufficient funds, to invest much money in infrastructures, as such it resorted to the exaction of forced labour. Thus, the lower classes in each district were made responsible for providing the required labour for the construction of roads. It was basically through this means that the basic infrastructure of about thirty rural districts was established.

(b) Unpublished Sources:

[23]M.T. Farris and F.E. Harding (1976), *Passenger Transportation*, New Jersey Princeton Hall Inc. pp. 1-10 &149-165

[24] M I Mukhtar (2014) titled *British Colonial Labour Policies and the Changing Roles of Labour in Kano Emirate, C.1903-1960,* ABU Press Ltd, Zaria

A PhD thesis by Abdussalam (2010), "Transportation and Transformation in Jos 1900-1966",[25] examined the extent to which transportation aided in the establishment of the city of Jos, in the present Plateau state. The work also examined the role transportation had played in the transformation of Jos and how it brought about infrastructural development as well as migration and settlement in the city. The study also looked at the dual relationship between transportation and the consolidation of British colonialism as well as transportation and economic growth. The study made deliberate effort to make a shift from the opinion that tin was the main factor in the establishment and growth of Jos. In so doing, the study gave an alternative explanation that it is impossible to discuss Jos and its history without tin as the main focus. The study therefore contributed in adopting another approach to the historiography of Jos. There has been overemphasis by a majority of writers on tin as the central theme. It is significant to note that this work made a departure from that tradition by making transportation the central theme in analyzing the different aspects of the history of Jos. The new explanation considered the state of transportation on the Plateau and in and around Jos before the colonial period. The study also examined how transportation played a major role in the discovery of the source of tin on the Plateau and the founding of Jos. Part of the main contributions of this work is the explanation that transportation was a major infrastructure for instituting colonialism because it was a major tool of colonial subjugation and economic exploitation. To that extent, transportation served as an important tool for the British in the conquest and control of Jos. Although, the focus of the work is Jos Plateau, it will provide the needed background reading for this research.

[25] I. K Abdussalam, (2010), "Transportation and Transformation in Jos C. 1900-1966", Unpublished PhD Thesis BUK

Bashir's PhD thesis (1983) "The Politics of Industrialization in Kano: Industries, Incentives, and Indigenous Entrepreneurs",[26] examined the activities and the socio-economic impact of indigenous Hausa entrepreneurs in consolidating, sustaining and further enhancing the growth of industrial and commercial activities in the post-colonial period. According to Bashir, in the 1950s and 1960s particularly, transport was an attractive sector to indigenous entrepreneurs. Early transport entrepreneurs who established transport companies were Aminu Dantata, Musa Iliasu, Mahmoud Gashash, and Haruna Kasim. Others include Sani Marshal, Garba Bichi, Bello Bichi, Sanusi Dantata and Inuwa Wada.

Similarly, the demand for the expanding distribution trade particularly from the north to the south and vice versa during the Nigerian Civil War which led to departure of the Igbo entrepreneurs who hitherto dominated the transport business created a vacuum which subsequently created an incentive for the Hausa entrepreneurs who quickly stepped in and occupied. When the Igbo departed, the railway system, at least in the north came to a temporarily standstill as all of the locomotive drivers were Igbo. As the railway transport could not operate because of this development, traders and government alike were forced to resort to road transport. This created more openings for the adventurous Hausa entrepreneurs. As a result, the demand for the registration of heavy trucks in the north between October 1966 to February 1967 jumped to an average of 80% over earlier months.

To encourage the Hausa entrepreneurs more, the Northern Nigerian Marketing Board increased transport fare by 12% to transport its products to the coast when the railway was grounded by the departure of the Igbo locomotive drivers. Of the 80,600 vehicles imported to Nigeria in 1963, some years before the Civil War, for example, 8000 went to Kano users and in 1973 when the national figure reached 238,000 vehicles, Kano

[26]I.L Bashir (1983) "The Politics of Industrialization in Kano: Industries, Incentives, and Indigenous Entrepreneurs", Ph.D Thesis Boston University

State's share was 44,000. The total number of vehicle registered in Kano from 1972 to 1979 stood at 113,849.

Finally, Bashir argued that the entry of the entrepreneurs into the transport sector and their desire to dominate it went back to the early 1950s when local transport magnates such as Alhassan Dantata, Sani Marshal, Inuwa Wada and others lobbied the government of the day to kick the Lebanese, Syrians and Arabs out of the sector. This process was completed in 1972 with the promulgation of the Nigerian Enterprise Promotion Decree which preserves the transport sector exclusively for indigenous participation. Bashir's work has contributed in formulating the idea behind the selection of scope and periodization of this study.

The PhD thesis by Samaila (2015) titled "Cross-Border Trade in Fairly Used Automobile (*Tokumbo*): A Study of the Nigeria North-west Boarder C. 1973-2013",[27] examines the extent to which the Nigerian economy has become so vulnerable to the extent of allowing the country to be flooded with foreign used vehicles. He argued in the work that the phenomenon of importing used vehicles into Nigeria started as a result of the introduction of the Structural Adjustment program (SAP) in 1986, a policy initiated by the then Military Head of State Gen. Ibrahim Babangida with the ultimate aim of providing lasting solution to the economic crisis of the time. Instead of solving the problem, SAP further aggravated it. The end result therefore was inflation which affected the cost of imported goods and hikes in the prices of vehicles. For example, The price of Volkswagen bus in 1985 Pre-SAP period was N6000 but increased to N20,000 in 1987, while Peugeot 504 which was sold at N10,913 in the pre-Sap period rose to N36,913 in January 1987. This condition makes it difficult for car owners to replace their aging vehicles with new ones and as well people with less income found it very difficult to afford a new car.

[27] A Samaila (2015) "Cross-Border Trade in Fairly Used Automobile (Tokumbo): A Study of the Nigeria North-west Boarder C. 1973-2013", Ph-D thesis, Usman Danfodio University, Sokoto

Consequently, a preference for car ownership was directed at imported fairly used vehicles otherwise known as *Tokumbo*. Thus, people go for *Tokumbo* because it is cheaper and affordable to an average Nigerian. Samailas work has therefore provided answer to the question on how commercial transport system was badly affected during SAP period in which most transporters resort to buying used vehicles and spare parts, and by so doing they were able to sustain the business.

The M.A Thesis by Madugu, (2011) "The Impact of Commercial Buses on the Economy of Kano Metropolis 1967-2003",[28] examined the extent to which commercial bus transport service serves as an important means in the socio-economic growth and development of Kano metropolis. The central argument in the study was that commercial bus transport system in Kano had being initiating, perpetuating, and sustaining the process of continuous urbanization of Kano. Commercial bus transportation therefore has been a tool binding the socio-cultural, political and economic systems of the people. however, the work focuses on the activities of commercial bus transport system only, while this research work has examined all the various modes of intra-city commercial transport system (such as taxis, buses, commercial motorcycles, commercial tricycles, commercial bicycles, pick-up vans) and their contributions to the economy of Kano Metropolis from 1967-2014.

The M.A thesis by Yusuf (2007), "The Impact of the Railway on Madobi and Kwankwaso Towns in Kano C. 1903-1970",[29]examined the activities and the socio-economic impact of railway on Madobi and Kwankwaso towns in present Kano state. The work examined the pattern of migration and settlement in the towns, which was partly due to the impact of railway station in the area. In addition, the establishment of the railway station in the area by the British aided them with ease of access and effective exploitation

[28] Y.U Madugu, (2011) "The Impact of Commercial Buses on the Economy of Kano Metropolis 1967-2003", M.A Thesis BUK

[29] S.T Yusuf, (2007), "The Impact of the railway on Madobi and Kwankwaso Towns in Kano C.1903-1970" unpublished M. A. Thesis BUK

and evacuation of agricultural produce such as groundnut and cotton from the area. Yusuf noted that, "on the basis of these findings it has been pointed out that the activities of the trading firms in Madobi and Kwankwaso towns stimulated groundnut trade. The groundnut was dependent on the clientage network of middlemen who were mostly Yoruba, Hausa, Lebanese and Syrians. The success of the groundnut trade was engendered by a number of factors such as the middlemen, touting, transportation, decortications and accommodation business etc. The groundnut trade brought material benefits in these rural towns and their environs". This work which focuses on the impact of railway transport on the rural towns of Madobi and Kwankwaso provided the needed background for this study.

The B.A Dissertation by D.O Iweze, (2002) "The History of Igbo Transportation Business in Kano: A Case Study of Luxurious Buses from 1970-2000",[30] made a good attempt in tracing the advent of luxurious buses in transport business in Kano and their role in the development of Kano's economy. His work has tremendous contribution on this study considering the fact that it dealt with an important aspect of this research work i.e. luxurious buses, even though it did not touch other aspect of commercial road transportation system such as taxi, motorcycle and tricycle.

Muhammad's M.A thesis titled "A History of Modern Road Transportation in Igala-land 1913-1993",[31] stressed the importance of transport infrastructure in the colonial and post colonial periods in Igalaland. He argued that in a number of ways, roads and railways that were constructed during the colonial period did have revolutionary consequences as well as materially expanding the productive capacity and commerce of the areas through which they passed. They also helped to open up new vistas of civilization. He maintained that inter-group relations among Nigerian peoples were considerably enhanced

[30] D.O. Iweze, (2000), "The History of Igbo Transportation Business in Kano: A Case Study of Luxurious Buses From 1970-2000", B.A Thesis BUK

[31] M.Y. Muhammad, (1995), "A History of Modern Road Transportation in Igalaland 1913-1993", M.A. Thesis BUK

resulting in cross cultural inter-course of a progressive nature. Moreover, he states that road transport increased the level of interactions and the volume of goods exchanged in intra-Igala trade as well as trade between Igalaland and other parts of Nigeria. It also resulted in unprecedented level of urbanization in the area, particularly in Ankpa where the Igbo from the east trooped in, in search of trade and land, and the Hausa who came for propagation of Islam. Muhammad's work generate it value with particular reference to Igalaland. While the focus of this research work is Kano metropolis.

The M.A thesis Yusufu[32], (2004) "River Transportation in the Niger–Benue Confluence Area: Lokoja and its Environs c. 1990–1991", discussed extensively on aspect of transport with special focus on water transport. He examined the importance of water transport in the pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial Nigeria. How water transport contributed to the growth of trade in the Niger–Benue confluence area was also discussed. The work will also provide background information to this study.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

It is difficult to overstate the advantages of transportation facilities, especially roads, as a tool of economic development. This is why Njoh argued that "to gain an adequate appreciation of the manner in which transportation can facilitate the active participation of a country or region in the globalization process, it is necessary to understand the link between transportation and development".[33] The theoretical framework guiding this work, therefore, revolves around the centrality and significance of transportation in the process of the economic development of Kano metropolis. Therefore, in an attempt to study the phenomenon of transportation and economic development three

[32]A.M Yusufu (2004), "River Transportation in the Niger – Benue Confluence Area", M.A. Thesis BUK,
[33] A.J Njoh (2012) "Implications of Africa's Transportation Systems in the Era of Globalization" University of South Florida, p. 7

theories featured prominently. These theories are the Political Economy, Modernization and the functionalist theories.

Political Economy Theory: This theory concerned itself with the dialectical materialism championed by Marxist scholars such as N. Bukharin[34] and V.I Lenin[35] in their quest to analyze colonial domination. These scholars championed the course and later described it as the highest stage of capitalism. According to the protagonist of the political economy theory, colonialism will perform two task in the colonized territories; one will be destructive and the other regenerating. Colonialism will lead to the dissolution of the backward economies in the colonies, and this will be replaced with a more modernized form of forces of production and social relations of production, which is the capitalist economic system. Hence, colonialism was to lay the basis for the introduction of new economic features, institutions and infrastructures, such as Railways, roads, communication networks, currencies, modern industries, new machines, banks, schools, among others in the colonies.[36] This theory informed that even though the colonial infrastructure has brought development in areas like Kano and Lagos, the motive behind such development was not designed in the interest of the colonized areas but to allow for perfect administrative control and effective exploitation of the resources of the area. Similarly, Claude Ake[37] in *the Political Economy of Africa* maintained that the basic aim of establishing modern transport system by the British was not in the interest of developing the polity but rather to achieve their selfish economic interest. Therefore, it is economic factor which provides the axis around which imperialism takes place since it was capitalism that gave impulse to the colonization of Africa. This idea was itself supported by the Underdevelopment and the Dependency School (U.D.T), when they posited that in

[34]N. Bukharin (1917) *Imperialism and World Economy:* the Merlin press, London
[35]V.I. Lenin (1917) *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Progress Publishers, Moscow
[36]A. Banwo (1999) "Theoretical Issues in Political Economy" in H.A Saliu (ed) *Issues in Contemporary Political Economy of Nigeria,* Sally and Associate, Ilorin
[37] C. Ake (1981) *A Political Economy of Africa,* Longman Inc New York, pp27-56.

particular, infrastructures especially railway, roads and energy resources, had to be developed to some extent, if not to ensure the colony development then at least to maximize its exploitation.[38] This theory concluded that if colonialism brought about development, then, it was a very haphazard development.

But on the contrary, the Liberal/Bourgeois Political Economy School later emerged with an attempt to divert the approach of political economy from its prevalent Marxist thrust. They have developed what is now referred to as the "New Political Economy Approach". Part of their argument is that political economy should focus more on political preconditions for economic development or the political consequences of economic development and not on such vague issues like class, underdevelopment and dependency.[39]

Modernization Theory: The Modernization theory is a complete departure from the political economy theory. According to the protagonist of this theory, their theory covers not just the role of transportation in development, but also the fact that transportation occupies a central position at, every stage of development, irrespective of the reasons that led to their establishment.[40] Some of these scholars include Rostow 1960[41],Ascheaur 1990[42], Costa, Ellson, & Martin 1987[43], Duffy-Deno & Eberts 1991[44]; Eberts 1990.[45] They argued that, investment in public infrastructure among which commercial road transport is included contributed to economic development of any given nation. The importance of transportation to development has once more been recognized by Johnson 1970, Pedersen

[38] C. Ake (1981)…p. 56
[39] A. Banwo (1999)…p. 17
[40] I.K Abdussalam (2011)…p. 27
[41] W.W Rostow (1960) *The Stages of Economic Development: A Non-Communist Manifesto* Cambridge University Press, pp 4-39
[42] D.A Aschauer (1990) "Why is Infrastructure Important?" in A.H Munnell (ed.) *Is there A shortfall in public Capital investment?* (pp. 21-50). Boston: Federal Reserve Bank of Boston
[43] J.S Costa., R.W Ellson., & R.C Martin (1987)"Public Capital, Regional Output, and Development: Some Empirical Evidence" *Journal of Regional Science*, 27(3), p. 419-437
[44] K.T Duffy-Deno & R.W Eberts (1991) "Public Infrastructure and Regional Economic Development: A Simultaneous Equation Approach." *Journal of Urban Economics*, 30(3), p. 329-343
[45] R.W Eberts (1990) "Public Infrastructure and Regional Economic Development" *Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland Economic Review*, 26, p. 15-27

2001[46], Njoh 2000[47], Turner and Kwakye 1996.[48] The basic reason for choosing these scholars is because they elucidated on the subject of development in their study of transportation. Each of the scholars has opined that transportation is a critical factor in the process, and at every stage, of development. For instance, Njoh while describing the role of transportation to Africa's development argued that, in spite of the fact that the relationship between transport and development has always been a positive one, colonial authorities in Africa believed that investment in transport infrastructure positively influenced economic development. This explains the preoccupation of these authorities with road- and railway–building throughout the continent. Colonial authorities were informed by regional and industrial development theories, which assigned a critical role to transport cost.[49]

Rostow who is known for his contribution to modern development theory, in his book titled *The Stages of Economic Development: A Non-Communist Manifesto* contended that transportation is a pre-condition for economic growth of any given nation, state or society.[50] Thus, transportation facilities are vital in any effort to reinforce a country's or a region's position within the global economic system. The major shortcoming associated with this theory is that it failed to acknowledge the fact that the establishment of infrastructure by the British colonialist was design purposely with the aim of achieving their selfish economic interest and not for the interest of developing the polity. That was why scholars like Adams Smith and Hla Mynt[51] developed the Vent for Surplus Theory which makes a wrong assertion that less developed countries such as

[46] P.O Pedersen (2001) "Freight Transport Under Globalization and its Impact on Africa" *Journal of Transport Geography*, 9, p. 85-99
[47] A.J Njoh (2000) "Transportation Infrastructure and Economic Development in Sub-Sahara Africa" *Public Works Management and Policy*, 4(4), p. 286-296
[48] J Turner & E Kwakye (1996) "Transport and Survival strategies in a Developing Economy: Case Evidence from Accra, Ghana" *Journal of Transport Geography*, 4(3), p. 161-168
[49] A.J Njoh (2012)…p. 1
[50] W.W Rostow (1960)…pp. 4-39
[51] K Fuglie (1989) *Vent for Surplus as a Source of Agricultural Growth in North East Thailand 1950-1986*, Economic Development Center, University of Minesota

Africa has abundant human and natural resources which they were unable to utilize due to their laziness, until the coming of the Europeans.

The Functionalist Theory: The functionalist theory sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability. This approach looks at society through a macro-level orientation and broadly focuses on the social structure that shape society as a whole. According to this theory, the government or state provides the entire infrastructure such as roads, schools, electricity, hospital and so on, in return, the citizens in the state pay taxes on which the state depends to keep itself running. The major flaw of this theory particularly in the developing countries is corruption which leads to embezzlement of public funds.

In view of the above theoretical explanations, it should be understood that, all these theories are directly connected with some of the explanations that will be forwarded by this study. Even though, expression shared by '*Political Economy Theory'* is closely picked for this study. Since the *Political Economy Theory* concerns itself with questions such as how is wealth created? who Produces the wealth?, who distributes the wealth?, and who consumes the wealth?. And at every stage or process of production, distribution and consumption of wealth transportation is necessary. Thus, the *Political Economy* view point would serve as a guiding framework for this study. With careful scrutiny, it is hoped to articulate a good understanding of the historical trends in the evolution of transport system in the colonial and post-colonial periods.

1.8 Research Methodology

The study of transport and development as an academic discipline is inter-disciplinary in nature. It therefore employs the methodologies of other disciplines such as Geography, History, Urban and Regional Planning, Engineering, Computer Science, Economics etc to provide a comprehensive picture of the issues under investigation.

Therefore, the source materials for this study involve the collection of written literature and oral information. The written sources included: archival records on Kano Province with emphasis on transport. The archival materials were sourced from the National Archive Kaduna, Kano State History and Culture Bureau, and the Arewa House Archives Kaduna.

The researcher also utilized published works in the form of books and journal articles. Unpublished PhD dissertation, M.A, M.Sc., B.A and B.Sc. thesis and seminar papers will also be used.

Oral testimony is another important primary source material for this study. Various informants were selected and contacted individually or in groups. The collection of oral information was done in the form of note taking and tape recording. Such informants included the Vehicle Drivers, Commuters, Motorcyclists, Tricyclists, Civil Servants, Police, Vehicle Inspection Officers (VIO), Road Safety Marshals, the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW), the National Institute of Transport Technology (NITT) and the ministry of Transport

1.9 **The Geography and a Brief History of the Study Area**

Location of the Kano Metropolitan Area

The recorded history of Kano began from the year A.D 999 when the ancient Abagayawa dynasty the worshippers of the Tsumburbura deity at the foot of Dala hill were defeated by the Bagauda dynasty.[52] The Bagauda dynasty ruled Kano for a little over 800 years and was ousted by the Jihad of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio at the beginning of the 19th century. Within those 800 years, the Bagauda dynasty laid the foundation of Kano as an important Hausa state. The dynasty was able to establish a sound administrative bureaucracy and also built the historic Kano wall (*Ganuwa*). Most

[52] A. Mahdi (1982):*The State and the Economy The Sarauta System and its Role in Shaping the Society and Economy of Kano With Particular Reference to 18th& 19th Centuries,* PhD thesis ABU Zaria , p.56

important of all the Bagauda dynasty set up the famous *Kasuwar Kurmi (*Kurmi Market) that made Kano to assume its envious position as the nerve centre of trade and commercial activities of Hausa land. From the time onwards, Kano has remained the undisputed commercial centre of what came to be known as Northern Nigeria. One only needs to visit the textile market at Kantin Kwari or the grain market at Dawanau or the versatile Kurmi market, Singa, Wambai and Sabon Gari markets to appreciate the hundreds of thousands Multifarious transactions that take place in Kano every day.[53]

Kano metropolitan which is the area of the study has enjoyed a position as the largest and most influential commercial area in the Sudan zone for many centuries.[54] It attracted substantial number of immigrants, being the seat of government and centre of industry, commerce and education. At present, Kano Metropolitan area is located between latitude 11^0 50' and 12^0 07', and longitude 8^0 22' and 8^0 47' within the Semi-Arid Sudan Savannah Zone of West Africa about 840 kilometers of the edge of the Sahara desert. The Metropolitan area has expanded over the years and has become the third largest conurbation in Nigeria with a population of about 4 million.[55] It is made up of eight local government areas viz: Kano Municipal, Gwale, Dala, Tarauni, Nasarawa, Fage, Ungogo and Kumbotso.[56] Fika posited that, "Kano city and its environs (officially termed metropolitan Kano), has been, at least since the Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio early in the 19th century, the pre-eminent commercial and industrial centre of its economic region, and largely because of its economic and demographic importance, Kano has played a major role in the variety of political contexts since at least the fourteenth century A.D. internally Kano has been an Islamic theocracy, in theory if not in practice,

[53]H. I. Said (1978) *Revolution and Reaction: the Fulani Jihad in Kano and its Aftermath 1807-1919*, university of Michigan, PhD thesis p. 32

[54] B.A.W, Travallion, (1963) *Metropolitan Kano, Repot on the Twenty Years of Development Plan 1963-1983*, London, p.4

[55] National Population Commission- Population Estimate for the Kano Metropolitan Area 2014

[56]www.kano.gov.ng/new/index.php/archive/1...

since the reign of Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-99)".[57] Because of the eminent position of Kano as a commercial nerve centre for many centuries Morel stated that:

> You are permanently conscious that this country has a history and traditions. Nowhere, perhaps does the fact impress the new-commer more vividly than at Kano. It is a wonderful place to find in central Africa, this native city with its great enfolding walls, twelve miles in circumference, pierced by thirteen deep gateways (Kofas) with its written records dating back nearly eight hundred years.[58]

The Land

The land of the metropolitan Kano area consists of gently undulating plains sloping to the north-east and physiographically has a uniform park like appearance. There are a number of laterite-capped hills such as Dala Rock and Goron Dutse. Such inselbergs usually stand up to a height of about 100 feet above the surrounding area which lies between 1,753 and 1,697 feet above sea level respectively.[59] A little distance from the southern sides of the town hills lie the famous Jakara River which was once surrounded by thick mangrove trees appeared to have created dark fear among the inhabitants who made it a shrine and place of worship.[60]

Equally, on the Northern side of the two hills lies a large marshy area with a permanent water reservoir. Whenever this reservoir flooded its bank, it will break the north-eastern side of Kano defense, known as Kofar Ruwa. In between these waters and hills were well watered farming lands, and iron ore mining places for iron smelting.[61] The larger rivers which traverse Kano emirate rise in the central Jos Plateu to the South of Kano and drain eventually towards Lake Chad three hundred and fifty miles to the north-east. These rivers which for much of the year are little more than large streams,

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[57] A.M, Fika, (1976): *The Kano Civil War and British Over Rule 1882-1940*, London Oxford university press

[58] E.D Morel (1968) *Nigeria its People and its Problem*, Francass Ltd, London, p, 123

[59] B.A.W, Travallion, (1963)…p. 2

[60] M.D. Muhammad (1997) *30 Years of Kano Statehood1967-1997*, Baraka printers Kano, p. 1, for more information on the Jakara River see also Y.U. Madugu (2006) *The History of "Yan Awaki" Kano City 1900-1980*, B.A Dissertation BUK

[61] Adamu, M.U, (1999): *Confluence and Influence the Emergence Kano as a City State*, Munawwara books publications, Kano, p. 9

are found mainly in the south of the emirate for in the northern parts there are no water courses of any significance. In any case the majority of the rivers flow in the wet season only. The largest river in the emirate is the river Kano (*Kogin Kano*) whose source is in the Riruwai hills in the extreme south-eastern corner of the state. Smaller streams worth mentioning are the Duduru and Igi rivers which rise near the emirate's southern boundary and eventually flow into the river Kano. It should also be noted that the water-shed separating the extensive hydrographic system of Northern Nigeria, the Niger and the Chad Basins, roughly delimits the western boundary of Kano emirate.[62]

Apart from settlement and uncultivable rock surface or areas rendered unproductive for agriculture by erosion, there are saveral categories of land use. These are *Fadama* farms, upland farms, forest reserves and natural grazing. Seasonally flooded river valleys or *fadama* are much sought after for cultivation during the dry season when water from the stream bed is used to irrigate crops. The *fadamas* therefore make it possible for farmers to raise crops at a season when climatic conditions make it impossible to grow crops on the upland farms. *Fadama* plots are usually much smaller than plots on the upland farms and are rarely over a quarter of an acre. Onions, pepper and sugar cane are the most common crops grown on *fadamas*.[63] But in the vicinity of the Kano city, *fadamas* are usually cropped with market garden vegetables meant for the Kano market or for export to other towns. Maize, rice and sweet potatoes are also grown in this area. Farmers who cultivate these *fadamas* are also engaged in cultivating upland farms which are, in essence, the principal farms. Around Kano upland farms are cropped permanently, a practice made possible by the careful application of manure on the land.

[62] A.M, Fika, (1976)…p. 2, for more information, see also Y.U Madugu "The Expansion of the Production and Export of Groundnuts in Northern Nigeria, a Case Study of Kano 1903-1930" *FAIS Journal of Humanities* Vol. 1 No 2, p.32. Bayero University, Kano, J. S. Hogendon, (1978): *Nigerian Groundnut Export: Origin and Development*, ABU Press. Zaria, R.O. Ekundare, (1973): *An Economic History of Nigeria 1860-1960*, Africana Publishing Company, New York

[63] A.W Urquhart (1977) Plan Urban Landscapes of Northern Nigeria, ABU Press, Zaria, 4-9

Millet, sorghum, groundnuts, beans and cotton are the dominant crops. Farm holdings around Kano are much larger in size, varying from a little below three acres to over twenty acres.[64]

Uncultivated land in the Kano area is made up of forest reserves and grazing land. Fulani cattlemen build their huts close to the edge of the reserves which provide extensive wet-season grazing at a time when farms are being made in other areas. After harvest, cattle may be grazed on farmlands when they feed on crop residues.[65]

As a whole, the land of metropolitan Kano had been an excellent place for human habitation. The area was devoid of natural disasters such as desert storms, volcanic eruptions, earthquake, flood and others which were difficult to control especially in the middle ages. Its plain and well drained water lands and its forest and hills were suitable for farming, hunting and defense stratagem.[66]

The Climate

Two factors, the latitudinal position of the metropolitan Kano area and its interior location away from the sea, determine its climate which is hot and dry for most of the year. Maximum daily temperature is about 100^0 F. Plant growth is therefore possible all through the year as far as the temperature is concerned but the rainfall, which is often unreliable, constitute a serious problem.[67]

Seasons: The climate is determined by the movement of two air masses, a moist rather cool southerly mass known as south-westerlies and a hot and dry northern air called the north-easterlies. The moist southern air form a wedge under the lighter dry air and the

[64] Kanprof/ SNP/242/1937/Investigation on Sylvan conditions and Land Utilization in Northern Kano and Katsina Province, See also R.K Udo (1970) *Geographical Regions of Nigeria*, Heinemann, London P. 183
[65]R.K Udo (1970)…p. 181
[66]M.U, Adamu, (1999)…p. 10
[67]R.K Udo (1970)…p. 181

region where the two air masses meet is primarily an area of pronounced moisture gradient. The humidity gradient is called the intertropical discontivity (ITD).[68]

The annual motion of the ITD is northwards between February and August and southwards between September and January. The north-south movement of the ITD influence weather pattern. Maximum rainfall is recorded in an area of considerable disturbance (air movement) 8 to 9^0 southwards of the ITD. However when disturbance is limited or when the northward movement of the ITD is restricted drought is recorded. The level of disturbance and the northward movement of the ITD influenced by the global pattern of pressure and winds as well as the interaction of the surface air and the upper air mass (the jetstreams). When the ITD is southwards, the area is under the north easterlies and there is weather change. The weather changes arise from the movement of the ITD gives four seasons. These are: *Rani*, *Damina*, *Kaka* and *Bazara*,[69]

Hot and Dry Season (*Rani)*: The ITD starts its southward movement in February and between March and May; it has no considerable influence in the area and the weather is hot and dry during *rani* season. The mean temperature is 28 to 30^0.While this is the season when the "false" start of the rain is recorded in May. A few rainfall is recorded in May and rain days are separated by days of dry spell and less than 1% of the annual rainfall is recorded in May.[70]

Warm and Wet Season (*Damina)*: The ITD has by now made considerable advance northward and there is widespread rainfall in the area. Over 90% of the annual rainfall is recorded in this season. This is a humid period when surface runoff is available for stream flow and soil moisture is sufficient for plant growth. *Damina* is the crop growing season when grains and legumes are grown. Temperature drops to an average of 24^0-

[68] K. Ahmad (2011) "The Kano Physical Enviroment" in A.U Adamu & I.A Kurawa ed *perspective on Kano* vol. 1 pp. 14-16
[69] A. Mahdi (1982)…pp. 64-68
[70] K. Ahmad (2011)…p. 14 -16

29^0c while evaporation is lower because of the higher relative humidity of the moist south westerlies air. This is why the runoff-coefficient is highest during this season.[71]

Warm and Dry Season (*Kaka)*: The ITD is now in its southward retreat and only a few showers may be recorded in October accounting for less than 8% of the annual rainfall. This is the harvest season between October and November when farmers are busy harvesting crops and traders are buying what is offered. This is also the period when transportation services are very important for evacuating farm produce to either homeland or to market places. Average temperature is 28-29^0.This is a dry season as evaporation is in excess of rainfall. This is the season when soil moisture is depleted and stream flow recedes.[72]

Cool and Dry Season (*Bazara)*: The ITD reaches its southern limits during this season and the state is under the influence of the north easterly wind which brings a cool and dusty weather called 'Harmattan' (*dari)*. Between December and February, the dry air from the north brings no rainfall but the transported harmattan dust is deposited to replenish soil nutrient. The depth of the wind rift materials varies from an average of 1m to 2m. This is the cool season when temperature is 25 to 27^0c. The skin dries up during this season and special care is needed for protection against cold. Respiratory problems are also experienced and asthma patient are particularly hard hit. The cool temperature make the season suitable for wheat cultivation utilizing irrigation.[73]

Vegetation

The vegetation types in the metropolitan Kano are the northern Guinea savannah and Sudan savannah. Northern Guinea savannah is an open woodland or bush land with grasses shorter than in the southern guinea where grasses are 1.5m to 3m tall. The Sudan

[71]A.M, Fika, (1976)…p. 2
[72] K. Ahmad (2011)…pp. 15-43
[73] K. Ahmad (2011)…pp. 16-43

savannah has scattered trees in open grassland with grasses under 1.2m tall. The canopies of trees are wide and most of them are less than 20m tall.[74] The following are the common trees of the area: *Adansonia digita (Kuka)*, juicy staple soup (*miyar kuka*) is made from its leaves, and *vitexdomiana (Dinya)* which provides edible fruits and leaves. *Diospyrosmes piliformis (Kanya)* and *Tamarindus indica (Tsamiya)* provide edible fruits while *Moringao leifera (Zogale)* provides edible leaves.[75]

Other species found in the two areas but more common in the Guinea zone include *Parkia clappertoniana (Marke)* and *Khayasegalensis (Madaci.)*. They are popular fuel wood species whose population has been decimated particularly in the Sudan. *K. senegalesis*is a good timber, fuel wood medicinal and provides fodder in the dry season. Species which are more common in the Sudan include *Ziziphusspina-chrisli (Kurna), Hyphaene the baica (Goruba)* and *Barasus aethiopum (Giginya)*.The *giginya* tree provides roofing material (*azara*), mats and an eatable condiment from its sown seeds (*muruci*), and *Balanites aegyptiaca (Aduwa)* which provide edible fruits. Others are the *Leguminous acacia* specie which supplies livestock folder and fuel wood such as *A. Senegalesis (Dakwara), A. nilotica (Bagaruwa), A. sayel (Dushe),* and *A. albida (Gawo).* Actively regenerating species on fallow land are *Guierasenegalensis (Sabara), Hyphaene the baica (Kaba)* and *Piliostigmathonningii (Kalgo)*.[76]

The tree species are under good management for their numerous economic as well as ecological benefits, and typical examples are:

Perkia clappertononia (Dorawa): it is a common farm tree that grows to a height of 10-15metres and may reach 20metres. The tree produces light-brown fruits after 8-10

[74]See M.J Mortimore & Wilson J (1965) Land and People in the Kano Close Settled Zone, Department of Geography ABU Ocational Paper

[75]See D Wittlessey (1937) Kano a Sudanese Metropolis, Geographical Review No 27, K. Ahmad (2011)…pp. 16-43, see also Abdulkadir Adamu (2001) "The Food Economy in Colonial Nigeria: A study of Food Production and Distribution in Zaria Metropolis C. 1902-1960" PhD Thesis, ABU, Zaria. Pp. 10-11

[76] KANPROF/SNP/242/1937/Investigation on Sylvan conditions and Land Utilization in Northern Kano and Katsina Province. See also,K. Ahmad (2011)…pp. 16-43

years. The fruit has black seeds covered in yellow pulp which is eaten while the numerous black seeds are fermented to form an important source of protein. The product, black dried patties (*Daddawa*) is sold and used as seasoning in vegetable soup.[77]

Tamarindus indica (Tsamiya): The tree reaches a height of 20mertres and has an evergreen, dense crown. The fruit is a pulp embedding tiny brown seeds. The fruit is soaked or mixed with water and sugar (if needed) to produce a vitamin-rich drink. The pod is also soaked in water and the juice is mixed with millet and sorghum gruel to give it taste and make it more digestible. The young leave is eaten by livestock while the termite resistant wood is used in making furniture. It is evergreen and an effective shade tree.[78]

Azadirchta indica (Darbejiya): The tree grows to a height of 10-15metres and has a wide, dense evergreen crown. It is mainly planted for its shade and fuel wood supply. Small branches are used as tooth brush. It is highly resilient because of its deep roots and it coppices and pollards very well. It is also used in curing illness such as yellow fever, diarrhea, typhoid and so on. It is also used for bathing nursing mother during the early days of her delivery (day 1-40).[79]

Acaciyaseyel (dushe): This is a decidurus tree with bipinatte leaves. It has a sharply pointed spine of about 8metres long like many acacias. It is a source of fuel wood and charcoal. It provide gum, which is medicinal, it is a good fodder as the leaves, twings, flowers, pods and seeds are eaten by livestock. Associated plant species include

[77] See K. Ahmad (2011)…pp. 16-43, also the *Daddawa* is made from the fruits of the *dorawa* tree (locust bean tree – *parkia filicoidea*). It is used in the preparation of soup especially the commonest staple *miyar kuka* in Hausaland

[78] See K. Ahmad (2011)…pp. 16-43

[79] See K. Ahmad (2011)…pp. 16-43, also, *Darbejiya was and still is an important medicinal tree used for curing many illness in Hausaland.*

Acacia nilotica (Bagaruwa), Acaciya Senegal (Dakwara), Balanites aegyptica (Aduwa), Ziziphusspina-christi (Kurna) and *Anogeissusleiocarpus (Marke).*[80]

The People

The population in Kano metropolitan area is predominantly Hausa speaking but there is a considerable number of Fulani and immigrants from other parts of Nigeria and abroad. These immigrants include the Wangarawa, Tuareg, Yeminite Arabs, Kanuri, Barebari, Nupe, Yoruba, Igbo among several others. Most of these groups have intermarried with the Hausa and many inside Kano city can no longer speak their former languages as such Hausa has become their mother tongue.[81]

The Hausa: Kano is one of the *Hausa Bakwai* (the original seven Hausa States). Others are Katsina, Zazzau, Daura, Rano, Gobir and Garun Gabas. These are the States that constituted *Kasar Hausa* (Hausaland). The earliest inhabitants of Kano City called themselves the Abagayawa and their ancestor was a blacksmith called Kano. He was believed to have migrated from Gaya and first settled at Dala Hill. The best-known leader of Abagayawa was their Chief Priest Barbushe. He was also the grandson of Kano. The Abagayawa were Hausa speaking people. Another non-Muslim Hausa speaking people who were later referred to as *Maguzawa* by Hausa Muslims conquered the Abagayawa. Bagauda whose descendants established the *Saurata* (Kingship) also conquered the Maguzawa. All these groups are Hausa speaking.[82]

The Fulani: *Fulani* is a *Hausa* plural word with the singular *Ba-Fillaci* for the people who call themselves *Fulbe*(singular *Pullo*) in their own language of Fulfulde. In French, they are called "*Peuls or Peulhs*" while in Arabic they are known as *Fellata* with masculine singular *Fellati* and feminine singular *Fellatiyya*. *Torankawa* (singular,

[80] See K. Ahmad (2011)…pp. 16-43
[81] A. Mahdi (1982)…p, 111-133 and I.A Kurawa (2006)…p. 9
[82] A. Mahdi (1982)…p, 111-133

Ba toranke) is the Hausa word for all the Fulfulde speakers who originated from Futa Toro in Senegal and in Fulfulde they are called *Toorobbe* or *Toorodbe* (singular *Tooroodo*), *Toucouleur* in Frenchand *Takrur* in Arabic. But they belong to different tribes and clans. In fact some of them distinguish themselves as a separate entity distinct from other Fulbe thus they became identified as *Toronkawa* in Nigeria.[83]

The Fulani scholars first came to Kano during the reign of Sarkin Kano Yakubu (1452-63) CE (856 – 867 AH). The *Kano Chronicle* reported that "in Yakubu`s time the Fulani came to Hausaland from Melle, bringing with them books on divinity and etymology". The Hausa Mallams were more conversant with books on Law and *Hadith* (traditions of the Prophet, peace and blessings of Allah be upon him). The exact time during which the Fulani came to Kasar Kano is hard to determine, but it might have been earlier than the time of the arrival of the scholars. Before the jihad led by Shehu Usman Danfodio there were many Fulani clans in Kasar Kano and most of their leaders were Islamic scholars.[84]

The Kano metropolitan area has therefore developed from a tribal society enriched by migratory trends which led to an eventual mixture of the various migrants through integration and assimilation into an emergent and distinct identity.[85] Poly Hill stated that:

> Trading strangers composed a large part of the city population, their numbers ebbing and flowing seasonally.[86]

[83]As quoted by I.A Kurawa in J.O. Hunwick, (1966) "The Nineteenth Century Jihads" in Anene, J. C. and Brown, G. *Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Ibadan, Iliffe, J. (1995) *Africans: The History of A Continent.* Cambridge, & Klein M. 1968 *Islam and Imperialism in Senegal: Sine – Saloum, 1847 – 1914*, Edinburgh

[84]Palmer, H. R., (1928) "The Kano Chronicle" in *Sudanese Memoirs* Lagos

[85] A. Mahdi (1982)…p, 126-133 and K. Ahmad (2011)…p. 16

[86]Polly Hill (1977) *Population, Prosperity and Poverty: Rural Kano, 1900 and 1970.* London, Cambridge University Press, P. 4.

In 1851, Heinrich Barth who was been deeply impressed by the splendid cosmopolitan city (the largest by far in the central Sudan), argued that:

> During the most populous season, about half of the estimated population consisted of trading strangers, the chief elements of the commercial population having been Kanuri, Hausa, Fulani and Nupe people, together with the Arabs.[87]

Going by the above argument by both Hill and Barth, there is no doubt to say that Kano is a cosmopolitan society. The members of different races have been integrated and most of them are now Kanawa.

Evidence of series of migration and settlement in Kano metropolis can vividly be seen from the name of some of the wards in Kano city and its surrounding areas. For example, during the reign of *Sarkin Kano* Yaji Dan Tsamiya (1349-1383) the Wangarawa came from Mella led by Abdurrahman Zaite. Others in the group were Yallabu, Gurdumus Auta Lawan, Dukat Mandawali and Sheshe. The places the wangarawa settled derived their ward names from the names of the Wangarawa's. Typical examples are Sheshe ward, Mandawari quarters and Jujin Yallabu.[88]

Also, the reign of Al-Wali (1781-1807), the last Hausa ruler of Kano, witnessed the coming of different ethnic groups from the western central Sudan which later came to be known as Northern Nigeria, such as Nupe from Bida, Kanuri from Borno, and Fulata from Gombe. Their coming led to emergence of other wards within the Kano territory. For instance, Tudun Nufawa was founded by Nupe immigrants, Dambazau was founded by the Fulata, Gabari and Zangon Barebariwere founded by Kanuri immigrants, Bakin Zuwo was founded by Kanuri Arabs. Others include Agadasawa

[87] H Barth (1857) *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa1849-1855*Vols I-V, Francass, London.
[88]M.A Liman & Y.M Adamu (2003) "Kano in Time and Space: From a city to a Metropolis" in M.O Hambolu ed *Perspective on Kano British Relations*, A Gidan Makama Publication Kano, p. 151 and A. Mahdi (1982)…p, 113

(people from Agades), Ayagi (Yoruba), Daurawa (people from Daura), Kabawa (people from Kebbi/Sokoto), and Yakasai (Jukun).[89]

When British conquered Kano in 1903, a number of settlements were established in and outside Kano city. From this period new comers to Kano have a number of options of places to stay and not necessarily in the city. Indeed migrants were discouraged from residing in the city. The colonial state did not allow immigrants to reside in the old city because under the British rule a new relationship had arisen with the ultimate aim of segregating along race, ethnic or religious lines. As such, immigrants or foreigners could only live in the outskirts of the city wall under British jurisdiction and not under the control of the Emir. Hence with the conquest of Kano, the British established a station at Nasarawa which served as European settlement. In 1904, a residential area for the Colonial army and police officers was created in Bompai which superseded that of Nasarawa. In 1906, Nasarawa residential area was developed and became the seat of Colonial Administration in Kano (Government Reservation Area).[90]

With the arrival of the railway line to Kano in 1911 and the inclusion of Kano in the operations of the colonial railway system linking the southern and the northern protectorate in 1912 a high number of migrants came to Kano. The Sabon Gari area was therefore created in 1913 for such non-Europeans who were not natives of Northern Nigeria such as Igbo, Yoruba and Beni. Also Tudun Wada was created in 1914 for non-Europeans migrants of northern origin but not from Kano. Initially, it was meant for non-European migrants of northern origin serving in the colonial army.[91]

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[89] See A. Mahdi (1982)…p, 113-126 and M.A Liman & Y.M Adamu (2003)…pp. 144-167

[90] Bello Gambo (2014) "Origin and Growth of Urban Kano" in AI Tanko and SB Momale ed *Kano Environment Society and Development* Adonis and Abbey Publishers, London, p.13, See also M.A Liman & Y.M Adamu (2003)…pp. 144-167

[91] See M.A Liman & Y.M Adamu (2003)…p. 151, see alsoA Bako (2006) *Sabon Gari Kano: A History of Immigrants and Inter-Group Relations in the 20th Century,*Usman Danfodio University Press and S.T Yusuf, (2007), "The Impact of the railway on Madobi and Kwankwaso Towns in Kano C.1903-1970" Unpublished M. A. Thesis BUK

Another category of non-European and non-native migrants are the Lebanon-Syrians. They too were settled outside the city walls by the British colonialist in 1915, in an area that came to be known as the "Lebanese quarters" in Fagge ta Kudu. Gwagwarwa (or Brigade as it is known to some people was also created around 1945 (in Gabari village) for the native in colonial force.[92]

The Pattern of Settlement

Settlement in *Kasar Kano* evolved from farming family groups whose farms were very close to their homes but separated by waste-lands. These separate settlements were called *kauyuka* or *unguwoyi* (sing. *kauye*, *unguwa*). The authority was of two types family and communal. The communal authority was vested in the *sarki* (ruler) which was recognized for specific purposes, particularly farming which was the backbone of the economy. The *Sarkin Noma* (king of farming) coordinated all the farming activities including the religious rituals for rains. The head of the family unit regulated all other affairs with the exception of the one related to agriculture. The *kauye* was a collection of independent family units *gidaje* (sing. *gida*) each headed by the *maigida* (family head). With the aid of transport, the society expanded as a result of immigration of families who were not related to each other. As a result *unguwoyi* and *kauyuka* merged and became towns *garuruwa* (sing. gari). The community leader of the gari was known as *sarkin gari* who was assisted by ward heads *masu ungwuwani* (sing. *Mai unguwa*). As the town developed the authority of the *sarki* became expanded beyond the farmland with diminishing emphasis on kinship since most of the immigrants were not related.[93]

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[92]See also M.A Liman& Y.M Adamu (2003)…p. 144-167, see also S.A Albasu, (1989): *The Lebanese in Kano: An Immigrant Economy in Hausa-Muslim Colonial Society in the Colonial a nd Post-colonial Period* PhD thesis History Dept. BUK, L.A Isa (1994) The Origin and Development of Gwagwarwa up to 1979 M.A Thesis BUK.

[93] A Smith 1(976) "The Early States of the Central Sudan" in J. F. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder (eds) *History of West Africa.*vol. I, p. 171

The *birni* (city) evolved from the *gari* (town). The birni of antiquity was cosmopolitan; it was an urban centre with a considerably large population of diverse groups who lack kinship relations with one another. Economic factors and transport networks were responsible for the growth of *birane* (sing. *birni*) of ancient *Kasar Kano*, because only buoyant economy with efficient transport system could support a large population.[94] Agriculture supported by fertile soil was the mainstay of the economy. The iron industry also supported agriculture by producing farm implements. Dutsen Dala, which was an iron site, was the foundation of Kano, the greatest of all Hausa *birane*. It was described by Clapperton in 1884 as "the great emporium of the kingdom of Hausa",[95] which Barth forty years afterwards termed the "far-famed entreport of Central Africa",[96]and which Lugard subsequently described as "exceeding anything he had ever seen or even imagined in Africa".[97]

Birnin Kano became the nucleus of fertile *Kasar* Kano. Trade and religious attraction had contributed to the growth of Kano.[98]For any *birni* to flourish it needed security thus another very important feature of any birni of ancient Hausaland was the *ganuwa* (city wall) which was a fortification. E.D Morel posited that "this native city (Kano) with its great enfolding walls, twelve miles in circumference, pierced by thirteen deep gateways (*Kofas*) with platform and guard houses and massive doors heavily clamped with iron".[99]It has been suggested that the security of the *birnin* Kano was an essential element in its emergence as centre of "unusual political power". Thus,

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[94] See Palmer, H. R., (1928) The Kano Chronicle…, see also R.W. Shenton (1986) *The Development of Capitalism in Northern Nigeria* James Currey London, pp. 2-3

[95]Hugh Clapperton (1966) *Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, London, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. P.137

[96] See H Barth (1857) *Travels and Discoveries…*

[97]Lugard, D.J.F (1967), *The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa*, London Frankass

[98]See I.K Kurawa, (2010)…p. 12

[99] See E.D Morel (1968)…p.123, see also B.M Barkindo (1983) "The Gates of Kano City: A Historical Survey" in B.M Barkindo ed *Studies in the History of Kano*, Heinmann Books, Ibadan, pp. 1-30

emergence of state in *Kasar Kano* appeared to have been linked with the foundation of *birni* as the centre of political power.[100]

1.10 Political and Administrative Structure (Local Government) from 1967-1996

Kano has been operating a comprehensive local government administration which predated the colonial times. As early as 999 A.D when Kano was founded, a unique administrative, judicial and social arrangement was in existence.[101] At the time of colonial intrusion in the late 19th century, Kano along with other Hausa states enjoyed a sound and viable indigenous administrative arrangement which facilitated the evolution of the Indirect Rule.[102] When Kano state was created in 1967, the state comprised the then province with four constituent emirates of Kano, Hadejia, Kazaure and Gumel all of which were largely administered by the then Native Authority.[103] In 1968 when the state formally came into being, the then government of Audu Bako introduced a new arrangement involving the creation of eight administrative areas, with five in Kano emirate made up of Kano Metropolitan with Kano city as headquarters, Kano Central with headquarters at Danbatta, Kano West with headquarters at Gwarzo, Kano South East with headquarters at Birnin Kudu, and Kano South with headquarters at Rano. The other three emirates (all of which are now in Jigawa state) of Gumel, Kazaure and Hadejia constituted the remaining administrative units.[104]

With the introduction of local government reform by the federal government in 1976, the eight administrative area councils in the then Kano state were split into twenty

[100] See I.K Kurawa, (2010)…p. 12

[101] M.D. Muhammad (1997) *30 Years of Kano Statehood*…p.2, see also D. Waziri (2009) "A History of Local Government System in Gumel Emirate, 1903-1983" PhD Thesis, BUK, T.M Naniya, (2003): "Duality and Conflict of Laws in a Society in Transition: Kano in the Colonial Period" in M.O Hambolu (Eds) *Perspectives on Kano-British Relations*, Gidan Makama Publication, Kano

[102] S.O Okafor (1981) Indirect Rule: the Development of Central Legislature in Nigeria, Thomas Nelson Nigeria Ltd, Lagos, p. 102-130

[103] M.D. Muhammad (1997) *30 Years of Kano Statehood*…p.2, see also, A.Y Chiranchi(2004): *Native Authority Police and Security in Kano Emirate1925-1968*,Yabi Investment Computer business centre, Kano

[104] See M.D. Muhammad (1997) *30 Years of Kano Statehood*…p.2,see also, A.N. Shehu *Kano State under the Administration of Audu Bako 1967-1975*, M.A thesis BUK, 1997

local governments all of which were largely administered by the then Native authority system with Kano Emirate taking the lion share of sixteen local governments while Hadejia took two, Gumel and Kazaure constituting one local government each.[105] In furtherance of government efforts to ensure speedy development and enable the people to participate in the running of their affairs, governor Rimi administration in 1979 created nine additional local governments thus bringing the total to twenty nine.[106] The nine new local governments were however soon abolished by the then Military Head of State General Muhammadu Buhari in 1984. In July, 1989, the Military Head of State General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida administration created twenty six additional local governments.[107] With the creation of Jigawa state out of Kano State in August, 1991, the new Kano State had a total of thirty four local governments.[108] With the creation of additional states and local governments by the Military Head of State General Sani Abacha in December, 1996, Kano had a total of forty four local governments.[109]

1.11The Metropolitan Local Governments (Study Area)

Kano Municipal

Kano Municipal local government was created in 1989 with headquarters situated within Kano city. At the time of its creation, the local government consisted of one district, eight towns and villages, and ninety three wards.[110] According to the 2006 census, Kano Municipal has a population of 403,678 inhabitants who are predominantly

[105] See M.D. Muhammad (1997) *30 Years of Kano Statehood…*p.2, see also I.B. Bello - Imam (1996) *Local Government in Nigeria: Evolving at third tier of Government in Nigeria.* Ibadan, Heinemann; and same author (2007) *The Local Government System in Nigeria, College Press & Publishers Ltd.*
[106] M.A Yakasai (203) *Kano State Under the Administration of Rimi1979-1983*, M.A Thesis, pp. 42-44
[107] See M.D. Muhammad (1997) *30 Years of Kano Statehood…*p.2, see also A.A Sani (1993) IBB's Administration: A Departure from the Nations Eco-political Past 1985-1983
[108] M.S Shehu (1992) *Kano State Local Government Reference Book of Assets: Kano State Nigeria 1991/92*, p. 89
[109] See M.D. Muhammad (1997) *30 Years of Kano Statehood…*p.2
[110] See M.D. Muhammad (1997) *30 Years of Kano Statehood…*p.2

traders.[111] The inhabitants of the area are mostly Hausa and Fulani, but there are a considerable number of immigrants such as the Wangarawa who settled in areas such as Mandawari, Sheshe and Jujin Yallabu. Others include the Barebari who settled in Zangon Barebari and Gabari, the Yoruba-Ayagi, the Nupe-Tudun Nupawa, the Kanuri-Bakin Zuwo, Agadasawa (people from Agades), Daurawa (people from Daura), Kabawa (people from Kebbi/Sokoto), and Yakasai (the Jukuns).[112]

The larger area of the local government is located within the city wall. The Emir's palace, the famous ancient Kurmi market, Kofar Mata dye pit, Kwari market and sheikh Nasiru Kabara (Wambai market) are also located within the area.[113]

Dala

The name Dala is very significant to the ancient history of Kano state. The name Dala was derived from Dala Hill, a very historic and popular tourist spot in the state. Tourist believes that a visit to Kano is not complete without a visit to the hill, since it is recorded that the history of Kano started from there. The hill was noted to be the area where the early settlers of Kano lived until the coming of Bagauda, son of Bawo.[114]

Dala is situated in the heart of the State Capital. It was created as a local government in May, 1989. Based on 2006 census, Dala has a population of 418,757 people[115] with a land mass of about 36 sq. km. The inhabitants of the area are mostly Hausa and Fulani with other minor ethnic groups. The area share common borders in the north with Ungogo, in the east with Fagge, Kano Municipal in the south and Gwale in the west.[116]

Nasarawa

[111] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kano_State/2006census
[112] See also M.A Liman & Y.M Adamu (2003)…pp. 144-167
[113] M.S Shehu (1992) *Kano State Local Government Reference Book*...p. 89
[114] See A. Mahdi (1982):*The State and the Economy*…pp. 103-111
[115] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kano_State/2006census
[116] A.B Tade (2003) Kano State Local Government; Empowering the Grassroots, Spotlight on the Administration of the Care-taker Committee Chairmen 2002/2003, pp. 23-24

Nasarawa is one of the eight metropolitan local governments. The local government occupies a land mass of 37sq. km and forms 50% of the state capital land mass.[117] One outstanding feature that sets it apart in the alluring scenery is that it has a well-laid out road network and conspicuously highbrow buildings that make life comfortable.[118] It happened to be the administrative headquarters of the British in Kano during the colonial administration. The various magnificent buildings e.g. hotels, banks, recreational centres and the famous Audu Bako secteriat (state secteriat) buttress the locality as one with a measureable amount of infrastructures to carter for the needs, security and pleasures of the populace of the area.[119] The local government has the estimated population of about 596,411 (2006 Census), consisting of basically businessmen civil servants, craftsmen of all sorts and a few farmers.[120]

Fagge

Fagge in Hausa literally means 'field' the area was first known as *Fagen Rogo* (cassava assembling ground/field). In the late 19th century it served as a battle field in the war between Damagaram and Kano, with the result that it became known as *fagen daga or fagen yaki* (battle field). In the course of time it became known simply as Fagge.[121]

Fagge local government was carved out of Nasarawa local government area in December, 1996. The local government served as a commercial nucleus of Kano Metropolis. It is a cosmopolitan settlement that accommodates people of different ethnic backgrounds from various walks of life.[122] It is also one of the eight local government areas that make up Kano Metropolis. It is sandwiched between four different local

[117] B.A.W, Travallion, (1963)…p. 2
[118] A.B Tade (2003) Kano State Local Government… p. 83
[119] See also M.A Liman & Y.M Adamu (2003)…p. 144-167
[120] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kano_State/2006census
[121] T.A Fagge (1993) *Fagge Town,* p. 1
[122] See T.A Fagge (1993)…pp, 49-52

governments namely: Kano Municipal - southwest, Nasarawa - southeast, Dala - northwest, and Ungogo local government- north.[123] The local government has a population of about 200,095 (2006 Census).[124] One unique and commendable quality of the area is the hospitable nature of the area; it accommodates different tribes from different places. The inhabitants of this area include the Hausa and the Fulani who are the aborigines and a high percentage of Yoruba, Igbo, Kanuri and other minority ethnic groups. The occupations of the inhabitants are diverse and include farming, trading, tailoring, art and craft works.[125]

Gwale

Gwale local government was also created in 1996. It occupies a land mass of about 325 sq. km and shares border with Kano Municipal local government area.[126] It has a population of about 357,387 people (2006 Census), whose prevailing activities are farming, trading and craft works. The crafts include skin (leather works) such as shoes, bags, carpets, embroidery and blacksmithing.[127] Like in other parts of Kano metropolis, the inhabitants of the area are mostly Hausa and Fulani with other minor ethnic groups.

Tarauni

Tarauni local government was carved out of Kano municipal in 1996. It is situated in the southern part of Kano. Tarauni shares border with Nasarawa in the north-east, Kano Municipal to the north-west, and Kumbotso local government to the south. Tarauni has a land mass of 26 sq. km.[128] Tarauni local government has a population of about 221,844 people (2006 Census) who are predominantly Hausa and Fulani and mostly farmers by profession. However, some of them are involved in carving and

[123] A.B Tade (2003) Kano State Local Government…pp. 3-4
[124] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kano_State/2006census
[125] See T.A Fagge (1993)…pp, 49-52
[126] See R.K Udo (1970) *Geographical Regions of Nigeria*…pp. 181-182
[127] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kano_State/2006census
[128] See R.K Udo (1970) *Geographical Regions of Nigeria*…pp. 181-182

trading. There are also some local industries in the area which produce leather works, knitting, shoes, soaps and so on.[129]

Kumbotso

The name Kumbotso was said to have originated from the name of an old woman 'Kumbo Tsohuwa' who had settled in the area with her herd of cattle.[130] The local government was created in 1991. There are thirty five villages and eleven wards in the area. It is located in the southern part of Kano with an area of 161 sq. km[131] and population of 294,391 people (2006 Census).[132] Its headquarter which has a distance of about 17km from the state capital is at Kumbotso town. Over the years, the area had developed as a result of population explosion and industrial growth in the state, and it is now fully integrated in to the Kano metropolitan area. During the rainy season, crops like millet, cowpeas, groundnuts, rice, sugarcane, okra and so on are produced in the area.[133]

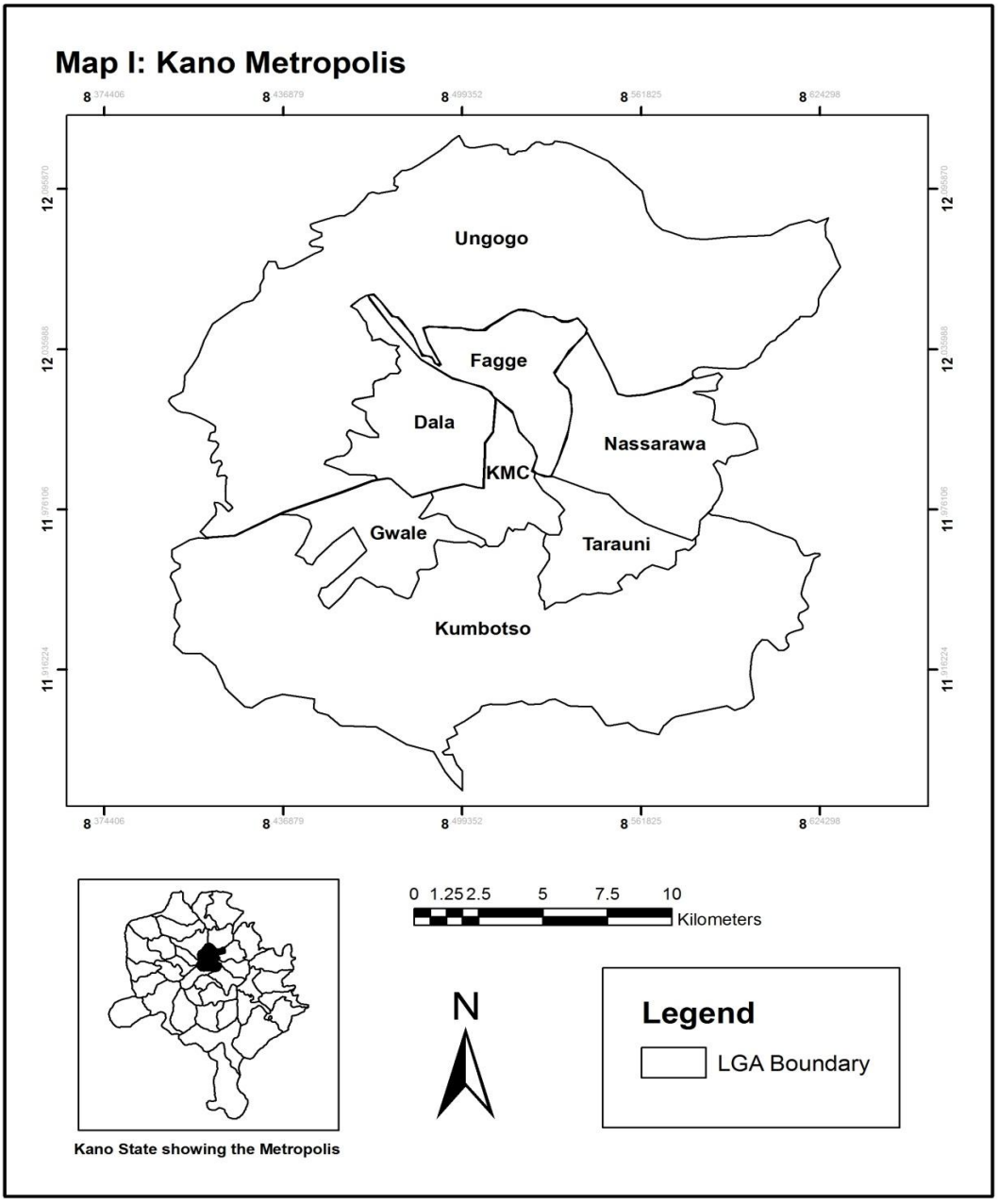
The people of Kumbotso are predominantly Hausa and Fulani with striking similarity in culture and religion. The area also houses a small number of non-indigenes e.g. the Yoruba and the Igbo. Kola nut trade is one of the major trading activities in the area especially at the Mariri market. The market also aid in the selling and buying of most of the local produce in the area which include sorghum, millet, cow pea, and sugarcane for rainy season and tomatoes, onions wheat and pepper for the dry season.[134]

Ungogo

[129] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kano_State/2006census
[130] M.S Shehu (1992) *Kano State Local Government Reference Book*...p. 73
[131] M.M. Gwadabe (2008), "Land, Labour and Taxation in Kano Native Authority: A Case Study of Kumbotso District, 1903-1953", PhD Thesis, ABU, Zaria, p.
[132] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kano_State/2006census
[133] See M.M Gwadabe (2008)…p.
[134] A.B Tade (2003) Kano State Local Government… pp. 71-72, see also M.J Motimore (1965) Land and People of Kano Close-settled Zone: A Survey of Rural Economy in Ungogo District, Kano Province. Department of Geography Occasional Paper No 1

The local government area is about ten minutes drive from the city wall. It is located in the northern part of Kano state with an average land mass of 190 sq. km. it's headquarter is at Ungogo town.[135] Just like Kumbotso local government, over the years, Ungogo has expanded and become integrated into the metropolitan area. The population of this area is 365,737 people who are mainly farmers and traders.[136] The area was created in 1989. The area is bordered by the following local governments namely: Tofa by the east, Kumbotso by the south, Minjibir by the west and Dawakin Tofa by the north. Among the agricultural produce in the area are maize, millet, sorghum, rice, cowpea, benni seed, groundnuts, wheat, onion, tomato and so on.[137] It was a district under Minjibir local government area from which it was carved out. Therefore it is one of the oldest towns in Kano history. It has eleven wards and forty one villages.[138]

[135] See A.B Tade (2003) Kano State Local Government… pp. 71-72
[136] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kano_State/2006census
[137] See R.K Udo (1970) *Geographical Regions of Nigeria*…pp. 181-182
[138] See A.B Tade (2003) Kano State Local Government… pp. 71-72



Source: Department of Geography, BUK (2013)

1.12 Conclusion

This chapter introduces the major issues involved in this research work. It started by exploring the significance and scope of the research which of course informed its worthiness. For a justification of the research problem, the researcher accessed and reviewed different literatures which show that there are no scholarly works dealing with a history of intra-city commercial transport services in Kano. The review therefore

helped in providing a space which this research found worthy to fill in. Also examined in the chapter are the geographical features and the historical background of the study area. It started by capturing the location of the study area and relating it to the land, people, climate, vegetation and the pattern of settlement. This extended to examining the inter-play between man and his natural habitat. It was this interaction and the effort by man to conquer his environment that influenced the emergence of human settlements in the area. Thus, a number of factors influenced rapid growth of population in the study area among which include favorable atmosphere for trade and fertile land for agriculture.

CHAPTER TWO
Transportation and the Economy of Kano to 1967

2.1 Introduction

The history of transportation and trade in Kano dates back to the pre-colonial era, when modern transportation facilities such as roads, railways, air transport facilities etc. were virtually non-existing. Emphasis then was on bush paths. The most widely used modes of transportation in the pre-colonial period are the human portage, donkeys, camels, horses and ox. They contributed immensely to the economic growth as well as security of Kano. Therefore, the movement of people, goods and services in the pre-colonial period was possible because of two means of transportation. These were human portage and pack animals. Human portage is the oldest and most wide spread form of transport in pre-colonial Kano. It involved carriage of goods by man at the same time as he transported himself by walking.[139]

When the British conquered Kano in February, 1903, they argued that the existing traditional means of transport were obviously slow, expensive and inefficient and in an attempt to redress the inefficiency of the existing modes of transport system and facilitate effective administrative and economic exploitation, the British introduced the modern transport system such as the rail, road and air. It is at this end that this chapter discusses the historical development of traditional and mechanize transport system as well as their contribution in developing and sustaining economic activities in Kano.

2.2 Trade and Transport in Pre-Colonial Kano

In one of his remarks, Shea posited that

> "Kano was the great entrepot of the Central Sudan"
> "Kano was the mercantile center of the Hausaland"
> "Kano was the major terminus of the trans-Saharan trade"
> "Kano was the great trading center of the caliphate"

[139]Y.U Madugu, (2011) "The Impact of Commercial Buses on the Economy of Kano Metropolis 1967-2003" , M.A Thesis BUK, p. 20

…….and so forth……[140]

Human Portage: The earliest means of transport is man himself. Man walks on foot, from place to place to distant lands. He used his own hands or arms or his own head, shoulder or back as carriage for his load.[141] Because of the importance of human portage as a veritable tool for land transport in the pre-colonial economy of Northern Nigeria for many centuries, Ogunremi stated that;

> with the notable exception of Guari (*sic)* around Kontagora and Kaduna who carried load on their shoulders, the majority of the people used their heads or back to carry loads which they could not carry by hand. In the north, where pack animals were used smaller packages weighing about twenty to thirty pounds were headloaded. Many people got used to headloading that even when the pack was so small and light that it could be carried by hand, preference was often given to its being borne on the head.[142]

The bush tracks provided the major links between town and villages in the interior and exterior of Kano emirate. They became increasingly important to the local traders, who were becoming enthusiastic about exchanging local produce for both domestic and foreign manufactures.[143] By this system a trader would engage some strong men, the number varying with the volume of the loads to be carried and the carrying capacity of each man.[144] Various containers- leather bags, pots, and baskets- were used for carrying products. Calabashes, pots, and leather bags were suitable for containing liquid such as palm oil and groundnut oil, whilst baskets were used to contain yam, potato, cassava and other products. Special cages were constructed to transport fowl, pigeon and other birds.

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[140] P.J Shea (1983) "Approaching the Study of Production in Rural Kano" in Bawuro M. Barkindo ed *Studies in the History of Kano* Heimann Educational books Ltd, Ibadan, p. 93

[141] W.H Boulton (1667) *The Peageant of Transport Through the Ages*, Benjamin Bloom, New York, USA, p. 20, As quoted by A.D Ali (2012) *Trade and Transport in the Lower Niger 1830-2011*Adenuga Concept Publishers, Lagos

[142] G.O Ogunremi, (1982), *Counting the Camels: Economics of Transportation in Preindustrial Nigeria,* New York publishers international, USA, p. 12

[143]G.O Ogunremi, (1982)…p. 12-13

[144]R.O. Ekundare (1973), *An Economic History of Nigeria 1860-1960*London, Methuen p.71

For each type of product, there was a special container for head carriage. The average weight carried by a porter ranged from 50 Ibs to 90 Ibs depending on the carrying capacity of individuals. In the absence of measuring scales, a porter estimated what he could carry for the length of the journey by lifting it up to feel its weight. If the load is too heavy for him to lift off the ground, he knew that it would be too heavy for him to carry.[145] A porter required the united strength of one or two others to help him in raising a full calabash load up to his head.[146]

There were short and long distance journeys and a day's journey usually reckoned to be of the order of 15 to 20 miles. A return journey to a distance of about 10 miles could be done in a day, and it can be regarded as a short journey. Short journeys were made to farmlands, market-places, villages or towns. However, long distance journeys could take a week or more to the traveler's destinations. The Hausa caravan traders (*fatake)* relied to a great extent on their porters for carrying their personal belongings and trade goods from one place to another.[147] Women and children were also employed as carriers, but were made to operate along shorter routes.[148]

In the early stages, carriers were usually people of the same village or town as the trader (hirer) himself. However, at a later stage, it was quite usual to find people from different places seeking to be employed as carriers. There were different ways in which a trader could contract with the carriers: he could agree with the carriers on the rate of pay per mile of the journey in which case he would pay a reduced rate per mile or on the other hand, the carriers could charge a lump sum for the entire journey.[149]

[145] G.O Ogunremi, (1982)…p. 12
[146] See F.G.I Omiunu and A.G Onokerhoraye (1995) Transportation and the Nigerian Space Economy, Ambik Press, Benin City, p, 46-47
[147] G.O Ogunremi, (1982)…p. 11-12
[148] R.O. Ekundare (1973)… p. 71
[149] R.O. Ekundare (1973)…p. 71

It was reported that human portage (*Dako)* was one of the most important methods of transportation in the nineteenth century Kano. The methods became more popular and more important with the expansion of long distance trade especially after the establishment of the Sokoto caliphate with headquarters at Sokoto at the beginning of the nineteenth century when movement of goods and services throughout the caliphate and beyond became more possible and safe".[150] Similarly, human portage was used side by side with pack animals which were involved in the production and distribution of foodstuff, natron, leather works, manure, pots, cotton, textiles, salt, and ivory.[151] These items were conveyed to market places within short or long distances using human portage and pack animals.[152]

At this juncture, it is important to note that two types of human portage existed in pre-colonial Kano i.e. household porter and hired porter. The former is usually conducted by the slaves and any person who wishes to transport his goods particularly on a short distance journey. This system does not attract any payment. The hired porter on the other hand, was a system in which individuals both men and women, hired themselves as carriers especially in the nineteenth century.[153] The porters were employed by either short and long distance traders or anybody who needed their services. For example, in 1826, when Hugh Clapperton was passing through Borguland to Hausaland, he noted that Nupe women hired themselves as porters to as far as Kiama in Borguland. Also, in 1827, Clapperton employed the service of five African porters to carry the load of a camel when he had trouble with the camel on the road between Kano and

[150] A.U Dan Asabe (1996) "Kano Labour and the Kano Poor", PhD Thesis BUK, p. 220, for details on Sokoto caliphate see also M Last (1967) *The Sokoto Caliphate,* Longman Greens and co Ltd

[151]D.O. Iweze, (2004), "A History of Transport System between Asaba in Delta State and Onitsha in Anambra State From 1954-1996", Unpublished M.A thesis BUK p. 60-61

[152]T Falola and G.O Ogunremi (1986) "Traditional, Non-Mechanical Transport Systems" in *Transport System in Nigeria*, ed by T Falola and S.A Olanrewaju, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse Universit

[153] H Claperton (1829/1996) Journal of Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa from the Bight of Benin to Soccato, London, p. 179. As quoted by A.U Dan Asabe (1996)…p. 222 and G.O Ogunremi, (1982)…p. 11-12

Sokoto.[154] This was the reason why Ogunremi concluded that "the existence of hired porters is also an indication that people saw nothing derogatory in head carriage".[155]

Whereas European travelers made use of professional or hired carriers who worked purely for remuneration, traders choose their porters from among their slaves, family or companions. If the slave refused to abide by such orders, he was liable to be sold or punished in some way. Traders themselves, whether they have porters or not, also carried loads. Even when they have many porters, they might carry as much as each of their porters. They suffered or had once suffered pains as carriers. Therefore they knew the porters grievances and must be prepared to listen to them. They overlooked the habits of drinking, gambling and fighting which a European traveler might take up seriously.[156]

Unlike the indigenous travelers who were very much conversant with the way and manner they managed and maintained their porter, the European travelers found it very difficult to do that, as the porters constituted a great deal of problem to them. Robinson, a nineteenth century traveler in Hausaland, who dealt with fifty-one carriers at a time, complained that:

> as in other parts of the continent, so here, the one unceasing trouble is the management of the native carriers. It is indeed almost impossible for anyone who has not had personal dealings with African porters to realize the worries and vexations which their employment involved.[157]

It was common for a professional porter to hold a traveler to ransom by refusing to proceed further unless his pay was being increased. It was argued that even with the availability of pack animals in areas of the north such as Kano, during the colonial period, the colonial

[154] H Claperton (1829/1996) Journal of Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa from the Bight of Benin to Soccato, London, p. 179
[155] G.O Ogunremi, (1982)…p. 74
[156] G.O Ogunremi, (1982)…p. 77
[157] C.H Robinson (1893) "Hausa Pilgrimages from the Western Sudan, together with native account of the death of General Gordon" in *GJ* vol. 2, No 5, p. 451-454, as quoted by G.O Ogunremi, (1982)…p. 75

government widely made use of professional porters. Their activities *en route* reached a point when Lugard remarked that:

> I think means should be found to prohibit the use of carriers, whose thieving and looting propensities do incalculable harm, and cause bitter discontent and resentment among the villagers on the routes they traverse.[158]

In contradistinction, indigenous traders do not seem to have such problems in recruiting or in dealing with porters. This is partly because in most cases the indigenous travelers understood the language and the conditions of the porter as they themselves, at one point or the other, worked as carriers.

One important defect of portage was its small carrying capacity. A porter normally carries about 65 lbs of load. By modern standard, this was a very low pack. As a result, many carriers were required for small amount of product. Many European writers have criticized this as an economic waste. They argued that the labour employed in transporting goods might have been economically employed in production and other economic activities. Lugard described human portage as an archaic and wasteful form of transport.[159] However, it is necessary to examine to what extent it can be regarded as an economic waste in terms of the amount of labour required, the time consumed and the cost involved in relation to the value of products carried. It is assumed that if the labour engaged in human portage had been diverted to the production of agricultural and non-agricultural products, the resources of Kano would have greatly developed. Another claim is that because of the speed of only 15 to 20 kilometers a day at which a carrier could go, much time was spent in transporting a small amount of goods. The consequence of this was the high cost of transportation. Thus, hardly has any discussion on human portage was made without mentioning its high cost. Human portage was a time wasting system, and the major

[158] Northern Nigeria Colonial Report 1900-11, p. 813
[159]D.J.F Lugard, (1957): *The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa*, London: Frankass, p, 474

factor that led to this was the porters' slow speed. For example, a porter walked normally at 3 to 3.5 kilometres per hour. The speed was more in the dry season and less in the rainy season. Also, if a porter's load is heavy, his ability to move was very slow. Apart from delays, heavy downpour and tornados could cause a porter's speed to be slow. But in the dry season, when the physical constraint was reduced, his speed was increased, but rarely much faster because the dry season has its own problems. There is a possibility that a porter might quickly become tired on account of the high temperature. This system, it should be noted, was a very hazardous task as there were limits to the carrying capacity and the distance that could be covered at a given time, sometimes in the midst of heavy rain or the high intensity of the sun. One salient observation is that in actual practice, the porters' speed was not as slow as it is often assumed. In a pleasant atmosphere, the load that a porter carried was heavy and the speed at which he carried it was surprisingly high.[160]

Human portage also faced the problem of insecurity of route. This was due to many problems such as wild beasts, slave-raiders, kidnappers or robbers and civil wars, which might scare off porters and raise the cost of portage. Some of the employers with heinous mind also in the past employed free porters to carry goods for them and at the end of the journey sold them as slaves in a strange land, while others exploited and defrauded them.[161] During the time of insecurity, it required courage on the part of the porter to get products transported. This made few porters who were prepared to take risk to ask for higher remuneration or pay. In view of the aforementioned problems, head loading is seen as the most expensive means of pre-colonial transport, as goods could be taken only on a short distance by this means and the cost of

[160]D.O. Iweze, (2004)…p. 61-63
[161] A.U Dan Asabe (1996)…p. 221

transport sometimes exceeded the profits on sales (see table 2.1 for comparative analysis of cost, carrying capacity and speed between human portage and pack animals).[162]

Also, because of the hardship and the hazardous nature of human portage which had to do with physical ailments such as stiff neck, chest pain, backache, foot pain, bald and wrinkle head, eye ailment and so on, porters tend to receive higher wages which were higher than those of the average unskilled laborers. For example, at mid-19th century, porters received 1200 cowries per day; while ordinary laborers were paid 400 cowries per day.[163] In 1890, Robinson had to pay 1500 cowries per day per porter between Lokoja and Kano, which was equivalent to 9d. Also, From Keffi to Zaria Robinson paid each porter 20,000 cowries plus food ration of 300 cowries.[164] It is important to note that towards the end of the 19th century professional human portage as an important means of transportation had began to decline. Ogunremi confirmed that "by the end of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century, head portage had become inadequate to the growing economy of the country, its cost had soared mainly because there were alternative jobs such as the construction of the railways which not only absorbed more labour but also offered regular and higher remuneration".[165] It is also pertinent to note that human portage still continued to feature prominently during the colonial and post-colonial periods. For instance, when the railway line reached Kano in1911 and officially open for traffic in 1912, there were not enough roads and motor vehicle to feed it properly, hence, pack animals and human portage were used in transporting raw materials such as cotton and groundnut from production centers to collection centers and from collection centers to the rail stations where they were finally transported to the coast. In the post-colonial period, since there is less long distance trade by foot

[162] See also D.O. Iweze, (2004)…p. 63
[163] A.U Dan Asabe (1996)…p. 222
[164] C.H Robinson (1893)…p, 451-454
[165] See G.O Ogunremi, (1982)…p. 88

because of the availability of mechanical transportation system such as train, motor cars and airplane, what is required of human portage in the transport economy is to load and unload goods to and from railway wagons and motor vehicles.[166]

Pack Animals

The second most wordy and widely used mode of transportation in pre-colonial Kano, and only next to human portage, was pack animals. Pack animal, used for transportation included donkeys, pack oxen and bullock, mules, hinny's camels and horses.

The Camel and the Trans-Saharan Trade: The Romans introduced the camel to North Africa in about 300 A.D, and in doing so unwittingly revolutionized trans-Saharan trade. North African Berbers and other residents of the central Sahara quickly adopted the use of camels, both as a source of food and as a means of transport. Where trade across the desert had formerly been irregularly, moving haltingly from oasis to oasis, it was then possible to take a camel caravan on a two-month journey directly across the Sahara. Trade and contact between the Mediterranean world and sub-Saharan West Africa flourished. Major traded commodities included horses, weapons, and textiles from the Mediterranean; gold, slaves, and animal products from West Africa; and salt mined from dried-up prehistoric lakes in the central Sahara. The rapid spread of Islam in the 7th and 8th centuries owed much to camel caravans, which traversed previously impenetrable regions in Arabia, the Middle East, and Saharan Africa.[167]

The significance of the camel lay in promoting trans-Saharan trade. According to Ogunremi, this role is comparable to the ship which was used for the trans-Atlantic trade with the coastal areas of West Africa. Indeed, the camel has been rightly named "*Markoub el Sahara*

[166] See A.U Dan Asabe (1996)…p. 222
[167]I.K Lawrence, (2000): *Grolier Family Encyclopedia vol.18* U.S.A Grolier Incorporation, p. 325

or ship of the desert*"*.[168] It is difficult to say precisely when camel first crossed the Sahara and reached Hausaland. The spread of Islam from North Africa across the Sahara followed trade influences, but the date of appearance of Islam in Kano is precisely unknown. Available evidences showed that through the use of the camel, there had been commercial links between North Africa and Kano for about five hundred years before there were trade contact between any European country and the coastal states of southern Nigeria.[169] East argued that "during the reign of emir of Kano Abdullahi Burja (1438-52 A.D) the growth in commerce was so extensive that the camel was introduced to Kano for the first time".[170] Although the early use of camel is shrouded in uncertainty, its crucial role in revolutionizing the trans-Saharan trade can hardly be doubted. With its widespread use, the caravan routes lost their terrors and new roads were opened for the flow of trade. The use of camel therefore, led to the increase of the network of routes through which international trade developed.

After the Morocan invasion of Songhay at the end of the sixteenth century, the traffic has become concentrated on four main routes, two of these four, the Ghadames-Air-Kano and the Tripoli-Fezzan-Borno routes, reached Kano (see fig 2:1). These routes were among those which survived till the nineteen century which indicates the strength and the flourishing nature of the trade that passed on them. Certainty of water and pasturage were the greatest factors that had to be reckoned with in choosing a route. Many routes were abandoned owing to the failure of wells or pasturage. But these two central routes that touched the fringes of Kano had the reputation not only of being among the oldest highways, at least in West Africa but also of being blessed with the greatest certainty of both water and pasturage. Even so, sometimes there were long waterless

[168]See G.O Ogunremi, (1982)…p. 98
[169]See G.O Ogunremi, (1982)…p. 98
[170] R.M East (1970) *Hausawa da Makwabtansu II*, NNPC, Zaria, see also T.M Naniya, (2001) "A History of Kurmi Market , 1463-1999" in FAIS Journal of Humanities, Vol.1, No. 3, BUK, p. 89-104

tracts which the heavily laden caravans had to cross. There were occasions when caravans perished with their pack animals and their entire property as a result of scarcity of water or of attack by highway robbers. The camel dominated these trans-Saharan routes owing chiefly to its special suitability for desert conditions, especially its ability to do without water for about ten to fifteen days. Lack of water alone must have been responsible for the greatest number of deaths of men and beast that attempted crossing the Sahara. There was an instance in which a caravan of 2000 men and 1800 camels perished as a result of thirst in 1805 on the Timbuktu route.[171] When sufficient water was available, the humped camel could take in over fifteen gallons of water at a time. It could also withstand abnormal heat and store up reserves of energy in its hump. As rightly pointed by Bulliet, "most important, however, for camels living in very hot climates is their capacity to absorb heat by allowing their blood temperature to rise, without ill effect, over six degrees Fahrenheit in the course of a hot day before beginning to perspire. In this way water loss through perspiration is greatly minimized. During the chilly desert night the camel's body temperature falls to its base level ready to begin a new rise the next day".[172] Besides, camel feet are well adapted for desert travel as they certainly not sink in the sand. During sand-storms it could close its nostrils and eyes to prevent sand from entering them. Perhaps next in importance to its power of doing without water for a long time was its capacity for going without food for more than a week.

The speed at which camel travel is crucial to the transport cost. Unlike porters in the forest zone, its speed was not much constrained by physical obstacle. For example, it was not likely to be detained by downpours or tornadoes, although sand storms might be encountered. The absence of physical constraints on their journey was an advantage to their speed. They could

[171]See G.O Ogunremi, (1982)…p. 98-99
[172] R.W Bulliet (1975) *The Camel and the Wheel*, Harvard University press, p.31

therefore, do a non-stop journey of ten to twelve hours a day, and they would cover twenty miles a day. They could at the very maximum cover thirty miles a day, doing two and the half miles per hour for twelve hours. One of the relative advantages of the camel over other pack animals and human portage was its suitability for long distance journeys. This was due not only to its ability to cover many miles for days or even weeks without breaking down but also to its ability to carry heavy loads for long distances. No other beast of burden, man or animal could do so long a journey in a short possible time. The camel could carry even on long journeys a load of 2 to 5 cwt.[173] In comparison, it would take over five donkeys, each carrying about 112 pounds, to carry a camels full load of 5 cwt. As a man's load is hardly more than half a donkey's pack, over ten men would be required to carry a Camel's load at a time. Some long distance traders bought the camels that they employed for transportation. It could give as much as thirty years' service to the trader, who would still sell it for about 60,000 to 100,000 cowries at the southern termini of the route.[174] Another factor for its long distance journeys was cheap maintenance on the route. It did not have to carry its food while in the desert. Their best fodder was the true desert vegetation.

The first regular foreign contact with Hausaland was with North Africa. By the use of pack animals, caravan trade routes were developed across the Sahara between North and West Africa, and for a long period these routes were the only ways to and from West Africa and the outside world.[175] Hopkins posited that, "trans-Saharan trade between West and North Africa began as early as 1000 B.C., when the desert crossing was made possible by oxen and by chariots or carts drawn by horses. The trade was developed by the Carthaginians from about the

[173] Cwt is a measure of weight containing 100 pounds which is equivalent to 45.5 kg in the U.S or 112 pounds equivalent to 51kg in the United Kingdom
[174]See G.O Ogunremi, (1982)…p. 103-105
[175] R.O. Ekundare (1973)…p. 21

fifth century B.C., and was given further impetus by Romans three centuries later following their expansion in to North Africa and the subsequent introduction of the camel. With the collapse of the Roman rule in the fourth century A.D., the trade diminished and may even have ceased altogether. It was not revived until after the Byzantine re-conquest of North Africa in 533-35. The rise of Arab power from the seventh century onwards, though at first a destabilizing influence on North African politics, eventually contributed substantially to the growth of trans-Saharan commerce. Arab merchants and missionaries were present in the Western Sudan from about the second half of the eight century, and their influence grew after the Almoravid invasion of the Negro empire of Ghana in 1077. The period which corresponds to the middle ages in European history was a flourishing time for trade on the Saharan routes, particularly from the middle of the 13th and to the end of the 16th centuries. This period saw upswing in demand for West African products in Europe and the Middle East, and at the same time a substantial increase in supply, which was greatly assisted by an era of settled government in North Africa and the Western Sudan".[176]

The Trans-Saharan trade is the best-known of the various trades in which Kano was involved.[177] Hopkins argued that "the expansion of trade, following the introduction of the camel and the subsequent spread of Islam, led to the development of complex networks of routes across the desert. Moving from west to east, the most important of these were as follows: Ghana to Moghador and Fez via Awdaghost; Timbuktu to Moghador and Fez via Taghaza; Timbuktu to Tunis and Tripoli via Wargla, Ghadames and Ghat; Kano to Tunis and Tripoli via Agades, Ghat and Ghadames; and Borno to Tripoli via Bilma and Murzuk"[178] (see fig 2:1). On each of these

[176] A.G Hopkins (1973) *An Economic History of West Africa*, Longman, London, p. 79-80
[177] M Johnson (1983) "Periphery and the Center: the 19th Century Trade of Kano " in Bawuro M. Barkindo ed Studies in the History of Kano Heimann Educational books Ltd, Ibadan, p. 131
[178] A.G Hopkins (1973)…p. 84-85

routes, which were interconnected, were long waterless stages which heavily laden camel caravans had to past at great peril. The journey across the Sahara used to take between two to twelve months depending on the distance to be covered, the incidence of animal diseases, reliable cases of water supply and favorable weather conditions, such as the absence of sandstorms.[179] Along these caravan routes to the North Africa were carried items such as gold, dyed cloths, leather goods and slave, which were exchanged for salt, Arab dresses, cowries and a number of European goods such as Manchester cotton, French silk, glass beads from Venice and Trieste, pepper, mirrors, needle and guns.

Another essential commodity which the camel carried to Kano was Bilma salt. Bilma was reputed to have the finest salt deposit in Africa which was free from sand or impurities and often preferred to European salt. Besides, it was easily produced in big loaves and could be properly wrapped in mats for camel to carry. On return journeys, they carried natron, corn, hides and leather goods-saddles, water skins- and sandals, ostrich feathers, ivory, kola nuts. The slaves brought from the south also followed the caravan. A popular Hausa Kano made cloth known as *Turkudi* was also carried northwards. They were in large demand especially by the desert people in the north. At his lowest estimate, Barth rates the estimate of Hausa fine cotton to Timbuktu at three hundred camel-loads annually.[180] By having full camel-loads on both southward and northward journeys, the transportation cost was lowered. If enough loads were not available for camel to carry on both trips, the transport cost would have been so high as to render the trade unattractive and probably impossible.

[179] R.O. Ekundare (1973)…p. 22
[180]See G.O Ogunremi, (1982)…p. 102-103

The Arab merchants acted as middlemen in the exchange of the West African products for European manufactures.[181] Hopkins posited that;

> The commodities traded can be divided into two, though the line between the two is not easily drawn. First, there were state necessities such as gold and slaves, which were sent north, and cowries, salt and weapons, which journeyed south. These items played an essential part in maintaining the economic and political structures of the states which purchases them, whether in Europe, North Africa, the Middle East or West Africa. Gold and cowries were major currencies; slaves formed a sizable proportion of the labour force and military strength in certain area; salt was dietary necessity; and military equipment, including Calvary horses was vital to the preservation and extension of political power. Second there were luxury items, such as expensive cloth, pepper, ivory, kola nuts, leather goods and, in the nineteenth century, ostrich feathers, which were carried north, and high quality textiles (especially those colored with dyes not available locally), copper, preserved foodstuffs, glassware, beads and miscellaneous fancy goods, which were sent south. A proportion of the slaves exported from West Africa should also be classified as luxuries, and so should the valuable foreign slaves who were imported into the Western Sudan and kept in wealthy household mainly for prestige reason.[182]

Johnson argued that "no very good estimates exist for the numbers of slaves exported from Kano, such North African figures as exist include those coming from Borno and elsewhere. Barth, in the mid-century, reckoned that the total export from Kano was not more than 5000 a year of whom one third will go to Ghat, one third to Egypt and the remaining would be sold in Tripolitania. The price was about 12-16 dollars each in Kano in mid-century, rising to around 20 dollars by the 1860s".[183] On the part of natron, Barth, pointed out that another important branch of the commerce of Kano is the transit of natron from Borno to Nupe, thus demonstrating the importance of Kano transporters. He estimated that "twenty thousand loads at the very least, between pack-oxen, scumpter-horses, and asses of natron must annually pass through the market

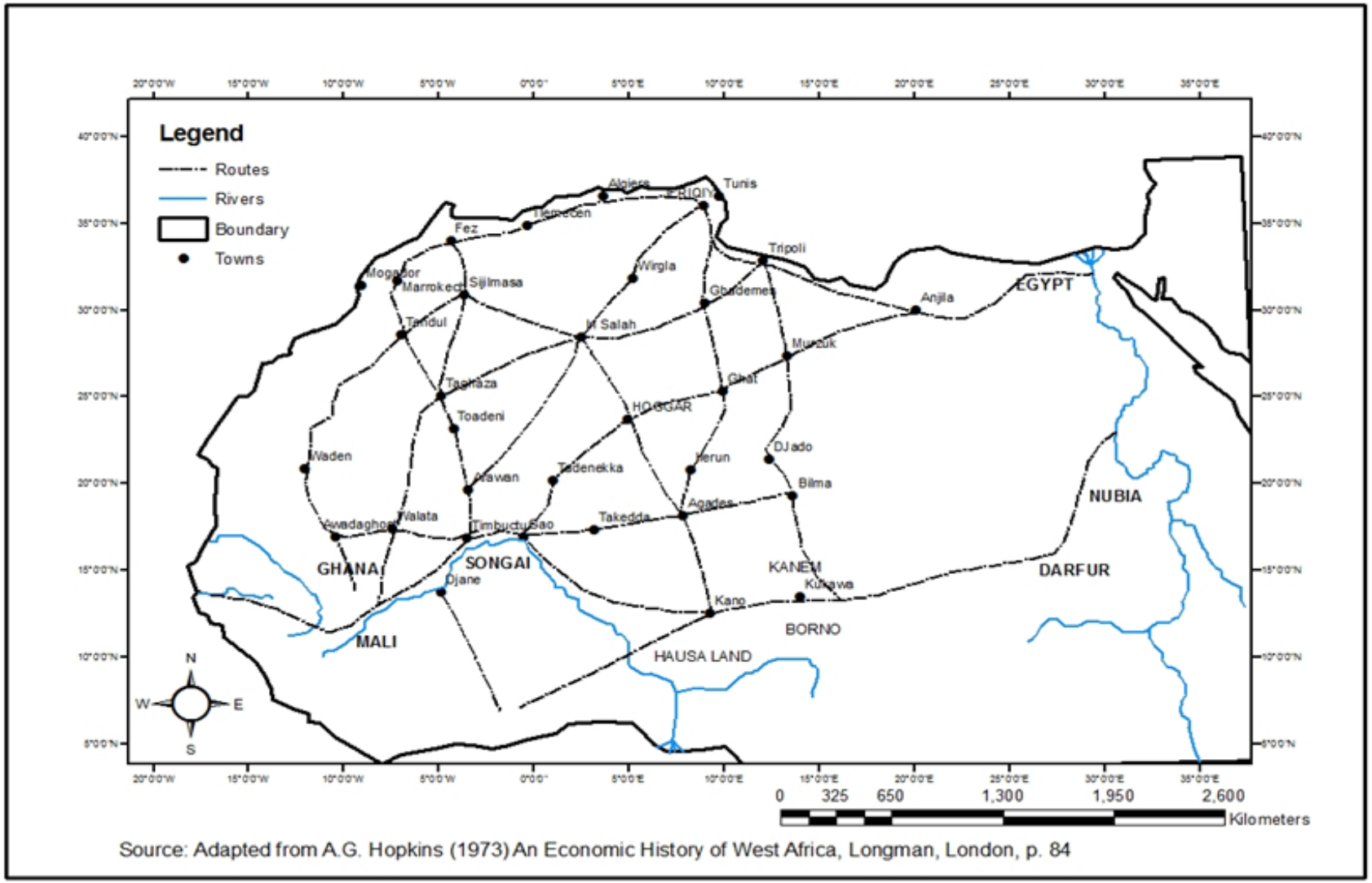
[181] See R.O. Ekundare (1973)…p. 23
[182] A.G Hopkins (1973)…p. 81-82
[183] M Johnson (1983)…p. 134-135

of Kano; which at 500 kurdi per load, merely for passage-money would give 10,000,000 kurdi".[184]

During the 18th and the 19th centuries, the persistent war around Morocco brought a steady decline to the western caravan routes and increased the traffic on the central and eastern routes thus enhancing the commercial importance of Kano, which developed into a commercial metropolis. The population of Kano which was estimated by Clapperton in 1824 at between 30,000 and 40,000 included a large foreign element of rich Tripolian Arabs, and Salage merchants from Ghana trading in Kola nut. The opening of the caravan trade routes during the dry season always brought an influx of traders to Kano. It was also the center of rich agricultural district which produced adequate foodstuffs for its population. In addition, Kano owed parts of its prosperity to the industry and skills of its craftsmen, especially the weavers, the leather workers and the dyers, the products of whom attracted many traders from many parts of Africa.[185]

[184] Barth (1857) *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa: Being a Journal of Expedition Undertaken Under the Auspices of H.B.M.'S Government in the Years 1854-1855 Vol I,* London , Longman, p. 132
[185] See R.O. Ekundare (1973)…p. 23

Fig 2:1 Map Showing Saharan Trade Routes in the Pre-colonial Periods



Source: Adapted from A.G. Hopkins (1973) An Economic History of West Africa, Longman, London, p. 84

Plate 2:1 The Camel en Route



Comprehensive information about the Trans-Saharan Trade can be found at http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/trans-saharan_trade, (ed) 17/12/15

The Donkey and the Southern Trade

Of all the above methods of movement of goods, the donkey is the oldest, the commonest and the most reliable because of easy breeding, easy maintenance and strength. This idea is itself supported by Ogunremi, who contends that;

> Undoubtedly, the most important transportation system employed in distributing goods and services throughout the Sahel region is animal transportation. Of these, the donkey was, and still is, the most important. This is due to at least three reasons: first easy breeding, leading to the great number that was available for use, secondly, cheap maintenance, and thirdly, its hardiness.[186]

The donkey could be used to carry almost everything and could also be mounted. They could travel and in effect did travel as far south-west as Gwanja (in Ghana) by the kola nut traders, an important kola nut market of the Ashanti. Donkeys were used to cross the Sahara desert before

[186] G.O Ogunremi (1980) "The Pre-colonial Economy and Transportation in Northern Nigeria" in I.A Akinjogbin & S.O Osoba ed *Topics on the Nigerian Economic and Social History*, University of Ife Nigeria

the introduction of camels in the North African area by the Romans in the third century A.D.[187] Whereas the camel was not usually employed beyond the termini of the trans-Saharan routes, the donkey not only crossed the Sahara but went beyond the termini further south to Borguland, Nupeland and even as far south as Ilorin (see fig 2:2). A donkey has the carrying capacity of 51kg of load depending on the size and type. Its ability to travel for about 2-3 days without water and to cover about twenty miles a day fitted it favorably for the desert journey and only next to the camel. If not for its lower carrying capacity, the donkey would have been almost as good as a camel in the desert.[188]

The importance of donkey to the Hausa caravan traders was once more highlighted by Barth in 1851, when he witnessed a caravan of two to three hundred donkeys carrying natron from Kano to Nupe.[189] Also Robinson noted in 1895, that he and his party got mixed up with a caravan consisting of some hundreds of donkeys.[190] In 1900, when Richardson was on a Christian missionary tour of the North he saw a caravan which consisted of 677 donkeys traveling towards Kano.[191] Even though what they were carrying was not clearly stated, there must have been many of these large caravans. But there were also numerous small groups using them for local trade numbering 10-15, and many farmers using one or two to carry their produce to market places.

The importance of donkey in northern Nigeria so much impressed Campbell in early twentieth century when he noted that "one could not think of Northern Nigeria without neddy". For traveling and trekking in the southern Sahara, and Nigeria, the jackass is the most important

[187] P.E Lovejoy (1973) The Hausa Kola Trade 1700-1900: "A Commercial system in the Continental Exchange of West Africa", PhD thesis Wisconsin
[188] See G.O Ogunremi, (1982)…p. 110
[189] H Barth (1965) *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa 1894-1855*, Vol 1-3, London, p. 503. As quoted by G.O Ogunremi, (1982)…p. 110
[190] C.H Robinson (1893)…p. 243
[191] C.M.S Archive, Journal of A.E Richardson G.3 A9/0, March 25 1900: The Church Missionary "Gleaner" (Rev E.A Richardson) p. 139. As quoted by G.O Ogunremi, (1982)…p. 110

part of poor man's outfit".[192] When the railway reached Kano in 1912, there were no motor roads to feed it properly. Apart from porters, the donkey was the main carrier of the export products to the rail stations. There was therefore a great demand for the donkey. The local produce buyers whose purchasing power was increased by the sales of the export products to the rail stations brought or hired donkeys at higher prices. This was probably the reason why the price of donkey went up from 2 to 5 pounds in the early 20th century as a result of a higher demand by the colonial administration, the Jos tin mines and owing to the greater use by the producers of export produce.[193]

Donkeys were cheap to maintain. This was mainly because they fend for themselves on the march, feeding on the stalks of the sorghum. This was possibly the reason why Campbell concluded that "they will eat paper or anything except hard wood or iron". Hence, traders did not have to carry load in form of food which could substantially increase their speed. The low cost in its maintenance also have a link with the fact that breeding of donkeys was done in almost all the rural areas of the north, by particularly every farmer especially in Kano. As a result, donkeys were plentiful and cheap. A survey carried out in the first decade of the twentieth century indicated that the donkey population averaged one to every sixteen persons in Dawaki ta Kudu about 25 to 30 miles south-east of Kano city. The price at that time was between 25 and 30 shillings per donkey.[194]

Donkeys have a reputation for patience and exceptional endurance. Donkeys could ascend and descend hills which would be avoided by the camel and which would give a back-ache to a porter. Campbell claimed that a donkey ascended a mountain in two days but it took a

[192] D Campbell (1928) On the Trail of the Veiled Tuareg, London. As quoted by G.O Ogunremi, (1980)…p. 104
[193] F. Jaekel (1997) *The History of the Nigerian Railway Network and Infrastructure,* Spectrum books ltd, Ibadan, p, 80
[194]See D Campbell (1928)…p. 104

camel seven days to go round. They were capable of carrying all sorts of goods, from grain to firewood. They could also be ridden. Donkeys could go through tsetse fly belts in safety without more than wagging their tails. However, they could not withstand tsetse fly for long.[195] This was one of the main impediments to their wide spread use in West Africa. One other major problem was their dislike of deep water. Many travelers avoid employing them on their journeys mainly because they realized that they were unworkable in rains. Another problem was that of handling. In order to ensure best service, the donkey must be handled properly. Although the donkey was often credited with patience, it was rarely found patient by a non-patient user. One has to be patient in packing its load properly according to the type of articles of transportation. These articles included Grain, natron, kola nuts and cotton. Such products were packed in special leather or mat panniers designed to give double bag (*Mangala*). They were placed across the donkey and kept in position by the weight of the load on its sides. In this case no tying was necessary. If the load has been loosely packed it scattered and needed repacking. This could happen frequently on rugged, narrow routes to the annoyance of the user. Whenever donkeys were overworked or underfed, they could intentionally drop their loads. They would hop away at a remarkable pace and it might take hours to bring them back and repack them. They could play many tricks to avoid the early morning walk, lying down together in a bunch and entangling their loads. Sometimes they rub themselves against rocks or trees to get rid of their loads.[196]

The branches of trade discussed so far with respect to trans-Saharan trade were at least partly in non-*Kanawa* (people of Kano) hands. By contrast, the trade to the south, weather in ivory and slaves for the Saharan trade, or in kola for local use (and some transit trade) was carried on almost entirely by Kano merchants, and to a very large extent paid with products of

[195] G.O Ogunremi (1980)…p. 104

[196] H A Muhammad (2011) A History of Donkey Trade in some Selected Markets in Sokoto State: A Case Study of Sokoto, Bodinga and Achida Markets, B.A Dissertation UDUS p, 10-19. See also G.O Ogunremi, (1982),p,114-115

the Kano area, cloth in particular.[197] Barth posited that "but we must bear in mind that the greater part of the persons employed in this trade are *Kanawa,* (i.e. southern trade) and that therefore, they and their families subsist upon this branch of trade".[198] Shea wrote that;

> The claim that the trans-Saharan trade was the basis for Kano's wealth and expansion is difficult to maintain. The trans-Saharan trade was, for the most part, both financially and transportation-wise, in the hands of non-Kano people, and only accounted for about twenty percent of all Kano's trade in the late nineteenth century. Trade within the savannah itself, however, and trade to the south were to a much larger extent in the hands of Kano people. While transportation across the desert was a monopoly of the Tuareg, Kano people seem to have had control of much of the transport to the south. It is known that Kano owned donkeys played a very important role in the kola trade.[199]

Kola from Gonja (ultimately from Ashanti) was an important import into Hausaland, both for local consumption and for re-export. Barth estimated the quantity at 500 donkey-loads of a year, amounting to 80 to 100 million carriers worth (some 32,000 dollars), about half of which, he reckoned; was profit.[200] Most of the people employed in the trade were Kano people, though, as Lovejoy has shown, many of them were long standing immigrants.[201] Lovejoy claimed that, "the Hausa kola trade developed in response to the expansion of the Hausa economy in the 18th and 19th centuries. The Hausa cities were centers of continental trade before 1700, but the 18th century witnessed an unprecedented boom. The main characteristics of this economic growth were the entrance of the Hausa region into the cowrie zone, the related expansion of trade with Oyo and indirectly with the Guinea coast, the expansion of Fulani livestock production and the foundation of rural market-places for the exchange of grain, textiles, and dairy products, the

[197] M Johnson (1983)…p. 138
[198] H Barth (1857)…p. 131
[199] P.J Shea (1975) "The Development of an Export Oriented Dyed Cloth Industry in Kano Emirate in the 19th Century", PhD Thesis, Wisconsin-Madison, p. 21
[200] See H Barth, Travels, I , p. 513
[201] P.E Lovejoy (1973)… p. 113

regularized use of direct Hausa-North African links via Agades, the extension of Borno-Hausa trade in potash, livestock, and manufactures, and the consolidation of an active grain-livestock-salt exchange with the Tuareg. This stimulated the agricultural and industrial sectors of Hausa economy and attracted immigrants to the Hausa country. The kola trade was related to this economic expansion through its links with established commercial patterns".[202]

Both Monteil[203] and Robinson[204] claimed that the commercial power of Kano in the 19th century lay in the kola nut trade. Shea concludes that even if one agrees that Kano's wealth at the time was based on the kola nut trade, one is still obliged to look for exports from Kano which enables her to import millions of kola nuts from Gonja, and the most important single export from Kano was cotton cloth.[205]

Ivory, slaves and kola, and also the Bilma salt, were largely paid for with cloth.[206] In Barth's view;

> Kano's cloth, and particularly the dyed and beaten cloth, was famous throughout a very large region, extending north to the Mediterranean, throughout the Central and Eastern Sahara, east to Borno, Baghirmi and Wadai, west to Timbuktu and beyond, south-west to Gonja and Kong, south east to Adamawa limited only by the nakedness of the pagan *sans-culottes* who do not wear clothing.[207]

In the later part of the century, Kano's cloth was also to be found in Lagos and elsewhere on the coast. Johnson wrote that in the Hodh it replaced the French Guinee as a currency; in Borno it was acceptable as the Maria Theresa dollar.[208] As late as 1890s Kano's cloth two thirds of the

[202] P.E Lovejoy (1973)…p. 87
[203] Capt. P.L Monteil (1895) *De Saint Louis a Tripoli par le Lac Tchad*, Paris, p. 291, as quoted by P.J Shea (1975) …p. 21
[204] C.H Robinson (1897) *Hausaland or Fifteenth Hundred Miles through the Central Sudan*, Marton & co, London, p. 118
[205] H Barth (1857) Travels II…p. 126, this was also quoted by both P.J Shea (1975)…p. 21and M Johnson (1983)…p. 140
[206] M Johnson (1983)…p. 140
[207] See H Barth, Travels, I , p. 510
[208] M Johnson (1983)…p. 140

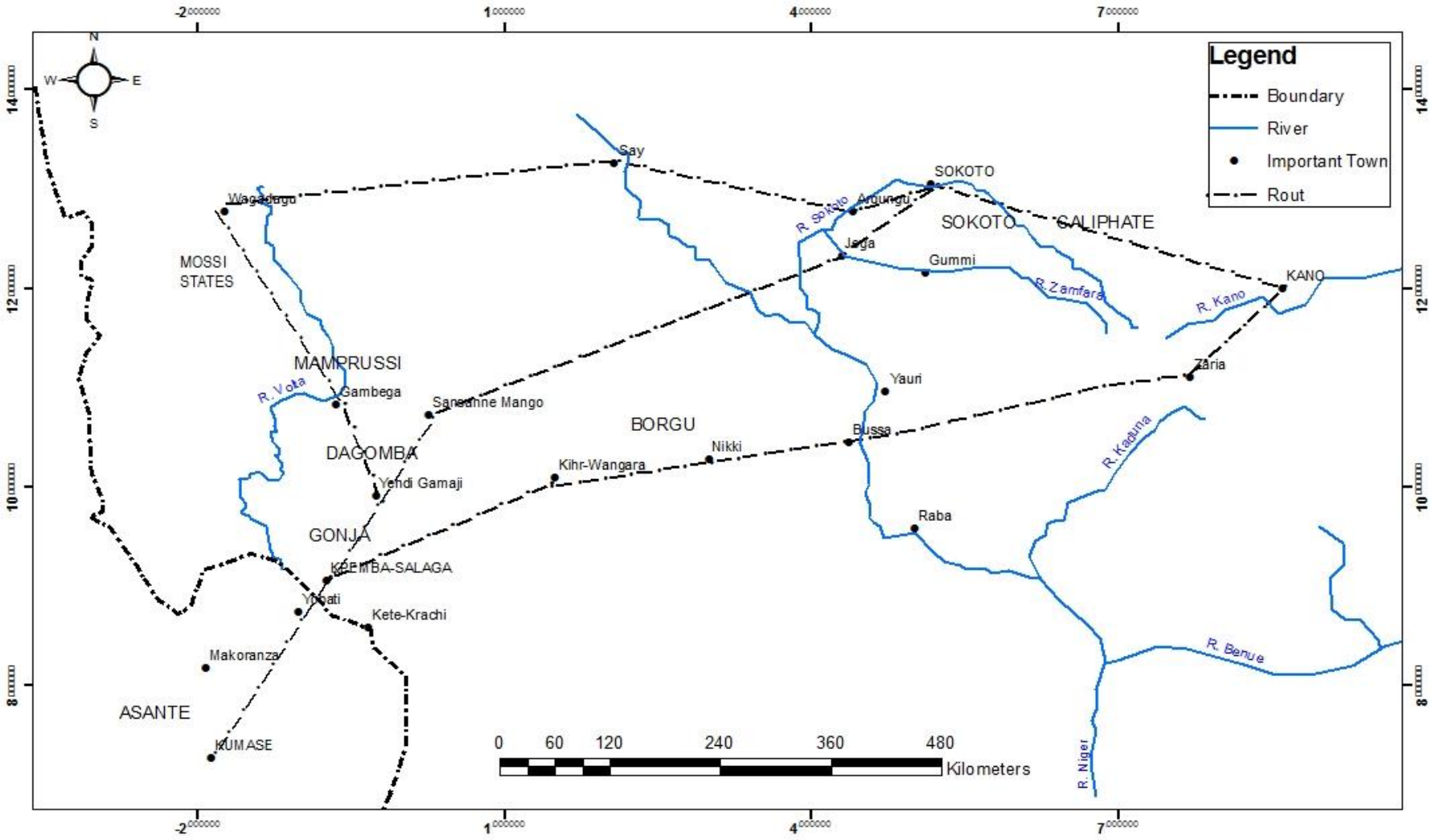
Sudan and almost all the central and eastern Sahara according to Monteil.[209] While Robinson, a little more modestly argued that Kano clothed more than half the population of the central Sudan and that any European traveler who took the trouble to ask for it would find no difficulty in purchasing Kano made cloth at Alexandria, Tripoli, Tunis or Lagos.[210] This further illustrates the importance of transportation to trade in pre-colonial Kano.

Some of the beaten turban cloth was made in Kura which were highly regarded on account of the quality of the dying that it placed Kano industry before that of all other towns and naturally it commanded the highest price. Johnson rightly posited that this and much of the other cloth was made and dyed not in Kano city itself, but in the surrounding area, though Kano city was reported to have 2000 dye pits, and no doubt did a considerable amount of dying.[211] Barth estimated the total quantity of Kano cloth exported in mid-century at 300 million cowries worth (120,000 dollars) at the very least, some 1500 camel loads of three to four hundredweight each, two to three thousand tons a year. As Barth remarked there is really something grand in this kind of industry.[212]

Indeed, the importance of donkey to the pre-colonial economy of transportation in Kano cannot be over emphasized because of its tremendous contribution to both local and international trade as well as its domestic usage. It is also important to note that the role of the donkey in shaping the economy of Kano continued to feature prominently during the colonial period and even beyond. In fact, the donkey was and still is an important aspect of the economy of transportation in Kano metropolis.

[209]P.L Monteil (1895)…p. 282
[210]C.H Robinson (1897)…p. 113
[211]M Johnson (1983)…p. 140-141
[212] See H Barth, Travels, I , p. 511, see also M Johnson (1983)…p. 141

Fig 2:2 Map of Nineteenth Century Trade Routes Between Kano and Asante



Source: P.E Lovejoy (1973) The Hausa Kola Trade 1700-1900: "A Commercial system in the Continental Exchange of West Africa", PhD thesis Wisconsin, p.18

Plate 2:2 The Donkeys in Action



Comprehensive information about the donkey can be found at http://www.en,m.wikipedia.org/wiki/donkey (ed) 17/12/15

The Horse and the North-South Trade

The horse is a large mammal notable for its speed, strength, and endurance. Horses are members of the Equidae[213] family, which also includes zebras and donkeys. Like all equids, the horse is extremely well adapted to traveling long distances with great efficiency and to surviving on a diet of nutrient-poor, high-fiber grasses. The horse is an intensely social animal, forming strong associations with members of its herd and possessing a keen ability to recognize subtle social cues. These instinctive behaviors form the basis of the horse's ability to bond with and obey a human trainer. The horse's influence on human history and civilization makes it one of the most important domestic animals. For thousands of years, human beings have used horses for transportation and farming. Today, horses are used mostly for pleasure and sport.[214]

[213] A member of the family of animals that includes horses, donkeys, and zebras
[214]R.W Bulliet (1975)…, p.31

One major problem associated with the horse is that, whereas the camel can spend two weeks without water, the horse can only last for three days. Thus, it can only be used when water holes were not too far away from one another. This explains the reason why the horse was not perfectly being used for Saharan trade. Also, the horses later became so rare that even among the Tuareg it was regarded as symbol of prestige. A possible reason for its scarcity was credited to fact that unlike camels or donkeys, they were difficult to maintain. They needed water regularly and for the large part of the year they were fed on barley, millet or milk. For this reason, it did not have the same economic value as the camel. In West Africa, they were of significance more for warfare than for transportation. Because of the military importance, they played an important role as an item of trade in the north-south traffic of the pre-colonial era (i.e. trade between Hausaland and Yorubaland).[215]

The use of the horse as an important means of transportation became very prominent during the early colonial period. Bello,[216] noted that in an attempt to alleviate the transportation sufferings of the colonial companies, in 1904 the colonial government set up a separate transport department, which continued to function for eight years until the official opening of the railway – Kano in 1912. At this point it became a sub-department within the Department of Public Works. This department was responsible to exploit and improve upon all existing forms of transport (particularly horses and donkeys), and to introduce new ones, where necessary, for the expansion of the colonial enterprise (e.g. the clearing of roads). Moreover, a campaign was carried out for clearing cart-tracks[217] as well as building bridges between certain areas of agricultural produce

[215]See G.O Ogunremi, (1982)…p. 105

[216] Sule Bello, (2011), State and Economy in Kano C. 1894-1960: A Study of Colonial Domination, Ahmadu Bello University Press Zaria.

[217]A cart is a horse/ox-drawn vehicle carrying goods. In other words, it is an open horse-drawn vehicle, especially one with only two wheels, used for carrying goods or as a farm vehicle. The cart served as an important means of road transport during the early years of colonial administration.

and Kano. Within few years, a number of cart-tracks had been completed i.e. Zaria – Kano (completed in 1906), Katsina – Kano, Katagun – Kano, Bauchi – Kano and Sokoto – Kano (all completed by 1909).[218] At this point it is important to note that the colonial regime pioneered its Transport Department on the basis of pack animals.

The Ox and the Local Trade

Available information does not emphasize the wide spread use of pack oxen. This was probably because they move at very low speed and hence cannot suitably be employed for long distance trade.[219] However, they were also used as important means of local transportation in Kano. They were bred in large number in Sokoto, Katsina, Kano and Borno. They were mainly used for butcher's meat and production of milk. They were also employed for riding and as pack animals. They served as the carrier of all the grain and other articles to and from the market, on the market day. Like horses, they were essential items of trade in the north-south traffic. For transportation they were also less important than donkeys. A traveler who employed both noted "again and again I have had occasions to use both, and though I prefer oxen because of their greater strength and patience, the jackers have other obvious advantages". One advantage of the ox over the donkey was its higher carrying capacity, where as a donkey could carry up to a hundred to 150 Ibs, an ox could carry up to 200 Ibs (see table 2:1). Yet far more donkeys than ox were employed for both short and long distance transportation.[220]

Ekundare noted that with the aid of transport modes such as pack oxen and donkey, local market were organized at regular intervals of three, five, to seven days, and occasionally fortnightly, for the exchange of products. In larger districts, markets were often held

[218]Sule Bello, (2011), State and Economy in Kano C. 1894-1960: A Study of Colonial Domination, ABU, Zaria Press

[219]The ox is a male or female bovine animal, especially one belonging to a domestic breed sometimes used for pulling heavy loads and plows. It was and still is an important means of transportation in the study area.

[220]See G.O Ogunremi, (1982)…p. 105-106

simultaneously in two or more villages on a particular day. The organization of such markets gave the people the opportunity to sell local products at regular intervals. A sense of specialization soon grew: each village specialized in supplying particular local foodstuffs and industrial products, and thus the people knew which village market to visit for their rare but special purchases. Items of local exchange included foodstuffs and household materials such as mats, pottery and soap.[221]

Johnson posited that, in addition to its extensive long-distance trade, Kano was also a trade center for the very populous-districts now known as the close settle zone, which was already fairly densely populated by the 1850s. It is clear that at that date, and probably as late as the 1890s, the area was a net exporter of grain. There was also a local trade in cloth of cheaper varieties. Foodstuffs were cheap in Kano;[222] a whole family could live at ease, including every expense, including clothing, for 50,000 to 60,000 cowries, 20 to 24 dollars a year.[223] Consequently, Barth described it as one of the most fertile spots on earth. Similarly, in one of his remarks on Kano, Barth stresses that the greatest advantage of Kano during this period was that commerce and manufacturers were mutually working hand in hand; and thus concluded that "we must presume that Kano ought to be one of the happiest countries in the world".[224]

Table 2.1 Comparative Analysis of Carrying Capacities, Speed and Cost of Different Modes of Transportation in Northern Nigeria in the Nineteenth Century

Carrier	Carrying capacity	Speed	Cost per ton – ml
Donkey	112 Ibs 150 Ibs 100 Ibs	20 km a day 15 – 20 Km a day	1.6d – 2d
Bullock		20 Km a day	9d
OX	120 – 140 Ibs 200 Ibs	2 ¾ Km.P.h	
Camel	4-5 CWt	3 ¼ - 4 Km. P.h	10½d

[221]See R.O. Ekundare (1973)…p. 49-50
[222] See P Hill P (1977) *Population, Prosperity and Poverty: Rural Kano, 1900 and 1970.* London, Cambridge University Press
[223] See M Johnson (1983)…p. 142
[224]See H Barth, Travels, I , p. 127-128

		20 Km a day 30 – 40 Km a day	
Porter	60 – 70 Ibs 90 Ibs	15 – 20 Km a day 3 - 3½ Km P. h.	29.2d 6.4d
Canoe	20 – 30 tons 1 – 20 tons	13 – 15 Km a day 2.8 Km p.h.	1.5d 21 – 4d

Source: G.O Ogunremi, counting the camels; *the economy of transportation in pre-industrial Nigeria* p183

Plate 2:3 Oxen



Comprehensive information about the Oxen can be found at http://www.cnc.wikia.com/…/file:KW_OX_transport (ed) 27/11/15

Other Plausible Reasons why Kano was so Productive in the Pre-Colonial period

There are many reasons why Kano was so productive. Apart from the available modes of transport and network of routes linking Kano with other parts of the world, fertile soil for agricultural production, water table, easily workable iron ores around Dala hill, and highly industrious people.[225] The free and slave immigrants to Kano have contributed towards increasing the productive capacity of Kano. Shea argued that "that Kano's productive capacities were increasing is suggested by the fact that a large proportion of the slaves brought to Kano were retained for productive purposes - suggesting that many Kano purchasers of slaves felt that

[225]A.U Dan-Asabe (1987) "Comparative Biographies of Selected Leaders of the Kano Commercial Establishment", M.A Thesis BUK, p. 11, The term water table is use to describe the availability of underground and surface water in the study area such as well, streams, ponds etc.0

they could make more gain out of utilizing the labor of slaves than from selling them out. This suggestion that labor could be more productive in Kano than elsewhere is supported by the fact that simultaneously with the influx of slave labor there was considerable inward free migration into Kano. Even more commonly than with slaves, these free migrants often came with useful skills and knowledge (such as sword making with the Tuareg immigrants, and weaving with the Nupe immigrants, and cattle rearing with the Kanuri and Fulani immigrants); they also frequently brought considerable amounts of capital (usually in the form of goods – such as horses, cattle, clothing, swords, slaves) which could increase their own (and thus Kano's) productive capacity; and they also frequently came with considerable commercial expertise. Frequently these immigrants set themselves up as "landlords" and thus attracted other periodic (and sometimes permanent) visitors from their home regions".[226]

Another important factor which made the pre-colonial economy of Kano famous was the decline of Katsina as an important commercial center of Hausaland in the 19th century as a result of the Sokoto jihad which the latter pre-jihad leaders constantly resisted. Lovejoy argued that "the most significant change which the *jihad* produced was the decline of Katsina and the rise of Kano as the commercial metropolis of the caliphate, a change which had an important influence on the development of the kola trade".[227] Long before Lovejoy's statement, Barth in his travels and discoveries… stated that "as long as Katsina continued independent and flourishing, the town of Kano appears never to have been an important commercial place and it was not till after Katsina had been occupied by the *Fulbe* and owing to its exposed position on the northern frontier of Hausa had become the great commercial entrepot of central negroland".[228] The

[226]P.J Shea (1983)…p. 97
[227] P.E Lovejoy (1973)…p. 108-109
[228]H Barth (1857) *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa: Being a Journal of Expedition Undertaken Under the Auspices of H.B.M.'S Government in the Years 1854-1855 Vol II,* London , Longman, p. 132

inability of the *jihadist* armies to secure the frontier region north of Katsina was the cause of Katsina's commercial collapse.

In 1804 an observer noted that Katsina's houses are mostly in ruins, with the principle commerce of the country being carried on at Kano since the *Fellatah* (Fulani) conquest.[229] Unlike Kano, which fell to the *jihadist* with little difficulty, the struggle for Katsina was protracted and sanguinary. Indeed, Mallam Umar Dallaji[230] had carried on unrelenting war against the town and the distress of the town is said to have been so great that the inhabitant found it difficult to earn a living. But the struggle did not stop there, for the *Habe*[231] succeeded once more in expelling the conquerors from the town, without however, being able to maintain their position when Mallam Umaru returned with a fresh army. Thereafter, the dynasty carried on its war of resistance from centers in the north, first in Damagaram and then from a new capital at Maradi.[232] Barth argues that, from this time 1804-1807, the town of Katsina declined rapidly, and all the principal foreign merchants migrated to Kano, where they were beyond the reach of this constant struggle and even the Asbenawa transferred their salt market to Kano, which now became the emporium of this part of Hausaland.[233]

It is equally worth mentioning that the economic growth of Kano was related to the city's defensive position within the Sokoto caliphate. Lovejoy noted that "unlike most of the other emirates, Kano was partially protected from the incursions of the independent Hausa states and the other enemies of the Muslim empire. To the north, Kazaure, Daura, and Katsina protected

[229]P.E Lovejoy (1973)…p. 109
[230]Mallam Umar Dallaji was the emir of Katsina prior to the jihad, he was also one of the Hausa rulers who resisted the jihad of Uthman Danfodio.
[231] The term *Habe* was used to describe the non-Fulani ruling dynasties i.e. the Hausa the term became popular after the jihad of Uthman Danfodio in the early part of the 19th century. For more information on the Jihad see Last, M the Sokoto caliphate……..
[232] Denham and Clapperton, Narrative II, p.121; and Barth, Travels, I , p. 477, As quoted by P.E Lovejoy (1973)…p. 109
[233] H Barth, Travels, I , p. 477

Kano's position, while Hadejia, Katagum, Misau, and Jamaare separated Kano from raids from the east. Bauchi occupied a similar role to the southeast, although in the last decades of the nineteenth century the Ningawa, located between Kano and Bauchi, became a constant source of danger for Kano. Zamfara in the west and Zaria in the southwest completed the encirclement of friendly neighbors who blunted most attacks which could have penetrated to Kano. Except on rare occasions, Kano was not faced with the continued harassment with which Zamfara, Katsina, Sokoto, and other emirates had to contend with. Only to the northeast did Kano border on a region independent of the caliphate, and even there Gumel acted as buffer state which protected Kano from the more powerful center at Zinder.[234] Thus, the availability of transport networks, security of Kano within the caliphate and the resulting industrial and agricultural development provided foreign and domestic merchants alike with a strong incentive for making Kano their headquarters.

As early as 1824 Kano market was proverbial in the Central Savannah and thus, Barth described the city as "African London, Birmingham, and Manchester".[235] One observer claimed that "there is no market in Africa so well regulated, particular quarters are appropriate to distinct articles; the smaller wares being set out in booths in the middle, and cattle and bulky commodities being exposed to sell in the outskirt of the market-place; wood, dried grass, bean straw for provender, beans, Guinea corn, Indian corn, wheat, etc. are in one quarter; goats, sheeps, asses, bullocks, horses, and camels, in another; earthenware and indigo in a third; vegetables and fruits of all descriptions, such as yams, sweet potatoes, water and musk melons,

[234] P.E Lovejoy (1973)…p. 113
[235] AHM Kirk-Greene (1967) *Barth Travels in Nigeria: Extracts from the Journal of Henry Barth's Travels in Nigeria 1850-1855*, London, Oxford University press, p. 101

pawpaw fruit, limes cashew nuts, plums, mangoes, shaddocks, dates etc. in a fourth, and so on".[236]

Risk of Traveling in the Pre-colonial Period

Traveling in short or long distance for internal or external trade in the pre-colonial period was difficult but not impossible. This is because the routes were infested with wild beast and armed bandits but the latter constituted the greatest source of insecurity. It was because of the problem of insecurity that professional traders in the pre-colonial period and other long distance traders developed the systems of traveling in convoy and well-armed under the leadership of *Madugu* (Leader of the caravan trade).[237] Thus, the central figure in caravan organization was the *Madugu*, as the administrative and military head of the expedition, he determined all major decisions, from date of departure to division of duties along the way. Often he was compared to an Emir, for his voice was absolute in caravan affairs, despite consultation with important traders and *malams* (religious clerics). The final responsibilities for ventures were on his shoulders. He dealt with local rulers, negotiated payment of *gaisuwa, fito* and other taxes, and directed defensive operations. Foremost among his assistants were the *Jagaba*, who led the caravan, scouted the road ahead, and determined the best route to follow, and the *Ubandawaki*, who served as intermediary with local officials, organized rest stops (*zango*), and oversaw the main body of the caravan on the road. Several armed and mounted men accompanied the *Jagaba*, one of whom was in constant touch with the *Madugu*.[238]

A caravan was strung out over several miles, with the *Jagaba* and his advance party a few miles in front. The pack animals loaded with goods came next. Since most were donkeys, there was approximately one man for every three donkeys in this section. Behind the livestock

[236]Denham and Clapperton, Narrative II, p.51-53
[237] Y.U Madugu (2010)…p. 26-27
[238] See P.E Lovejoy (1973)…p. 178-179

and attendants came the traders and their families. Important merchants were mounted, and everyone well armed. At the end of the caravan was the *Madugu* with another group of mounted men. The *Madugu* positioned himself at the rear because it was the most vulnerable spot. Hostile villagers and robbers usually lacked advance warning of caravan's approach, and, by the time they organized, the caravan had usually moved on. A *Madugu's* leadership ability depended upon a number of personal characteristics, management and commercial skills, and extra-ordinary knowledge crucial to the protection of expeditions. According to Lovejoy, first, *Madugai* (plural) were successful merchants, a necessary indicator of management ability. Men such as Madugu K'osai and Madugu Mijinyawa Mai Akokari owned 40 -60 donkeys, which placed them among the largest importers. Second, men had to be well respected, confident, but not overly ambitious.[239] When merchants were ready for a caravan journey, they greeted their *Madugu* with gifts (*gaisuwa*), and their presence provided a rough estimate of potential caravan size. If a *Madugu* is confident he could form an expedition, and he consulted *malams* for the best departure date. They determined the exact moment (*sa'a*) through astrology and prayer, and, when news of the day leaked out, traders for miles around Kano scurried to an agreed meeting place, one of the most important being Rimin Asbenawa, just west of the Kano city walls.[240]

2.3 The Changing Nature of Transport and Trade in Kano 1900-1967

With the British conquest of Kano in 1903, they initiated stern economic policies, taking charge of the trade networks, imposing tariffs to encourage export of local raw materials and import of British finished goods.[241] Mukhtar contended that "the creation of colonial system of production in Kano entailed the implementation of policies of the colonial state in areas like

[239]P.E Lovejoy (1973)…p. 180

[240] See N Skinner ed (1977) *Alhaji Muhammadu Koki: Kano Malam*, ABU Press, p, 57-58, see P.E Lovejoy (1973)…p. 180, see also A.U Dan-Asabe (1987) "Comparative Biographies of Selected Leaders of the Kano Commercial Establishment", M.A Thesis BUK

[241] R Emenari and I Barde ed (1994) *Kano 100 Politics and Business*, RAI Communication Kano p. 67

taxation, labour, monetization of the economy and the maintenance of colonial peace and order. All of these allowed for an in-depth exploitation of human and material resources of Kano".[242]

Hopkins argued that, Just as Trans-Saharan commerce brought Africa into the international commerce of the middle ages, so, too, the development of an overseas trade involving the African continent in the creation of a new and extensive multilateral trading relationship, this time with the New World as well as with Europe, especially with the construction of the railway line linking the interior with the coast. Thus, colonialism marked a new and expansionist phase in the evolution of the modern market economy.[243]

The introduction of modern transport system by the British was not designed to boost Kano's development; rather they were vehicles for extracting the economic resources of Kano. The groundnut and cotton producing areas would be fully drowned into an emerging European capitalist economy. The transport system of Nigeria in the early period of British administration was relatively poor. The British observed that good transport system was necessary for spreading the influence of British government and for opening up the country for modern commercial activities, which was an essential part of colonialism.[244] The economic and political implication of the poor systems of transport was highlighted by Lugard, the then British Administrator for Northern Nigeria, who had a vast experience of colonial Africa, when he remarked and contended that the problem of transportation is the axion of African development.[245] For the British, one of the basic causes of Africa's underdevelopment was its primitive transportation

[242] M.I Mukhtar (2013) The Impact of British Colonial Domination on Kano: C1903-1950 A.D, A Study of Colonial Change ABU Press Ltd, Zaria, p, 78
[243] A.G Hopkins… p. 87 & 167
[244]R.O. Ekundare…p.70
[245]D.J.F Lugard (1967)… p, 462

system. Therefore, attention must be given to provision of modern transport infrastructure. This then became one of the major policies pre-occupying the government of Northern Nigeria.[246]

Lugard Further argued that due to the inefficiency of transportation network, the local producer had great difficulty in disposing his exportable produce and therefore had no money to buy imported goods.[247] To this end, the British colonial government realized that the transport system of the country had to be overhauled to ensure peace and order and before any commercial progress could be assured.[248]

To ensure the economic development of Kano in particular and Nigeria in general, there was need therefore to introduce better transport system in order to facilitate the peace of the transition from a predominantly subsistence economy (as claimed by British colonialist) to a modern exchange economy. Lugard recognized the decisive role of modern transport system in achieving the commercial progress of the country, when he posited that "the material development of Africa may be summed up in one word Transport"[249] in consonance with Lugard pronouncement, Alan McPhee, another British, averred that "half the tragedy of Africa lies in transport.[250] The British responded to the urgent problems facing the Nigerian transportation system by introducing mechanize means of transportation such as, railways, roads, and air all of which played an important role in the economic exploitation of the study area.[251]

The British government started with railway construction rather than motor road development. The railway construction was aimed at stimulating production and evacuation of raw materials needed by the British industries and to create markets for the products of these

[246]T. Falola & S.A Olarewaju (eds) (1986) *Transport System in Nigeria*, Maxwell school of citizenship and public affairs Syracuse university, New York p. ix
[247]D.J.F Lugard (1967)…p. 472*
[248]A Frishmen (1977) "The Spatial Growth and Residential Location Pattern of Kano", North Western university, p. 270-271
[249]D.J.F Lugard (1967)…p. 472
[250] A McPhee, (1926/71) *The Economic Revolution in British West Africa*, London, and Frankass
[251]D.O. Iweze, (2004)…p. 89

industries. The production of crops like groundnut and cotton was fundamental to the survival of British textile industries and manufactured export. Thus, railway was considered necessarily indispensable, which Lugard recognized and noted, "The development of African continent is impossible without the railway".[252]

The Construction of Railway in Kano

The introduction of the colonial railway transport system by the British colonialists in Nigeria which began with the construction of the Lagos – Ibadan railway track in 1898, was primarily for the purpose of exporting cash crops and other raw materials produce in the polity to Europe and importing manufactured goods from there. It was also for the development of the police and the military forces of the British in order to ensure effective control of the population, resources and the territory of Nigeria. The overall objective therefore, was to attain the above purpose in particular, and generally to serve the global strategic interest of British imperialism.[253] Railway construction in Nigeria was directed at two main targets, firstly commerce and secondly administration. In July 1898, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain set up a committee of six members to decide where the Nigerian railway should begin and where it should end. This committee was called the Niger Committee comprised of Lord Selborne, chairman and parliamentary under the secretary of state for the colonies; Reginald Antrobus, assistant under secretary of state in charge of West African business at the colonial office; Sir Ralph Moor, commissioner and consul-General of the Niger coast protectorate; and Sir Henry Mccallum, governor of Lagos colony. The remaining two members were Sir Clement Hill representing the foreign office, and Sir George Goldie, head of the Royal Niger Company. All the members agreed that, a railway to the far North should be built as a matter of urgency so as to be able to tap the wealth of Hausaland.

[252] D.J.F Lugard (1967)…p. 462

[253] Y.B Usman (1989), "Transport and Communication", in M.O Kayode & Y.B Usman (eds) *Nigeria Since Independence: The First 25 Years* vol. II, Heinmann Educational Books Ltd. Ibadan, p, 132

They further agreed that the Northern terminus should be the commercial city of Kano, and finally they agreed that the Southern terminus should be a port on the coast that could handle ocean-going steamers.[254]

In line with colonial development policies in the colonies, British officials therefore, were of the view that rapid, efficient and inexpensive transportation was necessary to ensure rapid progress of the economic exploitation of the resources of Northern Nigeria and hence recommends on the need to extend the railway lines beyond Ibadan to the North.[255] Sir Frederick Lugard, the governor of Northern Nigeria and the chief architect of colonial policies in the area, was anxious to see the railway extended to Northern Nigeria, and stressed its economic and military importance in view of the French policy on her territories around Nigeria. He recommended that the Lagos railway be extended to Ilorin and, ultimately, to Kano.[256]

After much deliberation, the British government was convinced with the economic as well as logistic advantages attached to the project. Thus, in 1900 the British Government responded to the recommendations by setting up a committee to examine the possible routes of extending the railway line to the North. Two possible routes were considered: one from Lagos via Fidity, Oyo and Ogbomosho, and the other from Lagos via Oshogbo. The latter was approved and work began immediately. The progress made on the project was spectacular, considering the natural features of the areas through which the line had to pass, and the time it took to extend the line to important centers: the railway line reached Ibadan in 1901, Oshogbo in 1907, and Jebba (on river Niger) in 1909. The extension work to Kano began in 1907 under two distinct engineering parties, one dealing with the line from Ilorin to Jebba and the other with the Niger Bridge and the Jebba – Baro – Kano section. Tamuno noted that "on 5th August 1907, Mr (Later

[254] A.D Ali (2012)…p. 183
[255] A.D Ali (2012)… p. 181
[256] R.O. Ekundare (1973)…p. 134-135

Sir) W Churchill, then parliamentary secretary of state for the colonies, told the British House of commons not only of his government's approval of Baro – Kano railway but also the reasons for its construction. Churchill justified the construction of a Baro – Kano railway on three main grounds. He explained that his government considered the enormous administrative and military difficulties of continuing to hold the large protectorate of Northern Nigeria without any central line of rapid communication. Second, the liberal-dominated government saw obvious financial disadvantages of paying a grant-in-aid of about £3000000 a year for that protectorate whose commercial development was checked for lack of such communication. Lastly, the same government appreciated the importance of enabling British enterprise to reach the extensive cotton growing areas of Northern Nigeria and thus diversify and increase the sources of cotton so much needed by the Lancashire cotton mills".[257]

Hogendon noted that "at the turn of this century, Lancashire's cotton mills formed Britain's largest manufacturing industry and that the industry's main source of supply was the cotton belts of the United States of America, and between 1901-2 this fact was causing deep dissatisfaction to Britain's cotton interests. American cotton export was temporarily reduced by the well-known boll weevil plague, and by that nation's rising use of its own fibre. There was talk of Americans cornering the market, and the prime minister spoke of Britain's grip of the ill-intentioned monopoly of the speculator".[258] High prices for ginned cotton led many mills to run short time from 1901 to 1904, with losses running up to £2 million a year and this further resulted to severe hardship among workers in the midlands. This situation led to the establishment of the British Cotton Growth Association (BCGA) in 1902 with Sir Alfred Jones, chairman of Elder Dempster lines, as president, with a view to finding lasting solution to the

[257] T.N. Tamuno (1965) "Genesis of the Nigerian Railway II" in O Nzekwu ed *Nigeria Magazine* No 84, published by the Government of Nigeria, p. 31
[258] J.S. Hogendon, (1978) *Nigerian Groundnut Export: Origin and Development,* ABU Press. Zaria. p. 16

problem at stake. The president of the BCGA reported that the problem of Lancashire could find salvation in Northern Nigeria and emancipate itself from the necessity of relying on American supplies.[259] Kano and Zaria were indicated as the dual centers of this immense development. Soon after this claim, British agents visited Kano to ascertain the validity of the statement issued by the BCGA. For example, Mr. Percival, one of the BCGA chief agents personally visited Kano and confirmed that the high initial hope was justified. C.A Birtwistle a commercial intelligence officer found much cotton around Kano and Zaria, thought it was by far the region's most important prospective export and believed that its cultivation would make a railway to Kano a paying proposition. H.N Thompson, chief conservator of Southern Nigeria, confirmed that both soil and climate in the provinces of Zaria and Kano appeared very suitable for cotton production. Lastly, in 1905 the under-secretary for state for the colonies, Lord Marlborough, was able to assert that Northern Nigeria could supply enough cotton to supplant altogether American imports to Britain, and thus Kano the "Mecca of the Lancashire" spinning trade, will be brought into economical touch of the world.[260]

The railway line work progressed with considerable rapidity and reached Kano on 28th March, 1911,[261] and it was officially opened on first January 1912. On 3rd October 1912, the railway of Northern Nigeria was amalgamated with the Southern Nigeria railway.[262] Lugard suggested that the need for a common railway policy in Nigeria had been a factor in favor of political amalgamation. Thus, with his assumption as the colonial administrative head of both Northern and Southern Nigeria, his first assignment was the amalgamation of the Northern and

[259] J. S. Hogendon, (1978)…p. 18
[260] See J. S. Hogendon, (1978)…p. 18-21
[261] NAK/KANO/PROF/Annual Report/SNP 3835/1910/Report No 42/Half Year Ending Report/Transport/Railway Completed to Kano
[262] NAK/KANO/PROF/Annual Report/SNP 3835/1910/Report No 42/Half Year Ending Report/Transport/Railway Reopen and R.O. Ekundare (1973)…p. 135

the Southern railway under the name 'Nigerian Railway'. The Nigerian Railway, revolutionized transport in Nigeria by making hitherto remote areas easier and quicker to reach. The railway also shortened considerably the time taken on the journey from the Nigerian seaboard to Northern Nigeria. Henceforth, traveling from Kano to Liverpool, an important center of West Africa shipping and trade, took only twenty days.[263]

With the official opening of the railway line from Kano to Lagos in 1912, the railway provided quicker mobility for British administrative officers and also aided in the distribution of their imported goods such as cement, fertilizer, food items, petroleum products and others which resulted in high level improvement in trade and commerce. Also, the coming of the railway to the North provided, to some extent, alternative to head portage and animal transport in places where the railway traversed, thereby minimizing the time of traveling and facilitating the movement and export of agricultural produce such as cotton and groundnut. Furthermore, the railway provided employment opportunity (even though, the type of employment was best described as a semi-forced labor), it also encouraged urbanization due to influx of people which in turn resulted in the early cosmopolitan status of Kano Metropolis and its consolidation as transit town and terminus. It facilitated the emergence of new settlements, especially labor camps, which eventually metamorphosed into new quarters. This has by extension enabled Kano to take a center stage in terms of commercial activities among the surrounding cities of Northern Nigeria.[264] The extension of railway to different parts of Nigeria created a new chapter in the history of the inter group relations in the country which became more pronounced in the post-colonial period.

[263]T.N. Tamuno (1965)…p. 39
[264]A.D Ali (2012)… p. 138

Thus, the presence of the railway line in Kano open up a new vista of modern transport services in Northern Nigeria. It soon became the dominant system of transport in the North, thereby making Kano the distribution centre for goods intended for Katsina, Zinder and Maradi. It also served as a collection center for raw materials meant for export to Great Britain.[265] Omiunu observed that "the railway open up a great development in the cultivation and export of cotton, although groundnut, contrary to expectation, superseded cotton in the rail freight traffic in Northern Nigeria. For example, after the commissioning of Lagos – Kano Railway line in 1912, groundnut export rose from about 10,000 tons to about 40,000 tons in 1932 (see table 2:2). He further stressed that, with particular reference to agricultural production therefore, there is close correlation between the development of export crops and railway development in Nigeria. Groundnut for instance, did not feature significantly in the external trade of the country until the completion of the Lagos – Kano railway line in 1912".[266] Hogendorn concluded that "the arrival of the railway at Kano has within eighteen months giving tremendous stimulus to groundnut cultivation in the neighborhood . . . Every available piece of land is being planted with groundnut".[267]

The use of groundnut for margarine in Europe necessitated the demand for Nigeria's groundnut in the international market. This therefore resulted in the groundnut boom of 1912-13. This development was only limited by the event of the first word war 1914-1918, and from 1918 onwards the trade picked up through the 1920s with serious implication on Kano emirate. Kano became the exporter of groundnut, although groundnut was produce in the entire parts of Northern Nigeria, but the boom was much felt in Kano. This is partly because apart from being

[265]A.U Dan Asabe (1996)… p. 225
[266] F.G.I Omiunu (1981) "the Role of Transportation in Nation Building: the Case of the Nigerian Railways" in G Ashiwaju ed *Nigerian Magazine,* No 137, Emaco Print Lagos, p. 8
[267]J.S Hogendorn (1970) "The Origin of the Groundnut Trade", in K.K Eicher and K Liedholm ed*Growth and Development of the Nigerian Economy* Michigan University Press p. 43

the heart of the economy of Northern Nigeria, Kano was the railhead for the groundnut export.[268] That was how large quantities of groundnut were assembled at Bompai in huge stockpiles, which looked like the Egyptian Pyramids and was popularly called (*Dalar Gyada*) or groundnut pyramids. Following this, a number of European firms came to establish buying stations in Kano.[269] These trading firms were presented in table 2:2 below.

Table 2:2 Registration of Trading Firms in Kano 1912-1913

S/No	Year	Firm	Designation
1	1905	London and Kano Trading Stores*[270]	London
2	1911/12	Lagos Stores	Liverpool
3	1912	The Niger Company	London
4	1912	G.L Gaiser of Hambourg	Germany
5	1912	Tin Areas of Nigeria Ltd	London
6	1912	Paterson and Zachonis Ltd	Manchester
7	1912	Compagnie Fracaise d' Afrique Occidentale of Paris and Merseilles (CFAO)	Paris
8	1913	John Holt of Liverpool	Liverpool
9	1913	W.B Maclver of Glasgow and later Liverpool	Liverpool
10	1913	John Walkden	Manchester
12	1913	G.B Olivant	Manchester
13	1913	John D Fairley	Manchester
14	1913	Judge and Brothers	Lebanon
15	1913	Ambrosini and Company	Lebanon
16	1913	S Thomas and Company	Coastal African Firm
17	1913	The Nigerian Trading Syndicate	Coastal African Firm
18	1913	J.H Doherty	Coastal African Firm

Source: Adapted from J.S. Hogendon, (1978) *Nigerian Groundnut Export: Origin and Development*, ABU Press. Zaria. p. 59-60

The Europeans employed the services of some trusted Hausa traders to canvass for the groundnut traffic. For example, the Niger Company engaged Adamu Jakada as its chief broker, G.L Gaiser engaged the services of Mai Kano Agogo, Ummaru Sharubutu and Alhaji Alhassan Dantata as

[268]S.T Yusuf, (2007), "The Impact of the railway on Madobi and Kwankwaso Towns in Kano C.1903-1970" unpublished M. A. Thesis BUK, p. 104-105

[269]Sule Bello (1983) "Some Remarks on the Development of Raw Materials Production in the Colony of Kano C. 1912-1919" in B M. Barkindo ed *Studies in the History of Kano* Heimann Educational books Ltd, Ibadan, p. 173

[270] The London and Kano Trading store was the first expatriate firm established in Kano city In 1905, dealing in the export of animals hide and skin and later in 1912, joined the groundnut trade. See A Mani Zuwan Turawa Nijeriya ta Arewa, NNPC Zaria, p, 105

their brokers. These Hausa traders were well established who prior to the opening of the line were involved in the kola nut caravan trade from Kano to Asante. The Hausa traders made use of the existing clientage network which was the basic components of the kola trade. They contacted other kola traders who in the course of the groundnut trade assumed the name *Yangyada* (sing. *Dangyada*), i.e. groundnut boys to serve as their agents. These agents in turn were instructed to tour the outlaying villages during the planting season of 1912 to spread the news via village headmen and traders in the village markets that the white men had promised to purchase the groundnut at very high price rates. Similarly, the agents also informed farmers that more cash would be obtained by growing groundnuts to pay their taxes than growing cotton or staple food stuffs such as millet or guinea corn.[271]

Table 2:3 Nigerian Groundnut Export 1912-1963

Year	Tons
1912	10,087
1913	16,533
1914	66
1915	12,580
1916	50,000
1917	50,000
1918	58,000
1919	39,000
1920	45,000
1921	51,000
1922-1926	NA
1927/28	86,000
1928/29	135,000
1929/30	147,000
130/31	154,000
1931/32	165,000
1932/33	197,000
1933/34	235,000
1935-1947	NA
1948/49	328,000

[271]S.T Yusuf, (2007)…p. 107, see also Y.U Madugu (2011): "The Expansion Of The Production And Export Of Groundnuts In Northern Nigeria, A Case Study Of Kano 1903-1930" *FAIS Journal of Humanities* Vol. 5 No 2, p.32. Bayero University, Kano

1950-51	NA
1952/53	431,000
1954/55	NA
1955/56	530,000
1957/58	715,000
1959-61	NA
1962/63	872,000

Source: Adapted from J.S. Hogendon, (1978) *Nigerian Groundnut Export: Origin and Development*, p.16

Groundnuts had been known and used in many ways long before the conquest of the caliphate. In the pre-colonial Northern Nigeria, groundnuts were used as the cheap form of protein for the poor. People had been eating groundnut boiled or roasted. They also extracted cooking oil from it, and its byproduct, the groundnut cake (*kuli-kuli*) was used as part of meal. But groundnut was never an export crop before the 1900. The very rapid expansion of the production of groundnuts in Kano could not have only been as a result of increased production through inducement, but also largely through decreased consumption of groundnuts because of the possibilities of earning much needed currency. This very great dependence on the export of groundnuts for currency had a negative impact on Kano peasants because it was said to have contributed to the famine of 1913 and 1914, in which hundreds died of hunger and related diseases. Though, there was drought and diversion of production by the British from food crops to cash crops, but also, reduced consumption of groundnuts (a major source of protein for the poor) was another issue.[272]

Moreover, in his study of the development of capitalism in Northern Nigeria, Shenton argued that "the opening of the Kano rail line in 1912, cemented a link between social formation of Northern Nigeria and the international system of capitalist relations of production and exchange which remains unbroken to the present day. It was the last necessarily link in the chain of conquest, occupation and taxation which was to bind Northern Nigeria to the international

[272]Y.U Madugu (2011): "The Expansion Of The Production and Export Of Groundnuts in Northern Nigeria, A Case Study Of Kano 1903-1930" *FAIS Journal of Humanities* Vol. 5 No 2, Bayero University, Kano,p.32

economy. It was the final pre-condition of capitalist development, the course of which was to join the fortunes of millions of Northern Nigeria agricultural producers to the international market for one agricultural product – the groundnut – the price of which would be beyond their control. Hinged on the production of this one commodity was to become an important part of the foundation of one of the largest multinational corporations in the world, the Unilever Empire".[273] The Nigerian Railway Corporation (NRC) had its heyday in the 1912, through to the early 1960s. During this period it played an active role in the movement of goods and passengers. By the mid-1970s, the NRC had declined. Undoubtedly, Corruption, mismanagement and civil unrest were among the factors that accounted for the decline. Also, the remarkable growth in road transport – mammy wagon, bus and private automobile has been largely responsible for this poor showing of rail passenger service.[274]

Road and Road Transport

It was only in 1885 when an ordinance was-passed, that the British government took positive measures to construct roads. Following the passage of the ordinance, few roads were constructed and maintain by the chiefs. By 1889 about 250miles of laterite, roads were constructed in Lagos and its environs. The British government decided to embark on the construction of feeder roads, which heralded in the development of road transport in Nigeria.

Motor vehicles were ushered in Nigeria between 1907-1909. Motor transport service started in the major urban areas of the south particularly Lagos where some businessmen provided a few motor transport services.[275] Up to the 1930s, the most important system employed in distributing goods and services throughout the Sahel region was animal

[273] R.W Shenton (1986) *The Development of Capitalism in Northern Nigeria,* James Currey Ltd, London p. 74
[274]The Economic Co-ordination of Transport Development in Nigeria, A Report on How to improve transport development , Produced by Stanford Research Institute, Menlo Park California, p. 79
[275]D.O. Iweze (2000)"The History of Igbo Transportation Business in Kano: A Case Study of Luxurious Buses From 1967-2000" B.A dissertation BUK p. 15

transportation.[276] Of these the donkey and the camel were and still are the most important, hence, were in greater demand than Lories. Therefore, in places like Kano, Katsina and Zaria the donkeys were effectively used more than motor vehicles.[277]

From 1914-1932, the colonial government could not provide adequate funds for any kind of development projects. This period was characterized by the First World War and followed by the Great Economic Depression. Consequently, this led to serious adverse effects on roads development, as there was a drastic cut in expenditure to connect more areas with better roads. By 1926, government built about 2.950 miles of road maintained by the Public Works Department (PWD) and between £20 to £40 a mile was spent on them. In the same year, roads were divided into "trunk" "A", "B", and minor roads.[278]

The trunk "A" roads were constructed and maintained by the Public Works Department. In addition, trunk "B" roads were made of lightly graveted surface maintained by local authorities with the assistance of local chiefs. The minor roads were mainly earth's roads and maintained by the local chiefs. Between 1939 and 1945, a considerable program of road construction took place under the colonial development welfare scheme, in order to ensure proper labor mobilization for World War II. Another noticeable change took place in 1952 when the Regional Public Works Department was established and charged with the responsibility for trunk "B" roads. The federal government constructed and maintained trunk "A" road. Minor roads still carried out local traffic and therefore acted as feeders to the trunk A and B roads.[279] The colonial government spent about £14million on road construction during the period of its

[276] NAK/KANO/PROF/SNP 45 "Public Works Department", 1919
[277]D.O. Iweze (2000)…p. 20
[278]NAK/KANO/PROF/Annual Report/SNP 3835/1910/Report No 42/Half Year Ending Report/Transport/Public Works Deparetment Placed under the Emirs of Kano and Katsina, see also Akinjogbin I.A. and S.A. Osoba (1978): *Topic on Nigerian Economy and Social History*, Ife university press p.104
[279]R.O. Ekundare (1973)…p. 264-267

economic program from 1955 – 1960. From 1953 to 1960, most of the major roads were improved and modern concrete bridges were built. From 1945 to 1960, road transport became more important than the railway because it penetrated almost every nook and cranny of the city (see table 2:4 below).[280]

Table 2:4 Registration of Motor Vehicle in Nigeria 1937-1960

Period	Commercial vehicle	Private Cars Including Taxes	Motorcycle	Tractors Trailers	Total
1937	1,819	822	140	-	2,781
1938	550	754	161	-	1,465
1939	559	572	154	-	1,285
1946	1,413	702	352	-	2,467
1947	2,761	1,881	797	267	5,439
1948	1,993	2,199	655	174	5,114
1949	2,356	2,112	667	303	5,309
1950	2,898	2,465	574	289	6,240
1951	2,907	3,457	551	484	7,190
1952	3,788	3,784	538	275	8,358
1953	4,159	3,783	645	357	8,862
1954	4,332	4,026	1,180	357	9,895
1955	5,820	5,398	2,318	401	13,947
1956	7,184	6,185	2,344	474	16,187
1957	6,551	5,830	2,279	447	14,109
1958	7,220	7,459	2,561	367	17,607
1959	6,682	9,257	4,838	196	21,573
1960	7,879	11,615	7,026	487	27,007

Source: R. O Ekundare1973) *An Economic History of Nigeria 1860-1960* London, Methuen, p. 268

The above table shows that in 1946, 1.413 commercial vehicles were registered and by 1950, the number had risen to 2,898. The upward trend continued and in 1956 and 1960, 7,184 and 7,879 commercial vehicles registered respectively. The increase was as a result of the growing need for commercial road transport which coincided with road development projects across the country.

In Kano Emirate, road construction program began as early as 1908. The colonial government instructed the Native Authority (N.A) to construct roads, because an improve

[280]D.O. Iweze (2000)…p. 21-23

transport and communication systems would certainly facilitate easy evacuation of raw materials to the railways and the movement of military and political officers across the emirate. Hence, Kano Native Authority Survey and Works Department were created.[281] The Survey Department was headed by a British officer Mr. Murphy who was responsible for planning and designing of all construction works required by the Native Authority or Government. The works department was responsible for the construction and maintenance of the Kano N.A roads, building, water supply and all engineering works.[282] These two departments enabled the Kano N.A to embark on the construction of several trunk "B" roads in the emirate's capital. The colonial government developed a vast network of roads in Kano city because the area served as the administrative centre of the colonial administration. Thus, in 1908, road construction began from Nasarawa to Kurmi market through Kofar Mata. It was about eleven miles long. In 1913, the Kano N.A made an expenditure of £4000 for construction of roads in the emirate. From this vast amount, network of roads was undertaking to link up some areas within the city such as Kofar Mata and Kofar Kansakali, Nasarawa to the treasury office (*Bayt al Mal*) at Mandawari and from Fagge to Kofar Mata linking up with Kofar Nasarawa.[283] The main part of these roads are in the township and therefore has been a great boom to the residents in Syrian quarters and was largely used during November/December by native traders in Groundnut from the city.[284]

The construction of these roads facilitated easier movement and free flow of commercial activities in Kano city. This development attracted different ethnic groups especially from the southern part of the country like the Igbo and the Yoruba as well as foreign Nationals such as the Syrians, Lebanese, Indians, Italians and the Germans who came and established businesses in

[281]KANO/PROF/SNP 45 "Public Works Department", 1911
[282]Nasiru Usman (1997) "The Role of Native Administration in the Provision and Development of Social Services in Kano Emirate 1903-1968" M.A thesis BUK, p. 14-15
[283] NAK/KANO/PROF 2905 "Native Administration Works Department", 1937, p. 4& 27
[284] NAK/KANO/PROF/Annual Report/SNP 635/19124/Township Road

Kano Township.[285] From 1924-1928, various network of roads were constructed and connected important areas within the city such as provincial school to Kofar Nasarawa and Bompai Industrial Estate to Nasarawa the seat of colonial administration.

By 1928, Kano city was transformed by the improvements to roadways. It had a total of about seventeen miles of motorable roads. widening to an extent of 50 feet was carried out on the various streets leading to Kurmi market from the town residency, from the Kofar Wambai, from the Kofar Dawanau via Dala and from the Kofar Kansakali. The roadways from the town residency and from Kurmi Market to Kofar Mazugal were widened to 30 feet. The roads from Emir's house to the provincial school and to the Kofar Nasarawa were also improved. Since the market is the center of the road system, a portion of a circular road round the market was completed. The circular road will relieve the heavy traffic which passes through the thronged market.[286] Furthermore, in 1941, a road was constructed by the Public Works department from the road junction near the Bank of British West Africa to the new city hospital (now Murtala Muhammad specialist hospital). Also, 3 roads were reconstructed in Sabon Gari and have made a great improvement.[287]

Improvement of transportation within Kano city was further affected by the reconstruction of several minor roads that link up the emirate with its major towns and villages. Rural roads construction project began in the district of Rogo, Rimin Gado, Madobi, Garko and Fagwalawa totaling about seventy-nine miles completed in 1914. A similar network was undertaken to link up Kano city with Gaya and Wudil district in 1927. These areas were major

[285] NAK /SNP.10/7.2P., "Native Administration Expenditure incurred to 31st December, Under Roads, Public Works, Education, and Medical Services", 1913, p.1, See also J. S. Hogendon, (1978)…p. 59-60 and Nasiru Usman (1997)…p. 15
[286]KANO/PROF Annual Report/SNP/24/I/1925/Works N.A/Roads
[287] KANO/PROF Annual Report/SNP/3966/1941/Road and Transport

districts centers of Groundnut production.[288] By 1928, there were about 532 miles of roads in the emirate. In 1929, the Kano N.A allocated the sum of £1000 for the improvement of roads in the emirate. More roads were constructed in Kunchi, Ungogo and Dawakin Tofa districts.[289] By 1930, all major towns within the emirate were linked up with the city. And the mileage of motorable roads in the emirate totaled 1549 miles. Public Works Department undertook the construction of the roads that connected Kano with her neighbors particularly Katsina and Zaria. Most of these roads followed the old established pre-colonial trade routes. For example, the Kano to Zaria road followed the ancient trade route, the Kano to Sokoto road followed the old established Kano to Sokoto road, and the Kano to Katsina road followed the well beaten Kano to Katsina route and so on."[290] These projects were financed by Kano Native Administration. By 1939, all major centers in the protectorate were linked up with Kano.[291]

The Establishment of Beminster Craft School

This was a craft school established around 1910s by a colonial officer Mr. Hanns Vischer, who was a third class Assistant Resident as the acting Director of Education. The school was established specifically to train young people in various crafts. It was a skills acquisition centre designed to cater for the pre-vocational needs of young pupils in woodwork, building, metal work, vehicle repair, driving, land survey, etc. It was through the Beminster Craft School that in the 1930s and 1940s most of the early drivers and transport entrepreneurs acquired training skills on driving and motor repairing work. Beminster Craft School was then located at the premises of the present Technical College, Kofar Nassarawa.[292] However, modern crafts and trades were becoming quite common, and people with knowledge in those trades and crafts were

[288]NAK/KANO/PROF 274. , "Roads General Policy…", p.8
[289]NAK/KANO/PROF 274 "Roads General Policy, Provincial major roads", 1928
[290] A.U Dan Asabe (1996)… p. 226
[291]NAK/KANO/PROF 3915, Annual Report, 1949, p. 5 and Nasiru Usman (1997)…p. 15
[292] For more on the craft school see N Skinner ed (1977) *Alhaji Muhammadu Koki: Kano Malam,* ABU Press, p, 19

being sought increasingly. Cars and lorries were increasing in number, hence the need for drivers and mechanics. Apart from training drivers and mechanics, the Beminster Craft School also specialized in the construction of wooden vans such as Mammy Wagon (an open side of a bus or lorry used to carry both goods and passengers) and carts (a horse drawn vehicle that became relevant for evacuation of raw materials from farmlands to rail collection centers in the early period of colonial rule and a four or six wheel locally made wooden trucks known as *Kura* being propelled by hand used for distribution of goods especially from Sabon Gari market to the city area). Simultaneous with lessons on driving were sessions of instructions in basic car repairs such as wheel replacement, flat tire mending and other maintenance work.[293]

With the introduction of motor transport in the 1930s, a number of people were being employed through working in the transport sector of the economy as drivers, motor-mates (*Karnukan Mota*), conductors (*Kwandostoci*), commission agents (‘*Yan Kamasho*) and so on. The first commercial drivers in Kano in the 1940s were Igbo, Yoruba and other foreign nationals such as Ghanaians and Sierraleoneans who lieved mainly in Sabon Gari.[294] The earliest Lorries were Albion made three tons trucks. They were slow and make horrible noises. The Lorries were mostly owned by the Europeans and the Syria-Lebanese firms in Kano who deployed them to assist the railway in evacuating farm products and to haul goods imported from oversea to the rest of the country. Due to growing demand for passenger transport service from the 1930s, lorry

[293] For information on Beminster Craft School see biography of Alhaji Babba Dan Agundi one of the early indigenous transport entrepreneur in Kano who acquired driving training and license through the school, the book will be publish by the Aminu Kano Centre for Democratic Research and Training, Mambayya House, Kano, See also S.F Graham Government and Mission in Northern Nigeria 1900-1919, Ibadan, Ibadan University Press

[294] Source: RDC BUK LGA G.14 Income Tax General 1942, p, 270 and HCB R517, Kano Township Layout 1937-1977

owners have been compelled by the drivers to license their vehicles as hackney stage coaches (mammy wagon), so that the drivers may pick up passengers when running light.[295]

It is also important to note that apart from the expatriate transport companies, there were evidences of indigenous car/lorry ownership. For example, in 1918, the Emir of Kano Abbas bought a Ford car which was drove by a person called Sarkin Makera[296] (actual name unknown) and in 1919 Ahaji Alhassan Dantata a wealthy industrialist in Koki ward also bought a car and his first driver was Malam Idi Mai Kuka.[297] In 1938, Alhaji Abdu Angale acquired the first commercial lorry. As a result of this development, the gate of the city had to be widened to allow free flow of vehicle in and outside the city.[298] From 1945 the post war period to 1960, there was a renewed demand for Africa's agricultural produce and this of course, resulted in a revitalization of economic activities all over the Kano Emirate. Simultaneously, the British government intensified the importation of agricultural produce from Kano. These developments forced the colonial government to expand the road transport system in Kano.[299] More Lorries for commercial purposes were acquired. This led to the growth of the occupation in the transport industry. For instance, there were 94 motor drivers living in Sabon Gari in 1943. In 1949 the number had risen to 104 and 130 in 1950/51 respectively (see table 2:5 below).

Table 2:5 Some Prominent Igbo Transporters in Kano during 1940s and their Annual Income

S/N	Name	Annual Income (£)
1	Mr. D.A Jiedeofo	£ 838
2	Mr. F.E Okwonkwo	£ N/A

[295] KANPROF/SNP/242/1936/Annual Report/Motor vehicles

[296] Sarkin Makera was the Title given to the first driver of emir of Kano Abbas in recognition of his duties as a driver and mechanic of the first car owned by the Kano Emirate Council. This information was collected from Alhaji Wada Abdulhamid Sarkin Motan Sarkin Kano (the current title for the driver of the emir of Kano), age 74, interviewed at the emirs palace on 12/11/2015

[297] Information from Alhaji Hassan Alhassan Dantata, age 70, interviewed at his resident in Koki Quarter on 15/11/2015

[298] KANO/PROF/SNP 134.P "Public Works Department", Road Metalling/Widening of City Gates to allow for easy passage of Carts and Motor Cars, 1912

[299] O.O Olubumehin (2002)…p. 109

3	Mr. C Okolo	£ 300
4	Mr. L.O Oguncha	£ 44
5	Mr. S.F Chikulla	£ 152
6	Mr. H.E Aroh	£ 468
7	Mr. S.O Ironsi	£ 183
8	Mr. F.D Okafor	£ 363
9	Mr. M.N Moneke	£ 270
10	Mr. H.E Adeniso	£ 128
11	Mr. F.E. Emeagwali	£91
12	Mr. H.O Obi	£ 58

Source: RDC BUK LGA G.14 Income Tax General 1942, p, 270 and HCB R517, Kano Township Layout 1937-1977

Mr. Jideofo the first on the list from the table above was among the early pioneers of the transport business in the 1940s. He had 4 Lorries and was also an agent for expatriate firms such as SCOA and UAC. While Mr. Okonkwo the second on the list was the then president of the Igbo State Union. He also had 3 Lorries and was a groundnut agent to UAC.

Gradually, Hausa people began to show interest in motor transport work. Among the earliest Hausa drivers in Kano were: Babba Dan Agundi, Mamman Na Dani, Ummaru Dan-Duna, Habu Na Alao, Mamman Na Kanduru, Baba Na Kari and so on.[300] Apart from lorry services, there was the activity of commercial bus service used for intra and inter-state services. This was started in 1951 by the Kano N.A which purchased five Albion long made buses from the United Africa Company (UAC) and converted them for public transportation. The buses had a carrying capacity of 52 passengers each. One bus plied the Kano-Katsina road twice a week. There was one for Zaria, Hadejia and Daura via Kazaure. The buses were painted red and green, the color of the royal body guard (Dogarai). From 1950s there was also private car hire service, this was first introduced by European commercial firms such as Niger Motors Limited, J. Allen & Co. Ltd., and Fuwo Garages and Transport Co. most of the customers were European visitors

[300]Information from Alhaji Ummaru Dan-Danduna, a former commercial Lorry driver, aged 85, interviewed at his residence in Brigade on 29/10/2009

to Kano. The charge could either be on hourly, weekly or even monthly basis. The drivers were mainly employees of the commercial firms.[301]

The improvement of the road transport had a tremendous impact on the lives of the people in Kano emirate. The road became useful in boosting the production of cash crops. For instance in 1930 groundnut production rose considerably from 154,000 tons to 872,000 tons in 1963.[302] It also enabled local producers to export and sell their farm produce at various markets across the emirates. However, this increase in production and trade had negative impact on the economic structure of the emirate. The production of cash crops changed the pattern of peasant production to mainly cash crops at the expense of cultivating food crops for local consumption. Similarly, the importation and distribution of European goods destroyed the basis and skills of local crafts. It is equally important to note that the areas that received priority in road development were those that produced cash crops needed by the colonial government. The construction of the roads involved force labour. People were called upon to carry out this work by their various ward heads in the name of community service often referred to as (*Aikin Sarki*).[303]

Air Transport

The first recorded flight of an airplane in Nigeria was in 1925, with a pioneering flight to Kano Race Course, when three Bristol fighter aircraft of the Royal Air Force of the United Kingdom visited Nigeria from Cairo under the command of a squadron leader Coningham who arrived on 1st November, 1925 (see appendix 12 & 13).[304] Though, it started as a purely military

[301] R.O Olaniyi, (2008) "Diaspora is not Like Home a Social and Economic History of Yoruba in Kano1912-1999" Published by Lincom Cultural Studies, Muenchen, p, 191-197
[302] J.S. Hogendon, (1978) *Nigerian Groundnut Export: Origin and Development*, p.16
[303] See also Nasiru Usman (1997)…p. 17-19
[304] V Orange (1990) *A Biography of Sir Arthur Coningham*, Methuen, London and Center for Air Force History Washington D.C 1992, p, 44-46

operation, however it marked the beginning of aviation practice in Nigeria. The Emirs of Gumel, Hadejia, Daura and Kazaure visited Kano upon the occasion of this visit. Among those who were taken for short flights were the Madaki and Sarkin Bai members of the Kano Emirate Council and the Emirs of Hadejia and Gumel.[305] On 28th November, 1928, Lady Bailey in the course of her flight round Africa, arrived at Kano in her moth aeroplane. The first privately owned aeroplane to arrive at Nigeria was imported in October, 1928 by Mr. Capenter of the Kano branch of the Miller Brothers Limited. Mr. Capenter has made numerous local flights and has also flown to Zaria and Jos.[306]

In 1929, a large Aerodrome has been kept clean for the arrival of the Royal Airforce flight and any other possible planes. On March, 3rd 1929, a French Monoplane arrived from Forte Lamy – via Maiduguri proceeding to Niamey. The pilot Captain Richard said that he considered the Kano Aerodrome "excellent". Also, in October, 24th 1929, the 3 Royal Air Force Machines (Fairey Napiere) arrived from Forte Lamy via Maiduguri and left for Yola on November, 20th en route for Egypt.[307] In the early 1930s, the Nigerian government realized the need for aerodromes, invited a small party of civil engineers from Britain to plan a chain of landing ground between Kano and Lagos as a result, landing grounds were established at Lagos, Ilorin, Minna , Jos, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Bauchi, Yola and Maiduguri.[308] Thus, by 1930s civil and military aircraft were carrying passengers across boundaries and touching down in places like Kano, Sokoto, Bauchi, Minna, Oshogbo and Lagos.[309] Also in 1935 plans were made for the imperial Airways (UK) to start airmail and passenger services between the United Kingdom and West

[305] KANO/PROF/SNP 24. I, 1925/ Visits of Aeroplanes
[306] KANO/PROF/SNP 256/1928/Aeronautics- Lady Bailey arrived at Kano
[307] KANO/PROF/SNP 294/1929/Aerodrome
[308] See R.O. Ekundare (1973)…p. 149
[309] M.M Ogbeidi (2006) "The Aviation Industry in Nigeria: A Historical Overview", in *Lagos Historical Review*, A Journal of the Department of History and Strategic Studies, vol. 6 University of Lagos

Africa as part of a regular service between the United Kingdom and South Africa. The air service was to go via Khartoum to Kano, and then to other West African countries.[310]

Ekundare argued that no further development took place before the start of the Second World War. The war however forced the British government to speed up development for air transport services, mainly for military reasons. After the war, passenger air services were reopened in 1946. A twice-weekly service using Dakota Aircraft chartered from the British Overseas Airways Corporation came into operation between Lagos-Port Harcourt-Enugu-Jos-Kano, carrying passengers and mail.[311] On May 15, 1946, Nigeria and the Gold Coast met to discuss the means to effectively combat the perennial problem of transport and communication between the British Isles and the colonies, and to form a joint company and an air transport authority to take over the services previously operated by the Royal Air force. The outcome of the meeting was the establishment of the West African Airways Corporation (WAAC). The corporation was set up by an Order-in-Council of the colonial office in 1946. An agreement was reached between the colonies and the British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC) and Elder Dempster Line (both companies having monopolized air and sea transport respectively).BOAC was to provide technical and commercial staff. In effect, the WAAC became a public corporation set up by the colonies to develop efficient air transport services in West Africa.[312]

WAAC took over the major air route that had been established by Royal Air Force in West Africa up till 1956. At its independence in 1957, Ghana pulled out of WAAC to establish Ghana Airways. Inspired by Nkuruma's decision, Nigeria's minister of communication and aviation, Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola, addressed the parliament on the need for Nigerian Airways. On October 1, 1958, WAAC was renamed Nigerian Airways with the Nigerian

[310]See R.O. Ekundare (1973)…p. 150
[311]See R.O. Ekundare (1973)…p. 150
[312] M.M Ogbeidi (2006)…p. 136

government jointly owning the shares with the British Overseas Airways Corporation and Elder Dempster. At the time Nigeria owned fifty one percent of the shares.

Kano was one of the two major airports in Nigeria. It had customs, health and immigration facilities and was used by many of the international air carriers', including BOAC, KLM, Air France, Sabena and Air Liban. It was well placed for providing services as a transit airport because it was situated on the fringes of the Sahara, which made it a most convenient intermediate stop on several air routes.[313] As a cradle of the Nigeria's civil aviation dating back to 1925, the actual development of the airport started in 1930s and it became a veritable hub in West Africa, second only to Khartoum in the whole of African continent. The Kano airport operated both international and domestic services. It had three terminals which carter for domestic, international and Hajj/cargo terminals operations.[314] From 1952 to 1960, there were between 500 and 600 aircrafts movement at Kano airport each month. Each month therefore, some 1,400 passengers embarked or disembarked and 500 more passed through going elsewhere. As a result, a new runway under 3000 yards long and lighting was made ready for day and night flying in April, 1952 by the PWD.[315]

Table 2:6 Air Craft's arriving from Countries outside Nigeria 1941-1960

Period	Lagos	Kano	Other Airports	Total
1941	735	22	486	1,243
1942	953	353	38	1,344
1943	809	354	-	1,163
1944	881	238	39	1,158
1945	660	145	-	805
1946	596	356	23	975
1947	822	986	3	1,811
1948	712	1,142	9	1,863

[313]KANO/PROF/SNP/Annual Report/8655/1954/Statistics Air Craft Movements, See also R.O. Ekundare (1973)…p. 272

[314]Siyaka Nasiru (2008) The Impact of Air Transportation on National Development: A Case study of Mallam Aminu Kano International Airport, PGDDS Essay BUK, P. 8

[315] KANO/PROF/SNP/Annual Report/7956/1952/Aviation

1949	677	1,294	5	1,976
1950	744	1,561	2	2,307
1951	810	1,843	288	2,881
1952	963	1,838	71	2,872
1953	1,27	1,851	57	2,935
1954	1,068	2,029	24	3,121
1955	1,260	1,947	42	3,249
1956	1,388	2,534	111	4,033
1957	1,489	2,772	85	4,346
1958	1,456	2,442	77	3,975
1959	1,428	2,276	48	3,752
1960	1,500	2,016	72	3,588

Source: R.O. Ekundare (1973) *An Economic History of Nigeria 1860-1960*London, Methuen, p.70

From the figures provided on the table above, one can easily understand that from 1947 and 1960, there was an increased use of airplane in Kano. This was because apart from being commercial nerve centre of Hausaland, the airport played an important role in airlifting the Muslims from Northern Nigeria to Saudi Arabia for pilgrimage (*Hajj and Ummara*) which is an important pillar of Islam.[316] However, air transport was a late comer to the scene of modern transport development. As noted by Ogbeidi, it was not deliberately introduced, and by the time it came, it was one of the war-time operations of the British. At the time civil aviation was witnessing some development in 1936, the British had barely twenty four years to Nigeria's independence. Thus, air transport was a transport system for the elite and wealthy businessmen and was not suitable for the carriage of goods from the hinterland to the coast like the railways. From the beginning therefore, air transport served as an exclusive preserve of the few and it could be safely said that it was not used to exploit Africa's mineral resources.[317]

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the role played by traditional means of transport such as human portage and pack animals in shaping the pre-colonial economy of Kano. It documented

[316] KANO/PROF/SNP/Annual Report/7956/1952/pilgrimage
[317]M.M Ogbeidi (2006)…P. 134

that from the 14th and 15th centuries, traveling on land using footpaths and pack animals became prominent linking Hausaland with Borno, Nupe and the Benue valley as well as Yoruba land and Benin. One of the most important routes was to North Africa. Cloths, leather goods, slaves and kola nut were exported. Weapons, gowns, salt and manufactured goods were imported. Another route was to Adamawa, which took clothes and leather goods in return for slaves and ivory. Another was the kola nut trade from Gonja and the Akan forest (Ghana). This shows that, the people of Kano were highly productive and the economy was very dynamic.

However, the British conquest changed the general outlook of the economy to cater for the imperialist interest. Following the defeat and subsequent colonization of Africa by European countries, the existing pre-colonial long distance commercial activities were restricted by the new colonial boundaries. Thus, the introduction of the caravan tolls by Lugard's administration after 1903, The introduction of mechanize transport system such as rail, road and air, the coming of the Lebanese traders, the importation of cheap European cloth, salt, sugar, soap and so on, further destroyed the long outstanding economic activities and changed the direction of trade from the interior to the coast linking both the north and southern centers of exchange in the country. This brought about substantial change in commerce, economy, administration and technology which resulted in transformation of Kano into a modern industrial and commercial centre.

CHAPTER THREE
State Policies and the Evolution of Intra-City Commercial Road Transport Services in Kano Metropolis 1967-2014

3.1 Introduction

Throughout the inhabited world, transport in one form or another, is a basic and essential part of daily rhythm of life. It is generally regarded as one of the most important factor involved in the process of economic development. In fact, material development of any kind is virtually impossible without appropriate transport planning. Thus, the need for transport system pol icy with which to move both people and goods from one section of the settlement of the city to another became necessary. This need arises due to the fact that the urban settlement is by far a bigger and complex settlement than its predecessor (i.e. the agrarian society) and mechanical or motorized transports are product of the industrial economy. Thus, nowadays the urban dweller resides and works in different settlements or areas of the urban landscape.[318]

Kano metropolis, as one of the leading commercial and industrial centre in Northern Nigeria, has experienced a tremendous and rapid growth rate. For example, in 1932, the population was estimated at 83,000, by 1952 it has reached 131,361. According to the 1963 census, 330,000 people were recorded, an implied growth of 7.7% between 1952 and 1963. The official estimate for 1983 was 900,000.[319] In the 1991 population census, Kano metropolis population stood at 1.6 million. The 2006 census indicated that the population of Kano metropolis stood at 3 million people. However, it was projected that by 2011, the population of Kano metropolis stood at 3,357,434.[320] By 2014 therefore the population was

[318] I.U Farouk and M.A Liman (2014) "Passenger Transport Service" in AI Tanko and SB Momale ed *Kano Environment Society and Development* Adonis and Abbey Publishers, London, p, 304

[319] National Population Commission, see also A.D Maiwada (2014) "Urban Planning in the Context of Rapid Growth" in AI Tanko and SB Momale ed *Kano Environment Society and Development* Adonis and Abbey Publishers, London, p, 365

[320] A Report on Kano Bus Mass Transit Route Mapping Study, Supervised by Nigerian Infrastructure Advisory Facility (NIAF) and Funded by Department for International Development (DFID), 2011 p, 44

close to 4million.[321] Thus, it is important to note that it is different transport modes and how they are organised that determine the social as well as the spatial linkages between the economic and social fabric of society and ultimately the overall growth of the settlement. Farukh and Liman[322] argued that settlement is only as big as its transportation system. Therefore, the urban settlement can be ranked on the availability, regularity and effectiveness of the transport service catering for its inter-urban as well as intra-urban movements.[323] This chapter therefore intends to analyse the effects of different policies or programs and how they affects the development of different modes of intra-city transport services in Kano metropolis.

3.2 Policy for Road and Roads Transport Development 1962-1996

Policy is a definite course of action selected from alternatives to determine present and future decisions which have the widest ramifications and the longest time perspective and which require the most information and contemplation. Transport policy, for example, may give greater emphasis to development of a national system of trunk roads and less to railways or vice versa. It may also emphasizes that new transport investment should generally follow rather than precede demand. Therefore, policy has to be dynamic and revolutionary.[324]

Various governments in Nigeria have over the years given priority attention to road development. Between the First and the Fourth National Development Plans, (1962–1985) substantial amount was invested in road development, which reflected government objective of replacing the old, narrow, winding roads with poor drainage facilities with new widened, straightened and improved surface road network. The total planned capital expenditure on

[321] Population Estimate for Kano Metropolitan area by National Population Commission and Nigerian Demographic Profile 2015 available at www.mundi.com/nigeria/demographics_profile.html
[322] I.U Farouk and M.A Liman (2014)…p, 304
[323] I.U Farouk and M.A Liman (2014) 305
[324] .F.G.I Omiunu and A.G Onokerhoraye (1995) Transportation and the Nigerian Space Economy, Ambik Press, Benin City, p, 137-164 see also Framework of Transport Policy Formulation by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1981, p2-3

roads by the various tiers of government under these plans from 1962–1985 was N7, 435,896million.[325]

In 1960, the Stanford Research Institute, reported that road transport accounted for nearly two thirds (⅔) of the Nigeria's total freight traffic and more than 90% of its passenger traffic.[326] The available evidence on vehicle statistics show that passenger's transportation has expanded since the Stanford study. For example, From 1969–1979, passenger vehicles recorded annual growth rates of 40.38% with regards to commercial vehicles and 40.78% for motorcycles. Commercial vehicles, such as buses and taxis which were used for passenger transportation as well, also recorded an annual growth of 7.78%, over the period (1966-1978).[327] In Kano for example, the transport industry witnessed expansion in the early 1960's. About 8% of the 80,600 vehicles imported into Nigeria in 1963 were registered in Kano. Moreover, out of the 238,000 vehicles imported into Nigeria in 1973, Kano based entrepreneurs purchased 44,000. From 1973–1979 a total number of 112,085 vehicles were registered in Kano. Of this total 9,072 were buses and pickups, which were use for intra-city and countryside transport services.[328]

The vehicle increase at this period (1969-1979) is unconnected to the fact that the real income per capital grew by over 5% annually as well as the growth in density grew by fourfold at 22% per year made Nigeria one of the fastest growth rates seen in any less developed countries. This phenomenal growth in both private and commercial vehicles was due to the monetisation of the huge petrol earnings (oil boom era) as well as the cheap fuel and the ease with which the middle class obtained credit facilities from the state to purchase own vehicles. During the same period also, transportation and communication

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[325] J.C Anyawu (etal) (1960-1997): *The Structure of the Nigerian Economy 1960-1997* Joanne educational Publication Ltd Onitsha, Anambra State p.333

[326] R Hamlin, K.G Clare & S.R Smith (1961) *The Economic Co-ordination of Transport development in Nigeria*, A Report by Stanford Research Institute Menlo Park California, p, 133-193

[327] S.A. Olarewaju (1986)…p, 52-53

[328] F.G.I. Omiunu (1981): *Nigeria Magazine: The Role of Transportation in National Building, the A Case of the Nigerian Railways* (Ed) by Dr Ashiwaju, U.N Abolagu Emaco prints Lagos. p.3

systems were also improved and constituted the largest component of public spending. Moreover, the government at this period became more determined in establishing various automobile assembly plants with a view to reducing the importation of full built up vehicles. In 1972 therefore, agreement between two multinational firms and the government to establish a passenger vehicle assembly was concluded and signed. The two automobile firms which began operation in 1973 were known as Peugeot Automobile of Nigeria Limited sited in Kaduna and Volkswagen of Nigeria Limited sited in Lagos. Also in 1973, four more assembly plants were established to assemble trucks and lorries. The four plants were Anambra Motor Manufacturing Company, Enugu, to assemble Mercedes Trucks; Leyland Nigeria Limited, Ibadan, to assemble Leyland Trucks; Nigerian Truck Manufacturers, Kano, to assemble Fiat-Iveco truck and tractors; and Steyr Nigeria Limited, Bauchi, to assemble Steyr trucks, tractors and military vehicles.[329]

Road Infrastructure and the Expansion of Intra-city Transport Services

In 1971, the Kano state government under its first governor Audu Bako initiated the construction of six new roads in Kano City and the repair of some of the few existing ones. The roads include:

a. Palace road- stretching from Kofar Nassarawa to Emir's Palace and through the western side of the palace to Mandawari.

b. Rimi Road - Starting from Kofar Nassarawa to Rimi market to the roundabout close to the city hospital.

c. Kofar Mata Road – Starting from Fagge through Kofar Mata and the City Hospital and through the central Mosque Daneji, Mandawari–Dandago to Warure

d. Kofar Mazugal Road–from Tashar Kuka through Kofar Dawanau connecting to Katsina Road.

e. The Road, which started from the City to Zungeru Roads linking to Katsina Road.

[329] A Samaila (2015) "Cross-Border Trade in Fairly Used Automobile (Tokumbo): A Study of the Nigeria North-west Boarder C. 1973-2013", Ph-D thesis, UDUS, p. 80-87

f. The road which started from Bello Road near east end of Sabon Gari Market by Hadejia Road to Airport Road and linking to Katsina Road.[330]

Before the end of Audu Bako Administration in 1975, almost all the above-mentioned roads were ready for use with the exception of "C" i.e. Kofar Mata Road, which did not extend to what is presently referred to as Sabon Titin Mandawari Road. However, there was a similar expansion and dualisation of those earlier constructed roads embarked by the Northern Regional Government like those along Kofar Mazugal, Kofar Nassarawa to the Emir's Palace, Dala, Dawanau, Airport road and Ibrahim Taiwo road.[331] While new ones were constructed in areas such as Katsina Road, Airport Road and Murtala Muhammad Way. These roads mentioned above were termed as inner ring road meant for vehicles commuting into the city. To ease the traffic congestion and ensure easy flow for vehicles within the city, roundabouts were constructed in most of the areas where junctions existed. Likewise, traffic lights were provided for an orderly flow of vehicles. Also, extensive and efficient system of standard high-ways were constructed or rehabilitated in order to facilitate a free and quicker flow of traffic.[332]

Successive governments that followed also contributed to road transport development. For example, in 1989 during the military administration of Col. Idris Garba, the Kano State Transport Corporation had 118 buses fully operational and was used for both intra-city and inter-state transport services respectively. The continued increase in population and expansion of commercial activities in Kano metropolis had further attracted the attention of various governments and well meaning individuals in Kano to contribute in boosting the road transport sub-sector. For example, between 1992 and 1993, the governor of Kano State Alhaji Kabiru Gaya purchased 100 buses for the Kano State Mass Transit

[330]A.N Shehu (1997) *Kano State under the Administration of Audu Bako1967-1975*, M.A thesis Bayero University Kano .p.167-168
[331] Sulleiman Haruna (1996) *The Kano State of Audu Bako*, RAI communications, Kano, p, 41-42
[332] A. N Shehu (1997)…p, 168-169

Scheme, 32 of these buses were added to the Kano Line Fleet, while 68 were distributed to the transporters on hire purchase.[333]

Between 1993 and 1996, Col. Abdullahi Wase the then Kano State governor carried out massive road construction projects when over 40 urban and rural roads were rehabilitated at the cost of N200million. Another Federal Government sponsored road construction programs – Kano Eastern Bye-pass and Chalawa-Sharada, totalling N103million was also started. Also, 10 units of 39 seater busses were acquired by Kano State Transport Corporation, in addition to N40 million equipment for the setting up of workshop and N1.4million for spare parts.[334]

In 1999, Col. Dominic Oneya purchased 15 long buses which were added to the Kano Line fleet. With the transition from military to civilian rule in May, 1999 and the subsequent implementation of Islamic *Shari'ah* law in 2001, the Kano State government under Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso bought 100 buses for Kano Line used specifically for the conveyance of male and female each separately as part of the government effort to ensure strict observance of the *Shari'ah* (Islamic*)* Law. This is in addition to construction of several roads in the city such as Obasanjo road, Zungeru road and the repairing of IBB way, Sokoto road, Bakin Gada to Tudun Murtala road, PRP Kwanar Jaba road, dualisation of Aminu Kano way, Kofar Wambai-Kasuwar Kurmi road, Jakara Ring road, Sabo Bakin Zuwo-Yan Mota road and so on.[335] During the administration of Governor Mallam Ibrahim Shekarau from 2003 to 2011, 7 long buses and 1,500 tricycles were procured for the Kano State Transport Corporation. Also, a special arrangement was made between Shekarau administration and Urban Development Bank (UDB), in which 65 buses were given to the

[333] Information from Ibrahim Hamza, Head of administration Kano Line Transport Corporation, born 1953, interviewed on 06-10-2008

[334] M.D. Muhammad (1997) *30 Years of Kano Statehood1967-1997*, Baraka printers Kano

[335] M.S Dungurawa ed Governor Rabiu Musa Kwankwaso Landmarks in Kano State May 29th 1999- May 29th 2002. A Ministry of Information, Internal Affairs, Youths, Sports and Culture Publication, Published by Triumph Publishing Company Ltd, Kano. Works@work. A Publication of Kano State Ministry of Works, Housing and Transport

corporation as soft loan. Also, a special World Bank Mass Transit Assisted Scheme donated 20 long buses to the state government which were all added to the Kano State Transport Corporation. In order to further reduce traffic congestion and ease flow of vehicles, the Shekarau administration repaired and expanded various roads in the city. These include BUK road, Ibrahim Taiwo road, State road and Mandawari Sabon Titi road.

In his Second Tenure 2011-2015, Governor Rabiu Musa Kwankwaso quickly responded to the outcry on the dilapidating state of traffic in Kano epitomized by long queues of vehicles which sometimes lasts for hours on major roads around the city. The government constructed overhead bridges/flyovers around high traffic areas. The 2.8meter fly over started from State road crossing over Silver Jubilee roundabout and Gidan Murtala Rotary intersection and terminated after Kofar Nasarawa gate. It comprises of 5 No interchanges slip roads and realignments of some portions of Zaria Road (see appendix 8). Also, another 2.8meter Flyover constructed on Ibrahim Taiwo road started from Kano State Radio House (Gidan Bello Dandago) crossing over IBB Way linking Obasanjo Road roundabout and terminating at Ibrahim Taiwo Road. Other ongoing road projects expected to be completed in 2015 included a flyover starting from Fagge Wapa crossing over Fagge police station roundabout, Yankura-Abubakar Rimi market roundabout, Bata-Cocacola roundabout, Sani Abacha Way-Lagos Street by Murtala Muhammed Way and terminating at Murtala Muhammed Way by Club Road rounabout. Others include Kofar Kabuga and Kofar Gadon Kaya underground tunnel (the underpasses were commissioned in April, 2015 see appendice 9) and putting the historic Jakara River beneath a lengthy road network.[336]

The administration also dualized and expanded the roads in Kano metropolis. Some of these include New BUK Gwarzo Road from Kabuga to BUK New Site, Dorayi Sheikh Ja'afar road from Kofar Famfo to Panshekara roundabout, Zungeru Road from Sani

[336] M.A Musa (ed) (2012) Works @ Work: Infrastructural Development on the Cradle of Fisical Discipline, A Publication of Kano State Ministry of Works, Housing and Transport, p, 9-40

Abacha Way by No-Man's-Land to Katsina road by Hajji Camp roundabout, Sharada from Kofar Dan Agundi to Panshekara roundabout, Hadeja road, Post office Road, Niger street, Bank Road, and the expansion of Unguwa Uku to Kwanar Dawaki. In order to reduce accident and allow for free and quicker movement of vehicles, the administration constructed a number of pedestrian bridges and pedestrian ways on major roads such as Kurna Asabe (Babban Layi), Old Buk Road by Aminu Kano School of Legal and Islamic Studies, Old BUK road by BUK Old Campus main gate, Yan Kura by Sabon Gari Market and so on. This is in addition to rehabilitating street lights across over 40 metropolitan roads including fuel supply and installation of generators to serve as power source.[337]

Moreover, in order to bring sanity to road usage and curtail road accident, the Kano Road and Traffic Agency (KAROTA) was established in 2012. Over 700 personnel were trained on how to regulate, control and manage traffic problems such as wrong parking, over speeding, using mobile phone to answer call while driving, road-side trading and parking and so on (see appendix 10). In order to ease the transportation sufferings of the people especially with the restrictions and the subsequent banning of *Achaba*, the Kwankwaso administration launched 1000 taxis Volkswagen Golf, 500 Liteace buses and 250 brand new Toyota Corolla saloon cars. A scheme which is based on owner-driver agreement and it is interest free venture, payable in two years. Vehicles registrations and insurances are done by the beneficiaries individually. The taxis and buses were given to the youths at a subsidized rates in which fees and charges were been remitted on weekly and monthly basis which after completed payment for the money the taxi and the buses were retained by the beneficiaries.[338]

The development and expansion of road transport system is an important feature of commercial development in Kano. The road networks served a tremendous role for

[337] M.A Musa (ed) (2012) Works @ Work...p, 9-40
[338] M.A Musa (ed) (2012) Works @ Work...p, 9-40

ubiquitous collection and distribution system, accommodating a large number of commercial vehicles with diverse origin and destination. Thus, a road transport route is a terminal path between two termini one being the starting and the other being the destination where they turn to make a round trip. In Kano metropolis, the intra-city commercial road transport networks were designed to link up the commercial areas. For example, every major and some minor markets such as Sabon Gari, Kantin Kwari, Kurmi, Rimi Asibiti, Dawanau, Naibawa Yan Lemu, Sheka Makaranta, Brigade, Rijiyar Zaki Tasha 'Yankaba and Mariri kolanut market can be seen as nodes and terminus.[339] Road transport is therefore characterized by easy accessibility and by flexibility as well: goods and passenger can be picked up and dropped off with much more ease than is possible with other modes of transport more locked into specific routes and schedules. The fact that intra-city commercial road transport provided a door-to-door service enhanced the demand for it. In addition to its value as a means of trunk movement, intra-city commercial transport is by and large essential for feeder purposes for rail, air, and water transport.[340]

In Kano metropolis, the major mode of intra-city transport is road which can be divided into Infrastructure, Vehicles and Operational Facilities. For the infrastructure, it is the responsibility of the government to provide roads of different sizes and capacities as well as terminals or bus stops, parking spaces, motor parks and other associated facilities.[341] Apart from the networks of road and terminals, which was the public domain, virtually every other aspect of commercial road transport services in Kano belongs to the private domain. The ownership and control of the majority of the commercial vehicles was in the hand of private individuals or groups of individuals.[342]

[339] I.U Farouk and M.A Liman (2014)…p, 306
[340] S.A. Olarewaju (1986)…p, 50
[341] M.A Yusuf (2010) "Urban Infrastructures in Kano, 2003-2007", in I.A Kurawa, A.U Adamu and M Isa ed *Fulfilling the Mandate: Kano Under Shekarau 2003-2007*, A Publication of the Research and Documentation Directorate, Government House, Kano, p, 324
[342] Adapted from Kano Transport Master Plan (TMP) Revised Final March 2009, p. 85

Also, there were other important policies/measures or program put in place by the various government which resulted in the evolution and development of other modes of intra-city transport services in Kano metropolis. For example, the *Akori Kura* (pick up vans) emerged following the government ban on the use of locally made hand push wooden van or cart (*Kura)* from the streets of Kano in 1977. Also, in the 1980s, the *Achaba* (commercial motorcycle) came in to being due to failure of the government to sustain the urban mass transit scheme which resulted in the growing need of public urban passenger transport service, and the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) in 1986, an economic policy that eroded the income of Nigerian Civil Servants. In order to survive the trend, most civil servants who owned motorcycles eventually ventured into commercial motorcycle business whilst some turned their private cars into taxi otherwise known as *Kabu-Kabu* (local language). The *Adaidaita Sahu* (commercial tricycle) came in 2005 as a result of Kano State government policy to ensure strict observance of *Shari'ah* (Islamic law) by preventing any form of intermingling between men and women using public transportation. All these government's policies, programs or failures and their impact are discussed in detail in this chapter.

3.3 Intra-City Commercial Bus Transport Service

> "*…mai tumaki mai jakai, Kanon dabo birni, mai mata mai mota, gingimin gari mai dala da goron dutse…"*[343]
>
> (Kano a famous city, blessed with sheep and donkeys, beautiful women and plenty cars, an ancient city which houses two famous hills- dala and Gauron Dutse)

At the time Alhaji (Dr) Mamman Shata Katsina (the famous Hausa singer) composed the above song in 1959/60 about fifty five years ago, he summarized in its few lines the special features that made Kano unique among other African cities he had visited. Part of the

[343] Alhaji (Dr.) Mamman Shata Katsina was a famous Hausa traditional singer born in Musawa village in Katsina in 1923 and died on 18th June, 1999. For more information on Shata and his songs see A.I Kankara (2013) *Mahadi Mai Dogon Zamani: Shata da Kundin Wakokinsa*, Lisbon Production Ltd, Kaduna. See also Kano Business Directory, published by Kano Chambers of Commerce, mines and Agriculture, 1992 edition, p. 12

characteristics includes the availability of various modes of transport system and network of roads ranging from traditional to mechanical. Since its creation in 1967, Kano has tremendously undergone structural, political, social and economic transformations.[344] Public urban transportation has been playing a vital role in the economic growth of Kano metropolis, especially with the existence of modern buses and taxis with regular network of roads, in all the main canters of trade. Liman argued that "intra-city transport service in Kano metropolis came up as complementary to the railway system and the air link between Kano and the outside world (like it did in Britain). The railway station and the airport have remained the transfer terminals for intra-urban transport service until the first passenger bus service started in the 1950s".[345]

Road passenger transport service started in Kano as far back as 1950s during the Northern Region Government. The Kano Native Authority (NA) started intra-city bus system in 1951, which operated between the old city market (Kurmi) to the Sabon Gari market (6 kobo was charged then). The NA also employed the services of inter-state bus drivers most of whom were Yoruba, Igbo, Sieraleoneans and other West African nationals. But between 1953–1956 due to the rate of losses encountered in the system, the Native Authority sold up the busses and discontinued the service leaving private mini-bus owners to take over.[346] Olaniyi argued that the private mini bus service was pioneered in the late 1950s by the Yoruba entrepreneurs such as Alhaji Okeniyi and Chief E.K Odunlami. They purchased Volkswagen "Kombi Buses" (see appendix 14) sold by European firms such as Mandilas and Karaberis limited which were used for transport service between Kurmi and Sabongari.[347] Following the creation of Kano State in 1967, the State Government set up a Transport

[344] Kano Business Directory (1992)…p, 121
[345] M.A Liman Report On One Day Dialogue On Traffic Management and Public Transportation System in Kano, Organized by Centre For Democratic Research And Training Mambayya House BUK, 2008 p,31-39
[346] A Frishmen (1977) "The Spatial Growth and Residential Location Pattern of Kano", PhD thesis Northwestern university, p, 270
[347] R.O Olaniyi, (2004) *Yoruba in Kano: A Commercial History of a Migrant Community (1912-1999)* PhD thesis History Dept. BUK, p, 160

Authority in 1968 at Lagos Street having such busses as the Golden Arrow plying the road within and outside Kano.

The outbreak of the Nigerian civil war in 1967 and the subsequent mass exodus of the Igbo and Yoruba from the north to the south gave the indigenous Hausa people of Kano the opportunity to venture into transport industry and filled in the gap created by the exodus. After the war ended in 1970, the Igbo and the Yoruba came back and realized the changes and therefore had no option than to venture into motor repairing/mechanics and the sales of automobile spare parts.[348] When the plans for the establishment of a transport corporation was finalized in 1973, the Kano State Transport Corporation was launched at Maganda Road, aimed at alleviating the transportation problems of travellers from Kano city and other places around Kano or even beyond the state. At the time of the launching, there were thirty-six taxis and fourteen long buses. In addition to these, the government purchased fourteen medium buses and eight taxis for local transportation within the state. It was this corporation that came to be known as Kano Line.[349]

3:3:1 Indigenization Policy, Oil Boom and the Growth of Automobile Industry

In the 1970s, two important events contributed to the growth of commercial transport industry in Kano in particular and Nigeria in general. The first was the 1972 promulgation of the Nigerian Enterprise Promotion Decree which preserves the transport sector exclusively for indigenous participation.[350] This decree promoted the development of indigenous transport companies.[351] The second was the oil boom of the 1970s. The oil boom era offered opportunities for the middle class workers to earn more money through wage increase and

[348] See N. N. Fabian, (2000): *Igbo Spare Parts Entrepreneurs in Kano Metropolis: (a case study of Automobile spare parts 1967-1998)* M.A thesis History Dept. BUK, see also R.O Olaniyi, (2004) *Yoruba in Kano: A Commercial History of a Migrant Community (1912-1999)* PhD thesis History Dept. BUK, p, 166-167

[349] Information from Aminu Shuaibu Rabo Director General Kano Line, age 57 years, interviewed at Sharada on 19-10-2012

[350] I Mohammed (1985) "The Nigerian Enterprise Promotion Decrees 1972 and 1977 and Indigenization in Nigeria", PhD Thesis, University of Warwick

[351] I.L Bashir (1983) "The Politics of Industrialisation in Kano: Industries, Incentives, and Indigenous Entrepreneurs", PhD Thesis Boston University, p. 262-264

payment of arrears that came about because of the reports of the two public service review commissions, the Adebo Commission of 1971[352] and the Udoji Commission of 1973.[353] The former was saddled with the responsibility of Public Service Reform and while the latter was task with the duty of fulfilling the recommendations of the former particularly on harmonising salaries and wages in the wake of crude oil excess income that Nigeria earned from her oil export. For example, in 1966 the oil sector was only 5.8% of the country's GDP, by 1973 this had reached 14%. However, this development, led to salary increase, the payment of arrears and the provision of bonus allowances. The arrears and the allowances were later named *Udoji* when they were paid in 1975.[354] In addition, the oil boom led to introduction of subsidy on petroleum products and eased the process with which the middle class obtained credit facilities in form of loan or graft from the state to purchase own vehicle and as well used part of the loan to invest in the transport business.[355] The oil boom period has therefore led to increase in vehicle import which grew from 6,278 in 1972 to 15,750 in 1979 (see table 4:3).[356]

Moreover, in 1977 Nigeria and Japan signed a bilateral trade agreement which led to mass importation of brand new affordable, durable and fuel economy Japanese made cars such as Nissan, Mitsubishi, and Toyota Hiace and Liteace mini buses sold between N4000 to N5000 respectively.[357] The buses became available in Kano metropolis as a result of the growing demand for passenger transport services due to population growth and urban expansion. The buses were also available on hire purchase basis or soft loan. Thus, this

[352] See Federal Republic of Nigeria, Second and Final Report of the Wages and Salaries Review Commission, 1971-73, Federal Ministry of Information Printing Division, Lagos August, 1971, p. 20
[353] See Federal Republic of Nigeria Public Review: Report on Grading and Pay; Vol. 2, 1972-74, Published by Federal Ministry of Information, Printing Division, Lagos, 1974, p. 74
[354] Mohammed, I (1985) "The Nigerian Enterprise Promotion Decrees 1972 and 1977 and Indigenization in Nigeria", PhD Thesis, University of Warwick
[355] T Forest (1994) *The Advance of African Capital*, University Press, Cambridge, p. 198-204
[356] A Samaila (2015) "Cross-Border Trade in Fairly Used Automobile (Tokumbo): A Study of the Nigeria North-west Boarder C. 1973-2013", Ph-D thesis, Usman Danfodio University, Sokoto, p. 85
[357] H.S Malumfashi (1985) Departmental Seminar, Faculty of Social Science and Administration, University of Sokoto, p, 2

development encouraged both the public and private investors to invest into the commercial bus transport business. Therefore, the increase in the number of buses eased movement of people and enhanced commercial activities. Bus drivers soon acquired the collective name of "*Yan Hiace*'' or "*Yan Kiyä-kiya*'', (a Yoruba word meaning hurry, also depicting the fact that the business was pioneered by the Yoruba).[358] The Toyota Hiaace and Liteace mini buses dominated intra-city transport service in Kano right from inception in 1970s and are still in use up to the present time.

3:3:2 Structural Adjustment Program and the Collapse of Public Transport Service

At this juncture, it is important to note that the intra-city commercial bus service providers are divided into public and private sectors. The public sector is owned, managed and control by the government offering service either as a welfare package or for profit and had a history of epileptic service delivery and organization generally. Various efforts were made by successive government at different levels to introduce a Mass Assisted Transit Program in order to alleviate the persistent suffering and hardship experienced by commuters particularly due to the effect of the economic crisis of the 1980s. The one that had the most far-reaching effect on the populace was the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) policies introduced by the General Babangida military regime in 1986. SAP brought untold hardship which compounded the woes of the people as it reduced the earning powers of the average Nigerians. Similarly, the SAP also caused inflation, which affected the cost of imported goods including the automobiles used for intra-city commercial transportation. For example, the real exchange rates indices for the Naira against the US Dollar have shown that between 1980 and 2010, the value of the Naira has deteriorated by about 404.9% falling from N30.3 to US$1 in 1980 to N153 in 2010.[359] This condition makes it difficult for transporters to replace

[358] Information from Alhaji Salisu Abdullahi of K/Mata quarters. He was a former bus driver and the first chairman of the association of bus drivers. He was born in 1917 and interviewed on 23-12-2009
[359] M.S Abdulkadir (2014)....p, 4

their aging vehicles with new ones. The SAP period has therefore led to decrease in vehicle import from 15,750 in 1979 oil boom period to only 2,729 in 1986 (see table 4:3).[360]

The Public Assisted Mass Transit Program

In order to solve the transport problem amidst the economic crisis of 1980s, the government initiated a policy which culminated in the provision of mini and large buses in January, 1988 under the Federal Urban Mass Transit Program, at both the States and Federal levels. This was backed up by a proposed budget of N700 million for implementation of various urban mass transit projects.[361] The federal government injected over 2000 buses into public transport service across the states. About 85% of those buses were given to the state-owned companies under a concessionary loan conditions (including no payment of advanced deposit, payment of cost of buses over 3-5 years of 3-6% gross interest rates). The remaining 15% were distributed to the Federal Colleges, universities and other tertiary institutions and specialized agencies as grants.[362] The mass transit schemes had succeeded in the provision of passenger bus services. They shuttled both intra-urban and inter-state routes over short distances. It is surprising that, very little have been achieved so far by the state owned passenger buses in spite of the substantial amount of money spent. It is also quite disheartening, and appalling that most of the vehicles procured to ameliorate commuters sufferings and enhance urban transportation under the Mass Transit Scheme are no longer on the road due to increasingly poor management and corrupt practice of the public officers and operators of the transport system.[363]

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[360] According to Kano State Licensing Office, in 1982 about 5,000 buses were registered in Kano. But by 1986 during the SAP peak period, only 565 buses were registered. See Kano State Motor Vehicle Statistics, Government Printers Kano, 1886, p, 4-5

[361] A.J Remi, A.I Adegoke & O.B Olaogun (2009) "A Study of the Performance of Public Transport Company in Niger State, Nigeria", in *International Journal of Business and Management*, Vol. 4, No. 11, p. 75-76

[362] C.E Malachy and F.O Nwobi (2014) "The Political Economy of Mass Transit Programin Nigeria: An Evaluation of Government Post-Petroleum Subsidy Intervention", in *Global Journal of Human Social Science*, F Political Science, Vol. 14, No.1.USA, p. 15

[363] M.O Filani (2002). "Mobility Crisis and the Federal Government's Mass Transit Programme" In Filani, M.O.; Akintola, F.O. and Ikporukpo, C.O. (eds.). *Transportation in Ibadan Region*. Ibadan: Rex Charles, pp.179-190, see also Adesanya, A. O. (1994). "Financing Public Transport Services: The Experience of Nigeria". Unpublished PhD Thesis

Private Investors and the Development of Passenger Transport Services

Consequently, private entrepreneurs began to take control of the transport industry by way of importing fairly used mini buses (*Tokumbo)* and refurbishing their aging buses which allowed them to bring them back to use since they cannot afford new ones.[364] The effort of the private entrepreneurs further enhanced the urban transport service by introducing commercial motorcycle (*Achaba*) and shared taxi (*Kabu-kabu*), and eventually carried the bulk passengers. Ogunbodede argued that "thus, the private owners dictated largely the modus operandi of the nation's public transport system".[365] The private individuals who ventured in the commercial transport services started with their capital without assistance from the government.[366]

The private investors are group owned such as Yakamata Motors and individually owned buses who offered service for profit. Private companies and individuals also played an important role and effectively competed and outshined the government in boosting the intra-city transport industry. This effort contributed immensely in maintaining and further enhancing economic activities in Kano metropolis. Among the prominent Kano entrepreneurs who ventured into the intra-city commercial transport business were Alhaji Muhammadu Na Kanya Na Goda, Abdulaziz Olaniyi, Alhaji Ibrahim Madugu Na Bakon Wayya, Alhaji A.D Garba (Yakamata Motors) Alhaji Ibrahim Bra, Alhaji Ubale Kofar Mata, Ali Okeke, Alhaji Gambo Muhammadu Rani, Alhaji Sule Koki, Alhaji Hassan Wakili, Alhaji Dan Tajo Tuki Sai Mai Sallah, Ali Ja Kwanar Gabari, Ahmadu Madori, Alhaji Salisu Shugaba and so on.[367] Although, the public sector is more organized, rigid and formal, the private sector has shown more commitment and resilience and had survived competition against all odds from the

[364]For more on *Tokumbo* see A Samaila (2015) "Cross-Border Trade in Fairly Used Automobile (Tokumbo): A Study of the Nigeria North-west Boarder C. 1973-2013", Ph-D thesis, Usman Danfodio University, Sokoto
[365] E.F Ogunbodede (2008) Urban Road Transportation in Nigeria from 1960-2006: Problems, Prospects and Challenges, Extract from Ethiopian Journal of Environmental Studies and Management, Vol.1 No. 1, p. 10
[366] D.O. Iweze (2000)…p, BUK p. 38-39
[367] Information Alhaji Gambo Muhammadu Rani, one of the earliest bus driver and owner, age 80, interviewed at Jakara Quarters on 09/09/2014

public sector as it remained the only sector that now provides intra-city bus transport service.[368]

Development of Bus Service Routes in Kano Metropolis

Since the objective of transportation is to facilitate the movement of people and goods from one place to another, the commercial buses are therefore very much involved in transporting people to their various destinations. Thus, the main factors identified for establishing transport routes in metropolitan area is increase in urban population leading to city expansion and the growth of commercial and industrial activities. It is therefore not surprising that between late 1960s and early 1970s, the two transfer terminals in metropolitan Kano adjoin the two major commercial centers vis (Kurmi and Sabon Gari markets). There was usually a constant high demand for travel to these markets as they are the two top markets on the hierarchy of markets in metropolitan Kano.

It is also important to note that it was from these two transfer terminals that three main transport axis vis Jakara, Bata and Yankura emerged. For example, on the Jakara axis, a transport routes named Jakara-Asibiti and Jakara-Gwammaja evolved between 1950-1960 connecting Kurmi market[369] (Kurmi established in the mid 14th century and specializes in the sales of Agricultural produce and locally made items such as grains, leather goods, dyed cloths and earthenware) with Kasuwar Rimi[370] (Rimi established in 1912) and Kofar Mazugal Ujule Kolanut market[371] (Ujule established in 1942). These routes were later extended from Jakara-Asibiti to Asibiti-Yan Kura between 1960-1970 connecting Kurmi, Rimi, and Kwari Textile market[372] (Kwari established in 1933), Singa essential commodity market[373] (Singa establishe in 1946) and Sabon Gari foreign imported goods and essential commodities

[368]I.U Farouk and M.A Liman (2014) "Passenger Transport Service" in AI Tanko and SB Momale ed *Kano Environment Society and Development* Adonis and Abbey Publishers, London, p, 311-312
[369]T.M Naniya, (2001) "A History of Kurmi Market , 1463-1999" in FAIS Journal of Humanities, Vol.1, No. 3, BUK, p. 89-104
[370] K Bello (1995) "History of Kasuwar Rimi in Kano City, B.A Dissertation History BUK
[371] A Shu'aibu (1996) "The History of Ujile Kolanut Market in Kano to 1996, B.A Dissertation History BUK
[372] J Danladi (2015) A History of Kantin Kwari Market 1933-2012, M.A History Thesis, BUK
[373] U.G Ahmad (2014) "A History of Kwanar Singer Kano (1946 to 2007)" B.A Dissertation History BUK

markets[374] (S/Gari established in 1918). Similarly, the Jakara-Goron Dutse, Asibiti-Zoo road connecting to Naibawa 'Yan Lemu Fruits market[375] ('Yan lemu established in 1982) and Asibiti-Tarauni routes connecting Tarauni market[376] (Tarauni mkt established 1984) developed from 1980-1990. On the Bata axis, there was Bata-Panshekara established between 1960-1970 and Bata-Tudun Wada route also established the same period. Bata-Kabarin Raka route, Bata-Kwana Hudu and Bata-Kawaji routes were established between 1970-1980. While Bata-Yankaba route was established between 1980-1990 connecting Sabon Gari market with 'Yan Kaba[377] vegetable market ('Yan Kaba mkt established 1986).

Finally, the 'Yankura axis is considered as the most congested of the entire transport axis in metropolitan Kano. The 'Yankura-Mandawari route connecting Sabon Gari market with Kwari, Rimi and Mandawari markets was established between 1950-1960 and later extended to Gwale between 1970-1980 and Mandawari-Sabon Titi between 1980-1990. Also, 'Yankura-Gwammaja route was established between 1960-1970 and later extended to Rijiyar Lemo and Dawanau Kasuwa between 1970-1980 connecting Sabon Gari Market with Kofar Ruwa automobile spare parts market[378] (K/Ruwa mkt established in 1980), Rijiyar Lemo 'Yan Mata essential commodities market ('yan Mata mkt established in 1986) and Dawanau Grain market[379] (Dawanua mkt established in 1985).[380] The route/direction of the intra-city buses therefore, are in the major urban areas of Kano State, which comprises of the eight local governments that formed metropolitan Kano and the nodal terminus are the major and

[374] A Bako (2000) "Market System and Revenue Generation: A Note on the Economic Importance of the Sabon Gari Kano Market During the Colonial Era" in *Studies in Humanities: A Journal of Usman Danfodio University Sokoto*, Vol. 6, p, 65-74
[375] H.A Idris (2013) "The History of 'Yan-lemo Market in Naibawa Ward, Kumbotso Local Government of Kano State 1982-2012" B.A Dissertation History, BUK
[376] N.A Lamido (2008) "The Establishment of Tarauni New Market in Tarauni Local Government Area of Kano State B.A Dissertation History BUK
[377] U.S Muhammad (2005) "The Historical Development of Yankaba Vegetable Market B.A Dissertation History BUK
[378] M. Kabiru (2008) The History of Kofar Ruwa Market from 1980-2006, B.A Dissertation History BUK
[379] A.G Abubakar (1995) "The History of Dawanau Market in Kano Metropolis" B.A History, BUK
[380] See S Umar (1991) "Transport Routes in Metropolitan Kano", Bs.c Dissertation Geography, BUK, p, 34-42

some minor markets in Kano metropolis.[381] The routes are presented in the following table (3:1).

Table 3:1 Intra-City Commercial Bus Service Routes within Kano Metropolis and Distance in Kilometer as at 2014 (KM)[382]

S/NO	From	To	Via	Distance (km)	Routes Established Dates
1	Rimi Market (Bus Stop)	Yan Kura Roundabout (Kuroda/Sabon Gari Market)	Kwari Market, Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Fagge Roundabout	2.5	1960s
2	Rimin Kebe	Mallam Kato Square (Singa/Sabon Gari Market)	Kwanar Tudun Wada, Airport Road, Murtala Muhammed Way	4.5	1970s
3	Zaria Road (Sa'adatu Rimi College of Education)	Mallam Kato Square (Singa/Sabon Gari Market)	Zaria Road Flyover, Gyadi- Gyadi round about Dangi Roundabout, Silver Jubilee, Obasanjo Road, Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Post Office Road, Niger Street	13.5	1970s
4	Panshekara	Mallam Kato Square (Singa/Sabon Gari Market)	Dorayi, BUK Road, Gidan Murtala Roundabout, Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Gidan Rediyo, Post Office Road, Niger Street	19	1970s
5	Gwale 'Yan Alewa	'Yan Kura/Sabon Gari Market	Kwanar Diso, Galadanchi, Chiranchi, Tudun Wazirchi, Emir's Palace Road, Abdullahi Wase Road, Kofar Mata, IBB Way by Kwari junction, Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Kano Guest Inn, Fagge Roundabout	8.5	1970s
6	BUK Old Site	Mallam Kato Square (Singa/Sabon Gari Market)	ATC Junction, Gidan Murtala, Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Post Office Road, Niger Street	8.5	1970s
7	Panshekara	Kwanar Goda (Kurmi Market)	BUK Road, Kofar Na'isa, Mandawari	15.8	1970s
8	Gidan Zoo	Mallam Kato Square (Singa/Sabon Gari	Dangi Roundabout, Zaria Road, Silver Jubilee, Obasanjo	6.5	1970s

[381] Information from Alh Nura Indabawa a Bus Driver at Shahuchi, born 1975, interviewed on 15-06-2009

[382] See M.A Liman Report On One Day Dialogue On Traffic Management and Public Transportation System in Kano, Organized by Centre For Democratic Research And Training Mambayya House BUK, 2008 p, 35-36

		Market)	Road, Gidan Rediyo, Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Post Office Road		
9	Dorayi Karshen Waya	Kasuwar Rimi/Kwanar Goda (Kurmi Market)	ATC junction, BUK Road, Kofar Na'isa, Mandawari sabon Titi, Shettima junction, Rimi market	6.7	1970s
10	Zaria Road (Sa'adatu Rimi College of Education)	Kasuwar Rimi (Bus Stop)	Gyadi-Gyadi Roundabout, Dangi Roundabout, Silver Jubilee, Obasanjo Road, Gidan Rediyo Roundabout, Rimi Market Road	13	1970s
11	Kwanar Jaba (Ahmadiyya)	Bata/Coca cola (Sabon Gari Market)	Brigade, Airport Road	3.5	1970s
12	Katsina Road (Mil Tara)	Kasuwar Rimi	Kurna Asabe, Kofar Ruwa, Yan Mota, Kurmi Market	13.7	1980s
13	Katsina Road (Dawanau)	Yan Kura (Galadima/Sabon Gari Market)	Kurna Rijiyar Lemo, Airport Road Round About, Triumph Publishing Company, Fagge Roundabout	13.5	1980s
14	Tsamiyar Boka	Mallam Kato Square (Singa/Sabon Gari Market)	Kwanar Sabo,Maiduguri road, State Road, Lodge Road, Hospital Road, Sani Abacha Way	7.75	1980s
15	Sauna Kawaji	Mallam Kato Square/Bata (Singa/Sabon Gari Market)	Yanyashi Bus Stop, Hadejia Road by Ahmadu Bello Way Roundabout, Murtala Muhammed way	5.5	1980s
16	Janguza Market	Kasuwar Rimi (Bus Stop)	BUK New Site, Kabuga, Abdullahi Wase Road, Shettima Junction	12	1980s
17	Janguza Market	Yan Kura Roundabout (Kuroda Sabon Gari Market)	BUK New Site, Kabuga, Abdullahi Wase Road, Shettima Junction, Rimi Bus Stop, Kwari Market, Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Fagge Roundabout	14.5	1980s
18	Sheka Bus Stop	Mallam Kato Square (Singa/Sabon Gari Market)	Gidan Zoo, Court Road Junction, Dangi Roundabout, Silver Jubilee, Obasanjo Road, Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Post Office Road, Niger Street	8	1980s
19	Sheka Bus Stop	Kasuwar Rimi (Bus Stop)	Gandun Albasa, BUK Road, Sabuwar Kofa, Emir Road	5.5	1980s
20	Dakata Bus Stop	Mallam Kato Square	Independence Road, College of Arts,	5.1	1980s

		(Singa/Sabon Gari Market)	Science and Remedial Studies Junction, Airport road		
21	Sharadar Bata	Kasuwar Rimi (Bus Stop)	Sabuwar Kofa, Emir Palace Road, Rimi Market Road	8.5	1980s
22	Sharadar Bata	Mallam Kato Square (Sabon Gari Market)	BUK Road, Gidan Murtala Roundabout, Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Gidan Rediyo, Post Office Road, Niger Street	8.5	1980s
23	Bela	Bata/Cocacola (Sabon Gari Market)	Dakata, Independence Road, CAS Junction, Sani Abacha Way	11.4	1980s
24	Rijiyar Lemo	Yankura (Kuroda/Sabon Gari Market)	Kofar Ruwa, Gwammaja, Triumph Publishing Company, Fagge Roundabout	11.5	1980s
25	Rijiyar Lemo	Kasuwar Rimi	Kofar Ruwa, Gwammaja, Kwanar Dala, Jakara, Kwanar Gabari	11.4	1980s
26	Shetima Junction	Naibawa (Kasuwar ‘Yan Lemu)	Emir’s Palace Road, Gian Murtala Roundabout, Zaria Road	11.9	1980s
27	Kasuwar Rimi	Sharada Juma’at Mosque (Kasuwar Sharada)	Emir’s Palace Road, Tudun Wazirchi, Kofar Na’isa, BUK Road	5.8	1980s
28	Yan Mota Jakara (Kurmi Market)	Janguza Market	Kwanar Dala, Jakara, GoronDutse, Mallam Aminu Kano Way, Tal’udu	16	1980s
29	Mariri (Kola nut Market)	Mallam Kato Square (Singa/Sabon Gari Market)	Hadejia Road, Wudil Road, Lodge Road, Hospital Road, Niger Street	10	1980s
30	Gayawa	Coca cola (Sabon Gari Market)	Kwanar Jaba, Sani Abacha Way, Murtala Muhammed Way Roundabout		1990s
31	Kawo Bus Stop	Mallam Kato Square (Singa/Sabon Gari Market)	Giginyu, Suleiman Crescent, Green Park, Alu Avenue, Hospital Road, Sani Abacha Way	7.5	1990s
32	Badawa	Cocacola (Sabon Gari Market)	Suleiman Crescent, Ahmadu Bello Way	9	1990s
33	Jogana	Mallam Kato Square (Singa/Sabon Gari Market)	Gunduwawa, Tokarawa, Sauna Kawaji, Yanyashi Bus Stop, Ahmadu Bello Way Roundabout	18.5	1990s
34	Mariri	Kasuwar Rimi	Ring Road, Maiduguri Road, Wudil Road, State Road, Gidan Murtala, Kofar	10	1990s

			Nassarawa, Rimi		
35	IBB Way by Kwari Market	Miltara (Dawanau Market)	IBB, Kofar Mazugal, Kofar Ruwa, Kurna, Rijiyar Lemo, Bachirawa, Miltara	12.5	1990s

Source: Adapted from A Report on Kano Bus Mass Transit Route Mapping Study, Supervised by Nigerian Infrastructure Advisory Facility (NIAF) and Funded by Department for International Development (DFID), 2011 p, 51-55

From table 3:1, it is clear that almost all the commercial buses in Kano metropolis move along routes linking one particular market to another. For example, there are service routes from Kasuwar Rimi (Rimi market), 'Yan Lemu Naibawa market, Dawanau market, Yan Kaba market to Sabon Gari market. There are also service routes between Janguza market, Dawanau market, 'Yan Lemu Naibawa market, Sharada market to Kasuwar Rimi (Rimi market). Moreover, there are routes which started from a particular market pass through through other markets before its final destination which is also another important market. A typical example is the route from Kurmi market via (*Kasuwar Rimi*) Rimi market, Kantin Kwari market and finally Sabon Gari Market. There is also a route between Dawanau market via Kofar Ruwa market, Jakara/Kurmi market and finally (*Kasuwar Rimi*) Rimi market. Thus, the whole process of intra-city commercial bus service revolves around the major and minor markets in Kano metropolis. This explanation is further represented in fig 3:1.

About 2,300 organized commercial buses operate in Kano daily and were managed by agents known as the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW formed in 1978).[383] The NURTW managed the passengers, the drivers and the bus owners. The intra-city commercial bus transport service is available from 6.00am and 11.00pm with about 52% of the buses making from 6 to 10 round trips; some make up to 20 round trips. In addition, a journey of 4km (Bata-Brigade route) takes between 20 and 50 minutes. This is most probably because about 50% of the buses make between nine to twelve stops on each trip. Some make up to 28 stops on a trip. In addition, there were nearly twenty regular and seven occasional

[383]Information from Alhaji Isa Hassan Executive Secretary National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) of Mallam Kato motor park (Bus 1), born in 1945 and interviewed on 12-012009, See also, M.A Liman Report On One Day Dialogue On Traffic Management and Public Transportation System

stop points mainly decided by passenger's request and bus conductor's judgment. Thus, a commercial bus service in Kano metropolis operates for about 15 hours daily. It operates pick–and–drop system anywhere in the terminals.[384]

To this end, virtually all the passenger buses often use both the metropolis routes and the routes outside the Kano metropolis to their various destinations. Improvement in the Kano commercial activities meant the upsurge of transport activities in these routes as the bulk of finished goods and raw materials, and traders are conveyed from the Metropolis to other areas of the state and beyond.

The distance and the nature of routes undoubtedly determine transport fares. Upward trend in the fares is attributed to the general downturn in the economy, increase in population, which invariably led to increase demand for transport facility. Other plausible reasons are the fuel scarcity, fuel cost, bad roads and cost of maintenance (see chapter 6:5 for more information on bus commuter charges and the changing nature of the charges from 1960s to 2000s).[385] The spatial receptacle where road transport routes starts from and/or terminates is here more commonly referred to as a motor park. Thus there are many motor parks in Kano Metropolis; some recognized by the authorities with built structure and operate with orderliness, while others are termed illegal and not recognized by authorities. In Kano metropolis virtually all the intra-city commercial buses are concentrated at Tashar Jakara (est.1962), Shahuci motor park (est. 1999), Mallam Kato (est. 1999), 'Yan Kaba (est. 1990), Kabuga/Rijiyar Zaki (est. 1999), Gidan Murtala (est. 1999), Gidan Zoo (est. 1999) Unguwa Uku (established 1982/3), Naibawa (est 1987/8), Kofar Ruwa (est. 1980), 'Yan Mata Rijiyar Lemo (est. 1990), Mariri and (est. 1992). These are the main metropolitan motor park.[386]

[384] See I.U Farouk and M.A Liman (2014)…p, 311
[385] Information from Alhaji Isa Hassan of Mallam Kato motor park, a bus driver and Bus 1 NURTW Secretary, age 70, interviewed on 12-012009
[386] Information from Kabiru Hassan Saleh Kankarofi (Labour) the chairman NURTW Shahuci motor park, age 43, interviewed on 13-11-2015, See Also N.M Lawan (2004) History of Motorparks in Kano City.....p, 21-33

Similarly, the idea of Bus Stops was introduced in 1984 when the then military Head of State Maj. General Muhammadu Buhari initiated the War against Indiscipline and Corruption (WAI), a program which led to the establishment of Bus Stops in major urban centres in Nigeria (Kano metropolis inclusive). The WAI program was against the unregulated practice of pick and drop system (anywhere on the road) initiated by passenger transport services, which constituted a great deal of traffic and security problems. Some of the Bus Stops established in Kano Metropolis during the period include Sheka, Dawanau, Dakata, Badawa, Kawo, Brigade, Jakara, Gorondutse, Mandawari, Gwale, Kurmi *'Ya*n Mota, K/Gabari, K/Asibiti, K/Mata Ciki da Waje, K/Nasarawa, Gidan Radio, Plaza, Beiruit Road, Filin Pakin, Kano Guest INN, Kuroda, *'Ya*n Kura, Asibitin Yara, Aitkin Road, New Road, Agip Filing Staion, Brigade, Yan Kaji, Gidan Sarkin Pawa, Gama Hotel, Kwanar T/Wada, Tudun Murtala, Rimin Kebe, Sabon Gari Police Station, Igbo Road, Bata, Wapa, Katsina Road Roundabout, K/Ruwa Bus Stop, Gwammaja Gidan Kwano, K/Mazugal, Rijiyar Lemo, Bachirawa, Miltara, Kawo, Badawa, Gyadi-Gyadi AKTH, Tarauni ATC Panshekara, Tsamiyar Boka, Kwanar Sabo, BUK old site, Kwanar Madobi and Zawaciki.[387]

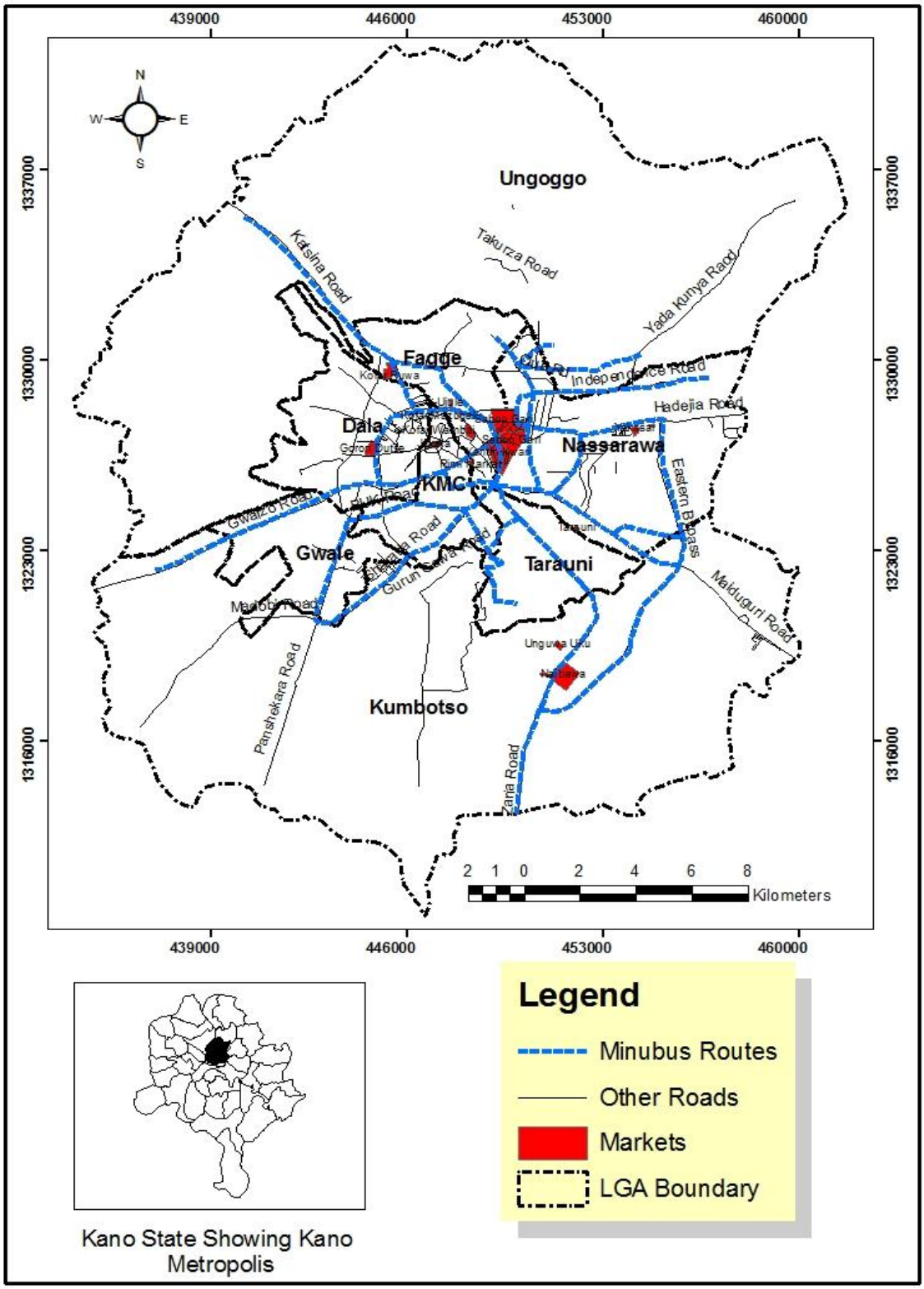
Plate 3:1 Commercial Buses



Picture taken by the researcher in Kano Metropolis on 15/11/2014

Fig 3:1 Map Showing Bus Routes and Markets Locations in Kano Metropolis

[387]Information from Alh. Rabiu Sani Secretary NURTW Shahuci motor park, age 59, interviewed on 17/11/2015



Source: Adapted from A Report on Kano Bus Mass Transit Route Mapping Study, Supervised by Nigerian Infrastructure Advisory Facility (NIAF) and Funded by Department for International Development (DFID), 2011 p, 13, 20 & 23

3.4 Taxi

The taxi service was first introduced in the 1950s by European commercial firms such as Niger Motors limited, J. Allen & Co limited, and Fuwo Garages and Transport Company.[388] Their customers were mostly European visitors to Kano. During this period most of the taxis were stationed at Kano Airport. They dropped passengers in Kano metropolis or other distance places such as Katsina, Zaria, Bauchi and so on. The charge was on hourly, daily and weekly basis ranging from six to 10 pence depending on the arrangement and distance of the journey.[389] In the early 1960s, there was also a taxi service used for the transportation of passengers and goods from Kano Railway Station to Sabon Gari and the city area. Other taxi stations then include Church road by Court road and new road by Church road in Sabon Gari.[390] The drivers were mainly employees of the commercial firms who were mostly Yoruba, Igbo, and some few West African Foreign Nationals such as the Ghanaians and the Sierraleoneans.[391]

Olaniyi argued that the early taxi drivers in Kano were the Egba and Ijebu Yoruba who used Peugeot 403 and Morris cars for hire.[392] Some of the popular Yoruba Taxi and Igbo drivers in the 1960s were Alhaji Baba Lagoda, Abdulaziz Olaniyi, Mr Ifanyi, Mr Godwin and Mr. Chikwendu.[393] With the exodus of Igbo and the Yoruba during the Nigerian Civil War 1967-1970[394] and the 1972 Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree which ousted foreign nationals from partaking in any form of small and medium local enterprises, the Hausa

[388] R.O Olaniyi, (2008) "Diaspora is not Like Home a Social and Economic History of Yoruba in Kano1912-1999" Published by Lincom Cultural Studies, Muenchen, p, 191-197
[389] Information from Abdussalam Mu'azu Chairman Mallam Aminu Kano International Airport Car Hire Service Association of Nigeria, age 60, interviewed at Kano Airport on 24/11/2015
[390] Information from Abdulaziz Olaniyi an early bus driver and later a taxi driver, age 68, interviewed at Emir Road by Ibadan Road taxi station Sabon Gari on 21/11/2015
[391] Information from Alhaji Abdullahi Salihu (Olowo) the 'Sarkin Yorubawan Kano' and a transport entrepreneur, age 86, interviewed at Emir Road Sabon Gari on 08/10/2015
[392] R.O Olaniyi, (2004)...p, 161
[393] Information from Abdulkarim Hamza an early taxi driver, age 68, interviewed at Emir Road by Ibadan Road taxi station Sabon Gari on 21/11/2015
[394] For more information on the consequences of the Nigerian Civil War see R. Uwachue. (1971), *Reflections on the Nigeria Civil War*, New York, African Publishing Company

quickly explored these opportunities and ventured into the taxi business to fill in the vacuum created by their exit.

The Hausa established their service station at Fagge ta Kudu area, a place which later assumed the name 'Emberhead' (i.e. taxi service station).[395] Alhaji Shitu was among the early indigenous Hausa taxi driver. He was elected the Chairman Taxi Union Kano. An association which was formed in 1976 to safeguard the interest of its members. The head office was located at No 16 Gold Coast Road.[396] The entrance of the Hausa also encouraged indigenous entrepreneurship. At the beginning, a taxi can only be chattered by individual or group of individuals based on the arrangement with the driver and it was considered to be too expensive and used by the richer residents and by others if it is an absolute necessity (i.e. someone is sick, a special social occasion, etc).[397] That was why they were mostly stationed at public places such as the airport and luxuries Hotels. From 1960s therefore, Kano metropolis has two modes of motorized intra-city commercial transport services namely bus and taxi. This development made Kano to flourish as a commercial nerve centre and a transit town similar to none of the states in Northern Nigeria.[398]

From 1970s, (oil boom era) competition between the buses and taxis in Kano metropolis became very common. Because the boom has led to increased incomes earning of average Nigerians, the 1970s saw a period of unprecedented high level demand/ownership of both private and commercial vehicles. Moreover this period was accompanied with high level of road infrastructural development leading to population concentration and urban expansion in many cities. For example, in Kano metropolis between 1971 to 1976 six major roads were constructed by the then military administrator Police Commissioner Audu Bako. These roads

[395]Information from Alhaji Abubakar Abdullahi of 'Yan Awaki Quarters and a former early indigenous taxi driver, age 65, interviewed on 26/072015

[396] Information from Kassim Raji an early taxi driver, age 56, interviewed at Emir Road by Ibadan Road taxi station Sabon Gari on 21/11/2015

[397] A Frishmen (1977)...p, 276

[398] See A. U. Dan Asabe (1996)… p, 233-234

are the Palace road, Rimi road, Kofar Mata road, Kofar Mazugal road, Zungeru road and Bello road.[399] These new and existing roads infrastructure therefore, plays a very important role in determining the population distribution, the location of different economic activities and the pattern of expansion of the metropolitan area.[400]

The population growth and expansion of Kano during the 1970s led to increasing demand for commuter transport services which the existing city buses could not meet up with the challenge. Consequently, the taxis which prior to 1970s provided airport and special services emerged as the second alternative to motorize intra-urban passenger transport services only next to buses. But because the taxis serviced most access routes and not all routes were serviced by buses, resulted in a serious competition between the two modes. Unlike the buses, the taxis have no definite route and have taking a long time developing their terminals (see fig 3:5). Like the buses, the taxis also operate pick and drop system.[401]

However, it is also important at this juncture to note that the Yoruba whom pioneered the taxi business but left Kano during the Civil War period i.e. 1967-1970 were beginning to come back in the mid 1970s. After their return, the Yoruba once again invested their capital in urban taxi. A number of Yoruba entrepreneurs became motor dealers and introduced vehicle hire purchase program. The most prominent among them was Owodunni and Sons Nigeria limited. The company supplied saloon cars and buses which were used for urban transport. The prospective buyers deposited half of the vehicle price and the remaining balance became doubled and repayable within 12 months. This credit system enabled a considerable number of Yoruba and Hausa drivers to acquire taxicab.[402]

From the late 1980s and early 1990s, a periods that witnessed the impact of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP), an economic measure introduced by the military

[399] A.N Shehu (1997) *Kano State under the Administration of Audu Bako1967-1975,* M.A thesis Bayero University Kano .p.167-168
[400] A Frishmen (1977)...p, 270
[401] See I.U Farouk and M.A Liman (2014)…p, 312
[402] R.O Olaniyi, (2004)...p, 161

regime of General Ibrahim Babangida, which had resulted to economic downturn because it affected public expenditure. This policy and other problems such as corruption led to the collapse of the Mass Transit Scheme. The collapse of the Mass Transit seriously affected and paralyzed commercial activities in Kano. The persistent suffering of commuters created by the collapse had resulted in a mass private sector participation in the intra-city and inter-state commercial transport services. Fairly used cars (Known as *Tokumbo*) were purchased by the private investors for use as bus and taxi in the metropolis. Also, due to the effect of SAP, cash strap workers or low income earners who were opportune to owned cars during the 1970s oil boom period, often used them in the 1980s and 1990s for part-time commercial city transport service which was then described as *kabu-kabu*. The civil servants who engaged in this type of business does it after working hours or before going to work with the aim of generating additional income to augment their regular earning with whatever they were able to make in the *kabu-kabu* business. Thus, within a short period of time, the intra-city transportation problem was at least halfway solved. Henceforth, from the 1990s, the taxis were operating both chartered and shared taxi transport services.

Taxis offer many of the advantages of both mass public transport and car ownership. The commuter is able to travel by taxi at any time, including late at night, and to any place that is accessible by car. The taxi user does not require an extensive knowledge of the physical layout of an area to which they wish to travel. As long as the destination address is known, the taxi driver will select the most appropriate route and deliver the passenger to the required destination. Hence, there is less stress associated with using taxis because the customer feels that the service is reliable.[403]

Since the collapse of the Mass Transit Scheme in the early 1990s, taxi service continued to grow with a significant proportion in Kano metropolis. For example, in addition

[403] E.J Gubbins (1988) *Managing Transport Operations*, Second edition, Clays Limited, England, p, 41

to the airport taxi cabs operators, whom started the service, similar service is being offered at each of the motor parks in Kano metropolis and other favourite locations such as Gidan Murtala, Zoo road, (BUK old site) and Kabuga (see fig 3:2).[404] Farouk and Liman argued that "there are more taxi cab terminals in Kano metropolis than there are bus terminals. Without definite route their connectivity is even lower than that obtained from the bus routes. In general however, there are more taxi cabs servicing Kano metropolis on a daily basis and these are also coordinated by National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) which manages the passengers, the drivers, and the taxi cab owners".[405] (See table 3:2 below).

Taxi Routes, Nodes and Connectivity in Kano Metropolis 1967-2015 (Trade Routes)

Table 3:2 Taxi Major Service Routes within Kano Metropolis and Distance in Kilometre (KM) as at 2014

S/NO	From	To	Via	Distance (km)	Routes Established Dates
1	Mallam Aminu Kano Airport	Mallam Kato Square (Singa/Sabon Gari Market)	Katsina Road, Hajj camp, IBB Way, France Road	7	1950s
2	Dorayi Karshen Waya	Mallam Kato Square (Singa/Sabon Gari Market)	ATC junction, Gadon Kaya, Dan'agundi junction, Gidan Murtala, Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Post office Road, Mallam Kato Square	9.6	1970s
3	BUK Old Site	Mallam Kato Square (Singa/Sabon Gari Market)	ATC Junction, Gidan Murtala, Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Post Office Road, Niger Street	8.5	1970s
4	BUK Old Site	Naibawa (Kasuwar 'Yan Lemu)	BUK road, ATC junction, Dan'agundi,Gandun Albasa, Isa Waziri road by Zoo road, Zoo road, Court road, AKTH , Maiduguri road junction by Zaria road,Unguwa uku, Federal Government college (FGC),Yanlemo Na'ibawa	15.5	1980s
5	Kabuga By Mobil Filling Station	Naibawa (Kasuwar 'Yan Lemu)	FCE,BUK road, ATC junction,Dan'agundi,Gandun Albasa, Isa Waziri road by Zoo road, Zoo road, Court road,AKTH, Maiduguri road junction by Zaria road,Unguwa uku, Federal Government College	16	1980s

[404]Information from Mustapha Ibrahim Nasidi Kano State Secretary of the (*Tsaya da Kafarka)* Kano State Taxi Drivers Association (KSTDA), age 53, interviewed on 13/07/2013
[405] See I.U Farouk and M.A Liman (2014)…p, 312-313

			(FGC),Yanlemo Na'ibawa		
6	Dorayi Karshen Waya	Dawanau Gari/Kasuwa	ATC junction, Gadon Kaya, Aminu kano way, Tal'udu, Kofar ruwa, Kurna, Bachirawa, Rijiyar lemo	18	1980s
7	Panshekara	Dawanau Gari/Kasuwa	Dorayi, ATC junction, Gadon Kaya, Aminu Kano Way, Tal'udu, Kofar Ruwa, Kurna, Bachirawa, Rijiyar Lemo	27.6	1980s
8	Kofar Gadon Kaya	Dawanau Gari/Kasuwa	Aminu kano Way, Tal'udu, Kofar Ruwa, Kurna, Bachirawa, Rijiyar Lemo	15.5	1980s
9	Kofar Kabuga	Dawanau Gari/Kasuwa	Kofar Kabuga, Tal'udu Roundabout, Mallam Aminu Kano Way, Kofar Ruwa, Kurna, Bachirawa, Rijiyar Lemo	16.2	1980s
10	BUK Old Site	Tsamiyar Boka	BUK Road, ATC junction, Dan'agundi, Gandun Albasa, Isa Waziri Road by Zoo Road, Zoo Road, Court Road, AKTH , Maiduguri Road by Zaria Road, Maiduguri Road, Sabo Bakin Zuwo junction by Maiduguri Road, Sabo Bakin Zuwo, Hotoro Tsamiyar Boka	14.7	1980s
11	Court Road Junction By AKTH	Mallam Kato Square (Singa/Sabon Gari Market)	Court Road, Court Road junction by Zoo Road, Dangi Roundabout, Zaria Road, Silver Jubilee, Obasanjo Way, Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Post Office Road, Nepa, Mallam Kato Square	6.8	1990s
12	BUK Old Site	Mariri	BUK Road, ATC junction, Dan'agundi, Gandun Albasa, Isa Waziri Road by Zoo Road, Zoo Road, Court Road, AKTH, Maiduguri Road by Zaria Road, Maiduguri Road, Kwanar Sabo by Maiduguri Road	16.9	1990s
13	BUK Old Site	BUK New Site	Kabuga junction,Gwarzo road, Janbulo, Rimingata	7.6	1990s
14	Kabuga by Mobil Filling Station	Mariri	BUK road, ATC junction, Dan'agundi, Gandun Albasa, Isa Waziri Road by Zoo Road, Zoo Road, Court Road, AKTH, Maiduguri Road by Zaria road, Maiduguri Road, Kwanar Sabo junction by Maiduguri Road	16.5	1990s
15	Sa'adatu Rimi COE (Naibawa)	Yankura/Sabon Gari Market	Zaria Road Flyover, Gyadi-Gyadi Roundabout, Dangi Roundabout, Silver Jubilee, Gidan Rediyo, Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Fagge Roundabout, Yankura	12.5	1990s

Source: Adapted from A Report on Kano Bus Mass Transit Route Mapping Study, Supervised by Nigerian Infrastructure Advisory Facility (NIAF) and Funded by Department for International Development (DFID), 2011 p, 51-55

From the above table, it is clearly demonstrated that most of the taxis nodes and terminus are located in the major markets in Kano metropolis. For example, from BUK old site, Court Road Junction by AKTH and Dorayi Karshen Waya to Mallam Kato Square were direct link to Singa and Sabon Gari market. From BUK old site and Kabuga by Mobil filing station to Naibawa were link to Naibawa 'Yan Lemu market. From Dorayi Karshen Waya, Kofar Kabuga, Panshekara and Kofar Gadon Kaya were link to Dawanau Grain market. And lastly, from Naibawa 'Yanlemu market to 'Yankura is also a direct link to Galadima and Sabon Gari markets. Thus, as in the case of the buses, the whole process of shared taxi cab service in Metropolitan Kano revolves around the major commercial and industrial sectors of the State. As at 2014, over 2000 shared taxi cabs painted in blue and yellow colours (see plate 3:2) carrying 4-5 passengers serviced Kano daily, starting operation from 6.00am to 10.00pm.[406] A new passenger is added once a previous one disembarks from the vehicle along the route being travelled. The fares are in some cases regulated and in other unregulated. The operator therefore bargains with the passengers before being carried.[407]

A second category of taxi service is associated with the airport. Here, the fare is regulated and high because of the personalized nature of the service which does not leave much room for bargaining like the city-painted taxi. A passenger going to Kano city from the Kano airport pay at least N3000 and for those travelling out of Kano to places such as Katsina and Kaduna, pay the least price of N15000.[408] Each operator is registered with the Airport Taxi Association upon payment of a prescribed fee and annual dues. Airport taxis are unpainted and in better operating condition than the city-painted ones. Because of the

[406] Information from Mustapha Ibrahim Nasidi Kano State Secretary of the (*Tsaya da Kafarka)* Kano State Taxi Drivers Association (KSTDA), age 53, interviewed on 13/07/2013
[407] Information from Rabiu Boss, a taxi driver, age 53, interviewed at IBB Way on 13/06/2015
[408] Information from Abdussalam Mu'azu Chairman Mallam Aminu Kano International Airport Car Hire Service Association of Nigeria, age 60, interviewed at Kano Airport on 24/11/2015

registration with the Association, passengers are better secured with this mode of transport.[409] Some of the brands of cars used for taxi service in the 1960s and 1970s include Datsun 121, Daihatsu, Mitsubishi and Toyota Corolla. In the 1980s, Peugeot 404 and 403 were mostly used. In 1990s, Toyota starlet and Opel Kadet were mostly used. Finally, from 2000s to date Volkswagen Golf is commonly use.[410]

As a result of number of factors such as lack of effective urban planning and traffic control as well as bad state of township roads due to corruption and negligence, neither the bus nor the taxi provide effective door-to-door services. These make the commercial motorcycles (*Achaba)* more appealing and effective. Thus, started as far back as 1984, the *Achaba* continued to wax stronger until it was banned in 2013 following security challenges.[411]

Plate 3:2 Taxis



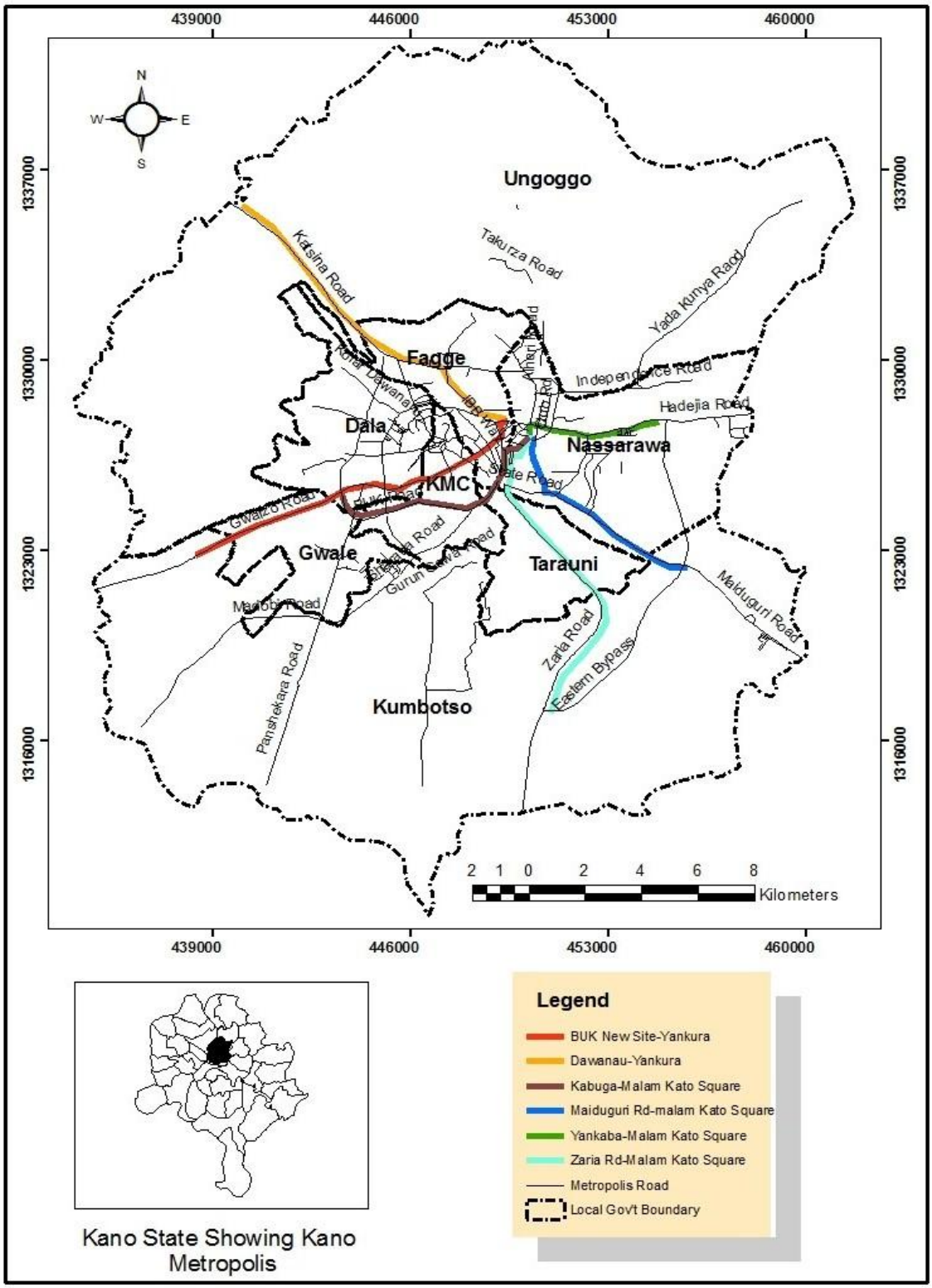
Picture taken by the researcher at Kofar Kabuga (BUK Road) on 11/11/2013

[409] Information from Alhassan Suleiman Welfare Officer Mallam Aminu Kano International Airport Car Hire Service Association of Nigeria, age 50, interviewed at Kano Airport on 24/11/2015, see also Kano State Transport Master Plan, Revised 2009, p, 82

[410] Information from Mal. Isa Direba, a former taxi driver, age 65, interviewed at Kadawa quarters on 27/07/2015

[411] See I.U Farouk and M.A Liman (2014)…p, 312-313

Fig 3:2 Map showing Some Major Taxi Routes in Kano Metropolis and their Destination



Source: Adapted from A Report on Kano Bus Mass Transit Route Mapping Study, Supervised by Nigerian Infrastructure Advisory Facility (NIAF) and Funded by Department for International Development (DFID), 2011 p, 13, 20 & 23

3.5 Emergence of Bicycle as a Means of Transportation (*'Yan Hayar Keke)*

Bicycles as a non-motorize means of transportation was introduced to Kano from Great Britain in the first decade of colonial rule i.e. 1900-1910.[412] However, at this time, the bicycles were exclusively used for the mobility of the colonial officers. By 1920s, the natives serving the British as messengers/dispensers were given bicycles for transportation. In the late 1920s, some businessmen and farmers who benefitted from the colonial cash crops policy such as Alhassan Dantata, Muhammadu Koki, Adamu Jakada, Maikano Agogo, Muhammadu Nagoda and several others began to purchase bicycles particularly the English made "Raleigh" which was being imported by the United Africa Company (UAC).[413]

The number of people who owned bicycles was however still very few since it was seen as luxury and at the same time, it was also seen as elitist possession and prestigious property (particularly the white Raleigh which was then referred to in Hausa as *Pan Keke*). However, by 1930s, the situation began to change as the ordinary city dwellers began to associate themselves with the bicycle culture because at this time motorcycle was also introduced. As such, in the late 1930s, the few farmers who owned the bicycles used them occasionally to bring home little food stuffs from farm. Also, traders who owned the bicycles used them for transporting European goods such as cooking utensils, or various domestic materials to educational instructional and building materials for sale to the nearby market. As a result, the farmers and the traders who used the bicycles for social and commercial functions instead of the elitist role it played were rebuked by people around them for overburdening such a luxury item (bicycle).[414]

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[412] NAK/KANO/PROF/Annual Report/SNP 1908/472/1909/Chief Transport Officer Zungeru

[413] See A.U Dan Asabe (1996) "Kano Labour and the Kano Poor", PhD Thesis BUK, p.243-244, see also J Oloidi (2014) "From Truck to Motor Vehicle: Wheeled Transportation in Ekiti of South-western Nigeria Before 1960" in *Journal of Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 4, No. 18, p, 146-147, also available at www.iiste.org, see also, J.S. Hogendon, (1978) *Nigerian Groundnut Export: Origin and Development*, ABU Press. Zaria

[414] See J Oloidi (2014)...p, 146-147

In the mid 1940s, the Igbo and the Yoruba living in Sabon Gari area of Kano metropolis changed the concept of luxury attached to the bicycles when they introduced the bicycle hiring business as a means of easing their intra-city transport problems in the area. For example, from 1943-1952 there were about 93 bicycle hirers in different parts of Sabon Gari.[415] By 1952 therefore, the bicycle hiring culture spread to the neighbouring Fagge (a town located in the eastern outskirt of the Kano city wall otherwise known as "Waje") due to its proximity to Sabon Gari and subsequently to the city area. As an economic form of transport, some two million bicycles were imported into Nigeria in the 1950s at a unit price of about N50 each. Thus, as an important form of passenger and goods transport, bicycles conversely began to serve social, commercial and other occupational functions.[416]

Setting up the Bicycle Hiring Business

Starting the commercial bicycle hiring business required a bold step of buying a single bicycle after which the operator could buy more. Some even bought second hand bicycles fixed them and used them to start the business.[417] Also, due to the profitable nature of the business, many people both men and women with modest means purchased bicycles and hired them out. For example, Alhaji Dauda of Fagge quarters purchased ten bicycles and gave them out to *'Yan Haya* in 1949. Also, Alhaji Muhammadu Koki purchased six bicycles and rented them out in Koki quarters.[418] Malam Saidu Dan Haya, Malam Muhammadu Na Bargaja, Malam Useni Mai Kekuna, Auwalu Igi, Dan Larai Isa, Abdullahi Ta Kan Soronka, Na Salla Wuyang and Adamu Hamza Bashir all pioneered the *Hayar Keke* in Indabawa and Kurmawa quarters. Others who pioneered the business in Kasuwar Rimi and Yakasai quarters

[415] A Frishmen (1977) "The Spatial Growth and Residential Location Pattern of Kano", PhD thesis Northwestern university, p, 281

[416] R Hamlin, K.G Clare & S.R Smith (1961)...p, *The Economic Co-ordination of Transport development in Nigeria*, A Report by Stanford Research Institute Menlo Park California

[417] Information from Alhaji Muntari Abubakar (Dan Haya), a former commercial bicycle repairer and hirer, age 79, interviewed at Yakasai quarters on 01/07/2014

[418] See N Skinner ed (1977) *Alhaji Muhammadu Koki: Kano Malam*, ABU Press, p, 122-124

include Alhaji Muntari Abubakar, Alhaji Ibrahim Mai Kanti, Ado Mai Makaneza, Alhaji Anyaji and Alhaji Ummaru Mai Gajeren Wando. [419]

Due to the profitable nature of the bicycle business, in the late 1960s, it was a sign of business prosperity to even be associated with *hayar keke*. The *'Yan Haya* were the elites and the job was more attractive than that of physical labourers. Wealthy Kano industrialists such as Alhaji Garba Bichi and Alhaji Sani Marshal participated in the bicycle hiring business.[420]

According to oral source, many women in Kano metropolis played an important role in boosting the bicycle hiring business. Some purchased between one and twelve and distributed them for hire service and received their pay at the end of the week which was N280.00 in the 1990s, while the hirer could make up to N1000 in a week and averagely N140 per bicycle per day. Examples of such women include: Hajiya Nafisa Inuwa of Kofar Nasarawa quarters, Hajiya Lami Hamza of Indabawa quarters, Hajiya Fatima Dahiru of Kurmawa quarters, Hajiya Halima, Hajiya Kubra and Hajiya Ai of Yakasai quarters.[421]

A bicycle hirer could have between 10 and 50 bicycles. He could employ the aid of some young boys as his assistants and a suitable place close to a market, Motor Park or any public place and displayed them. In Kano metropolis for example, bicycle hirers were seen in places such as Kasuwar Rimi, Kasuwar Kurmi, Kasuwar Kofar Wambai, Kofar Nasarawa, Kofar Mata, Durumin Iya, Durumin Zungura, Tsohuwar Rimi, Fagge and other places with high population concentration.[422] Most customers who hired bicycles were familiar with the bicycle hirers. In case of mischief the bicycle hirer knew where to find them or their relatives. And in the case of a stranger who was not familiar to the hirer, the young boys who assisted

[419] Information Mallam Adamu Hamza Bashir, a bicycle repairer and hirer, age 40, interviewed at Indabawa Quarters on 18/07/2014 and Information Malam Auwalu Usman, a bicycle repairer and hirer, age 47, interviewed at Kasuwar Rimi on 18/07/2014

[420] See A. U Dan Asabe (1996)…,p. 245

[421] Information Malam Auwalu Usman, a bicycle repairer and hirer, age 47, interviewed at Kasuwar Rimi on 18/07/2014 and Information from Malam Adamu Hamza Bashir, a bicycle repairer and hirer, age 40, interviewed at Indabawa Quarters on 18/07/2014

[422] Information from Alhaji Muntari Abubakar (Dan Haya), a former commercial bicycle repairer and hirer, age 79, interviewed at Yakasai quarters on 01/07/2014

the *Dan Haya* accompanied him to bring back the bicycle due to fear of stealing. Some of the bicycles used for hire service were brands such as Raleigh, Phoenix, Atlas, Rudg and Philies.[423]

The customers hired the bicycle mostly for leisure and for business purposes. It served as a means of leisure for young children especially the beginners who wished to learn how to use it. This was done usually on a short distance in which the hirer had a marked spot at the market or area where the business was being conducted. The rider was expected to reach the marked spot and make a u turn and then ride back to the hired point. The beginners were charged one penny (1d) in the 1960s.[424]

For the youth and the elders it was mostly used for business and other official functions and it was referred to as a long distance journey. For example some hired bicycle to ride to a nearby market to buy essential items or to sell their little trading commodities such as food stuffs. On their return journey, they purchased some essential commodities such as food stuffs. In this case, the bicycles were taken to a blacksmiths by the owners for additional metal or iron support (carrier) which could equip them to carry heavier loads for transporting to the market. As such, people began to wonder how a single bicycle could carry the loads that even 3 porters find it difficult to carry.[425] While some hired the bicycle to assist them to effectively carry out their commercial activities others hired it to go to their places of work or schools and settled the bicycle hirer when they returned. The payment was made based on hourly, daily, weekly or on monthly basis, depending on the arrangement. Customers who hired on hourly basis were charged three pence (3d) per hour in 1960s, N1.00 in 1970s,

[423] Information Mallam Isa Direba, a former commercial bicycle repairer and hirer, age 60, interviewed at Kadawa Quarters on 01/07/2014
[424] Information from Alhaji Muntari Abubakar (Dan Haya), a former commercial bicycle repairer and hirer, age 79, interviewed at Yakasai quarters on 01/07/2014
[425] Information from Alhaji Muntari Abubakar (Dan Haya), See also J Oloidi (2014)...p, 146-147

N5.00 in 1980s and N10.00 in 1990s.[426] Thus, bicycle hiring served as an important means of intra-city transport service from 1940s to 1990s.

Factors that contributed to the growth of bicycle Hiring

Alhaji Muntari[427] stated that one of the major factors that contributed to the growth of bicycle hiring was the unavailability of urban infrastructure such as road networks and automobiles. He further stated that, up to the late 1960s the only service route for intra-city commercial bus transport was from Kurmi market to Sabon Gari market via Rimi and Kantin Kwari markets. Therefore, the intra-city bus service and its defined routes were grossly inadequate, especially looking at the immense growth of economic activities in the metropolis and the attendant migration and population growth. There was also no conventional/shared taxi, no commercial motorcycle and tricycle at that time to complement the inadequacy of the existing means of transport (i.e. the buses). The only alternative for commuters particularly those that were not shuttling from Kurmi to Sabon Gari market was to hire a bicycle to their destinations. A study conducted in 1973 indicated that the average household in the city took 5.67 trips per day of which 47% were by foot and 36% were by bicycles. Buses and taxis accounted for only 10% while private cars and motorcycle accounted for the remaining 8%.[428]

In another dimension, Malam Isa a former bicycle hirer stated that the commercial bicycle hiring or '*Yan Hayar Keke* as it is popularly known in Kano, became very much popular in the late 1950s for socio-economic and political reasons. Economically, according to him this usually involved the way and manner the urban dwellers shaped their economic activities using the bicycle as a means of intra-city movement by transporting themselves and their trading items such as food stuffs and beverages from one part of the city to another.

[426] Information from Alhaji Muntari Abubakar (Dan Haya), a former commercial bicycle repairer and hirer, age 79, interviewed at Yakasai quarters on 01/07/2014
[427] Information from Alhaji Muntari Abubakar (Dan Haya), a former commercial bicycle repairer and hirer, age 79, interviewed at Yakasai quarters on 01/07/2014
[428] See A Frishmen, (1977)

Politically, Malam Isa posited that during their rallies and campaigns, in order to save cost and facilitate their movement and also because not all roads were motorable then, politicians and their supporters usually hired bicycles to transport themselves from one section of the city to another (including nearby villages). This was very common with supporters of the radical political party, the Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU), in the First Republic led by Malam Aminu Kano.[429]

Socially, commercial bicycles had played an important role in fostering harmonized relationship among people. For example, people hired bicycles to visit their friends and relatives especially during festive periods (*Sallah* and *Maulud* celebrations). Also, from 1960s up to late1970s, it was a popular custom then for a groom and his friends to hire bicycles during marriage ceremonies, usually on Saturdays in order to go round places outside the city wall such as Sabon Gari and Bompai. This was done a day after the wedding and it is referred to as *Hawan Angwanci*. Also, on Sundays the groom together with his friends hired bicycles to visit his in-laws and that was known as *Tasani*.[430] This custom help popularised the business of bicycle hiring in Kano metropolis.

Other reasons for the growth of commercial bicycle hiring included cost saving. The bicycle was an economic form of transport. It was cheap to buy and maintain and has very low running cost. And since most of its operators are bicycle repairers themselves, they did not spend much on its maintenance. Unlike motorcycle and automobiles, the bicycle needs no fuel and gives off no fumes and make almost no noise.[431] Thus, those hiring it only required paying a little amount depending on the distance and time utilized for the journey made. The bicycle offered increased mobility to areas that are inaccessible to other means of transport as

[429] This information was confirmed by Alh. Muhammadu Mansur Lili Gabari, a famous politician who played an active role in the formation and activities of NEPU in the 1950s. He was also a transport entrepreneur and driver in the 1950s. He is 84 years old and interviewed at his residence at Bakin Zuwo on 26/11/15

[430] Information Mallam Isa Direba, a former commercial bicycle repairer and hirer, age 60, interviewed at Kadawa Quarters on 01/07/2014

[431] P Lafferty and D Jefferis (1990) *Pedal Power: The History of Bicycles*, Franklin Watts Inc, New York, p, 4

well as time saving by competing favourably with other forms of transport on congested urban roads. Convenience is also an important factor.

The bicycle will take you absolutely anywhere on well surfaced roads, as yet uncluttered by a surfeit of motor traffic. Mainly due to less windswept hillside and the flat nature of the land in Kano metropolis with low rainfall, these environmental factors favored the operation of bicycle as a means of transportation.[432] Much of the time involved in walking to and waiting at bus stops especially during the early morning and evening rush was avoided by the cyclist. Hence, the bicycle offered door-to-door service. Apart from friendly environmental values, health is also an important factor to reckon with. An additional benefit to the individual must surely be the relaxing, health-giving attributes of this mode of transport by deriving body fitness.[433] Therefore, if not for its speed constraint which was based on strenuous forceful effort and lower goods carrying capacity, the bicycle would have being more preferred as a means of intra-city transport than all the other existing modes. Due to the growth of Bicycle use, in 1974 the Kano State government under Audu Bako administration negotiated with Raleigh Bicycle Industries Limited of Britain a development that led to the establishment of Raleigh Assembly Plant at Maimalari road under the name Niger Cycles Limited. Setting up the plant had contributed in reducing the unit price of the bicycle to N70 and as well provided employment to about 450 people.[434]

Decline of Bicycle Hiring Business

Consequently, due to the profitable nature of the commercial bicycle hiring, the business had continued to feature prominently in Kano metropolis until the late 1990s and was only constrained with the increasing number of commercial motorcycles (*Achaba*) from 1999. This was as a result of the political development of the Fourth Republic in which

[432] H Dupree (1987) *Urban Transportation: The New Town Solution*, Gower Publishing Company Limited, England, p, 180
[433] H Dupree (1987)…p, 191
[434] See A.N Shehu (1997)...p, 143

politicians who won political offices compensated their errand boys (*'Yan Jagaliya*) as a means of empowering them with brand new and easy to maintain Jincheng, Nanfang, Zongshen and other Chinese made motorcycles which replaced the existing used/second-hand and uneasy to maintain Japanese made such as Honda, Yamaha electric and Kawasaki,[435]. Hence, from 1999 onwards, the motorcycles took over from the suddenly strenuous peddling cycle.[436] As the commercial motorcycle number increased, the demand for bicycle dropped. Due to availability of *Achaba* many cyclist customers became '*Yan Achaba* passengers and this trend continued up to 2013 when commercial motorcycles were banned.

A survey of literature indicates that bicycles were a prominent mode of transport during the first half of the twentieth century. Some of the reasons that contributed to its setback include most governments using road design standards that are neither bicycle-friendly nor pedestrian-friendly and nor environment-friendly.[437] Moreover, the bicycle is used less and less as income rises and it is also perceived as the transport mode of the poor. These cultural barriers appear to be determinant in the non-utilization of bicycles.[438]

A Re-emergence of the Bicycle Business

In Nigeria, between 2010 and 2014, security problem has seriously ravage the country particularly the Northern part which is being terrorized by the *Boko Haram* (meaning western education is a sin) insurgency. The security situation had forced authorities in the Northern States such as Adamawa, Borno, Yobe, Gombe, Kano, Kaduna and Plateau State to take a pro-active measure in curbing the security problem by banning commercial motorcycle and imposing a dusk-to-dawn restriction on motorcycling i.e. from 6:00pm to 6:00am. This

[435] Y.M Adamu and Y.A Umar (2012) "Riding Youths: A Preliminary Analysis of the Commercial Motorcyclist ('*Yan Achaba*) in Metropolitan Kano" in B.A Umar, Y.M Adamu & K.I Dandago *ed Issues in Youth Development in Nigeria: A Multidisciplinary Perspective*, Adamu Joji Publishers Kano, p. 231-232

[436] Weekly Trust News Paper, Saturday, October 26, 2013/Bicycle Hire: Once Upon a Popular Biz

[437] See D Mozer, The Bicyclist's Dilemma in African Cities available at http://www.ibike.org/library/africancity.htm

[438] Pascal Pochet, Jean-Michel Cusset (2010) Cultural barriers to bicycle use in Western African cities. IATSS Research, 1999, 23 (2), pp.43-50. <halshs-00761667>

measure was as a result of the incessant attack by the insurgents using motorcycles. This development therefore pushed up demand for alternative means of transportation among the non-motoring segment of people and equally shot up taxi and bus fares.

After the banning of *Achaba* and restriction on motorcycle operations was imposed in Kano metropolis, the demand for alternative means of transportation among low income earners created new canters for bicycle selling/hiring business as well as individual/personal ownership. The security problems therefore contributed to the re-emergence of the bicycle driving culture. Consequently, new shops for the sales of cheap and second hand bicycles emerged. As a result, the used bicycles imported from Japan, Germany and Italy which is considered by most users to be durable and qualitative compared to the new ones mostly imported from China soon became available and cheap. Multiple containers were imported by dealers into Nigeria and distributed to the states affected by the motorcycle ban[439] (see appendix 11).

According to a Kano base dealer Danbala who was interviewed by one of the national dailies (Sunday Trust) maintained that, within the week he was interviewed, he had taken delivery of three containers, each containing 600 bicycles. "I have sold all except few," he said, adding, "Today I have sold a total of 42 bicycles between morning and noon". Danbala further stated that "The imported Japanese made used bicycle is so good that it can last longer than three new ones used successively," he said. "I have spent about 20 years in this business selling new bicycles, but now I supply only second-hand, because people don't buy new ones anymore," the bicycles are fitted with assorted instruments that make them more attractive to customers. "Some of them are equipped with gear levers, with options of selecting six different levels. This is in addition to solar-powered lights and other accessories." [440]

[439] Information from Alhaji Yusuf Jibrin Fagge a second-hand bicycle dealer, age 55, interviewed at Fagge Wapa on 24/11/2015

[440] http://www.dailytrust.com.ng/sundaytrust-Achaba ban causes second-hand bicycles biz to thrive in Kano Published on Sunday, 08 September 2013 06:00, Written by Lawan Danjuma Adamu

3.6 Commercial Motorcycles (*Achaba*)

An Okada (also: *Going*, *Achaba* etc) is a commercial motorcycle used for intra-city services in most Nigerian cities. The name Okada was borrowed from Okada Air, a Nigerian local airline, now defunct. Motorcycle transports were nicknamed after the airline, because they could manoeuvred through the heavy traffic and take passengers to their destinations in a timely manner, and they do not stop like commercial vehicles at bus stops to pick or drop passengers, in the same way as the airline.[441]

In Kano metropolis the use of motorcycle by private individuals had existed since 1940s and was imported into Nigeria by the European expatriate trading firms such as United Africa Company (UAC), John Holt, Niger Company, Unilever and Lagos Stores.[442] Although many used it for private purposes to transport farm produce and to hawk their goods from home to market and vice versa. A few made use of it for hire service in which people hired it either for pleasure or for business trip and not for passenger service. It could be hired for hours or for days depending on the arrangement between the hirer and the customer. This according to Hassan was the beginning of commercial motorcycling in Kano.[443] But the actual intra-city commercial motorcycles *(Achaba*) as popularly known in Kano began in the mid 1980s, following the economic downturn and rapid population explosion resulting to traffic congestion in Kano metropolis which had led to increased demand for passenger transport services which could not be catered for by the existing intra-city buses and taxis.[444]

[441] A.A Ogunsanya, and M Galtima (1993) "Motorcycle in Public Transport Service in Nigeria: A Case Study of Yola Town", in J.S Ikya (ed), *Urban Passenger Transportation in Nigeria*, Ibadan, Heinemann, 191-207
[442] Kano Transport Master Plan (TMP) Revised Final March 2009, 80
[443] Information from Alh. Muhammad Sani Hassan, Kano state chairman of the Amalgamated Commercial Motorcycle Association of Nigeria (ACOMORAN), age 53, interviewed on 07/07/2013
[444] O.O Olubomehin (2012) "The Emergence of Motorcycles as a Means of Commercial Transportation and its Impact on the Economy and Society", *Research in Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 2 No. 6, www.iiste.org (Online), p, 232

Structural Adjustment Program and the Rise of an Informal Transport system (*Achaba*)

Olubomehin argued that, of the government measures to combat the economic crisis of the time, the one that had the most far-reaching effect on the populace was the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) policies introduced by the General Babangida military regime in 1986. SAP brought untold hardship which compounded the woes of the people as it reduced the earning powers of the average Nigerians. The number of the jobless and unemployed swelled as a result of the effect of SAP. The policy led to the collapse of many companies. Those that managed to operate could not do so in full capacity. Particularly affected were the textile and manufacturing companies operating in the country. Hence many of the low income workers who owned motorcycles started using it for commercial transportation purpose. Thus, when the business started, the motorcycle owners drove it themselves, gradually the profitability of the business attracted many people with modest means to purchase motorcycles and hired them out, while some others sell them on a hire purchase basis.[445] Abdulkadir maintained that,

> In the 1980s, the rationalisation of employment levels leading to massive retrenchment of workers without properly addressing the issue of alternative jobs possibilities had resulted in substantial unemployment and threw into the national job market many of the nations manpower. The massive devaluation of national currency – the Naira had resulted in hyper and cost-push inflation resulting in the decline of real incomes of the retrenched workers.[446]

In the face of SAP many of the industries laid off their workers. It was this group of unemployed and jobless as well as cash strapped workers that pioneered the commercial motorcycle business.[447] Similarly, the SAP also caused inflation, which affected the cost of imported goods including the automobiles used for intra-city commercial transportation. For

[445] See O.O Olubomehin (2012)…p, 233, see also Jibrin Ibrahim (2011) Special Report: The Motorcycle Take-Over, West African Insight, November 2011 Transport
[446] M.S Abdulkadir (2014) *Economic Crisis, Poverty, Unemployment, Slave Trade and Human Trafficking in Nigeria C 1930-2010*, A Seminar Paper Presented at the Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies, Bayero University, Kano, p. 4
[447] See O.O Olubomehin (2012)…p, 233

example, the real exchange rates indices for the Naira against the US Dollar have shown that between 1980 and 2010, the value of the Naira has deteriorated by about 404.9% falling from N30.3 to US$1 in 1980 to N45.6 in 1995, N34.2 in 1997, N31.5 in 1998, N122.4 in 1999, and N153 in 2010.[448] The price of Volkswagen bus in 1985 Pre-SAP period was N6000 but increased to N20,000 in 1987, while Peugeot 504 which was sold at N10,913 in the pre-Sap period rose to N36,913 in January 1987.[449] This condition makes it difficult for transporters to replace their aging vehicles with new ones.[450] In order to solve the transport problem, the government introduced a Mass Transit Scheme at both the State and Federal levels, but it was not a success as the vehicles were grossly inadequate. The implication was that as the population increased and economic activities got more diversified especially in Kano metropolis, the vehicle fleet decreased, thereby necessitating the need for other means of commuter transportation. The other transport means that emerged to fill this gap was at first the commercial bicycle and later the motorcycle and tricycle transportation services.[451]

Ogunbodede argued that the general acceptability and use of motorcycle for intra-urban mobility began during the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) with its very stringent attributes. It can be argued therefore that since the Federal Urban Mass Transit and taxi cabs were unable to provide adequate intra-urban transport service to sustain multi-various urban activities, this made people to convert their personal motorcycle for public transportation in response to reality of commuters need. Thus, civil servants converted their personal vehicles for commercial use which was then described as *kabu-kabu*. The civil servants who engaged in this type of business does it after working hours or before going to work with the aim of

[448] M.S Abdulkadir (2014)....p, 4
[449] R.O Olaniyi, (2004)...p, 161
[450] According to Kano State Licensing Office, in 1982 about 5,000 buses were registered in Kano. But by 1986 during the SAP peak period, only 565 buses were registered. See Kano State Motor Vehicle Statistics, Government Printers Kano, 1986, p, 4-5
[451] See O.O Olubomehin (2012)…p, 233,see also K.T Gbadamosi (2006) "The Emergence of Motorcycle in Urban Transportation in Nigeria and its Implication on Traffic Safety", Courtesy of Association for European Transport and Contributors 2006

generating additional income in order to augment their regular income with whatever they were able to make in commercial motorcycle business. Some of these civil servants included junior officers of the Police, Army, Custom, Immigration and Prison Services. With time, the Achaba system survived the test of time. [452]

Thus, combinations of factors are responsible for the use of motorcycle as a means of intra-city transport. One important factor was the rapid rate of urbanization which goes along with it population explosion in the face of inadequate means of transport. For example, as mentioned at the beginning of this study, the population of Kano metropolis according to the 1962 census was 330,000 people and by 2006, the population rose to 3 million people. Whereas population increased the number of automobiles decreased due to effect of SAP. For example, the number of vehicles registered in Kano decline from 33,804 in 1982 to only 2,729 in 1986 (see table 4:3).[453] However, the level of household car ownership remains very low and the possibility of owning a car is only open to the wealthiest individuals. And because the people of Kano are highly mobile, willing to travel at short notice, the inadequacy of the transport system was soon handled with the emergence of motorcycle for commercial purposes on the streets of Kano.[454]

Profitability and Popularity of the *Achaba*

The term *Achaba* is derived from a Hausa word *Chabawa*, which literally means gain. According to information gathered, the choice of the term to describe the commercial motorcyclist was based on the fact that due to the lucrative nature of the business people

[452] E.F Ogunbodede (2008) "Urban Road Transportation in Nigeria from 1960-2006: Problems, Prospects and Challenges", Extract from *Ethiopian Journal of Environmental Studies and Management*, Vol.1 No. 1, p. 12-13
[453] Motor Vehicle Statistics 1978-1986 Governors office Statistics Division, Kano State
[454] Information from Alh. Muhammad Sani Hassan, Kano State Chairman of the Amalgamated Commercial Motorcycle Association of Nigeria (ACOMORAN), age 53, interviewed on 07/07/2013, see also O.O Olubomehin (2012) "The Development and Impact of Motorcycles as a Means of Commercial Transportation in Nigeria", *Reserch in Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 2 No. 6, www.iiste.org (Online), p, 232-233, See also EchoGeo (2012) Motorbike Taxis in the Transport Crisis of West and Central African Cities

referred to the riders as *Yan Achaba* i.e. easy profit making venture.[455] The *Achaba* operators made reasonable income from their operations. Most operators stated that they make an average of N60 to N75 between 1986 and 1991, and N1500 to N2500 between 2001 to 2012 respectively, on a daily basis after settling all expenses including daily payment to the owner.[456] The operator was charged with the responsibility of fuelling and minor repairs and the payment made by the operator ranges from the least of N250 to a maximum of N500 in case of soft loan and higher purchase. However the payment was done on daily, weekly or monthly basis depending on the arrangements.[457] In view of this, one is obliged to understand that the profit from the business was also a strong factor that contributed to its growth.[458] Some of the motorcycle brand used at the earliest stage i.e. 1980s included Yamaha and Suzuki 50, 90 and 100. Later in the early 1990s, Suzuki, Yamaha and Honda CG 125 electric motorcycles were mostly used. In the mid 1990s Kawasaki GTO and Honda Beli were more preferred for *Achaba*. But from 1999-2013 Jincheng, Nanfang, Suzuki, Zongshen, Jinsung and later Bajaj were used.[459]

The use of commercial motorcycle was so popular among commuters because of their availability and their ability to satisfy demand for trips that were not covered by other public transport modes such as a short door-to-door trip and for access and egress journeys in zones with poor transport services.[460] In Government Reservation Areas (GRAs), *Achaba* is the only means of travel for the ones without private cars because of the non availability of buses and taxis. Kano is a city of traders. The city is not like Lagos with high rise office buildings

[455] Information from Alh. Muhammad Sani Hassan, Kano State Chairman of the Amalgamated Commercial Motorcycle Association of Nigeria (ACOMORAN), age 53, interviewed on 07/07/2013
[456] Information from Alh. Auwalu Takobi, Kano state Financial secretary of the Amalgamated Commercial Motorcycle Association of Nigeria (ACOMORAN), age 49, interviewed on 07/07/2013
[457] Y.M Adamu and Y.A Umar (2012)…p, 230-231
[458] A. U Dan Asabe (1996)…p, 248-251, and also Information from Balarabe Ibrahim, a commercial motorcycle rider, age 38, interviewed on 27/06/2013
[459] Information from Alh. Hassan Muhammad, A former Dan Achaba and now a tricycle rider, age 50 interviewed on 07/07/2013
[460] See O.O Olubomehin (2012)…p, 234

having a lot of workers. An average Kano trader is time conscious, mobile in nature, and wants to crisscross the three segments (nucleus, intermediate, and peripheral) of the city as quickly as possible. For these reasons, people make use of *Achaba* as a preferred mode of desire to avoid delays and traffic congestion.[461]

Consequently, there was no road that was too narrow and there was no area that was too remote for the motorcycles. It avoids the congestion and operating constraints that affected shared taxis and conventional buses, such as generally fixed nature of routes or the need to wait until the vehicle is full before starting out. In addition to these advantages, the commercial motorcycles are affordable. For example, a journey from Dawanau to Sabon Gari market which could last for 2hours using bus and 1hour 20minutes using taxi, could be covered in 25minutes using commercial motorcycle.[462] They cover distance ranging from a few meters to a distance as far as 20 kilometers.[463]

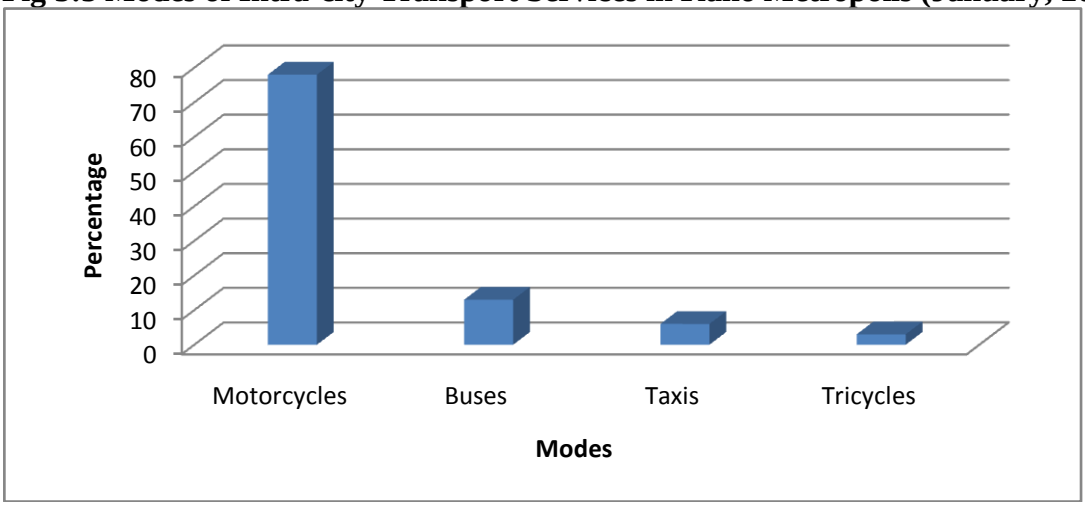
Moreover, it is cheaper to maintain a motorcycle than a bus or taxi. The spare parts are cheaper and readily available than those of motor cars. Also, contributing to the flourishing of *Achaba* is their low purchase price compared to automobiles, and their superior fuel economy, given the erratic fuel shortages in the country. It was these advantages that encouraged high level investment in the business and sustained its operations over the years.[464]

The *'Yan Achaba* in Kano metropolis sometime operated like the shared taxi cab. Some stayed at public points such as motor parks, cinema theatres, disco halls, hotels, market places, road junctions and so on, while others navigated around the minor and major roads

[461] Development of Kano State Transport Policy, For Kano Urban Transport Project: Draft Green Paper (Internal Circulation Only), Supervised by Nigerian Infrastructure Advisory Facility (NIAF) and Funded by Department for International Development (DFID) and Implemented by Adams Smith International, 2013, p, 81-82
[462] Information from Yusuf Suleiman (Dan TSohuwa), a former Dan Achaba and now Tricycle rider, age 53, interviewed on 06/07/2014
[463] EchoGeo (2012) Motorbike Taxis in the Transport Crisis of West and Central African Cities
[464] See O.O Olubomehin (2012)…p,234

looking for passengers (see plate 3:4).[465] The following chart shows that in Kano metropolis commercial motorcycle mode of transport provided about 78% of intra-city transport service, while buses provided 13%. Taxis and tricycle provided 6% and 3% respectively.

Fig 3:3 Modes of Intra-city Transport Services in Kano Metropolis (January, 2012)



Source: Adapted From M. Muhammad (2013) "Commercial Motorcycle Operation in Kano and the Challenge to Democracy", in S Bello, M Muhammad, M.I Mukhtar and Y.B Daraja ed *Perspectives on the Study of Contemporary Kano*, ABU Press, Zaria, p, 336.

Since the *'Yan Achaba* overcome traffic congestion, and are able to navigate roads that are inaccessible to taxis and buses, particularly in the urban slums, workers, traders, students and so on patronized it to get to their various destination.[466] This, of course, shows the level at which commercial motorcycle facilitated the growth of socio-economic activities in Kano metropolis. The people who patronised *Achaba* are divided into two namely, the day and night customers. Day time customers were primarily businessmen who wish to avoid traffic hold ups, visitors to Kano metropolis, civil servants and students. Night customers were mostly youths who went out to Sabon Gari area for amusement. The peak of the *Achaba* business was between 7:30am and 12:00 noon, and 3:20pm to 7:30pm for day time session, and 8:30pm to 2:30am for night session[467]

Socio-economic Impact of *Achaba*

[465] A. U Dan Asabe (1996)…,p. 248
[466] Information from Balarabe Ibrahim, a commercial motorcycle rider, age 38, interviewed on 27/06/2013
[467] A. U Dan Asabe (1996)…,p. 251

The *Achaba* business has provided employment for many jobless youth in Kano. Before the ban of *Achaba* in Kano metropolis in February, 2013, there were almost half a million registered *Achaba* riders.[468] This is in addition to almost the same number of unregistered ones. About 55.2% of those involved in *Achaba* are on full time basis, while about 35.6% are on part time basis.[469] The part timers include civil servants and traders. According to Alhaji Hassan,[470] (Chairman ACOMORAN Kano branch) there were over one million *Achaba* riders in Kano.

Contrary to Hassan claim, according to census conducted on '*Yan Achaba* in Kano Metropolis by the Ministry of Works, Housing and Transport in 2010 suggested that there are approximately 850,000 '*Yan Achaba* operators.[471] Although the number may possibly have increase to 1000,000 between 2010-2013 due to their restrictions or banning in other states such as Lagos and the Federal Capital, Abuja. This of course led to their movement to Kano where their arrival imposed a new moral behaviour among '*Yan Achaba* (such as cleaning the motorcycle while riding, using their hands or legs as traffic indicator for a stop or corner, hungry for a fight, reckless driving among others) which were quiet unusual before they came. The *Achaba* business therefore, is by far the biggest employer of youths in Kano and Kano has the highest concentration of commercial motorcycle in the country.

Apart from providing the means of livelihood to the many unemployed youths, the *Achaba* provide source of income to the owners of the motorcycles. For example, only 35% of those involved in the business owned the motorcycles, while about 64% work for other

[468] M. Muhammad (2013) "Commercial Motorcycle Operation in Kano and the Challenge to Democracy", in S Bello, M Muhammad, M.I Mukhtar and Y.B Daraja ed *Perspectives on the Study of Contemporary Kano*, ABU Press, Zaria, p, 332

[469] Y.M Adamu and Y.A Umar (2012)…p, 230

[470] Information from Alhaji Muhammad Sani Hassan, Kano state chairman of the Amalgamated Commercial Motorcycle Association of Nigeria (ACOMORAN), age 53, interviewed on 07/07/2013 and Alh. Ibrahim Fagge, a former Dan Achaba and now a taxi driver, age 40, interviewed on 06/07/2014

[471] Development of Kano State Transport Policy, For Kano Urban Transport Project: Draft Green Paper (Internal Circulation Only), Supervised by Nigerian Infrastructure Advisory Facility (NIAF) and Funded by Department for International Development (DFID) and Implemented by Adams Smith International, 2013, p, 6

people of which, about 12.7% are parents or relatives. It is also worth mentioning that 77.8% owners of the motorcycles are male while only 18% are owned by females.[472]

Although the increasing number of the '*Yan Achaba* constitutes a great deal of nuisance which includes the violation of traffic rules and perpetration of criminal activities, yet, the Achaba business has contributed immensely in sustaining the multifarious commercial activities in Kano metropolis. For example, the *Achaba* provided door to door services to commuters and by so doing they were able to transport people to their various destinations within the shortest possible time. Mukhtar argued that every 10% increase in travel speed, resulted in expansion of the labor market by 15% and productivity by 3%.[473]

According to a study, about 88% of the Achaba riders were between 18 and 30 years old, and only 47% had received any type of formal education.[474] Most commuters were concerned over their safety because the '*Yan Achaba* drove too fast, recklessly and were hungry for a fight. Many of them also abuse drugs and other concocted drinks like *Gadagi*[475] (traditional tea stimulant) in order to work tirelessly. Because of the incessant accident caused by Achaba, a whole section in Dala Orthopaedic Hospital and Murtala Muhammad Specialist Hospital Kano was devoted to victims of *Achaba* accident and the sections are referred to as *Achaba* section.[476] Left with few transportation options, many continued to patronize Achaba despite knowing the risks involved. Gbadamosi obseved that "the increasing wave of traffic accident is a corollary of the un-coordinated process and nonchalant attitude of commercial

[472] Y.M Adamu and Y.A Umar (2012)…p, 230
[473] M Mukhtar (2011) Impact of Transportation on Economic Growth: An Assessment of Road and Rail Transport Systems, Dr Mustapha Mukhtar Archives, http://mustaphamukhtarblogsport.com, p, 2
[474] M. Muhammad (2013)…p, 331
[475] For more information on *Gadagi* see A.M Dukku (2010) "Gadagi Consumption among the Youths in Kano Metropolitan", in *Bayero Journal of Social and Management Studies* (BAJOSAMS), Vol. 13, No 2, p, 8-23
[476] *K Ibhazehiebo, V I Iyawe, I D Ighoroje (*2007) "Epidemiologic Studies of the Prevalence of Arterial Hypertension among Commercial Motor Bike Riders in Benin City, Nigeria", *Nigerian Journal of Health and Biomedical Sciences* Vol. 6 (2): pp. 26-29 and also Information from Dr. Umar Ladan, a medical consultant of a Voice of America (VOA Hausa service) in a health program titled (Lafiya Uwar Jiki), presented on 14/11/2014. See also, Jibrin Ibrahim (2011 Special Report: The Motorcycle Take-Over, West African Insight, November 2011 Transport

motorcycle operators in complying conscientiously with traffic management and control measures"[477]

However, it is not only the number of bikes on streets that worried residents, but the level of pollution they emitted. The over 1million motorcycles plying the road in Kano produced as much toxic fumes as six million cars – too much for a city of 3 million people.[478] If commercial motorcycles operators were not banned in February, 2013, the impact from motorcycle toxicity on health would have been greater than that of the HIV/AIDS and malaria combined in some few years to come. This fume have the potential of causing asthma and skin cancer particularly because of the engine oil added to the petrol (mixed) with the aim of reducing the cost of fuel by lowering the combustion rate. A number of infections such as anomalies in the upper respiratory tract and eye infections, especially the conjunctivitis, are due to the fumes people inhale.[479]

However, as a result of the security challenges confronting the state since 20th January, 2012, in which the city was rocked with multiple explosions which the Boko Haram claimed responsibility, this was followed by incessant attacks carried out with the use of motorcycles. On the 19th January, 2013, the convoy of late emir of Kano Alhaji Ado Bayero was attacked by unknown gun men on motorbikes and vehicles near Murtala Muhammed Mosque at Hausawa Quarters in Kano metropolis, killing his driver, orderly and a palace guard, but the traditional ruler escaped unhurt (see appendix 4).[480] As a result of these, commercial motorcycle came under heavy criticism, which resulted in a legislation intended

[477] K.T Gbadamosi (2006) The Emergence of Motorcycle in Urban Transportation in Nigeria and its Implication on Traffic Safety, Courtesy of Association for European Transport and Contributors 2006
[478] Jibrin Ibrahim (2011) Special Report: The Motorcycle Take-Over, West African Insight, November 2011 Transport
[479] *K Ibhazehiebo, V I Iyawe, I D Ighoroje (*2007) "Epidemiologic Studies of the Prevalence of Arterial Hypertension among Commercial Motor Bike Riders in Benin City, Nigeria", *Nigerian Journal of Health and Biomedical Sciences* Vol. 6, also Information from Dr. Umar Ladan, a medical consultant of Voice of America (VOA Hausa service) in a health program titled (*Lafiya Uwar Jiki*), presented on 14/11/2014
[480] Vanguard News paper 23rd January, 2013/Attack on emir: Kano ban commercial motorcyclist

to restrict and later prohibits their operation in Kano metropolis on 23rd February, 2013.[481] With the banning of *Achaba* many riders relocated to other states and some shifted to the emerging tricycles (see table 3:3 for rapid increasing number of tricycles in Kano metropolis).

Plate 3:4 Commercial Motorcycles (*Achaba*)



3.7 Tricycles

The tricycle is also an important means of intra-city transport service which began operation in the late 1980s and was identified with different names in the past such as (*Babur Mai Kafa Uku*) three wheels motorcycles in the late 1980s, Keke Napep in the 2000s and more recently *Adaidaita Sahu*. Like the commercial motorcycle, the tricycle though started much later, came into existence as a result of the effects of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). SAP affected the economy and led to inflation which affected the cost of imported goods including automobiles used for intra-city commercial services. This makes it difficult for transporters to replace their aging vehicles. The implication was that as

[481] PM News 22nd January, 2012/ Attack on Bayero: Kano state government bans Achaba

population rapidly grew and activities got more diversified, the vehicle fleet decreased thus necessitating the need for other means of commuter transportation. The other means of transport that emerged to fill this gap are at first the commercial Bicycle followed by motorcycle and then tricycle.[482]

Because it was relatively cheaper buying a tricycle compare to bus and taxi and it can also provide door to door services compared to the buses and taxis, the tricycle therefore, became popular means of intra-city transport service in Kano metropolis. Alh. Idris Usman Geidam pioneered the tricycle business in April, 1988 by purchasing ten Indian made Bajaj from Marwan Travel Agency (an Indian company based in Lagos).[483] Consequently, by December, 1988, Geidam has purchased sixty tricycles which were nicknamed Geidam Mini-cab and Alh. Sallau Gabari was appointed to manage the business.[484] Subsequently, in 1989, Alh. Uba Soja bought ten tricycless while Alh. A.A Mudallabi bought twenty tricycles and hired them out for intra-city commercial transport services.[485] In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the tricycles shuttled from the Kofar Wambai market to Sabon Gari market and later to 'Yankaba vegetable market. Each passenger was charged 3 pence per drop and the daily turnover for every tricycle rider was N60 and the overall price of each tricycle was N17,000.[486]

The tricycle has an added advantage in terms of its carrying capacity compared to the motorcycle. It has the capacity of carrying three passengers and 10kg of goods at the same time. But because it has a low speed limit and a width of about 4ft which prevents it from

[482] See O.O Olubomehin (2012)…p, 233,see also K.T Gbadamosi (2006) "The Emergence of Motorcycle in Urban Transportation in Nigeria and its Implication on Traffic Safety", Courtesy of Association for European Transport and Contributors 2006

[483] Information From Alh. Idris Usman Geidam the first person who pioneered the Commercial Tricycle business in Kano metropolis. He is 58 years old and was interviewed on 06/05/2015 at Sharada Quarters, Kano

[484] Information from Alhaji Ashiru Sallau Gabari, the present chairman of Tricycle Owners and Riders Association of (TORAN) Kano State, age 53, interviewed on 01/05/2015 at the association head office Gwammaja 'Yan Kosai

[485] Information from Jamilu Garba Tudun Bojuwa, a commercial tricycle rider, age 50, interviewed on 27/06/2014

[486] Information From Alh. Idris Usman Geidam

penetrating traffic and the nooks and crannies of the city like the *Achaba*, it was not widely patronized by commuters. Also, due to low patronage and the scarcity of its spare parts at that time made it less attractive for commercial operation and thus it seized to exist in the mid nineties.[487]

In 2001 the tricycle resurfaced again but this time as *Keke Napep*. NAPEP simply means The National Poverty Eradication Program, a scheme introduced in 2001 by the government under Chief Olusegun Obasanjo with the aim of reducing poverty in the country. NAPEP was saddled with the responsibility of coordinating and monitoring the government poverty eradication program nationwide. The scheme was mandated to empower the public and reduce poverty rate, which according to statistics in 2001 out of every 100 Nigerians 66 were living below the poverty line. NAPEP goals include training of youths in vocational trade to enable them to support entrepreneurship through providing micro credit and to create employment in the automobile industry.[488]

One of the NAPEP major projects was the *Keke NAPEP* (tricycle) scheme distributed to solve the youth unemployment problem. NAPEP imported the Piagio diesel engine and distributes it as soft loan to the unemployed youth across the 36 states of the federation and Abuja the federal capital.[489] Out of the numbers distributed at the time, Kano State got 90. The beneficiaries in Kano quickly put them to commercial intra-city transport. Unlike its predecessor *Babur mai kafa uku* which was not popular among the commuters, the *Keke Napep* was very popular almost immediately among the commuters due to unavailability of intra-city means of transport to contain the rapid growing population of Kano metropolis in the 2000s. For example, According to the 1991 population census, Kano metropolis has a

[487] Information from Salisu MusaDansalo, a commercial tricycle rider, age 40, interviewed on 16/03/2013
[488] www.informationng.com/tag/keke-napep
[489] A.T, Hanifa. (2012),"The Development of Modern Transport in Katsina Metroplis (A case Study of Keke Napep)", B. A. Unpublished Project, Umaru Musa 'Yar Adu'a University, Katsina, p, 28-36

population of about 1.6 million. By 2006 the population rose to 3 million.[490] This marked increase within a span of 15 years was the major reason why the *Keke Napep* was welcomed by the commuters without any hesitation.

It is important to mention that the actual number of the *Keke Napep* sent to Kano at that time could not meet up with its demand. This was further compounded by the fact that the new tricycle was not easy to be managed and maintained by its operators. At first the Keke Napep spare parts are very scarce and secondly it was powered by diesel engine which was more costly compared to petrol. Hence, the Keke Napep like its predecessor (*Babur Mai Kafa Uku*) seized to exist within a very short period leaving quiet few operating between Kurmi market via Kofar Wambai market and Sabon Gari market routes.[491]

Between 2004 and 2007, the then Governor of Kano State Malam Ibrahim Shekarau re-introduced once again the tricycle as a means of intra-city transport service but this time it was known as *Adaidaita Sahu* (a societal re-orientation program introduced by the government in connection with Islamic law Shari'ah) performing the function of conveying only women and children. This was an effort of the government to observe the practice of *Shari'ah* Islamic Law by preventing interaction between men and women in the intra-city passenger transport services. The government also prohibited commercial motorcycles from transporting women as it is against the religion and customs of the people of Kano (see appendix 3). In view of this the administration provided 1,500 Bajaj petrol tricycles (*Adaidaita Sahu*) for urban mass transit scheme (see plate 3:5), which operated under the Kano State Transport Authority (Kano Line).[492]

Since the introduction of the *Adaidaita Sahu* scheme, the tricycle continued to wax stronger in Kano metropolis. It is a very profitable business. A rider can earn up to N3000 a

[490] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kano_State/2006census, see also, A.D Maiwada (2014) p, 365
[491] Information from Muhammad Rabiu Senior, a commercial tricycle rider, age 75, interviewed on 16/03/2013
[492] M.A Yusuf (2010)…p, 325

day after settling all expenses. As a result of the profitable nature of the business, it has attracted investment from the public and the private sectors. Apart from the government, many private individuals, companies and banks purchased and distributed the tricycles for loan or hire service. The rider is expected to pay N800 to the owner every day and a passenger is charge between a minimum of N50 to a maximum of N500 depending on the distance of the journey.

The *Adaidaita Sahu* became a more popular means of intra-city transport in 2012 following the series of security problems that ravaged Kano and subsequently led to the banning of *Achaba*. Following this development, the embargo on mixing men and women in the tricycle was lifted under the new administration of Governor Rabiu Musa Kwankwaso. In other words, the tricyclist can carry all passengers regardless of their sexes.[493]

Table 3:3 The Number of *Adaiaita Sahu* Tricycles in Kano Metropolis as at March 2014 (see also Appendix 7)

S/No	Local Government	Number of Tricycles
1	Kano Municipal	4537
2	Nasarawa	5150
3	Dala	3721
4	Kumbotso	2529
5	Gwale	3306
6	Tarauni	2670
7	Fagge	2595
8	Ungogo	2144
		Grand Total 26652

Source: Kano Amalgamated Tricycle Association (KATA Gatan Kowa), 2014

About 27000 registered tricycles (*Adaidaita Sahu*) service Kano metropolis daily (see appendix 7). The tricycles are found almost everywhere in Kano metropolis especially in market places, motor parks and other public places. The *Adaidaita Sahu* has provided employment opportunities for a number of teeming youths. The state government exercised supreme control and supervision over the licensing of drivers and the tricycle registration

[493] Vanguard News paper 23rd January, 2013/Attack on emir: Kano ban commercial motorcyclist

which was done under the supervision of Vehicle Inspection Officers (V.I.O), Road Safety (FRSCN) and Kano State Road and Traffic Agency (KAROTA).

Plate 3:5 Tricycles in Kano Metropolis



Picture taken by the researcher on 22/02/2013

3.8 Pickup Vans (*A kori Kura*)

While most of the discussed modes of intra-city transport are conventional in nature because they performed the functions of being both a passenger and goods carrying vehicles, the pickup vans on the other hand is mainly a goods carrying vehicle with a carrying capacity of one to one and half tons. It is designed with a rear van and has a provision of carrying one passenger (which is the goods owner) and the driver. The pickup van plays an important role as a means of intra-city transport by conveying goods meant for use in the metropolis. They convey goods from market places such as Singa, Sabon Gari, Kantin Kwari, Dawanau, Yankaba, Kurmi, Rimi, Wambai and Naibawa 'Yan Lemu. Some of the goods hauled by these vehicles include essential commodities, food stuffs, beverages, vegetables and fruits.

The *A kori kura* Phenomenon

The hand truck pushers **(***'Yan Kura*) was an association of propelled hand truck pushers (*Kura*) who specialised in hauling goods using a locally constructed wooden van powered by hands (see plate 3:6), from their station which was located very close to Singa and Sabon Gari markets (a place which later assumed the name (*'Yan Kura*), for onward distribution to other parts of the metropolis where the goods are supplied. At the time of their operation the *'Yan Kura* had constitutes a great deal of nuisance especially to other road users. They frequently caused accidents and created unnecessarily road traffic congestion.[494] As a result of this the state government issued an order in 1977 prohibiting their operations. The Road Traffic prohibition of (Carts and Trucks) order came into effect on 11th February, 1977.[495]

The Order prohibited the use of any cart described in the order as a "two wheeled vehicle pushed by hand or drawn by horses usually used for carrying goods", and a truck as a "four or six wheeled vehicle pushed by hand also used for carrying goods". As a result of this Order, all carts and trucks were eventually withdrawn from the roads.[496] By this Order, the police were authorised to arrest without warrant and prosecute any person who violated the order. Upon conviction, any person found guilty was liable to a fine of N100.00 or three months imprisonment or both.[497]

Soon after the prohibition in late 1970s people with reasonable income such as Alhaji Musa Makwarari, Alaji Bala Guyin Yola, Oga Saleh Suleiman, Tijjani Hassan, Mal. Barau, Mal. Ali Dorayi, Sani Muhammad Goda Minjibir and Salihu Hassan Goda Minjibir responded by purchasing in large numbers the French Peugeot pickup vehicle (imported by

[494] Information from Oga Saleh Suleiman, a pioneer driver of *'Yar Kurkura* former and now a mechanic, age 68, interviewed on 06/07/2013

[495] Kano State of Nigeria Gazette, No. 4, Vol. II, 10th February, 1977, Road Traffic Prohibition of carts Trucks Order, 1977

[496] Information from Alhaji Bashir Tahir Muhammad, Chairman Kandaki Development Association (A Kano Municipal Unit of Akori Kura Drivers Association) and a License Dealer of Akori Kura Vehicle, age 35, interviewed on 06/07/2014

[497] See A. U Dan Asabe (1996)…,p. 236

Peugeot PAN of Nigeria at Zaria rd), the Japanese Nissan (imported by Nissan General Motors NGM at Ibrahim Taiwo rd) and Toyota made mini trucks (imported by Briscoe motors at Bompai) and later the Japaneses made Daihatsu, Suzuki, Subaru, Honda and Mitsubishi (popularly known sa*'Yar Kurkura*) came in the early 1980s which had an upper advantage compared to the early ones (see plate 3:7).[498] The *'Yar Kurkura* was more slim and short and therefore had the advantage of penetrating some nooks and crannies in the old city. Thus, the pickup vans soon emerged and replaced *'Yan Kura*. People gave them the nickname *Akori Kura* which literally means the casting out and replacement of handcarts (*'Yan Kura*). However, majority of the first generation of the *'Yan Akori Kura* or pickup van drivers were truck pushers and therefore, many of them were in-experienced and caused unnecessarily hold ups and avoidable accidents.[499] Although, there were no available statistics to show the actual number of *Akori Kura* vehicle in Kano metropolis, but according to Bashir who is the Kano Municipal Unit Chairman of the *Akori Kura* Drivers Association stated that as at 2012, they have over 2000 members in Kano metropolis alone.[500]

Plate 3:6 A Typical Example of a Two Wheel Hand Propelled Wooden Truck (*Kura*) and Modern Pick-up Vans (*Akori Kura/Yar 'Kur-'kura*)



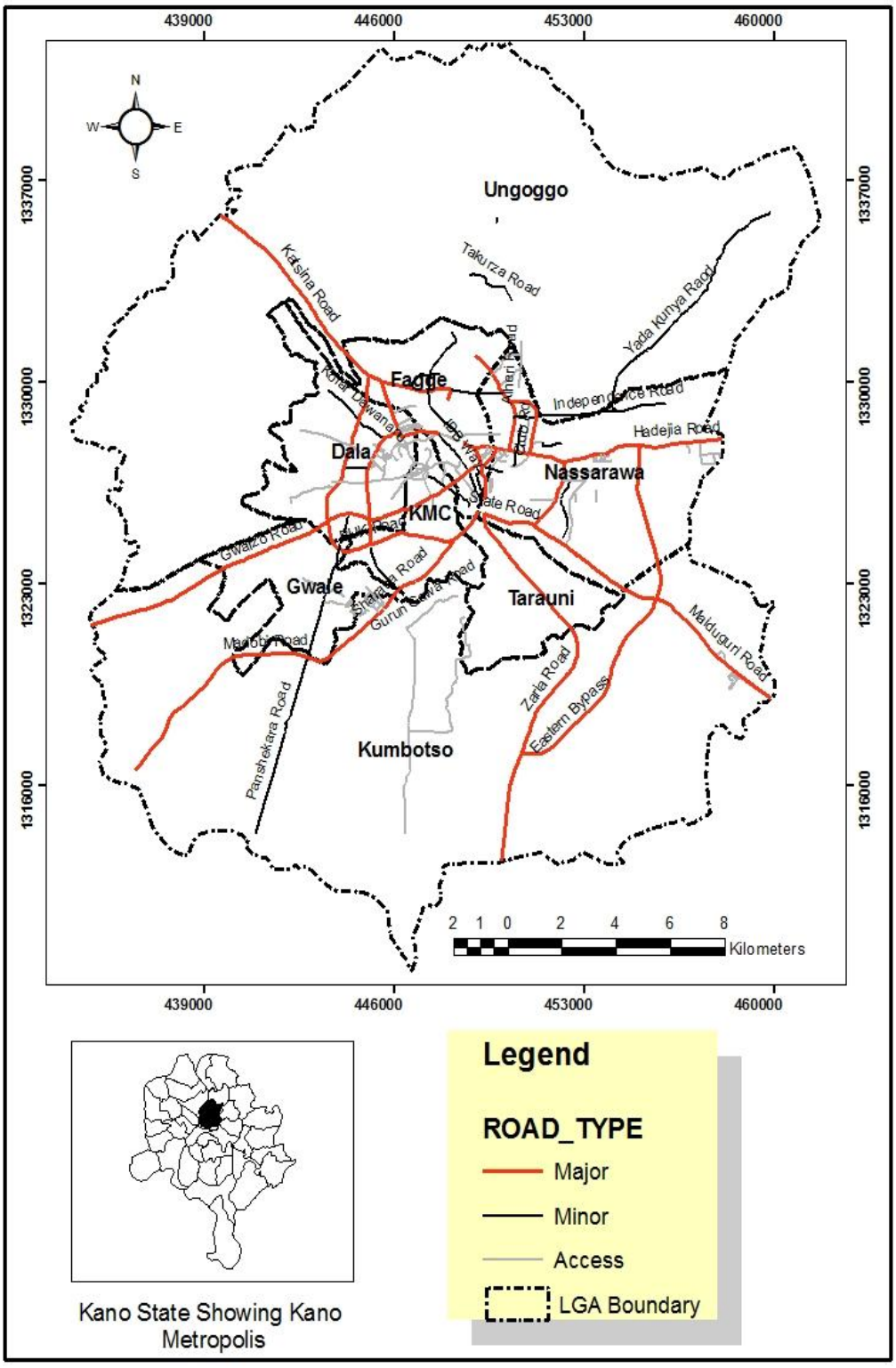
Picture taken by the researcher on 19/02/2014

[498] Information from Oga Saleh Suleiman, a pioneer driver of *'Yar Kurkura* former and now a mechanic, age 68, interviewed on 06/07/2013

[499] See A. U Dan Asabe (1996)…,p. 237

[500] Information from Alhaji Bashir Tahir Muhammad, Chairma Kandaki Development Association (A Kano Municipal Unit of Akori Kura Drivers Association) and a License Dealer of Akori Kura Vehicle, age 35, interviewed on 06/07/2014

Fig 3:5 Map Showing Kano Metropolitan Roads (General) Serviced by all Modes of Intra-city Transport Services



Source: Adapted from A Report on Kano Bus Mass Transit Route Mapping Study, Supervised by Nigerian Infrastructure Advisory Facility (NIAF) and Funded by Department for International Development (DFID), 2011 p, 13, 20 & 23

N.B apart from servicing the major roads, the motorcycle, tricycle and bicycle patronised the minor and the access roads.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter examined the historical origin of the various modes of intra-city transport services in Kano metropolis as well as the reasons that led to their emergence. The commercial bus was the first which started in the mid fifties servicing Kurmi to Sabon Gari markets. Due to increased population which led to expansion of the city and increased in commercial activities, the bus service became inadequate to meet the new challenges. Hence this gave rise to other means of intra-city transport services such as the commercial bicycle and the taxi between the 1950s to the late 1970s. In the 1970s due to impact of the oil boom, the level of vehicle ownership increased. From the mid 1980s, the country was confronted with serious economic crisis which led to the introduction of SAP. Instead of solving the crisis, SAP further aggravated it, and the end result was increase in poverty level and unemployment. This crisis also affected the importation of cars and their spare parts which resulted in decreasing number of buses and taxis amidst the growing need of intra-city transport services due to population growth. Thus the means of transportation that came to fill in this gap was the commercial motorcycle (*Achaba*). With the banning of *Achaba* in February 2013, the commercial tricycle (*Adaidaita Sahu*) gain prominence. Intra-city transport services therefore facilitated the growth of commercial activities in Kano mainly due to the nexus between the intra-city service routes and the major and minor markets in Kano metropolis.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Significance of Transportation to the Economy of Kano Metropolis from 1967-2015

4.1 Introduction

As Usman noted, transport and communication are basic and essential for all economies, at all times. Thus, no economy can operate without the regular movement of people and goods, and the regular transmission of knowledge and information. Thus, transportation is a key factor in the integration of an economy.[501] Transport system permits goods to be sold to the consumers in places far distant from the region where they are produced. Economist asserts that goods have not been produced until they actually have been transported to the actual consumers who will satisfy their wants (utility) by the consumption of the goods.[502] It therefore means that transportation of goods from the point of production to the point of consumption is fulfilling productive services or creation of utility. (Utility being an economist term for ability of a goods or service to satisfy a want). Thus, this chapter examines and analyses the role of intra-city transport services to the economic growth of Kano metropolis from1967-2015.

4.2 Transportation and the Growth of Trading Activities

In pre-colonial Kano, one of the most important factors that contributed to the emergence of the town as the commercial nerve centre of Hausaland was the availability of various access routes and transport modes such as human portage and pack animals. The access routes and modes therefore, contributed to the growth of local trade, Trans-Saharan trade as well as trade to the south. These routes linked Kano to North Africa, Adamawa, Borgu, Yorubaland, Gonja and Ashanti (Ghana).[503]

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[501] Y.B Usman (1989), "Transport and Communication", in M.O Kayode & Y.B Usman (eds) *Nigeria Since Independence: The First 25 Years* vol. II, Heinmann Educational Books Ltd. Ibadan, p, 132

[502] S.B Akintayo (2010) *Transprt Economics: applied to all modes, Policy issues and Logistics Management*, Lagoon Print Zaria, p, 3

[503] A.G Hopkins (1973) *An Economic History of West Africa*, Longman, London, p. 79-80

When the British conquered Kano in February 1903, its position as a commercial metropolis of Hausaland was maintained. Although, the existing pre-colonial long distance commercial activities were restricted by the new colonial boundaries and the introduction of the caravan tolls by Lugard's administration after 1903 further destroyed the existing pre-colonial economic system. Nevertheless, the British realised the economic position of Kano as the leading commercial centre in what later came to be known as Northern Nigeria and decided to make it a collection centre for the raw materials needed for colonial export from the region such as cotton and groundnut.[504] As a result, the British decided to put in place basic transport infrastructural facilities such as rail, roads and air to enable her effectively achieve economic exploitation of the area. Thus, the railway line was extended to Kano in 1911.[505] In order to serve as a feeder purpose to the railway, the road transport system was introduced in 1926. Kano became a full transit town in 1936 when the British established the Kano Airport. Forest reported that:

> during the colonial period, Kano emerged as the premier city of the North and became a vital commercial centre, principally for the bulking and shipping of groundnut, for the cattle trade, and for the flourishing petty commodity economy.[506]

The introductions of modern transport systems in Kano by the British further strengthened the economic position of the city. An unprecedented number of migrants came to Kano. The Sabon Gari area was therefore created in 1913 for non-Europeans who were not indigenes of Northern Nigeria such as Igbo, Yoruba and Bini. Also, Tudun Wada was created in 1914 for non-Europeans migrants of northern origin but not from Kano.[507] Another category of non-European and non-indigenes migrants is the Lebanon-Syrians.

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[504] J.S Hogendorn (1970) "The Origin of the Groundnut Trade", in K.K Eicher and K Liedholmed *Growth and Development of the Nigerian Economy,* Michigan University Press p. 43

[505] R.O. Ekundare (1973), *An Economic History of Nigeria 1860-1960* London, Methuen p.127-147

[506] T Forest (1994) *The Advance of African Capital*, University Press, Cambridge, p. 198

[507] See M.A Liman & Y.M Adamu (2003)…p. 151, see also A Bako (2006) *Sabon Gari Kano: A History of Immigrants and Inter-Group Relations in the 20th Century,* Usman Danfodio University Press,S.T Yusuf, (2007), "The Impact of the railway on Madobi and Kwankwaso Towns in Kano C.1903-1970" Unpublished M. A. Thesis BUK

They too, were settled outside the city walls by the British in 1915, in an area that came to be known as the "Lebanese quarters" in Fagge ta Kudu. Gwagwarwa (or Brigade) as it is known to some people was also created around 1945 (in Gabari village) for the people with northern origin in the colonial force.[508]

After independence, the plan for the expansion of Kano was started by the Northern Regional Government in 1963, being aware of the social and economic problems arising from the very rapid growth of Kano in terms of population, commerce and industry, instructed that a development plan should be prepared for the social and economic improvements of the area. Unless this is done the area will continue to expand in the lopsided fashion.[509] It was some of the recommendations of this plan that were used by Audu Bako administration to begin the process of transforming Kano metropolis when it became the administrative headquarter of Kano State in 1968. It is important to argue that the continued expansion of Kano metropolis is credited to its effective and organised transportation system. Evidence of this expansion can be seen from the new settlements that emerged outside the city wall.

Urban Settlements and Expansion: the Need for Intra-city Transport Services

In order to attend to the residential needs of the growing population, there was a pressing need for residential housing in all sections of the city. As such the government decided to construct new residential areas outside the city wall. This led to the establishment of Kano Metropolitan Planning and Development Board (KMPDB) in 1969. The government through this agency initiated and executed housing projects such as the Kundila, Jaoje, Gwammaja, Zoo road and Kabuga Housing Estates.[510] This is in addition to granting

[508]See also M.A Liman & Y.M Adamu (2003) p. 144-167, see also S.A Albasu, (1989): *The Lebanese in Kano: An Immigrant Economy in Hausa-Muslim Colonial Society in the Colonial and Post-colonial Period* PhD thesis History Dept. BUK, L.A Isa (1994) The Origin and Development of Gwagwarwa up to 1979 M.A Thesis BUK.
[509] B.A.W, Travallion,: (1963) *Metropolitan Kano, Repot on the Twenty Years of Development Plan 1963-1983*, London, p. 1
[510] See A.N shehu (1997): "Kano State under Audu Bako 1967-1975", M.A thesis History Dept. BUK, p, 160-167

residential permits to various individuals who built houses outside the city walls especially in areas like Dorayi, Gandun Albasa and Kurna Asabe. By December, 1969 the Nigerian civil war which lasted for two years was over. The Igbo and other southerners began to return to Kano and by 1973 the population of Sabon Gari had swollen to about 22,314 suggesting to the expansion of the area to the north linking it with Gwagwarwa.[511]

Numerous other residential developments were carried out through the establishment of government institutions such as development of tertiary institutions, ministries, schools and other parastatals (such as the Audu Bako Sectariat). Others include government agencies such as the Nigeria Police, Army, Air Force, Nigerian Airport Authority etc that provide residential quarters for the staff. These helped in the expansion and growth of settlements far and beyond the city wall, as a result of which the city grow in a cyclical order and new areas emerged such as Dorayi, Hausawa (Zoo Road), Kundila, Sheka, Sabuwar Gandu, Kurna Asabe, Gandun Albasa, Kabuga, Sharada, Tarauni, Hotoro, Zoo Road, Court road, Gyadi-gyadi, Shagari quarters and many other areas which now formed part of Kano metropolis (see fig 4:1).

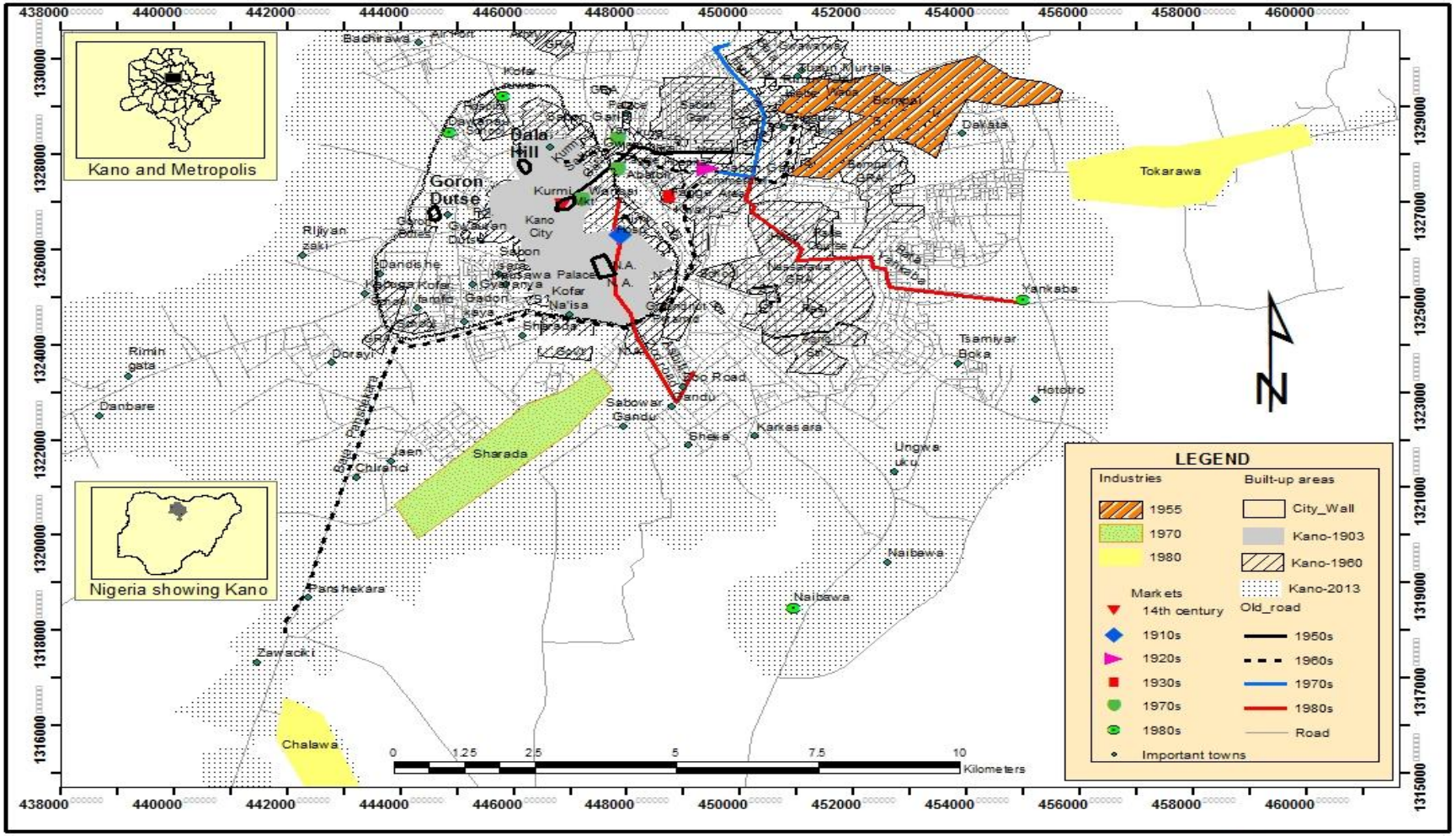
Kano is the hub for access to other cities and states in the Northern Nigeria. It is also a gateway to neighbouring Niger and Chad Republics as well as other West African countries such as Mali, Burkina Faso and Cameroon. Metropolitan Kano receives approximately one milion visitors every day, and about 90% of the visitors came for business trips i.e. to buy and export goods to their places of origin.[512] Such items of trade include textile materials, leather works (like shoes, Carpets, cushions etc), plastics, grains, essential commodities and so on. The major reason that attracted people to Kano to buy these goods was due to their relative cheapness which accrued huge profit. However, even

[511] Frishmen, A. (1977) "The Spatial Growth and Residential Location Pattern of Kano", PhD thesis Northwestern university, p, 197
[512] The Kano State Empowerment and Development Strategy (K-Seeds), p, 10

if one agrees that Kano's reputation is based on its cheap commodities, one is still obliged to look for a fundamental reason which enables her to excel in the sale of cheap trade items, and the most important single answer to this valuable question is its location and `efficient transport system. Thus, it is important to argue that the cheapness of these commodities in Kano is attributed to the cheapness of transport fares due to availability of access roads and different modes of transport services which lessen the cost of production and distribution of goods. Hence, industries are established within the access zones of its raw materials, while finished products are easily transported from their production centres to distribution centres and final consumers.[513]

[513] Field work 2012

Fig 4:1 Population Explosion, City Expansion and the Growth of Economic & Industrial Activities in Kano Metropolis 1900-2015



The Economic Relevance of Transport

Transportation is a critical factor for economic growth and development. It is a wealth creating industry on its own. Consequently, there is a large and growing transport market for goods, fuel and services in Kano. This adds up to a many different economic activities providing employment and market for drivers, mechanics, electricians, vulcanizers, panel beaters, spare parts and tyre dealers, commission agents, insurers and hundreds of thousands of other beneficiaries such as food vendors.[514] For example there are well over 216 established filling stations in Kano metropolis.[515] In addition to that there were many informal roadside petrol dealers (‘*Yan Cuwa-cuwa* or ‘*Yan Bunburutu*) and engine oil sellers.[516] There are over 2000 mechanic workshops with different specialisation located in different parts of Kano metropolis such as Kwakwachi mechanic village established 1985 and Kofar Ruwa 1989.[517] Others are Sabon Gari, Katsina Road (*Gidan Bos*), Kofar Wambai (*Oriya*) and so on. Some specialised in repairs of automobiles, some motorcycles, while others tricycles and bicycles.[518]

The development of different modes of intra-city transport services has contributed to the growth of spare parts business in places such as Kofar Ruwa, Sabon Gari, Kofar Wambai, Katsina Road (*Gidan Boss*), Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (IBB) Way, Gwammaja, Kwakwachi, Unguwa Uku and so on. Apart from Kofar Ruwa[519] market which specialises in the sales of spare parts, there are over 5000 spare parts dealers scattered in various parts of Kano Metropolis. According to a study conducted between 1970 and 1998,

[514] See N. N. Fabian, (2000): *Igbo Spare Parts Entrepreneurs in Kano Metropolis: (a case study of Automobile spare parts 1967-1998)* M.A thesis History Dept. BUK
[515] See M.U Muhammad (2014) Location Analysis of filling Stations in Kano metropolis, (MSc. Geography), ABU, Zaria
[516] Y.M Adamu (2012) “A Preliminary Analysis on Youth and Informal Distribution of Petroleum (*Cuwa-cuwa*)” in B.A Umar, Y.M Adamu & K.I Dandago *ed Issues in Youth Development in Nigeria: A Multidisciplinary Perspective*, Adamu Joji Publishers Kano, p. 207-217
[517] Field work 2012
[518] R.O Olaniyi, (2004) *Yoruba in Kano: A Commercial History of a Migrant Community (1912-1999)* PhD thesis History Dept. BUK, p, 166-167
[519] M. Kabiru (2008) The History of Kofar Ruwa Market from 1980-2006, B.A Dissertation History BUK

the Ibo alone had a total of 2,419 spare parts shops located in areas like France Road, New Road, Gwammaja, Yankura, Kofar Ruwa, Fagge, Kabuga and Rijiyar Zaki. This made up a total of 50% while the Yoruba spare part dealers comprised of 35% and the Hausa made up the remaining 15%.[520] In fact, in Kano metropolis, one can hardly journey to a distance of 1km without coming across a mechanic workshop or a spare parts shop.

The rapid population growth in Kano metropolis in the last three decades (i.e. from 900,000 in 1983 to almost 4 million in 2014) had led to a continued demand for effective passenger transport services.[521] This development had resulted in the establishment of different automobiles selling points in Kano metropolis. Automobile markets were established along Katsina Road, Obasanjo Road, Aminu Kano way, Tal'udu among several other places. In Wapa, a well established market for motorcycles, tricycles and bicycles was established. This is in addition to other smaller selling centres found in areas such as Sabon Gari, Kofar Wambai, Kofar Ruwa and so on.[522]

As a transit centre and terminus, Kano's economy is dominated by commercial activities mainly in trading, banking, and insurance. The Kantin Kwari Textiles Market alone is reputed to be worth at least N20.0 Billion. Daily turnover in this market runs into several millions of Naira.[523] The famous ancient Kurmi market (specialises in the sales of locally made home utensils),[524] Rimi Market (specialises in food stuffs)[525] Wambai market (specialises in the sales of rubber plastics and fairly used European cloths '*Gwanjo*)'[526] and the essential commodity market in Ado Bayero road, popularly called Singa, is another

[520] N. N. Fabian, (2000)...p, 66
[521] A.D Maiwada (2014) "Urban Planning in the Context of Rapid Growth" in AI Tanko and SB Momale ed *Kano Environment Society and Development* Adonis and Abbey Publishers, London, p, 365
[522] Field work 2012
[523] The Kano State Empowerment and Development Strategy (K-Seeds), p, 10,For details on Kwari Market see also J Danladi (2014) "A History of Kantin Kwari Market in Kano 1933-2012" M.A History, BUK
[524] T.M Naniya (1983) "The Historical Development of Kurmi Market as an Institution, B.A History, BUK
[525] K Bello (1995) "The History of Kasuwar Rimi in Kano City" B.A History, BUK
[526] A.U Usman (2006) "Sheikh Nasiru Kabara Market (Wambai Market) From 1960" B.A History BUK

important part of the Kano economy. As a result of the dominance of different modes of transport services and road networks, clear commercial enclaves have emerged along Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Beirut Road, Zoo Road, Aminu Kano Way, Katsina Road, Obasanjo Road, Kofar Ruwa and of course the commercial nerve center of Kano – Sabon Gari – which houses the immense Abubakar Rimi Market, 'Yan Kura, Galadima, Igbo Road, Yoruba Road, France Road and so on dealings in building materials, food and oils, motor spare parts dealers, bookshops etc.[527] This is in addition to the Yan Kaba vegetable market,[528] Naibawa 'Yan Lemu fruit market,[529] Dawanau grain market[530] and the famous Fagge Currency Exchange Market otherwise known as the West African Pilgrimage Agency (WAPA).[531]

Table 4:1 Specialized Markets and their Products in Metropolitan Kano

S/NO	Name of the Market	Type of the Products	Location	LGA'S
1	Yan Kaba	Vegetables	Yan Kaba	Nassarawa
2	Yan Lemo	Fruits	Naibawa	Kumbotso
3	Rimi	Food items and general merchandise	Yakasai	Kano Municipal
4	Dawanau	General agricultural products, e.g. Groundnut and Sorghums	Dawanau	Dawakin Tofa
5	Kwanar Singa	Provisions, white flour, and table salt, etc.	Ado Bayero Road	Fagge
6	Gorondutse Yan Rake	Sugarcane	Gorondutse	Dala
7	Yan Kura	Gari, cooking oil, fish (fresh and dried), and grinding machines, etc.	Court Road Sabon Gari	Fagge
8	Kara (Abattoir)	Livestock (camels, foasts and	Kofar	Dala

[527]For details on Sabon Gari See A Bako (2006) *Sabon Gari Kano: A History of Immigrants and Inter-Group Relations in the 20th Century*,Usman Danfodio University Press, See also, A Bako (2000) "Market System and Revenue Generation: A Note on the Economic Importance of the Sabon Gari Kano Market During the Colonial Era" in *Studies in Humanities: A Journal of Usman Danfodio University Sokoto*, Vol. 6, p, 65-74

[528] N Ibrahim (2005) "A Comparative Study of Dakata and 'Yankaba Markets in Kano", B.A History, BUK

[529] H.A Idris (2013) "The History of 'Yan-lemo Market in Naibawa Ward, Kumbotso Local Government of Kano State 1982-2012" B.A History, BUK

[530] A.G Abubakar (1995) "The History of Dawanau Market in Kano Metropolis" B.A History, BUK

[531] M.S Abdullahi (2010) A Historical Development of WAPA Bureu de Change 1970-2010 B.A Hist. BUK, See also Y Hashim and K Meagher (1999) "Cross Border and the parallel Currency Market-Trade and Finance in the Context of Structural Adjustment: A Case Study From Kano, Nigeria," *Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet Reserch Report*, No. 113

		sheep) meat sells and animal feeds	Mazugal Road	
9	Kurmi	General food stuffs, honey, spices, Dishes, traditional and local handcrafts etc.	Kurmi Market Area	Kano Municipal
10	Muhammad Abubakar Rimi Market	Esential Commodities such as general food stuffs provisions, biscuits and confectionary, groundnut and cotton seed oil, tubers, vegetables, Beef and Mutton, etc.	Sabon Gari	Fagge
11	Kasuwar Mangwara	Hides, skins and mangoes	Yolawa Rd. Along Rail Line	Nassarawa
12	France Road	Building materials and electrnics	France Road	Fagge
13	Kasuwar Kofar Ruwa	Spare parts and building materials	Kofar Ruwa	Dala
14	Kasuwar Wapa	Money exchange market, motorcycles, tricycles and bicycle sellers	Wapa	Fagge
15	Kantin Kwari	Textile market	Fagge ta Kudu	Fagge
16	Kasuwar Kofar Wambai	Essential commodities, wrist watches, second hand cloth sellers (Yan Gwanjo) etc	IBB Way	Kano Municipal
17	Kasuwar Ujule, 'Yan Goro	Colanut	K/Mazugal	Kano Municipal

Source: Adapted from Kano Transport Master Plan (TMP) Revised Final March 2009

The volumes of trading activities conducted on a daily basis in the markets signify not only the great potentials of Kano, but its eminence as markets for various products. In a more recent development, from 1980 to 2014, large scale departmental stores were established in Kano Metropolis and located within the core areas traverse by major roads. That encourages patronage on a daily basis using both commercial and private vehicles. Some of these stores include Sheshe (est 1979), Jujin Labu (est. 1981), Nasidi (est. 1984), Zango (est. 1985), Sahad (est. 1990), Aljazira (est. 2003), Country Mall (est. 2007), Ado Bayero Mall (est. 2014) and many others.[532] The above shopping centres are supplemented by smaller stores trading in variety of goods scattered over large areas. Also, roadside

[532] B Gambo (2014) "Origin and Growth of Urban Kano" in AI Tanko and S.B Momale ed *Kano Environment Society and Development* Adonis and Abbey Publishers, London, p, 67-78

hawking and trading is conspicuously featured in Kano than in any African town. The main commodities sold by these itinerant traders are miscellaneous articles such as pens, watches, fruits and cooked foods. Sales are made on trays, wheelbarrows and small removable kiosk.[533]

There are estimated 200 banks branches in Kano metropolis spread in areas traverse by major roads accessible by different mode of intra-city transport thereby supporting the banks to benefit from the commercial and industrial activities in the area.[534] Before the recapitalisation of the banking sector in 2005, two of the banks (Bank of the North and Tropical Commercial Bank) had their headquarters in Kano. As at 2014, almost all the banks in Nigeria have their regional offices in Kano. The banks were established in places such as Bank Road, Murtala Muhammed Way, Lagos Street, Zaria Road, Zoo Road, BUK Road, Bello Road, Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Post Office Road and so on.[535] There was also a growing number of hotels and resorts especially in Sbon Gari and different part of Kano metropolis. These include Daula (Hadejia rd est. 1973), Central Hotel (Bompai rd est. 1928), Ambassador Hotel (Ballat Hughes est. 1979), Afro International Night Club (Civic Centre est. 1885), Fagge Guest INN and Restaurant (Fagge est. 1982), Calabar INN (Abadie st est. 1885), De Ebony Hotel (Ijebu rd est. 1986), Fresh Lily Hotel (Yoruba rd est. 1977), Gay Palace Hotel (Gold Coast rd est. 1968), Lukun Picadily Hotel (Sanusi st est. 1979), Marico Hotel (Sayolu st est. 1986), Vecros Hotel Annex (Onitsha rd est. 1924), Akija Hotels Limited (Murtala Muhammed way est. 1975), Hotels De Mikela (Church rd est. 1978), International Hotel (Enugu rd est. 1959) , Kano guest INN (Ibrahim Taiwo rd est. 1970), Kandara Palace Hotel (Unity rd est. 1972), Kano Palace Hotel (Unguwar Gini est. 1976), KFC Hotel (Ballat Hughes est. 1976) Mai Rabo Hotel (Court rd est. 1980), Pink Peacock Hotel (Dantata rd est.

[533] B.A.W, Travallion,: (1963) *Metropolitan Kano, Repot on the Twenty Years of Development Plan 1963-1983*, London, p. 81-82

[534] Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN): Quarterly Statistical Bulletin, Quarter Two 2015, Statistics Department , Vol. 4, No 2, June 2015

[535] The Kano State Empowerment and Development Strategy (K-Seeds), p, 10

1968). In addition to hotels there was also the growth of restaurants such as Magwan Water Restaurant (Aud Bako Way est. 1973), Alhaja Iya Suleiman Restaurant (M/M Way est. 1978), African Restaurant (Gyadi Gyadi Zaria rd est. 1985), Fellowship Cattering (Sarkin Yaki rd est. 1981), Hajiya Halima 'Yan Awaki (est. 1981), Pattiseries and Restaurant (Bello rd est. 1979), Peakiny Chinese Restaurant (Bompai rd est. 1980), Vera Glory Restaurant (Ijebu rd est. 1986), (Al-Amir, and many other local food selling points.[536]

The demand for transport services is often described by economist as derived one, (this means that transport as a service or function is not demanded purely for what it is, but for what it can do). Thus, transport service is demanded not because it offers direct satisfaction to the consumer (passenger/commuter) but because it makes possible for people and goods or persons to be transported in a way to allow direct demand to be satisfied.[537] The morning journey to work peak is related to starting times of business for private and public sectors organisations (7:00-8:00 hours), schools (8:00), and offices or shops (9:00-10:00). The evening journey-to-home peak occurs between (16:00-18:00 hours) for workers and school children (14:00-15:30). Due to high level industrial and commercial activities in Kano metropolis, virtually from 7:00am–9:00pm the roads are associated with busy flow of vehicles and traffic congestion. Although, there is little traffic between 12:00pm and 2:00pm, there was no resting period for any mode of the intra-city transport service be it in the morning, afternoon or evening.[538]

Table 4:2 Typical Daily Trip Pattern in Kano City

Trip Maker	Time of Trip	Duration
1. Government Workers/Private Sector/Students	6:30 a.m.-9:00 a.m.	2 1/2 hrs.
2. Traders/market Men	8:30 a.m.-10:30 a.m.	3 hrs.

[536] Kano State of Nigeria: 1985 Directory of Industrial and Commercial Establishments, Compiled by the Statistics Unit, Military Governors Office, Budget and Economic Planning Directorate, p, 75-78
[537] S.B Akintayo (2010)…p, 45-47
[538] Implementation of Road Map for the Development of Bus Mass Transit in Kano for Kano Urban Transport Project Office, Final Report, March, 2013, Supervised by Nigerian Infrastructure Advisory Facility (NIAF) and Funded by Department for International Development (DFID). NIAF Project No TK0006

3. Housewives/Shoppers	10:00 a.m.-1:00 p.m.	3 hrs.
4. Students/School Runs	2:30 p.m.-4:00 p.m.	1 1/2 hrs.
5. Government Workers/Private Sector	4:00 p.m.-7:00 p.m.	3 hrs.
6. Traders/Market Men	6:00 p.m.-8:00 p.m.	2 hrs

Source: Adapted from Kano Transport Master Plan (TMP) Revised Final March 2009

4.3 Transportation and Industrial Activities

The primary function of transport is to move passengers or goods from where they are to where they would prefer to be or to where their value is greater. In the case of people, this may be for a variety of reasons; economic or personal in nature and in the case of goods it may be dictated by the needs for further processing or ultimate consumption or use. Thus, in the development of industry transport plays a vital role by linking the markets and the industrial areas. It is also essential for people to travel between their homes and places of employment. It has been observed that production is not complete when an article appears in the finished form in the factory because the utility still has to be supplied.[539] This was part of the reason why in 1955 a loan of £30,500 granted by the Northern Regional Development Board to establish an industrial estate in Kano, part of which £18,500 was to be used in constructing access roads to and within the industrial estate.[540]

Bashir argue that the nature and characteristics of any environment affect and, to some extent, determine its economic growth and development. Some of these environmental factors are roads, transport and communication infrastructure. The spending on these two projects has generated entrepreneurial activities including contracts to build these projects, to supply the material to build them, to manufacture these materials and others. From all these, capital has been generated for industrial and other types of activities. The development of road transport networks in Kano metropolis has no doubt contributed to the growth of industrial activities in the area. It has facilitated easy movement of goods

[539] S.B Akintayo (2010)…p, 32, See also Kano State of Nigeria: 1985 Directory of Industrial and Commercial Establishments, Compiled by the Statistics Unit, Military Governors Office, Budget and Economic Planning Directorate

[540] I.L Bashir (1983) "The Politics of Industrialisation in Kano: Industries, Incentives, and Indigenous Entrepreneurs", Ph.D Thesis Boston University, p, 296-297

and services and created new markets for goods and services. The road transport networks in Kano metropolis also helped in cutting down overhead cost, which in turn enhanced the profitability of business ventures. The consumer also benefits because with low cost of production, the manufacturer and primary producers can afford to sell their products at a relatively lower prices than they can otherwise do.[541]

The people of Kano are known to be highly enterprising and industrious. They had spread their tentacles far and wide. They are industrialist, while at the same time they are merchants engaged in the distribution of consumer products. They also served as landlords, transporters, and contractors.[542] There are well over 3000 small, large and medium scale industrial establishments in Kano.[543] They include those employing about five workers to those employing more than one thousand workers. Apart from Bompai industrial area which was established during the tail end of colonial rule 1955, more industrial estates were established in Kano metropolis in the post-colonial period.[544] Such industrial estates include Sharada (Phase I, II & III), Challawa established in 1970s and Tokarawa 1980 (see fig 4:2). Moreover, like it was discussed in the previous chapter, in the 1970s two important events have contributed to the growth of commercial and industrial activities in Kano in particular and Nigeria in general. The first was the indigenization decrees of 1970s which promoted the involvement of Nigerians into the commercial life of their country by establishing different small and medium scales manufacturing industries. The second was the oil boom of the 1970s. As a result of the boom, many Nigerians who work either in the public or private sectors were able to earn a lot of money either through loan or graft (*Udoji*) which some used part of it to invest in the commercial and industrial sectors.[545]

[541] I.L Bashir (1983)...p , 110-111, 134
[542] I.L Bashir (1983)...p , 232
[543] The Kano State Empowerment and Development Strategy (K-Seeds), p, 10
[544] I.L Bashir (1983) "The Politics of Industrialisation in Kano: Industries, Incentives, and Indigenous Entrepreneurs", Ph.D Thesis Boston University, p, 296-297
[545] T Forest (1994) *The Advance of African Capital*, University Press, Cambridge, p. 198-204

From 1960 to 1990, modern manufacturing enterprises involving the processing of basic raw materials such as groundnut milling and other demand based industries like dying, weaving, tanning, metal work, confectionery, soft drinks, textile goods and garment-making have been established and owned mostly by indigenes of Kano.[546]

In addition to the formal industrial sector, there were over 2000 small-scale industries that dot the city centre that make up the Kano economy.[547] In the city, the small scale industries are mainly associated with traditional craftwork in leather, sandalwood, also used in perfume manufacture, metal work and cloth dying. There are also several lorry breakers' yards and repair workshops. In Sabon Gari local industries include a large number of vehicle repair workshops, furniture and garment manufacture. Furniture making is a significant industrial activity in Kano metropolis. Welding business, especially making of doors and windows, gates, burglar proofs, block makers etc wax strong in the construction industry in Kano metropolis. There are also hundreds of thousands of household based production activities such as soap making, candle making, sewing and design that contribute significant portion to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Kano State as well as provide employment for hundreds of thousands of people (see fig 4: 1).[548]

The mass exodus of the Igbo and Yoruba transporters from Kano, following the outbreak of the Nigerian Civil War in 1967, encouraged local transporters to invest in the transport industry. Bashir argued that the demand for the expanding distribution trade particularly from the north to the south and vice versa during the Nigerian Civil War which led to departure of the Igbo entrepreneurs who hitherto dominated the transport business created a vacuum which subsequently created an incentive for the Hausa entrepreneurs who quickly stepped in and occupied. When the Igbo departed, the railway system, at least in the

[546] B Gambo (2014)...p, 76
[547] The Kano State Empowerment and Development Strategy (K-Seeds), p, 9
[548] The Kano State Empowerment and Development Strategy (K-Seeds), p, 9

north came to a temporarily standstill as all of the locomotive drivers were Igbo. As the railway transport could not operate because of this development, traders and government alike were forced to resort to road transport. This created more openings for the adventurous Hausa entrepreneurs. As a result, the demand for the registration of heavy trucks, buses and taxis in the north between October 1966 to February 1967 jumped to an average of 80% over earlier months.[549]

To encourage the Hausa entrepreneurs more, the Northern Nigerian Marketing Board increased transport fare by 12% to transport its products to the coast when the railway was grounded by the departure of the Igbo locomotive drivers. Of the 80,600 vehicles imported to Nigeria in 1963, some years before the Civil War, for example, 8000 went to Kano users and in 1973 when the national figure reached 238,000 vehicles, Kano State's share was 44,000. The total number of vehicle registered in Kano from 1972 to 1979 stood at 113,849.[550]

Thus, Kano transporters and merchants syndicate emerged. These merchant transporters included Aminu Dantata, Malam Uwais Babba Dan Agundi, Musa Iliasu, Mahmoud Gashash, and Haruna Kasim. Other major transporters included Sanusi Dantata, Garba Bichi, Bello Bichi, Mamman Na Goda and Inuwa Wada. By 1976, there were 30 large-scale indigenous road haulage and transport companies in Kano, rising to 61 in 1980. These transporters were involved in the distribution of food items, building materials and petroleum products[551]

Apart from trucks, the automobile industry also witnessed growth and expansion. Alhaji Ibrahim Chika Koshi (Madugu na Bakon Wayya) was the first to establish an automobile industry at Bachirawa manufacturing simple automobile parts and assembly

[549] I.L Bashir (1983)...p, 262-263
[550] See Motor vehicle Statistics 1960 and 1961, Federal Government Publication, see also Traffic charts and Traffic Density Tables, Office of the Metropolitan Kano Planning Board, Traffic Planning Division Kano, 1974, as quoted by I.L Bashir, p. 262-263
[551] T Forest (1994)…p, 202

plant. He soon became a leading supplier of the mini buses, saloon cars and motorcycles some of which were used for intra-city transport services.[552]

Road transport system therefore has helped increased the mobility of factors of production such as labour over wide areas. This had made possible a rapid and beneficial economic growth as well as the stimulation and diversification of the economy of Kano. Therefore, it had helped in establishing trading outlets for goods manufactured in Kano and purchased produce and raw materials for distribution within Kano and to other parts of the country.

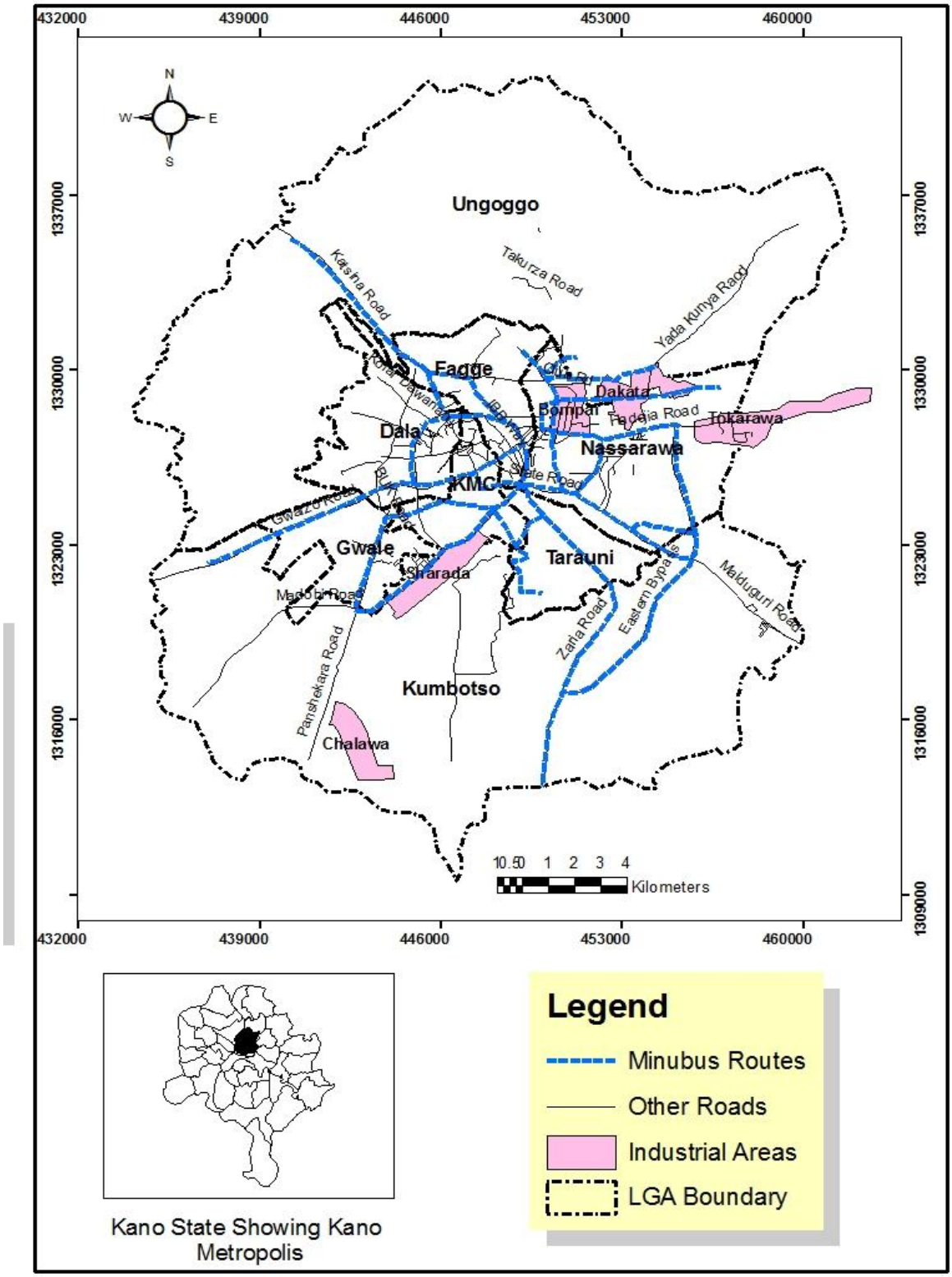
In addition, the commercial road transport system is one of the most contributing factors that made Kano a regional powerhouse in commerce and industry. Kano is linked with other parts of the country through a network of all season roads, which provide the commercial industries, and agricultural requirements of neighbouring states like Jigawa, Katsina and Bauchi. The light medium and heavy industries in Kano producing a wide variety of goods and the marked out industrial areas in the state have added inducement of access roads and modern communication facilities. Kano in itself is prominently agricultural state and has a network of rural roads and extensive distribution organization that ensure abundant raw materials for industrialists. This had led to trade expansion.

Furthermore, the short and long distance routes shuttled by the commercial road transport has an enduring impact on the effective movement of essential food stuff, raw materials, finished goods within the state. It shortens the length of time needed for the movement of the commodities to the other commercial centers in the state. Thus, the transport services spreads information about market opportunities due to their mobility.

[552] Information from Alhaji Ibrahim Umar Madugu (Na Bakon Wayya), born in 1962 in Kano, interviewed on 15-10-2010

As a transit town, the development of both the small and large scale industries in Kano metropolis were no doubt credited to the availability and function of the road transport networks. Both the employer and the employees of these industries found it very easy to transport themselves to and from their places of work. Also, raw materials are being transported with less cost from their sources of production to where they are processed in the industries. Finished products were also distributed to wholesalers, retailers and final consumers with less friction, cost and time. If not for the problem of electricity which Kano metropolis faced in the late 1980s and early 1990s which forced many of the existing industries to close down and prevent new investors from establishing new ones, the position of Kano in the area of industrial growth would have been incomparable to any state in the country.

Fig 4:2 Map Showing Industrial Areas in Kano Metropolis



Source: Adapted from A Report on Kano Bus Mass Transit Route Mapping Study, Supervised by Nigerian Infrastructure Advisory Facility (NIAF) and Funded by Department for International Development (DFID), 2011 p, 13, 20 & 23

In the area of agricultural development, transportation was and still is an important tool to reckon with. This was evident in the economic growth potential to the State's economy in establishing Export Processing Zone (EPZ). A sizeable proportion of the agricultural work force can be redeployed into the export processing activities thereby putting the labour force into productive use. Kano State also has ample agricultural and mineral resources and vast cultivable land which provide the basic requirements for most of her industries and for re-export. Available minerals resources range from tin, gypsum, niobium, uranium, zinc, silver, kaolin, feldspar etc. Other natural resources include lakes, forests, dams and underground water. Hence, transportation services contribute about 60% of agricultural production thereby motivating the farmers to be more productive. [553]

4.4 Transport and employment Generation

The transport industries in Kano constitutes one of the greatest employers of labour which have immensely contributed to Kano's economy by providing hundreds of jobs. It allows many youths and old to earn their living either directly or indirectly from the industry by manufacturing, driving, maintaining and regulating vehicles to allow for the safe and efficient movement of goods and people. The transport industries provide three out of every ten jobs in Kano metropolis.[554] Between 1967 and 2015, the transportation industry has provided almost 2 million jobs accounting for about 55 percent of Kano state total occupational employment.[555] For example, the commercial motorcycle (*Achaba*) provided employment for over 1million people while the tricycles provided employment to more than 27,000 people. The intra-city buses on the other hand provided more than 5,000 jobs which included drivers, conductors and vehicle owners. The taxi also provided almost

[553] M. Aminu (2006) *The Role of Transportation to Agricultural Development*, BS.c BUK p. 12
[554] See Kano Transport Master Plan (TMP) Revised Final March 2009, p. 119-125
[555] M Mukhtar (2011) Impact of Transportation on Economic Growth: An Assessment of Road and Rail Transport Systems, Dr Mustapha Mukhtar Archives, http://mustaphamukhtarblogsport.com, p, 3

2000 job. The Pickup Vans (*Akori Kura)* provided more than 1500 job. Finally, the bicycle hiring provided employment opportunity for over 1000 persons.[556]

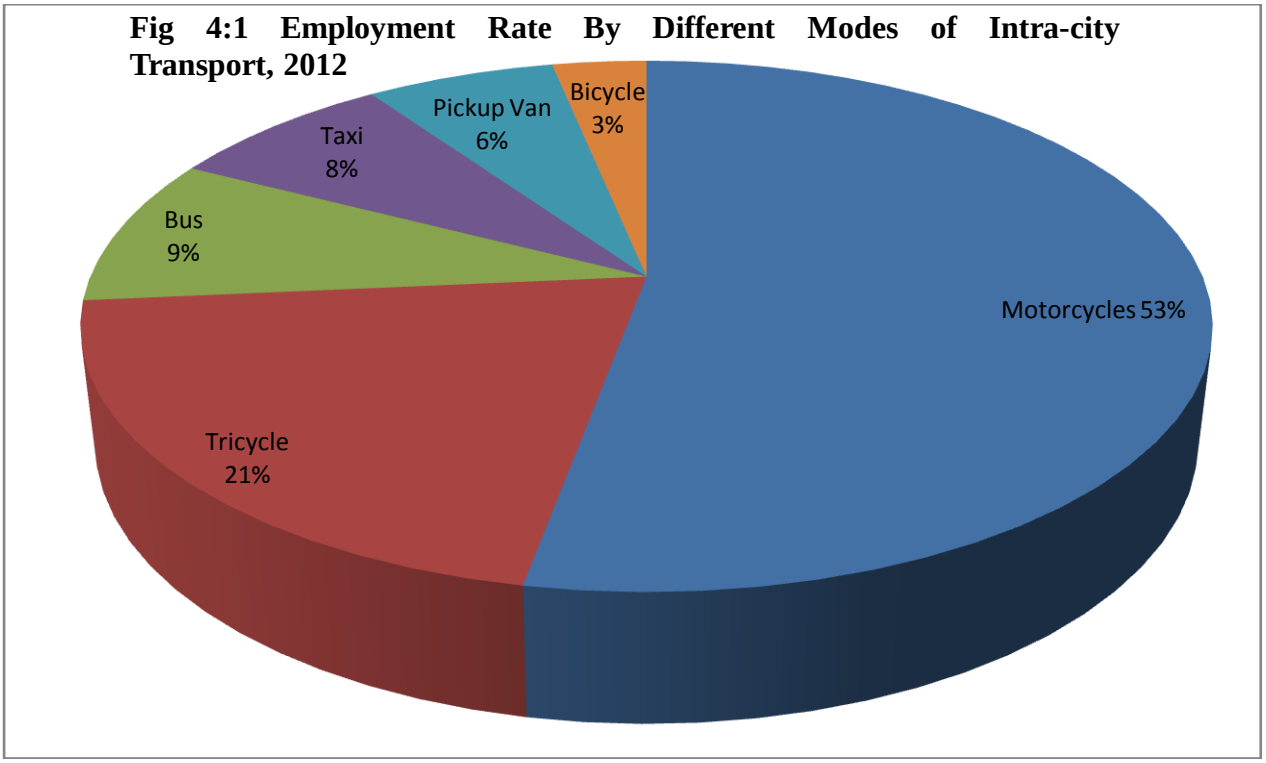
The transport industry has also provided employment directly to the agents known as the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW), and the commission agents who managed passengers, drivers and the vehicle owners. An additional hundreds of workers were employed in transport equipment manufacturing, and a substantial number in transportation related industries such as automotive service and repair (the mechanics, panel beaters, electricians, painters, etc.), roads construction, spare parts dealers, vulcanisers, petrol filling stations and roadside petrol sellers, engine oil sellers, automobile dealers, food sellers, miscellaneous traders and hawkers of all wears.

In an attempt to regulate and improve the road transport system as well as to protect the safety of drivers and commuters, the government established special road Marshals such as the Vehicle Inspection Officers (VIO), Police Traffic Warden, Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC) and recently in 2012, the Kano State Road and Traffic Agency (KAROTA). All these Marshals gained their employment following the growth and the development of the road transport system. In this respect, the transport industry has helped in reducing the level of poverty in Kano economy, which is an essential ingredient in determining the level of her economic prosperity.

[556] Information provided by the transport department of the Kano State Ministry of Works Housing and Transport MWH&T and the transport union leaders such as Mustapha Ibrahim Nasidi, secretary Kano State Taxi drivers Association, age 35, interviewed on 13/07/2014, Information from Rabiu Sani, Secretary National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) Mallam Kato motor park, Age 62years, interviewed on 12-09-2009, Information Mallam Adamu Hamza Bashir, a bicycle repairer and hirer, age 40, interviewed at Indabawa Quarters on 18/07/2014, [556] Information from Alh. Muhammad Sani Hassan, Kano state chairman of the Amalgamated Commercial Motorcycle Association of Nigeria (ACOMORAN), age 53, interviewed on 07/07/2013, [556] Information from Alhaji Bashir Tahir Muhammad, Chairman Kandaki Development Association (A Kano Municipal Unit of Akori Kura Drivers Association) and a License Dealer of Akori Kura Vehicle, age 35, interviewed on 06/07/2014, Information from Salisu Musa Dansalo, a commercial tricycle rider, age 40, interviewed on 16/03/2013

The following chart shows that in 2012, the motorcyclist (‘*Yan Achaba*) provided about 55% of employment generated in the urban transport industry while tricycles provided 15%. The buses and the taxis provided about 14% each, pick up vans 6%, bicycle hirers 2% and the remaining 8% was constituted by others who earn their living from the transport industry such as mechanics, spare parts dealers engine oil sellers and so on.

Fig 4:1 Employment Rate By Different Modes of Intra-city Transport, 2012



Source: Information compiled from field work

4.5 Transport and Revenue Generation

As part of their contributions to the growth of the state economy, the intra-city commercial transport service had provided huge revenue to the three tiers of government vis Federal, State and Local governments through the payments of various duties for hackney permits, drivers licenses, vehicle licenses, vehicle registration, and plate numbers, insurance and certificate of road worthiness as well as periodic renewal of vehicle particulars.

Table 4:3 Newly Registered Vehicles in Kano State 1970-2012

Year	Motorcycles	Saloon	Buses,	Tricycles	Lorries,	Total

		Cars	Vans, Pick-ups		Tippers, etc.	
1970	2,283	693	315	N.A	510	3,801
1971	3,359	1,014	423	N.A	561	5,357
1972	3,637	1,664	438	N.A	539	6,278
1973	3,647	1,257	399	N.A	357	5,660
1974	4,514	2,896	447	N.A	450	8,307
1975	6,509	3,533	697	N.A	596	11,335
1976	13,357	5,595	1,923	N.A	1,671	22,546
1977	15,175	5,405	3,654	N.A	1,672	25,906
1978	11,293	3,316	2,497	N.A	961	18,067
1979	8,964	3,143	3,017	N.A	629	15,750
1980	11,724	4,724	5,390	N.A	892	22,400
1981	10,005	3,369	2,963	N.A	407	16,744
1982	21,502	6,215	5,403	N.A	684	33,804
1983	13,547	4,033	3,350	N.A	771	21,701
1984	3,112	3,289	1,162	N.A	325	8,080
1985	1,590	3,437	1,922	N.A	745	7,694
1986	394	1,617	563	N.A	155	2,729
1987	N.A	N.A	4,050	N.A	952	5,002
1988	N.A	N.A	4,500	N.A	1,045	5545
1989	N.A	N.A	5,006	N.A	1,044	6,050
1990	5,611	2,014	501	300	221	8,647
1991	3,010	3,680	920	120	120	7,850
1992	4,130	1,009	1,120	110	380	6,749
1993	7,101	3,012	300	210	55	10,678
1994	4,001	5,310	1,130	160	906	11,507
1995	5,520	3,440	2,340	109	702	12,111
1996	`4,800	3,100	600	210	511	9,221
1997	3,100	2,700	502	300	100	6,702
1998	4,111	3,100	370	400	601	8,582
1999	5,001	4,100	531	250	311	10,193
2000	3,111	3,200	960	300	220	7,791
2001	4,001	2,700	280	400	110	7,491
2002	5,002	4,800	800	280	160	11,042
2003	6,340	5,320	300	190	411	12,561
2004	3,400	2,750	1,200	120	900	8,370
2005	5,111	4,120	460	100	870	10,661
2006	4,130	3,130	330	110	620	8,320
`2007	4,300	4,300	430	120	630	9,780
2008	3,120	3,012	511	140	540	7,323
2009	5,176	2,546	1,779	524	231	10,256
2010	6,786	4,925	3,514	963	528	16,716
2011	4,163	8,376	4,634	271	967	18,411
2012	8,181	6,181	1004	3,461	343	19,170

Source: Statistical Data Collected and Compiled by the Researcher from Ministry of Finance, Kano State Motor Licensing Office, Motor Vehicle Statistics 1978-1986 Governors office Statistics Division, Kano State Statistical Yearbook published by Economic Planning Division, Kano State Board of Internal Revenue, Vehicle Inspection Unit (VIO's Office) and Federal Road Safety Office Research and Statistical Department.

From table 4:3, it is evident that from 1970 to 2012 a total of 102,414,695 vehicles were registered in Kano State. About 60% of these vehicles were registered for commercial transport services. The revenue derived from the registration of these vehicles include that of vehicle particulars, plate number and licensing registration. Available information shows that in the 1980s N5000 was charged for commercial vehicle registration including plate numbers and other vehicle particulars. The price rose to N7000 in the 1990s. From 2000 to 2011when the Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC) took over the supply of plate numbers to the Kano State Board of Internal Revenue, N18000 was being charged. With the introduction of the new plate number in 2012, the amount rose to N27000 while that of commercial motorcycle increased from N5000 to N8000 respectively. The amount charged for the driving licence increased from N3000 between 1990 and 2011 to N6350 in 2012.[557] The table below shows the number of driving license issued and amount of revenue generated. Even though there were no available record to show how many license were issued before 1999.

Table 4:4 Record of Driving License Issued to Road users in Kano State and Revenue Generated from 1999-2012

Year	Private	Commercial	Total	Revenue Generated (N)
1999	4,316	15,187	19,503	5,532,250
2000	2,332	8,016	10,348	1,573,450
2001	7,754	37,446	45,200	16,351,100
2002	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A
2003	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A
2004	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A
2005	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A
2006	2,681	6,292	8,973	9,017,000
2007	2,886	6,476	9,362	7940900
2008	3,898	8,127	12,025	10,362000
2009	1,707	3,983	5,690	4,933000
2010	2,675	5,716	8,391	7,812000
2011	1,196	2,202	3,398	3,619000
2012	1293	1293	2586	N.A

Source: Federal Road Safety Corps RSI. 2 Kano Sector Command and Kano State Board of Internal Revenue

[557] Information collected from the Federal Road Safety Corpse, Vehicle inspection Office and Kano State Board of Internal Revenue.

The table above shows that between 1999 and 2012 the government has generated the total sum of N67,140,700miillion from the sales and issuance of Driving Licenses alone. Out of the money generated, the commercial road transport service has provided more than 80% of the revenue accrued.

The Road Marshals i.e. the VIO, FRSC and the KAROTA also generate revenue for the government in two ways: First is through Motor Licensing Authority (MLA). The Road Marshals apprehend vehicles and direct the owners to the MLA for renewal of their particulars such as vehicle licenses, KSTR and any other related charges specified by road traffic regulations. Second, is through the Road Traffic Department (RTD) and the source of the revenue is the charges collected from vehicle inspection, the inspection for the road worthiness charges, accident inspections, driving tests and other charges from offences committed by road users.[558]

From 1987 to 1992, the charge for road worthiness was N5.00 per vehicle. From 1993 to 1995 it was N10.00 per vehicle and N25.00 in 1996 respectively. The accident inspections were not attracting fees until in 1996 in which N40 was charged per vehicle and the sum of N39,760 was realised for the state within the year. The driving test also attracts charges of N5.00 per test from 1987 to 1994 and N40.00 from 1995 to 1996.[559]

Table 4:5 Revenue Generated By VIO in Kano State from 1986-1997

Year	Road Worthiness Inspection (N)	Accident Inspection (N)	Driving Test (N)	Total (N)
1987	135,000	N.A	12,500	147,500
1988	129,000	N.A	12,650	141,650
1989	141,000	N.A	10,580	151,580
1990	132,000	N.A	9,990	141,990
1991	144,000	N.A	16,050	160,050
1992	135,00	N.A	14,315	149,315
1993	276,000	N.A	16,255	292,255

[558] G.A Gaya (1997) "The Role of Vehicle Inspection Officers in Road Freight Transport: A Case Study of Kano State Vehicle Inspection Department", A Dissertation Submitted to the Institute of Transport Technology, (NITT) Zaria, for the Award of Post-Graduate Diploma in Transport Management (PGPTM), p, 54-55
[559] G.A Gaya (1997)...p, 55

1994	282,000	N.A	16,050	298,050
1995	301,000	N.A	102,520	403,520
1996	630,000	39,760	124,080	793,840
Total	2,305000	39,760	334,990	2,679,750

Source: Kano State Road Traffic Department

In Kano metropolis, eight local government authorities namely Dala, Fagge, Tarauni, Nassarawa, Ungogo, Kumbotso, Gwale and Kano municipal and the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) were responsible for the organization of motor parks. In every authorized motor park (Kofar Ruwa, Kofar Wambai, Yan Kura, New Road (Sabon Gari), Yankaba, Naibawa, Unguwa Uku, Rijiyar Lemu, Malam Kato and Shahuci) there are local government officials appointed to supervise and collect revenue on behalf of the respective local government areas. Furthermore, the officials of the drivers union also collect revenue on behalf of the union.[31]A special Revenue Officer called motor park representative (*Wakilin Tasha*), was appointed with the sole aim of collecting the revenue for the government. As a government agent he supervised the affairs of commercial transport service and their motor parks.

4.6 Conclusion

The development of road transport networks by various governments has attracted huge investment by both private and public sectors in the transport industry, which in turn facilitated the growth of commercial activities in Kano metropolis. It has been observed that commercial road transport sector has a direct linkage with other sectors of the economy such as agriculture, commerce and the industry which cannot do without the transport sector. Hence, it is through efficient and adequate system of transport that agricultural and industrial produce are transported from the production centres to processing centres and to the markets for final consumption, without which it is extremely difficult to reach the final consumers. Indeed, without effective and efficient transport system such goods may be wasted or perished.

CHAPTER FIVE

Transport Entrepreneurs and the Development of Trade Unionism among Transporters

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the profiles of some of the selected transport entrepreneurs in Kano metropolis such as Alhaji Muhammadu Nagoda, Alhaji Ibrahim Cika Koshi (Madugu na Bakon Wayya, Alhaji Sule Koki among several others. The chapter also discusses the historical development of trade unions among transporters such as the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW), Kano State Taxi Drivers Association (KSTDA), Association of Commercial Motorcycle Riders of Nigeria (ACOMORAN), and Tricycle Operators Association Kano (TOKAN).

5.2 Transport Entrepreneurs in Kano

The transport entrepreneurs were the early pioneers of the intra-city commercial transport services in Kano. They initiated, perpetuated and promoted the business.

i. **Alhaji Muhammadu Na Goda**

Muhammadu Na Goda was born in 1875, at a small village of Goda in Dawakin Kudu local government of Kano state. At the age of seven years old i.e. in 1882, his father took him to Maiduguri for his early Qur'anic studies. After memorizing the Qur'an, Muhammadu Na Goda returned home (Kano). By the time he returned, his father was dead and therefore his mother Hajiya Fadimatu gave him nine kobo to venture into business. Na Goda used the nine kobo to purchase wooden slate (*Allon rubutu*), and sold them with reasonable profit. This he continued until a time when he acquired large sum of money and moved into traditional boutique business. He used to sell clothes such as shirts, trousesr and wrappers. At the age of twenty-seven i.e. 1902, Na Goda ventured into animal sell business. He used to transport cows from Kano to Lagos, after selling the cows, on his way back to Kano from Lagos he used to bought kola nut and sell it in Kano. As a mark of business prosperity, Muhammadu Na Goda left Dawakin Kudu and relocated to Mazan kwarai in Kano city where

he built his own house. The area was later renamed after him and is now called *Kwanar Goda*. By 1930s, Muhammadu Na Goda was able to establish commercial contact with European colonial firms in Kano such as John Holt, C.F.A.O, R.T Briscoe and so on. He took part in a trade business with the Europeans firms in selling/buying goods such as groundnut, salt, sugar and kerosene. In addition, by the same 1930s the European firms introduced cars for commercial transportation. Muhammad Na Goda was among the first indigenous businessman in Kano to have purchased this modern commercial transport system and put them on the streets of Kano. People often referred to this vehicles as "*Kara-kara Motar Na Goda ta hana Yan Dako Sakewa*" (the new Na Goda automobiles had deprived hand truck pushers and head loaders from having excessive freedom in their business). These types of vehicles include Danfo long bus, Mercedes long bus and Leyland open wooden van. By late 1940's and early 1950's this vehicles became available. They as well ease movement of people and goods as well as development of the economy of the city. Between 1958 and 1976, the German Volkswagen company introduced *Kia-kia* mini bus, which became relatively available and cheap. The Volkswagen bus was also easy to maintain than the previous mode of transportation. Thus, the former was abandoned and the later became more accessible. Moreover, by 1977 the Japanese Toyota Hiace bus also replaced the Volkswagen bus, the Toyota bus is more economical than all the previous buses.

Muhammadu Na Goda died on the 3rd January 1980. He left about 70 cars ranging from trucks, kit-cars, and buses. Thus, his children continued with the commercial transport business.[560]

ii Malam Uwaisu Ahmadu Babba Dan'Agundi 1919-1995

[560] Information from Alhaji Muhammadu Na Kanya Na Goda who was interviewed on 15-10-2010, he was born in 1941 in Kano city. Na Kanya Na Goda claimed that his father Muhammadu Na Goda pioneered the commercial bus transport business in Kano.

Malam Uwaisu Ahmadu, better known as Babba Dan'Agundi was primarily a politician by occupation and a transporter by profession. He was born on 23rd March, 1919 at Kurmawa quarters near Dan'Agundi gate in Kano city, to Malam Ahmadu and Hajiya Biba. It was in that year, precisely forty days following the birth of Babba, that Emir of Kano Abbas died. At the age of five, he began his traditional Islamic education under the tutelage of his grandfather, Malam Faruk, and other members of the family. At the age of 10 i.e. in 1929, Malam Babba found himself without a job, and having lost his father from an earlier age, he needed to get himself gainfully employed. That was why he sought for a self-sustaining engagement such as bicycle hire which he did with some of his peers like Alhaji Mudi and Bashir Uda. It is in the spirit of this restless search for a means by which he could sustain himself, independent of elders, whom he did not have anyway, that Malam Babba enrolled himself into the new Beminster School at the age of fifteen i.e. in 1934.

The Young Babba at Beminster Craft School

The early thirties saw the influx of products of Western technology such as the bicycle, motor bike or scooter, cars, lorries which plied the roads to and from the city much to the awe and admiration of the youth. There was a sense of power and mastery exhibited by riders and drivers of these technological gadgets most of whom did not go to school long enough to be acculturated by the Whiteman. Consequently, Malam Babba saw an opportunity to earn a living in the newly developed transport industry. So, looking determined, inquisitive but very serious, Malam Babba, on his own initiative, and perhaps with some support from his family, got enrolled in to the Beminster the first training or Craft school for vocational engagements in 1934.[561]

The Beminster craft school was established by a British colonial officer specifically to train young people in various crafts designed to cater for the pre-vocational needs of young

[561] For more on the craft school see N Skinner (1977) *Alhaji Muhammadu Koki: Kano Malam*, ABU Press, p, 19

pupils in woodwork, building, metal work, vehicle repair, driving, land survey, etc. It was therefore to the driving section in Beminster that 'Dan Agundi went. He was met there by the late Alhaji Abubakar Jakada[562], one of the driving instructors. Thus, in 1935, barely one year after his enrolment, Malam Babba left the school as a qualified driver-mechanic. Not only that, the school which already had a standby arrangement with the Vehicle Inspector's Office, had, on graduation, secured a Driving License for the new driver.

Early Public Life

Fully equipped with driving skills, Babba Dan'Agundi was ready to venture into a career that would later make him what he became. He started work as a Driver in the house of Salim, a Lebanese businessman, nicknamed *Gajere* "the Short One". The Lebanese had long been in Kano City. They were among immigrant communities comprising Syrians, Sudanese, Libyans, and the Lebanese who were attracted to Kano by the city's bustling business opportunities. They mainly dealt in animal skin and hide, textiles, groundnut, cotton, and a wide range of small scale manufactured goods and raw materials.[563]

Dan Agundi's hard work and honesty made his master to elevate his position to the rank of Chief Driver, which became the subject of envy from the rest of the drivers in the household of Salim. By now, Salim had already given Babba Dan'Agundi a car as a gift for his personal use. The other drivers started to plot against him. Their ultimate goal was to either frustrate Babba's effort in the discharge of his duties, or frame him up, so that he could be dismissed from Salim's services. On realizing these moves, Babba Dan'Agundi thought it was time to move on. Therefore, after serving Salim for 10 years i.e. from 1935-1945, he quit his position as Chief Driver, an action which his patron found shocking and disturbing.

[562]For information on Adamu Jakada see A. Philip (1994) "ADAMU JAKADA'S INTELLIGENCE REPORTS, 1899-1901", *Sudanic Africa*, Vol. 5 (1994), pp. 185-223 Published by: Centre for Middle Eastern Studies (University of Bergen)

[563] For more information on the Lebanese see S.A Albasu (1995) The Lebanese in Kano: An Immigrant Community in a Hausa Society in the Colonial and Post-colonial Periods, Kabs Print Services, Kano

By the time he left the service of Salim Gajere, Malam Babba had acquired his own vehicle. It is reported that Salim Gajere himself gave a car to his Chief Driver when the going was good for master and employee. Another account has it that Malam Babba sold off the herd of cows he inherited from his father to purchase his first car. Whichever it was, Malam Babba's vehicle was the first in the Dan'Agundi ward. Within a short time his fleet of vehicles was to multiply and more people got source of employment. This marked the beginning of Babba Dan'Agundi's public life.

Transportation vs Politics and Unionism

Throughout the 1940s Malam Babba concentrated on his transport business in which he hauled goods and conveyed passengers in and around Kano. He also occasionally made long trips to far away towns and into neighbouring countries. Given his disposition and frame of mind as one who would not pass by anomalies or leave uncorrected any wrong that he witnessed, Malam Babba had to be involved in groups and organizations around him. Thus, simultaneous with his transportation of goods and people, he joined two organizations that were later to prove important in his life. These were the Kano Transporters Union and the Northern Elements Progressive Association (NEPA), precursor to the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU).

The Kano Transporters Union was an organization which had its roots in the 1930s when, despite the global economic recession, Kano and some parts of the British West African colonies were flooded by Lebanese, Asians and other foreign nationals. There then was the subsequent establishment of mills, ginneries for processing farm produce which was then also on the rise. Both the raw and processed produce needed to be transported from the farms and factories to consumers, the railways stations and the port for onward transmission to the United Kingdom (UK). The Native Authority (NA) and the then Regional Government based in Kaduna had done their best by constructing main and feeder roads and by providing

materials and some services and organizations such as the Marketing Boards. On their part, the transporters were increasing in number and vehicle owners and drivers were in a cut-throat competition to get the largest share of the business. It was then that a group of individuals thought of establishing a union of transporters to sanitize the mad rush for passengers and facilitate goods delivery for all the parties, the producers, buyers, agents and the transporters themselves.

As a result, the Kano Transporters Association was registered in September 1938 following a letter sent to the Resident and copied to the Police Commissioner and the High Court signed by some of its members. Among other things, the new union included the Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba and other African nationals in Kano; its objectives included checkmating haulage price differentials by fixing it to 4d per tone per mile and the practice of unethical deals which, in the letter, the Asians, particularly the Syrians were said to engage in. The union was evidently registered in 1938 when Malam Babba was still in the employment of Salim Gajere.

When he eventually joined the union of transporters around 1945, some ten years after leaving Salim Gajere, Malam Babba's leadership potential was soon to be recognized by other members. By 1950 he became the undisputed president of the union who commanded respect from members, all of whom admired, respected and worked in line with his pragmatic and radical insight and practical suggestions on how to go about their business. Malam Babba's regime as a President of the union revamped its importance and gave it a fresh and vigorous sense of direction. Under Malam Babba, the union gained greater respectability and was eventually given a boost by the Federal Government of Nigeria by the decree on indigenization which preserved the transport sector to indigenes only. Subsequently, transporters joined the class of rich men in the country and their business was raised in status.

Wealthy Transporter

Malam Babba grew rich and as his contemporaries reported he had about 18 assortments of vehicles running business in and around Kano as well as making commercial trips to neighbouring countries like Chad, Ghana, Niger and Benin Republic. His fleet of vehicles at a time included two personal saloon cars, Japanese passenger buses (Hiace and Liteace), Mercedes Benz lorries, tipper trucks for sand and laterite; long trailer vehicles for hauling groundnut bags and cotton bails to depots, mills and ports in the country. One of his surviving drivers recalled names of vehicles like Henshel, Subaru, GMC & Ford trucks. At that time Malam Babba had in his service over 36 drivers and driver-mates with most coming from Kano, and especially from his Dan'Agundi ward, and some from among the Ibo and Yoruba of southern Nigeria, while a few were other African nationals. Some of his drivers were Yahaya Na Doki, Alhaji Cigari, Abdulkadir Gajere and Ahmed Basha, Alhaji Dange, Ummaru, Audu Aliya, Lawan e.t.c. These drivers transported goods like hides and skin, cotton, groundnut, oranges, lalle or henna, grains to near and distant places in Kano, Nigeria and other countries. Acquaintances reported that Malam Babba had no warehouses to hoard goods. Instead he dealt directly with depots and ports where the goods remained in transit. His vehicles were used to transport contingents and supplies for UN Peace Corps in Angola.

Colleagues, fellow drivers and transporters of Malam Babba in those years included Alhaji Audu, father of A.G. Abdullahi, Alhaji Sani Marshall, Alhaji Yakubu Soso, Alhaji Ado Direba, Alhaji Baba Na Zage, Alhaji Barau, Alhaji Tasiu, and Baba Mudi. Some of these contemporaries served under Lebanese masters as drivers before assuming their independent positions as transporters like Malam Babba. Mal Babba's economic success as a transporter in those years easily earned him the lucrative position or privilege of being appointed a Licensed Buying Agent for the Cotton and Ground nut marketing Boards. It was without doubt that Malam Babba was a rich merchant and could relax and simply superintend over and enjoy his riches.

However, luxury and complacency were not in Malam Babba's character. So, even with a big fleet of vehicles and employees working for him he still drove vehicles and was often seen on the road conveying passengers and their goods to and from rural markets in and around Kano. In his account of how he came to meet Malam Babba, Alhaji Lili Gabari, one of the few surviving NEPU politicians in Kano, recounted how one day in 1948 he joined the transport vehicle of Malam Babba with his market wares from Jahun to Kano. He confessed that he was struck by the unusual determination, honesty and down-to-earth simplicity of that driver-owner of the vehicle which he joined to go to Kano from Jahun that day. Subsequently, he said, he continued using the services of Malam Babba's vehicles and the two discovered that they had many things in common. Their relationship was later to be cemented by the political activities that culminated in the establishment of the Northern Elements Progressive Union or NEPU.[564] Malam Babba came in to NEPU as a wealthy man. He was therefore addressed and referred to throughout, even by stalwarts of the organization like Malam Aminu Kano as "*Yallabai*", in recognition of his royal lineage as much as his immense financial standing.

Malam Babba as NEPU Financier

Malam Babba's profession as a transporter was to suffer and finally to be jettisoned with his involvement in politics. Like with all other professions, transportation needed a capital which is constantly serviced and replenished by accrued profit. Even before joining politics, Malam Babba's transport capital was under pressure from his act of doling massive assistance to neighbors or any needy persons that came his way. When he joined politics and chose a party of the masses most of whose members coming from among the poor, Malam Babba subjected his profits and capital as a transporter to unprecedented

[564] This information was confirmed by Alh. Muhammadu Mansur Lili Gabari, a famous politician who played an active role in the formation and early activities of NEPU in the 1950s. He was also a transport entrepreneur and driver in the 1950s. He is 84 years old and interviewed at his residence at Bakin Zuwo on 26/11/15

pressure. He became, in addition to being an eloquent advocate and defender of NEPU agenda and ideas, the chief financier of the organization. His vehicles were used for trips to campaign sessions, political rallies and the opening of branches in near and far away towns and regions in which party members did not pay their fare. In addition, he often gave money to bail out arrested party members, to feed families of others and to finance other party undertakings. Moreover, Babba's trucks served as free "speed posts" as letters of the party from the national secretariat in Kano were dispatch to far distant provinces with relative ease. In short, in his support for the activities of NEPU, Babba sacrificed his valuable assets by selling his vehicles one after another in order to meet NEPU's pressing financial demands which, finally brought down his transportation business. No wonder, his other name was "Rumbun NEPU", or NEPU's granary of funds. For this, he did not only gain full acceptance within the party caucus, but was actually "Yallabai" whom even Malam Aminu Kano, the leader of the party regarded and treated with deference.

Malam Babba served as the treasurer, from the formative period of the party to its glorious days as the major opposition political party to NPC in Northern Nigeria. This role was given to him in view of his wealth, sincerity and accountability in handling financial matters. He was a strong pillar in financing NEPU activities. In fact, According to Alhaji Tanko Yakasai, Babba was the second major transporter in the whole of Kano province after Alhaji Mamman Nagoda and was among the few richest people who possessed personal cars in Kano city. Others were Alhaji Alhassan Dantata, Alhaji Dan' Bappah, the father of Alhaji Baba Dan' Bappa, Alhaji Muhammad Nagoda, and Alhaji Nabegu. Thus, as a well to do person, with established transport business and also being a ground nut Licensed Buying Agent, at the formative stage of NEPU, Malam Babba was almost the sole financer of NEPU.

Alhaji Babba's transportation business and his fleet of vehicles fluctuated with his level of involvement in NEPU politics throughout the nation's first republic. When he was released from prison detention during the Gowon regime, the former buoyant and wealthy transporter had no vehicles left in his possession. Due to his financial commitment to the activities of NEPU, the once rich Malam Babba experienced spates of pecuniary financial difficulties and, to cap it all, he finally resorted to riding a Raleigh bicycle, which he hired from Sharu Angale at Fagge quarters for his daily movement in the city. His son Alhaji Ibrahim recalled how his father had to be conveying him to school on a bicycle and to depend on his former business colleagues like Alhaji Aminu Dantata, Baballe Ila, and others for financial support before he resuscitated his business. Subsequently, he was able to raise some bank loan and bought a couple of vehicles to restart his business. But things were never the same after the first Republic and Malam Babba had to combine transport with securing and executing government contracts which he easily secured. Subsequently, the Malam Babba Dan Agundi was appointed and turbaned as the Sarkin Dawaki Mai Tuta by Emir Ado Bayero in 1977 and the transportation business ceased altogether.[565]

iii. Alhaji Ibrahim Umar Madugu (Na Bakon Wayya)

His nicknames were Madugu Na Bakon Wayya and Madugu Cika-koshi (*Arziki sai Allah ya yi*). [21] Madugu Na Bakon Wayya was born in 1929, at Jujin Yan Labu quarters of Kano city. At the age of seven i.e. 1936, his father took him to Karofin Dala for his early Qur'anic studies. After completing his Islamic education, at the age of twenty i.e. 1949, he teamed up with his father who happened to be a business person. Alhaji Umaru and his son Ibrahim Madugu Na Bakon Wayya used to travel to Kazaure, Yankwashi and Karkarna now Jigawa state, to purchase groundnut. The groundnut would be taken to Alhaji Alhassan

[565] Saleh Abdu, Habu Fagge & Haruna Wakili etal (2010) Biography of Alhaji Babba Dan Agundi, the book will be publish by the Aminu Kano Centre for Democratic Research and Training, Mambayya House, Kano. See also S.B.I Gwangwazo (1997) Ina Gwanin Wani? Ga Nawa: Marigayi Alhaji Babba Dan Agundi, Sarkin Dawaki Mai Tuta (Murabus) No Publishers and Place of Publication

Dantata in Kano who was the then European groundnut-License Buying Agent (LBA). At the eve of Nigerian independence, i.e. 1959 Madugu Na Bakon Wayya abandoned the groundnut business and came back to Kano. By 1960, Alhaji Salisu Na Gomma a close business associate of Madugu Na Bakon Wayya bought D.K commercial bus and gave it to Madugu to use it for commercial transportation within Kano metropolis. Within a year, Madugu was able to buy his own commercial bus i.e. 1961. Therefore, between 1961 and 1978, Madugu was able to own more than 20 buses. This made him to establish a transport company known as Madugu Na Bakon Wayya Transport Company. As soon as this company was established, Madugu bought many long buses (luxurious buses), which were used for long journey. Soon afterward, he ventured into commercial truck/trailer business. Because of this boost in commercial transport business, Madugu established a spare parts company at Bachirawa. Later on, Madugu established mosquito Coil Company known as Madugu mosquito coil. By 1988, Madugu had successfully established business contact with Japan, which gave him the opportunity to become a sole dealer of Honda cars and Honda motorcycle (Honda belly). He died on 25th December 1994.[566]

iv. Alhaji Gambo Rani

Alh. Gambo was born in 1934 in Kano city. At the age of seven, he began his quest for Islamic education. At the age of 15, he was engaged in tailoring service. In 1950 he abandoned tailoring and ventured into building (*aikin gini*). He began his career in the transport industry in 1960 as a conductor, before he became a bus driver. He was trained by Alhaji Mallam Audu when he assisted him as his conductor. The first bus he drove was bought to him by one Alh. Maikudi Mai Turare a wealthy businessman who deals in the sales of perfume at the ancient Kurmi market. Alhaji Gambo claimed that he had trained a number

[566] Information from Alhaji Ibrahim Umar Madugu (Na Bakon Wayya) who was interviewed on 15-10-2010, He was born in 1962 in Kano city. His father Alhaji Madugu Na Bakon Wayya was among the early pioneers of intra-city transport service in Kano metropolis

of youths who showed interest in the transport industry. He also owned many buses which were used for commercial transport services and by so doing he became a business proprietor.[567]

v. Alhaji Sule Koki

Alhaji Sule Koki was born in 1909 at Koki quarters, Kano municipal local government area of Kano state. After his early Islamic education, he also received western education at middle school before he later travel to Damagaran (Niger Republic), to further his religious studies. After completing his studies at Niger, he returned home and enrolled into cola nut trading at Ujule kola nut market, Kofar Mazugal Kano. He started his career with the commercial bus transport industry in 1967 as a driver and at the same time owner of commercial buses. Between 1967 and 980, he owned 73 buses brand of Nissan Urvan, Toyota Hiace and Volkswagen kombi buses, which were used for city transport services. He claimed that, he had provided employment opportunities especially for hundreds of teeming youth as well as given them efficient training, some of whom turn out to be self employed in the transport industry, and in fact some of them are now richer than him.[568]

vi. Alhaji Salisu Abdullahi (Shugaba)

Alhaji Salisu was born in 1917 at Kofar Mata Kano city. He joined Islamic school for Qur'anic studies when he was seven years old that was in 1924. He started his career with transport industry in 1935 when he was exactly 18 years old. He was once a driver to the late district head of Gaya Danmakwayo. In 1967, he abandoned his work with the district head of Gaya, and ventured into intra-city commercial bus driving.

Thus, he has been a driver for over 30 years i.e. from 1967-1999. He owns many buses and was the first to head the leadership of the commercial bus drivers association,

[567] Information from Alhaji Gambo Rani of Jakara quarters Kano city, a former bus driver and owner. He was born in 1935, and interviewed on 09-09-2014

[568] Information from Alhaji Sule Koki of Koki quarters, born in 1910, he was a former bus driver and owner, interviewed on 20-10-2009

known as Association of Kano Bus Drivers Corporation Society later incorporated into the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW).[569]

vii. Alhaji Idris Usman Geidam

Alhaji Idris was born in 1957 at Geidam in present Yobe State. His father Alh. Usman was a businessman who traded in cattle and Arabic Gum from Kano to the East where he finally settled at Geidam. At the age of four, Alh. Idris was enrolled into Arabic school (*Makarantar Allo*). At the age 0f 8 he was enrolled into primary school. After completing his primary education, at the age of 15 i.e. in 1971, he ventured into business. In 1975, he left Geidam and travelled to Lagos on a business trip. After settling in Lagos, he engaged in petty trading such as animal sales and essential commodities and at the same time he secured admission and continued with his secondary school education.

In 1976, he bought a Peugeot 504 fairly used but in good condition at the fee of N1700. He therefore applied to the Lagos State Licensing office seeking for permission to use it for taxi cab. After meeting all the requirements, the approval was given and as a result, Alh. Idris was the first Hausa person to drive a painted taxi cab in Lagos. Thus, by 1979, he owned five taxi cabs working on his account. At the same period, i.e. 1979, he purchased Mercedes 911 long bus popularly known in Lagos as *Molue* which he droves along Ajegunle – CMS road. Alh Idris business continued to grow which made him in 1985 to diversify into import of Iron steel from Belgium, Germany, Ukraine and Luxemburg.

The introduction of tricycle as a means of intra-city transport service and its success in Lagos metropolis by the then military administrator Col. Buba Marwa was a major factor that encourages Alh Idris to introduced the tricycles in Kano metropolis in April, 1988. Thus, Alh Idris Usman Geidam pioneered the tricycle business in Kano by purchasing ten Indian

[569] Information from Alhaji Salisu Abdullahi of K/Mata quarters. He was a former bus driver and the first chairman of the association of bus drivers. He was born in 1917 and interviewed on 23-12-2009

made Bajaj from Marwan Travel Agency (an Indian company based in Lagos). Consequently, by December, 1988, Geidam has purchased sixty tricycles which were nicknamed Geidam Mini-cab and Alh Sallau Gabari[570] was appointed to manage the business. Out of the 60 tricycles 30 were bought locally and the remaining was imported directly from a Bajaj company in India. In 1989, Alh Idris also bought 10 tricycles from Alh Uba Soja and 20 tricycles from Alh A.A Mudallabi who were initially persuaded by Alh Idris to venture into the business and later due to difficulties in managing the tricycles, they sold them off to Alh Idris Geidam.

By December, 1989, Alh Idris summoned a meeting of all his 90 tricycle riders and grant them the opportunity of owning the tricycles through hire purchase. Unfortunately for him, none of the riders was able to own the tricycle within the stipulated period of the agreement and therefore as a kind gesture he allowed the riders to own the tricycles freely in 1990. This was partly because the anticipation for introducing the tricycles was not to make profit but to measure the sustainability of the business. In order to ensure his commitment to the sustainability of the tricycle business, Alh Idris had travelled about three times to India for the purchase of spare parts. He also invited Mr Gusam from India who was an expert on the mechanical/repairing aspect of the tricycle who trained Danjuma Gabari and Mustapha Mustapha who later became specialist in repairing the tricycles.

In 1990 therefore, Alh Idris abandoned the tricycle business and transferred his income to Kantin Kwari market where he imported textile materials from India and Pakistan. In 2004 Alh Idris was consulted by Mal Ibrahim Shekarau the then governor of Kano State, when his administration was about to re-introduce the tricycles for the conveyance of women and children in Kano metropolis in which the tricycle was later named *Adaidaita Sahu*. The consultation was for the government to learn how to go about the importation of the tricycles

[570] Information from Alhaji Ashiru Sallau Gabari, the present chairman of Tricycle Owners and Riders Association of (TORAN) Kano State, age 53, interviewed on 01/05/2015 at the association head office Gwammaja 'Yan Kosai

and running the business. Due to his wealth of experience, he accepted the offer and advice the government accordingly. At present, Alh Idris Geidam is into the import and supply of Industrial spare parts.[571]

viii Alhaji Umar Usman

Alhaji Umaru was born in 1965 at Fagge Layin Wapa. He attended Wambai primary school from 1976-1982, Gwammaja I secondary school from 1982-1985 and Government Technical college Nassarawa 1985-1988. After completing his secondary school education, he ventured into second-hand textile business (*Gwanjo*) where he was opportune to raise money and used part of it in 1993 to purchased motorcycles which were used for commercial transport. He himself rides the motorcycle and at the same time he distributed many to other people on hire purchase basis who also used the motorcycles for *Achaba* and settled him after twelve months.

Later on, his friends and relatives who realised the lucrative nature of the *Achaba* business, bought motorcycles and entrusted their care to him so that he can serve as an intermediary between them and the riders (i.e. *Yan Achaba*) partly due to his wealth of experience. According to Alhaji Umaru, apart from providing employment for many youth, between 1993 to 2013 (ban of *Achaba*) he had made a lot of fortunes in the *Achaba* business among which include building a house, got married and raised his children.[572]

5.3 Transportation and the Development of Trade Unions

The needs for identification to inculcate the spirit of unity, to promote good relationship, foster mutual understanding among the transporters, and to assist members in time of problems as well as to sustain members and their business were what informed the

[571] Information From Alh. Idris Usman Geidam the first person who pioneered the Commercial Tricycle business in Kano metropolis. He is 58 years old and was interviewed on 06/05/2015 at Sharada Quarters, Kano
[572] Information from Alh. Umaru Usman He is among those who pioneered the Commercial Motorcycle Higher Purchase business in Kano metropolis. He is 50 years old and was interviewed on 019/06/2015 at Fagge Quarters, Kano

motives for the formation of various trade unions among the commercial transport enterprises.

5.3.1 National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW)

The National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) is a strong body that was created to manage the affairs of commercial road transportation system in Nigeria. The NURTW was established on August 5th 1978. The primary objectives of the union were as follow.[573]

a. The union must protect the welfare and interest of all transporters irrespective of the owner of particular vehicle, state or local government of origin, class, creed and political affiliations.

b. The union shall support, encourage and undertake all responsible activities that will promote national integration. It shall be free from any form of partisan politics, sectional interest and or any sort of interference from within or outside the union.

c. It shall champion the cause of the members by discouraging, exposing and opposing any form of exploitation, dehumanization and alienation of any transporter or customer alike.

d. The union shall not accept any form of contract and business deal with dubious motives or gratification from any person, group or groups of individuals.

e. The union shall render advice to the transporters whenever the need arises. It shall determine and enforce speed limits for all transporters. All transporters must possess speed regulation devices in their vehicles and attain minimum vehicle standard. To avoid over speeding, over loading and overtaking at dangerous bends on the high way.

f. All transporters shall adhere to the various traffic codes and shall detect and flush out undesirable members engaged in carrying illegal drugs and contraband goods.[574]

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[573] Information from Alhaji Isa Hassan Executive Secretary National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) of Mallam Kato motor park (Bus 1), born in 1945 and interviewed on 12-012009

[574] Y.U Madugu (2011) The Impact of Commercial Buses on the Economy of Kano Metropolis 1967-2003, Published by LAP LAMBERT International Academic Publishing, Germany.

Olubomehin stated that the need for orderliness prompted the transporters to form two associations namely the Road Transport Employers Association of Nigeria (RTEAN) and the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW). Though, the RTEAN predates the NURTW, it is less active than the NURTW, which was registered as a trade union in 1978, and is an affiliate of the Central Labour Organisation (CLO), now known as the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), while RTEAN is less known, the NURTW has grown over time with its membership increasing on daily basis. Thus, the NURTW boast of over 1.5 million memberships throughout the country. With the exclusion of petroleum tanker drivers, all professional commercial drivers are automatic members of the union. As such, the NURTW serves as an umbrella body for drivers operating buses (both inter and intra state service), taxi cabs, trailers and lorries that engaged in carrying passengers and goods.[575]

The political structure of the organization of NURTW is divided into three groups, which includes National Management Council, Zonal Council and State Council. The National Management Council, which has its headquarters at Abuja, is the overall head at the national level. It has a president, general secretary, three national deputy presidents, two national auditors, financial secretary and one to four trustees, all of which comprise National Management Council. Zonal Council: Executive members include president, deputy president, secretary general, auditors and financial secretary. Thus, Kano State National Union of Road Transport workers belongs to zone six which encompasses Kano, Katsina, Jigawa, Kaduna, Zamfara, Sokoto and Kebbi. Kano state council of NURTW has its leadership structure as follows: chairman, deputy chairman, vice chairman, treasurer, state secretary, state assistant secretary, financial secretary, auditors and 3 trustees. Since part of the objective of the union was to foster cohesion and national integration among their members, the first chairman elected in Kano State was Alhaji Nuhu Shitu, a Hausa

[575] O.O Olubomehin (2012) "The Nigerian Motor Transport Since the 1920s", in *international Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 2 No. 12, p, 236

transporter, while Mr. Emanuel Ajayi an Igbo was the vice chairman and Mr Sunday Akerele a Yoruba acted as the secretary.[576]

Under Kano State Council, there exist 66 branches of motor parks. Commercial bus has nine motor parks branches while the remaining 57 branches are for taxes and luxurious buses. Thus, the commercial buses motor park are classified as follows: Bus 1 and bus 9 Mallam Kato motor park, Bus 2 and 5 Shahuci motor park, Bus 3 Dala, Bus 4 Yankura, bus 6 zoo road, bus 7 brigade and bus 8 Mandawari.[577]

By 1985, over 1000 taxis and intra-city bus drivers were registered members of the NURTW, Kano a development which led to the establishment of more motor parks in Kano metropolis. Initially there were only two motor parks in Kano, the Nasarawa motor park located at Kofar Nasarawa and the Kuka motor park (*Tashar Kuka*) then located at the present place of Triumph Publishing Company Fagge. Three additional motor parks were established at Kofar Ruwa (1970), Yan Kaba (1984) and Unguwa Uku 1988. In 1995, the NURTW established two secretariats in Kano metropolis at Gold Coast Road, Sabon Gari controlled by the Yoruba and Naibawa controlled by the Hausa.[578]

According to Alhaji Hassan Isa, the commercial buses drivers and the NURTW support every government in Kano from inception to date, be it military or democratically elected government, for democratic government they gave support irrespective of political party. Commercial bus drivers and their union avoided partisan politics even though their members may belong to a political party privately, they were publicly neutral. However, as members of a trade union, which is an affiliate to the National labour Congress (NLC) they participate in every political gathering for example, May Day and workers day rally. They

[576] Information from Alhaji Isa Hassan Executive Secretary National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) of Mallam Kato motor park (Bus 1), born in 1945 and interviewed on 12-012009

[577] N. M. Lawan (2004): *History of Motor Park in Kano City With Particular References to Tashar Kofar Ruwa, Tashar Unguwa Uku, Tashar Naibawa, and Mariri in the 20th century*, B.A BUK. P, 21

[578] R.O Olaniyi, (2008) "Diaspora is not Like Home a Social and Economic History of Yoruba in Kano1912-1999" Published by Lincom Cultural Studies, Muenchen, p, 190-191

also participated in NLC demonstration, strikes or any other industrial action organised by NLC such as erratic increase in fuel prices, demands for increase in wages and salaries of workers and so on.

In order to promote the economic welfare, protect the wealth and improve the health of its members, the NURTW in partnership with government and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) engaged in series of programs and campaigns such as Road Safety campaigns. This was done through collaboration with road marshals like the Traffic Police, the Vehicle Inspection Officer (VIO) and the Road Safety Officers (FRSC). The union holds regular meetings with these road marshals and drivers are educated on the importance of having valid vehicle particulars and keeping their vehicles in good and road worthy state. The height of such training workshops was usually from September to December when there was high traffic of vehicles on the road. The FRSC usually intensified its efforts in enlightening drivers the dangers attributed to over speeding, drinking alcohol and making phone calls while driving. All these of course, have helped to reduce high rates of accidents on the roads.[579]

The union also engaged in campaign on immunisation programs, Family Economic Advancement Programs (FEAP), Road Accident Medical Aid (RAMCHE), Mass Transit Implementation and Road Accident Health Insurance Scheme (RHIS). The RHIS is a medical treatment and compensation scheme for accident victims. The RHIS scheme allows the union to take care of road accident victims 48 hours before family members arrived to take over from NURTW. In addition, the union settles any accidental cases involved by its members and assist victims of road accidents.

[579] Information from Haruna Hamisu of federal road safety commission of Nigeria (FRSCN) born in 1965, interviewed on 12-07-2009, see also, O.O Olubomehin (2012) "The Nigerian Motor Transport Since the 1920s", in *international Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences,* Vol. 2 No. 12, p, 236-237

The NURTW has also been active in the campaign against the spread of HIV/AIDS. The union has collaborated with the Family Health International in Nigeria, Society for Family Health, American Centre for International Labour Solidarity, National Action Committee on AIDS (NACA) to create awareness on modes of transmission and prevention. The union therefore contributed to the government's efforts at checking the spread of diseases in the country. The NURTW also engaged in road maintenance by filling pot holes on roads and cutting grasses to aid drivers visibility in sharp bend and other dangerous spots on the road.[580]

In order to sustain the union, The NURTW had device means of generating income from its individual members such as registration of members, periodic collection of union dues. Members also paid the sum of N50.00 for NURTW receipt per day. Moreover the union generate funds by punishing offenders or defaulters through the payment of certain amount of money ranging from ₦1,000 to ₦ 5,000 depending on the nature and Gravity of the offense.[581]

5.3.2 Association of Commercial Motorcycle Riders of Nigeria (ACOMORAN)

The first motorcycle association established in Kano was the Kano State Motorcycle Hire Association (KSMHA) established in 1990. The association was established in order to safeguard and protect the interest of its members particularly from the harassment and victimisation of road marshals and other security agencies. In order to achieve proper operation and organisation of the commercial motorcycle transport business, in 1993, the KSMHA was transformed into a regional association which comprised the then sixteenth (16) Northern States with it headquarters in Kano. This development led to the changing of the name from KSMHA to the Nigerian Motor Transport Association (NMTA). Alhaji Sani Hassan was the pioneer chairman of the newly formed association.

[580] O.O Olubomehin (2012) "The Nigerian Motor Transport Since the 1920s", in *international Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 2 No. 12, p, 237

[581] Information from Haruna Hamisu of federal road safety commission of Nigeria (FRSCN) born in 1965, interviewed on 12-07-2009

Having gotten recognition as a trade union at the local state and regional levels, the motorcycle association intensified efforts to get recognition at the national level. In an attempt to secure this goal, the northern regional association NMTA formed alliances with other commercial motorcycle associations in the southern part of the country. Some of these associations include Motorcycle Riders and Owners Association (ANACOWA) and Motorcycle Operators Association of Lagos State (MOALS).

These associations forwarded a letter to the Ministry of Works and Transport seeking recognition and registration as a trade union under the road transport sector. The request was granted and the outcome led to the formation of a single national union in 1997 known as the Association of the Commercial Motorcycle Riders of Nigeria (ACOMORAN) with headquarter at Abuja. Thus, a certificate of registration as a trade union was issued to the ACOMORAN by the Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC) in 1999.[582]

The ACOMORAN performed various functions ranging from the protection of the welfare of members to the enforcement and regulations of the activities of motorcycle operators. They also mediate in disseminating information from the government to their members. They organised activities to enlighten their members on government regulations and traffic rules. They equally assisted members financially in raising funds to remain in business. In addition to this, they ensure that law enforcement agents such as the police, Vehicle Inspection Officers (VIO) and the Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC) do not take undue advantage of their erring members. Above all, the association also checked the conduct of illegal riders who often infiltrate the business with the aim of perpetrating criminal

[582] Information from Alh. Muhammad Sani Hassan, Kano State Chairman of the Amalgamated Commercial Motorcycle Association of Nigeria (ACOMORAN), age 53, interviewed on 07/07/2013

activities. This is usually achieved through the issuance of identity cards and vest to registered members of the association.[583]

The political structure of the organisation was categorised into FOUR broad faces namely the local government which comprises of various units in each local government with organise administrative structure. There was also the state chapter which comprised of the state chairman, secretary, financial secretary, treasurer and PRO. The zonal level was controlled by the zonal coordinator and at the national level their leadership structure comprised of the National President, National Secretary and National Board of trustees.

5.3.3 Kano State Taxi Drivers Association (KSTDA)

The KSTDA was nicknamed in Hausa as *Tsaya da Kafarka,* meaning self support initiative. It was established in 2000 with only 30 members operating between Bayero University, Kano Old Campus and New Campus. The membership of the union was later extended to cover all taxi operators in Kano metropolis irrespective of their area of operation. As a trade union, the association was fully registered and issued certificate in 2002 by the Kano state government and Corporate Affairs Commission. Between 2000 and 2012, the KSTDA had more than 2000 members.[584]

Structure of the Union

For effective management and administration of the union, 25 different units were created. These units are Kabuga, Hotoro, Sheka, Mariri, Yan Kaba, Kwanar Jaba, Goron Dutse, Dorayi, Gwammaja Gidan Malam, Gwammaja Gidan Kwano, Kofar Ruwa, Kurna Kwanar Babaldu, Kurna Babban Layi, Kurna 'Yan Dusa, Kurna Masallaci, Kurna 'Yan Doma, Rijiyar Lemu Mutunci Majalisa, Rijiyar Lemu 'Yan Shayi, Rijiyar Lemu Sauko Mu

[583] O.O Olubomehin (2012) "The Emergence of Motorcycles as a Means of Commercial Transportation and its Impact on the Economy and Society", *Research in Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 2 No. 6, www.iiste.org (nline), p, 235

[584] Information from Mustapha Ibrahim Nasidi Kano State Secretary of the (*Tsaya da Kafarka)* Kano State Taxi Drivers Association (KSTDA), age 53, interviewed on 13/07/2013

Gaisa, Bachirawa Garba Sanyi Unit, Bachirawa Gidan Glass, Bachirawa Gidan Mariya, Kwanar Ungogo, Dan Agundi and Bayero University Old Campus.[585]

The leadership of the union at central level comprised of the chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer, PRO, organising secretary, auditor, financial secretary and discipline officer. Moreover, most of these officials served either as chairmen, secretaries or exco members of their various units. Thus, this informed us that the units also have their leadership structure which is the same as the one obtainable at the central level.

Reasons for Setting up the Union

The major reason for setting up the union was to improve the economic status of members by supporting them financially to own their personal taxi car through the provision of soft loan or hire purchase basis. Other reasons include protecting the integrity of members from the harassment or intimidation of security agents. Another important reason for setting up the KSTDA was to educate and enlighten members on the rules and regulations governing the use of roads. By so doing they were able to reduce the rate of accidents caused by their members. This has also brought about the issue of sanity in taxi operations.

Achievements of KSTDA

The establishment of *Tsaya da Kafarka* has successfully led to the development of personal taxi ownership among members. Through local contributions made by members as union dues allows the union to develop a micro-credit schemes which enables the union to transform itself from the organiser of labour to a provider of credit. Thus, the KSTDA was able to purchased twelve taxis which she distributed to members and allowed them to pay through hire purchase. The KSTDA also liaised with the Kano State government and other financial institutions such as banks that also provide the union with cars which she distributed

[585] Information from Muhammad Salihu, a former taxi driver and now Adai-daita Sahu tricycle rider, age 53, interviewed at IBB Way on 13/07/2013

to her members as soft loans. In this regard, the state government gave fifty taxis to the KSTDA.[586]

In terms of relationship between the members of the KSTDA and commuters, the union was successful in retrieving and returning lost items forgotten by passengers in the vehicles once proof of ownership was presented. A strong disciplinary measure was also enforced on any member who violated the ethics and code of conduct of the union particularly those who harass and victimise passengers. Some of the punishments include fine and suspension

According to Mustapha Nasidi, they received between ten to fifteen complaints every day and not less than five hundred complaints were received every month ranging from the cases of lost items to that of harassment of passengers by taxi drivers. The KSTDA was also successful in fixing standard prices for journeys from particular place to another. Thus, strong unity and cohesion among taxi drivers emerged. This had also given them the opportunity to speak with one voice. The KSTDA won the Ado Bayero driving competition organised by the Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC) and Vehicle Inspection Officers (VIO) in 2008 and 2011 respectively. The competition was organised to measure the driving skills and competence of commercial vehicle drivers as well as to measure their ability towards understanding road traffic rules.

The union generates its income through the payment of registration fees which each member pay N700 for registration form, sticker and identity card. There was aslso annual due which members pay N600. The sum of N100 was also paid weekly during meetings.

5.3.4 Tricycle Owners and Riders Association of Nigeria (TORA)

[586] Information from Mustapha Ibrahim Nasidi Kano State Secretary of the (*Tsaya da Kafarka)* Kano State Taxi Drivers Association (KSTDA), age 53, interviewed on 13/07/201, For information on the development of micro credit schemes in the transport union see R.O Olaniyi, (2008) "Diaspora is not Like Home a Social and Economic History of Yoruba in Kano1912-1999" Published by Lincom Cultural Studies, Muenchen, p, 190-191...p, 191, see also, D.O. Iweze, (2000): *The History of Igbo Transportation Business in Kano: A Case Study of Luxurious Buses From 1967-2000* B.A dissertation BUK

The tricycle association (TORA) started as a fragmented association in 1999 made up of different smaller tricycle associations. The need for unity, harmony, progress and understanding brought about the need for these unions to come together and formed a strong union that will enable them speak with one voice. Thus, the Tricycle Owners and Riders Association (TORAN) was formed in 2007. As the name implies, TORAN is an association that comprises both tricycle riders and owners which prevent the riders to effectively take decision on their own without consulting the owners. It was this reason that prompted the riders to form another association known as the Kano Amalgamated Tricycle Association (KATA) in 2011. Both TORAN and KATA continued to exist as two sister associations that run the affairs of tricycle operators in Kano.

In 2012, due to the security challenges confronting the State, the Kano State government was so concerned on how to regulate the activities of the tricycle riders in Kano with the aid of the tricycle association. It became a little bit difficult for the government to deal with two different associations at the same time. Therefore, the government requested that the two unions should be merge together and form one single union. Thus, the TORAN and the KATA were merged together and this resulted in the establishment of Tricycle Operators Association Kano (TOKAN) in 2013.

The structure of the union comprised of the state, the local government and the units. At all the 3 levels there are executive offices such as the chairman, vice chairman, secretary, assistant secretary, auditor, financial secretary, PRO, ex-officio, treasurer and welfare officer.

The aim of establishing the tricycle association was to promote co-operation, harmony and mutual understanding among the operators. The formation of the association created an avenue for members to come together in order to assist one another in terms of difficulty. Members were also advised on how to make proper use of roads by abiding to all

rules and regulations governing the affairs of driving. This was done in collaboration with the road traffic officials such as the VIO and the FRSC.

The union was able to advice and persuade the government to invest so much in the tricycle business. This was achieved during the administration of Malam Ibrahim Shekarau who bught 1,500 tricycles and distributed it on higher purchase to members of the union. Also, the government through the union was able to regulate the affairs of motorcycle operators as well as restrict their number due to security reasons. In order to achieve this, government introduced a special screening and registration exercise for all tricycle operators. The registration was conducted between the leadership of the tricycle association under its present chairman Salisu Musa Dansalo, the Kano State Road Transport Agents (KAROTA), VIO and the FRSC.

The TOKAN generates its revenue from the dues paid by members as N500.00 for registration, N20.00 for loading from their station such as Kasuwar Rimi, Bata, Yan Kaba and so on as well as the N50.00 paid as weekly dues during weekly meetings.[587]

Conclusions

This chapter examined in detail the contribution of some selected entrepreneurs in Kano who contributed to the development of the intra-city commercial transport services. Their contributions became more recognised in the late 1980s with the collapse of the subsidised government owned Mass Transit Scheme. The collapse was attributed to the problems of corruption and mismanagement by the authorities concerned. The private entrepreneurs ventured in to the commercial transport service and compete favourably and in fact out shined the state owned transport service by sustaining their operations. Also

[587] Information from Salisu Musa Dansalo, Kano State Chairman of the Tricycle Operators Association Kano (TOKAN), age 53, interviewed at Kofar Wambai Orion Cinema on 03/07/2014

discussed in this chapter is the formation of different trade unions among the transporter such as the NURTW, KSTDA, ACCOMORAN and TOKAN.

CHAPTER SIX
Problems and Challenges of Road Transport System in Kano Metropolis

6.1 Introduction

The road transport sector is confronted with so many problems which are hampering the smooth operations of public urban transport system. Some of the major problems include inadequate vehicle maintenance and high accident rates, security agent's harassment and extortions, dilapidated road infrastructure, insecurity and insurgency, and the violation of traffic regulations. Others include perennial fuel scarcity, price hikes and mutation of transport fare. These problems are discussed in detail in this chapter.

6.1 Vehicle Maintenance and Road Accident

The major problems affecting the road transport system are frequent rate of accidents, poor enforcement of safety regulations by law enforcement agents, over speeding, dangerous overtaking and parking, as well as mechanical faults in vehicles largely account for the high carnage rate on the roads. Two broad based factors contributed to these menace. Those factors are mechanical and human. Both factors have direct link with the government negligence in enforcing a strict rule on the importation of sub-standard and fairly used products into the country as well as its failure to ensure strict observance of road traffic rules and regulations by the road safety marshals and other law enforcement agents. This is not because the government is not in a position to do that, but because the administrators are corrupt.

However, the mechanical factor is related to the preference of Nigerians to favor the amply sub-standard products, which are equally supplied in large quantities. This preference was started as a result of the global economic downturn of the 1980s. For example, as a result of the economic downturn, there was a decline in Nigeria's oil revenue from N10,915 million in 1985 to N8,107 million in 1986. Also, in the 1980s, Nigeria was in a heavy debt burden of about

$20 billion.[588] In order to solve the crisis, the government introduces the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). Instead of solving the problem, SAP further aggravated it. SAP led to inflation which affected the income earning of transporter and as such could not afford to replace their aging vehicle amidst a period of high demand for intra-city transport services due to population growth and physical expansion and therefore resorted to the purchasing of fairly used cars. Subsequently, the country is flooded with used vehicles known as *Tokumbo,* used spare parts and poor quality of vehicles parts.[589]

The spare parts particularly tyres are preferred by the customers because they are sold at cheaper rate. The rate of accident arising from forged and second-hand tyres is enormous. A worn-out tyre may blow out while on speed, and if the driver, as most often happens, become panic-stricken and applies the brakes, accident cannot be avoided. [590] Adamu argued in one of his writings "*Genocides on the Roads"* that, many accidents happen because a vehicle is not roadworthy. It is probably a *Tokumbo* model that has passed its useful life several years ago. It is a danger to its own users and even bigger danger to other road users. Because road worthiness is not regularly enforced by the concern authorities to ensure vehicles on the road are serviceable and road worthy. As a result, car brake very often fails because drivers have been known to routinely put a solution of OMO detergent in the breaking system instead of using the standard hydraulic fluid recommended. It will require about 600 Naira to buy enough of the recommended fluid to fill the fluid container. Adamu further argued that, the car may be roadworthy while the road is itself not car-worthy. Beside potholes there are bumps and checkpoints erected by the

[588] See R.O Olaniyi, (2004) *Yoruba in Kano: A Commercial History of a Migrant Community (1912-1999)* PhD thesis History Dept. BUK, p, 73
[589] For more information on *Tokumbo* see A Samaila (2015) "Cross-Border Trade in Fairly Used Automobile (Tokumbo): A Study of the Nigeria North-west Boarder C. 1973-2013", Ph-D thesis, UDUS
[590]Hamisu S. A, (2005) "Transport, Environment and Development (A Case Study of S/Gari)", BS.c dissertation BUK, p. 35

police and soldiers all become veritable killing-fields.[591] All these are happening because of the corruption which pervaded the country.

However, due to the corrupt activities of the law enforcement agents on the roads which make them neglect their primary function of ensuring strict observance of traffic rules by road users, no doubt have contributed to other human factors that are responsible in the occurrence of road traffic accidents and related street problems. The reckless driving habits, impatience, intolerance and aggression are common traits of most drivers. These negative characteristics create a fierce competition on the road as each driver tried to show that his car is faster. The concepts of over speeding and dangerous driving also contribute significantly to the occurrence of road traffic problems. Other factors that lead to road traffic accidents include the use of alcohol and drugs, use of Global Service of Mobile-Communications (GSM), over confidence and so on. The sad truth however, is that matters have actually been getting continuously worse. For instance, within the space of two decades, fatalities on Nigerian roads had more than quintupled. According to study, 18,000 people died in road accidents between 1960 and 1967, but more than 192,000 perished between 1985 and 1995 (see table 6:1). However, in one year alone [2009], the World Health Organization (WHO), estimated that 32,000 people died from road accidents in Nigeria. However, FRSCN records shows that in Kano alone almost 10,000 people died between 2009 and 2014 (see appendix 1).[592]

Table 6:1 Reported Cases on Road Accidents and Casualties in Nigeria 1980-1995.[3]

Year	No. Of Fatal cases	No. Of serious cases	No. Of minor cases	Persons killed	Persons injured	Total
Jan-June 1980	3599	5992	6479	4368	12741	16069
1985	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1986	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

[591] *Daily Trust Newspaper, Tuesday, April 7, 2009: p.45Genocide on the Road by Adamu Adamu*

[592] Summary of Road Traffic Accidents in Kano by FRSC Policy, Research and Statistical Department 2009-2014, see also *Daily Trust Newspaper, Tuesday, April 7, 2009: p.45*

1987	6353	9539	8615	8065	21690	24507
1988	6887	10498	8407	9077	241413	25992
1989	6262	6598	6673	9386	22117	22904
1990	6299	8855	7442	8902	19195	21827
1991	6820	9192	7418	9326	25495	22489
1992	6376	7908	6477	9268	21496	20141
1993	6342	7877	5922	8958	22882	14658
1994	4072	5574	3912	5603	13387	13638
1995	3395	5161	3758	4908	10255	12212

Source: Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) Annual Report and statement of account, various issues

NB: See appendix 1 for the summary of road traffic accidents in Kano by FRSC Policy, Research and Statistical Department 2009-2014.

Nigeria Police records show that from 2000-2012 over 700 people are injured and about 300 are killed annually in Kano State.[593] The figures are probably higher due to non-reporting and under-reporting of road crashes, which are common challenges in road crash data base system in Nigeria.[594] It is a sad reality that metropolitan Kano is confronted with transportation problems that seem to get worse overtime thereby leading to traffic congestion particularly in the urban areas. The basic dilemma of urban passengers transport in Kano is that people are increasingly opting for the superior service that private car ownership allows, while the society is unable to provide the road space required for unlimited car access. The left-over spaces meant for future expansion of the roads was taken over by various households who lived close to the streets all in the name of building shops and supermarkets. Others are occupied by petrol filling stations and the little spaces meant for parking and bus stops are now occupied by street hawkers, petty traders, second hand car dealers, beggars, and hawkers of all sorts of wares ranging from Road side petrol sellers (*'Yan Bunburutu/'Yan Cuwa*-cuwa) to cigarettes sellers.

[593] Information Generated from Kano State Metropolitan Police Traffic Department (MTD)

[594] Development of Kano State Transport Policy for Kano Urban Transport Project Office: A Draft Green Paper (Internal Circulation Only), Supervised by Nigerian Infrastructure Advisory Facility (NIAF) and Funded by Department for International Development (DFID), 2013, p, 11

The authorities seem to be in a constant retreat on enforcement issues thereby broadening the scope of lawlessness. The situation is simply becoming unbearable.[595]

Chaotic traffic is very common to most urban centers in Nigeria. However, Kano in the last ten years seems to have more than a fair share of this burden. The proliferation of motor cycle, taxis, buses and tricycle in the city is unmatched by any Nigerian town or city. For example, in 2007 there were about 600,000 registered '*Yan Achaba* in Kano while Lagos has only 200,000 registered commercial motorcyclists.[596] This was also the case with tricycles, taxi and buses. The commercial transport generally operate above the law contributing to serious accidents, injuring many and contributing to increasing air and noise pollution. The intra-city transport services were mainly operated by young men who are between the ages of 16 and 25 years and most of them had rural backgrounds and have no driving license or acquired it through questionable means. They have no respect for other roads users and do not obey traffic regulations.[597] They abuse drugs in order to work tirelessly throughout the day. They drive recklessly and exhibit nonchalant attitudes while driving. They can stop at anywhere to pick or drop passengers without using their traffic signs. Their brakes are not functioning properly in most cases.[598] This is why they caused accident on the roads, which leads to severe injury or even death. It has been argued that, the intra-city commercial operators caused about 90-95% of road accidents in Kano.

Very few motorists seem to know or care to comply with traffic regulations, and there is hardly any authority to enforce such regulations. Nothing apparently depicts the dire state of rule

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[595] Report On One Day Dialogue on Traffic Management and Public Transportation System in Kano, Organized by Centre for Democratic Research and Training Mambayya House BUK, 2008, p. 2-3

[596] A Tamfu (ND) Commercial motorcycle business: Hope for unemployed young Africans, available at http://www.msmenewsnetwork.com/homepage/sme-features/sme-news/item/2263-commercial-motorcycle business-hope-for-unemployed-young-africans

[597] AU Dan Asabe (1996): "Kano Labor and the Kano Poor", 1930-1990, PhD thesis, BUK, p. 233

[598] Report On One Day Dialogue on Traffic Management and Public Transportation System in Kano, …p. vii

of law in Kano, more than the chaos in road and street where the rule of law has been replaced by the rule of all. According to FRSC, 35% of accidents within Kano metropolis are caused by a lack of understanding of the driving codes of the city.[599] From another dimension, there is vitiation of traffic rules and regulations by the political leaders and others on so called emergencies or special duties which also results to road accident.

A deep sense of anger and frustrations is visibly seen on the faces of virtually all traffic users and pedestrians. Everything and everyone is at risk. Women and children are among the victims of incessant road accidents in Kano.[600] Many inhabitants and visitors to metropolitan Kano express deep anger over the state of traffic and transportation systems in the state. Indeed, motorists and passengers on the street of urban Kano wonder whether they are in midst of circus, given the chaotic nature of traffic movement and mode of driving, especially giving the large population of Kano (which emerge to be the most populous state in Nigeria according to the 2006 census figures).

6.3 Dilapidated Road Infrastructure and Violation of Traffic Regulations

From 1967 when Kano State was created up till the present time, various governments had invested heavily in constructing new roads and rehabilitating the existing ones. For example, between 1993 and 1996 Col. Abdullahi Wase, the then Military Administrator carried out unprecedented road construction projects when over 40 urban and rural roads were rehabilitated at the cost of N200million.[601] Another Federal Government sponsored road construction program-Kano eastern Bye-pass and Chalawa-Sharada, totaling N103million was also

[599] Information from Federal Road Safety Commission Kano State Sector Command

[600] See N Ribadu, (2006) "Nigeria's Struggle with Corruption"; Presentation to United State Congressional House Committee on International Development, Washington, DC on 18 May.

[601] M.M. Danyaro (1997): *30 Years of Kano Statehood 1967 1997,* Baraka printers Kano, p, 58

commissioned, yet some of the urban roads were still in dilapidating state. The issue of neglect, as it was, has little to do with lack of funds, but more with corruption, either through collaboration with contractors and government officials who choose to do shoddy jobs for their own selfish gain or embezzlement of funds meant for the projects. Conservative estimates put the cost of funds voted for road repairs, rehabilitation or construction since 1999-2011 at over one Trillion Naira, with nothing much to show for it. Examples of such major dilapidating roads in Kano metropolis include: Obasanjo road, Zungeru road and IBB way. The roads are full of potholes-gorges and spot. Recently some of these roads are beginning to regain their proper shape due to the effort of Governor Rabiu Musa Kwankwaso 2011-2015 who embarked on huge road projects aimed at changing the chaotic situation of road transport in Kano metropolis.

Another major problem on Kano metropolitan roads is poor transport system coordination, mountainous refuse dumps on the streets, over flooded gutters and roadside drainages. From 1990 to 2014, Kano metropolis was highly congested and traffic management is not up to the task. Movement is very difficult and is carried out by individualized, informal, unstructured and unregulated minibuses carrying up to 15 passengers, shared saloon cars taxi carrying up to 5, three wheelers carrying up to 3 and *Achaba* carrying individual passengers. Drivers are often untrained and unlicensed. The traffic system does not function well and many streets lack proper signage. The heavy reliance on two-wheelers for passenger transport, all of which uses two strokes engines also means that comfort, safety, and security is compromised and air quality is poor (*Achaba* now banned in February, 2013).[602]

Provision for non-motorized transport in the metropolis is inadequate. Pedestrians are very poorly catered for. Some roads have no sidewalks and where sidewalks are provided they

[602] Information generated from Sustainable Transport Policy as Key to Economic Development: Kano Sytate Experience by N.M Abdussalam (Coordinator World Bank Projects and Director Kano Urban Transport Planning Office KUTPO)

are often in poor condition (in some instances the covers of sewers are missing, posing serious hazard) or obstructed by parked vehicles, traders or garbage. Pedestrians are forced to walk in the roadway, putting themselves at risk and adding to the obstruction of motor traffic. Also, there is no provision for cyclists, who must ride with other traffic, which is dangerous due to poor standard of driving, and as a result few cyclists are seen on roads due to fear of safety.[603]

6.4 Security Agents Harassment and Extortion

The population growth in Kano metropolis no doubt has resulted to high level increase of crimes and criminal activities, a situation that calls for urgent security attention. Thus, the police as the law enforcement agent was mandated with the task of ensuring public peace and protection of the life and properties of the people. However, the police map out strategies for tackling security problems in the city including constant patrols and staging security checkpoints/roadblocks on the major roads and streets in the city. Initially, when the law enforcement agents were stationed on the roads, the inhabitants welcomed the idea because it brought about a great relief to security problems confronting the city. However, soon afterwards the law enforcement agents started collecting bribe from road users.

Although the police initiated and perpetuated the attitude of bribe-taking particularly on the roads but they were not the only security agents that demanded for bribe and other forms of extortions on the roads. Iweze noted that "in response to the endemic carnage on the roads, the Federal Government decided to establish the Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC) on 18th February, 1988. The FRSC is saddled with enforcement of safety measures on the motorists so as to ensure that drivers fasten their seat belts, maintain speed limits and comply with other road safety measures. In carrying out their duties, FRSC officials mount road blocks in various

[603] Development of Kano State Transport Policy for Kano Urban Transport Project Office: A Draft Green Paper (Internal Circulation Only), Supervised by Nigerian Infrastructure Advisory Facility (NIAF) and Funded by Department for International Development (DFID), 2013, p, 13

strategic locations with bad roads to force drivers to slow down. The setting up of FRSC was a noble idea, but some of the officials have deviated much from their responsibilities".[604]

According to an informant, an agent of FRSC seized his driving license while driving from Sokoto to Kano on the ground that it had expired, and the penalty for such offence is N2000 and immediate renewal of the license. Instead of the formal procedure of paying the sum into government revenue account, he was compelled to pay N1000 as bribe on the condition that his expired license would be returned to him without further delay.[605]

At the state and local levels, the Vehicle Inspection Officers (VIO), the Kano Road and Traffic Agency (KAROTA) and the local government revenue collection officials were part of the bribery syndrome. Various checkpoints and roadblocks were mounted in the metropolitan city and its environs by these officials. While the primary function of the VIO and KAROTA is to check for state of mechanical health in and maintain orderly flow of vehicles, the revenue officials collect revenue and issue receipt on behalf of their respective local government areas. The functions of these officials were since been compromised by their vested interest of taking bribe from motorist.

The lack of respect for the law and its poor enforcement make road users to break the rules with impunity. When offenders are caught by security agents, they are hardly punished as such offenders most often bribe the security personnel with some token to get themselves free from formal punishment and penalty.[606] The problem of the proliferation of illegal road blocks, bribe taking, harassment and other forms of extortions engaged in by the security agents are the

[604]Iweze D. O. (2000): "The History of Igbo Transportation business in Kano: A case study of luxurious buses from 1967-2003", B.A dissertation, BUK, P. 11

[605] Information from Usman Abdullahi a Lecturer in the Department of Sociology Usman Danfodio University, Sokoto, interviewed on 12/09/2012

[606] Information from Alhaji Hassan Wakili, a commuter, born in 1952, interviewed at Katsina road on 19-10-2012, age 65

commonest corrupt practices on Kano metropolitan roads. Various forms of checkpoints/roadblocks ranging from mobile to stationary ones are frequently mounted on the roads. Road users are charged some amount of money by these safety Marshals as bribe ranging from N20 to N1000 and bove, depending on the gravity of the offence committed. By paying such amount of money charged a road user is allowed to go scot free without prosecution no matter the gravity of the offence committed. Thus, the revenue that is supposed to be generated by the government as a result of the offences committed by road users to improve transport facilities is diverted by these law enforcement agents into their personal pockets.

The offences mostly committed by road users includes: dangerous driving, violation of traffic rules, driving without plate numbers, driving without a license permit or with expired driving license and other vehicle particulars, and so on. "Stop, park there, wetting you carry, wey your particulars" etc. have become the slogans of some law enforcement officials on the Nigerian roads.[607] In the case of private car road users, those with ostentatiously flashy cars who will never hesitate to give substantial amount of money as bribe to these marshals will crossed the security checkpoints easily and quickly without being checked. This is dangerous, because criminals find it very easy to get away with their crime hence the road marshals fail to note that physical appearance is different from reality. The role of road safety agencies in ensuring safety on the road has been turned into a viable source of making money.[608]

It is obvious that quiet a number of road users obtained their driving licenses through questionable means. Due to deteriorating effects of corruption, one could purchase and drive a vehicle without driving license. It is also a known fact that one could get a driving license without learning how to drive. Most of the drivers in Kano metropolis have never attended a

[607]Arosanyin G.T (1999) "The Cost of Corruption in Road Safety Administration in Nigeria" in H.A Shitu (ed) *Issues in Contemporary Political Economy Nigeria*, Sally and Associates, Ilorin, Nigeria, p. 158
[608] Arosanyin G.T (1999)…p. 158

driving school and this contributes to high carnage on the roads. A study conducted by VIO Traffic Department reveals that out of 50 drivers sampled in Kano metropolis only 60% (30 drivers) got their driving license through driving test conducted by Vehicle Inspection Officers, While 40% stated that they obtained their driving license through other questionable means such as bribing some of the agents responsible without attending driving test.[609]

6.5 Perennial Fuel Scarcity, Price Hikes and Mutation of Transport fare

The shortage of fuel and the hikes in fuel prices are other problems witnessed by transporters. This often leads to the fluctuations in transport fares and at times high beyond the reach of most passengers. There are various changes in the nature of transport fare from 1967 to 2003. Although there were no available, written sources to indictate the actual prices the transport operators charged their passengers from place to place since inception and the changing nature of price increase over a period of time. According to an informant, the changing nature of transport fare has to do with constant increase in fuel prices and the cost of maintenance of vehicles. He further stressed that in 1960s transport fare from Old Kurmi market to Sabon Gari using bus was 4 pence, and to brigade was 7 pence. By 1980 from Kurmi, market to Sabon Gari was ₦3 and N5 to brigade until 1989 when there was an increased in fuel price. Thus, transport fare dramatically increased from ₦3 from Kurmi to Sabon Gari to ₦10 and from ₦5 to brigade to ₦15. Between 1993 and 1999 the fare rose from ₦20 to ₦25. During the administration of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, as the president of Nigeria 1999-2007, the price of petrol rose from N20 to N66 thereby necessitating a high increase of transport fare from ₦25 from Kurmi to Sabon Gari, to ₦30 and from N30 Sabon Gari to Brigade to ₦ 40 respectively.[610]

[609] Road Traffic Department Kano State, Adapted from G.A Gaya (1997) The Role of Vehicle Inspection Officers in Road Freight Transport: A Case Study of Kano State Vehicle Inspection Department, PGPDTM, NITT, Zaria, p, 35
[610] Information from Alhaji Isa Hassan of Mallam Kato motor park, a bus driver and Bus 1 NURTW Secretary, age 70, interviewed on 12-012009

Table 6.2
Retail Prices of Petroleum Products (in Per Liter since 1973)

S/N	Date	Price per liter in (kobo & ₦)
1	1977	3k
2	1979	13.5k
3	1986	39k
4	1990	70k
5	1991	70k
6	1993	₦3.25
7	1994	₦ 11
8	1998	₦15
9	1999	₦20
10	2000	₦22
11	2001	₦26
12	2002	₦30
13	2003	₦40
14	2003	₦34
15	2003	₦39.90
16	2004	₦40
17	2004	₦48.50
18	2005	₦52.50
19	2005	₦ 67
20	2007	₦ 66.5
21	2007	₦ 65
22	2007	₦ 75
23	2009	₦ 65
24	2012	₦ 97
25	2015	₦ 87

Source: O.N Ideny-season current affairs: national and international affairs bucas and bens ventures Ibadan 2009. P.23 & E.F Ogunbodede etal "Petroleum Motor Spirit (PMS) Pricing Crises and the Nigerian Public Passenger Transportation System" in *Medwell Journal of Scientific Research* The Social Sciences Vol 1, No 2 p113-121

Table 6.2 shows that there was a dramatic increase in fuel prices between 1993 and 2015, which undoubtedly affected the fares of commercial transport services.

6.6 Insecurity and Insurgency

Nigeria has had a long and unfortunate history of communal conflicts and ethno religious violence. For example, there was the Nigerian Civil War 1967-1970. The outbreak of the Nigerian Civil war in 1967 led to mass exodus of the dominant actors in the transport business (i.e. the Igbo and Yoruba) from Kano and therefore created more economic opportunities for the

Hausa. When the war ended in 1970, the Igbo and the Yoruba came back to Kano but realized that the Hausa had already filled the vacuum created by the exodus in the transport business. Thus, the only alternative left for most Igbo and some Yoruba was to engage in the motor repairing or mechanics industry and the sales of spare parts.[611]

In Kano, between 1980 and 2012, there have been more than five civil and religious disturbances. There was the *Maitatsine* uprising in 1980. The *Maitatsine* sect established itself in the slums of Kano, which later spread to most cities of Northern Nigeria. The sect was wiped out by the security forces very brutally with women and children. The *Maitasine* uprising was followed by another religious riot on 30 October 1982. Equally, there was also the riot of 14th to 16th October 1991, followed closely by 1994 disturbance. In addition, there was the 1995 riot, which claimed many lives and property worth millions of naira destroyed. Others include the 1999 ethnic clash in Kano between the Hausa and Yoruba, which was as a result of Yoruba Hausa riot in Ogbomosho, Ogun State. The 1999 riot seriously affected the Yoruba transporters particularly the urban taxi drivers most of whom their cars were burnt and as a result they were phase out of the business. Lastly and more recently is the devastating *Boko Haram* crisis.[612] These conflicts had posed serious threat to the smooth operation of the transport business in Kano metropolis.

Walker argued that a weakness in the institution of politics and the security services have created a political situation where such threats to stability are not dealt with until violence is a certainty. Only when a politician in control of state is convinced that such a threat cannot be bent

[611] See also, Y.U Madugu (2010) "The Impact of Commercial Buses on the Economy of Kano Metropolis 1967-2012", M.A Thesis BUK, P. 44

[612] H. Wakili (1997) "The Phenomenon of Revolts and Riots in Kano, 1893-1995: A Historical Perspective", PhD thesis BUK pp. 111, 125, 146, 176, & 197, see also A Anwar (2010) "From Maitatsine Revolt to Boko Haram: Examining the Socio-economic Circumstances of Religious Crisis in Northern Nigeria", Paper Presented at a symposia in Bayero University, Kano, Organized by the Department of History

to his advantage will he order any action be taken against it. Such is the weakness of security institutions. Their only method of dealing with any such a threat is with violence. *Boko Haram* was created under these circumstances.[613]

Since August 2011, bombs were planted in most cities of Northern Nigeria including Abuja the Federal Capital. It is out of this circumstance that on the 20th January, 2012, Kano metropolis came under attack. As much as twenty bombs are being stipulated to have gone off that day. The multiple explosions caused massive pandemonium which made inhabitants of the city to scamper for safety. The incidence crippled and stagnated the many different forms of commercial activities in the metropolis. The state government in its efforts to restore normalcy declared twenty four hours curfew following the explosions. Although the 24hour curfew only lasted for four days before it was relaxed to 14hours i.e. 6:00am to 4:00pm and subsequently after series of agitation by the inhabitants, the government had to modify its stand and thus the curfew was relaxed from 6:00am to 10:00pm.[614]

It is important at this juncture to note that even with the relaxation of the curfew which gave people in the city the opportunity to resume their normal commercial life, a special restriction was imposed on commercial transport services. For example, all commercial buses, taxis and tricycles are only allowed to operate from 6:00am to 10:00pm. No motorcycle (commercial or private) was allowed to run the streets of Kano from 6:00pm to 6:00am daily. The statement issued to the press by the State Police Public Relations Officer, contended that the influx of *Achaba* has been linked to an increase in crime in the state, particularly in city centers, urban slums, and red light districts. The criminal activities ranged from theft of purses and mobile phones to abduction, and even politically motivated murder. He further stated that in

[613] A Walker (2012) What is Boko Haram: Special Report, United State Institute of Peace, Washington DC, p, 2
[614] Weekly Trust News Paper, Saturday, January 21st , 2012/Kano Under Attack, p.1

recent past, commercial motorcycle operation had constituted a great threat to security business in the state. This is partly because most of the attacks that were lunched on the security agents were carried out using motorcycles.[615]

Indeed, the restriction has no doubt posed a great threat to the survival of *Achaba* business in Kano. Apart from the restriction, there were activities of the security agents such as the Police and the Army who mounted various forms of roadblocks or security checkpoints ranging from mobile to stationary ones which forced motorcyclists and their passengers dismount and pushed them from far distance of about fifty to hundred meters while approaching the security checkpoints. This was the case in every three to five minutes journey made by the *'Yan Achaba* particularly in the metropolis. The situation was simply unbearable to the commercial motorcyclists as it caused a lot of hardship to them and their passengers.

Consequently, most passengers who seek to make their transportation needs more effective by saving cost, time and strength, began to change their preferences since *Okada/Achaba* which literally got its name from a defunct airline due to its ability to deliver passengers quickly to their various destinations could no longer provide such services due to the security challenges. As a result, most passengers employed the services of commercial tricycles, taxis or buses in place of motorcycles (*Achaba*) since the latter are given full autonomy to operate within the commercial centers of the state for a period of 16hours i.e. from 6:00am to 10:00pm. It is equally worth mentioning that even the buses and the taxis cannot effectively carry out their operation due to long period of waiting at the security checkpoints which caused endless traffic congestion.

With the security challenges facing the *Achaba*, it became obvious that passengers gave more preference to tricycles (*Adaidaitasahu*) than *Achaba* in order to avoid delay and effort

[615] A press statement released by the Police Public Relations Officer (PPRO) Kano State Command, January, 2012

wasting. According to an informant who prior to the security challenge preferred using *Achaba* stated that, "I am sick and tired of the fatigue meted on me by the security agents in their various checkpoints, every time I climb *Achaba*. This was I preferred *Adaidaitasahu* which I found to be more convenient."[616]

Dan Isulle a commercial motorcyclist posited that, "the security situation in the state had constituted a great threat to the smooth operation of our *Achaba* business. Every day we lose passengers and passengers have every right to shun us due to the ineffectiveness of our work. A journey that is suppose to take 15 minutes under normal circumstances now last for about 30 to 40 minutes due to the security challenges. This of course affects our income and standard of living. Prior to this security situation I earned between N1800 to N2000 daily. But now I find it very difficult to earn N1000 daily"[617]

Also, Yusuf (Dantsohuwa) former *Achaba* operator stated that, "because of the security challenges in Kano which posed great threat to the survival of *Achaba* business, I found it difficult to continue with *Achaba*. That was why I moved to tricycle". He further stated that he is more contented with tricycle since he has the liberty to carry three passengers conveniently at a time and his movement is not restricted from 6:00am to 6:00pm. Yusuf also claimed that his income earning had increased. He further argued that because of the security challenge, most of his colleagues had abandoned the *Achaba* business and moved to other businesses such as tricycles, taxi or bus driving, while others have completely moved out of the transport business.[618]

[616]Information from Anas Saidu of Rijiyar Zaki Quarters, A commuter, age 35, interviewed on 13/07/2014
[617] [617] Information from Yusuf Dan Isulle of Rijiyar Zaki Quarters, A former Dan Achaba and now tricycle rider, age 25, interviewed on 06/03/2014
[618] Information from Yusuf Dan Tsohuwa of Kurna Quarters, A former Dan Achaba and now tricycle rider, age 45, interviewed on 06/03/2014

It is obvious that like in most of the North Eastern States in Nigeria where as a result of the security challenges, motorcycle operation was banned, Kano is on the move. The State government in April, 2012 made an unsuccessful attempt to enact a law through the State House of Assembly that would ban the operation of motorcycle. On the 19th January, 2013, the late emir of Kano, Alhaji Ado Bayero, was attacked by unknown gun men who drove on motorbikes and cars that the Boko Haram claimed responsibility.[619] As a result, *'Yan Achaba* once again came under heavy criticism, which resulted in a legislation which prohibits their operation in Kano metropolis on 23rd February, 2013 (see appendix 5).[620] With the banning of *Achaba* many riders shifted to the emerging tricycles.

6.7 Transportation and the emergence of Social Vices

There are various kinds of offenses committed around the commercial transport industry by men and women. The followings are among the most common in Kano metropolis.

1. Drug offenses
2. Theft
3. Prostitution

Hard drugs offenses

Peoples who abuse and sell drugs illegally are more numerous among transport workers than in other occupations in Kano metropolis. Bus drivers, head loaders, truck pushers, commission agents and other commercial bus transport boys abuse drugs openly. Most motor parks and mechanic workshops are full of illegal drugs sellers. Some drugs addict both male and female converted motor parks into their permanent places of abode. Such drug includes Bennylin, Solution chemical, Bodres, Tramol and Diazepam. Others include locally concocted ones such as Marijuana, *Zakami* and *Madaran Sukudai*. In addition is the emergence of *Gadagi*

[619] Vanguard News paper 23rd January, 2013/Attack on emir: Kano ban commercial motorcyclist
[620] PM News 22nd January, 2012/ Attack on Bayero: Kano state government bans *Achaba*

which is a popular traditional stimulant tea drink. Dukku[621] argued that in Kano Metropolis, *Gadagi* consumption is gaining a wider acceptance and increasing popularity especially among motor transport workers such as '*Yan Achaba,* bus drivers, bus conductors, truck pushers, head loaders and so on. The *Gadagi* preparations has a conventional tea color and with its use the consumers achieved the goals such as stimulation, medication, agitation and the ability to endure any hardship and as well work tirelessly during their business activities. Drug use among commercial transporters has led to reckless driving and traffic violations which have resulted in road accidents. Other criminal activities associated with drug abuse include theft, vandalism, thuggery, assault, gang warfare, rape and larceny.

Theft and Armed Robery

There are many stealing and cheating cases around the commercial transport industry. Motor parks and bus stops are full of pickpockets. Cheating passengers coming into town or going home in motor parks or in various bus stops in Kano is a common phenomenon. The most common is the collection of transport fare by a criminal who pretends to be a commission agent and quickly disappear from the scene (see appendix 2). Mobile gamblers popularly known as "*Yan Gada-Gada*" often stay around motor parks and bus stops pretending to be helping the passenger by collecting his goods to his destination bus and they suddenly disappear.[622] There were also the cases of armed robbery which particularly affected the *'Yan Achaba* and tricycles (*'Yan Adaidaita sahu)* in which armed bandits who pretends to be passenger(s) attacked the

[621] A.M Dukku (2010) "Gadagi Consumption among the Youths in Kano Metropolitan", in *Bayero Journal of Social and Management Studies* (BAJOSAMS), Vol. 13, No 2, p, 8-23

[622] See AU Dan Asabe (1996)... p, 256, for more information on motor parks see N.M. Lawan, (2004): "History of Motor Parks in Kano City With Particular References to Tashar kofar ruwa, Tashar Unguwa Uku, Tashar Naibawa, and Mariri in the 20th Century", B.A dissertation History Dept. BUK

motorcyclist or tricyclist by threatening him to surrender his vehicle or lose his life or both. Sometimes the bandits struck the driver with a very sharp knife without any notice and as such the driver will lose control of the wheel and surrender the vehicle to the bandits. Also, a bandit may ask the vehicle driver to take him to a particular destination which is a hideout of his other gang members. As a result, the armed group will surprisingly lay an ambush on the driver which may make him to lose his vehicle and his life. This in other word is known as organized crime.

Prostitution

Prostitution has been defined as a trade normally carried out by females where sexual arts are exchanged for money or other favors.[623] Thus, prostitute provides both accommodation and entertainment to some drivers. Mini bus drivers commonly known as "*Yan Hiace*" in Kano metropolis were famous for enticing young girls into prostitutions. According to an informant, due to the level of driver's patronage in prostitutes, a special enlightenment committee was established to enlighten the drivers against the sophisticated killing disease (HIV/AIDS) and other related sexually transmitted diseases (STD).[624]

About 60% of Kano metropolitan prostitutes came into the city from the rural areas of the following states: Katsina, Kano, Zaria, Sokoto, Borno, Yobe, Adamawa, Taraba, Niger and Nassarawa. Some of them were enticed into prostitution by long distance drivers who keep them in their resting places such as Gadar Tamburawa and Kwanar Dan Gora.[625] Some prostitutes who lost attraction to customers relocates to some of the metropolitan motor parks and mechanic workshops as their permanent places of residence. They may engage in petty trading such as

[623]G.A Badawi (2015) public Libraries as a Centers of Information to Disadvantaged Groups: *A 2004 – 2014 Study of the Information Needs of Gada Prostitutes, Dawakin Kudu LGA. Kano State, Nigeria, Bayero University, Kano, Inaugural Lecture Series No 16, Presented on Wednesday 29th July, 2015*

[624] Information from Alhaji Isa Hassan of Mallam Kato motor park, a bus driver and Bus 1 NURTW Secretary, age 70, interviewed on 12-012009

[625] See also G.A Badawi (2015) public Libraries as a Centers of Information to Disadvantaged Groups: *A 2004 – 2014 Study of the Information Needs of Gada Prostitutes, Dawakin Kudu LGA. Kano State*

cigarette selling, Kola nut hawking, food selling and even begging by the day and practicing prostitution at the night. Their customers were mostly drugs addicts, old male laborers, drunken laborers and other people of their class. Some of these motor park prostitute and their clients are very old and infected by diseases.[626]

Table 6:3 Summary of Kano City's Tranportation Problems and their Interested Parties

Interested Party	Nature of Transportation Problems
The Government	• Poor transit facilities • Deterioration of the City • No rational urban transport policy • Lack of transportation land use control cause urban sprawl • Increase in crime rates because of urban drift • Mostly uneducated self-employed • Housing problems • Unemployment problems • Increasing traffic congestion due to limited road infrastructure
The Operator	• Use of inefficient modes • Pollution and environmental problems • Stress and strain on transit user causing health problems • Increasing cost of travel • Unprofitable routes not serviced • Unregulated use of "Achaba" with associated risks (Banned in February 2013) • Inexperienced and impatient drivers/motorists
Community (User)	• Traffic congestion on streets/highways because of increasing reliance on cars • Lack of unified voice to pressurize government • Lack of willing investors for transport sector

Source: Adapted from Kano Transport Master Plan (TMP) Revised Final March 2009

[626] See AU Dan Asabe (1996)... p, 265-266

This study examines these problems and the role each party plays; and then gives strategies that will guide the government for short and long-term solutions. It is only through a comprehensive understanding of the City's transportation problems that realistic and practical solutions can emerge.

6.8 Suggestion on Solutions to some of the Problems

a. The need for a Sustainable Transport Policy in Kano

Transport infrastructure and services in Kano metropolis are grossly inadequate and have not yet met current requirements. This inadequacy is stifling development in the area, and adversely affecting the quality of life of its citizens. It must be addressed as a matter of urgency. The magnitude of the task is immense, and if it is to be tackled effectively, it must be approached logically with clear goals and objectives, and an achievable program leading to their fulfillment within an acceptable time frame. In this context a clear and realistic transport policy is essential. The transport policy for Kano State must be consistent with the National Transport Policy to enhance State and Federal integration in transport infrastructure and services. So far there is no definitive national policy at present and the Draft National Transport Policy[627] of the Federal government of Nigeria, prepared in 2010 is yet to be ratified. The document sets out the Federal Government proposed policies in respect of all forms of transport operating within the country and internationally, together with the policy goals and objectives, and proposed strategies for their implementations.

In order to achieve a smart and sustainable transport system in Kano, the following principal suggestions should be considered:

[627] See Federal Republic of Nigeria, Draft National Transport Policy, August, 2010

- To promote culture of maintenance and continuous upgrading of transport infrastructure and services.
- Support the development of urban transport systems.
- Encourage and remove all barriers towards private sector participation in the development, provision, maintenance, operation and upgrading of transport infrastructure and services.
- Improve the safety, security, reliability, quality and speed of movement of goods and people by strengthening and enforcing safety regulations and measures.
- Promote the use of public transport over private cars.
- To introduce metro-light rail transport service.
- Promote full private sector participation and competition for efficiency and continuous reduction in cost of transport services.
- Augmenting the budgetary allocation for road maintenance and rehabilitation through fuel tax, vehicle registration tax, driver licenses, road tolls, parking charges and taxes on tires, lubricants and consumable spare parts.
- Introduction of a well organize high capacity urban bus mass transit system with dedicated routes or lanes.
- Government should promote training of transport operators, ensure efficient traffic management and promote compliance with road traffic regulations.
- Designate some streets or lanes as bus-only, Cyclist-only or pedestrian-only. Unlike Asian and European cities, where bicycles' use is common and accepted as a mode for work, the Nigerian worker sees its use as degrading. If government can provide bicycle path and provide financial support or credit lines to encourage bicycle ownership, its use would have been more suitable because of the flat terrain. It has positive impact on air quality, physical health, and if used extensively, on traffic congestion/management.

- The government should promote measures that will guarantee access to transport by the physically challenged, use targeted enlightenment campaign to improve driving skills and attitude, abolish on-street parking on certain streets, control parking through pricing, use physical barriers as a tool for restricting vehicular access on certain roads, construct and enforce the use of underpasses and overhead bridges for pedestrians on major roads, involve the transport unions in the enforcement process, roadside bus stops, road regulatory sign and markings such as speed limit, no entry, no parking, buses only, no overtaking and so on should be design and provided as part of the road system as well as introducing high-tech gadgets for controlling speed limit in vehicles and CCTV cameras with vehicle number plate recognition in order to easily detect road traffic violators.
- Ensure intermodal synergy through coordination between and among different modes of transport such as road, rail and air.[628]

b. The regulations covering road safety, as contained in the 2008 Road Traffic Regulations must be revisited. The regulations indicated the need for road users to comply with vehicle inspection requirements and for drivers to take a driving test before licenses may be issued. The law specifies safety related offences such as:

- Driving motor vehicle without due care and attention or without reasonable consideration for other persons using the road.
- Driving at a speed or in a manner which is dangerous having regard to all the circumstances including the nature, condition and use of the road and the amount of traffic.
- And driving under the influence of drink or drugs. All of which Causes accident resulting to injury or death.

[628] Information generated from Sustainable Transport Policy as Key to Economic Development: Kano State Experience by N.M Abdussalam (Coordinator World Bank Projects and Director Kano Urban Transport Planning Office KUTPO)

The areas in which transport regulations may be considered are under two broad headings: "quality regulation" covering such aspects as standards of safety, vehicle condition and quality of the services provided, and "quantity regulation" which covers such aspects as the number of vehicles licensed for public transport service, the routes operated, their capacity and the fares charged. This is sometimes referred to as "economic regulation".[629]

c. The higher accident rate on the metropolitan roads can be minimized by stricter enforcement of traffic regulations. The introduction of the Kano State Road Traffic Agency (KAROTA) in 2012 and the reviving of better road culture with the modification of roundabout, crash prevent guidance, painting of zebra crossing, building pedestrian overhead crossing bridges and construction of bus stops on some of the major roads are laudable steps towards reducing the high accident rate in Kano metropolis.

d. There is also the need for research into intra-city commercial road transport financing, the quality of services of commercial urban transport modes, and changing service patterns to serve the broader aims of overall urban planning.

e. Transport development banks should be established to help alleviate financial problems in the commercial urban transport sector. The bank will promote balanced development of both the public and the private sectors of the transport system through the provision of loans and grants. Furthermore, the state industrialization policy should recognize the importance of transport industry, in other words there should be linkages between industries and transport.

f. The road safety marshals, vehicle inspection officers and the police who extort money from the road users should receive severe punishment when detected. Drivers should be more enlightened

[629] See Development of Kano State Transport Policy for Kano Urban Transport Project Office: A Draft Green Paper (Internal Circulation Only), Supervised by Nigerian Infrastructure Advisory Facility (NIAF) and Funded by Department for International Development (DFID), 2013, p, 11&13

by traffic rules and regulations to reduce accidents rates. The police and other law enforcement agencies should be well equipped to enhance timely response to street violent crimes.

g. Educational measures that will enlighten the road users on their rights on the roads and to stop giving bribes to traffic agents must be intensified.

The difficulties of enforcing these measures are apparent, but the time has arrived to make start in this direction. This will have an important effect in reducing the social and economic costs of road transport in Kano in particular and Nigeria in general.[630]

6.9 Conclusion

The submission of this chapter is that, most of the accidents that were occurring on Kano metropolitan roads were due to inability of the security agents to enforce the laws governing usage of the roads. Secondly, it was as a result of violation of traffic rules by road users and lack of proper vehicle maintenance. These were the major problems that led/caused lots of accidents in Kano metropolis where many people lost their lives and some became physically challenged. It is equally important to note that, some of the accidents were caused by the deplorable and poor condition of the roads. Other challenges discussed include perennial fuel scarcity and hikes in fuel prices which affects transport fares. The problem of Insecurity and insurgency have also affected the smooth operation of the transport services, particularly affected was *Achaba* which was ban in February, 2013. There was also the development of social vices around the commercial road transport industry. These vices include drug abuse, theft/pilfering, and prostitution. Finally, the chapter recommended some suggestions among which were a strong need to introduce a regulatory framework for a smart and sustainable transport system.

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[630]The Economic Co-ordination of Transport Development in Nigeria, A Report on How to improve transport development , Produced by Stanford Research Institute, Menlo Park California, p. 193

CHAPTER SEVEN

General Conclusion

This dissertation has examined the historical development, activities and importance of the intra-city commercial transport services to the socio-economic development of Kano metropolis from 1967-2015. The study has elucidated the importance of transport from pre-colonial period, through the colonial period (which marked the advent of mechanized means of transportation) and post colonial/post independence periods. We have seen how in the pre colonial periods human portage and pack animals such as camels, donkeys, horses and other animals alike were used in the process of facilitating and sustaining the local and international trade (i.e. Trans-Saharan and southern trade) by serving as means of transporting people and their goods. The traditional modes of transport system were considered by the British colonialist as difficult to maintain, slow and relatively expensive. Hence, the British introduced the mechanized transport system such as rail, road and air.

In the colonial period, the attitude of the British colonialist towards the provision of transport facilities such as the rail, road and air was examined. The introduction of railway in 1912 and eventually lorries and trucks in 1930s displaced the use of camels and donkeys as carriers of heavy consignments, which meant the breakdown of the industries producing the implements used on the animals for transportation purposes. Such implements include leather containers for the grains and water storage, bags of plaited strips of dum-palm trees (*Mangala*), saddles, ropes, baskets etc. these requirements led to the provision of industries for their provision (See T.M Naniya, 2001). It was established in this study that The colonial infrastructure particularly the road and rail transport were specifically designed to serve the

interest of the colonialist i.e. for export of cash crops produce and import of European made products, military mobility and for administrative/logistic purposes.

Thus, the conquest of Kano by the British in 1903, and the subsequent introduction of the colonial infrastructure a decade after, suddenly changed the phase of trade. The existing pre-colonial long distance commercial activities were restricted by the new colonial boundaries. Thus, the introduction of the caravan tolls by Lugard's administration after 1903, the importation of cheap European cloth, salt, sugar, soap and so on, further destroyed the long outstanding economic activities and changed the direction of trade from the Sahara linking Kano to North Africa to the Atlantic linking her to Europe. This brought about substantial change in commerce, economy, administration and technology which resulted in transformation of Kano into a modern industrial and commercial centre. The colonial infrastructure played a dominant role in the export and import of goods and mobilization of labour particularly during and after the Second World War. The increasing significant of the mechanized system of transport continues up to the present time.

From 1967 when Kano State was created and the terminal date of this study (2014), road transport has become a dominant sub-sector in the transport system of Kano due to the huge public and private capital investment poured into the industry. For example, in 1970s during the oil boom era in which Nigeria earned much income from the sales of crude oil, unprecedented investment in road transport system by both public and private sectors was witnessed. Middle class workers were able to earn more money during this period through wage increase, arrears, soft loan and graft. This development led to high level increase in both commercial and private vehicle ownership. Road infrastructural developments have also received special attention during this period.

It is established in this research that many factors contributed to the emergence and development of different modes of the intra-city transport services among which include government policies, programs and or failures. For example, it was the state policy that culminated in the establishment of the Public Urban Mass Transit Scheme. The scheme did not last long due to the problem of corruption and mismanagement thereby giving way to private and group of individuals to take control of the intra-urban passenger transport system.

The introduction of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) by the military regime of General Ibrahim Babangida in 1986, which was an economic measure to curtail the economic crisis of the time also contributed to the emergence of commercial motorcycle and tricycle. As a result of SAP, many industries were closed down and income earning of most civil servants were affected. It was the unemployed and the cash strap workers affected by SAP that started the *Achaba* business. Moreover, the Kano State government law in 1977 prohibiting the use of a two or four wheel hand push cart (*Kura*) resulted to the introduction of the pick-up vans (*Akori Kura)*.

The growth of population and urban expansion were also important factors for the development of different modes of intra-city transport services. Kano Metropolis has over the years experienced significant increase in its population which in turn created increased travel demand and population pressure, which leads to spatial expansion of the metropolitan area and increased journey lengths. Similarly, parallel growth in the economies of the metropolis and in households and personal incomes lead to increased travel demand, increased car ownership and increased car use.

Thus, the relationships between transport and other aspects of development are cyclical one. However, not a single element, its transforming influence touched virtually every spare of

human life than other indices of development. It initiated, perpetuated and sustained the process of continuous urbanization of Kano through its accessibility and therefore served as sinew that binds the socio-cultural, political and economic systems of people unprecedented in the history of Kano. As a "life blood of cities", intra-city transport system therefore has a particularly strong influence both on physical conditions of metropolitan areas and the quality of life style in them. For example, the city resident lives in one place. He or she goes to work at another place, shops or visits at yet another. Each of these activities usually requires travel from one point to another. If the activities are located close to each other, the trips are short and can be performed by non-motorize modes such as walking or bicycle. However, if cities are large, and travel distances are great, faster motorized and high-capacity systems, or different transportation modes such as taxis, buses and motorcycles or even metro-trains are needed.

The development of intra-city transport services has provided employment opportunities for many people who were either directly or indirectly involved in the business. A few examples include the drivers or riders, the owners of the vehicles, vehicle repairers, petrol and engine oil sellers and a growing market for car dealership and spare pats. Also, the development and expansion of industrial estates and markets with different specializations owe their survival to the effective functions of the public urban system of transport in Kano metropolis. The intra-city transport service has also contributed to revenue generation by the different tiers of government i.e. federal, state and local governments. It has also contributed to the development of different trade unions such as the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW), Kano State Taxi Drivers Association (KSTDA), Association of Commercial Motorcycle Riders of Nigeria (ACOMORAN), and Tricycle Operators Association Kano (TOKAN).

Finally, a number of problems associated with the transport industry have been identified. Such problems include Insecurity and insurgency, security agent's harassment and extortions, inadequate vehicle maintenance and high accident rates, dilapidated road infrastructure and the violation of traffic regulations. Others include perennial fuel scarcity, price hikes and mutation of transport fare. Some possible suggestions on the ways of solving the problems have also been proffered. The most striking one is provision of regulatory frame work for a smart and sustainable transport system.

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Mallam Auwalu Usman, a bicycle repairer and hirer, age 47, interviewed at Kasuwar Rimi on 18/07/2014

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Alhaji Muntari Abubakar (Dan Haya), a former commercial bicycle repairer and hirer, age 79, interviewed at Yakasai quarters on 01/07/2014

Mallam Isa Direba, a former commercial bicycle repairer and hirer, age 60, interviewed at Kadawa Quarters on 01/07/2014

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Alhaji Muhammadu Na Kanya Na Goda who was interviewed on 15-10-2010, he was born in 1941 in Kano city. Na Kanya Na Goda claimed that his father Muhammadu Na Goda pioneered the commercial bus transport business in Kano.

Alhaji Ibrahim Umar Madugu (Na Bakon Wayya) who was interviewed on 15-10-2010, He was born in 1962 in Kano city. His father Alhaji Madugu Na Bakon Wayya was among the early pioneers of intra-city transport service in Kano metropolis

Alhaji Sule Koki of Koki quarters, born in 1910, he was a former bus driver and owner, interviewed on 20-10-2009

Alhaji Salisu Abdullahi of K/Mata quarters. He was a former bus driver and the first chairman of the association of bus drivers. He was born in 1917 and interviewed on 23-12-2009

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Alhaji Idris Usman Geidam the first person who pioneered the Commercial Tricycle business in Kano metropolis. He is 58 years old and was interviewed on 06/05/2015 at Sharada Quarters, Kano

Alhaji Ashiru Sallau Gabari, the present chairman of Tricycle Owners and Riders Association of (TORAN) Kano State, age 53, interviewed on 01/05/2015 at the association head office Gwammaja 'Yan Kosai

Alhaji Umaru Usman, He is among those who pioneered the Commercial Motorcycle Higher Purchase Business in Kano Metropolis. He is 50 years old and was interviewed on 19/06/2015 at Fagge Quarters, Kano

Alhaji Naziru Umar Goron Duma, He is also among those who pioneered the Commercial Motorcycle Higher Purchase Business in Kano Metropolis. He is 50 years old and was interviewed on 19/06/2015 at Bakin Zuwo Quarters, Kano

Alhaji (Dr.) Mamman Shata Katsina who was a famous Hausa traditional singer born in Musawa village in Katsina in 1923 and died on 18th June, 1999

A discussion with Assistant Superintendent of Police (ASP) Bello Chiroma of the Nigerian Police Zone One, Kano, on 12/06/2014

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Appendix 1

Summary of road traffic crashes in Kano by FRSC Policy, Research and Statistical Department 2009-2014

FEDERAL ROAD SAFETY CORPS
POLICY, RESEARCH AND STATISTICS DEPARTMENT
RSHQ, ABUJA

SUMMARY OF ROAD TRAFFIC CRASHES

MONTH/YEAR:.....

2009

S/N	COMMAND	FATAL	SERIOUS	MINOR	TOTAL CASES	NUMBER INJURED					NUMBER KILLED					TOTAL CASUALTY	PEOPLE INVOLVED					VEHICLE INVOLVED														VEHICLE CATEGORY				
						ADULT		CHILD		TOTAL	ADULT		CHILD		TOTAL		ADULT		CHILD		TOTAL	BICYCLE	MOTORCYCLE	TRICYCLE	CAR	SUV(JEEP)	VAN	MINIBUS	LUXURY BUS	PICK-UP	TRUCK	TANKER	TRAILER	OTHERS	TOTAL	PRIVATE	COMMERCIAL	GOVERNMENT	DIPLOMAT	TOTAL
						M	F	M	F		M	F	M	F			M	F	M	F																			
RS1.2		18	23	14	53	134	48	9	6	180	35	3	0	14	161	230	175	85	4	15	263	0	0	3	45	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	5	40	0	4	52
RS1.21		16	40	1	57	163	52	22	17	254	15	2	1	2	20	274	266	80	27	25	398	0	14	0	24	0	0	21	0	0	5	0	1	0	66	27	39	0	0	66
RS1.22 K		4	7	5	16	21	14	1	3	39	2	2	0	1	5	44	55	26	3	4	88	0	12	1	5	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	23	5	17	0	0	23
RS1.23		1	19	5	25	34	2	0	0	36	3	0	0	0	3	39	88	2	0	0	90	0	18	0	7	0	0	10-	0	0	2	0	1	0	38	12	29	0	0	41
RS1.24		3	35	49	87	98	6	8	2	114	2	1	0	1	4	118	209	7	10	7	233	5	52	2	48	1	1	8	0	5	7	2	5	0	136	56	80	0	0	136
RS1.25		17	47	15	87	318	105	0	0	423	32	5	0	0	37	460	368	112	0	0	480	0	7	0	47	0	0	36	0	4	2	1	3	0	100	60	42	2	0	104
RS1.26		- 59	171	89	325	768	227	40	28	1046	89	13	1	18	- 230	1165	1161	312	44	51	1552	5	103	6	176	1	2	72	0	9	16	3	11	0	389	165	247	2	4	- 422
RS1.27		35	66	6	107	373	70	8	0	451	72	11	3	0	86	537	711	73	1	0	785	1	14	0	40	0	0	45	0	4	4	0	4	6	128	45	77	2		128

2010

	RS1.2	20	123	11	159	292	42	4	23	325	42	12	5	1	78	401	0	0	0	25	874	7	115	1	72	0	1	41	0	3	8	6	9	1	54	33	234	0	0	266
	RS1.21	23	56	13	92	295	29	14	4	342	49	7	6	2	64	406	665	116	39	24	856	1	36		45	1	-	43		1	3	1	1	1	116	35	56	1	-	- 93
	RS1.22 K	3	5	5	13	19	10	0	1	30	1	4	0	3	8	38	39	17	0	3	59	0	7	2	6	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	19	5	14	0	0	19
	RS1.23	1	23	2	26	55	-	-	-	55	3	-	-	-	3	58	91	2	-	-	93	-	17	-	12	-	-	-	5	-	3	-	1	-	38	11	25	-	-	38
	RS1.24	5	80	22	107	185	12	3	1	198	6	1	4	0	11	209	306	4	2	1	313	2	79	7	52	0	0	25	0	4	6	3	2	0	180	70	110	0	0	180
	RS1.25	31	37	51	119	424	11	3	1	439	97	0	0	0	97	536	518	13	3	1	535	0	30	0	52	3	0	37	1	4	0	3	0	0	130	76	52	2	0	130

RS1.26	9	16	0	31	87	22	6	16	131	14	2	2	1	19	125	105	20	6	17	153	0	8	0	16	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	16	17			33
RS1.27	41	87	9	137	431	46	5	4	486	67	1	0	0	68	554	808	98	9	8	923	NIL	40	NIL	87	1	NIL	42	NIL	8	15	NIL	NIL		193	110	82	1	NIL	193
TOTAL																																							

2011

RS1.2	11	41	3	81	264	39	5	19	314	21	4	5	7	30	350	191	11	9	7	622	2	66	5	83	1	14	17	0	6	7	4	4	1	0	14	162	0	0	176
RS1.21	31	48	35	114	300	65	20	17	402	44	13	5	2	66	468	634	110	25	15	784	1	27		73	6	-	35	-	-	3	-	2	-	158	50	115	1	-	166
RS1.22 K	5	28	16	49	102	8	1	1	112	8	0	0	0	8	120	244	36	5	21	306	0	46	2	12	1	0	14	0	1	2	2	2	0	82	17	65	0	0	82
RS1.23	3	25	3	31	38	5	1	-	44	2	-	1	-	3	47	118	16	2	-	136	-	33	-	13	-	-	3	-	1	3	-	-	-	53	21	32	-	-	53
RS1.24	11	79	87	177	338	23	10	0	371	14	0	2	0	16	387	640	31	0	4	680	1	145	6	49	0	0	30	0	3	7	2	10	0	253	50	199	4	0	253
RS1.25	41	82	35	158	649	7	0	0	656	79	0	0	0	79	735	790	4	2	0	796	0	51	0	63	5	4	26	0	15	6	3	0	0	173	89	80	4	0	173
RS1.26	8	23	0	31	79	27	6	12	124	11	1	0	0	12	136	90	28	6	12	150	0	10	0	20	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	29	8	23	0	0	31
RS1.27	30	81	4	115	488	36	NIL	NIL	524	52	10	NIL	NIL	62	586	863	69	NIL	NIL	932	NIL	39	NIL	53	1		63	NIL	12	8	1	1	NIL	178	85	92	1	NIL	178
TOTAL	140	407	183	756	2258	210	43	49	2547	231	28	13	9	276	2829	3570	305	49	59	4406	4	417	13	366	14	18	191	0	38	36	12	19	1	926	334	768	10	0	1112

2012

RS1.2	23	62	15	101	193	38	6	30	255	19	10	20	1	23	261	57	19	16	7	404	1	56	24	36	8	4	24	2	1	8	4	3	0	1	18	135	3	0	157
RS1.21	16	72	7	95	200	44	15	10	269	16	7	1	5	29	338	375	102	49	27	553		45	2	30		1	32			5		3		99	45	74	1		101
RS1.22.K	8	13	9	30	62	8	0	0	70	17	1	0	0	18	88	148	20	2	5	175	1	28	1	9	0	0	9	0	0	3	1	3	0	55	10	44	1		165
RS1.23	1	8	2	11	13	-	-	-	13	1	-	-	-	1	14	45	3	-	-	48	-	8	1	5	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	9	6	1	-	16
1 RS1.24	12	68	37	117	219	29	18	0	266	16	4	1	1	23	289	474	12	14		493	2	100	4	35	0	0	20	0	3	4	2	7	0	177	37	112	0	0	177
RS1.25	11	66	43	120	226	29	18	0	273	16	4	1	1	22	295	485	12	14	0	511	0	52	0	59	4	6	36	1	8	12	4	3	0	185	102	83	0	0	185
RS1.26	8	24	0	33	100	28	9	9	146	9	3	0	0	11	159	109	33	9	9	160	0	13	0	25	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	42	9	33	0	0	42
RS1.27	31	88	5	124	714	45	NIL	NIL	759	45	5	NIL	NIL	50	809	1060	87	NIL	NIL	1147	1	29	NIL	74	1	NIL	39	NIL	10	4	2	4	NIL	164	96	65	3	NIL	164
TOTAL	110	401	118	631	1727	221	66	49	2051	139	34	23	8	177	2253	2753	288	104	48	3491	5	331	32	273	13	11	166	3	22	36	13	23	0	739	326	552	9	0	1007

2013

RS1.2	21	17	26	70	189	45	7	20	264	26	2	4	0	15	287	233	68	13	0	325	2	18	5	29	0	0	25	0	1	5	0	0	0	77	23	55	1	0	82
RS1.21	21	17	26	70	189	45	7	20	264	26	2	4	0	15	287	233	68	13	0	325	2	18	5	29	0	0	25	0	1	5	0	0	0	77	23	55	1	0	82

RS1.22	2	7	0	9	12	2	1	3	14	2	0	0	0	2	16	32	3	1	2	38	0	2	3	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	13	8	5	0	0	13
RS1.23	2	7	8	17	31	1	-	-	32	2	-	-	-	2	34	58	9	-	-	67	-	13	3	9	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	2	31	10	22	-	-	32
RS1.24	6	78	6	90	95	46	25	8	174	5	2	0	0	7	181	20	115	43	20	378	9	54	11	43	0	0	17	2	4	4	1	10	4	155	43	112	0	0	155
RS1.25	26	106	20	152	544	27	10	9	590	44	3	0	1	48	638	588	30	10	10	638	0	10	0	89	4	6	42	0	0	26	0	6	0	183	92	75		16	183
RS1.26	78	232	86	408	1060	166	50	60	1338	105	9	8	1	89	1443	1164	293	80	32	1771	13	115	27	205	4	6	109	2	9	40	1	19	6	536	199	324	2	16	547
RS1.27	43	105	4	152	421	107	56	16	600	110	24	7	13	154	754	536	142	69	26	773	1	60	NIL	105	NIL	1	55	NIL	12	25	2	NIL	NIL	261	110	145	5	1	261
TOTAL	199	569	176	968	2541	439	156	136	3276	320	42	23	15	332	3640	2864	728	229	90	4315	27	290	54	515	8	13	273	4	30	105	4	38	12	1333	508	793	9	33	1355

2014

1	RS1.2	9	25	1	35	58	25	1	0	84	37	3	0	0	40	124	129	47	1	0	177	0	11	2	16	2	0	9	0	0	4	0	2	1	47	22	27	0	0	49
2	RS1.21	7	9	1	15	50	12	5	3	70	20	4	0	1	28	15	82	21	7	5	156	0	5	0	5	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	2	0	21	2	19	0	0	21
3	RS1.22.K	2	7	0	9	12	2	0	0	14	2	0	0	0	2	16	32	3	1	2	38	0	2	3	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	13	8	5	0	0	13
4	RS1.23	2	5	0	7	7	0	0	0	7	2	0	0	0	2	9	15	0	0	0	15		3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	8	3	5	0	0	8
5	RS1.24	5	2	3	10	22	2	0	0	24	5	0	0	0	5	29	31	3	0	0	34	0	2	1	12	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	18	9	9	0	0	18
6	RS1.25	2	8	2	12	32	6	0	2	40	2	0	0	0	2	42	80	10	15	3	108	0	3	0	8	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	4	6	0	0	10
7	RS1.26	8	5	0	13	30	17	0	0	47	4	5	1	0	10	57	47	25	1	0	73	0	6	0	10	0	0	8	0	0	1	0	0	1	26	13	11	2	0	26
8	RS1.27	18	13	1	32	111	26	13	13	163	20	10	2	6	38	201	210	53	19	21	303	0	6	0	23	0	0	17	0	2	2	0	8	0	58	17	41	0	0	58
	TOTAL	53	74	8	133	322	90	19	18	449	92	22	3	7	127	493	626	162	44	31	904	0	38	8	80	2	0	45	0	4	12	0	14	2	192	78	123	2	0	203

Appendix 2
Cases of Commission Agents (*'Yan Kamasho*)

Ref no 6880

P.810

KANO MOTOR DRIVERS' UNION OFFICE
36, Sanyaolu Street,
Sabon-Gari, K A N O

16th October 1948

To - THE RESIDENT,
Kano Province,
K A N O.

Thro The DISTRICT OFFICER;
Kano District.

YAN-COMMISSIONS AND TRAFFIC ACTIVITIES.

Sir,

We, the undersigned as representing the entire members of Kano Motor Drivers Union, Kano registered in NIGERIA, have the honour most respectfully to bring our petition to your honour for consideration and necessary action.

A group of swindlers self-styled as Yan-Commissions have so worked themselves between Motor Drivers and passengers that great mis-understanding ensue between Lorry-Owners and their Drivers.
Your honour will be pleased to know that the following are among the difficulties that arise.-

1. They dislocate free travelling arrangements between the native passengers and the Motor Drivers.
2. They therefore charge and collect rates from passengers only to render SHORT-ACCOUNTS to Drivers in charge of lorries. Thereupon, they demand commission on the accounts thus rendered.
3. They charge some passengers for nominally longer distance than real destination as a condition for accommodation.
4. In consequence (a) they create troubles between Drivers and Lorry-Owners respecting accounts which may entail Court procedures.
   (b) to meet up the Drivers' safe estimates for a Start-Off, they generally overload the lorries leading to legal actions. At the same time, they cannot dismiss the poor passengers with their correct money at the Drivers' objection. The Drivers too, inorder to avail themselves another opportunity of loading, risk the overloading.
5. Officials with Travelling Warrants find it difficult to go by private lorries just because the Yan-Commissions cannot steal part of the charges and so reject the Warrants.

Further, your honour will be interested to know the fact that His Highness, the SARIKIN KANO, G.M.G. has stopped them several times and may not know they are yet stubborn.

We therefore solicit your approval that Yan-Commissions and their activities cease to exist in Kano Province forthwith.

We have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your humble Servants,

1. [illegible] ..... President
2. [illegible] ..... Secretary
3. [illegible] ..... Vice President

for Kano Motor Drivers' Union,
K A N O.

AMA.

21

Extd. from Minutes of Waje Council Meeting of 26/8/53

X X X X

Licencing of Yan Commission in Fagge Larry Park.

Mr. T.B.Russel explained that during the meeting of the Emir's Council, on 1st of July this year, the question of Yan Commission was discussed. These Yan Commission are people who arrange passengers for lorry drivers. They are usually paid 2/- in the pound by the drivers.

The A.D.O. said that a lot of criticism has come forward about the control of activities of these poeple, as some seem to be abusing their position. He would like the Council to decide whether these people would be required to take licences. Nine Yan Commission dealers are operating at Kofa Nassarawa.

After the above explanation, the Council appointed Fagge Councillors Alhaji Dan Wawu and Abba Kabo to investigate into this question with the A.D.O. and Wakilin Waje and report next meeting.

X X X X

S.D.O. K.D.

I have enquired into the number and activities of the yan-coma- at K. Nassarawa & Fagge lorry Park and the matter has been discussed in the body and Waje Council.

2. There are 9 operating at K. Nassarawa and 15 at Fagge. I discussed these number with each of "Sarkin Tasha". They did not think them excessive, pointing out that they were as many as 50 lorries per day from each park in the wet season and up to 100 in the groundnut season. The figure

14

No.6880/14.
The Provincial Office,
Kano.
5th December, 1948.

Gentlemen,

b.1

With reference to your petition the answers to your difficulties are as follows :-

If the Yan-Commission dislocate free travelling arrangements and thereby create a breach of the peace they may be prosecuted for so doing. You should all check before you start that (a) your lorry is not overloaded and (b) that each passenger has paid correctly for the journey he is to make. If he has not paid correctly then his money can be returned to him and he can be turned off your lorry. If he refuses you should call a policeman.

2. It is not your business if a passenger has been cheated by a Dan-Commission. The passengers should take the Dan Commission to Court for obtaining money under false pretences.

3. If a Dan Commission tries to prevent a passenger travelling by your lorry and thereby starts an altercation he is liable to prosecution for creating a breach of the peace. Again apply to the nearest policeman.

4. You should approach your transport owners and ask them to make arrangements between you and any Yan-Commission whom they employ as agents so as to avoid trouble.

5. If your lorry is overloaded it is entirely your own responsibility. If your Union instructs all lorry drivers to refuse to overload no-one will suffer from unfair competition.

6. It is under consideration that next year regulations regarding tickets for passengers be made.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your obedient Servant,

PROVINCIAL OFFICE
RECEIVED
6TH DEC 1948
KANO

See p.16

Ag. Resident,
Kano Province.

Kano Motor Drivers' Union,
Hospital Road,
Fagge, Kano.

S.Oki.

A See p. 15 & 15A

Re the petition b.1 was addressed to you. I request you to show.

2. b.10 gives view of S.P.P. & D.C.T. I don't entirely agree with S.P.P.; I think these traders in their infancy require a little guidance & regulation, this only the minimum to assist them to develop on their own on the right lines.

AD 6/1/49

AD. 3.12.48

D.O.K.D.

pp.6-9.

When a Yan Commission accepts full fare for half distance or does any other such act he renders himself amenable to the Criminal Code and he can be prosecuted for obtaining money under false pretences.

2. Again if he objects to a driver checking up on his passengers etc., thereby creating a disturbance of the peace, he is also rendering himself liable to prosecution.

3. The remedy, I suggest, for the state of affairs complained of is for the owners to get together and employ their own agents and instruct their drivers not to take any passengers or goods from any but their own agents. These "Yan Commissions" will then either have to be employed by the owners or go out of business. In either case the owners get what they want. The drivers' case has little substance. A driver cannot ofcourse be compelled to break the law either by an owner or a Yan Commission.

4. Holding as I do the views expressed in paragraph 3 supra I consider no action such as that contemplated by you in page 8 paragraph 4 is necessary. The lorry owners have the remedy in their own hands if they care to apply it and there seems no reason in these circumstances for the Administration to interfere.

Sent To Yan
19.11.48.

W.E. Shirley
SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE,
KANO PROVINCE.
19-11-48.

D.O.K.D.

The Transport Licensing Board legally came into operation on 1 Jan 1948 (P.N. No 4 of 1948), but nothing has yet been done about it. Gov. is only now considering what should be done.

I have been asked to put up suggestions on the conditions to be attached to the grant of licenses as enumerated in Ord. No 42 of 1947.

The Board has wide powers to deal with any abuses which concern Transporters & I intend to put up recommendations accordingly.

I agree with the views expressed by Mr Shirley in his para 4. I should welcome a discussion with you before I submit my final recommendations.

A Hackett
DEPUTY CONTROLLER OF MOTOR TRANSPORT KANO
26/11

5

The following are some of practical reasons why we do not want the services of Yam-Commissions:-

1. The Yam-Commissions so cleverly worked themselves between the Motor-Drivers, Motor-Owners, and the passengers that they dislocate free travelling arrangements between the passengers and the Motor-Drivers.

2. They therefore charge and collect rates from passengers only to render short-accounts to Drivers in charge of lorries. Thereupon, they demand commission on the accounts thus rendered.

3. They charge some passengers for long distances and report shorter distances to the Drivers during accounts. Thereby (1) they swindle some money and (2) start disputes between the drivers and the passengers respecting destimations.

4. They create troubles between Drivers and Lorry-Owners respecting accounts.

5. To meet up the Drivers safe estimate for starting off, they generally overload the lorries leading to legal actions. At the same time, they cannot dismiss the poor passengers with their correct money at the Drivers objection. The Drivers too, inorder to avail themselves another opportunity of loading, risk the overloading.

6. Officials with Travelling Warrants find it difficult to go by private lorries just because the Yam-Commissions cannot steal part of the charges and so reject the Warrants.

7. His Highness, The SARIKIN of KANO, C.M.G., knowing the evils in the train of Yam-Commissions' services, has stopped them three times yet they are stubborn.

8. It is understood that in Lagos area and the Sokoto Provinces, the Yam-Commissions are not allowed by the Authorities to exist.

9. They make our profession horrible and unpopular.

.....

KANO MOTOR DRIVERS' UNION,
Hospital Road,
Fagge, K A N O.

AMA.

Usman
Audu Chikaka } Yam Commissi
Sani

Alkali Fulani
Mr. Blankson } Owners.

1800 Quinn
4310

KANO MOTOR DRIVERS' UNION,
36, Sanyaolu Street,
Sabon-Gari, K A N O

16th October 1948

To THE RESIDENT,
Kano Province,
K A N O

Thro The DISTRICT OFFICER,
Kano District

YAN-COMMISSION AND TRAFFIC ACTIVITIES

Sir,

We, the undersigned as representing the entire members of KANO MOTOR DRIVERS' UNION, K A N O registered in NIGERIA, have the honour most respectfully to bring our petition to your honour for consideration and necessary action.

We, hereby ask that the party of swindlers known as Yan-Commissions be automatically stopped, to avoid growing mis-understanding between the Drivers and the Lorry-Owners.

It is understood that in other Provinces no gang of Yan-Commissions exists. — Grave complaints in Press re these types in Western Provinces SL

We therefore ask on behalf of the Union that this matter be given attention as early as possible.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your humble Servants,

1. Bobo Yaro .....President
2. Alh Anowai .....Secretary
3. D. Lawan .....Vice Resident

for Kano Motor Drivers' Union,
K A N O.

AMA.

D.O.K.D

Pp 1, 2 to be acknowledged.

2. Who and how many are these yan-commission?

T.B.
Und sec.
21.10.48

21-10-48

29

No. 6680/29.

The Provincial Office,
Kano.
25 January, 1954.

The Civil Secretary,
Northern Region,
Kaduna.

Regulations made under the Native Authority Ordinance (Cap. 140).

I attach 5 copies of the draft Kano Native Authority Motor Transport Commission Agents' Rules for His Honour's approval. These rules have been drawn up in an attempt to regulate and control the activities of the "yan commission" and their labourers, about whom there have been widespread public complaints in the areas shown in the schedule.

A-C 12 Vol 8656

PROVINCIAL OFFICE DESPATCHED 30 JAN 1954 KANO

for Resident,
Kano Province.

B. U. 26.2.54

A26K

A

2. Bawa Yankamasho Lasisi don kaiyade yawansu.

Shugaba yayi bayani: Anga yafi kyau a kaiyade yawan yan Kamashon Mota, kuma a shirya a basu Lasisin irin wannana Sana'a tasu, domi wan nan zata hana yawan sace sace a tashoshin motoci na game da kayan fasinja. Idan kuwa aka riga aka kaiyade yawan yankamasho an sami hanyar rage shigar mutane barkatai cikin wannan sana'a.

Wakilin Yamma: Gara a kara yawan guraren tsayuwar motoci.

Mallam Wada: Aka ce wannan maganar daban ce, sai nan gaba ya kawo tawa wannan a kauyuka, domin zai yi anfani. Gara a aika da wannan magana Outer Council don a dinga iri

Mutane duk sun yarda da wannan.

Alhaji Ali: Ko lokacin da za'a rubuta sunan su ko a tambaye su nawa su ke samu akan ko wane mutun?

Mallam Lawan: A'a gara a bari sai anga yadda abin zai zama tukunal

Duka an yarda da wannan shawara.

B.V. 28.2.54

H.O.

60

SDOK

Please discuss with Sarkin Shanu the letter on this page on the subject of the Commission Agents in the Lorry Stations. They are a perfect pest and I think the NA should do its best to bar them. I believe it is perfectly true that, where they get a firm hold, a lorry owner cannot call his lorry his own.

2. Please let me know what Sarkin Shanu thinks and what you propose to do.

Resident,
Kano Province.

11th December, 1956.

A SHIGA TSAKANINMU DA 'YANKAMASHO

Zuwa ga Edita,

Bayan gaisuwa, mu masu motoci na haya, muna so a kai kukanmu ga Maigirma Sarkin Kano ya taimake mu ya hana 'yankamasho cutarmu, ko kuma duk a kore su. Dalili yanzu tsakaninsu da masu motoci cutar ta yi yawa har abin ya zama kamar motocin na su ne.

Misali in an tura mota tasha, kafin direba ya gama zarafinsa sai ya zo ya tarar da motarsa cike da pasinja. In an tambayi pasinja kudi sai su ce sun ba 'yan kamasho. In an tambayi 'yankamasho kudi sai su kasa hudu su dauki kashi daya su zuba a aljihunsu; laga baya kuma su nemi kari a gun direba, bayan cutar da suka yi masa.

To, wannan abu fa ya sha mana kai. Ga shi N.A. ta yi mana abin taimako na farin ciki na gine tashoshi don raba jama'a da zamba da aka yi na 'yan sace-sacen kayan fasinja da 'yaniska suke da kuma cika tashe su hana fasinja sakewa. Ba za mu manta da wannan taimako da N.A. ta yi mana ba, kuma don haka mu ke so Maigirma Sarkin Kano ya dada taimakommu ya raba mu da wadannan macuta.

Alhaji Mai Wadi na Armiya'u.

Soshagi

Committee

Spoke to Shanu. He will get the Lorry Park/ Talking Shop and say what they want. This will give us idea on how to amend the Lorry Park rules & [illegible] Kano NA [illegible] the anti-Yankamasho rules. Kano NA [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] approach.

JCS

to 2 Sparke Acting Solicitor General at Kaduna

[illegible] 11th DECEMBER 1956 [KNLN 1104/1956]

APPENDIX 3

Clash between Kano Hisbah and '*Yan Achaba* over a new Law prohibiting carrying Women

News

Obasanjo charges hospital chairmen on accountability

By Hassan Idris
Senior Reporter

President Olusegun Obasanjo has charged chief executives of tertiary hospitals in Nigeria to make accountability their watch word.

He tasked the chief executives to be prudent in the management of public facilities, saying "it is essential that we imbibe the culture of accountability, transparency, due process, fair competition, social justice, and prudent management of scarce resources."

The president said the rehabilitation carried out at the Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital (ABUTH), Zaria and the University College Hospital (UCH), Ibadan, underscore the fact that Nigeria, can attain levels of excellence if there is commitment, focus, and leadership.

He commended the technical experts, stressing that looking at the quality of work and the equipment supplied to the two teaching hospitals commissioned thus far, we can say that the project is a success.

"They have delivered the state-of-the-art equipment comparable to those in developed countries of the world, and implored the chief executives to use the facilities with utmost professionalism and imbibe a regular maintenance culture, pointing out that, "you are to train and retain your staff in biomedical services and in the overall management of the equipment."

He maintained that medical audit is a universal quality control mechanism and a quality assurance tool for measuring different systems such as medical personnel audit, equipment audit, laboratory audit, store audit, treatment audit and information technology (IT) audit.

"Accountability cannot be achieved without underscoring the importance of periodic and systematic financial auditing within the year and at the end of every financial year.

Speaking earlier the minister of health, Professor Eyitayo Lambo informed the chief executives that budgetary allocations had been made and approved for each hospital assuring that implementation will also be done systematically.



A cross section of participants during the presidential forum on Aviation held at the Banquet Hall of the State House, Abuja... yesterday.
Pix: Joe Oroye

Governor accuses officials of disclosing govt secrets

From Isa Umar Gusau,
Correspondent Damaturu

Governor Bukar Abba Ibrahim of Yobe state has accused top government officials among other public office holders in the state of freely disclosing government secrets saying that such was against their oaths of office.

Governor Ibrahim was speaking at a meeting with commissioners, heads of Boards and Parastatals and senior public officials in Damaturu yesterday.

The Yobe chief executive accused the officials of peddling official information without restraint noting that in some cases the information is often distorted pointing out that many examples abound in the state.

Government secrets, mostly in distorted forms he said are freely peddled in unexpected places. "In any case the issues are well known to all of us gathered here" governor Ibrahim declared.

He noted that it is common for all establishments, whether private or public to have classified information that should not be made public, and as such the case of Yobe should not be seen as an exception.

Governor Ibrahim stated that it was unfortunate that in some cases vital government policies and decisions were made public through disclosure of secrets by officials even before the government makes them public through appropriate channels.

The Yobe governor tasked the government officials to desist from attitudes that undermine government activities or alternatively take that exit voluntarily.

Meanwhile, a source close to the Yobe government has hinted *Daily Trust* that the governor's ulterances regarding the disclosure of secrets may be connected with some series of publications by a recently established newspaper, owned by a citizen of the state, who has allegedly fallen out with the state, and has since engaged in "revealing scandals about the state government.

The source said that the series of publications by the newspaper "which are basically negative information" have became sources of concern to governor Bukar Abba Ibrahim.

"When secrets or [illegible] to your knowledge they are supposed to be your own personal preserve and must be treated as privileged information. Unfortunately, in most cases, the opposite happens. Government secrets, mostly in distorted forms are freely peddled in all unexpected places. One can go on and on giving many similar examples. In any case the issues are well known to all of us gathered here" declared.

Series of publications and interviews by critiques of the Yobe government have accused governor Bukar Abba Ibrahim of flexible grip [illegible] especially "lack of control over public office holders" one of the publications had stated.

Kano Hisbah, Achaba riders over new law

From Ahmad Abubakar
Correspondent, Kano

Dozens of angry motorcycle riders popularly known as *'Achaba'* yesterday engaged members of the Kano state *Hisbah* guards in a free for all fight over the recent introduction of the law prohibiting conveyance of females on motorcycles throughout the state.

The motorcyclists numbering hundreds together with some hoodlums took to the streets of the state armed with sticks, chanting slogans while having missiles at the unarmed *Hisbah* guards. The *Hisbah* guards were on duty to enforce the new law in the streets of the state.

Eye witnesses told *Daily Trust* that the incident began when *Hisbah* guards in an effort to enforce the new law insisted that motorcycle owners conveying women must drop them.

However, some youth suspected to be hoodlums joined the guards under pretext of assisting to enforce the law. The situation reportedly degenerated into a fight.

Also a similar incident occurred around Tarauni junction in the state involving *Hisbah* guards and 'Achaba' riders which resulted in the destruction of many *"A Daidai ta Sahu"* vehicles owned by the state government by the irrate motorcyclists.

An eye witness also told *Daily Trust* how another incident started at the Gidan Murtala roundabout when some hisbah guards attempted to force down a woman from a motorcycle despite pleas by the rider that the woman was his wife.

According the an eye witness it was at this point that some 'Achaba' riders began to engage the hisbah men in physcial combat that left some of the defenceless hisbah members wounded.

Another person at the scene of the incident told our correspondent that he admired the calmness with which the hisbah men went about the whole situation," he said, the hisbah need to be commended for putting up a brave resistance despite being out numbered.

Also at the scene an angry 'Achaba' rider complained that the law is inappropriate in a diverse society. "The law should [illegible] well for the people of the state," he argued. When contacted the state Hisbah Director General, Ustaz Yahaya Farouk Chedi confirmed the incidents but insisted that the Hisbah did not begin the implementation of the new law without the consent of the officials of the Achaba riders in the state.

Chedi also denied that the situation as a result of an attempt to enforce the law saying the Hisbah were well trained on ways of approach and were not given the directive to force anyone to comply with the laws."

He said given the circumstances of the situation he has directed all hisbah officials to withdraw their personnel from any area likely to stir up trouble for other areas with less problems.

He also solicited the support of the state police force to help them to enforce the new law while saying with time the people of the state will get used to it.

It would be recalled that the state government through the Hisbah command had promulgated a new law that prohibits conveyance of women on motorcycles in the state [illegible] motorcyclist.

AKWENGWU COMMUNITY BANK (NIG.) LTD

RC-228251
No. 01/0229, Idanuba Quarters,
Ogaminana, Adavi L.G.A
P.M.B. 1064, Okene, Kogi State.
Tel: 058-500266

POSTPONEMENT OF 11TH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The Shareholders and general public are hereby notified that the proposed 11th Annual Meeting of **AKWENGWU COMMUNITY BANK (NIG) LTD,** Ogaminana, Kogi State earlier scheduled to hold on Saturday 17th December, 2005 is hereby postponed indefinitely due to unforeseen circumstances.

A new date for the Annual General Meeting will be communicated in due course.

We regret the inconveniences caused by this postponement.

Dated this 10th day of December, 2005

BY ORDER OF THE BOARD.

Signed:
Board of Directors

NEWS

FG grounds Chanchangi

Contd. on P2

safety.

He pointed out that as part of the measures, federal government will now put classification and method of inspection through IATA before the end of January 2006, while all aircraft belonging to the two airline companies will remain grounded until they acquire new clearance from the classification committee.

To ensure integrity of the inspection, two ICAD officials have been seconded to Nigeria to join a team of Nigerian inspectors, while a committee headed by AVM Paul Dike has been set up with a special task force to carry out all supply, maintenance and repairs of all the airports facilities in the country.

Similarly, he added, the federal government has resolved to start special checks on all the aircraft operating the domestic airspace and constituting of a special task force to raise Nigeria's airports to international standard.

However, some of the stakeholders who attended the forum expressed dismay with the decision of the federal government to ground the two airlines, describing the action as politically motivated, and expressed surprised that Bellview Airlines was not included.

"Look, before the unfortunate incident happened, Bellview aircraft also suffered the same problem. But because the operators of Chachangi and Sosoliso came from the North and East they were grounded, living Bellview which is based in South-West unpunished," one Nigerian citizen said.

Responding on the accusation, the Special Assistant to President on Public Matters, Chief Fani Kayode debunked the allegation, insisting that the decision was taken to ensure safety of lives and properties.

He said government received a letter from the Office of the Secretary to the Government of the Federation concerning the bad condition of the two airlines dating back to December 13, 2004 but only yesterday President Obasanjo saw it as no any action was taken on the matter by former aviation administration.

According to him, government did not take the decision considering from where the operator of the airline came, or his tribe but was only concerned about the fate of Nigerians, assuring that government is waiting for a report on Bellview.

Chief Kayode explained that when the report came out, instant action will be taken by the president.

Contd. from P1

Kano, Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero with a capacity of providing 20,000,000 litres daily.

The governor further explained that with population explosion in the state, the demand for potable water increased thus warranting additional sources of the water which resulted in the construction of two additional ones between 1970 and 1974 as well as between 1984 and 1992 respectively.

The governor, however, said out of the contract sum, a total of N3.8 billion has been paid to the contracting firm Peterson Candy International as part payment.

Malam Shekarau who spoke at length on the effort of his administration to have steady supply of water in the state. He said about N832,885,000 was expended on the purchase of alum while287 hand pumps were provided at the cost of N600,000,000.

Other efforts, according to the governor, included the replacement of pipes within the metropolitan area at the cost of N532,000,000 while three water distillation machines were purchased at N177,000,000.

Governor Shekarau further said the sum of N144,349,600 was expended on rehabilitation of five dams, while four smaller water distribution centres were constructed at Dambatta, Takai, Shanono, Kachako and Kura at the sum of N177,000,000.

On his part, the commissioner of water resources, Alhaji Salihu Sagir Takai, said the project is supposed to be constructed some 30 years back but only to be realised during the present administration.

Alhaji Takai said all arrangements have been concluded with a British firm to commence works at Wudil regional water works.

Also speaking, the Emir of Kano, Alhaji (Dr.) Ado Bayero represented by Wamban Kano, Alhaji Abbas Sanusi, said the emirate council would continue to identify with the progressive ideology of Malam Ibrahim Shekarau.

The emir then called on the government to pay more attention on priority projects that can better the lives of the citizenry.

In his welcome address, the Dawakin Kudu local government council chairman, Alhaji Sani Adamu, called on the state government to speed up the construction work at the proposed factory in Dawakiji and Gano areas.

Steadily, water

Safety valves against election fraud:

Khaleel proffers Buhari's formular

By MUH'D HAMISU ABDULLAHI

NIGERIANS have been advised to always emulate Kano politics by applying the theory of the 2003 presidential flagbearer of All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), General Muhammadu Buhari of "cast and guide your votes."

The president of the Nigeria Union of Local Government Employees (NULGE), Kano state chapter, Comrade Ibrahim Khaleel gave the advice at the on-going 26th Kano International Trade Fair while speaking to *Daily Triumph*.

"That was what happened in Kano in 2003 and that was why we were able to elect leaders of our choice. With all the pressures, money spread around, intimidation by secutiry personnel and so on, Kano people resisted being cowed in 2003 elections," Comrade Khaleel stated.

He therefore emphasised that all Nigerians in all the wards and states of the federation should please use this theory of General Muhammadu Buhari in order to do away with bad leaders come 2007.

As he acknowledged poor turn up at the fair, the NULGE president blamed the factor on the Nigerian society which he said is suffering from poor governance, insecurity, economic hardship and other factors.

He stressed that the only answer to this problem is for all Nigerians to use their power in 2007 to elect good leaders whom they will have confidence in.

Unless we have good leaders and good governance, he said, Nigeria will not be out of this mess.

On the fair, he said, it looked more of a local, talkless of a national or international one because of the poor turn up. Noting lack of presence of states at the fair, he said only Kano state and its local governments are participating along with few trading companies, and wondered why not even the manufacturing firms are participating.

According to him when a trade fair is called international, the expectation is that it has to be fully participated across the world.

Alhaji Khaleel, however, commended the efforts of the organisers of the fair, reiterating that participation in the Kano fair was even better than the recently concluded Abuja Expo-NIPREX fair.

Court dismisses motion

Contd. from P1

rules of the court and Section 308 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 protects certain public officers against criminal or civil action while Section 36 of the constitution allows everybody the right of hearing in any matter.

Barrister Olatunji faulted some paragraphs in the affidavit sworn to in support of the application of the defendants, describing them as arguments, legal conclusions and extraneous facts which offend Sections 87, 88 and 89 of the Evidence Act.

In his ruling, Justice Abu Aboki, presiding Kano High Court No3, said Section 308(i)(a)(c) and Section 308(3) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria do not contemplate a situation where such persons mentioned can institute a civil action for the determination of their civil rights.

He said it is reasonable for the court to entertain, hear and continue to hear and determine the substantive suit as the provision of Section 308 of the constitution is not applicable in the present case before him.

Justice Aboki who reviewed all the arguments and submissions of both the plaintiff and defence counsel, revisited decided cases by Courts of Appeal and the Supreme Court and quoted several authorities, ruled that it is a cardinal rule of interpretation of statutes that words should be given their ordinary and natural meaning and the importation of extraneous matters into the constitution in prohibited.

The judge dismissed the application with N500 million costs against the *Sun* newspapers and the four other defendants after describing it as frivolous and deliberate attempt to prevent the case from moving forward.

Justice Aboki fixed the December 28 and 29, this year for continuation of hearing of the case during which counsel to the defendants will continue cross-examining the third and last witness of the plaintiff.

In the substantive suit, the deputy governor had sued the *Sun* Publishing Company Limited (publishers of the Sun newspapers) and four others for a libellous and defamatory story published in the December 23, 2003 edition of the newspaper.

Anti-male/female physical contact:

Hisbah guards foil attempt by miscreants to cause chaos

By USMAN GWADABE

ATTEMPTS by some miscreants to forment trouble was yesterday foiled as members of the Hisbah guards embarked on an operation to prevent the physical contact of males and females in commercial buses and taxis as well as riding on motorbikes commonly known among commuters as *Achaba*.

Daily Triumph reporter who went round the metropolis gathered that the operation which is jointly being undertaken by members of the Amalgamated Commercial Motorcycle Association of Nigeria (ACCOMORAN) and Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC).

However, as the operation started successfully in most parts of the city, some disgruntled elements among the commercial motorcyclists used their motorbikes to block the road, thereby preventing traffic flow for some time until the police drove them away.

Speaking to our reporter, Assistant Commandant, General Services of the state Hisbah Board, Alhaji Sammani Sunusi Salga said the operation will continue in line with the state government's guidelines.

He said the exercise would only be conducted in the metropolitan area and it will last for about a week with a view to ensuring strict compliance with the Sharia which prohibits the mingling of males and females.

He, however, dismissed the rumour making the rounds that there has been misunderstanding between Hisbah personnel and the *Achaba*, men pointing out that people who are hell bent on bringing chaos must be behind it.

When contacted, chairman of ACCOMORAN, Malam Bello Ya'u appealed to members of the association to desist from carrying females on their motorbikes, an act which he said contradicted the teachings of Islam.

He assured that the association would do everything possible to ensure that their rights and freedom are protected in line with the rules and regulations establishing the association.

Head of operations of the Federal Road Safety Commission, Kano sector command, B.T. Balal maintained that the command is in support of any programme that would sanitise and improve the transport sector provided it does not contradict the constitution.

Daily Triumph gathered that the operation which is expected to be supervised by commissioners and special advisers however, had only one adviser who reported to the Hisbah board's headquarters for the assignment.

EFCC denies

Contd. from P1

in clear terms that there was no plea bargaining agreement between EFCC and Balogun and certainly none that covers the matter before Mr. Justice Salisu Garba," it added

The commission noted that Balogun and his companies were convicted for obstruction of justice and money laundering and the former IGP was sentenced to a jail term and made to forfeit assets and monies totalling N16 billion.

The statement added that the onus was on the EFCC to prove that Balogun embezzled millions of naira belonging to the police, saying that the commission intended to do just that.

"EFCC has not withdrawn the suit before Garba and has no intention of doing so," it added.

'FG releases

Contd. from P1

Prof. Tahir further said the federal government had resolved to provide N10 million to each state to improve their special education centres set up to provide education to disabled people.

He expressed satisfaction with the success recorded under UBE, adding that the federal government is committed to ensuring the continued success of the scheme.

He said officials of UBE would monitor school projects executed by states to ensure that they justify what they collected.

CHANGE OF NAME

I, formerly called IBRAHIM ABDULRAHMAN, now wish to be called **LAWAN UMAR ALIYU.** Former documents remain valid. Fagge Local Education Authority and public to note.

I, formerly known as MISS BUSHIRA SUNUSI, now wish to be called as **MRS. BUSHIRA IBRAHIM AHMED.** Former documents remain valid. Bayero University Kano, N.Y.S.C. directorate and public to note.

I, formerly called SALE UBALE, now wish to be called **AHMED DATTI.** Former documents remain valid. Wudil Local Government Education Authority and public to note.

LEGAL NOTICE

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE, PROBATE SECTION KANO

WHEREAS the persons whose names are set out in the first column hereunder died intestated on the dates set in the specified places in the said column.

AND WHEREAS the parents whose names and addresses appear below in the second column hereunder called the claimants) duly renounced to the deceased persons named opposite to the first column and have applied to High Court of Justice Kano State for the grant of Letters of Administration of the estate of the said deceased.

NOW THEREFORE NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, That letters of administration will be granted to the claimants UNLESS A CAVIAT IN OPPOSITION to the grant is filed in the probate Registry, High Court of Justice, Kano State within TWENTY ONE (21) DAYS of the publication of this notice.

DECEASED	APPLICATION FOR THE GRANT
JOHN OLUFEMI Late of Min. of Works, Kano died on 23-Jan.-2004 at U.T.H. Ibadan.	**MICHEAL OLUFEMI** of No. 117 Ring Road, Ibadan the proposed administrator of the said deceased.
MR. CHARLES OGWAMANAM Late of No. 134, Katsina Road died on 25-9- 2005 at Aladinma Hosp. Owerri.	**MR. GEOGE OGU** of 134, Katsina Road Kano the proposed administrator of the said deceased.
TSOHO ABDULMUMINI DANJA Late of Na'ibawa Qtrs died on 18-11- 2004 at Home.	**DANJA TSOHO ABDULMUMINI** of Na'ibawa Qtrs, Kano the proposed administrator of the said deceased.

DATED THIS 13TH DAY OFDECEMBER, 2005.
SGD: *(LAWAN WADA MAHMOUD)*
PROBATE REGISTRAR

THE PROBATE REGISTRAR,
HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE KANO

Female commuters law:

Hisbah begins operation

Stories by IBRAHIM A. MUHAMAMD

KANO state Hsbah board has yesterday commenced operations against motorcyclists carrying female passengers; Commander general of the state Hisbah board Ustaz Yahaya Farouk Chedi has revealed while briefing newsmen at the board headquarters.

He said carrying females passengers and over loading on motorcycles is going against the law.

He said the operation will enlighten people about the offence of carrying females on motorcycle before effecting the penalty.

He said that the aim of the operation is to sanitise people to avoid mingling between males and females in buses and motorcycles.

According to him in line with Sharia legal system adopted by Kano state government, Hisbah guards will come out on the main roads in the state to operate.

He said that the state government had already provided Tricycles and buses for the females to avoid mingling of male and female.

He also said that Hisbah commence taking action against female who wear indecent dresses.

He therefore called the attention of all Muslims to report any members of the Hisbah who goes against the Hisbah board laws, for necessary action.

Gwagwarwa old boys celebrate 50th anniversary

GWAGWARWA primary school Old Pupils Association (GWAPOPA) has celebrated its 50 years anniversary with appeal fund raising on Sunday at the premises of the school in Nassarawa local government area, Kano state.

In his speech, the Nasssarawa local government chairman Alhaji Nasiru Yusuf Gawuna has assured of his local government effort to help in boosting education in the area.

He promised that his administration will look into the possibility of renovating the schools.

Also contributing the representative of Nassarawa in Kano state House of Assembly, Alhaji Sani Baban Kowa, called the attention of wealthy individuals to help in boosting education, saying that government alone cannot solve the problems of education.

He said, government has built three junior girls Schools in some parts of Nassarawa, as such Gwagwarwa primary school will be renovated with more classes.

In his remark the national chairman of principals Association, Alhaji Adamu Turaki, said primary education is the backbone of any development.

He said the deterioration of primary education started when UBE programme took place in 1975.

He therefore appealed to the people to contribute at the fund raising.

Those who contributed include engineer Isyaku Jibrin who donated two sets of computers and promised to provide water tank, and drilling boreholes in the school compound.

Others include M.D. Kasko N20,000 senator Rufa'I Sani Hanga N50,000 Dr. Mustapha Aliyu Tsanyawa N20,000 and Alhaji Nuraddeen Lawan N20,000.

On his part, one of the old pupils of the school, who is that social community councillor in Nassarawa local government council, Alhaji Nuradden Lawan said he is proud of the school, as such he



Alh. Abdullahi M. Dutse Kano SUBEB Chairman

...Hailed for supporting communal efforts

KANO state government has been commended for it contribution to the self-help oriented associations in the state.

This was disclosed by the chairman central working committee on self-help groups, Alhaji Yusuf Tukur Tarauni, when he paid congratulatory visit to the newly appointed commissioner II, Kano state electoral commissioner, KANSIEC in his office.

Alhaji Tarauni said that the appointment of Alhaji Bala Muhammad Dambatta attracted commendation from all due to his dedication, handwork, and honesty.

The chairman further said that they were in the office to congratulate him, over the new appointment.

He also commended the state governor Malam Ibrahim Shekarau, over his foresight towards appointing commit people of high integrity in his cabinet.

He then assured Alhaji Bala Muhamamd Dambatta of support and cooperation of the associations and prayed to Almighty Allah to guide him to attain success in the new

Responding, the new commissioner II of the KANSIEC, Alhaji Bala Muhammad Dambatta, expressed appreciation to the members of central working committee hoping that they would keep it up.

He then commended the present administration under the leadership of Malam Ibrahim Shekarau, towards bringing peace and stability in the state.

Gani assures support to youth empowerment

SPEAKER of Kano state House of Assembly Alhaji Sa'idu Balarabe Gani has said that, the state House of assembly will do its best towads the development of the youth in the state.

A member of the state house of assembly representing Doguwa stated this at the graduation of 150 youth indigenes of Ungogo,who were trained on tailoring, carpentry, sewing, welding and shoes making organised by the Ungogo local government council.

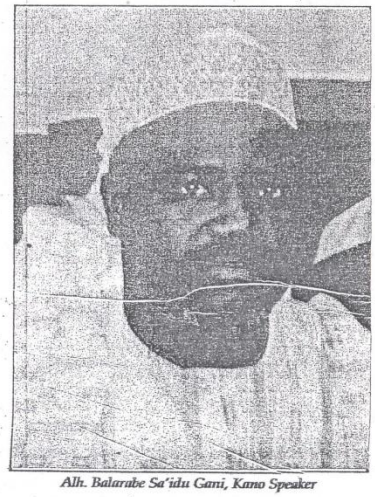
The speaker said that youth empowerment is like to build a virile society, adding that they should do well, concentrate to learn well to be self reliant and to be useful to their respective societies.

In his speech the chairman Ungogo government council, Alhaji Muhamamd D. Muhammad said that the programme is to teach 150 youth in the duration of three months with some allowances from both the local council and the state government.

He assured that his council would secure N10,000 assistance to each of the 75 youth who have been sponsored by state government to learn different types of crafts.

In his response, the representative of Ungogo in the state House of Assembly Alhaji Lawan Adaraye said that the programme is in line with state government's policy of human development.

Among the prominent persons who graced the occasion were representative of Kumbotso in the state house of assembly and representative of emir of Kano, district head of Ungogo, Magajin Malam Alhaji Abdulkadir, secretary of the local government, and many others.

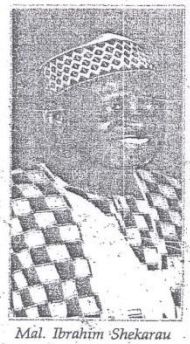


Alh. Balarabe Sa'idu Gani, Kano Speaker

Hajj seminar:

KNSG's effort commended

KANO state government under the leadership of Malam Ibrahim Shekarau has been commended for supporting and organising seminars for intending pilgrims from Gezawa, Minjibir and Gabasawa local government areas at Gezawa town hall.



Mal. Ibrahim Shekarau Kano Governor

The commendation was made on behalf of the three local government pilgrims welfare officers, by the Gezawa pilgrims welfare officer Alhaji Ibrahim Uba Gezawa.

Alhaji Ibrahim Uba Gezawa also commended Islamic scholars for preaching to the intending pilgrims on how to perform the religious duties effectively.

He said the preaching assisted them a lot to understand how to perform the hajj.

The pilgrim welfare officer also extended the same to of Gezawa Minjibir and Gabasawa local government Chaimen for their support to the seminar.

He then called on the pilgrims to be good ambassadors of their respective local governments, state and the country as a whole.

Appendix 4
Attack on the Emir of Kano, a masterminding factor for the banning of Achaba

B U K LIBRARY
SERIAL SECTION

B U K LIBRARY

Sunday Trust Investigation...

Obasanjo to PDP: I've No Regrets Over My Actions

Page 5

Bamanga Faces Tough Future

Pages 7, 8, 9, & 14



SUNDAY TRUST

Sunday, January 20, 2013 / Rabi'ul Awwal 8, 1434 A.H | TRUST IS A BURDEN | www.sundaytrust.com.ng | Vol.7 No.30 N200

Gunmen Attack Emir of Kano

Driver, 2 Bodyguards, 3 Others Killed

Sons Injured

From Lawan Danjuma Adamu, Kano

Gunmen yesterday attacked the convoy of the Emir of Kano, Alhaji Ado Bayero, near Murtala Mohammed Mosque at Hausawa quarters in Kano metropolis, killing his driver, orderly and a palace guard. But the respected traditional ruler escaped unhurt, said government officials.

The gunmen also killed an Interim Management Officer (IMO), Alhaji Salisu Abdullahi Kura, his driver and two other persons. The attack was launched few minutes past noon in the neighbourhood.

Two of the emir's sons, Ciroman Kano Alhaji Sanusi Ado Bayero and Turakin Kano Alhaji Nasiru Ado Bayero, who were on the convoy, also sustained gunshot injuries in the hand and leg, respectively.

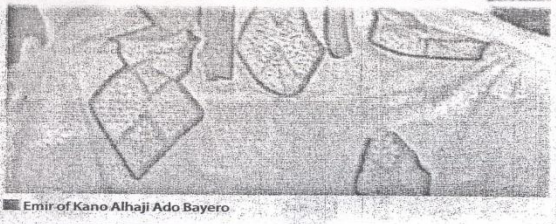
Also in the attack about 12 other persons, including senior palace guards, like Babban Zagin Sarkin Kano were admitted at the Aminu Kano Teaching Hospital (AKTH) and Murtala Mohammed Specialist Hospital, with various degrees of injuries.

Yesterday's attack was carried out less than 24 hours before the one year anniversary of a coordinated bomb attacks by *Boko Haram* in Kano on January 20, 2012 which left over 180 persons dead. No group, however, had claimed responsibility for Saturday's attack.

The failed attempt on the life of the 83-year-old monarch is coming on the heels of preparations to celebrate his 50th anniversary on the throne as the 13th Emir of the Fulani dynasty, billed for October 13.

Contd. on page 4





Emir of Kano Alhaji Ado Bayero



Emir of Kano's Rolls Royce Silver Shadow after the attack yesterday

2 MALI-BOUND SOLDIERS KILLED AT OKENE

Page 5

SUNDAY TRUST
Sunday, January 20, 2013

REACTION

Tambuwal describes attack inhuman

The Speaker of the House of Representatives, Hon Aminu Waziri Tambuwal has condemned the attack on the Emir of Kano describing it as callous and inhumane.

He said from all indication, it was meant to shatter the resolve of peace-loving persons in the federation.

In a statement signed by his Special Adviser on Media and Public Affairs, Malam Imam Imam, Tambuwal said the Emir, one of the most respected traditional rulers in the country, is a man of peace whose words and actions have promoted peaceful coexistence among people of diverse backgrounds in Kano State and beyond.

He said the attack, coming at a time when security agencies had made considerable gains in their fight against terrorists, especially in the Northern part of the country, should be fully investigated and all those involved in the act should be brought to justice.

While condoling with the families of those who lost their lives in the incident, Tambuwal urged all Nigerians to embrace peace and allow peace to reign where ever they may be.

He reiterated the commitment of the House of Representatives to work with other arms of government and all interest groups and persons to find lasting peace in the country.

Yuguda says it's barbaric

From Ahmed Mohammed, Bauchi

Bauchi State Governor Malam Isa Yuguda in a statement signed by his Chief Press Secretary, Mr Ishola Michael Adeyemi said the attack on the Emir of Kano is barbaric and most unfortunate, considering the Emir's efforts towards achieving lasting peace in the country.

Yuguda said, "I received the sad news with shock, wondering why someone will want to take the life of another person, particularly one of the leading royal fathers [illegible] deeply committed to peace and peaceful coexistence."

The governor, while sympathising with the immediate royal family over the unfortunate incident, also condoled the families of those who lost their lives defending the emir, saying, "They died in active service, laying down their lives for the emir, and may Allah grant the departed *aljannatul firdaus* and their families the fortitude to bear the irreparable loss."

He sympathised with the government and people of Kano State praying to Allah to avert future occurrence just as he wished the royal father quick recovery from the shock and trauma the attempt might have caused him.

The governor appealed to well-meaning Nigerians to [illegible] because, according to him, "These criminals live among us, we must expose them so that their criminal activities will be stopped for peace to return to Nigeria.



The bullet-ridden SUV of one of the Emir's children

It's rude shock -*ACF*

From Ismail Mudashir, Kaduna

Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF) has, in a statement by tits National Publicity Officer, Mr Anthony Sani, said the forum received the news of the attack on the emir's convoy with "a rude shock because the emir, as a custodian of traditional values and culture that inspire peaceful coexistence, harmony and stability, should not reasonably be the target for attacks by any right thinking person or group.

"The attacks are, therefore, condemnable because they were uncalled for. Consequently, ACF condemns the attacks with all sense of seriousness and concern because violence can never address perceived grievances, however strong we feel about them," the forum added.

ATTACKS ON TRADITIONAL RULERS

1. Friday, July 13, 2012: Suicide bomber targeted the Shehu of Borno, Alhaji Abubakar Umar Garbai el-Kanemi and the state deputy governor, Zanna Mustafa, after Friday prayers outside the Shehu's palace, killing 10 and wounding others, including soldiers.
2. Friday, August 3, 2012: Suicide bomber targeted Emir of Fika Alhaji Mohammed Abali Ibn [illegible] few metres from his palace, injuring six people including three civilians, the emir's police orderly and two other policemen. The suicide bomber died in the incident.

THOSE KILLED

1. Kabiru Shu'aibu (Emir's driver)
2. Ado Bala (orderly)
3. Ahmadu Dogari (Personal guard)
4. Alhaji Salisu Abdullahi Kura (Interim Officer of Kumbotso LG)
5. And 2 others

EMIR'S SON INJURED

1. Ciroman Kano, Alhaji Sanusi Ado [illegible]
2. Turakin Kano, Alhaji Nasiru Ado Bayero

Gunmen attack Emir of Kano

Contd. from page 1

Alhaji Ado Bayero was crowned the Emir of Kano in 1963, following the demise of his uncle, Emir of Kano Muhammadu Inuwa.

Attempts had been made on the life of the monarch in the past, but yesterday's assault was the first in which armed men had targeted him and killed his personal aides.

In July last year, a suicide bomber attempted to kill the Shehu of Borno, Alhaji Umar Garbai el-Kanemi, another key Islamic leader, outside his mosque after Friday prayers. The bomber and some security agents were killed in the attack.

Similarly, in August last year the Emir of Fika, Alhaji Mohammed Abali Ibn Muhammadu Idrissa, escaped being killed by a suicide bomber some metres away from his palace after Friday prayers. The Jama'atu Ahlis Sunnah Lidda'awati Wal Jihad, also known as Boko Haram Boko Haram, claimed responsibility for the attack.

Saturday's attack on Bayero happened when the highly revered monarch was leaving the venue of a Qur'anic graduation ceremony in Hausawa shortly after 12pm.

Sunday Trust learnt that the convoy was filing out of the area, when it came under attack from over a dozen gunmen.

The assailants, who had been lurking around the area, reportedly rained bullets on the monarch's car as it drove along Kwanar Yandusa Street in the area, killing his driver Kabiru Shu'aibu, orderly Ado Bala and a personal guard Ahmadu Dogari. The glasses of the emir's vehicle were shattered in the attack.

Eyewitnesses said the attackers, who had laid ambush on the motorcade, fired several shots on the emir's vehicle, which demobilized it. It was also learnt that even after it was grounded to a halt, the gunmen continued to shoot at the occupants.

They were said to have left the scene after realising that the occupants had all slumped. But *Sunday Trust* was told by a palace official that the emir's orderly, who was killed in the attack, shielded the monarch from the bullets.

Witnesses said after the attackers were gone, the remains of the slain guard had to be removed before the monarch could come out of the car.

The attackers also riddled the Sports Utility Vehicle (SVU) conveying Bayero's son, Alhaji Nasiru, with bullets, injuring him in the leg.

However, Alhaji Abdullahi and his driver were shot dead as they tried to escape the attack, while a third person was killed nearby, residents said.

Sources close to him, said the IMO was driving ahead of the emir's car with the Chief Imam of Murtala Mohammed mosque, when the monarch came under attack, causing his driver to divert to a nearby Ribadu Road.

Just as they diverted, another group of gunmen sprayed their vehicle with bullets and killed the Imo and his driver. The Chief Imam, however, escaped unhurt.

Men of the Joint Task Force and police took over the scene of the attack. Hours later, men of the Kano State Road Traffic Agency (KAROTA) were seen removing the emir's vehicle and that of his son from the area.

The attack had caused fears among residents of Kano State, forcing businesses to close down earlier than usual, just as people and vehicular movements reduced significantly.

Also, funeral prayers were conducted for two of the emir's staff that were killed by the gunmen.

Earlier, Kano State Governor Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso, led other members of the state executive council, including his deputy, Abdullahi Umar Ganduje, commissioners and special advisers to the emir's palace to commiserate with the monarch over the incident.

Also at the palace was the Speaker of the state House of Assembly, Hon. Gambo Sallau and other state lawmakers. *Sunday Trust* also learnt that Ganduje later led the delegation to Kura Local Government for the burial of the Alhaji Abdullahi.

Meanwhile, Governor Kwankwaso had described the attack as 'sad and condemnable,' according to a statement by his assistant on media, Jaafar Jaafar.

The statement said the governor made the remarks while addressing newsmen after paying a sympathy visit to "the Emir of Kano Alhaji Ado Bayero over attack on his convoy, which led to the death of three palace guards."

He expressed gratitude to God for the emir's escape, it said, adding, "Governor Kwankwaso described the incident as both unfortunate and condemnable."

"I've just met the emir in good condition and I sympathized with him over the loss of three of his staff. We discussed at length over the issue. We thank the Almighty Allah that the emir is unhurt," said the statement.

"While praying for the repose of the souls of the slain guards, the governor wished others who sustained various degrees of injuries during the attack quick recovery."

Also, while confirming the attack, spokesperson of the Joint Task Force in Kano (JTF), Captain Ikedichi Iweha, said the emir came out of the attack "hale and hearty," adding that investigations had already been launched.

"As I'm talking to you, operations and investigations are going on and there is progress. We will provide details as soon as we complete what we are doing," he said.

Appendix 5
Banning of *Achaba*

B U K LIBRARY
SERIAL SECTION

DAILY TRUST

Wednesday, January 23, 2013 / Rabi'ul Awwal 11, 1434 A.H TRUST IS A BURDEN www.dailytrust.com.ng Vol. 31 No. 33 N150

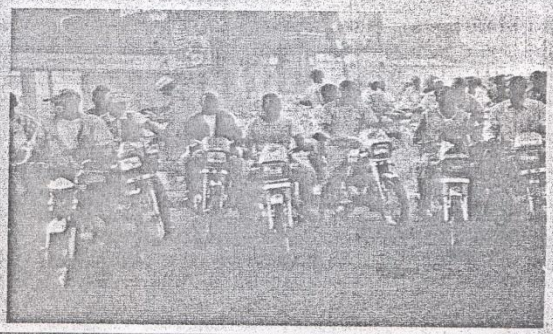
Trust Annual Dialogue holds today

Details inside, plus special commemorative pull-out >>>



Kano suspends Achaba

- Private bikes banned from taking passengers
- Over a million bike taxis affected — Union



From Lawan Danjuma Adamau, Nazifi Dawud Khalid, Lubabatu I. Garba & Haruna Gimba Yaya, Kano

Commercial motorcyclists locally known as Achaba have been banned from operating in Kano city and environs until they go through a registration process instituted by the state government.

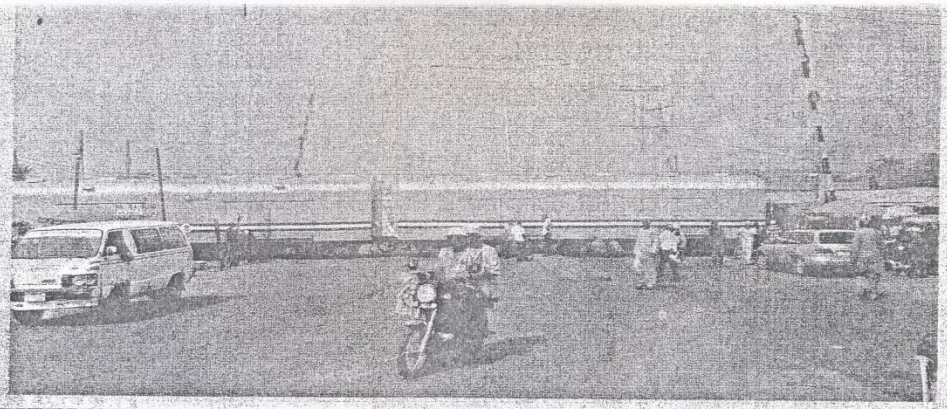
Also, private bikes have been stopped from taking passengers until they register their motorcycles with their local government authorities.

Acting governor Abdullahi Umar Ganduje, who announced this in Kano yesterday, said the decision was taken based on recommendations by security

Continued on Page 6

Gunmen kill 18 hunters in Borno Pg. 7

'ROAD BLOCK'



A train which developed a fault blocked the ever-busy Post Office road in Ilorin, leading to diversion of vehicles and creating heavy traffic snarl in the area yesterday.

PHOTO Abdullateef Aliyu

8 news

Reps to FG: Dialogue with Boko Haram

news 6

'We never asked for FG's N20bn ports contract'

DAILY TRUST
Wednesday, January 23, 2013

'Shettima, Yari have no plans to defect to PDP'

By Suleiman M. Bisalla, Abuja & Shehu Umar, Gusau

Borno State Governor Kashim Shettima and his Zamfara State counterpart Abdulaziz Yari have denied media reports linking them with plans to defect to the Peoples Democratic Party ahead of 2015 elections.

In separate reactions to media reports yesterday that said the two governors were being pulled by their political 'godfathers,' Shettima and Yari said through their aides that they have no intension of leaving the All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP).

Isa Umar Gusau, spokesman for the Borno State Governor, described the reports as an attempt to distract the governor's attention from his efforts to bring peace to the state.

"Governor Kashim Shettima is primarily focused on two things only for now. First, he is working day and night, seeking ways to end the security challenges in Borno State.

"The governor's other focus is supervising ongoing public projects and programmes as well as initiating new ones with emphasis on creating jobs through agriculture and other areas," Gusau said in an email to *Daily Trust* yesterday.

He added that Shettima "is not moved by 2015, he knows that he has an obligation to deliver good leadership to Borno people; he also knows that it is God that gives power, no human scheming can guarantee power."

For his part, Zamfara State Information Commissioner Ibrahim Birnin Magaji said the "fabricators of such rumours would be ashamed of themselves." Yari's political adviser Muhammad Galadi also denied knowledge of plans by his principal to move out of the ANPP. "If there is anything like decamping to another party, I must know about it," he said. Sheriff, through an aide, had earlier denied planning to defect to the PDP. Daily Trust could not reach Yarima yesterday for his comments.

Media reports yesterday said President Goodluck Jonathan was reaching out to former Zamfara governor Ahmed Sani Yarima and his Borno counterpart Ali Sheriff, who are expected to bring along their "protégées" Shettima and Yari. Meanwhile, a national ex-officio of the PDP in Zamfara State Alhaji Farouk Ahmad Gusau yesterday said his party is indeed talking to Yarima and Sheriff on the matter. He said if the talks succeed, Yarima and his team will be welcomed to Zamfara state chapter of the party.

Alhaji Faruk said he saw Yarima and Sheriff, who is now chairman of the ANPP board of trustees, at the residence of the PDP national chairman and that their visit might be in preparations for defecting to the PDP.

"I saw them attend a meeting there and it lasted for several hours and I believe they want to dump their party," he said.



■ From let: Governors Godswill Akpabio (Akwa Ibom), Gabriel Suswam (Benue), Sullivan Chime (Enugu) and Rotimi Amaechi (Rivers) in an undated photo published yesterday. Chime has been abroad on medical trip for months.

PHOTO Sahara Reporters

Kano suspends Achaba

Cont'd. from page 1

agencies.

"After a meeting with security agencies and a careful study of their reports, we noticed that it has become necessary to suspend motorcycle riders from carrying passengers as from Thursday, 24 January, 2013," Ganduje said in a statement.

"Motorcyclists are required to register their bikes in order to ensure safety of their own lives and those of public members. We urge the bikers to go back to their respective local governments to register for their own benefit and that of others."

Government sources told *Daily Trust* that the [illegible] the persistent use of bikes in drive-by gun attacks in the city in the past months.

On Saturday, bike-riding gunmen attacked the convoy of Emir of Kano Ado Bayero, killing six people and injuring two of the emir's sons.

In separate attacks earlier in November and December, gunmen on bikes shot dead two state house of assembly members in Kano.

Few hours after the ban was announced yesterday, gunmen on motorcycles shot dead five people at the Dakata area of Kano.

A security source said series of meetings between government officials and security agencies were held in the wake of the killings to discuss the possibility of banning motorcycles, but still it was agreed that the bikers should be regulated because of the security implications of a blanket ban.

A blanket ban on Achaba is likely to spark job crisis as tens of thousands of people are involved in the business, residents say.

It will also cause transportation problems because so many people in the city rely on Achaba and private bikes to navigate through traffic snarls especially in the densely populated areas.

Chairman of bike riders union ACOMORAN in Kano, Alhaji Muhammad [illegible] said, describing the suspension as said, saying it "will put over 1.5 million people out of job" in the state.

He told *Daily Trust* that the state government took the decision without consulting them, and urged for a reversal of the rule in the interest of his members and the public.

"What they failed to understand is that the ban is not going to affect only our members, but also a lot of people in the state," said Sani, who chairs the Kano branch of the Amalgamated Commercial Motorcycle Riders Association of Nigeria.

For his part, state chairman of the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), Yunusa Isa Danguguwa, said the union will not take any action until it was notified by ACOMORAN.

"At that point we will sit down and analyze the whole issue, especially the way and manner in which the ban will affect the masses in the state. And later we will make our views known and advise all stakeholders in order to have peace and stability in the state," he said.

Soon after the suspension was announced yesterday, residents began to express divergent views on the issue.

A commuter, Sani Yahaya Aliyu, who said he was relying on Achaba as his means of transportation, expressed dismay over the suspension saying the policy would increase the hardship of people.

You know this is the best transportation that can take you into every nook and cranny in the state at a cheaper rate. I don't know what kind of transportation I am going to be using now. Definitely I know my movement will be limited," he said.

"The government must provide us with other alternative means of transportation."

Another resident, however, hailed the suspension saying it would curtail the rate of gun attacks in the state.

Bike taxis have been banned in many cities around the country, including Maiduguri, Damaturu, Jos, Lagos and Abuja.

In some places like Gombe, partial bans have been placed in order to contain cases of drive-by shootings.

'We never asked for FG's N20bn ports contract'

By Turaki A. Hassan

The destination inspection companies re-engaged by the Federal Government for a N20 billion six-month contract never asked for extension of the job when it expired in December, one of them told a House of Representatives committee in Abuja yesterday. The Federal Government on December 31 renewed the contracts to Cotecna, SGS and GlobalScan for six months, which will fetch the companies a total of N19.8 billion during the period.

Under the renewed deal, Cotecna will receive $10 million monthly, SGS $7 million and GlobalScan $4 million.

The House of Representatives committee on Customs and Excise had been investigating the initial deal when the renewal was announced. At a resumed hearing on the matter yesterday, Managing Director of SGS, Mr. Balchin Niell, said they did not seek extension of their contract at the expiration of the seven-year deal on December 31.

Under the initial contract, the companies were supposed to provide destination inspection services and also train Customs staff who should take over the job by the end of last year. Responding to a question by committee chairman Rep. Sabo Mohammed Nakudu who sought to know at whose instance the contract was extended, Mr. Niell said: "We were ready to hand over to Customs on the 31st of December but around 1600 hours we received a letter from the Federal Ministry of Finance that we should continue on the existing conditions." He said the company was ready to hand over to Customs when "we got a phone call we should continue and report to the legal department of the Federal Ministry of Finance in one week."

Rep Nakudu said, "I am really shocked because it does not add up that the companies did not ask for extension yet they were given."

For his part, deputy comptroller of Customs Mr. Bashar Y.U. said the service was not involved in the contract extension.

"We did not sit with anyone over the extension. We were ready to take over on the 31st but we received a letter on the 31st that it has been extended by six months," he said.

Consequently, the committee resolved to invite the Finance Minister Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala to appear before it to explain the rationale behind the extension.

"The extension amounts to conceding to a breach and failure of a fundamental term of the agreement between the Federal Government and the service providers which makes it mandatory for them to train local work force to take over from them," Nakudu said.

Appendix 6
Bus Station Blast

DAILY TRUST

Tuesday, March 19, 2013 / Jumada Awwal 7, 1434 A.H TRUST IS A BURDEN www.dailytrust.com.ng Vol. 31 No. 72 N150

French hostages held by Boko Haram shown in new video Pg. 4

Dozens killed in Kano bus station blasts

How suicide bomber rammed car-bomb into passenger bus

From Lawal Danjuma Adamu, Kano

A suicide bomber targeting luxury buses full of passengers detonated a car bomb at a busy motor park in Kano yesterday, killing dozens of people and injuring many others.

The blasts happened along New Road in Sabon Gari, shortly after 5pm when luxury buses were preparing to travel to other parts of the country.

Witnesses said at least five luxury buses that were hit by the explosions were completely destroyed.

Survivors told our correspondent that a suicide bomber drove a Volkswagen Golf car into the motor park, meant for passengers traveling to the southern part of the country, and rammed into a Lagos-bound bus which was driving out of the park with dozens of passengers on board.

The resulting explosion destroyed the vehicle and set fire to others within the vicinity. There were reports of a second explosion soon after the first one.

Witnesses said many passengers, park attendants and hawkers were caught in the explosions and were burnt beyond recognition, while many others sustained various degrees of injuries.

There were conflicting figures of the

Continued on Page 5



■ At least five luxury buses were destroyed in the explosions at a busy motor park in Kano yesterday. Right is one of the injured victims.

news

Convicted pension chief freed on bail

Atiku, others shun Bamanga's peace meeting Pg. 2



Tambuwal: Alams pardon ill-timed Pg 5

Tambuwal: Alams pardon ill-timed

From Mahmud Lalo, Lagos

Speaker of the House of Representatives, Aminu Waziri Tambuwal, has said the state pardon granted former Bayelsa State governor Diepreye Alamieyeseigha was ill-timed.

Speaking on the Hausa Service of Radio France International monitored yesterday, Tambuwal said even though the government has the powers to grant the pardon, the decision came at the wrong time.

"In my own opinion I am not in support of the decision taken by the presidency," he said.

"However, as a government, they have the right to do so, but the question we need to ask here is, is this the right time to take such decision?"

The state pardon was approved by the Council of State last Tuesday at a meeting in Abuja which Tambuwal himself attended. But he did not say in the RFI interview if he raised any objection during the council meeting. Tambuwal said many members of the House have expressed displeasure with the state pardon granted Alamieyeseigha.

Speaking on the controversial immunity for Federal lawmakers, the speaker said what many people "don't understand is that the law existed in the past, which allows members to make comments on the floor of the House by saying the truth."

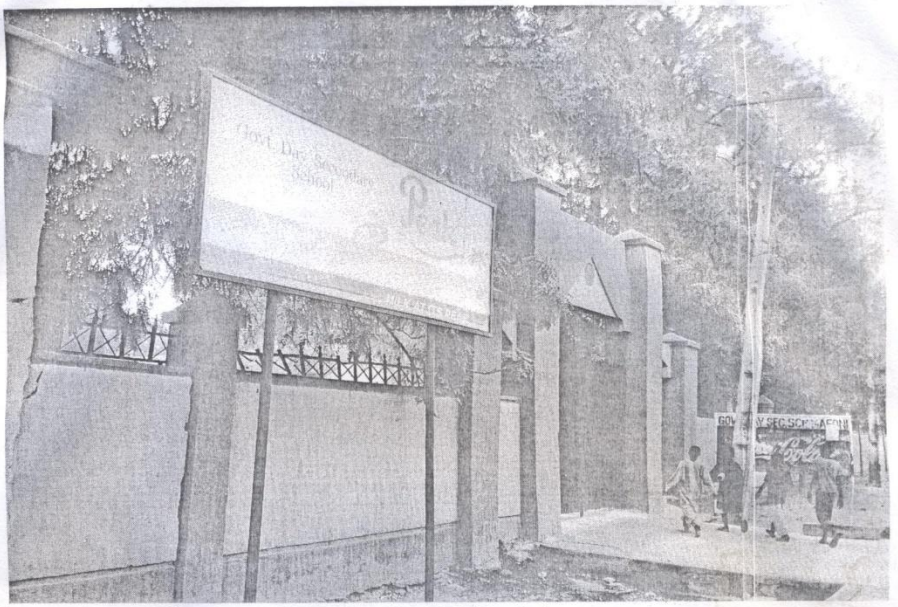
He said but there was a court judgement that said the law was not in harmony with the political system of the country because it first came into being in 1965.

"Therefore it was proposed that the law should be revived in order to give the legislators that cover," the speaker said.

"Let me give you an example: in Malawi there are some legislators that were charged with treason because of some comments they made on the floor of the assembly over the controversy that followed the death of the former president. So if as a lawmaker you don't have that cover, you won't be able to make any input before the House," he added.



Speaker Aminu Tambuwal



Some children walked pass the Govt. Day Secondary School, in Maiduguri, where a woman teacher was shot dead yesterday morning.

PHOTO Babagana Tijjanni

Dozens killed in Kano bus station blasts

Cont'd from page 1

dead yesterday, with some witnesses saying as many as 60 people were killed.

President of the Ohaneze Ndigbo in Kano State, Chief Tobias Micheal Idika, who said he arrived at the scene immediately after the blast, put the casualty figure at over 60.

"I counted over 60 dead bodies and up till now bodies are being removed," he said.

'Confusion'

A female survivor Fatima Abdullahi, who was on a business trip to Port Harcourt, told *Daily Trust* she saw many bodies on the ground after the explosion.

"We could see people engulfed in flames inside other buses just before our own also caught fire," she said

"The police later started evacuating the dead ones in carts and placing them in vehicles. All the passengers in the first bus perished, as well as other people on the ground, including the attendants that sold ticket to me."

She added that all her luggage and those of her would-be co-travellers were completely destroyed by the resulting fire.

Another witness, Ibrahim Bello, was quoted by Al Jazeera as saying: "I ran for my dear life and managed to get out of the park after the second blast. Many people are lying dead. See, my clothes are covered in blood."

A medic quoted in agency reports also said: "I saw three buses on fire. One of them was fully loaded with passengers waiting to leave the station at the time of the blasts."

A security source confirmed witness accounts of the incident, saying five luxury buses were burnt and scores of passengers killed.

He said at least 20 dead bodies had been counted while many others were trapped in the burning buses.

A mechanic, Tunde Kazeem, who works at the motor park, said the explosion was "followed by billows of black smoke and there was a lot of confusion with people rushing out of the motor park, some of them with blood on their clothes."

Another security official told *Daily Trust* that up to 80 passengers were on board one of the affected vehicles and that probably less than 10 of them survived.

He said the casualty level in the attack was the highest after the coordinated attacks in Kano on January 20 last year in which at least 180 people were killed.

Many of the victims were taken to various hospitals within Kano metropolis, including the Armed Forces Hospital, Murtala Mohammed Specialist Hospital (MMSH), Infectious Diseases Hospital (IDH) and others.

At the MMSH our correspondent counted four severely burnt bodies being moved to the morgue, while dozens of injured people, including women, were being treated at the accident and emergency wing. Many relations of the victims thronged the hospital crying.

A neighbour to one of the victims told our correspondent that his friend, who was a mechanic, had gone to the garage to work when the incident occurred, leaving him with an injured leg.

Spokesman for the National Emergency Management Agency, Yushau Shuaib, said: "Rescuers and security personnel are yet to determine the source of explosions that occurred this evening at a motor park. While casualty figures are not available at the moment, the seriously injured have been taken to hospital and bodies evacuated."

No group has claimed responsibility for yesterday's attack up to the time of filing this report last night. But suspicion is likely to fall on the insurgent group that claimed previous deadly strikes in Kano.

Last year, an explosion of smaller magnitude at the same park left some people dead and others injured.

Meanwhile, security agents have cordoned off the scene of the attack, even as *Daily Trust* gathered that flames from the blast were yet to be put out by nightfall.

When contacted last night, spokesman for the Joint Task Force in Kano, Captain Ikedichi Iweha, said security agencies and emergency workers were still battling to put out the fire at the scene and evacuate remaining victims to hospital.

He said the casualty figure could only be released after he got figures from hospitals where the affected persons were taken to. "We have not been able to go round the hospitals to count the people affected, but the figure is not as high as people are speculating," he said.

Jonathan condemns blasts

Meanwhile, President Goodluck Jonathan has condemned, in strong terms, the blasts in Kano.

In a statement, Presidential spokesman Reuben Abati quoted the president as saying the barbaric incident would not deter the Federal Government from its strong-willed determination to overcome those who do not mean well for the nation.

He said that the Federal Government would not be stampeded into abandoning its unrelenting war against terrorists in the country. The president reassured Nigerians and foreigners in the country that government would do the needful to ensure the safety of lives and property.

He said that government would continue to collaborate with local and international partners and stakeholders to check the menace of terrorism.

Appendix 7
The Number of *Adaiaita Sahu* Tricycles in Kano

KANO AMALGAMATED TRICYCLE ASSOCIATION



(KATA GATAN KOWA)

KANO STATE

TEMPORARY SECRETARIAT:
Transport Department Ministry Of Works, Housing & Transport
Tel: 08062772108, 08036930903



*Our Ref:*_____ *Your Ref:*_____ *Date:*_____

17 /3 /2013 TO 31 /3 / 2014

KMC 4537	BUNKURE 020	GAYA 032	SUMAILA 020
NSR 5150	BCHI 018	KUNCHI 031	SHANONO 016
DALA 3721	BAGWAI 009	KURA 030	TAKAI 012
GWA 3306	DAWAKIN TOFA 073	KRY 047	TOFA 015
FGE 2595	DAN BATTA 055	GRK 045	TUDUN WADA 015
TRN 2670	DOGUWA 007	DKD 224	TSANYAWA 006
UGG 2144	GARIN MALAM 010	MAKODA 056	WARAWA 040
KBT 2529	GEZAWA 407	MINJIBIR 025	WUDIL 015
ALBASU 020	GABASAWA 012	MADOBI 025	KABO 014
AJIGI 015	GWARZO 020	RANO 015	KIBIYA 010
BBJ 015	RGG 020	RMG 008	KKU 007

Appendix 8
One of the three Newly Constructed Flyover Bridge in Kano at Kofar Nasarawa Commissioned in February, 2015



Appendix 9

A Photo of one of the two 5.5m Underground Tunnels Construction at Kofar Kabuga and Gadon Kaya for easy flow of Traffic. The Kofar Kabuga Underpass was Commissioned by Gen. Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (Named after Him) and the Kofar Gadon Kaya Underpass was Commissioned by Prince Abubakar Audu (also Named after Him). The two Underpasses were commissioned in April, 2015



Appendix 10

The Kano State Road Traffic Agency (KAROTA) Evacuating Domestic Animals from the Streets of Kano Metropolis



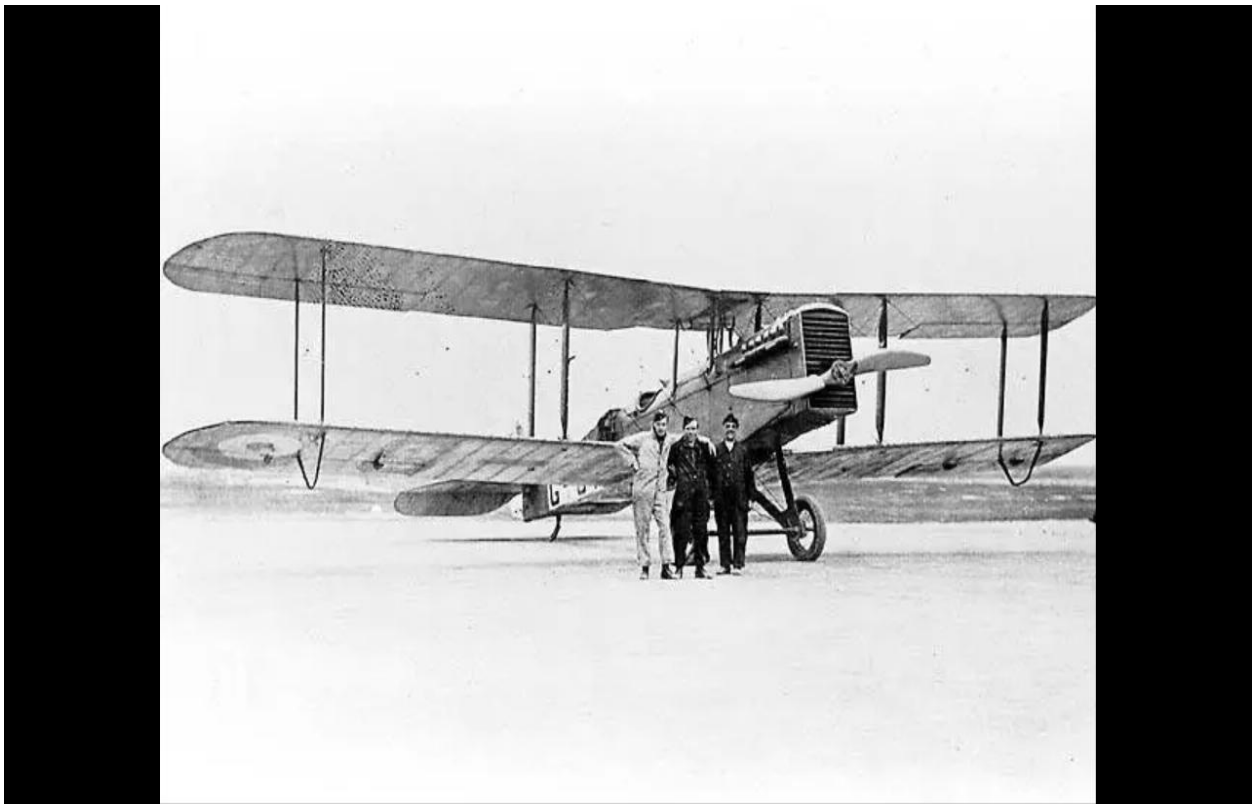
Appendix 11 A
The Imported Fairly Used Bicycles



Appendix 11 B
A Second Hand/Fairly Used Bicycle Shop at Fagge Wapa



Appendix 12
The First Aircraft (D.H 9 A) that Landed in Nigeria at Kano Race Course on 1st November, 1925



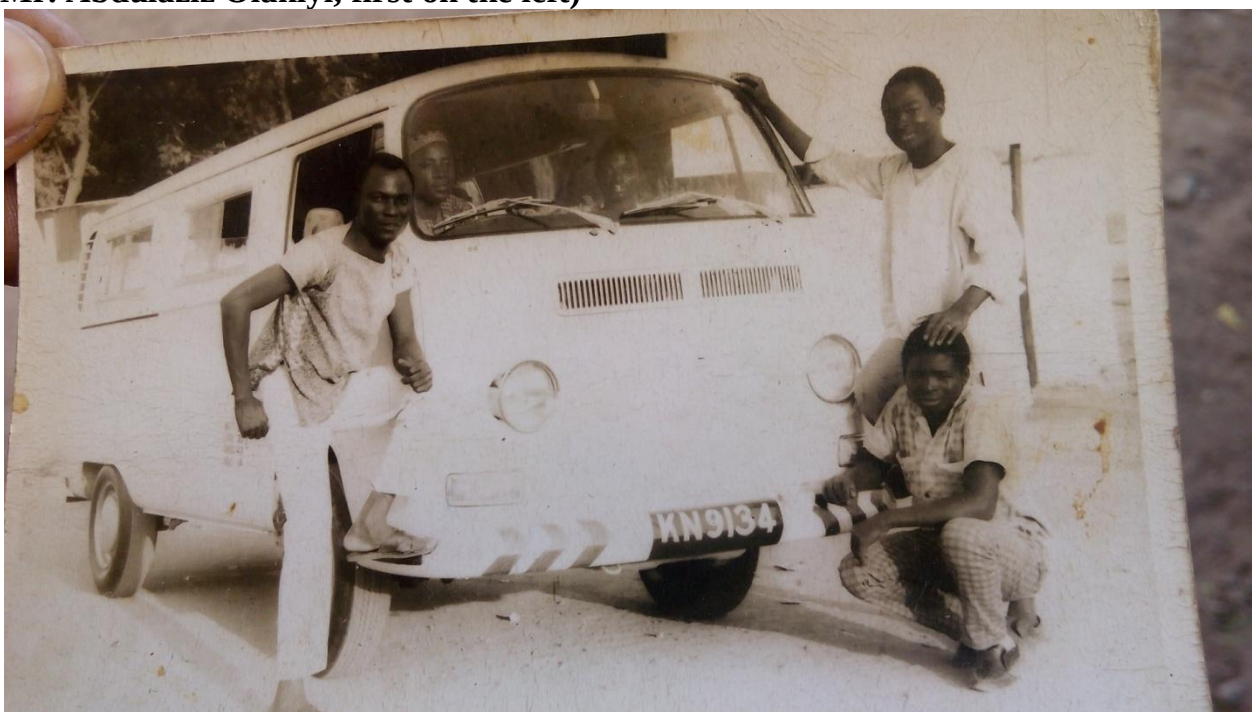
Appendix 13
The First Pilot that Led the Air Trip from Helwan (Egypt) to Kano (Nigeria) on 1st November, 1925



Air Marshal Sir Arthur Coningham

Appendix 14

The Initial Volkswagen Kombi Bus (*Kiya-Kiya)* that was used for Commercial Transportation in Kano Metropolis in early 1960s (courtesy of an early bus driver Mr. Abdulaziz Olaniyi, first on the left)



Appendix 15
List of Offences and their Punishment under KAROTA

S/N	VIOLATION	FINE (N)	ADDITIOAL PUNISHMENT
1	Driving without driver's license	5000	-
2	Driving by person under 18years	20000	Impounding vehicle
3	Learner driving without learners permit	15000	-
4	Driving of an unlicensed vehicle	15000	Impound vehicle
5	Violation of route by commercial vehicle	10000	-
6	Non-display of route number of vehicle	10000	-
7	Disobeying traffic control light and signs	15000	-
8	Parking on yellow line on any public highway	10000	-
9	Failure to stop at a zebra crossing	10000	-
10	Failure to give way to traffic on the left at a round about	10000	Impound vehicle
11	Driving motorcycle/three wheelers with non functional lamps	10000	Impound and repair
12	Defective of brake system	10000	Impound vehicle
13	Non usage of trafficator	5000	-
14	Carrying passengers outside the vehicle compartment	5000	Dislodge
15	Driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs	50000	-
16	Exceeding prescribed speed limit	10000	Psychiatric evaluation
17	Failure of slow moving vehicle to keep the right lane	5000	-
18	Assault on a traffic officer	16000	Impound and prosecute in court
19	Driving in a direction prohibited by the Road Traffic Law	10000	Impound vehicle and psychiatric evaluation
20	Illegal u-turn	5000	Driver training
21	Wrong overtaking of other vehicles	10000	Psychiatric evaluation
22	Parking on the highway walkways or curves	10000	-
22	Parking on the highway walkways or curves	10000	-
23	Parking to drop passengers along the carriage way	2000	-
24	Failing sound horn	5000	-
25	Storage charges for impounded 3 wheeler per day	200	-

Source: Kano State Road and Traffic Agency Law (*KAROTA*) 2012